社会学视域下的健康不平等: 理论发展与经验研究

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第三届医疗健康社会学青年论坛 2020

健康不平等的定义

Braveman P. Health disparities and health equity: concepts and measurement[J]. Annu. Rev. Public Health, 2006, 27: 167-194.

Braveman P. What are health disparities and health equity? We need to be clear[J]. Public health reports, 2014, 129(1 suppl2): 5-8.

TABLE 2 Selected definitions of health disparities, inequalities, or equity in previous literature, in chronologic order of publication

Source	Definition (full or excerpts)	Strengths	Weaknesses
1.Whitehead 1990, 1992 (106, 107)	Health inequalities are differences in health that are "avoidable," "unjust, and unfair" (106, 107) Equity in health means that all persons have fair opportunities to attain their full health potential, to the extent possible (106)	Intuitive, clear and accessible to nontechnical audiences	Unjust, unfair, and avoidable are defined by examples versus explicitly, hence open to interpretation. Does not provide guidance on measurement
2A. WHO/Braveman 1996 (115)	Equity means that people's needs, rather than their social privileges, guide the distribution of opportunities for well-being. In virtually every society in the world, social privilege is reflected by differences in socioeconomic status, gender, geographical location, racial/ethnic/religious differences and age. Pursuing equity in health means trying to reduce avoidable gaps in health status and health services between groups with different levels of social privilege (115)	Explicitly refers to comparisons among more and less socially advantaged groups Wide range of social groups (e.g., by race/ethnicity/religion, gender, disability, sexual orientation) are included, not only socioeconomically disadvantaged Measurement implications are more clear	Neither 2A nor 2B is as appealing intuitively, as brief, or as clear to nontechnical audiences as Whitehead's definition. 2A does not explicitly mention health determinants apart from health care, although Executive Summary to same document notes that "overall economic and social influences are powerful—often the most powerful—determinants of health" (115)
2B. Braveman/WHO 1998 (9)	Equity in health is operationally defined as minimizing avoidable disparities in health and its determinants—including but not limited to health care—between groups of people who have different levels of underlying social advantage (9)	Same strengths as 2A (above), and 2B explicitly includes health determinants	(Continued)

(Continued)

健康不平等的定义

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Full version: A health disparity/inequality is a particular type of difference in health or in the most important influences on health that could potentially be shaped by policies; it is a difference in which disadvantaged social groups (such as the poor, racial/ethnic minorities, women, or other groups that have persistently experienced social disadvantage or discrimination) systematically experience worse health or greater health risks than more advantaged groups.

Briefer version: Health disparities/inequalities are potentially avoidable differences in health (or in health risks that policy can influence) between groups of people who are more and less advantaged socially; these differences systematically place socially disadvantaged groups at further disadvantage on health.

简短版本:所谓健康差异或不平等即,在不同社会经济地位的群体间,本可以避免的健康差异,或政策本可以影响的健康风险,这些差异系统性地将社会经济地位已处于劣势的人群,在健康方面继续处于劣势。

Lynch S M. Cohort and life-course patterns in the relationship between education and health: A hierarchical approach[J]. Demography, 2003, 40(2): 309-331.

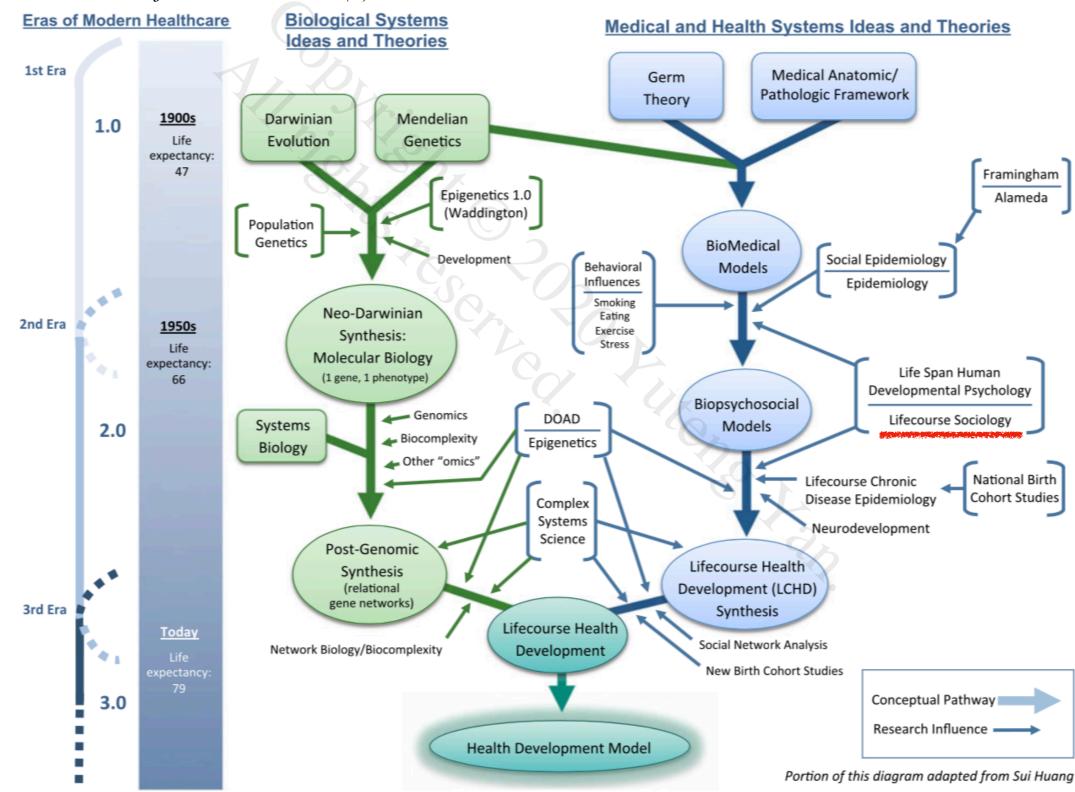
Truesdale B C, Jencks C. The health effects of income inequality: averages and disparities[J]. Annual Review of Public Health, 2016, 37: 413-430.

虽然各国的平均健康水平是否大幅高仍有争议;但可以肯定地是,总体上,不同群体间的健康不平等(Health Disparities)却显著加剧了。

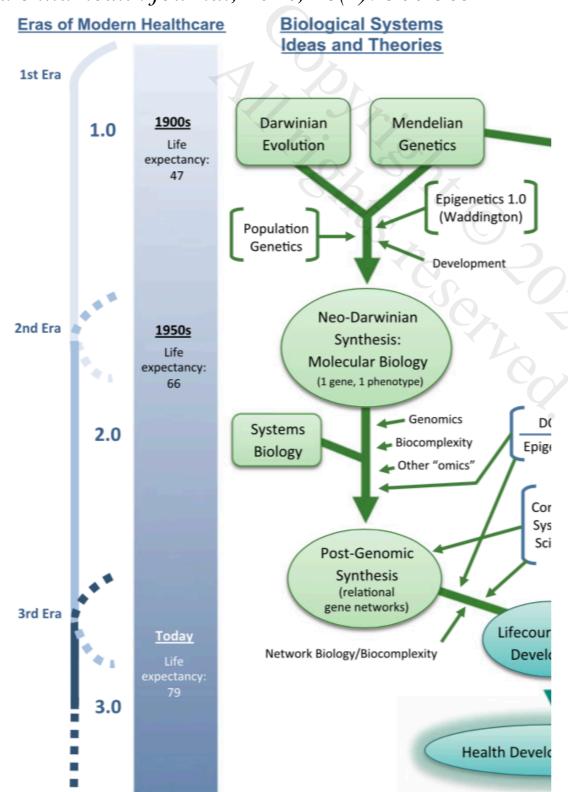
报告大纲

- 一、健康科学的历史:社会学的定位与贡献
- 二、健康不平等及其影响因素的讨论
 - (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
 - (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程理论、健康生活方式理论、 社会分层理论、社会网络理论
- 三、健康不平等议题的计量研究方法
 - (一) 健康指标
 - (二) 回归分析模型及其改进、内生性问题
- 四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

Halfon N, Larson K, Lu M, et al. Lifecourse health development: past, present and future[J]. Maternal and child health journal, 2014, 18(2): 344-365



Halfon N, Larson K, Lu M, et al. Lifecourse health development: past, present and future[J]. Maternal and child health journal, 2014, 18(2): 344-365



As long ago as 1942, even prior to the discovery of DNA, Waddington coined the term "epigenetics" to describe, in concept, how genes might interact with their surroundings to produce a phenotype. Recent studies have demonstrated that changes in gene expression can result from mechanisms such as changes in DNA methylation and histone methylation rather than changes in the underlying DNA sequence.

起初,其仍主要基于"基因型-表现型"的模型,即建立的是单个基因与单个外显特征的关联。

1942年,发现DNA之前,Waddington便已经定义表观遗传学(epigenetics)是基因可能与他们周遭环境互动而产生原型(phenotype)。

晚近研究表明,基因的表达不仅会随着DNA序列的改变而改变,也可能随着DNA和组蛋白的甲基化 (methylation)而改变,且甲基化后的DNA仍可遗传。

Halfon N, Larson K, Lu M, et al. Lifecourse health development: past, present and future[J]. Maternal and child health journal, 2014, 18(2): 344-365

(一) 流行病学

弗雷明翰(Framingham) 开创性地讨论了心血管疾病受多种行为性、社会性和生物性的风险因素影响。 恩格尔(Engle) 在1977年利用一般系统论(General Systems Theory) 的思想,强调了身心分离的生物学 模型的局限性,其生物-心理-社会(Biopsychosocial, BPS)模型认为,疾病是由身体不同系统和社会系统群之间的动态交互作用造成的。

(二) 生命历程社会学

埃尔德(Elder) 1974年出版的《大萧条的孩子们》, 与克劳森(Clausen) 共同创建并完善了生命历程社会学 (Lifecourse Sociology) 这一影响深远的理论。 这一理论认为社会机制与历史事件会形塑个体的经历 轨迹与群体的经历轨迹,且被社会机制与历史事件建 构的生命路径存在优势/劣势累积效应。

(三) 发展心理学

心理学更关注个体发展的"个体性"(Ontogenesis),即个体对事件和经历的适应能力;生命历程社会学则强调个体发展的"社会性"(Sociogenesis),即生活路径是如何被不同的社会结构所限制。简言之,心理学家关注的是内生性的,个体经历过程如何影响终身发展轨迹,而社会学家则更关注外生因素,如社会结构与历史事件。

Medical and Health Systems Ideas and Theories Medical Anatomic/ Germ Pathologic Framework Theory Framingham Alameda BioMedical Social Epidemiology Behavioral Models Influences **Epidemiology** Smoking Eating Exercise Life Span Human **Developmental Psychology** Biopsychosocial Lifecourse Sociology Models netics National Birth Lifecourse Chronic Disease Epidemiology plex Neurodevelopment nce Lifecourse Health Development (LCHD) Synthesis e Health Social Network Analysis **New Birth Cohort Studies** Conceptual Pathway Research Influence ment Model Portion of this diagram adapted from Sui Huang

Hertzman C. The biological embedding of early experience and its effects on health in adulthood[J]. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1999, 896(1): 85-95.

Hertzman C, Power C, Matthews S, et al. Using an interactive framework of society and lifecourse to explain self-rated health in early adulthood[J]. Social science & medicine, 2001, 53(12): 1575-1585.

Halfon N, Hochstein M. Life course health development: an integrated framework for developing health, policy, and research[J]. The Milbank Quarterly, 2002, 80(3): 433-479.

Halfon N, Larson K, Lu M, et al. Lifecourse health development: past, present and future[J]. Maternal and child health journal, 2014, 18(2): 344-365.

More recently, models of lifecourse health development (LCHD) have synthesized research from biological, behavioral and social science disciplines, defined health development as a dynamic process that begins before conception and continues throughout the lifespan, and paved the way for the creation of novel strategies aimed at optimization of individual and population health trajectories.

Q: Are some papers ignored?

Arrow K J. Uncertainty and the welfare economics of medical care: reply (the implications of transaction costs and adjustment lags)[J]. The American economic review, 1965, 55(1/2): 154-158.

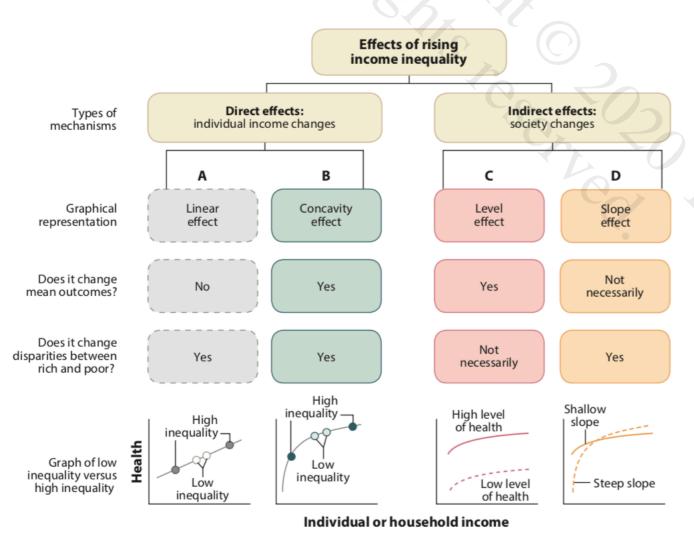
Grossman M. On the concept of health capital and the demand for health[J]. Journal of Political economy, 1972, 80(2): 223-255.

报告大纲

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- 二、健康不平等及其影响因素的讨论
 - (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
 - (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程理论、健康生活方式理论、社会分层理论、社会网络理论
- 三、健康不平等议题的计量研究方法
 - (一) 健康指标
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- 四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

- (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
- 1. 收入与健康不平等: 社会经济地位

Truesdale B C, Jencks C. The health effects of income inequality: averages and disparities[J]. Annual Review of Public Health, 2016, 37: 413-430.



$$H_{\{i\}} = \alpha + \beta (Inc_{\{i\}}) + \varepsilon_{\{i\}}$$

 $H_{\{i\}}$ 是个体健康水平, $Inc_{\{i\}}$ 是个体收入变化, $\epsilon_{\{i\}}$ 是均值为0的随机误差。

这一模型中只有三种情况,会改变个体健康H(1):

- (1) 所有人的健康水平都发生了变化,即α变化;
- (2) Inca个体的收入发生了变化;
- (3) 收入与健康之间的斜率发生了变化,即β变化。

直接的、水平的变化即α变化;间接的、斜率的变化即β变化。

Figure 1

The effects of rising income inequality on health.

Truesdale B C, Jencks C. The health effects of income inequality: averages and disparities[J]. Annual Review of Public Health, 2016, 37: 413-430.

理论□	主要代表□	观点简述□
直接凹陷效应,收入不	平等的上升,将减少健康均值,增加	
新唯物主义□	Davey Smith & Lynch	个人和社区层面的物质资源都会影响健康。物质资源
	43.	的不平等越大,健康差值越大,且由于健康对收入的回
	3. 10.	报(凹陷效应)越来越小,健康均值更差。 🗆
稀缺论□	Mullainathan & Shafir	稀缺性会产生认知上的"带宽税",这可能会妨碍健康
	Wilkinson, Marmot, Kawachi	行为,干扰决策和长期规划,并增加风险。稀缺性理论
	& Subramanian	暗示,个人收入对健康有直接影响,但途径是通过认知
	Wilkinson, Marmot	的,而不是物质的。□
	Gilens, Bartels	
	Link & Phelan	
间接水平效应: 收入不	平等上升,对所有收入群体的健康都	『有损害,减少健康均值,但不一定增加健康差值。□
社会资本衰退论□	Mullainathan & Shafir	收入不平等破坏了社会结构,降低了社会资本和互信。
	C	由此产生的压力和缺乏公共投资,损害了富人和穷人
	Q Q	的健康。(一个群体可能比另一个群体受到更多的影
	•	响,或者所有群体都会受到同比例的影响) 🗆
间接斜率效应: 收入水	平上升,增加健康差值。或提高富人	的健康水平,或损害穷人的健康水平,或二者都有。
相对剥夺论□	Wilkinson, Marmot □	与社会等级更高的朋友或邻居作比较时,比参照组更
		穷的人,往往会有压力和负面健康影响。该理论认为,
		负面影响大于拥有富裕邻居的好处,尽管这些邻居可
		能会提高社区的设施水平。对富人的影响尚不清楚。
政治获取论□	Gilens, Bartels□	收入不平等的加剧可能会增加富人的政治影响力。如
		果他们的政策偏好限制了提供健康福利的公共物品
		(如教育、治安、卫生和娱乐场所), 穷人的健康可能
		受到损害。□
知识扩散论□	Link & Phelan □	需要个人行动(如洗手、戒烟或寻求医疗)的知识或技
		术的进步,首先被富人或受教育程度更高的人所占据,
		从而加剧了健康差值。当收入不平等程度很高时,向穷
		人或受教育程度较低的人扩散的速度可能较慢。□

- (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
- 1. 收入与健康不平等: 社会经济地位

赵广川.国民健康不平等及其内在影响机制、演变过程[J].世界经济文汇,2017(05):55-74. 中国的健康不平等整体上是有所缩小的,年龄、工作、地区、性别与教育影响较多,而城乡和收入的影响较小。

Cai J, Coyte P C, Zhao H. Decomposing the causes of socioeconomic-related health inequality among urban and rural populations in China: a new decomposition approach[J]. International journal for equity in health, 2017, 16(1): 128.

中国的健康不平等有所扩大, 且城乡影响是较大的。

曾毅,柳玉芝,萧振禹,张纯元.中国高龄老人的社会经济与健康状况[J].中国人口科学,2004(S1):6-15+176.

杜本峰,王旋.老年人健康不平等的演化、区域差异与影响因素分析[J].人口研究,2013,37(05):81-90.

Yang Y, Meng Y. Is China Moving Towards Healthy Aging?—A tracking study based on 5 phases of CLHLS data[J]. International Journal of Environmental Research And Public Health, 2020, 17(12): 4343-4358.

- (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
- 2. 种族、民族与健康不平等: 西班牙裔悖论

Kawachi I, Daniels N, Robinson D E. Health disparities by race and class: why both matter[J]. Health Affairs, 2005, 24(2): 343-352.

Kahn J R, Fazio E M. Economic status over the life course and racial disparities in health[J]. The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 2005, 60(Special_Issue_2): S76-S84.

"西班牙裔悖论(Hispanic mortality paradox)"问题。具体而言,在对社会经济地位的研究中,我们通常可以看到,个体或种群的社会 经济地位越高,其平均健康水平越好。但美国西班牙裔的平均健康水平,高于他们所处的社会经济地位。这就形成了学界悬而未决、讨论经年的"西班牙裔悖论"问题。

Palloni A, Arias E. Paradox lost: explaining the Hispanic adult mortality advantage[J]. Demography, 2004, 41(3): 385-415.

Shor E, Roelfs D, Vang Z M. The "Hispanic mortality paradox" revisited: Meta-analysis and meta-regression of life-course differentials in Latin American and Caribbean immigrants' mortality[J]. Social Science & Medicine, 2017, 186: 20-33.

Mcdonald J A, Paulozzi L J. Parsing the Paradox: Hispanic Mortality in the US by Detailed Cause of Death[J]. Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 2018.

Wang C, Li H, Li L, et al. Health literacy and ethnic disparities in health-related quality of life among rural women: results from a Chinese poor minority area[J]. Health and quality of life outcomes, 2013, 11(1): 153.

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)

Merton R K. The Matthew effect in science: The reward and communication systems of science are considered[J]. Science, 1968, 159(3810): 56-63.

Elder G H. Children of the great depression[M]. Westview Press, 1998.

Elder G H, Johnson M K, Crosnoe R. The emergence and development of life course theory[M]// Handbook of the life course. Springer, Boston, MA, 2003: 3-19.

郑作彧,胡珊.生命历程的制度化:欧陆生命历程研究的范式与方法[J].社会学研究,2018,33(02):214-241+246.

美国的奥克兰一代(出生于1920年至1921年),早期的经济损失和贫困,对不同社会阶层的身心健康有着不一样的影响,其中社会经济地位最差的群体,早期经济损失和贫困对其成人健康的不利影响最大;

且更有意思地是,当比较奥克兰一代与更多受家庭困难的不利影响的稍微年轻的一代时(出生于1928 到1929 年),奥克兰一代的男性在晚年生活中适应能力更强。

这一研究出了生命历程理论中重要原则之一,"生命的时间安排(The Timing of Lives)",不同世代(Cohort)有不同的生活经历,不同的生活经历会影响其后续发展。

埃尔德也吸纳了健康经济学的健康资本概念、慢性病流行病学中的疾病易感性研究,进而总结世代对健康的影响可能是由于早期生活条件的差异,比如晚近的世代,往往出生时拥有更好的健康资本,且健康资本存量的折旧率也更低;晚近世代也会更晚、或概率更低的患上慢性病。

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)
- a. 发散假定: 同最初的累积劣势/优势理论一致,认为经济、健康和其他资本形式,在生命历程中不断积累,在同各种社会机制进行了复杂的选择与互动过程后,即使生命历程中资本的初始差异很小,也会导致结果的巨大差异,即老年阶段的不平等要大于中年阶段。

Willson A E, Shuey K M, Elder, Jr G H. Cumulative advantage processes as mechanisms of inequality in life course health[J]. American Journal of Sociology, 2007, 112(6): 1886-1924.

Chen F, Yang Y, Liu G. Social change and socioeconomic disparities in health over the life course in China: A cohort analysis[J]. American sociological review, 2010, 75(1): 126-150.

b. 收敛假定: 随着年龄的增长, 老年阶段的不平等要小于中年阶段。

Christenson B A, Johnson N E. Educational inequality in adult mortality: an assessment with death certificate data from Michigan[J]. Demography, 1995, 32(2): 215-229.

Deaton A S, Paxson C H. Aging and inequality in income and health[J]. The American Economic Review, 1998, 88(2): 248-253.

c. 年龄中和假定:青年期的不平等存在扩大趋势,且在老年早期达 到顶峰,但在老年后期又有缩小趋势。

Lynch S M. Cohort and life-course patterns in the relationship between education and health: A hierarchical approach[J]. Demography, 2003, 40(2): 309-331.

Kim J, Durden E. Socioeconomic status and age trajectories of health[J]. Social science & medicine, 2007, 65(12): 2489-2502.

d. 平行假定:不同地位群体间的健康差异不随年龄变化而变化。

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)
 - (1) 世代与年龄: "社会经济地位"或"社会梯度"的角度

Chen F, Yang Y, Liu G. Social change and socioeconomic disparities in health over the life course in China: A cohort analysis[J]. American sociological review, 2010, 75(1): 126-150.

收入差距对健康轨迹的影响,在年长世代中趋于分化,但在晚近世代中却趋于收敛。

王勇,李建民.生命周期视角下与收入相关的健康不平等分析——基于组群分析的方法[J].南方人口,2014,29(06):42-54+78.

收入差距对健康轨迹的影响,在年长世代与晚近世代中均趋于分化。

Chen F, Yang Y, Liu G. Social change and socioeconomic disparities in health over the life course in China: A cohort analysis[J]. American sociological review, 2010, 75(1): 126-150.

教育对健康呈正向影响,但影响在晚近世代中略有下降。

郑莉,曾旭晖.教育的健康回报及其队列差异——基于成长曲线模型的分析[J].人口与经济,2018(02):69-79.

20世纪40年代以前的出生世代中,教育对健康呈负向影响,40—50年代出生世代中,教育对健康没有影响,60年代以后出生世代,教育对健康有正向影响。

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)
 - (1) 世代与年龄: 早年经历影响、特定历史事件影响角度

王伟进,曾毅,陆杰华.中国老年人的被动吸烟状况与其健康风险--基于个人生命历程的视角[J].人口研究,2014,38(01):98-112.

石智雷,吴志明.早年不幸对健康不平等的长远影响:生命历程与双重累积劣势[J].社会学研究,2018,33(03):166-192+245-246.

双重劣势累积: 早年不幸经历种 类数越多或者持续时间越长, 对健康的负向影响力也就越大;且早年不幸经历在生命历程中带来的如经济地位的下降, 健康风险和消极情绪的上升, 间接给成年 后的健康状况带来不利影响。

焦开山,包智明.社会变革、生命历程与老年健康[J].社会学研究,2020,35(01):149-169+245.

进一步, 重叠强化(双重劣势累积)或劣势抵消。

余成普.中国农村疾病谱的变迁及其解释框架/J7.中国社会科学,2019(09):92-114+206.

定性补充:农村地区过量摄取 类慢性病看似源自当前"生活的甜蜜",实则是早年经历的身体再现,

Fan W, Qian Y. Long-term health and socioeconomic consequences of early-life exposure to the 1959-1961 Chinese Famine[J]. Social science research, 2015, 49: 53-69. 洪岩壁,赵延东.灾后重建中的资源再分配与健康不平等--基于三期汶川地震重建调查[J].社会,2019,39(06):214-237.

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)
 - (1) 世代与年龄: 性别的角度

郑莉,曾旭晖.社会分层与健康不平等的性别差异——基于生命历程的纵向分析[J].社会,2016,36(06):209-237.

女性在各个年龄阶段都处于健康劣势,且因为教育和收入导致的健康不平等程度随年龄的增长而缩小,支持了年龄中和效应。

郑莉,曾旭晖.教育的健康回报及其队列差异——基于成长曲线模型的分析[J].人口与经济,2018(02):69-79.

教育对女性产生正向影响的世代比男性要晚。

- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)
 - (2) 地区与环境: 个体的行动空间

Alwin D F. Integrating varieties of life course concepts[J]. The Journals of Gerontology: Series B, 2012, 67(2): 206-220.

Halfon N, Larson K, Lu M, et al. Lifecourse health development: past, present and future[J]. Maternal and child health journal, 2014, 18(2): 344-365.

- 1. Lifespan development—human development and aging are lifecourse processes;
- 2. Agency—individuals construct their lives through choices and actions they take within social structures that provide opportunities and impose constraints, and within historical contexts that do the same;
- 3. Time and place—lives of individuals are embedded and shaped by historical time and the place where they live;
- 4. Timing—developmental impacts of events, experiences, and transitions are conditional on their timing in a person's life;
- 5. Linked lives—people's lives are lived interdependently (e.g., husband and wife, siblings).

空间作为个体的生活嵌入并被形塑于他们所生活的环境,对个体及其后续发展同样有着重要影响。

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
 - 1. 生命历程理论(累积劣势/优势理论)
 - (2) 地区与环境: 地区、社区、同群

周彬,齐亚强.收入不平等与个体健康--基于2005年中国综合社会调查的实证分析[J].社会,2012,32(05):130-150.

陆杰华,郭冉.基于地区和社区视角下老年健康与不平等的实证分析[J].人口学刊,2017,39(02):57-67.

谢东虹,朱志胜.健康的同群效应及其机制研究[J].南方人口,2020,35(02):39-51.

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 2. 健康生活方式理论: 医学社会学的贡献

Cockerham W C. Bourdieu and an update of health lifestyle theory[M]//Medical sociology on the move.

Springer, Dordrecht, 2013: 127-154.

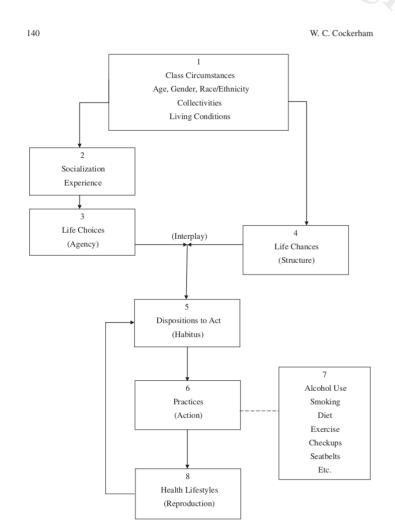


Fig. 7.1 Health Lifestyles Paradigm

Following the demise of structural-functionalism in the 1960s, agencyoriented theories moved over time to take a leading role in theorizing in sociology in the United States and United Kingdom. The theoretical tilt toward agency was in the direction of what Margaret Archer (1995) refers to as "upwards conflation." Conflation is a term in social theory that represents one-dimensional theorizing. Upwards conflation describes theories depicting individuals interacting with one another and in doing so creating social structures in a one-way, upwards path, leav- ing those structures incapable of acting back on individuals. Causal power in this context thus resides in the individual acting in concert with similar others to create society and the structures within it. Carried to its extreme, agency theorizing reduces social phenomena to the level of the individual (Hitlin and Elder 2007)......While no contemporary theory denies that either agency or structure is unimportant, theoretical debate about their differences center on the extent to which one or the other is dominant. Archer (2003) argues for example, that the capability of structure to constrain or enable individuals is contingent upon individuals exercising agency by choosing the situations in which they have an impact. Therefore, agency, in her view, is more decisive in determining behavior than structure.

- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 2. 健康生活方式理论: 医学社会学的贡献

Cockerham W C. Bourdieu and an update of health lifestyle theory[M]//Medical sociology on the move. Springer, Dordrecht, 2013: 127-154.

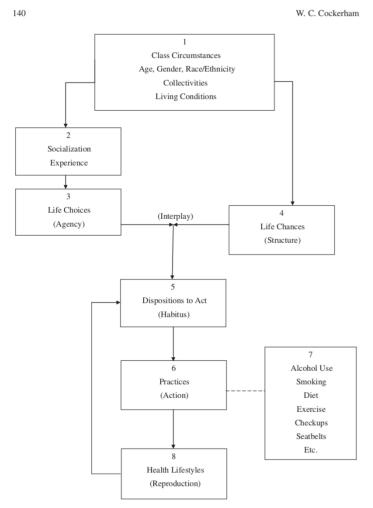


Fig. 7.1 Health Lifestyles Paradigm

Therefore, as Steven Hitlin and Glen Elder (2007: 177) point out, while humans may be able to control many of their actions, this capacity gets socially channeled in particular directions. People do have the capability to act independently of the social structures in their lives, but the occasions on which they actually do so appear to be rare.

Rier D. The missing voice of the critically ill: A medical sociologist's first - person account[J]. Sociology of Health & Illness, 2000, 22(1): 68-93.

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 2. 健康生活方式理论: 医学社会学的贡献

Cockerham W C. Bourdieu and an update of health lifestyle theory[M]//Medical sociology on the move. Springer, Dordrecht, 2013: 127-154.

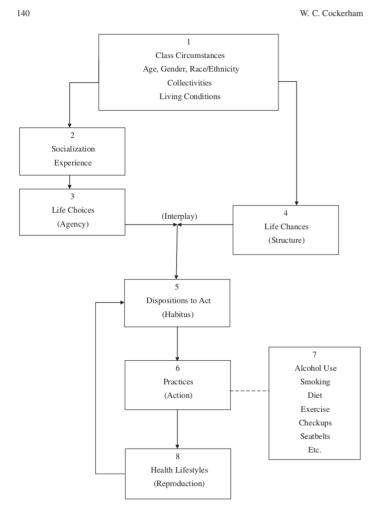


Fig. 7.1 Health Lifestyles Paradigm

科克勒姆通过重构韦伯、吉登斯与布迪厄的理论,尤其是布迪厄的 "同必需品的距离(Distance from Necessity)"与惯习(Habitus)概念, 第一个阐述了健康生活方式现象的理论。

其建立了基于阶级状况、年龄、性别、种族/民族、集体、生存条件、社会化与体验、生活选择(能动)、生活机会(结构)、生活选择与生活机会的相互作用,以及行动的倾向(惯习)的复杂健康生活方式理论。

具体而言,结构变量即阶级状况;年龄、性别、种族/民族、集体、生存条件;结构变量为"社会化与体验"供了社会背景,构成了生活机会(结构),这些则影响了生活选择(能动)。生活选择与生活机会的互动与依托组成了"行动的性情"(惯习),导致了个体实践(行动),包含如酒精的使用、吸烟、饮食及其他健康相关行动。

- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 2. 健康生活方式理论: 医学社会学的贡献

王甫勤.社会经济地位、生活方式与健康不平等[J].社会,2012,32(02):125-143.

王甫勤.谁应对健康负责:制度保障、家庭支持还是个体选择?[J].社会科学,2015(12):76-89.

袁迎春.不平等的再生产:从社会经济地位到健康不平等——基于CFPS2010的实证分析[J].南方人口,2016,31(02):1-15+25.

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- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 3. 社会分层理论: 社会阶层与社会流动
 - (1) 社会阶层:社会经济地位(从SES到SEP)、教育、职业与环境

Elo I T. Social class differentials in health and mortality: Patterns and explanations in comparative perspective[J]. Annual review of sociology, 2009, 35: 553-572.

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- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 3. 社会分层理论: 社会阶层与社会流动
 - (1) 社会阶层:社会经济地位(从SES到SEP)、教育、职业与环境

Ross C E, Mirowsky J. Gender and the health benefits of education[J]. The Sociological Quarterly, 2010, 51(1): 1-19.

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- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 3. 社会分层理论: 社会阶层与社会流动
 - (1) 社会阶层:社会经济地位(从SES到SEP)、教育、职业与环境

Winkleby M A, Jatulis D E, Frank E, et al. Socioeconomic status and health: how education, income, and occupation contribute to risk factors for cardiovascular disease[J]. American journal of public health, 1992, 82(6): 816-820.

梁童心,齐亚强,叶华.职业是如何影响健康的? --基于2012年中国劳动力动态调查的实证研究[J].社会学研究,2019,34(04):193-217+246.

- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 3. 社会分层理论: 社会阶层与社会流动
 - (1) 社会阶层:社会经济地位(从SES到SEP)、教育、职业与环境

曾毅,顾大男,Jama Purser,Helen Hoenig,Nicholas Christakis.社会、经济与环境因素对老年健康和死亡的影响—基于中国22省份的抽样调查[J].中国卫生政策研究,2014,7(06):53-62.

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梁樱.环境污染感知与精神健康不平等--基于压力过程模型的视角[J].社会发展研究,2017,4(04):43-65+238.

- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 3. 社会分层理论: 社会阶层与社会流动
 - (2) 社会流动: 物理空间与社会空间

王甫勤.社会流动有助于降低健康不平等吗?[J].社会学研究,2011,25(02):78-101+244. 彭大松.社区特征如何影响流动人口的健康?—基于分层线性模型的分析[J].人口与发展,2018,24(06):50-62.

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- (二) 侧重个体的健康不平等: 生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 4. 社会网络理论: 社会资本与代际交往

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- (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程、健康生活方式、社会分层与社会网络
- 4. 社会网络理论: 社会资本与代际交往

(1) 社会资本

周广肃,樊纲,申广军.收入差距、社会资本与健康水平--基于中国家庭追踪调查(CFPS)的实证分析 [J].管理世界,2014(07):12-21+51+187.

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王建.同乡庇护、时空约束与农民工精神健康[J].青年研究,2018(04):46-56+95. 朱荟.社会资本与心理健康:因果方向检定和作用路径构建[J].人口与发展,2015,21(06):47-56.

(2) 代际交往

Chen F, Liu G. The health implications of grandparents caring for grandchildren in China[J]. Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 2012, 67(1): 99-112. 吕光明,刘文慧.中国子女教育对老年父母健康的异质性影响研究[J].中国人口科学,2020,(04):72-83+127-128.

报告大纲

- 一、健康科学的历史:社会学的定位与贡献
- 二、健康不平等及其影响因素的讨论
 - (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
 - (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程理论、健康生活方式理论、社会分层理论、社会网络理论
- 三、健康不平等议题的计量研究方法
 - (一) 健康指标
 - (二) 回归分析模型及其改进、内生性问题
- 四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

- (一) 健康指标: 侧重群体与侧重个体
- 1. 侧重群体: 集中度指标

Truesdale B C, Jencks C. The health effects of income inequality: averages and disparities[J]. Annual Review of Public Health, 2016, 37: 413-430.

表 2 绝对的与相对的健康不平等

情况一: 不变的比	北率(死亡率为 1/1	(00,000)			
	手工工人	非手工工人	比率	差值	
时点1	2000	1000	2.0	1000	
时点2	时点 2 1000		2.0	500	
情况二:不变的差	差值(死亡率为 1/1	100,000)	()-		
	手工工人	非手工工人	比率	差值	
时点1	1750	1250 1.4		500	
时点 2	1000	500	2.0	500	

表格来源: 翻译自 Truesdale et al., 2016

$$CI = \frac{2}{n\mu} \sum_{i=1}^{n} h_i R_i - 1$$

- (一) 健康指标: 侧重群体与侧重个体
- 2. 侧重个体: 自评健康(SRH)、健康分数(HS)与健康生活质量(HRQoL)

Van Doorslaer E, Jones A M. Inequalities in self-reported health: validation of a new approach to measurement[J]. Journal of health economics, 2003, 22(1): 61-87.

$$CI = \frac{2}{n\mu} \sum_{i=1}^{n} h_i R_i - 1 \qquad H_i = \frac{h_i^* - \min(h_i^*)}{\max(h_i^*) - \min(h_i^*)}$$

齐亚强.自评一般健康的信度和效度分析[J].社会,2014,34(06):196-215. 吴青熹,陈云松.主观阶层如何影响自评健康--基于八年全国调查数据的研究[J].南京社会科学,2015(07):60-68.

Wang C, Li H, Li L, et al. Health literacy and ethnic disparities in health-related quality of life among rural women: results from a Chinese poor minority area[J]. Health and quality of life outcomes, 2013, 11(1): 153.

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- (二) 传统回归分析模型及其改进: 侧重群体与侧重个体
 - 1. 侧重群体: 分位数回归及其发展

Firpo S, Fortin N M, Lemieux T. Unconditional quantile regressions[J]. Econometrica, 2009, 77(3): 953-973.

朱平芳,张征宇.无条件分位数回归:文献综述与应用实例[J].统计研究,2012,29(03):88-96.

Heckley G, Gerdtham U G, Kjellsson G. A general method for decomposing the causes of socioeconomic inequality in health[J]. Journal of health economics, 2016, 48: 89-106.

- (二) 传统回归分析模型及其改进: 侧重群体与侧重个体
- 2. 侧重个体:逻辑回归、机制分析与多层模型

Liu J, Zhang Y. Health status and health disparity in China: a demographic and socioeconomic perspective[J]. China Population and Development Studies, 2019, 2(3): 301-322. 戴建国,杨剑红.基于R语言的互补双对数模型分析[J].宁波职业技术学院学报,2017,21(04):87-89+93.

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Chen F, Yang Y, Liu G. Social change and socioeconomic disparities in health over the life course in China: A cohort analysis[J]. American sociological review, 2010, 75(1): 126-150.

多层模型,又称分层线性模型或增长曲线模型(Growth Curve Models, GCM)。此外,它还有其他名称如多层混合效应模型(Multilevel Mixed-Effect Linear Model)、混合线性模型(Mixed Linear Model)、随机截距-斜率发展模型 (Random Intercept and Slop Model)、随机效应模型(Random Coefficient Model)、随机系数模型(Random Coefficient Model)、随机斜率模型 (Random Slop Model)、随机截距模型(Random intercept Model)、方差成分模型(Variance Component Model)、残差方差/协方差模式模型(Residual Covariance Pattern Model)等。目前学界对于多层模型的名称叫法十分混乱。

- (二) 传统回归分析模型及其改进: 侧重群体与侧重个体
- 3. 内生性问题: 健康的双向因果

Nordin M, Gerdtham U G. Why a positive link between increasing age and income-related health inequality?[J]. Nordic Journal of Health Economics, 2014, 2(1). 洪岩壁,刘精明.早期健康与阶层再生产[J].社会学研究,2019,34(01):156-182+245.

梁玉成,陈金燕.社会资本研究中的双向因果问题探索[J].社会发展研究,2019,6(03):1-21+242.

报告大纲

- 一、健康科学的历史:社会学的定位与贡献
- 二、健康不平等及其影响因素的讨论
 - (一) 侧重群体的健康不平等: 社会经济地位因素与种族因素
 - (二)侧重个体的健康不平等:生命历程理论、健康生活方式理论、 社会分层理论、社会网络理论
- 三、健康不平等议题的计量研究方法
 - (一) 健康指标
 - (二) 回归分析模型及其改进、内生性问题
- 四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

(一) 健康不平等的研究对象: 细分与扩大

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四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

(二) 健康不平等的影响因素: 环境、基因与社会结构的多重互动

Landecker H, Panofsky A. From social structure to gene regulation, and back: A critical introduction to environmental epigenetics for sociology[J]. Annual Review of Sociology, 2013, 39: 333-357.

A recent study of popular opinion of epigenetics found that knowledge of the topic was so limited in the lay public that the investigators first had to teach focus groups what epigenetics was, and then ask them what they thought of it (FrameWorks Institute 2010). Compared with the public understanding of genetics, epigenetics remains a drop in the bucket. How- ever, the first popular books on epigenetics have just been published—including one that argues for epigenetics as further evidence of intelligent design—and we are no doubt just in front of a broader public consideration of these issues (Carey 2012, Francis 2011, Woodward & Gills 2012). In societies in which health is increasingly a dominant cultural value, the knowledge produced in the life and social sciences provides resources for individuals to mitigate the risks of industrial society for themselves and those they care for: to act responsibly as stewards of their own genetic and now, perhaps, epigenetic heritage (Shostak & Freese 2010). Epigenetics only heightens this sense of the potential power of scientific narratives to reshape biologies in their attempt to describe them. Social scientists with expertise in the public and patient uptake of such narratives of responsibility, disease, and health are well positioned to track epigenetics as a public and policy phenomenon. For all these reasons, epigenetics should be a focus of empirical and critical attention in sociology.

曾毅,顾大男,Jama Purser,Helen Hoenig,Nicholas Christakis.社会、经济与环境因素对老年健康和死亡的影响——基于中国22省份的抽样调查[J].中国卫生政策研究,2014,7(06):53-62. 曾毅,程令国,阮荣平,陈华帅,李建新,张风雨,陶伟,顾军,田小利.环境与遗传因素交互作用对老龄健康的影响——相关前期研究综述[J].医学与哲学(A),2014,35(09):1-6+25.

四、健康不平等研究的问题与展望

(三) 健康不平等的研究方法: 跨学科的协调合作

Q: 跨学科会消解社会学自身的合法性么?

目前社会学界出现的新趋势是"大数据社会科学"或"计算社会科学",这是 社会学融入科学共同体的积极表现,基于社会网络分析的复杂网络技术,提供了 社会学与物理学、计算机科学联姻的可能;但同时,诚如科恩在《自然科学与社 会科学的互动》中谈及的,"20世纪初,物理科学和生物科学服务于两个截然不 同的目的:一是要证明方法论的有效性,二是要保证结果。在这方面,新经济学 的许多创立者都选择模仿物理学,而社会学的一个重要学派则更偏爱生物科学。" (科恩, 2016:3) 应当说, 社会学在其建立之初的社会有机体论, 便有着浓厚的生 物学色彩, 而基因与环境互动的健康社会学, 也为社会学家同生物学家的合作提 供了潜在可能。目前中国大陆的社会学家与物理学家已开展一定合作,但同生物 学家、医学家的交流仍然较少。同时,虽然近年来基于数理统计的方法出现了巨 大变革, 但一些根本问题仍是模糊的, 这方面定性研究方法事实上提供了有效补 充,(吴肃然, 2014; 吴肃然等, 2018) 以组态比较方法(CCM, configurational comparative methods)中的定性比较分析(QCA, qualitative comparative analysis) 与一致分析(CNA, coincidence analysis)、过程追踪法等为代表的基于因果推论的 新定性研究方法,是否可以为当前的健康不平等研究提供新的角度,也是值得探 索的。

当我们回到科学的诞生之初,在科学史的视野下,学者所应该关注的应是问题,因此,未来的健康社会学家应开展更多的、更深层的跨学科合作。诚如米尔斯(Mills)讲道的:"没有任何社会科学专业会在任何重大思想意义上是一个自我封闭的世界。他会逐渐认识到,事实上,他在做的是社会科学,而不是任何一门具体的社会科学。"(米尔斯,2017:197) 跨学科的对话,自始至终蕴含在健康研究的血脉中,本文的笔者期待跨学科的对话能够得到进一步地发展,也正是在跨学科的理论碰撞中,思维的魅力得以浮现。

社会学视域下的健康不平等: 理论发展与经验研究

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