

个体化的理论批评与发展

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- 理论的批评二：阿特金森（Atkinson）国族框架死了么？
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- 理论的发展：阎云翔（Yan）中国社会与欧洲社会的个体化路径一样么？

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学界对个体化理论的批评

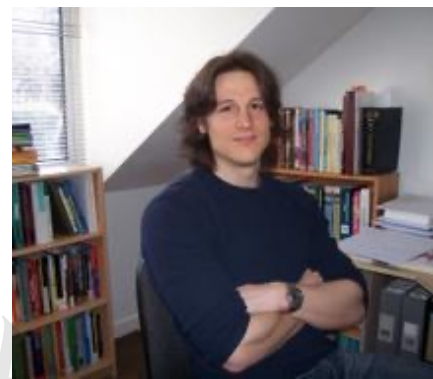
Dawson M. Reviewing the critique of individualization: The disembodied and embedded theses[J]. Acta Sociologica, 2012, 55(4):305-319.



Dawson M



Goldthorpe



Atkinson



Michelle Brady

(1) 基于定量研究的，认为个体化理论缺乏独创性的现代主义者（Modernist）
E.g. Goldthorpe, et al.

(2) 基于定性研究的，关注个体化的集体属性及个体化带来的不平等现象的互动论学者（Interactionist）
E.g. Atkinson (Bourdieu, Mead, et al.)

(3) 基于实践研究的，关注个体化政治（新自由）属性，尤其是社会福利方面的对话型学者（Discourse）
E.g. Michelle Brady, et al.

理论的批评：阶级框架与国族框架真的死了么？

- Atkinson W. Beck, individualization and the death of class: a critique.[J]. British Journal of Sociology, 2007, 58(3):349–366.
- Beck U. Beyond Class and Nation: Reframing Social Inequalities in a Globalizing World[J]. British Journal of Sociology, 2007, 58(4):679-705.
- Atkinson W. Beyond false oppositions: a reply to Beck 1[J]. British Journal of Sociology, 2007, 58(4):707–715.

理论的批评一：为自己而活——阶级框架死了么？

1、个体化与阶级的关系？

（1）个体化的含义：脱还是不脱？

“We are told in some places that the crux of individualization consists of **disembedding followed by re-embedding** (Beck 1992: 128; Beck 1997: 95; Beck 1998: 33; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 203), in the way described above, but in others that individualization actually consists of **disembedding without re-embedding** (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: xxii; Beck and Willms 2004: 63). ” (Atkinson, 2007)

“I suggest we should think of this as the distinction between **‘disembedded’ and ‘embedded’ individualization**, and think of each as separate, rather than mutually occurring, categories. ” (Dawson, 2012)

（2）阶级的含义：是否过于被动了？

“As Marshall et al. (1988) demonstrate, the type of homogeneous and solidary **‘proletarian culture’** (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 42) posited by Beck has never really existed except as **a construct of ‘dualistic historical thinking’** wishing to set up a **straw man**, for the working class has always, to some degree, been perforated by sectionalism, instrumentalism and privatism (see also Savage 2000: 105). ” (Atkinson, 2007)

理论的批评一：为自己而活——阶级框架死了么？

1、个体化与阶级的关系？

(3) 个体化与阶级概念：阶级在多大程度上失效了？

“This is especially apparent in his discussion of the altered logic of distribution, in which he explicitly concedes that **some risks will still be distributed along class lines and strengthen class society** (Beck 1992: 35): even in the risk society, he maintains, ‘the rule continues to hold that wealth rises to the top while risks sink to the bottom’ (Beck 1995: 137).”

“He has also conceded that ‘**no major change in the relations of inequality** between major groups in our society’ has taken place (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 205). ” (Atkinson, 2007)

理论的批评一：为自己而活——阶级框架死了么？

2、阶级分析的基本单位：家庭还在讨论么？

“His repeated assertions that class analysis is flawed because it rests on the fellow zombie categories of **household and nation-state** are highly problematic. The notion that class analysis depends on the existence of conjugal households recalls the dated and rather protracted debates that took place between **John Goldthorpe and others** generally sympathetic to his approach over the correct unit of analysis (Goldthorpe 1983, 1984; Heath and Britten 1984; Stanworth 1984; Marshall et al. 1988; Dex 1991; McRae 1991) ”

“In **Wright**’s (1979) early investigation into income determination, for example, it is individuals who fill the ‘empty spaces’ of class positions, regardless of their gender, and thus it is they who constitute the unit of analysis rather than households. Similarly, in **Bourdieu**’s (1984) construction of class as individuals clustered in regions of a social space of relations dependant upon their possession of economic and cultural capital, both men and women find themselves plotted as capital-holding subjects. ” （Atkinson, 2007）

理论的批评一：为自己而活——阶级框架死了么？

3、个体化的推动力问题：阶级的消逝，还是阶级的再造？

(1) 教育

“The postwar expansion of the education system was, for Beck, ‘one of the biggest revolutions that happened in the 1960s and the 1970s’ (Beck and Willms 2004: 72), and so it is no surprise that he grants education pride of place as a central ‘motor’ of individualization equipping individuals with universal forms of knowledge and self-reflective capacities. ”

“But what is likely to influence whether an individual decides to stay on at school or proceeds to university, the content or quality of the education they receive and, on top of that, their ability or inclination to absorb it? Beck remains silent.....with the result, perhaps, that it is they who are disproportionately more likely to leave education with the ‘universal’ and self-reflecting knowledge that allows them to be reflexive in their labour market trajectories. ” (Atkinson, 2007)

(2) 消费

“The issue, however, is over the new ethic of self-fulfilment, and once again Beck appears to trip himself up with a fatal concession: ‘this development does not include all population groups equally by any means’, he writes, but is instead a product ‘of better education and higher income’ – the poorer and ‘less well-educated’ ‘clearly continue to be tied to the value system of the 1950s and its status symbols’ (Beck 1998: 47). ”

理论的批评二：自我的政治——国族框架死了么？

阶级分析的基本视角：国家真的落伍么？

“First of all, it must be asked: **how many people can be said to actually live in such a way**As Bauman (2002: 83) has pointed out, citing the research of others, 98 per cent of the world's population never move to another place to settle, whilst even in Britain 50 per cent of people still live within five miles of where they were born. ”

“Why, exactly, **must class be abandoned** simply because some people live in more than one national class system and may occupy contrasting positions in each..... for example, how the disjunction caused by going from **well-respected and economically secure in one system to the bottom of the hierarchy in another** is experienced and maps into individual practice. ”

(Atkinson, 2007)

理论的批评三：贝克与阿特金森的笔战

贝克的回应：阶级的再结构化

“Individualization implies no (final) state, but a process, more precisely: a process of the transformation of the grammar of social inequalities. This throws up two questions: on the one hand that of the de-structuring of social classes, and on the other, that of re-structuring. In other words, the question as to the de-structuring of social classes (through welfare state individualization, ‘out-sourcing’ and ‘in-sourcing’ of risks, through ‘internal globalization’ and ethnic pluralization of social classes etc. – see Section II below) has to be supplemented by the questions ‘What post-class, “cosmopolitan” manifestations of radicalized social inequalities are emerging and how can they be analysed sociologically and empirically?’ My response to the re-structuring question is ‘methodological cosmopolitanism’ ” (Beck, 2007)

理论的融合：传统阶级框架与贝克风险框架冲突么？

- Curran D. Risk society and the distribution of bads: theorizing class in the risk society[J]. British Journal of Sociology, 2013, 64(1):44–62.

“His theory of risk society may be used to develop a critical theory of class. Such a theory can be used to reveal how wealth differentials associated with class relations actually increase in importance to individuals’ life-chances in the risk society. With the growing production and **distribution of bads**, class inequalities gain added significance, since it will be relative wealth differentials that both enables the advantaged to minimize their risk exposure and imposes on others the necessity of facing the intensified risks of the risk society. ”

- Beck U. Why 'class' is too soft a category to capture the explosiveness of social inequality at the beginning of the twenty-first century[J]. British Journal of Sociology, 2013, 64(1):63–74.

“Curran concentrates exclusively on phenomena of individual risks. In the process, he overlooks **the problem of systemic risks** in relation of the state, science, new corporate roles, management the mass media, law, mobile capital and social movements; at the same time, his conceptual frame of reference does not really thematize the interdependence between individual and systemic risks. ”

理论的发展：中国社会与欧洲社会的个体化路径一样么？

- 阎云翔. 中国社会的个体化[M]. 上海译文出版社, 2012.

(1) 1949 至 1979：个体从传统祖荫中脱嵌，再嵌入党与国家体制。这一阶段实际上是国家推动的集体式个体化进程；

(2) 1979 至今：个体从党与国家体制脱嵌，再嵌入市场体制。这一阶段的社会结构的个体化，从农村的包产到户到城市的企业自主管理，实际是市场与国家一并推动了中国社会的个体化进程。（阎云翔，2012）

- Yan Y. The Chinese Path to Individualization[J]. British Journal of Sociology, 2010, 61(3):489-512.

“在由国家掌控的个体化中，个人依旧是实现现代化的手段。这与关于个人的传统定义相吻合，即个人总是服从于更大的集体，不论哪个集体是家庭、祖先还是民族国家。其结果是，中国个体化的核心是个体与国家之间关系的变迁，而不是西欧那样个人与社会关系的范畴转型。（阎云翔，2010）”

- 贝克. 个体化[M]. 北京大学出版社, 2011： 3-11.

欧洲现代性；美国现代性；中国现代性；伊斯兰现代性

理论的发展：科学社会学的思考路径

小威廉·H.休厄尔. 历史的逻辑:社会理论与社会转型[M]. 上海人民出版社, 2012.

“对于学术圈外的人来说，学术似乎是一个孤独的职业，但圈中人则了解，研究是极具社交性的。我们的理念，源自由疑惑、问题和偏见交织而成的社会性网络，是知识社群的填充料，**并在无尽的探讨和论辩中升华。**” (休厄尔, 2012)