

容忍態度的結構肇因： 都市背景、遷移經驗、異質聯繫*

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本文由結構觀點探討個人接觸環境和容忍心態之間的關聯。探討面向包括容忍態度的三項結構肇因：都市生活背景、遷移經驗或地位、異質的人際聯繫。這三項肇因彰顯了現代社會的異質性特徵，在都市社會學文獻中有其重要的理論意涵。1. 都市生活背景讓居民暴露在不同生活型態的人羣之中，較可能培育出寬宏的觀點，因而能夠容忍跟自己看法作風不同的人 and 事。2. 遷移經驗使得當事人離開向來熟悉的社會文化環境，暴露在另一個陌生的城鄉環境裡，接受文化衝擊，而提高對偏差者之容忍態度。3. 個人網絡中的成員如果背景差異大，則當事人較可能習慣從不同立場來衡量事物。這種能力或觀點，通常是培育有容忍態度的基礎。

本文以「臺灣地區社會意向調查」資料實際檢驗這三項假設。依變項「容忍態度」指受訪者是否贊成政治歧異份子和性關係偏差份子享有基本的公民權，包括公開演講、在大學教書、寫書出版。主要統計方法採用多元邏輯迴歸分析。分析結果顯示第一項假設和第三項假設得到明顯的支持，第二項假設則未能完全肯定。都市生活環境能孕育直接和正面的容忍態度，而城鄉區別不只是來自現居地的都市化程度差異，生長地的環境更透過早期的社會化過程，對個人產生長久的影響。異質聯繫對容忍態度的效應也明顯的偏向正面，但是支持程度不如都市環境那麼強烈。文中最後檢討容忍概念和測量工具在現階段臺灣社會的適用性，並提出個人特徵對容忍態度的可能效應，作為後續研究的另一重要議題。

一、前言

二、社會異質性與容忍態度

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**Structural Determinants of Tolerance :
Urban Background, Migration Experience,
and Heterophily**

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Abstract

This study explores three structural determinants of tolerance towards deviants : urban experience, migration status, and heterophily (or heterogeneous ties). These three characteristics are often attributed to modern democratic societies, where heterogeneous components are essential and every citizen is entitled to certain civil liberties. First, urban experience exposes residents to various lifestyles, which serve as divergent stimulus and consequently foster tolerant attitudes towards deviants. Second, by migration people move away from their familiar environment, thus having more contact with strangers. Such a circumstance is likely to lead to culture shock and to provide migrants with more heterogeneous perspectives. Third, heterophily in personal ties implies direct contact with various subcultures, which may help evaluating issues by taking other's viewpoints into account. This tendency also fosters more tolerant attitudes toward deviants.

This paper intends to examine these hypotheses with data collected in February 1993 in "The Taiwan General Survey of Social Attitudes".

The dependent variable, tolerance, is measured by whether the respondent agrees to grant civil liberties to political and sexual deviants. The respondents first choose a political deviant group and a sexual deviant group they dislike the most. Then, using that group as a target, they are asked whether they approve the deviants to make public speech, to teach in a college, or to publish a book. Since the answers are categorized into "yes", "no", and "don't know", these items are analyzed with multinomial logistic regression. The findings support both the first and the third hypotheses, but not the second. It is shown that urban experience directly affects tolerance through current residence. In addition, the urban effect indicated by the growing-up experience may operate through the socialization in the early childhood. Heterophily also reveals significant influence on tolerance, though this network effect remains moderate compared to the urban background. However, migration status fails to render significant effects on tolerance, which casts serious doubt about the culture shock thesis among rural-urban migrants. Finally, the paper raises questions concerning conceptual and measurement issues of tolerance, particularly in a cultural context that differs markedly from Western industrialized nations.