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「環境態度」研究書目評介

蕭新煌*

ENVIRONMENTAL ATTITUDES: A RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

HSIN-HUANG MICHAEL HSIAO*

摘 要

鑑於環境社會學的教學與研究在國內尚屬起步，有關的研究文獻相當缺乏，本文乃作者於教授「環境社會學專題討論」時收集有關「環境態度」之研究書目，加以整理編彙而成，並於文首對書目的內容加以簡單的評介，尤其着重在有關研究環境態度時之方法及測量方面的問題。本書目當可供國內在從事有關環境研究或環境規劃及設計工作時之參考。

ABSTRACT

Due to the fact that the teaching and research of environmental sociology is at its beginning phase in Taiwan, the compilation of related research literature is certainly in need. Selecting "environmental attitudes" as a subject matter, the current research bibliography is made possible by the expansion of Dunlap's and Van Liere's compiled work. With an introduction stressing on research methodological issues, this current bibliography can serve as reference for research on environmental problems and practices of environmental planning and design.

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一、前言

有關環境問題的社會學研究在國內仍是一項剛起步的領域，原因是即使是這方面的自然和生物科學研究也還是這幾年的事。連科學界都還沒有對環境問題有比較系統的科學性了解之前，社會及民衆當然就難以有資訊的來源，既沒有充份資訊，民衆對環境問題的認識及關切，也就無從滋生和擴大。幸好，這近幾年來，在主管機構的調查及民間大學的學術單位的研究報告當中，社會陸續總算有機會獲得比較真實和系統的台灣環境污染實況。可是，這種科學性資訊的傳播管道仍然是非常有限，尤其是一般民衆接觸這類研究調查的機會更是少之又少。在這當兒，新聞及其他傳播媒介就扮演了相當重要的角色。在近十年來，許許多多報紙的地方版上，曾不斷的報導當地發生的污染事件及糾紛。換言之，這十年當中，如果說社會及民衆對台灣各地的環境污染問題有所了解的話，其來源並不是來自國內的科學界的呼籲，或是主管機構的宣導，更或是環境組織的運動。而是從自己親身受害的經驗中得出，或者是從人與人之間口頭的傳播，或者是從地方報紙獲得。也因此，台灣地區的民衆對環境問題的關切及認識在這幾年當中也有了長進。這可從最近數次的民意調查的結果看出一些線索。

在這種背景之下，社會學家對所謂環境態度的研究就必須賦予相當的注意，至少現在應該是開始的時候。筆者由於在台灣大學社會學研究所和土木研究所講授「環境社會學專題討論」，在課程中對這問題也有相當的討論，並收集了不少這方面在國外所做過的研究書目，做為進行這方面研究的參考。有鑑於國內環境問題日益嚴重，社會民衆有必要培養自己對環境生態問題的高度敏感性和認識，以形成一股社會的智識壓力，或是保衛自己的環境及生存權利，或是起向組織環境組織以施予壓力，要求政府正視環境問題，並採取更有力更有效的措施，以進行防治工作。筆者願將收集到的研究書目分類整理出來，供國內社會科學界及有關機構參考。唯有透過研究，對國內環境態度做較進一步詳細的實證研究，才可能談及如何提昇社會對環境問題的認識水準，也才可能藉此以期望一旦有了環境保護政策後，會有社會參與的投入。同時，對民衆環境態度的了解，也將有助於今後環境規劃與設計上的公共參與部份。

在本文中所收集到的文獻書目大多數是有關美國社會學在環境態度上的研究。主要的資料來源是Riley Dunlap和Kent Van Liere所編的Environmental Concern: A

Bibliography of Empirical Studies and Brief Appraisal of the Literature (1978)，由Vance Bibliographies出版，以及筆者在授課和研究中接觸到的文獻。

Dunlap和Van Liere是目前在美國的社會界相當出色的環境社會學家，在前述他們所編的書目中，也為過去十年來美國在環境態度的研究做了很好的回顧和檢討，很可做為今後國內從事這方面研究時的參考和借鏡。

以下就是有關環境態度研究的一些重要評述。

二、環境態度研究的回顧

當一個新的社會問題產生而被社會所注意到的時候，社會學家總會先去研究到底一般大眾怎麼看這個問題。因此，過去對環境態度上的研究內容，不外是描述和調查民衆對環境問題關心的程度，同時，也企圖了解不同社會背景和歸屬的民衆其關心的差異，乃對環境品質的關切及態度的社會基礎也提供了初步的證據。過去幾年美國的民衆對環境的關切有了若干轉變，這方面的研究依然有增無減。從許許多多的研究結果看來，如果我們要想有了舒適安全的環境，社會上現有的環境態度和行為都必須要再做大幅度的改變才行。

大致說來，近年來對環境態度的研究，在理論上和方法論上愈來愈複雜，也愈成熟。譬如說，現在就要比1970年代時，愈能預測那一類的人對環境品質有較強的關切。可是，還並不是完全能夠做到充分了解的地步。這原因之一就是缺乏研究知識及資料的累積，而許多研究者也不管到底過去已經做了那些這方面的研究。結果是，不同研究中對環境關切的測度往往出入很大，根本無法做比較。同時，許多研究並不太注意在過去的研究中有那些變項是跟環境態度有相關的，這樣子也就很難有信心說是什麼因素決定了民衆的環境態度和關切。

在環境關切上面的研究，環境態度的研究要比對與環境有關的行為研究多得多，原因是態度研究比行為研究容易。在態度研究上，做的比較多也是在探討個人（如人格、社會心理變項）和群體（如階層、人口特徵、政治意識型態）因素對其之影響。

許多研究都有證據支持如下所述之以經驗歸納所得的結論：環境態度的最佳預測因子為：年齡、教育和政治的意識型態；年輕，受良好教育並具有喜好自由之意識型態的人較其他人對環境有較強之關切。幾乎所有的研究都發現這些因素對環境態度都有顯著的相關。其關聯性一般而言，都還相當中度，很少有特別的高度。其他被發現之環境態度的變數有的一致性較小，或重要性較低，包括有：

居住地、種族、收入及參與的政黨（居住在都市、白種人、高收入、民主黨員在環境態度中排列之等級較高）。然而我們對於這些變項對環境態度所造成的影響到底是如何知道的卻很有限，主要是因為很少有研究針對這些變數做多變項分析，評估各個因素對環境態度的相對影響。因此，一旦考慮到教育程度的時候，我們就不知道種族或收入對環境態度的影響是否還顯著。缺乏做多變項分析的原因之一，是許多研究只用單一項目來測度環境態度，且對這些指標的應用常常用於統計上的表格分析，這3種方式就很難再用於多變項分析的處理。當許多研究者開始用「多項目量表」（通常用來處理等距資料且適於更有力的統計分析）來測量環境態度，我們才可以期待看見更多使用複雜的多變項分析。

對於人口統計學的變項對環境態度的影響，我們知道已非常少，對社會心理學及性格變項對環境態度的影響（除了政治意識型態之外），我們了解得更少。這表示了比較起人口統計學的變項，很少有研究是測驗後者的這些變項（譬如個人的控制、價值和道德規範）。因此，即使有一大堆研究（有的是用來檢驗已建立的理論）也曾企圖測量環境態度與社會心理學變項之間的關係，除非再有其他研究證實，否則我們很不願意太重視他們這種以經驗歸納出的結果。此外，我們對這類研究不能太重視的原因，還是由於許多這類研究在樣本的選擇上有很大的限制，這不只限制了它們推演的可行性，同時，研究者也不能同時將一些早知有關的人口學變項的影響列入考慮。

總之，我們認為現有的文獻仍然無法使我們完全了解影響環境態度的諸多因素。除非今後再有大量有用的研究出現，這情況會一直存在。我們也相信經由下列幾個步驟，這種情況將會大大的改善。

第一：多善用現有對環境態度的了解，以及社會科學理論，則將可以少產生“描述性”的研究，而多些“解釋性”的研究。

第二：使用更好、更標準的測量工具，不僅可以改善研究的品質，並可幫助建立一些累積的知識體系。

第三：採用足夠的樣本，將可提供所謂“一般大眾”對環境態度較有力的結論，也使研究者能整體的去測量重要人口統計學變項的影響。

最後，如果將心理學、社會心理學、社會學做較整體的配合，對於建立一個「環境態度」的影響因素模型，會有很大的幫助。

因此，我們相信一旦研究者開始將心理學的變項，如個人價值；社會心理學的變項，如認知中的參考團體的支

持；及社會學的變項，如階級、年齡、教育等一齊考慮進來，他們將在解釋環境態度上做得更好些。

三、本書目的分類及簡介

為了使這個參考書目具有更大的實用價值，筆者也按照Dunlay和Van Lieré的做法，將書目劃分成十四單元。

第一單元是「文獻回顧與概念和方法的討論」，所列的書目主要是在對過去的相關研究做回顧式的批評和討論，本身則並不從事原始資料的收集，所集中的討論是在對過去相關研究中的概念、理論和方法的檢討。

第二單元分為一般性環境態度的研究，是參考目錄中最多的一部份。主要是因為這一部份包括了其他實徵性研究中較特殊但無法予以清晰歸類的類別。基本上，這部份包括對一般性環境品質的研究，而不是以某些特殊層面，例如空氣品質、人口過剩、野生生物等來對環境品質作研究。然而，早期對於環境態度的研究，大部份都包括在這部份裡頭，而且他們一般說來都比最近幾年所作的研究較少使用到態度量表，或者設計一套環境論主義者的行為指標，此兩者為下面三單元的基礎。

第三單元列了數量驚人有關測度環境態度的「多項目」量表，且這些研究大多數在最近幾年內才出版的。這些測量工具的快速成長，相當受到研究者的歡迎，由於早期對環境信念的研究，很多是依賴單項目指標，這些指標一般而言比起多項目指標則缺乏信度與效度。在這個單元所列的許多量表，大都具備有相當高的效度和信度，我建議研究者在今後想建構類似的量表之前先參考這方面的書目。

在第三單元所列出來的研究書目有幾點特徵：

第一，必須是作者將所用的測量工具做非常清楚的交待，譬如說將所有的量表項目都列出來，或者說可以得到這些資料。

第二，如果作者用同樣的環境態度量表寫出不同的文章，在這單元所挑出來的必須是對量表的設計描述得最完全的那一篇。

第三，所指明的量表必須是測度對比較一般性的環境品質的態度，或者是幾種特定的環境態度，如空氣污染、水污染、人口問題。如果光是測度對某個單一環境品質的態度，那就會歸類到下面的單元裡去。

在接下來的三個單元都是討論方法論的問題。

第四單元特別注意到對環境品質態度的行為層面的測度及其問題，而不只是企圖建構純粹態度的指標。行為指標的建立和測度是非常重要的，因為往往很支持的環境態

度並不見得就會導致實際的行為來保護環境品質。在這單元中就有一些文章在探討這個問題。對行為的研究也總比對態度的研究要困難得多。

第五部分則反映出部份研究者對傳統的態度研究的不滿，因為在這部份的研究參攷書目中包括了運用各種不同技術來測度環境態度。除了詢問受訪者對環境品質的看法如何之外，一些研究也趨向於訪問受訪者對於為使環境品質達到某一特定水準，而且願付出的意願如何，或者是盡力說服受訪者在「環境品質」與其它「可欲之事」之間作一抉擇。這些對付出代價的意願……等的測量很有趣，而且容易引起共鳴，然而這種測度方式顯得並不如傳統性態度測量那樣，是立基在已建立的行為科學理論上。同時，它們的概念和方法亦顯得有些模糊。可是由這種測量所得的結果仍顯得比由傳統態度測量方式所得結果來得更“客觀”及具有更大的解釋能力（特別是對那些決策者）；而且在未來的研究工作中也很有希望來確立這種測量方式為一有效且可靠的測量工具的地位。

第六單元則包括了一些以另一種方法學特性來分類的研究，事實上這是一種縱貫式（longitudinal studies）的對環境的研究。儘管絕大部份的研究都用的是趨勢（trend）而非小樣本連續研究法（並且也不長期追隨著其特定的研究對象），但是這種研究注意到時間因素則是相當的有一致性。雖然有例外，但有效的證據顯示，大眾對環境品質的態度在60年戲劇性的升高，並使得“環境”在1970年代為美國國內最重要的話題之一。在接下來的兩、三年之中，環境信念卻有顯著的衰微現象（這也是一種新“社會問題”形成過程中典型的模式）。環境態度在過去的幾年之中順利的維持下來，在能源短缺及經濟不景氣的情況之下，相對的顯得十分茁壯（實際上，現有的資料也顯示，經濟不景氣和能源短缺並沒有顯著的影響到大眾對環境品質的支持）。

從第七單元到第十二單元所要建構以下參攷書目六個類別的基礎，應該是顯而易見的，因為它們每一單元都討論到環境品質中每一個主要方面的態度：空氣、水源、及噪音污染、人口過多、土地使用及野生生物。這些部分所佔的篇幅不一，這顯示出社會學家們對各個問題的注重力不同。對於空氣污染的態度研究一直是最普遍的（在1970年之前即有許多此類研究），這也就相對的反映出這個問題的顯著性。與環境品質其他方面所受到的注意程度比較起來，對人口問題的態度也受到顯著的注意。儘管如此，現有的研究應對有興趣研究這些問題的研究者提供有價值的資料。

對第十三單元，我們需略作說明。在這單元當中我們彙集了民衆對科學與／我科技的態度研究，及對那些常被視作會影響環境品質的特殊科技所作的研究，我們特別還包括了對爭論不休、有關使用殺蟲劑及改變氣候的技術的態度研究。

參攷書目的最後一個單元則討論到對能源問題的態度。自從1973年的“能源危機”以來，能源已經變成極熱門的研究主題，同時有關“能源態度”的著述也迅速的增加。但由於現存有相當數量有關此一主題的參攷目錄，所以我們認為在這裡只舉例這些書目而不贅述詳細個別的研究文獻，可能是更為恰當的。因此，第十四單元僅僅只列出有關研究能源問題態度有價值的目錄。

對於環境運動的社會學研究，也是一項非常值得國內注意和推動的研究領域，可供參攷的書目，目前有下列這兩份，有興趣的讀者可從此處著手。

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