

社会学经典教材影印丛书

经典 社会学读本

第3版

[美] E.L.奥瓦尔 (Eve L.Howard) 编

CLASSIC READINGS
IN SOCIOLOGY 3th edition



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经典社会学读本

3th edition

CLASSIC
READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY

《经典社会学读本》的选文少而精：总共只选入十五篇文章，但入选的篇篇是经典。用编者的话说就是，“这些文章被挑选出来以代表那些已经成为或将要成为这个领域中的经典的社会学思想”。这些文章合在一起，将使获得关于这个学科性质的鲜明的感性认识，使他们在原创性的思想和分析中得到洗礼，迈开从常识思维到社会学思维的第一步。

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出版说明

我们引进这套丛书的目的是介绍当前国外社会学理论和方法,使我国的读者能够直接阅读到西方学者撰写的社会学教材。

需要重申的是,作者本人的观点和结论有些值得商榷,甚至是不可取的,对此我们提请读者加以甄别,书中的观点均不代表我们出版社。

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2004年4月16日

导 读

冯 钢

自从重建社会学以来,已经有不少外国社会学教材被翻译、介绍给国内的社会学教学者和学习者,我们自己也编写了很多教材,从社会学概论、社会学理论到各分支社会学。这些教材已经形成一定的规模和体系,如今,初学者学习社会学,就不像二十年前我们初学时那样感到教材的匮乏和缺少选择了。

与社会学入门教程的情况一样,在美国,与教程配套的读物也很多。《社会学基础读本》和《经典社会学读本》是其中优秀之作。另外,《社会学基础读本》已是第九版。在学术繁荣、市场规范且竞争激烈的美国,一本教材性质的读物出到第九版,其水平可想而知。不过,为了表明不迷信市场的态度,我们还是有必要自己甄别一下。

首先,选文的编排结构与通用的社会学概论类教材的内容结构比较吻合。全书所选文章可大致分成三大部分:关于社会学学科的导论(Part I);理解社会和进行社会研究的几个关键主题(Part II);分支社会学(Part III)。除了第一部分只由一章组成之外,其余各部分都是由四到五章组成。如果只看篇章结构不看具体内容,这就是一本社会学概论教材嘛!

其次,在每一章中所选的各篇文章之间,编者也寻求有意义的结构。这更加体现编者所下功夫之深。以第二章为例。第二章的主题是社会化,选文有五篇。第一篇的立意是社会化的基本理论问题,即社会化基于社会互动;第二、三两篇分别描述了社会化的新途径——大众传媒和广告对社会化进程的显著影响;最后两篇涉及性别社会化以及“少儿规则”的僵化无情及其不良后果。很明显,整个五篇文章构成紧密的逻辑联系。

最后,在保证选文内容结构的严谨的基础上,这本书还十分注意选文在时间结构上的合理性。一方面选入和保留了如米尔斯(C. W. Mills)、伯格(P. Berger)甚至涂尔干(E. Durkheim)等人的经典名篇;另一方面又注重及时更新所选文章,据编者介绍,这个第九版就置换了第八版中三分之一的文章,广泛地涵盖了时下比较热门的话题,如家庭暴力、信用卡问题等。

还应指出的是,编者的文字也是富于教益的。每篇选文的前面有阅读提示和思考问题;每一章都有一个的导言;每部分前面还有该部分的导言——最后,全书的最前面附有一篇“致学生”和长长的“导言:为什么学社会学”。编者的这些文字形成层层引导,既帮助学生理解每一篇选文的意义,又有助于他们形成关于社会学的整体理解。

与《社会学基础读本》中选文的系统性和新颖性相比,《经典社会学读本》的选文少而精:总共只选入十五篇文章,但入选的篇篇是经典,用编者的话说就是,“这些文章被挑选出来以代表那些已经成为或将要成为这个领域中的经典的社会学思想”。这些文章合在一起,将使 学生获得关于这个学科性质的鲜明的感性认识,使他们在原创性的思想和分析中得到洗礼,迈开从常识思维到社会学思维的第一步。

以书中 H. Gans 的那篇著名的“The Use of Poverty: The Poor Pay All”为例。一般而言,通过社会学理论教学,会让 学生们了解到功能主义视角如何为我们理解社会提供某些洞见,以及,功能主义往往倾向于肯定和维护既定的社会秩序,因而具有很浓的保守色彩。但是,通过功能分析所能获得的洞见到底在多大程度上超越了常识看法?功能分析一定具有保守色彩吗?对这两个问题,仅仅阅读社会学理论教科书是不能获得印象鲜明的答案的,但阅读 Gans 这篇经典文章却能达到这个目标。

在文章中,Gans 一口气从经济、社会和政治三大方面,列举了大量存在的“穷人”会给社会其他群体、特别是富裕群体带来的十三种功能,其中,他眼中的不少“功能”在常识思维看来匪夷所思,以至于很多人觉得这不仅不是在光大功能分析,根本就是在嘲弄(tongue-in-cheek satire)和攻击功能分析。可静下心来想一想,这些分析没有一句是胡说,你就会问自己:“我怎么就没想到呢?”然后,不能不佩服功能分析的洞察力。

然而,Gans 并未到此为止,他指出,由于现代社会的异质性特征,极少有社会现象对整个社会而言具有一般意义的正功能或者反功能,正功能或反功能应该是针对特定社会群体而言的。许多对穷人而言的正功能在富人那里则意味着反功能。人们不能不问,为什么存在于这个社会之上的都是那些对穷人有反功能而对富人有正功能的现象而不是相反呢?这个问题一提出,功能分析的保守宿命就打破了。学生们对功能主义或者说功能分析就会有新的认识。

好书就应该是这样的,不断打破你既有的认识,激发你进行新的思考。

总之,对于社会学教育来说,这是一本非常及时的书。

不过,这书再好也都是别人的东西,虽然我们能够拿别人的好东西来培养自己的学生。希望有一天,我们能够拿出一本自己的社会学入门读物,其中的大部分文章是从中文文献中辑录的。到那时,中国社会学就屹立于世界学术之林了。这是同学们应该有的抱负,也是我们影印这些读物的最终目的。

2004 年 5 月于杭州求是村



Preface

Classic Readings in Sociology has been carefully designed to include selections that teachers of introductory sociology and theory courses most often want their students to read. The articles were selected to represent past and present sociological thought that has endured and will endure to become classic in the field. The low price of this collection makes it an ideal accompaniment to a standard textbook—or, for instructors who don't use a text, this reader (perhaps used with a selection of other books) gives students a strong introduction to the foundation of the field.

The articles were chosen after reviewing the results of an extensive survey of instructors' input of timeless selections they use in their teaching of Sociology. Included are excerpts from timeless, well-known works such as C. Wright Mills's "The Promise of Sociology" and Peter Berger's "Invitation to Sociology," as well as selections from highly regarded contemporary writings such as Jonathan Kozol's "Savage Inequalities." These works help students develop a sense of the nature of the discipline and its history, exposing them to original thinking and analysis.

The collection includes readings that can accompany each part of an introductory course. For instance, Peter Berger's "Invitation to Sociology" provides a perfect way to introduce the nature of sociology to students. "The Self" by George Herbert Mead, can easily supplement a discussion of socialization; an excerpt from Mills's "The Power Elite" can augment work on the political world. The articles can promote stimulating classroom discussions and form the

basis for engaging writing assignments. Most important, the articles provide the tools to help students understand how sociologists think, and they lay the foundation for future reading and learning

Classic Readings in Sociology includes several additional helpful elements. A full glossary of sociological terms will especially benefit instructors who choose to use this collection without an accompanying textbook. Web site links are provided to help students and instructors access recent data and information. These links can provide another way to prompt classroom discussion, connect the classic articles to more recent writings, and supplement research for a written paper or exercise.

What is new in the third edition? The first and second editions enjoyed resoundingly positive feedback. The selections have been validated as truly seminal works in the field. In reviewing for the third edition we were asked to add discussion questions after each work to enable students and professors to integrate the thought and discussion of the original work into a relevant conceptual framework complementing course goals. You will find three to four questions that ask students to think critically, perform an activity to increase understanding, and perhaps link a thought from one article to the article at hand. The discussion questions build in difficulty and sophistication, applicable to students in an upper-division theory course.

A new article has been added as well, by David L. Rosenhan, "Being Sane in Insane Places." This article focuses on whether we can understand the differences between the label of insane and sane, which has great applicability to the understanding of basic tenets of the concept of Deviance and Socialization.

Enjoy the collection and please email me with ideas for improvement.

Eve L. Howard
Editor in Chief, Social Sciences
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The Promise of Sociology

C WRIGHT MILLS

Nowadays men often feel that their private lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles, and in this feeling, they are often quite correct: What ordinary men are directly aware of and what they try to do are bounded by the private orbits in which they live, their visions and their powers are limited to the close-up scenes of job, family, neighborhood, in other milieux, they move vicariously and remain spectators. And the more aware they become, however vaguely, of ambitions and of threats which transcend their immediate locales, the more trapped they seem to feel.

Underlying this sense of being trapped are seemingly impersonal changes in the very structure of continent-wide societies. The facts of contemporary history are also facts about the success and the failure of individual men and women. When a society is industrialized, a peasant becomes a worker; a feudal lord is liquidated or becomes a businessman. When classes rise or fall, a man is employed or unemployed, when the rate of investment goes up or down, a man takes new heart or goes broke. When wars happen, an insurance salesman becomes a rocket launcher; a

store clerk, a radar man, a wife lives alone; a child grows up without a father. Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both.

Yet men do not usually define the troubles they endure in terms of historical change and institutional contradiction. The well-being they enjoy, they do not usually impute to the big ups and downs of the societies in which they live. Seldom aware of the intricate connection between the patterns of their own lives and the course of world history, ordinary men do not usually know what this connection means for the kinds of men they are becoming and for the kinds of history-making in which they might take part. They do not possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of man and society, or biography and history, of self and world. They cannot cope with their personal troubles in such ways as to control the structural transformations that usually lie behind them.

Surely it is no wonder. In what period have so many men been so totally exposed at so fast a pace to such earthquakes of change? That Americans have not known such catastrophic changes as have the men and women of other societies is due to

historical facts that are now quickly becoming "merely history." The history that now affects every man is world history. Within this scene and this period, in the course of a single generation, one-sixth of mankind is transformed from all that is feudal and backward into all that is modern, advanced, and fearful. Political colonies are freed, new and less visible forms of imperialism installed. Revolutions occur; men feel the intimate grip of new kinds of authority. Totalitarian societies rise, and are smashed to bits—or succeed fabulously. After two centuries of ascendancy, capitalism is shown up as only one way to make society into an industrial apparatus. After two centuries of hope, even formal democracy is restricted to a quite small portion of mankind. Everywhere in the underdeveloped world, ancient ways of life are broken up and vague expectations become urgent demands. Everywhere in the overdeveloped world, the means of authority and of violence become total in scope and bureaucratic in form. Humanity itself now lies before us, the super-nation at either pole concentrating its most coordinated and massive efforts upon the preparation of World War Three.

The very shaping of history now outpaces the ability of men to orient themselves in accordance with cherished values. And which values? Even when they do not panic, men often sense that older ways of feeling and thinking have collapsed and that newer beginnings are ambiguous to the point of moral stasis. Is it any wonder that ordinary men feel they cannot cope with the larger worlds with which they are so suddenly confronted? That they cannot understand the meaning of their epoch for their own lives? That—in defense of selfhood—they become morally insensible, trying to remain altogether private men? Is it any wonder that they come to be possessed by a sense of the trap?

It is not only information that they need—in this Age of Fact, information often dominates their attention and overwhelms their capacities to assimilate it. It is not only the skills of reason that they need—although their struggles to acquire these often exhaust their limited moral energy.

What they need, and what they feel they need, is a quality of mind that will help them to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves. It is this quality, I am going to contend, that journalists and scholars, artists and publics, scientists and editors are coming to expect of what may be called the sociological imagination.

The sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. It enables him to take into account how individuals, in the welter of their daily experience, often become falsely conscious of their social positions. Within that welter, the framework of modern society is sought, and within that framework the psychologies of a variety of men and women are formulated. By such means the personal uneasiness of individuals is focused upon explicit troubles and the indifference of publics is transformed into involvement with public issues.

The first fruit of this imagination—and the first lesson of the social science that embodies it—is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period, that he can know his own chances in life by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances. In many ways it is a terrible lesson; in many ways a magnificent one. We do not know the limits of man's capacities for supreme effort or willing degradation, for agony or glee, for pleasurable brutality or the sweetness of reason. But in our time we have come to know that the limits of "human nature" are frighteningly broad. We have come to know that every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out a biography, and that he lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of his living he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of this society and to the course of its history, even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove.

The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise. To recognize this task and this promise is the mark of the classic social analyst. It is characteristic of Herbert Spencer—turgid, polysyllabic, comprehensive; of E. A. Ross—graceful, muckraking, upright; of August Comte and Emile Durkheim; of the intricate and subtle Karl Mannheim. It is the quality of all that is intellectually excellent in Karl Marx; it is the clue to Thorstein Veblen's brilliant and ironic insight, to Joseph Schumpeter's many-sided constructions of reality; it is the basis of the psychological sweep of W. E. H. Lecky no less than of the profundity and clarity of Max Weber. And it is the signal of what is best in contemporary studies of man and society.

No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history, and of their intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey. Whatever the specific problems of the classic social analysts, however limited or however broad the features of social reality they have examined, those who have been imaginatively aware of the promise of their work have consistently asked three sorts of questions:

(1) What is the structure of this particular society as a whole? What are its essential components, and how are they related to one another? How does it differ from other varieties of social order? Within it, what is the meaning of any particular feature for its continuance and for its change?

(2) Where does this society stand in human history? What are the mechanics by which it is changing? What is its place within and its meaning for the development of humanity as a whole? How does any particular feature we are examining affect, and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves? And this period—what are its essential features? How does it differ from other periods? What are its characteristic ways of history-making?

(3) What varieties of men and women now prevail in this society and in this period? And

what varieties are coming to prevail? In what ways are they selected and formed, liberated and repressed, made sensitive and blunted? What kinds of "human nature" are revealed in the conduct and character we observe in this society in this period? And what is the meaning for "human nature" of each and every feature of the society we are examining?

Whether the point of interest is a great power state or a minor literary mood, a family, a prison, a creed—these are the kinds of questions the best social analysts have asked. They are the intellectual pivots of classic studies of man in society—and they are questions inevitably raised by any mind possessing the sociological imagination. For that imagination is the capacity to shift from one perspective to another—from the political to the psychological; from examination of a single family to comparative assessment of the national budgets of the world; from the theological school to the military establishment; from considerations of an oil industry to studies of contemporary poetry. It is the capacity to range from the most impersonal and remote transformations to the most intimate features of the human self—and to see the relations between the two. Back of its use there is always the urge to know the social and historical meaning of the individual in the society and in the period in which he has his quality and his being.

That, in brief, is why it is by means of the sociological imagination that men now hope to grasp what is going on in the world, and to understand what is happening in themselves as minute points of the intersections of biography and history within society. In large part, contemporary man's self-conscious view of himself as at least an outsider, if not a permanent stranger, rests upon an absorbed realization of social relativity and of the transformative power of history. The sociological imagination is the most fruitful form of this self-consciousness. By its use men whose mentalities have swept only a series of limited orbits often come to feel as if suddenly awakened in a house with which they had only supposed themselves to be familiar.

Correctly or incorrectly, they often come to feel that they can now provide themselves with adequate summations, cohesive assessments, comprehensive orientations. Older decisions that once appeared sound now seem to them products of a mind unaccountably dense. Their capacity for astonishment is made lively again. They acquire a new way of thinking, they experience a transvaluation of values. In a word, by their reflection and by their sensibility, they realize the cultural meaning of the social sciences.

Perhaps the most fruitful distinction with which the sociological imagination works is between "the personal troubles of milieu" and "the public issues of social structure." This distinction is an essential tool of the sociological imagination and a feature of all classic work in social science.

Troubles occur within the character of the individual and within the range of his immediate relations with others; they have to do with his self and with those limited areas of social life of which he is directly and personally aware. Accordingly, the statement and the resolution of troubles properly lie within the individual as a biographical entity and within the scope of this immediate milieu—the social setting that is directly open to his personal experience and to some extent his willful activity. A trouble is a private matter: Values cherished by an individual are felt by him to be threatened.

Issues have to do with matters that transcend these local environments of the individual and the range of his inner life. They have to do with the organization of many such milieus into the institutions of an historical society as a whole, with the ways in which various milieus overlap and interpenetrate to form the larger structure of social and historical life. An issue is a public matter. Some value cherished by publics is felt to be threatened. Often there is a debate about what that value really is and about what it is that really threatens it. This debate is often without focus if only because it is the very nature of an issue, unlike even widespread trouble, that it cannot

very well be defined in terms of the immediate and everyday environments of ordinary men. An issue, in fact, often involves a crisis in institutional arrangements, and often too it involves what Marxists call "contradictions" or "antagonisms."

In these terms, consider unemployment. When, in a city of 100,000, only one man is unemployed, that is his personal trouble, and for its relief we properly look to the character of the man, his skills, and his immediate opportunities. But when in a nation of 50 million employees, 15 million men are unemployed, that is an issue, and we may not hope to find its solution within the range of opportunities open to any one individual. The very structure of opportunities has collapsed. Both the correct statement of the problem and the range of possible solutions require us to consider the economic and political institutions of the society, and not merely the personal situation and character of a scatter of individuals.

Consider war. The personal problem of war, when it occurs, may be how to survive it or how to die in it with honor, how to make money out of it; how to climb into the higher safety of the military apparatus; or how to contribute to the war's termination. In short, according to one's values, to find a set of milieus and within it to survive the war or make one's death in it meaningful. But the structural issues of war have to do with its causes, with what types of men it throws up into command, with its effects upon economic and political, family and religious institutions, with the unorganized irresponsibility of a world of nation-states.

Consider marriage. Inside a marriage a man and a woman may experience personal troubles, but when the divorce rate during the first four years of marriage is 250 out of every 1,000 attempts, this is an indication of a structural issue having to do with the institutions of marriage and the family and other institutions that bear upon them.

Or consider the metropolis—the horrible, beautiful, ugly, magnificent sprawl of the great city. For many upper-class people, the personal

solution to "the problem of the city" is to have an apartment with private garage under it in the heart of the city and, forty miles out, a house by Henry Hill, garden by Garrett Eckbo, on a hundred acres of private land. In these two controlled environments—with a small staff at each end and a private helicopter connection—most people could solve many of the problems of personal milieu caused by the facts of the city. But all this, however splendid, does not solve the public issues that the structural fact of the city poses. What should be done with this wonderful monstrosity? Break it up into scattered units, combining residence and work? Refurbish it as it stands? Or, after evacuation, dynamite it and build new cities according to new plans in new places? What should those plans be? And who is to decide and to accomplish whatever choice is made? These are structural issues, to confront them and to solve them requires us to consider political and economic issues that affect innumerable milieu.

Insofar as an economy is so arranged that slumps occur, the problem of unemployment becomes incapable of personal solution. Insofar as war is inherent in the nation-state system and in the uneven industrialization of the world, the

ordinary individual in his restricted milieu will be powerless—with or without psychiatric aid—to solve the troubles this system or lack of system imposes upon him. Insofar as the family as an institution turns women into darling little slaves and men into their chief providers and unweaned dependents, the problem of a satisfactory marriage remains incapable of purely private solution. Insofar as the overdeveloped megalopolis and the overdeveloped automobile are built-in features of the overdeveloped society, the issues of urban living will not be solved by personal ingenuity and private wealth.

What we experience in various and specific milieus, I have noted, is often caused by structural changes. Accordingly, to understand the changes of many personal milieus we are required to look beyond them. And the number and variety of such structural changes increase as the institutions within which we live become more embracing and more intricately connected with one another. To be aware of the idea of social structure and to use it with sensibility is to be capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieus. To be able to do that is to possess the sociological imagination.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1 Mills argues that personal troubles can be understood in terms of large-scale patterns that extend beyond individual experience and are part of society and history. Identify an issue that you think would be a personal trouble for an individual, and then identify the societal influences that you think impinge on the individual's experience. (Hint: you might think of such things as divorce, violence, or school failure.)
- 2 C Wright Mills identifies the central task of sociology to be grasping the relationships between history and biography. To do this, identify two large-scale historical events that you think have most shaped your biography.

Now ask someone of a different generation that same question. What does this tell you about how sociologists think about the relationship between individuals and society?

- 3 Sociologists sometimes distinguish between micro-level and macro-level theories. Both study social influences on human lives. Take a topic (such as terrorism, divorce, or illness) and, using the perspective that Mills articulates, how might someone using a micro-theoretical approach study this topic? How would that differ from how someone using a macro-level theoretical approach would study the same topic?

INTERNET RESOURCES

Suggested Web URLs for Further Study

<http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~stephan/timeline.html>

This Web site contains a basic timeline of important people and papers in sociology beginning from its basis in philosophy.

<http://www.socioweb.com/~markbl/socioweb/>

Independent guide to Sociological Resources on the web.

InfoTrac College Edition

You can find further relevant readings on the World Wide Web at

<http://sociology.wadsworth.com>

Virtual Society

For further information on this subject including links to relevant Web sites, go to the Wadsworth Sociology homepage at

<http://sociology.wadsworth.com>