

社会学经典教材影印丛书

社会学 基础读本

第9版

[美] L·卡尔甘 (L.Cargan) J·H·巴兰坦 (Jeanne H.Ballantine) 编

SOCIOLOGICAL FOOTPRINTS
INTRODUCTORY READINGS
IN SOCIOLOGY 9th edition



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Sociological Footprints

Introductory Readings in Sociology

Ninth Edition

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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。

北京大学出版社
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

THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF THIS ANTHOLOGY is to provide a link between theoretical sociology and everyday life by presenting actual samples of both classical and current sociological studies. If students are to grasp the full meaning of sociological terms and topics, they must be able to translate the jargon of sociology into real and useful concepts that are applicable to everyday life. To this end, *Sociological Footprints* presents viewpoints that demonstrate the broad range of sociological applications and the value of sociological research.

Selecting the readings for the ninth edition involved a number of important steps. As with the previous eight editions, we constantly received feedback from hundreds of students. Feedback was also requested from colleagues who are knowledgeable about the various topics of this anthology. An exhaustive search of the literature was conducted for additional material that was interesting and highly readable, that presented concepts clearly, that represented both recent and classic sociology, and that featured authors of diverse backgrounds. In meeting these criteria we often had to replace popular readings with more comprehensive and up-to-date ones. About one-third of the articles included in this edition are new selections that update all issues and address new concerns. As a final step, we utilized reviewers' comments to make the anthology relevant and useful. In this manner, each edition of *Sociological Footprints* becomes the strongest possible effort in producing a sociologically current, interesting, and highly readable collection.

Features and Organization

We hope this new edition of *Sociological Footprints* will be as valuable to teachers as it is to students—an intention reflected in the book's organization. First, each major part has an introduction that covers the major themes of the topic area, noting how each reading relates to these themes. Second, each reading is also introduced by a comment about the important points in the reading. Third, we provide questions before each reading to guide the reader toward the important points. Fourth, although anthologies do not usually define concepts used in their readings, before many readings we include a glossary of important terms to give students a basic understanding of special terminology.

Supplements

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank

This instructor resource offers instructors teaching suggestions and a correlation grid that correlates each chapter with the chapters of major introductory sociology texts that may be used in conjunction with this reader. The manual also contains a summary analysis of each article in the reader, stating the thesis, findings, and conclusions of each reading. Test items are also provided, including five to ten multiple-choice questions and up to five essay questions for each article.

Web Site

<http://sociology.wadsworth.com>

At *Virtual Society*, *Wadsworth's Sociology Resource Center*, students and instructors can access a sociology career center, Internet links and exercises, InfoTrac® College Edition, MicroCase® Online, CNN® video clips with critical thinking questions, and Wadsworth's other special sociology resources such as *Census 2000: A Student Guide for Sociology* and *Terrorism: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Instructors can also access an online version of the Instructor's Manual with Test Bank.

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We wish to thank all those who made this edition of *Sociological Footprints* possible. The reviewers of this edition are Sarah N. Gatson, Texas A&M University; Kristin Marsh, Mary Washington College; Timothy McGettigan, Ph.D., University of Southern Colorado; Mohsen M. Mobasher, Southern Methodist University; and Carol Ray, San Jose State University. We also thank the reviewers of previous editions: Philip Berg, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse; Kevin J. Christiano, University of Notre Dame; Rodney B. Coates, University of North Carolina at Charlotte; Thomas F. Courtless, George Washington University; Robert W. Duff, University of Portland; Irene Fiala, Baldwin-Wallace College; Michael Goslin, Tallahassee Community College; Susan F. Greenwood, University of Maine; William J. Miller, Ohio University; Martin Monto, University of Portland; Wilbert Nelson, Phoenix College; Dan J. Pence, Southern Utah University; Ralph Peters, Floyd College; Carol Ray, San Jose State University; David R. Rudy, Moorehead State University; George Siefert, Dae-

men College; Eldon E. Snyder, Bowling Green State University; Larry L. Stealey, Charles Stewart Mott Community College; and Jerry Stockdale, University of North Iowa; Debbie A. Storrs, University of Idaho; Donna Trent, Eckerd College; and Assata Zerai, Syracuse University. Heartfelt thanks, also, go to the many students who took the time to give us their opinions, the departmental secretary and aides who helped to assemble and type the material, our proofreader, and to all the good people at Wadsworth who aided in the production of this anthology.

TO THE STUDENT

THE PURPOSE OF THIS ANTHOLOGY is to introduce you, the beginning student in sociology, to a wide range of sociological perspectives and to demonstrate their relevance to real-life situations. As you apply sociological perspectives to everyday events, you will begin to realize that sociology is more than jargon, more than dry statistics, more than endless terminology to be memorized. It is an exciting and useful field of study. Unfortunately, no textbook can fully describe the many applications of sociology. This anthology should help to fill the gap by supplying classical readings balanced with contemporary readings on current issues and research.

From our experience in teaching introductory sociology, we know some of the problems that anthologies can present to the student: unexplained terms, readings seemingly unrelated to the text, and different emphases from those of the instructor's lectures. Therefore, to enjoy and benefit fully from *Sociological Footprints*, you should take the following steps:

1. Read and study the related textbook chapter and lecture materials. You must be familiar with the concepts and perspectives before you can clearly observe their daily application.
2. Read the introductions to the assigned sections in the anthology. They are designed to summarize the primary themes of the topic area and relate them to specific readings. In fact, the introductions will not only make the readings easier to understand, they will facilitate your application of the readings to other class materials and real-life situations.
3. Use the glossary that precedes the selection before you read each reading. Knowing the terms will make the reading more interesting and understandable.
4. Read each reading thoroughly. Note the problem or issue being discussed, the evidence the author supplies in support of his or her contentions, and the conclusions drawn from this evidence. Answer the questions posed at the beginning of the piece.
5. Summarize the main ideas of each reading in your own terms, relating them to other material in the course and to your own everyday experiences.

Step 5 is particularly important. Many of the readings address topics of current interest—political issues, population problems, environmental issues, the women's movement, and more. Because these are contemporary problems, you will see related materials in newspapers and magazines and on television. By applying what you have learned from the lectures and this anthology, you should develop a clearer understanding of current issues and of how sociology has aided you in this understanding.

We feel strongly that sociology is a field of study highly relevant to your world and that it can give you a fuller comprehension of day-to-day living. Our aim has been to provide you with a readable, understandable, and enlightening anthology that will convey this relevance.

The Essential Wisdom of Sociology

(Paraphrased from a paper from Earl Babbie from 1989 ASA Annual Meeting)

"I say this by way of a disclaimer. The essential wisdom of sociology may have twelve or thirteen points, but I'm going to quit at ten."

1. Society has a *sui generis* existence or reality. "You can't fully understand society by understanding individual human beings who comprise it. For example, few people want war, but we have wars all the time."
2. It is possible to study society scientifically. "Society can be more than learned beliefs of 'common sense.' It is actually possible to study society scientifically, just as we study aspects of the physical world."
3. Autopoiesis: society creates itself. "Autopoiesis (Huberto Maturana's term) might be defined as 'self-creating.' A powerful statement that sociology has to offer is that society is autopoietic: society creates itself."
4. Cultural variations by time and place. "Gaining awareness that differences exist is only the beginning, however . . . Our second task in this regard is to undermine . . . implicit ethnocentrism, offering the possibility of tolerance."
5. Relation of individual and society. "[One might] want to skirt the edge of suggesting that individuals are merely figments of society. Without going quite that far [one might suggest that] individual identity is strongly sociogenetic."
6. System imperatives. "Society is an entity [and] as a system, it has 'needs.'"
7. The inherent conservatism of institutions. "The first function of an institution is institutional survival."
8. Determinism. ". . . We operate with a model that assumes human behavior is determined by forces and factors and circumstances that the individual actors cannot control and/or are unaware of."
9. Paradigms. ". . . paradigms are ways of looking at life, but not life itself. They focus attention so as to reveal things, but they inevitably conceal other things, rather like microscopes or telescopes, perhaps. They allow us to see things that would otherwise be hidden from us, but they do that at a cost."
10. Sociology is an idea whose time has come. "Finally . . . on a possibly chauvinist note: All the major problems that face us as a society and as a world are to be found within the territory addressed by sociology. I say this in deliberate contrast to our implicit view that most of our problems will be solved by technology."

INTRODUCTION: WHY STUDY SOCIOLOGY?

WHAT IS THIS SUBJECT CALLED SOCIOLOGY? What will I learn from studying sociology? Why should I take sociology? What work do sociologists do? How is sociology useful to me or to the world? If I major in sociology, what can I do when I graduate? These are some of the questions that may be in the back of your mind as you approach your study of sociology. Perhaps you are reading this book because you are curious about the subject, or because sociology is a required course, or because you had sociology in high school and wanted to find out more about it, or because your instructor assigned the book and this article. Whatever the reasons, you will find an introduction to the field of sociology in the discussion that follows.

What you read in the next few pages will only begin to answer the questions just posed. As you learn more about sociology, pieces that at first seemed fragmentary will start to come together like pieces in a puzzle. These pages provide the framework into which those pieces can be placed to answer the opening question: Why study sociology?

What Is This Subject Called Sociology?

First questions first: Sociology is the study of people in groups, of people interacting with one another, even of nations interacting during peace or war. Sociologists' interests are sparked when they see two or more people with a common interest talking or working together. They are interested in how groups work and in how nations of the world relate to one another. When two or more people are interacting, sociologists have the tools to study the process. It could be a married couple in conflict or a teacher and students in a classroom situation; it could be individuals interacting in a work group, sports teams on a playing field, or negotiating teams discussing nuclear disarmament.

Sociology shares a common bond with other social sciences. All are concerned with human behavior in society; they share the perspective of the scientific method and some of the same data-collection methods to study their subject matter. Sociology is the broadest of the social sciences; its main concern is with predicting human group behavior.

"That's a lot to be interested in," you may be saying. In fact, most sociologists specialize. No one sociologist is likely to be an expert in everything, from studies of a few people or small group interaction (microlevel sociology) to large numbers of

people in big groups like organizations or nations (macrolevel sociology). Consider the following examples of sociological specializations:

- determining the factors that lead to marital longevity
- identifying effective teachers by classroom observation
- examining public attitudes about the presidency and its policies
- locating satisfaction and problems in certain jobs

The results of these diverse interests lead sociologists into many different areas. Some sociologists specialize in social psychology, a field that considers such questions as how individuals behave in groups, who leaders are and what types of leaders are effective, why some groups accomplish more than other groups, why individuals usually conform to group expectations, and many other topics involving individuals as functioning members of groups. Another area of specialization is political sociology, which studies political power, voting behavior, bureaucracy, and political behavior of individuals and groups. Anthropology examines the culture of different groups; so does sociology. But the methods of study and primary focus differ. Anthropologists often study preliterate groups, whereas sociologists focus primarily on modern groups. Another area that concerns sociologists is social history, which emphasizes the use of history to understand social situations. These are only a few examples of the diverse interests of sociologists and how sociology shares its interests with some other social sciences.

What Will I Learn from Studying Sociology?

Consider that in some societies premarital sex is not only allowed but expected; in others, premarital sex is cause for banishment and death. Even though sociologists, like everyone else, have personal opinions, the task of the sociologist is not to judge which social attitude is right or wrong but to understand *why* such divergent practices have evolved. We all have opinions. Usually they come from our experiences, common sense, and family teaching. Some opinions are based on stereotypes or prejudices, some on partial information about an issue. Through systematic scientific study, sociologists gain insight into human behavior in groups, insight not possible through common sense alone. They attempt to understand all sides of an issue; they refrain from making judgments on issues of opinion but try instead to deal objectively with human behavior.

Consider the person who is going through the anguish of a divorce. Self-blame or hostility toward the spouse are often reactions to this personal crisis. Sociology can help us move beyond “individual” explanations to consider the social surroundings that influence the situation: economic conditions, disruptions caused by changing sex roles, and pressures on the family to meet the emotional needs of its members. Thus, sociology teaches us to look beyond individual explanations of our problems to group explanations for behavior; this practice broadens our worldview and gives us a better understanding of why events take place.

A typical college sociology program starts with a basic course introducing the general perspective of sociology; sociological terminology and areas of study; how sociologists get their information, that is, their methods; and the ideas, or theories, that lay the foundations for sociological study. Further sociology courses deal in greater depth with the major components of all societies: family, religion, education, politics, and economics.

The sociology department may also offer courses on social processes such as social problems, deviance and corrections, stratification, socialization, and change, or in other areas of social life such as medical, community, urban, sports, or minority sociology.

Family sociology, for instance, usually considers the family social life cycle: young people breaking away from their parents' home, forming a home of their own by selecting a spouse through the courtship process, marrying, selecting a career, making parenting decisions, raising a family, having their children leave home, retiring, and moving into old age.

Students who major in sociology generally take courses in *theory*—the basic ideas of the field—and *methods*—how sociologists approach the social world objectively and do their research. Some sociology departments offer practical experiences where students can use their sociological skills in a job setting.

These are a few examples of what you will learn from the study of sociology and how you will learn it. There is much more to the field of sociology than this, however.

Why Should I Take Sociology?

Whether you take a number of sociology courses or only one, you will profit in a number of ways. You will gain personal knowledge, new perspectives, skills needed by employers, background training useful in entering other fields, personal growth and development, new perspectives on the world, and a new way of looking at your relationships with others and your place in society. You will gain tolerance for and fascination with the variety of people in the world around you and their cultural systems. You will be able to understand your interactions with your family and friends better; you will be able to watch the news or read the paper with keener perception. You will have an understanding of how to obtain information to answer questions that you or your boss need answered. And the more sociology you take, the more ability you will have to express your thoughts logically, objectively, and coherently.

It is nice to know that the subjects you take in college will have some personal relevance and professional usefulness. Sociology should provide you with a number of “life skills,” such as

1. Ability to view the world more objectively
2. Tools to solve problems by designing studies, collecting data, and analyzing results
3. Ability to understand group dynamics
4. Ability to understand and evaluate problems
5. Ability to understand your personal problems in a broader social context

We know from studies that employers value those applicants with the broad training of such fields as sociology because of the skills they provide. The following are skills employers look for, in order of importance:

1. Ability to work with peers
2. Ability to organize thoughts and information
3. Self-motivation
4. Ability to plan effectively

5. Willingness to adapt to the needs of the organization
6. Ability to interact effectively in group situations
7. Self-confidence about job responsibilities
8. Ability to handle pressure
9. Ability to conceptualize problems clearly
10. Effective problem-solving skills
11. Effective leadership skills
12. Ability to listen to others

Although a college graduate in engineering, computer sciences, or business may enter the job market with a higher salary, the sociology liberal arts major is more likely to rise through the managerial and professional ranks to positions of responsibility and high pay. Businesses and organizations value the skills listed here. In today's rapidly altering society, many of us will change jobs or careers several times during a lifetime. Sociological skills can help us adapt to the expectations of new situations.

Because of the knowledge and skills learned in sociology courses, study in this area provides excellent preparation for other undergraduate and graduate fields. From nursing, business, and education to law and medicine, the knowledge of sociology can be applied to a wide variety of group situations. For instance, a current concern of sociologists who study educational settings is what characteristics make schools effective; by singling out certain characteristics, sociologists can make recommendations to improve schools. Teachers and educational administrators profit from this information.

If we are curious about understanding ourselves and our interactions with others and about why our lives take certain directions, sociology can help us understand. For instance, sociologists are interested in how our social-class standing affects how we think, how we dress, how we speak, what our interests are, whom we are likely to marry, what religion (if any) we belong to, and what our "life chances" are, including how long we will live and what we are likely to do in life. Sociologists have even examined how individuals from different social-class backgrounds raise their children, and implications of child-rearing techniques for our lifestyles. Some use physical punishment and others moral chastisement, but the end result is likely to be a perpetuation of the social class into which we are born.

What Work Do Sociologists Do?

The most obvious answer is that sociologists *teach*; this is primarily at the higher education level, but high school sociology courses are also offered as part of the social science curriculum. There would be nothing to teach if sociologists were not actively engaged in learning about the social world. Their second major activity is to conduct *research* about questions concerning the social world.

Many sociologists work in business organizations, government agencies, and social service agencies. *Practicing sociologists* are engaged in a variety of activities. Some do family counseling with the whole family group; some conduct market research for companies or opinion polls for news or other organizations; some do surveys for the government to determine what people think or need; some work with juvenile delin-

quents, prison programs and reforms, and police; some predict how population changes will affect schools and communities.

Applied sociologists use their sociological knowledge to help organizations. They assess organizational needs, plan programs to meet those needs, and evaluate the effectiveness of programs. For instance, a community may want to know how many of its elderly citizens need special services to remain at home rather than be moved to nursing institutions. Sociologists assess this need, help plan programs, and evaluate whether programs are meeting the needs they set out to meet.

The position a sociology major ultimately gets depends in part on the degree he or she holds in sociology. The following are some examples of jobs students have gotten with a B.A. or B.S. degree: director of county group home, research assistant, juvenile probation officer, data processing project director, public administration/district manager, public administration/health coordinator, law enforcement, labor relations/personnel, police commander/special investigations, trucking dispatcher, administrator/social worker, counselor, child caseworker, substance abuse therapist, medical social worker, data programming analyst, activities director at senior citizens center, director of student volunteer program, area sales manager, jury verdict research editor, insurance claims adjuster, employment recruiter, tester for civil service, unemployment office manager, child services houseparent, crisis worker volunteer, advertising copywriter, probation officer, travel consultant, recreation therapist, public TV show hostess, adult education coordinator, research and evaluation specialist, neighborhood youth worker.

Sociologists holding an M.A. or Ph.D. degree are more skilled in sociological theory and methods than B.A. degree holders. They are often involved in research, teaching, or clinical work with families and other clients.

How Is Sociology Useful to Me and to the World?

Technology is rapidly changing the world. New policies and programs are being implemented in government and private organizations—policies that affect every aspect of our lives. Because sociologists study social processes, they are able to make concrete contributions to the planning of orderly change. Sociological knowledge can also be useful to legislators and courts in making policy decisions. For example, sociologists can assist a juvenile facility to design programs to help young people convicted of crime redirect their energies; how successful such programs are in achieving their goals can be studied by evaluation research.

In summary, sociology is the broadest of the social sciences and, unlike other disciplines, can give us an understanding of the social world. The knowledge and tools of sociology make students of this field valuable in a number of settings, from business to social service to government to education. As you embark on this study, keep in mind that sociology helps us have a deeper understanding of ourselves and our place in the world as well.

Sociology is a study of all people, for all people. To enjoy your encounter with the field and to make the most use of your time in sociology, try to relate the information you read and hear to your own life and relationships with others within the broader context of your social world.