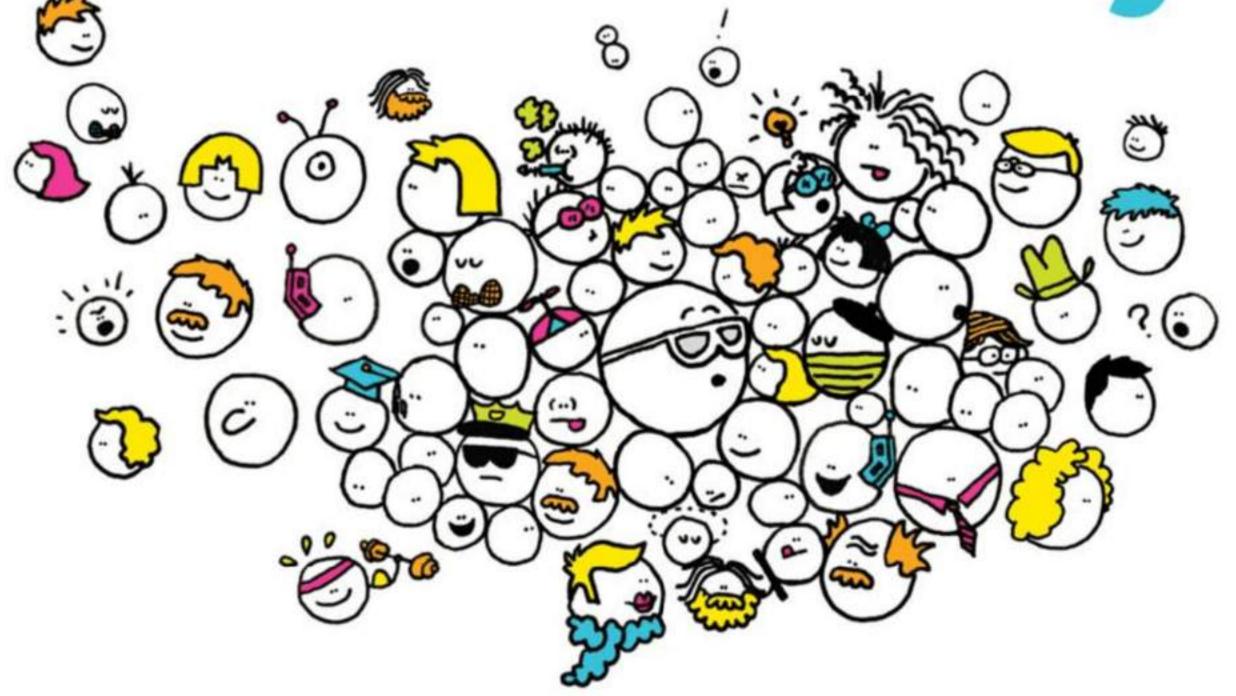


# INTRODUCTION TO THINKING LIKE A SOCIOLOGIST TO THINKING LIKE A

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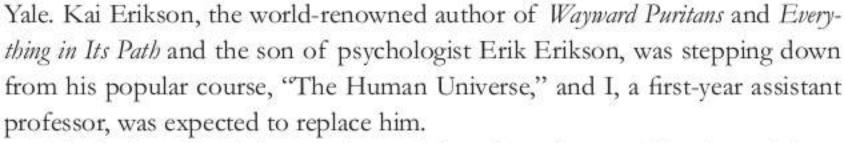
## PREFACE



I came to sociology by accident, so to speak. During the 1980s, there were no sociology courses at the high-school level, so I entered college with only the vaguest notion of what sociology—or even social science—was. Instead, I headed straight for the pre-med courses. But there was no such thing as a premed major, so I ended up specializing in the now defunct "humanities field major." This un-major major was really the result of my becoming a junior and realizing that I was not any closer to a declared field of study than I had been when arriving two years earlier. So I scanned a list of all the electives I had taken until then—philosophy of aesthetics, history of technology, and so on and marched right into my advisor's office, declaring that it had always been my lifelong dream to study "art and technology in the twentieth century." I wrote this up convincingly enough, apparently, because the college allowed me to write a senior thesis about how the evolution of Warner Brothers' cartoon characters—from the stuttering, insecure Porky Pig to the militant Daffy Duck to the cool, collected, and confident Bugs Bunny—reflected the self-image of the United States on the world stage during the Depression, World War II, and the postwar period, respectively. Little did I know, I was already becoming a sociologist.

After college, I worked as a journalist but then decided that I wanted to continue my schooling. I was drawn to the critical stance and reflexivity that I had learned in my humanities classes, but I knew that I didn't want to devote my life to arcane texts. What I wanted to do was take those skills—that critical stance—and apply them to everyday life, to the here and now. I also was rather skeptical of the methods that humanists used. What texts they chose to analyze always seemed so arbitrary. I wanted to systematize the inquiry a bit more; I found myself trying to apply the scientific method that I had gotten a taste of in my biology classes. But I didn't want to do science in a lab. I wanted to be out in the proverbial real world. So when I flipped through a course catalog with these latent preferences somewhere in the back of my head, my finger landed on the sociology courses.

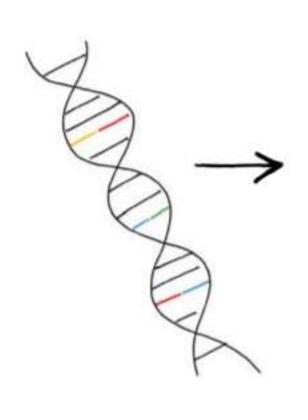
Once I became a card-carrying sociologist, the very first course I taught was Introduction to Sociology. I had big shoes to fill in teaching this course at

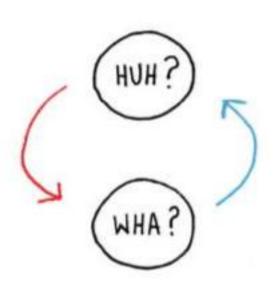


I had a lot of sociology to learn. After all, graduate training in sociology is spotty at best. And there is no single theory of society in the same way one might learn, for example, the biochemistry of DNA transcription and translation as the central dogma of molecular biology. We talk about the sociological imagination as an organizing principle. But even that is almost a poetic notion, not so easily articulated. Think of sociology as more like driving a car than learning calculus. You can read the manual all you want, but that isn't going to teach you how to do it. Only by seeing sociology in action and then trying it yourself will you eventually say, "Hey, I've got the hang of this!"

Hence the title of this book. In You May Ask Yourself, I show readers how sociologists question what most others take for granted about society, and I give readers opportunities to apply sociological ways of thinking to their own experiences. I've tried to jettison the arcane academic debates that become the guiding light of so many intro books in favor of a series of contemporary empirical (gold) nuggets that show off sociology (and empirical social science more generally) in its finest hour. Most students who take an introductory sociology class in college will not end up being sociology majors, let alone professional sociologists. Yet I aim to speak to both the aspiring major and the student who is merely fulfilling a requirement. So rather than having pages filled with statistics and theories that will go out of date rather quickly, You May Ask Yourself tries to instill in the reader a way of thinking—a scientific approach to human affairs that is portable, one that students will find useful when they study anything else, whether history or medicine.

To achieve this ambitious goal, I tried to write a book that was as "untextbook"-like as possible, while covering all the material that a student in sociology needs to know. In this vein, each chapter is organized around a motivating paradox, meant to serve as the first chilling line of a mystery novel that motivates the reader to read on to find out (or rather, figure out, because this book is not about spoon-feeding facts) the nugget, the debate, the fundamentally new way of looking at the world that illuminates the paradox. Along with a paradox, each chapter begins with a profile of a relevant person who speaks to the core theme of the chapter. These range from myself to Angelina Jolie to a guy who declared himself king of an offshore platform, battling the British government for sovereignty. In addition, to show the usefulness of sociological knowledge in shaping the world around us, each chapter also culminates in a Policy discussion and Practice section where the reader gets a chance to show his or her sociological imagination in action (rather than just regurgitate facts).





#### WHAT'S NEW IN THE FOURTH EDITION

Higher education is in rapid transition, with online instruction expanding in traditional institutions, in the expanding for-profit sector, and in the new, open-courseware movement. With these changes, textbooks must also reinvent and reorient themselves. Students now expect, I believe, an entire multimedia experience when they purchase a textbook.

I was not sure how we were going to top the popular Paradox Animations for the Third Edition. Well, the answer turned out to be that we filmed "Sociology on the Street" assignment videos in addition to a new round of interviews with sociologists. For the chapter on deviance, for example, we sent students out to perform one of Harold Garfinkel's "breaching experiments," in which they purposely break a social norm and document the responses of those around them. To illustrate this (and other assignments), I went on camera to explain and/or perform them myself. It has been years since I had been as nervous speaking on camera as I was the day I walked—barefoot but dressed in a suit—into W. W. Norton's conference room filled with unsuspecting volunteers and proceeded to clip my toenails while I explained the plan for the day and we surreptitiously filmed their (surprisingly unflinching) response.

In addition to crazy videos like this—which also included me rummaging through a garbage can to discuss the environment chapter assignment—I made in-studio videos to further explain some of the trickier concepts in the book, ranging from "correlation" to "total institution." Like the expert interviews and the animations, these "Sociology on the Street" videos are a tradition I expect to continue in future editions to further develop the multimedia aspects of the text, with the goal of reaching learners who prefer all sorts of modalities.

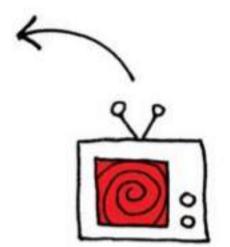
In addition to the new videos, we revised every chapter in the book. Here are some of the highlights:

#### Chapter 1

In a new interview, sociologist Julia Adams talks about the difference between historians and sociologists.

#### Chapter 2

The chapter now begins with the research of computational/social media sociologist danah boyd, who integrates multiple research methods to yield dynamic results. A new example of participant observation focuses on Mary Pattillo's study of the interactions between black residents of differing economic classes in gentrifying neighborhoods. The policy box now takes on the political issues associated with population sampling, specifically the proposed readjustments of the U.S. Census.



#### Chapter 3

A new chapter opener describes the experience of transgender activist Samantha Lauzon, and explores how media has both reflected and enacted change in America's views on the LGBT community. A new example of the control of messages in the media focuses on the policies of Apple's iTunes app store. The policy box has been updated with a discussion of baby-naming trends, particularly unique names and gendered names.

#### Chapter 4

New data on the relationship between education and leisure time has been included. An updated policy box focuses on the decreasing randomness of roommate pairings in college dorms and how differences between roommates can lead to varying socializations.

#### Chapter 5

Michael Gaddis's study on how different social networks result in varying social capital has been included, as has Eric Klinenberg's research on the effects of living alone. The discussion of the power elite has been expanded with further examples.

#### Chapter 6

This chapter includes updated data on the estimated total loss from robbery, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft; crime rates in the United States, including total violent crime rates and murder rates; and incarceration rates and prison populations. Notably, the total violent crime rate and the size of the prison population have been slowly decreasing since 2005. Exonerations due to DNA evidence have led to the abolition of the death penalty in seven states since 2007. The policy box spotlights the debate over whether prisons serve as punishment or rehabilitation.

#### Chapter 7

A new chapter opener discusses the ties between surnames and intergenerational social mobility. An updated version of the Index of Occupational Status has been included. The policy box now features a discussion of class-based affirmative action. An updated poll by the Pew Charitable Trusts finds that Americans are no longer positive about the possibility of upward mobility.

#### **Chapter 8**

Statistics on LGBT populations in the United States, and on women in higher education and the workforce, have been updated. Additional research on gendered professions and industries and an excerpt from an interview with former model and sociologist Ashley Mears on men in the fashion industry have been included. The policy box "Women in Combat" has been updated with

information on the Pentagon's decision to lift the ban on women in combat positions, and the effects of sexual assault in the military.

#### Chapter 9

Demographic data on Native American, African American, Latino, Asian American, and Middle Eastern American populations have been updated. New research on double segregation by race and by income in schools has been included. The updated policy box discusses reverse migration from the United States to other countries, along with the obstacles that accompany it.

#### Chapter 10

Statistics on poverty rates, differences in family net worth based on race, and the cost of living in the United States have been updated. Excerpts from interviews with sociologist Mario Luis Small on the culture of poverty argument and with sociologist Matthew Desmond on the effects of eviction on the poor have been included.

#### Chapter 11

A discussion of health insurance as an employee benefit, risk-adjustment, and the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act has been added. Statistics on births, infant mortality, and life expectancy based on race and gender have been updated. The new policy box discusses the Housing First program and the assistance it provides for the homeless mentally ill and/or substance-addicted.

#### Chapter 12

Statistics on household composition, marriage, divorce, and adoption in the United States have been updated. Kathyrn Edin's research on the elements of family life in poor African American communities sheds further light on African American family structures. Updated information on the legalization and perceptions of gay marriage in the United States and the repeal of the Defense of Marriage Act has been included.

#### Chapter 13

A new chapter opener features a discussion of massive open online courses. Statistics on higher education and graduation rates in the United States have been updated.

#### **Chapter 14**

A new chapter opener discusses how new technology has made, and will continue to make, many workers obsolete. Statistics on earnings based on gender, women in the workforce, global wealth disparity, and unions have been updated. The revised policy box features a discussion of the 2008 financial meltdown and the need for financial regulation.

#### Chapter 15

A discussion of the concept of "altruism" has been added, including an excerpt from an interview with sociologist Robb Willer about his research on the effects of altruism on group dynamics. Statistics on U.S. voting rates have been updated. The new policy box discusses the issues surrounding the size of the U.S. House of Representatives.

#### Chapter 16

A new chapter opener discusses the Church of Stop Shopping and examines what does and does not constitute a religion. Statistics on world religious affiliations and attendance have been updated. An excerpt from an interview with sociologist Susan Crawford about religious practice among lower-class women has been included.

#### Chapter 17

A new chapter opener features a discussion of the BRCA gene mutation associated with breast cancer and how scientific facts "change" as society adapts to them.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

You May Ask Yourself originated in the Introduction to Sociology course that I have taught on and off since the mid-1990s at New York University, Yale University, and Columbia University. However, the process of writing it made me feel as if I were learning to be a sociologist all over again. For example, I never taught religion, methodology, or the sociology of education. But instructors who reviewed the manuscript requested that these topics be covered, so with the assistance of an army of graduate students who really ought to be recognized as coauthors, I got to work. The experience was invaluable, and in a way, I finally feel like a card-carrying sociologist, having acquired at last a bird's-eye view of my colleagues' work. I consider it a great honor to be able to put my little spin (or filter) on the field in this way, to be able not just to influence the few hundred intro students I teach each year, but to excite (I hope) and instill the enthusiasm I didn't get to experience until graduate school in students who may be just a few months out of high school (if that).

I mentioned that the graduate students who helped me create this book were really more like coauthors, ghost writers, or perhaps law clerks. Law clerks do much of the writing of legal opinions for judges, but only a judge's name graces a decision. I asked Norton to allow more coauthors, but they declined—perhaps understandably, given how long such a list would be—so I will take this opportunity to thank my students and hope that you are still reading this preface.

The original transcription of my lectures that formed the basis of this text was completed by Carse Ramos, who also worked on assembling the glossary and drafted some parts of various chapters, such as sections in the economic sociology chapter, as well as some text in the chapters on authority and deviance. She also served as an all-around editor. Ashley Mears did the heavy lifting on the race, gender, family, and religion chapters. Amy LeClair took the lead on methods, culture, groups and networks, socialization, and health. Jennifer Heerwig cobbled together the chapter on authority and the state and deviance (a nice combo), while her officemate Brian McCabe whipped up the chapter on science, technology, and the environment and the one on social movements. Melissa Velez wrote the first draft of the education chapter (and a fine one at that). Michael McCarthy did the same for the stratification chapter. Devyani Prabhat helped revise the social movements chapter. My administrative assistant, Amelia Branigan, served as fact checker, editor, and box drafter while running a department, taking the GREs, and writing and submitting her own graduate applications. When Amelia had to decamp for Northwestern University to pursue her own doctorate, Lauren Marten took over the job of chasing down obscure references, fact-checking, and proofreading. Alexandre Frenette drafted the questions and activities in the Practice sections at the end of each chapter.

For the Second Edition, much of the work to integrate the interview transcripts and update material based on reviewer feedback fell to a great extent on the shoulders of Laura Norén, a fantastic New York University graduate student who has worked on topics as far ranging as public toilets (with my colleague Harvey Molotch) to how symphonies and designers collaborate (as part of her dissertation). I hope Laura will find her crash-course overview of sociology useful at some point in what promises to be a productive and exciting scholarly career.

When it was time to begin the Third Edition, the updating of all the statistics, fact-checking, and so on that is the bread and butter of a revision fell upon the capable shoulders of Emi Nakazato, who though trained as a social worker in graduate school, adeptly pivoted to that field's cousin, sociology.

For the Fourth Edition, Laura Norén returned as the research assistant. With her prior experience she picked up the task ably without dropping a beat.

In addition to the students who have worked with me on the book, I need to give shouts out to all the top-notch scholars who found time in their busy schedules to sit down with me and do on-camera interviews: Julia Adams, Andrew Cherlin, Nitsan Chorev, Susan Crawford, Matthew Desmond, Mitchell Duneier, Paula England, John Evans, Michael Gaddis, David Grusky, Michael Hout, Shamus Khan, Annette Lareau, Jennifer Lee, Ka Liu, Douglas McAdam, Ashley Mears, Steven Morgan, Alondra Nelson, Devah Pager, Nathan Palmer, C. J. Pascoe, Frances Fox Piven, Allison Pugh, Jen'nan Read, Victor Rios, Jeffrey Sachs, Mario Luis Small, Duncan Watts, and Robb Willer. The filmmaking, editing, and postproduction were done by Erica Rothman at Nightlight Productions with the assistance of Jim Haverkamp, Kevin Wells, Saul Rouda, Dimitriy Khavin, and Arkadiy Ugorskiy. This was no easy task,

because we wanted a bunch of cuts ranging from 30-second sound bites to television-show-length segments of 22 minutes. Although a bunch of interviews with academic social scientists on topics ranging from estimating the effects of Catholic schools on student outcomes to the political economy of global trade to the social contagion of autism are not likely to win any Emmys or rock the Nielsens (with the possible exception of the one on college sex), it was certainly one of the most exciting highlights in my sociological career to host this makeshift talk show of sorts on such a wide range of interesting topics. (If only more of our public discourse would dig into issues in the way that we did in these interviews, our society and governance would be in better shape—if I do say so myself!)

Meanwhile, many thanks to Kendall and Annie Madden, who did the transcriptions of the interviews so that they could be seamlessly migrated from video to the pages herein.

I also relied on a number of scholars who generously read chapters of this book and offered valuable feedback, criticisms, and suggestions:

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