

sociology

TWELFTH EDITION

Instructors Resource Manual

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This *Instructor's Resource Manual* has been prepared for use with Jon M. Shepard's *Sociology*, Twelfth Edition. Each chapter of the *Instructor's Resource Manual* includes the following elements:

- **Brief Chapter Outline.** The brief chapter outline enables instructors to provide students with a clear overview of the material that will be covered in the chapter, prior to reading it.
- **Learning Objectives.** Instructors can provide students, at the beginning of each chapter, with the key goals they hope to achieve upon completion of each chapter.
- **Detailed Chapter Outline.** Summaries of each concept in the brief chapter outline are offered here in order to help guide instructors in their lectures.
- **Class Activities.** Instructors can utilize these activities in their classroom, either for group or individual work, to help students with the core concepts of the chapter.
- **Teaching Suggestions.** These are suggestions instructors can employ in the classroom to introduce core concepts and link examples from the outside world to the text.
- **Video Suggestions.** From the Film and Video Suggestions list (online Appendix B—available on the book's website, www.wessexlearning.com), videos relevant to each chapter are listed here for easy reference.
- **Internet Exercises.** This section offers instructors online activities with website references that can be assigned to students to illustrate sociological concepts from the chapters.
- **Internet Resources.** This section offers instructors useful online resources that can be used to stimulate student interest in the chapter's key topics.
- **Key Terms.** An alphabetized list of all the bold-faced terms in the chapter, with page number references in parentheses.
- **Further Readings.** A list of additional readings that may be used to supplement discussions and lectures.

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PART ONE

Sociological Perspectives

Chapter 1

The Sociological Perspective

Chapter 2

Social Research

Chapter 1: The Sociological Perspective

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Sociological Perspective

- A. Beyond Psychological: The Social Animal
- B. The Importance of Perspective
- C. Defining Sociology
- D. Patterns of Behavior
- E. Levels of Analysis: Microsociology and Macrosociology
 - 1. Microsociology
 - 2. Macrosociology

II. Uses of the Sociological Perspective

- A. The Sociological Imagination
- B. Applied Sociology
- C. Sociology and Occupational Skills

III. The Social Sciences

- A. Sociology and the Social Sciences

IV. Founders of Sociology

- A. European Origins
- B. Sociology in America

V. Major Theoretical Perspectives

- A. Theory and Perspective
- B. Macrosociology: Functionalism
- C. Macrosociology: Conflict Theory
- D. Microsociology: Symbolic Interactionism

VI. Two Emerging Social Theories

- A. Feminist Social Theory
- B. Postmodern Social Theory

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Illustrate the unique sociological perspective from both the micro and macro levels of analysis.
2. Describe three uses of the sociological perspective.
3. Distinguish sociology from other social sciences.
4. Outline the contributions of the major pioneers of sociology.
5. Summarize the development of sociology in the United States.
6. Identify the three major theoretical perspectives in sociology today.
7. Differentiate between two emerging theoretical perspectives.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Sociological Perspective

- A. *Beyond Psychological: The Social Animal*—Sociologists look beyond the individual. They look for the social, as opposed to individual, factors that influence human behavior.
- B. *The Importance of Perspective*—Perspective, or one's point of view, shapes how those interpret what is happening around them. In the example given, cultural values shape the way that we view the world around us. Sociology has its own unique perspective.

- C. *Defining Sociology*—Sociology is the scientific study of social structure. Human behavior is patterned; individuals share patterns of behavior with others in their group or society. Sociologists study human behavior at different levels of analysis: within groups, and between groups.
- D. *Patterns of Behavior*—Sociologists study patterns of behavior that occur in social interaction. Within the sociological perspective behavior is predictable and varies among members of different categories of people. Despite individual differences, people in similar circumstances tend to behave in predictable ways, in recurrent patterned interaction. Just as metal alloys have properties that are different from those of their component parts, people's behavior in groups differs from individual behavior. In fact, group behavior cannot necessarily be predicted from the individual group members. Group members tend to act like each other despite differing personal preferences. There is a great deal of conformity within any society. Sociologists are able to understand, explain, and predict human behavior in part because of the tendency of people to conform. The interplay between the individual and the social structure works in both directions: people are influenced by the social structure, and they also have an impact on the social structure. Social structure does not determine social behavior.
- E. *Levels of Analysis: Microsociology and Macrosociology*—Sociologists work with different levels of analysis. At the micro level, they study people as they interact within groups in everyday life. Macrosociology is not dependent on the interaction of specific people. At the macro level, sociologists study entire societies and the relationships between groups within societies. The two levels, micro and macro, are complementary; together they yield more information than either one alone.

II. Uses of the Sociological Perspective

- A. *The Sociological Imagination*—C. Wright Mills termed the personal use of sociology the sociological imagination. The sociological imagination enables the individual to understand the events of personal life in the context of the society. Individuals are affected by the time and place in which they live. The sociological imagination enables people to understand the impact of social forces on their lives. People hold on to widely shared misconceptions about social life, despite the existence of evidence to the contrary. Sociology leads us to question taken-for-granted assumptions, replacing misconceptions with more accurate information and explanations. Like other liberal arts disciplines, sociology may be intellectually liberating because it provides a means to better understand the world outside of the individual. Sociology permits the rational understanding of differing perspectives and an understanding of how social forces shape those perspectives. This deeper understanding may serve to free one from social pressures and misconceptions.
- B. *Applied Sociology*—Despite its origins in America as a discipline aimed at solving social problems, sociology has become more socially uninvolved over time. Still, sociologists disagree about the possibility and even desirability of being value neutral. Humanist and liberation sociology are two strains that place a greater emphasis on improving human welfare. Sociological research has influenced social policy, including the outlawing of separate but equal schools for African Americans and whites. Sociology includes policy-related research, such as investigations of the affect of social environment on IQ, and the impact of desegregation. Some sociologists work for social change. Clinical sociologists affect change in organizations, or even entire societies. They may work in settings with more personal and direct intervention.
- C. *Sociology and Occupational Skills*—Sociology contributes to the development of the four basic skills that interest most employers: the ability to work with others, writing and speaking skills, problem solving, and the ability to analyze information. More specific skills are developed in the subdisciplines of sociology, such as urban planning and social work in urban sociology, human resource management in gender and race relations, and criminal justice and juvenile delinquency in criminology.

III. The Social Sciences

- A. *Sociology and the Social Sciences*—Sociology may be better understood through comparison with other social sciences. While the social science disciplines may be distinguished from each other, there is still overlap at many points. Anthropology is the most related to sociology, but it has focused more on nonliterate societies, and the study of culture. Historically, they have studied entire societies. Sociologists have emphasized the study of different groups and events within modern, complex, industrial societies. Psychology is more concerned with the individual than either anthropology or sociology. Psychology emphasizes the mental-emotional processes of the individual. Social psychology is a field that shares interests with sociology. Economics studies the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. Economists use sophisticated mathematical models that

have great predictive power. When economic behavior is influenced by social life, sociologists and economists share an interest. A field called economic sociology integrates the two disciplines.

Government, including organization, administration, history, and theory, is the subject matter of political science. Political sociologists share with political scientists an interest in behavior within and between political institutions, and between institutions and societies. History studies past events in human societies. Humanistic historians emphasize descriptive methods, believing that human behavior is complex and located in a specific place and time. Some historians share with sociologists a belief in the tendency of human behavior to be patterned and conforming. They see the role of the historian to document these patterns.

Each of the social sciences sheds light on different aspects of the family. Sociologists investigate the impact of social forces on the family (e.g., divorce), while anthropologists are interested in how family types vary cross-culturally. Psychologists emphasize the impact of the family on individual emotional and cognitive processes; economists analyze the family as a primary economic unit within society. Political scientists look for links between political behavior and the family. Historians discover previously overlooked information about families in historical contexts (e.g., the families of enslaved Africans).

IV. Founders of Sociology

A. *European Origins*—Sociology emerged in the late nineteenth century in Europe. The roots of sociology may be seen in the work of the eighteenth-century philosopher, Adam Smith. Smith's famous book, *The Wealth of Nations*, is considered fundamental to capitalism and, thus, Smith is most associated with economics, rather than sociology. Still, Smith was one of the first to attribute human behavior to social influences. In addition, he laid the foundation for symbolic interactionism, a major branch of sociological theory, when he theorized that the ability to learn society's rules is related to the human need for social approval. Sociology was not named nor formally introduced as a discipline until forty years after Smith's death.

The Industrial and French Revolutions served to diminish the importance of social position as the basis for social order. The social upheavals created by these revolutions caused social thinkers to examine how order is restored; a conservative reaction to a loss of social order is at the foundation of the discipline of sociology.

Auguste Comte, considered one of the earliest founders of the field of sociology, was known for his rebellious nature. He and his mentor, Henri Saint-Simon, ended their collaboration over an argument about whose name would appear on a publication. Comte argued that sociology should be based on positivism, the use of scientific observation and experimentation, in its study of human behavior. In addition, he recognized that society is made up of opposing forces: social statics—the basis of stability and order; and social dynamics—the basis of social change.

Harriet Martineau turned to writing to support herself after the family textile mill was lost in a business depression. Writing both fiction and nonfiction, Martineau became a popular writer. Martineau translated Comte's work. In addition, she wrote the first book of methodology, *How to Observe Manners and Morals*, in which she argued for the application of a theoretical framework to guide observation, and the use of a predetermined set of questions for gathering data. She applied these methods in a comparative study of European and American society, *Society in America*. In addition, she also published in the areas of political economy and feminist theory. She was a strong advocate for women and for the emancipation of slaves.

Due to chronic ill health, Spencer was educated at home by his father and uncle, and because of this he believed he lacked the necessary preparation to qualify for Cambridge. Spencer used the analogy of the human body to understand society. Like the organs of the body, social institutions must all contribute to the functioning of society. Spencer was a proponent of Social Darwinism, the belief evolutionary progress would be made as long as humans did not interfere with the process. Natural selection would ensure that only the strongest members of society would survive, thereby improving society. While his ideas about social reform were challenged, Spencer did contribute to sociology an understanding of the structured nature of society.

Marx was disturbed by the working conditions in the capitalist system, and he was dedicated to social change. His basic commitments were to democracy and humanism, which he expressed as a concern about poverty and inequality suffered by the working class. Marx's work has been misinterpreted and equated with communism in the minds of many. In contrast to Spencer, Marx saw society as composed of groups with different values and competing interests. Marx was an evolutionary thinker; he envisioned a linear progression in the mode of production in society—from primitive communism to slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and communism. Marx believed that capitalism would inevitably self-destruct, but that the process could be hastened by planned revolution. Ultimately, he believed that society would be comprised of two primary classes: the bourgeoisie or those who owned the means of producing wealth, and the proletariat or those who labored for subsistence wages.

Class conflict was at the center of his conception of social change. Marx saw the economy as the central feature of society. He supported the idea of economic determinism, the belief that the features of society are determined by the economic system or structure. Although he saw the economy as primary, Marx understood that noneconomic institutions and the economy have a mutual effect on each other.

Emile Durkheim was the first French sociologist. His major concerns were with social and moral order, as well as religion. Durkheim introduced the idea that society is held together by a consensus among its members. In simpler societies, social unity is achieved by shared values and strong pressure to conform; Durkheim called this mechanical solidarity. Modern, complex societies are held together by a complex division of labor. This type of unity he termed organic solidarity. Durkheim introduced the use of statistical techniques for the study of social phenomena. He used statistical analysis in his major work, *Suicide*, in which he demonstrated that far from being a strictly individual act, rates of suicide are related to varying group characteristics. For example, Catholics and married people have lower rates of suicide than Protestants and single people.

Max Weber is credited with being the single most important influence on the development of sociological theory, due to the quality diversity of his work. The influence of his Calvinist mother is apparent in one of Max Weber's most famous works, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber argued that humans act according to their understanding of any situation. His concept of *verstehen* stresses the importance of putting oneself in the place of others. Weber disputed many of the ideas of Marx. Unlike Marx, who believed religion hampered social change, Weber believed that religion could promote social change. Unlike Marx, and despite his own belief in the subjective nature of human behavior, Weber stressed that sociologists must be value-free in their research. Like Marx, Weber was interested in power and conflict within society, however his analysis went beyond the role of the economic system. Weber identified rationalization as a significant feature of modern society. He argued that as society moves from preindustrial to industrial, the use of knowledge, reason, planning, and objectivity would progressively replace the importance of personal and traditional relationships, and superstitious thinking. An important consequence of rationalization is the growth of bureaucracy as the dominant organization form. Weber's contributions include studies of the nature of power, bureaucracy, the religions of the world, the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism, and the nature of social classes.

- B. *Sociology in America*—Today, most sociologists are American. Sociology developed in the United States in the rapid transitions that took place after the Civil War. Like Comte, Lester Ward, the founder of American sociology, believed that industrial society could be improved by sociological analysis. The University of Chicago was at the forefront of American sociology from 1892 until World War II. There sociologists theorized about human nature and personality, and investigated social problems associated with urbanization and industrial society. In its early years, The Chicago School of sociology became associated with social reform. Concern for problems associated with poverty, crime, and race continued in the Chicago School even after World War II. Although there were women working on sociological research at the Chicago school, the majority of women were denied faculty positions in sociology and contributed to the development of social work. After WWII, sociology became prominent in eastern and Midwestern universities, where neo-positivism and structural functionalism dominated. The focus was on establishing sociology as a science, and social reform was not a concern until the 1960s when social unrest motivated the emergence of humanistic sociology, which argues that sociologists have an obligation to question unequal social arrangements.

Jane Addams was the most famous and influential early female social reformer in the United States. She worked to establish sociology as a discipline, and to further develop European theory. Unlike her male colleagues, Addams did not believe that individuals are socially determined; she argued that individuals could exercise their own will in their behavior. Addams life purpose was to fight against social injustice. She was a co-founder of Hull House in Chicago, a place that provided support to the sick, elderly, and poor in the city, where she encouraged sociologists at the University of Chicago to visit to observe firsthand the consequences of social injustice. Other sociologists feared that reform efforts would impede the establishment of sociology within the university. Thus, and in part, no doubt, because she was female, Addams was not widely recognized as a sociologist at the time of her work. She did not teach at a university but worked directly with the poor. Jane Addams was active in the suffrage and peace movements and is the only sociologist to have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which she won in 1931.

W. E. B. Du Bois was an African American educator and activist. He earned a Ph.D. at Harvard and taught at black colleges. Because of his own experience with racism, much of his work was directed at challenging what was called "the Negro problem," a policy based on the assumption that blacks were an inferior race. Du Bois used sociological analysis to study the social structure of black communities; his classic work, *The Philadelphia Negro*, describes the lives of urban African Americans. Additionally, Du Bois worked for civil rights, and was

the only black member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People when it was founded in 1910. Du Bois was also interested in the contributions of African descendants throughout the world; he was active in the Pan African movement.

V. Major Theoretical Perspectives

- A. *Theory and Perspective*—Even in the physical sciences, it is normal for scientific theories to compete with each other. There may be no proof that one is better than another, or they may each describe different aspects of reality. Major theoretical perspectives in sociology are opposed to one another. A person's perspective highlights or draws attention to some things, while putting others in the background, or making them altogether invisible. The three major perspectives in sociology are *functionalism* and *conflict theory*, both macro-level theories, and *symbolic interactionism* that views interaction at the micro level. Each perspective draws attention to different aspects of human behavior. Together they can be used to highlight most important dimensions of social life investigated by sociologists.
- B. *Macrosociology: Functionalism*—Functionalism emphasizes the contributions (functions) that all parts of society (e.g., social institutions) make within society. Functionalism stresses social organization, stability, order, and cooperation. Herbert Spencer, who compared societies to living organisms, was a pioneer of this perspective. Emile Durkheim was also a major European proponent of functionalism. In America, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton have been functionalism's strongest supporters. Functionalism views society as an integrated whole, in which changes in one aspect lead to changes in other parts. According to this view, societies are inherently stable and will tend to return to stability following any type of upheaval or disruption. This constantly shifting balance is termed dynamic equilibrium; disruptions are absorbed into society, creating some change but not radically altering it. According to functionalism, most aspects of society promote its survival and welfare. Robert Merton labeled intended recognized contributions as manifest functions, and contributions that are unrecognized until later as latent functions. When aspects of society do not make a positive contribution, they result in dysfunctions. Consensus on societal values contributes to the high degree of cooperation within society. Critics of functionalism argue that it supports the status quo, and neglects social change.
- C. *Macrosociology: Conflict Theory*—The work of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and George Simmel forms the basis of conflict theory, which emphasizes conflict, competition, and change within society. While Marx argued that class conflict was inevitable within society, more contemporary theorists identify conflict between other segments of society such as union and management, or Republicans and Democrats. The assumptions of conflict theory are essentially the reverse of functionalism. While functionalism stresses basic consensus within society, conflict theory focuses on competition between groups desiring to promote their own interests and values. Power is defined as the ability to control the behavior of others, even against their will. According to the conflict perspective, those with the most power in society will have the greatest access to resources such as wealth, privilege, and prestige. The powerful may make rules that enhance their power. For example, income tax laws benefit corporations and wealthy individuals, many of whom pay much less than their fair share of taxes. Other examples include subsidies to the producers of various products, such as sugar, and corporate farm subsidies. Conflict theorists assume that social change is continual, and driven by conflict between different groups in society. For example, a great deal of social change has resulted from the Women's Movement.

Functionalism and conflict theory each emphasize different aspects of human social life. They each have advantages and disadvantages. Functionalism explains cooperation, consensus, and stability, while conflict theory explains constraint, conflict, and social change. One attempt to synthesize the two perspectives examines the conditions under which conflict and cooperation occur. Gerhard Lenski and others have argued that as societies move from subsistence to affluence conflict increases.

- D. *Microsociology: Symbolic Interactionism*—Max Weber and George Simmel were the earliest contributors to symbolic interactionism, the perspective that argues that groups exist because members influence each others' behavior. The basic element in symbolic interactionism is the symbol (for example: anything that stands for something else). Symbols are concrete and observable, but they may refer to abstract ideas. The meaning of symbols is created by those who use them, and social interaction is based on the mutual understanding of symbols. Herbert Blumer coined the term, symbolic interactionism, and named its three assumptions. First, the meaning of a symbol is learned from others' reactions to it. Secondly, once understood, symbols become the basis for human behavior. A third assumption is that symbols are used to imagine how others will respond to our behavior prior to our action. In this way, symbols are involved in guiding our behavior according to expectations that we have for one another.

Erving Goffman introduced an approach within symbolic interactionism called dramaturgy, which understands human interaction as a type of performance. Like actors, people present themselves in the most favorable way possible. Goffman called this presentation of self, and impression management. Like theatre performance, human behavior may have a front (public) and back (behind the scenes) stage. Behavior is managed and changed within different settings. Symbolic interactionists have analyzed behaviors in diverse areas, such as bars, sporting events, and religious rituals.

As a micro-level perspective, symbolic interactionism does not always recognize the larger social forces that influence behavior. Anthony Giddens developed structuration theory to overcome this limitation. He recognizes that structures shape the individual, but also emphasizes that individuals have an effect on social structures.

Different theoretical perspectives emphasize different aspects of social life. None is superior to the others, and the three major theoretical perspectives complement each other. For example, an investigation of unequal pay for women demonstrates the unique contributions of each. Functionalism would see inequality in pay as a dysfunction resulting from broader sexual inequality. Conflict theorists would contrast men's greater power to that of women. Symbolic interactionists would explore how pay has come to represent relative inequality. Because each perspective emphasizes different aspects of social life, one is not superior or inferior to the others.

VI. TWO EMERGING SOCIAL THEORIES

- A. *Feminist Social Theory*—Feminist social theory uses the gender structure of society to explain the lives of men and women. This type of theory includes at least three different frameworks. Liberal feminism advocates equal opportunities for women and other basic rights. Liberal feminists operate within the existing structure of society, rather than challenging it. While liberal feminists view unequal rights as the basis of women's subordination, radical feminists trace oppression to the fact that societies are dominated by men. Radical feminists emphasize how male supremacy has been used by men to maintain their power and to control social institutions. Socialist feminism views both capitalism and patriarchy as sources of women's subordination. All these types of feminist theory share the belief that sociology is biased from years of dominance by white middle-class males. In addition, all argue that gender is sociological, not psychological, and that it is embedded in the social structure.
- B. *Postmodern Social Theory*—Postmodern refers to a complex and diverse body of theory. While very different, all postmodern theories challenge the Enlightenment belief in rational thought as the basis for human behavior, and that scientific methods can discover objective truth. Within postmodern theory there is not objective truth; everything is culturally relative. Postmodernists do actually have some basic truths, for example that subjugation stunts women, but argue that a pretense of objectivity serves to legitimate the power of some over others. More than a coherent body of theory, postmodernism is better understood as analysis of social conditions. Postmodern thought emerged during the post-WWII transition from an industrial to a postindustrial economy. In postindustrial society, knowledge and the provision of services are more important sources of power than production of material goods. Globalization is an important aspect of postmodernism, as the boundaries between countries become less rigid and nations share economic, political, and social arrangements.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Select several familiar daily actions or activities, performed alone or in groups. Make index cards with one activity or action per card. Depending on the size of the class, make three to five duplicate cards for the same activity. Organize a deck of these cards and shuffle them. Pass them out to the class, one per student. Then ask students to look at the action or activity they have been given and to make a very detailed list of the behaviors that are involved, as well as any "rules" for the behavior. For example, using an ATM machine involves waiting one's turn, and generally people give each other privacy while waiting. Ordering food at a fast food restaurant involves a standard exchange of greetings, a prompt from the server asking if one wants additional items, an exchange of money, etc. To clarify, ask students to think in terms of writing a script that someone unfamiliar with the situation could follow. Then have the students get into groups comprised of the others who have the same activity. Ask them to compare their lists or scripts and note the degree to which they are the same or differ from each other. They should discuss why there are similarities, and also explain why there are some differences. Of course, the point is that there are patterns of behavior and these are what sociologists study. The point can also be made that behavior is not completely determined by outside forces; people individualize their experiences in various ways. Individuals shape society and society shapes individuals.

2. This activity can be used to illustrate how a social situation determines the value people attach to various elements of their culture. Bring some candy (M&Ms work well) into the classroom and give a few to a student willing to participate in a demonstration. If the class is small enough, it helps to distribute a few pieces to everyone. After the students have the candy in their possession, begin a discussion as to whether any would be willing to trade their candy for a few small pebbles (you also bring these). Most students will likely decline. Ask them why they value the candy more than the rocks? What if the rocks were actually diamonds? Could there be a social situation in which rocks would be deemed more valuable? What about another cultural setting?
3. Pick a social problem that might lend itself to analysis within a number of different disciplines. Issues like drug abuse, health problems, and mental health diagnoses might work best because they may be studied within a number of different disciplines. Work as a class, or organize small discussion groups. Ask students to describe how different disciplines, including sociology, might approach the study of these problems. What questions might concern a sociologist, but be of less interest to a psychologist, for example? How might the analysis of drug addiction by a physician differ from that of a sociologist? Use examples and discussion to bring out some of the distinctive features of sociology as a discipline.
4. Purchase multiple jigsaw puzzles that have about 200 pieces. Put the puzzles together outside of class, and carefully remove the edge pieces, keeping these in a small bag. Put the remaining pieces back into the original box. During class, divide students into groups and give each group a puzzle in the box and ask them to work together to put it together. They will likely find the task a little difficult, and some may complain that they do not have the edge pieces to work with. Ask why the edge pieces are important. Use this exercise to develop the idea of a theoretical framework. It helps us to better see and understand the content if we have a way in which to frame it, an outline of how things should fit together. This “outline” is provided by the different types of sociological theory.
5. Divide the students into groups of about five. Ask the students to work together to create a skit, to be performed for the class, that demonstrates the dramaturgical perspective, including front and back stage behavior. As the skits are performed, ask students to consider how they knew how to play these various roles without having seen a script. Where did they learn their expectations for different roles? How are front and back stage behaviors related to impression management?

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. What is sociology? Discuss Shepard’s illustration of how the various social sciences approach the study of the family. This allows discussion of the bounds of sociology by locating it in the larger framework of the social sciences.
2. What is the sociological imagination? Why is it important to the student as an individual? Why is it important in the study of sociology? The concept of sociological imagination is fundamental to understanding how sociologists work. Illustrate how its application will enable students to gain an understanding of how the social world affects their own individual experience. Ask students to give examples of personal troubles they or their friends may be experiencing. Then, as a class, ask students to develop the social issues aspects of those personal troubles. The ability to make these connections was termed by C. Wright Mills the sociological imagination.

Suggestions for discussion:

- How might a student’s choice of a college or university be affected by other social factors? Did economics have anything to do with the options available to them? Did religious factors have anything to do with their choices?
 - Could each student’s options regarding his or her major be limited by other social factors? Does gender affect the options of majors students are directed to consider?
 - Is the sociological imagination a useful tool for other disciplines? Why or why not?
3. Discuss how one’s perspective affects how he or she analyzes social issues. Ask students to consider their own beliefs about what causes poverty, and why some people remain poor throughout their lives. This could be a discussion, or a brief in-class writing exercise. Then ask them to note the basis for their beliefs; where do these come from? Apply the concept of sociological imagination by asking students to consider how their beliefs might differ if they were raised in an economic class much higher or lower than their own. As they discuss issues surrounding poverty, this may create opportunities for illustrating the difference between the functional and conflict perspectives.

4. Until recently most introductory textbooks were remiss in the area of diversity because they often failed to include pioneering sociologists other than European and European-American men. This textbook, with the inclusion of Harriet Martineau, Jane Addams, and W.E.B. Du Bois, addresses this omission. However, more can be done. Give students an out-of-class assignment to identify other pioneering sociologists, both European and American, through use of library and Internet resources. The expectation is that they will identify persons other than white males. Ask students to learn what they can about the background and social environment of the sociologists they investigate. Engage students in a discussion of what they have learned, and possible explanations for why some sociologists become better known than others. Demonstrate the application of functional and conflict theories.
5. Present an overview of the models of society proposed by Marx, Durkheim, and Weber in order to illustrate their differences. While noting differences, it is also important to emphasize that each of these theorists was addressing concerns about the social impact of a rapidly industrializing society.

For Marx, you might begin by reading a well-known paragraph from the *Communist Manifesto*:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

Ask students to use information from the text, as well as this quotation, to describe what they believe would be Marx's model of society. According to Marx, the driving force in society was conflict between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. He defined the bourgeoisie as those who owned the means of production. The proletariat was the group forced to sell their labor to the bourgeoisie in order to survive. Do students think this analysis is still relevant in today's society? Why or why not?

While Weber did not give a clear and concise model like Marx, he was concerned about many of the same issues. Weber was concerned about how society "rationalizes" as it becomes more modern. What is "rationalization?" In addition to offering a definition from Weber, it is useful to present George Ritzer's *The McDonaldization of Society* as a contemporary example of rationalization. Ritzer identifies four components to rationalization as McDonaldization:

1. *Efficiency*: Always finding more streamlined ways of processing large numbers of goods or services;
2. *Predictability*: Doing things the same way every time so that the results are consistent;
3. *Calculability*: Increasing reliance on quantifiable phenomena; and
4. *Control*: Reducing the amount of control human have over any given process and placing it under technological control. Weber recognized the benefits of rationalization (ask students to enumerate them). What difficulties arise from rationalization/McDonaldization (ask students to consider these as well)? Weber believed that rationalization brought dehumanization and "disenchantment", but that it was also inevitable. Ask students if they agree.

While Marx was interested in conflict as the driving force in society, Durkheim was interested in studying the importance of cooperation. How do various elements of society work in concert to make society run smoothly? To do this, Durkheim wanted to find out what bound people together in various societies. According to Durkheim, people in primitive societies are bound together by what he called mechanical solidarity, a social order in which people are bound together, not by economic interdependence, but by a commonality of sentiment. It is an emotional, value-based consensus. People in a society bound together by mechanical solidarity share the same values, beliefs, and norms.

As societies modernize, we tend to divide the labor for the sake of efficiency. What occurs when this happens? People are divided up based upon the type of work they do. When this occurs, they don't have sufficient opportunities to interact with other people in order to reinforce their common values. Therefore, a new type of solidarity develops, namely, organic solidarity: a social order in which people are bound together, not by a commonality of sentiment, but by economic interdependence. In other words, as we become divided according to the type of work we do, this specialization causes us to be more dependent on other people economically.

Like Weber, Durkheim was concerned about the loss of mechanical solidarity. What would happen if people lost those common values and beliefs? He believed it would become a somewhat inhuman place to live. In fact, he felt that mechanical solidarity was so essential that the places where we work would take on the responsibility of re-creating a sense of mechanical solidarity among their employees.

Why do we look at these three theorists together and in comparison to each other? The approaches taken by these theorists are extremely different, yet each was concerned with essentially the same basic issue—the transformation from primitive to modern society. What is the nature of that transformation? What are the costs, the human toll, of that transformation? Engage students in a discussion with questions as to whether or not they believe the transformation of society is complete, and if they think the concerns expressed by Marx, Weber, and Durkheim are still relevant today.

- Apply conflict theory and functionalism to the study of poverty in society. Does conflict theory view poverty differently than functional theory? Why or why not? Introduce Herbert Gans' use of functional theory in explaining the positive functions of poverty (see "The Uses of Poverty: The Poor Pay All." *Social Policy*, Vol. 2 (July/August 1971): pp. 20–24). See also the final chapter of Barbara Ehrenreich's book *Nickel and Dimed* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001).
- Introduce Lewis Coser's classic work, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: Free Press, 1956). Explain how Coser developed the paradox of describing functionalism and conflict theory as opposing perspectives. According to Coser, conflict may be functional in a number of ways: it may help in establishing and maintaining social identities, serve to prevent group dissolution under stress by providing a tension release, and serve to create coalitions where they would otherwise not exist. Fear of conflict may lead to suppression of hostility and create more severe problems within a group or other type of social structure. Conflict may, in reality, increase internal cohesion within a group. Therefore, according to Coser, social conflict is only dysfunctional when there is insufficient tolerance for and an inability to accommodate conflict within the social structure.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Television

Lost Children of Rockdale County (90 minutes)

This Peabody Award winning documentary by Frontline begins with an investigation into a rare syphilis outbreak among a set of affluent teenagers from 1996. It expands from there into a discussion of the changing expectations of teenagers and their loneliness, reasons for engaging in risky behavior and the structures of their families. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/georgia/>.

Documentaries

Roger and Me (91 min.)

Michael Moore's early documentary is about the impact of General Motors layoffs on the town of Flint, Michigan and its residents. The film provides a nice opportunity for students to think about the sociological imagination or to identify different ways that theorists (structural functionalists, conflict theorists and symbolic interactionists) might interpret one event.

Many Ways to See the World: A Thirty-Minute Tour of World Map Images (30 minutes)

This short film looks at the political, social and scientific issues that influence how mapmakers depict the earth, its political and geographic features and the size and relationship of countries to one another. I think this film would be useful at the beginning of an introductory sociology course to encourage students to think critically about the information they perceive and to reconsider the ways we have traditionally thought about the world. Available at <http://mediaed.org>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

- Type "sociological imagination" into an internet search engine. From the results, select at least four different sites including Wikipedia, for comparison. Compare how each of these sites describes the sociological imagination, noting any significant differences. Note, also, the nature of the sites; e.g. are they academic, a personal blog, an organization or institutional group? Be prepared to discuss similarities and differences, with reference to the source of the information.
- Visit the website of the American Sociological Association to explore career opportunities for students who major in sociology. Select the section "Teaching and Learning" and then find "Student Resources." Review the articles listed in "Facts on Sociology Careers" and write a brief summary of the job prospects for sociology majors. <http://www.asanet.org/>

- Go to the homepage for the Death Penalty Information Center at <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/>. Read some of the information published at this site. After reading the literature, which theoretical perspective do you think this organization subscribes to? What factors lead you to your conclusion?
- Visit www.youtube.com and you'll find a surprising number of videos related to Karl Marx. Watch several, and write a brief essay comparing them to each other in terms of their perspective. Try to answer the following questions: is the video maker conveying a positive or critical message about Marx? Does the video seem to be an accurate portrayal of Marx's ideas, based on your understanding from the textbook? What specific motivation do you believe someone had for making these particular videos? Include the specific URLs for each of the videos you select.
- Using a news online provider (e.g., *New York Times* online, *Yahoo! News*, *AOL News*), select a story from today's headlines. Apply each of the three major sociological perspectives to the news story. How would each interpret the news item? What questions would each of the perspectives ask? What would they focus on; what would they likely overlook? Submit your news story with your brief news story analysis.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- Pew Research Center, Social and Demographic Trends. This link is to an article about the Millennial Generation, specifically. The site has a full research report on characteristics of different generations of Americans, as well as graphics and shorter articles. This site could be used to illustrate the intersection of history and biography that C. Wright Mills described in the sociological imagination. <http://pewsocialtrends.org/2010/02/24/millennials-confident-connected-open-to-change/>
- This site presents and explains optical illusions and visual phenomena. The link is to a page of illusions that can be experienced by the viewer. The site explains these, and the science of visual phenomena. A quotation from the site helps to explain how the site could be used with introductory sociology students: "As Purkinje put it: 'Illusions of the senses tell us the truth about perception' (cited by Teuber 1960)." <http://www.michaelbach.de/ot/>
- The film, *Koyaanisqatsi: Life Out of Balance* (1982), directed by Godfrey Reggio, produced by Francis Copolla, and with music by Philip Glass, is a visual depiction of patterns of human behavior and their impact on the environment. The film may be a bit slow moving for today's students, but you can mark and show specific segments rather than showing the entire film which is about one and a half hours in length. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sps6C9u7ras>
- Jane Addams' work lives on in the Jane Addams Hull House Association, an organization that continues to help the poorest individuals and families gain access to the resources they need to be full-participants in their communities. Visit their website for information on their current programs and services, as well as the history of Hull House in Chicago. <http://www.hullhouse.org/aboutus/index.html>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Bourgeoisie (16)	Liberal feminism (27)	Presentation of self (26)
Class conflict (16)	Liberation sociology (8)	Proletariat (16)
Clinical sociology (9)	Macrosociology (6)	Radical feminism (27)
Conflict theory (23)	Manifest functions (22)	Rationalization (17)
Dramaturgy (26)	Mechanical solidarity (16)	Social dynamics (14)
Dynamic equilibrium (22)	Microsociology (6)	Social statics (14)
Dysfunction (22)	Modernism (28)	Sociological imagination (7)
Economic determinism (16)	Organic solidarity (16)	Sociology (3)
Functionalism (21)	Positivism (14)	Symbol (25)
Globalization (28)	Postmodernism (28)	Symbolic interactionism (25)
Humanist sociology (8)	Postindustrial society (28)	Value-free research (17)
Latent functions (22)	Power (23)	<i>Verstehen</i> (17)

FURTHER READING

Code, Lorraine. 2003. *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories*. London: Routledge.

A comprehensive reference for feminist theory.

Mills, C. Wright. 1978. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The classic work that best describes the sociological perspective. A “how to” manual students can use to understand the benefits of sociology and how it can be a tool used to make sense of their lives.

Ritzer, George. 2011. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Los Angeles: SAGE/Pine Forge Press.

A wonderful condensation of Weber’s theory of rationalization. Ritzer uses McDonald’s as the ideal type for a rationalized workplace and demonstrates how rationalization is occurring in a variety of social institutions.

Ritzer, George. 2007. *Sociological Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

A comprehensive text that traces sociological theory from its origins through the present. Ritzer, considered one of the foremost authorities on sociological theory, places the theorists within their social and historical context.

Ross, Dorothy. 1991. *The Origins of American Social Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

An eloquent discussion of early American social science with an emphasis upon sociology. Demonstrates how other social sciences are as integral as sociology in understanding human behavior.

Rothenberg, Paula S. 2011. *What’s the Problem? A Brief Guide to Thinking Critically*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Rothenberg uses brief articles on social problems, written by different authors, from competing perspectives, to illustrate how the process of critical thinking within sociology. Each set of articles is prefaced with an introduction by Rothenberg, and each article is followed by a set of questions for discussion.

Sears, Alan, and James Cairns. 2010. *A Good Book, In Theory*. North York, Ontario: University of Toronto Press.

This short book is not specific to sociology, but does focus on social theory. It introduces students to the process of theoretical reasoning, and why it is important. The book does not focus on specific theories, so much as try to convince the reader of the usefulness of theory.

Turner, Jonathan H., Leonard Beeghley, and Charles Powers. 1995. *The Emergence of Sociological Theory*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

This is perhaps one of the most thorough undergraduate theory texts available. Covers all the classical theorists including those less influential than Marx, Weber, and Durkheim.

Chapter 2: Social Research

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Sources of Knowledge about Society

- A. Nonscientific Sources of Knowledge
- B. Science as a Source of Knowledge

II. A Model for Doing Research

- A. Identifying the Problem
- B. Reviewing the Literature
- C. Formulating Hypotheses
- D. Developing a Research Design
- E. Collecting Data
- F. Analyzing Data
- G. Stating Findings and Conclusions
- H. Using the Research Model

III. Causation and the Logic of Science

- A. The Nature of Causation
- B. Causation and Variables
- C. The Experiment as a Model

IV. Quantitative Research Methods

- A. Survey Research
- B. Precollected Data

V. Qualitative Research Methods

- A. Field Research
- B. The Subjective Approach

VI. Ethics in Social Research

- A. The Issue of Ethics
- B. A Code of Ethics in Sociological Research

VII. A Final Note

- A. Reliability, Validity, and Replication

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Identify the major nonscientific sources of knowledge about society.
2. Explain why science is a superior source of knowledge about society.
3. Outline the steps sociologists use to guide their research.
4. Discuss cause-and-effect concepts, and apply the concept of causation to the logic of science.
5. Differentiate the major quantitative research methods used by sociologists.
6. Describe the major qualitative research methods used by sociologists.
7. Describe the role of ethics in research.
8. State the importance of reliability, validity, and replication in social research.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Sources of Knowledge

A. *Nonscientific Sources of Knowledge*—Motivated reasoning keeps us from being open to new information. We tend to accept information consistent with prior beliefs, and reject that which is inconsistent with our previously held beliefs. This is especially true when the incoming information triggers an emotional response in our brain. Science promotes the use of reasoning instead of emotion in evaluation information.

Nonscientific sources of knowledge are intuition, common sense, authority, and tradition. Intuition is quick insight not based on rational thought. Common sense refers to widely held beliefs, which are frequently incorrect. An authority is someone who supposedly has more knowledge than we do, and tradition is a belief in how things have always been. All of these may involve motivated reasoning, and may lead to false conclusions or misinformation.

B. *Science as a Source of Knowledge*—Because science is based on the principles of objectivity and verifiability, it is considered a superior source of information. Scientists are expected to be objective, to keep their own biases from influencing their research. Data should be evaluated on the basis of its merits only. This is what Weber meant by doing value-free research.

Researchers are sometimes accused of letting their personal biases influence their work. An example is Alfred Kinsey, a sex researcher who has been accused of having an ideological agenda based on his own sexual preferences. Some, like historian Howard Zinn, argue that complete neutrality is impossible; all the steps in the research process involve choices that may unconsciously be affected by personal preferences. According to Zinn, subjectivity in research is reduced if researchers strive for the truth and follow safeguards such as reexamining their thinking, allowing contradictory evidence to alter their view, and making public any evidence that is contrary to their own ideas. Some like Gunnar Myrdal argue that researchers must not only recognize their own biases, they must also make them public.

Verifiability is also important. This means that researchers are expected to detail their research methods so that a study may be repeated by other scientists; that is, the results may be verified. Research repeated using the same methods should yield the same results, or the original findings will be questioned.

II. A Model for Doing Research

A. *Identifying the Problem*—Social scientists use the scientific method which necessitates following several distinct steps. The first step in doing research is to choose a topic for investigation. Topics may come from the researcher's personal interest, or may address a social problem, test a theory, or respond to a government agency need.

B. *Reviewing the Literature*—Once a topic is selected the research reviews any relevant theories or previous research relevant to that topic.

C. *Formulating Hypotheses*—More than one hypothesis may be developed that explains the expected relationship among the variables. Hypotheses must be testable statements. Operational definitions of the variables are necessary to make abstract concepts measurable.

D. *Developing a Research Design*—A research design describes the procedures that will be used to collect and analyze data. The research design states the population (people with the characteristics under study) under investigation, and describes what sample or subset of the population will be used. A sample is a limited number of cases drawn from the population; it must be selected so that it has the same characteristics as the population.

E. *Collecting Data*—Data is collected in three basic ways: by asking people questions, observing behavior, or analyzing existing materials and records.

F. *Analyzing Data*—Data is analyzed to determine whether or not the hypotheses are supported. Since the same data may be interpreted in different ways, the researchers must be alert to their own potential for bias.

G. *Stating Findings and Conclusions*—At the conclusion of the research, the researcher describes the methods used, and formally rejects or accepts the hypotheses. The research results are then related to theory, to other research, and are used to suggest further areas of study. Findings may suggest that theory needs to be altered. The results of the research are made public in some way. This allows others to duplicate and verify the research, or use it as a basis for a different direction of investigation.

H. *Using the Research Model*—While these steps provide the model for doing scientific research, they are not followed rigidly or mechanically. Even when sociologists appear not to follow these steps they still have the research model in mind. Understanding the research process is essential for evaluating research reports. Research conducted without attention to the scientific model will not yield results that can be trusted.

III. Causation and the Logic of Science

A. *The Nature of Causation*—According to causation, events occur in predictable ways, with one event leading to another. Scientists assume causation and attempt to discover the factors that cause events to occur. When an event occurs as a result of several factors operating in combination, it is said to have multiple causation. Most physical and social events are too complex to be explained by a single factor. Because social life is complex and humans exercise choice in their behavior, causation is difficult to determine. Social scientists rely heavily on correlations. The more people within a group to which a finding applies, the stronger the correlation.

B. *Causation and Variables*—Variables are characteristics that are subject to change, or occur in varying degrees. Those that may be measured and given a numerical value are called quantitative variables; those that differ in kind rather than number are called qualitative variables. Income and literacy rates are examples of quantitative variables; marital status and group membership are qualitative. Independent variables are those that cause something to occur. Dependent variables are those in which a change is observed. If hunger is thought to lead to crime, hunger is the independent variable and crime is the dependent variable. An intervening variable influences the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

Two or more variables are correlated when a change in one is associated with a change, positively or negatively, in the other. A positive correlation exists when both variables change in the same direction (e.g., study time increases and grades improve). A negative correlation exists when an increase in the independent variable is linked to a decrease in the dependent variable. For example, as time spent gaming increases, grades decrease.

Establishing causation is more difficult than finding a correlation. Three standards are generally used to establish causality: the variables must be correlated, all possible contaminating factors must be taken into account, and a change in the independent variable must occur before a change in the dependent variable can occur. When two unrelated variables have a high correlation, this is termed a spurious correlation. Lack of church attendance does not cause delinquency. Both church attendance and delinquency are related to age; older adolescents are less likely to attend church and more likely to engage in deviance. Therefore, the correlation between them is spurious. Even if church attendance and deviance were found to be related, a causal relationship still could not be established since the timing of the independent and dependent variables cannot be established.

C. *The Experiment as a Model*—Although they are not often used by sociologists, experiments provide an excellent model for demonstrating causation. Experiments are conducted in such a way as to prevent any possible contaminating factors. The components of an experiment are a pretest and posttest, an experimental variable and an experimental group, and a control group. The control group is a control for contaminating variables and is not exposed to the experimental variable. If the experimental and control groups have the same characteristics at the outset of the experiment, and between the pretest and posttest, any difference in outcomes for the two groups may be explained by the application of the experimental variable.

In order to trust the results of an experiment, the experimental and control groups must be comparable. This may be achieved by matching participants in pairs and assigning one to each group. Alternately, randomization assigns subjects to groups based on chance. Randomization is preferable to matching.

IV. Quantitative Research Methods

A. *Survey Research*—Survey research is ideal for large numbers of people and is the most widely used method among sociologists. A survey asks people to answer the same series of questions. Effective surveys have carefully selected respondents and carefully formulated questions. Representative samples rely on randomization. In a random sample, all members are selected on the basis of chance, so each member has an equal possibility of being a member of the sample. Random samples may be drawn by hand or using tables of random numbers. For greater precision, a stratified random sample is used; this divides the population into categories and then selects randomly from each category.

Surveys gather information using questionnaires, which are written sets of questions, or in an interview during which an interviewer asks the questions. Both types of surveys may use open- or closed-ended questions. Closed-ended questions have predetermined responses from which respondents must choose. Open-ended questions permit the respondent to answer in his or her own words. These questions are much more difficult to quantify.

Closed-ended questions yield responses that are easily compared and lend themselves to the use of statistical techniques. Closed-ended surveys permit data collection from very large samples, more detailed analysis, and a large number of variables, all of which is more easily quantified. Disadvantages of survey research include expense due to the large sample size and a low response rate, especially for mailed questionnaires. Nonresponses in both questionnaires and interviews may make surveys biased. The way in which questions are asked may

also introduce bias. Closed-ended questions force respondents to choose and prevent the collection of unanticipated information. Surveys do not permit researchers to probe the context for the behavior being studied. The researcher's unintentional behavior may influence the results they obtain if participants think they detect clues as to what the study is trying to find. This is termed the Hawthorne effect.

- B. *Precollected Data*—The use of previously collected information is called secondary analysis. This is the method Emile Durkheim used in his classic study of suicide. Sources of precollected data are government reports, company documents, voting and prison records, vital statistics, and information gathered by other social scientists. The U.S. Census Bureau collects information on the total population and is an important source of precollected data for sociologists. The U.S. Department of Labor is another important source, collecting information on income and employment levels.

Existing sources are an inexpensive source of high-quality information. They permit the study of a topic over a long period of time, and because the data has been collected by others it is not subject to the researcher's bias. Disadvantages of precollected data are that it may not fit a researcher's needs precisely, and/or may have been collected in a way that biased the information, and/or may be too old to be considered valid.

V. Qualitative Research Methods

- A. *Field Research*—Field research is appropriate when behavior must be understood within a natural setting, and may not be measured quantitatively. A case study is the thorough investigation of a single group, community, or incident. It is the most popular type of field research and may involve observation, use of existing data and surveys, as well as interviews with informants. The assumption is that findings in one case study may be generalized to similar situations. Therefore, the researcher must identify factors that make the case unique and therefore not applicable to similar situations.

Ethnography is a method used in case studies. Ethnography does not typically attempt to explain behavior. Instead the emphasis is on a thorough and accurate description of a people's way of life is the objective of ethnography. While conducting ethnography, the researcher may or may not participate as a member of the group under study. In participant observation, the researcher becomes a temporary member of the group being studied. This participation may be overt if the researcher reveals his or herself as a sociologist, or covert if that knowledge is kept from the group.

Field studies can achieve a depth and breadth of understanding that is greater than that in quantitative research. Field research includes the unique insights of the people involved. In addition, field research is advantageous because of its adaptability to changing conditions. Field study may be possible in situations in which surveys would be impossible. Disadvantages are that field studies may not be generalizable to similar situations, and a lack of precise measurement devices leaves the researcher dependent upon personal judgment and interpretation. Field studies are difficult to duplicate. The results of field studies are often further investigated using quantitative methods.

- B. *The Subjective Approach*—The subjective approach within sociology has its roots in Weber's method of *verstehen*, the process of imagining oneself in another's place. This approach seeks to ascertain the subjective interpretations of the participants themselves. Ethnomethodology is a subjective approach that attempts to uncover routine social behavior that people expect of themselves and others in daily life. Ethnomethodology attempts to make obvious the taken-for-granted meanings and expectations for behavior in social situations.

In order to understand how people construct their social reality, Harold Garfinkel, a leading ethnomethodologist, advocates disrupting people's routines, and depriving them of their mental maps for expected behavior. The ethnomethodologist learns by observing how people go about reconstructing a coherent picture of social reality after such a disruption.

VI. ETHICS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

- A. *The Issue of Ethics*—Although principles for conducting research exist, they are not always followed. For example, the U.S. government deliberately withheld treatment for African American sharecroppers with syphilis in order to study the complete evolution of the disease. In another example, U.S. military funded research that intentionally exposed cancer patients to experimental radiation in order to understand the effects of nuclear war. These are severe violations of ethics. Placing subjects in stressful situations, neglecting to get informed consent, and plagiarism are also violations of research ethics. Laud Humphreys used covert methods to obtain personal information about men he had observed engaging in homosexual acts in a public bathroom. By being covert, Humphreys denied the research subjects the opportunity to refuse to participate, and his written records placed the men he observed at risk of public exposure. Despite his use of covert methods, Humphreys did protect the identity of his subjects, to the extent of allowing himself to be arrested.

B. *A Code of Ethics in Sociological Research*—The formal code of ethics for sociologists covers relationships between researchers and students, employers, and employees that extend beyond the research process. Research ethics include: protections of rights, privacy, integrity, dignity, and autonomy of the research subjects, in addition to objectivity, high research standards, and accurate reporting.

Ethical concerns often do make research harder, and it is the researcher's responsibility to make moral decisions to balance the interests of the subjects with the need to gather accurate and timely data. Even the most outspoken of critics of ethics violations argues for disguised observation on occasion. The essential point is that care must be taken to balance the various needs and protect subjects from harm.

VII. A Final Note

A. *Reliability, Validity, and Replication*—In addition to applying the scientific method and respecting the need for research ethics, researchers must pay attention to the quality of their measurement devices by emphasizing reliability and validity. A measurement technique is considered reliable if it produces consistent results when applied repeatedly. If the same questionnaire, administered to the same subjects at different times yields the same results, it is considered reliable. A technique may be reliable and not be valid.

When a measurement technique measures what it is designed to measure, it is considered valid. Questions intended to measure parental satisfaction with child care may, in fact, be a better indicator of the parents' need to feel positive about leaving their children with others while they are at work. Measurement techniques do not always measure what they intend to. They may be reliable without having validity.

Duplicating a study in order to determine its accuracy is related to reliability and validity. Failure to duplicate the results of an earlier study, using the same methods, may highlight problems with validity and reliability. Replication promotes the accumulation of knowledge over time. The importance of research results lies in its ability to either verify or challenge sociological theory. There is a reciprocal relationship between theory and research. Theory develops hypotheses that may be supported or falsified by testing. Theory is useful and trustworthy only to the extent that it has been tested and found valid.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Give students a list of things they might “know” about; this should be very abstract. For example, what do they know about patterns of marriage and divorce, about who is most likely to be a delinquent, and how people behave in times of disasters? Ask students to write what they think they know, and how they know it. Specifically, ask them to note where their information comes from. Present students with some current data related to the items you listed. Ask them to compare their prior knowledge with sociological knowledge. When it is different, to what do they attribute the difference in information? Ask students to consider which information they find more compelling, and to explain why.
2. Design a study with the class in order to demonstrate each step of the process. Divide the class into small groups. Give each group a research question. Using the seven steps involved in research design, ask each group to design a study. During the analysis step, instruct them to assume their hypotheses are confirmed by the data. Ask them to draw conclusions from them. Ask each group to present their design, findings, and conclusions for the class to critique.
3. Divide the class into small groups. Bring to class copies of current research papers to class, enough for each group to have one. Ask each group to review their article and make an outline of the research steps and how they are met in the study they are reviewing. After making this outline, ask students to evaluate (to the best of their ability) how well the results of the study may be trusted. Do they suspect any problems with the methods, interpretation, or the ethics of the research? Each group should report their findings to the class.
4. Discuss Laud Humphreys's “Tearoom Trade.” Ask the students to evaluate it with regard to the ethics involved in the research. What potential ethical problems are associated with research using qualitative methods? Can students envision a method with which a sensitive topic like this can be studied while abiding by ethical standards?
5. Give students a list of possible research topics. For each topic, ask them to identify which research method would be most appropriate for gathering data. Make sure your list mixes topics that require different sources of information (e.g., birth rate for their home community, reasons why students don't vote, whether teachers deliver unintentional sexist messages). Ask students to explain the advantages and disadvantages of the research methods they assign to the topics. Explain that each method is a compromise, so researchers are forced to choose methods whose weaknesses are minimal in a particular research situation.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Show the documentary, *Quiet Rage*, about Philip Zimbardo's famous experiment in which college student volunteers were selected to play the role of either prisoner or guard. The film is now available to watch for free online, and the DVD is available for purchase. Either show the film in class, or assign students to watch it outside of class. (<http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/quiet-rage-the-stanford-prison-experiment/>) Discuss the ethical implications of this experiment. Ask students to consider why this study has not been replicated. Do they think it is possible to replicate the study while abiding by the ethical standards for doing sociological research?
2. See the article, "Illustrating the Classical Experiment," by Richard A. Zeller (*Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Apr. 1988), pp. 190–192). The article is available for purchase from the American Sociological Association, and may be found in JSTOR and ERIC. Zeller's article presents a paper and pencil experiment that may be conducted in class. The experiment asks students to predict satisfaction with a situation, but (unbeknownst to students) varies the personality traits described for participants. This is an excellent in-class demonstration of the characteristics of an experiment, as well as the steps in the scientific method.
3. Locate a number of studies on a variety of topics. Without disclosing the specifics of the variables used, briefly describe to the class the findings and conclusions of the authors. Ask students to identify the variables of each of the studies. Next, ask them how these variables might be operationalized. Compare the students' operational definitions with those that were actually used in the research. Have students discuss the advantages and disadvantages of different operational definitions.
4. Show parts of the video documentary of Stanley Milgram's experiments on obedience to authority. Much of the documentary is available online. One source is: http://www.personalgrowthcourses.net/video/milgram_2009-1.
Engage students in a discussion of the experiment, including whether or not it violated ethical standards. Ask students what variables in the experimental design they believe may have contributed to the subjects' willingness to inflict pain. The film could be used as a prompt for an in-class writing exercise in response to questions such as the relevance of the findings, and whether or not the results could have been achieved using a different method.
5. Demonstrate the disadvantages of using closed-ended questions by engaging students in a class discussion in which you construct a survey. Ask students to suggest a topic to be investigated. Then ask the class to brainstorm questions for a survey on this topic. Write the questions suggested on the board, then lead the class in an evaluation of each. What are the limits of each question? As part of this lecture-demonstration, be sure to include the process of identifying and operationalizing the variables.
6. Illustrate spurious relationships using examples of possible research findings. For example, the rate of choking incidents increases in warmer weather; does warm weather cause choking? (No, more children are eating hot dogs, a food often involved in choking incidents, and there is more eating while people are engaged in activities). Males are more likely to commit suicide than are females. Does this mean males are more suicidal than females? (No, males are more likely to attempt suicide using methods that are more likely to be fatal; females are not as likely to use a gun or to hang themselves.)

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Miss Evers' Boys (118 minutes)

This HBO special about the Tuskegee syphilis studies can be used to raise questions about research ethics, racial and class inequality and the U.S. healthcare system.

Internet Clips

Start Seeing Cycles ("Awareness Test") (2 min.)

This fun short public service announcement points out how easy it is to overlook information when a problem has been framed for us. The clip could be used as a precursor to a discussion about framing social issues, priming effects of social cognition, the unreliability of eyewitness reports or qualitative research methods. Can be found at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ahg6qcgoay4&feature=related>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Visit the website of the U.S. Bureau of the Census at <http://www.census.gov>. Enter the zip code for your community and browse the information that is generated. Be prepared to discuss the types of data that are available there. How does the Census Bureau collect these data? Look into the link for Census 2010 for information on the upcoming Census.
2. Go to the website of the National Center for Health Statistics at: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs>. What agency of the U.S. government sponsors this website? What types of data are available there? Why would a governmental agency collect these data?
3. Search the Internet for information about the Hawthorne effect. What is it? Why is it named “Hawthorne?” Describe the experiment that led to the discovery of the Hawthorne effect. What was the original purpose of the experiment?
4. Explore the website for Zimbardo’s prison guard experiment. Review the slide show, and watch the video clips. What new questions or insights do you now have about this experiment? Write a brief response to the questions, “Why is there a website devoted to the prison guard experiment so many years after it was conducted?” and “Are the results of the prison guard experiment still relevant today? Why or why not?” <http://www.prisonexp.org>

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The research on worker behavior at Western Electric, from which emerged the concept of the “Hawthorne Effect”, was conducted by Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger of the Harvard Business School. This website tells the story of the research and the impact it had on the establishment of organizational relations as a new field of study. <http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/hawthorne/09.html>
2. The Kinsey Institute was founded in 1947 by Alfred C. Kinsey, the pioneering sex researcher discussed in the text. The Institute is located at Indiana University and is a center for research on issues of sex, gender, and reproduction. <http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/index.html>
3. There is a website with the purpose of presenting accurate information about the life and research of social psychologist, Dr. Stanley Milgram, who conducted the, now infamous, experiments on obedience to authority. <http://www.stanleymilgram.com/>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Case study (49)	Intervening variable (39)	Questionnaire (44)
Causation (39)	Interview (44)	Randomization (43)
Closed-ended questions (44)	Matching (43)	Reliability (55)
Control group (43)	Multiple causation (39)	Replication (55)
Correlation (40)	Negative correlation (40)	Sample (37)
Dependent variable (39)	Objectivity (35)	Secondary analysis (45)
Ethnography (49)	Open-ended questions (44)	Spurious correlation (41)
Ethnomethodology (50)	Operational definitions (37)	Stratified random sample (44)
Experiment (43)	Participant observation (49)	Subjective approach (50)
Experimental group (43)	Population (37)	Validity (55)
Field research (48)	Positive correlation (40)	Variable (39)
Hypothesis (37)	Qualitative variable (39)	Verifiability (36)
Independent variable (39)	Quantitative variable (39)	

FURTHER READING

Babbie, Earl R. 1995/2010. *The Practice of Social Research*. 12th ed. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

The classic undergraduate research methods text. Babbie is very thorough, covering the entire research process. Covers the logic behind scientific research, how this research is to be structured, data collection methods, data analysis, and the social context (uses and ethics) of research.

Daniel, Johnnie. 2011. *Sampling Essentials: Practical Guidelines for Making Sampling Choices*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

This textbook for students in research methods courses provides an overview of sampling principles. Nontechnical guidelines are presented to help students choose how to sample, and what type and size sample to use. The book is useful for both researchers and students.

Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

This is one of the classic resources related to qualitative research. Covers how researchers may generate theory after analysis of qualitative data, creative use of qualitative data, and the implications of grounded theory.

Marsh, Catharine, and Jane Elliot. 2008. *Exploring Data: An Introduction to Data Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Uses real examples from recent social science research to demonstrate techniques for quantitative analysis of data. Includes descriptive statistics, graphical approaches, and inferential statistics. Has an introduction to using SPSS.

Stewart, David W. 1999. *Secondary Research: Information Sources and Methods*. 2nd edition. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

A concise guide to obtaining and using precollected data. It covers many of the major sources for precollected data, criteria for evaluating its quality, and methods of its use.

Wallace, Walker L. 2009. *Principles of Scientific Sociology*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

Presents a discussion of the context and methods of sociology as a natural science. Toward this end, the major theoretical perspectives are analyzed for their essential elements, in order to make their contexts comparable in application to social data. Provides a clear synthesis of sociological methods and theory.

PART TWO

The Foundations of Social Structure

Chapter 3

Culture

Chapter 4

Socialization

Chapter 5

Social Structure and Society

Chapter 6

Groups and Organizations

Chapter 7

Deviance and Social Control

Chapter 3: Culture

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Dimensions of Culture

- A. Culture and Society
- B. The Normative Dimension
- C. The Cognitive Dimension
- D. The Material Dimension
- E. Ideal and Real Culture
- F. Culture as a Tool Kit

II. Language and Culture

- A. Symbols, Language, and Culture

III. Cultural Diversity and Similarity

- A. Cultural Diversity
- B. Cultural Relativism
- C. Cultural Similarity

IV. Culture, Society, and Heredity

- A. Culture and Heredity
- B. Sociobiology

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Identify the three major dimensions of culture.
2. Describe and illustrate the interplay between language and culture.
3. Discuss cultural diversity and its promotion within a society.
4. Describe and illustrate the relationship between cultural diversity and ethnocentrism.
5. Outline the advantages and disadvantages of ethnocentrism, and discuss the role of cultural relativism in combating ethnocentrism.
6. Explain the existence of cultural similarities that are shared around the world.
7. Explain the relationship between culture and heredity.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Dimensions of Culture

- A. *Culture and Society*—Culture is considered as a people's way of life, including both material (e.g., video games) and nonmaterial aspects (e.g., ideas about love). A society, a group of people who live within a particular geographical boundary, generally shares a culture or way of life. Culture is all encompassing and provides the guidelines for how people live. Human social behavior is not instinctual and must be learned; culture shapes human behavior.
- B. *The Normative Dimension*—One of the three dimensions of culture identified by sociologists, the normative dimension refers to standards for behavior within a particular society. Functionalism is the theoretical approach that best relates to the normative dimension.

Norms are rules that define what is and is not appropriate behavior. They are taken for granted, and not necessarily followed consciously. Because norms are shared within a culture, they explain why people in a given society behave in similar ways. Early sociologist, William Graham Sumner, identified three types of norms. Folkways are norms that do not have moral overtones; they are not generally considered vital to the welfare of a group so the violation of folkways is not usually punished severely. An example would be whether or not to use a cell phone at a restaurant. Mores are norms that are considered to be important morally; they are considered vitally important for a society. Violation of mores is strongly disapproved of, and violators may be severely stigmatized. Using

profanity in church or failing to stand for the national anthem are examples of violation of mores. Taboos are mores of which the violation is considered morally repugnant. An example is incest. In modern complex societies, change occurs so rapidly that the distinction between folkways and mores is not always clear. While folkways and mores are unconscious and develop over time, laws are consciously created and enforced. Mores may be the foundation for laws, but not all mores become laws. Because laws are recorded they may remain in existence long after their usefulness has passed because the society they referred to has changed. For example, it is illegal to play cards on trains in New York.

Norms are enforced using sanctions or rewards and punishments, formal or informal. Formal sanctions may be positive or negative and come from officially designated persons. They may range in severity from physical punishment to shunning. Grades are a type of formal sanction that may be either positive or negative. Informal sanctions may also be positive or negative and may be applied by almost anyone in a society. Different types of sanctions are considered appropriate for different types of norm violations. Sanctions, like norms, vary from society to society. Informal sanctions may actually be illegal, as in the case of dowry deaths in India. Most often, sanctions are not necessary for conformity. We learn to conform as we are socialized so that we mentally sanction ourselves prior to our behavior. We conform without the threat of sanctions because the normative behavior seems appropriate to us, or we wish to avoid social disapproval or feelings of guilt.

Values are very general principles that a society considers desirable. Because they are so general, different groups may share values, but have different norms for enacting those values. For example, the value of freedom may mean freedom from hunger and the right to medical care for some, and the right to free enterprise and free speech for others. Values are important because so many norms for behavior are based on them. Values permeate every aspect of human life and shape ideas of what is appropriate in diverse areas such as family life, religion, and political organization.

Because American culture is so diverse and is constantly changing, there is no single set of values that are shared by all. More than thirty years ago, Williams (1970) identified fifteen major American values: achievement and success, activity and work, humanitarianism, efficiency and practicality, progress, material comfort, equality, freedom, democracy, individuality, science and rationality, external conformity, group (racial, ethnic, religious) superiority, morality, and patriotism. These fifteen values are interrelated. More recent research indicates that while these values still are a fairly accurate depiction of what Americans find important, there have been some changes. Group superiority is less important today than in the past, at least as demonstrated by norms for behavior. While racism remains a part of American culture, norms have changed so that overt racial slurs or discrimination is less acceptable. The list of norms is considered incomplete by others who would add optimism, honesty, and sociability (Spindler 1983). The value of hard work has also changed as Americans work harder at leisure than ever before.

- C. *The Cognitive Dimension*—This dimension refers to ideas and knowledge as parts of culture. Symbolic interactionism is the theoretical approach most related to the cognitive dimension. Beliefs, or ideas concerned with the nature of reality, are the most important aspect of the cognitive dimension of culture. Some beliefs are supported by evidence, but beliefs do not have to be true in order to have a strong influence on culture. People may have very strong attachments to seemingly unreasonable beliefs. Values and beliefs are types of nonmaterial.
- D. *The Material Dimension*—Symbolic interactionism also pertains to this aspect of culture. The material dimension refers to the tangible objects that are part of a culture. Material artifacts have no meaning beyond that which people ascribe to them. Objects may also have different uses depending on the culture in which they are found. The cognitive and normative dimensions of culture determine how material objects will be understood and used. For example, how musical instruments are perceived as holy or not has had an impact on whether or not they are used in church services.
- E. *Ideal and Real Culture*—There is often a difference between what is considered appropriate and how people actually act. This gap is explained using the concepts of ideal and real culture: ideal culture is that which is embraced by members of a culture; real culture refers to how people actually behave. For example, monogamy is an important marital ideal in American culture, while it is understood that a percentage of all married men and women have extramarital affairs. Real culture is not used to explain individual acts of deviance.

Despite the fact that real culture varies from the ideal, ideal culture is important because it sets the standards for behavior within a culture. Ideal culture is the goal that most people attempt to achieve most of the time. Cultural ideals help maintain social order, and they highlight the existence of deviant behavior. Commonly shared ideals lead to the sanction of deviant behavior and that further supports the ideal.

According to Swidler (1986) culture should be considered a tool kit rather than a way of life. In this view, culture provides a range of choices that one may use to solve the problems of everyday life. The concept of culture

as tools helps explain how the content of culture may be inconsistent and may be applied differently by different members of a society. Recognizing a range of strategies available to us can increase our sense of freedom to make individual choices.

II. Language and Culture

A. *Symbols, Language, and Culture*—The capacity to create and transmit culture depends on our ability to use symbols, language in particular. Symbolic interactionism is the theoretical approach that relates to language and culture. A symbol stands for something else; anything may be a symbol. Symbols have no inherent meaning; their meaning is created socially. The same words may have different meaning when used in different contexts. Gestures, including facial expressions, and body movements and posture, are also symbols with culturally defined meanings. The meaning of gestures may change over time within a culture, and be different across cultures.

Language permits culture to be transmitted across generations and across geographical boundaries. Because of language humans can describe, discuss, learn about, and examine things that are outside of their own experience. Language allows us to build on existing and historical culture in order to create new culture. It also is the basis for socializing new generations into a culture.

Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf theorized about the relationship between language and culture. According to Sapir and Whorf, the language we use shapes our perception of reality. Humans' perception is shaped by their language. This is called the hypothesis of linguistic relativity. While language does not determine thought, research does support the fact that language influences thinking.

A society may have many more words for things are important to them, and may not have any words for things that are not considered important. In the U.S. there are many words that refer to aspects of time. Early missionaries encountered people throughout the world who had no word for sin. Because all humans share the ability to learn any language, they are not prisoners of any particular language. Research indicates it is possible to comprehend ideas present in other languages. Learning another language may alter one's perception of the world.

III. Cultural Diversity and Similarity

A. *Cultural Diversity*—Conflict theory is the perspective that relates to issues of cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is widespread. Societies each have their own set of norms, values, and sanctions, as do different groups within each society. Cultural diversity suggests that all members of any society do not participate in all possible aspects of culture. Members of different social categories, or groups who share a characteristic such as age or sex, also have different expected activities and practices. The existence of social categories within a society, each with its own unique culture, contributes to cultural diversity.

Subcultures and countercultures also contribute to cultural diversity. Subcultures are groups that share in the dominant culture, but that also have significant differences. Since the 1960s, there has been a growing emphasis on the cultural uniqueness of different groups; this is referred to as multiculturalism, a movement that accents the perspectives, contributions, and experiences of minority groups. Examples of subcultures within the United States include Deadheads, people of Appalachia, the Amish, surfers, and academics.

In contrast to subcultures, countercultures are groups that deliberately and consciously opposed aspects of the dominant culture. Rebelling against the dominant culture is the central feature of a counter culture. Countercultures are not necessarily violent, but they may be. Terrorism refers to the use of violence or threats of violence to intimidate a government, group, or individual in pursuit of a religious, political, or social goal. Militia organizations and skinheads are examples of countercultures within the United States. The majority of members of a counterculture, even one that espouses violence, will not engage in violence. But the approximately 3 % who do are of concern to officials. Terrorism may be committed by members within their own society, but there are also examples of international terrorist groups.

As individuals learn about their own culture, they become strongly committed to it and may form strong opinions about people with cultures different than their own. Ethnocentrism is the sociological term for the tendency to view one's own culture as the standard by which all others are judged. Ethnocentrism generally involves seeing cultures other than one's own as inferior or even immoral. People, communities, and societies may have ethnocentric beliefs and practices. While ethnocentrism in the extreme may be undesirable, some ethnocentrism is inevitable and even advantageous for society. It creates and supports social bonds within a society.

While ethnocentrism is an inevitable byproduct of cultural transmission between generations, it has disadvantages. At the global level, ethnocentrism leads to conflict, including war, between nations. Within a particular society, extreme ethnocentrism may diminish innovation and creative problem solving, as people cling to

the practices with which they are already familiar. For individuals, ethnocentrism contributes to culture shock, a profound psychological distress experienced when one encounters a culture different than one's own.

- B. *Cultural Relativism*—Cultural relativism is the perspective that practices are not inherently correct or incorrect, but that they must be understood within the total context of the society. Cultural relativism may be seen as an antidote to ethnocentrism. Applying cultural relativism permits one to understand, and perhaps even adjust to, a variety of cultural practices by understanding them within the context in which they are practiced. For example, an Eskimo man offering his wife to a guest, or a Kung woman expected to commit infanticide if she gives birth to twins or a physically handicapped baby. Cultural relativism does not demand that one engage in the practices of another culture, or accept or condone them. Cultural relativism is an intellectual perspective used to understand practices within their cultural context. It may be useful for adjusting to new people or new situations.
- C. *Cultural Similarity*—Functionalism best addresses questions of cultural similarity. Despite the wide variation in cultural practices found throughout the world, social scientists have determined there are many similarities. For example, Americans and Arabs tend to teach their children very similar values, including self-respect, hygiene, and responsibility. Cultural universals are general traits thought to exist in all known cultures. George Murdock (1945) identified seventy cultural universals, including law, language, sexual restrictions, and toolmaking. Each culture may have a different way of enacting the universal; these practices are considered cultural particulars. While all cultures may have a division of labor, that division is not the same in each culture.

Biological similarity may help to account for the existence of cultural universals. All humans must have practices to address procreation, birth and death, illness and hunger, for example. In addition, all societies must adapt to their particular physical environment, and all must have a means of for addressing social needs such as work, distribution, and socialization of new members.

IV. Culture, Society, and Heredity

- A. *Culture and Heredity*—Unlike other animals, humans do not have genetically inherited blueprints for responding to the problems they face. Humans must rely on culture. Human biological inheritance does not predetermine how they will respond to the need for food, shelter, or mating. Without instincts to direct these and other activities, humans rely on cultural practices to fulfill what may be seen as biological needs. Because of cultural differences, not all humans respond to physiological needs in the same ways.

Based on research conducted on twins, it is estimated that about 50 percent of diversity in personality traits is genetically inherited. Other genetically inherited behavior includes reflexes and biological drives. Despite this biological inheritance, it is culture that determines how people in different societies will express these biological characteristics.

- B. *Sociobiology*—Sociobiology is the study of the biological basis for human behavior, including the application of the evolutionary process and modern genetics. From an evolutionary perspective, most human behavior may be understood as self-protective; advantageous traits are retained, while individuals with disadvantageous traits die, and so do not pass on those traits. Sociobiologists argue for the existence of specific genes that govern a wide variety of human behavior, including altruism, creation of hierarchies, and mate selection. They base their ideas, in part, on evidence of strong genetic similarities between human and nonhuman species, such as chimpanzees.

Critics of sociobiology fear the perspective may be used to justify the superiority of one group of people over another; for example, men over women. Critics state that the wide diversity of human experience found throughout the world argues against a strictly biological basis for human behavior. They argue that language and the ability to create culture are stronger than genetic influences on behavior. Contemporary social scientists have begun to recognize that ideas of sociobiology are not necessarily inconsistent with ideas of culture. Genetic inheritance shapes and limits human cultural activity. Evolutionary psychologists argue that sociologists should not overlook the complex relationship between genetic inheritance and human social behavior.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Ask the students to list the items on the traditional menu for Christmas dinner. The students will list the standard menu items (turkey, ham, sweet potatoes, potatoes, stuffing, cranberry sauce, etc.). Ask them to evaluate why such a strong consensus exists among the members of the class although we have never discussed this among ourselves? How could this conformity be achieved? This is an excellent way to illustrate the power of cultural transmission across generations and internalized norms.

2. To demonstrate the importance of culture in structuring the lives of human beings, ask the students to discuss how they have been socialized to understand the concept of time. Time, the concept by which most human beings in modern societies organize their experiences, is inculcated as part of our culture. Often, those who violate the importance we place on time are viewed as inconsiderate. Also, we measure time in comparatively small units. Waiting 2 minutes on hold, or in a fast food line, can seem to be a very long time.
3. The concept of culture as a tool kit may be illustrated while also demonstrating the distinction between norms and values (normative and cognitive dimensions of culture). Ask students to brainstorm a list of widely shared values within the U.S. Then for each value, ask them to describe 2-3 different norms for behavior that would support that value. Recognizing the variety of norms at their disposal illustrates the concept of culture as a tool kit from which to choose appropriate behaviors.
4. Students follow norms every day without consciously examining them. Have students divide into small groups and assign each group a specific routine action. Ask each group to think carefully and create a detailed list of the steps for accomplishing that specific action. They should try to include steps that are normally taken for granted. Their shared understanding demonstrates the degree to which all have been socialized into the same norms for behavior. This exercise also illustrates the pervasive nature of social norms. Examples of actions might include entering a classroom and selecting a seat, approaching a stop light that has changed to yellow, and being a spectator at a sporting event.
5. Alone or in groups, have students consider areas in the English language as spoken in the United States that have a very extensive vocabulary. Ask them to list all the words they can think of in these areas. What does this suggest about their relative importance within American culture? Do they agree these are important aspects of their lives? Are there areas of importance for which they do NOT believe an extensive vocabulary exists? If so, how might they explain their absence?

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Contrast the three dimensions of culture (cognitive, material, and normative), giving the students clear examples of each. To make the contrast more clear, use an extended example that shows the variation in form between the dimensions of culture. For example, use “love” as an example of cognitive culture and discuss our belief in romantic love and what that entails. Related to this cultural idea are any number of material objects, for example roses, heart-shaped boxes of chocolates, and greeting cards. (Note: this would be an ideal place to insert a discussion of the application of symbolic interactionism.) Ask students what they believe are the practices pertaining to the current normative dimension of love. Are they expected to call or send text messages to a person they love; if so, how often? What language do they use? What are the current norms for dating?
2. Discuss the most prominent values within American society. These include achievement and success, activity and work, efficiency and practicality, equality, democracy, and group superiority. Note that some values conflict with each other; how are these contradictions dealt with culturally? Ask students to contribute to the lecture by giving examples of what they believe are contemporary shifts in dominant American values.
3. Explain norms, folkways, mores, and laws. Give an example of each, and for each discuss how it is enforced through formal and/or informal sanctions. For folkways, using student behavior in the classroom or other places on campus is useful for eliciting participation. What kinds of sanctions, formal and informal, are students aware of that govern their life on campus? Ask students to consider how mores change over time. Is premarital sex a violation of a folkway or more today? Ask students for examples of laws they believe are based on mores. Research outdated laws in your area and give some examples.
4. Research and present to the class several examples of evidence of animal communication (for example Koko the gorilla, or research into dolphin and whale communication). What does the possibility of the existence of animal communication do to ideas about language and culture? Is it possible that other species also have culture? As part of your presentation raise the question, “If other animals have culture, does this have any impact on human behavior or practices?” Would we relate to animals any differently if we believed that they have culture?
5. Discuss the concepts of subcultures and countercultures within a broader discussion of cultural diversity and similarity. Students should be able to contribute examples of subcultures to which they belong (e.g., gaming, sororities and fraternities, band). Ask them to describe particular cultural practices for these subcultures and how they are different from the norms for the dominant culture. What countercultures are they aware of?

6. Discuss the relationship between biology and culture. Include in this the distinction between instincts and culture, and explain that the absence of instincts creates a socially constructed world. For example, all humans need to eat, to sleep, to procreate. Yet, these biological needs are not fulfilled by instinct. Instead, different cultures meet these needs in culturally prescribed ways. Give examples. Ask students to consider the implications of the argument over the biological basis for human behavior. If human behavior is largely governed by biology or genetics, what would this mean for social life?

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Whale Rider (101 minutes)

This 2002 film is based on a book of the same name and follows the story of a young girl who is trying to claim her birthright as leader of her family's tribe. The film may serve as a useful starting point for discussions regarding culture and gender inequality.

Monsoon Wedding (114 minutes)

In this 2001 movie about an arranged wedding in India can be useful in helping students think about ethnocentrism and different family structures. Because it is a popular film, it has a romantic, feel-good ending, but can still be a good way to spark discussion.

Bend It Like Beckham (112 minutes)

This story of a girl from a traditional Indian family who wants to play soccer can be used to point out cultural differences in gender expectations as well as the role of family in gender socialization.

Television

Kid Nation (13 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

This reality show took dozens of children and required them to create a functioning society. In different episodes, the children deal with issues of stratification, employment, social status, norms, laws, etc.

Documentaries

Paris is Burning (71 minutes)

This film explores the subculture of New York City drag balls and the poor and gay/transgendered youth involved in it.

Internet Clips

Breaking Social Norms (5 min.)

These two students videotape their attempt to break a social norm for a class assignment. I like to use this video as a cautionary tale for my students when I assign them to break a folkway. Can be found at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zf_PE11vj4k.

Improv Everywhere (varies)

This informal band of improvisers stage huge public events around norm breaking. I like to use the No Pants 2k8 to demonstrate norm breaking and sanctions. The Grand Central Freeze is also entertaining. Can be found at: <http://improveverywhere.com/video/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Have each student identify a subculture in America in which he or she has some interest. Ask the students to use the Internet to find information about that subculture. As they research, have them keep track of the information they get from different websites, and a description of the websites they use. They should be prepared to evaluate the website as a source of information. Ask them to summarize their findings in a report that will be presented to the class.
2. Go to YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com/>) and find the link to the "most watched videos." Watch five of the videos displayed as "most watched" and examine them for content and similarities. Is the content or them similar? What values and norms are illustrated by each? Using these examples of popular YouTube videos, what conclusions might you draw about norms and values within the dominant American culture?

3. Search the Internet using the terms “cross cultural study” or “cross culturally” along with the word for a basic human biological need, such as “sleep” or “eat.” The results should include studies that describe norms for meeting these needs in a variety of cultures. Reviews several of these articles, being sure to note the sources and create complete citations for them. Summarize the results of your research, and include a works cited page.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The website *Koko.org* is also The Gorilla Foundation, dedicated to conservation of the gorilla population which is seriously threatened. Koko the gorilla is widely known, especially for her ability to communicate with humans using sign language. There are clips of Koko throughout the Internet. On the Gorilla Foundation website, there are clips of Koko signing specific words. <http://www.koko.org/world/signlanguage.html>
2. The first non-human to acquire American Sign Language was Washoe, a chimpanzee. Washoe was cross-fostered and interacted extensively with humans. Her adopted son, Louis, learned to sign from Washoe. He was the first non-human to learn American Sign Language from other non-humans. For more information, see the website for Friends of Washoe: <http://www.friendsofwashoe.org/>.
3. Victor Turner is perhaps the best-known anthropologist whose work addresses the role of ritual and symbol within culture. Turner did his work with the Ndembu, a tribe is what is now Zambia. His book, *The Forest of Symbols* (1967), is now a classic example of the interpretation of ritual and symbols within that culture. Turner discerned and described various classifications of symbols, and is noted for his work on liminality. This site presents a summary of his biography and his academic work. <http://www.cas.sc.edu/socy/faculty/deflem/zturn.htm>
4. Horace Miner’s classic article, “Body Ritual Among the Nacerima,” describes rituals of a group located between Canada and Mexico, whose institutions and culture are strongly influenced by “attitudes toward the body.” Here is a link to the article: <https://www.msu.edu/~jdowell/miner.html>. The “Sacred Rac” by Patricia Hughes is another article in the same spirit. It can be found many places on the Internet. Here is one link: <http://www.trans-alt.org/files/newsroom/magazine/976NovDec/02rac.html>.

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Beliefs (67)	Formal sanctions (65)	Real culture (68)
Cognition (67)	Gestures (70)	Sanctions (65)
Counterculture (74)	Hypothesis of linguistic relativity (71)	Social category (72)
Cultural particulars (80)	Ideal culture (68)	Society (62)
Cultural relativism (78)	Informal sanctions (66)	Sociobiology (82)
Cultural universals (79)	Laws (64)	Subculture (73)
Culture (62)	Material culture (68)	Symbols (70)
Culture shock (77)	Mores (64)	Taboo (64)
Ethical relativism (78)	Multiculturalism (73)	Terrorism (75)
Ethnocentrism (76)	Nonmaterial culture (68)	Values (66)
Folkways (63)	Norms (63)	

FURTHER READING

Bellah, Robert, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidles, and Steven M. Tipton. 1996. *Habits of the Heart*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

An examination of the values dominant among middle-class Americans conducted through the use of interviews. Through these interviews, Bellah and his colleagues conclude that an increasing isolation exists between the public and private spheres of life.

Chagnon, Napoleon. 1988. Life histories, blood revenge, and warfare in a tribal population. *Science* 26 February: 985–992.

Chagnon is well-known for his ethnographic work among the Yanomamo, a rainforest tribe who have been described (accurately or not) as the “Fierce People.”

Ekman, Paul, et al. 1987. Universals and cultural differences in the judgments of facial expressions of emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 53(4): 712–717.

Research on the interpretation of facial gestures is interesting. There are some that appear to be universally understood (e.g. smile). Not all facial expressions are universally understood, however, and this may lead to cross cultural misunderstanding.

Reynolds, Sana, Deborah Valentine, and Mary Munter. 2011. *Guide to Cross-Cultural Communication*. 2nd ed. Boston: Prentice Hall.

Compares various cultures in terms of values, such as individualism, and conceptions of time (e.g. cyclical and linear). Explores how values are reflected in language. Includes a section on the cross-cultural interpretation of facial gestures and body language.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1987. *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

An analysis of how the moral order contributes to a sense of meaning in society. This includes discussions of ritual, ideology, the moral basis for cultural change, and the institutionalization of science.

Zellner, William W., William M. Kephart. 2001. *Extraordinary Groups: An Examination of Unconventional Lifestyles*. 7th ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Explores the cultures of several different subcultural groups within the U.S., including the Old Order Amish and the Oneida Community.

Chapter 4: Socialization

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Social Participation or Social Deprivation

- A. The Importance of Socialization
- B. Social Isolation Among Humans

II. Theoretical Perspectives and Socialization

- A. Functionalism, Conflict Theory, and Symbolic Interactionism
- B. Symbolic Interactionism and Socialization

III. Psychology and Life-Course Theories

- A. A Psychoanalytic Perspective
- B. Psychosocial Development

IV. Socialization and the Life Course

- A. Desocialization, Resocialization, and Anticipatory Socialization
- B. Socialization of the Young
- C. Early and Middle Adulthood Socialization
- D. Late Adulthood Socialization
- E. The Sociology of the Life Course

V. Socialization and the Mass Media: Functionalist and Conflict Theories

- A. Functions of the Mass Media
- B. Conflict Theory and the Media

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Discuss the contribution of socialization to the process of human development.
2. Describe the contribution of symbolic interactionism to our understanding of socialization, including the concepts of the self, the looking-glass self, significant others, and role taking.
3. Compare and contrast the theories of Freud, Erikson, and Piaget.
4. Distinguish among the concepts of desocialization, resocialization, and anticipatory socialization.
5. Better understand the socialization process of young people.
6. Describe the stages of adult development.
7. Discuss the unique demands of socialization encountered in late adulthood.
8. Compare and contrast the application of functionalism and conflict theory to the socializing effects of mass media.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Social Participation or Social Deprivation

- A. *Socialization*—Humans need cultural learning in order to survive; human nature is shaped by socialization. The term socialization is used to refer to the process of learning to participate in a particular society, to acquire culture. Socialization begins at birth and continues throughout one's life. Whether it is what to eat or where to sleep, human preferences are shaped by socialization. Personality refers to the set of attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviors that are associated with an individual. Socialization is necessary for infants to develop a personality.
- B. *The Importance of Socialization*—Experiments with humans to determine the impact of socialization would be inhumane. Experiments done with monkeys, and nonexperimental evidence from cases of isolated children, help to assess the importance of socialization. Harry Harlow conducted experiments in which monkeys were separated from their mothers and placed with artificial mothers, one of which was wire, the other covered with soft terry cloth. Even when the wire mother was a source of food, the cloth-covered mother was still preferred. When agitated or

frightened, the monkeys ran to the cloth mother. Harlow's experiments demonstrated that monkeys need physical contact and comfort. Infant monkeys raised in isolation become apathetic, withdrawn, hostile adults who may reject, ignore, or abuse their own offspring.

Monkeys are not humans, but experts on human development do believe that affection, intimacy, and warmth are as important to an infant's development as food, water, and physical protection. Physical contact is important, and children denied human contact have difficulty forming emotional bonds with others. Studies of institutionalized children have found that as little as 20 minutes of extra touching a day may improve their growth rate.

- C. *Social Isolation Among Humans*—Cases of children who have been extremely deprived both socially and emotionally give further insight into the importance of socialization for humans. Anna was born to an unmarried woman whose father was furious with her. The woman was afraid of her father's anger and kept Anna hidden in an attic. Anna was fed only milk until the age of five, was rarely moved, and barely alive when discovered. She was placed in a county home for children where eventually she learned to walk, eat by herself, understand simple commands, and remember people she had seen. Anna was moved to a school for retarded children where she made some more progress. At the age of seven her mental age was nineteen months, and her social maturity was that of a two-year-old. At age eight she could bounce and catch a ball, participate in group activities, and eat with a spoon. She could use the toilet and dress herself, and spoke at the level of a two-year-old. She developed a bit more intellectually before her death at the age of 10.

Isabelle was another abandoned and deprived child, discovered nine months after Anna. Isabelle's mother was deaf and mute and stayed with the child in a dark room, away from the family. Found at the age of six, Isabelle could not talk, had legs so bowed the soles of her feet touched, communicated with gestures, and reacted with fear to strangers, especially men. Isabelle's rehabilitation started slowly as she had a near zero IQ when found. In two years, she acquired the skills normal for a six-year-old, and by age eight Isabelle was at the same educational level as other children her age. Isabelle's rehabilitation may have been successful in part because her mother was with her during the period of isolation.

Genie was kept by her father in an isolated, locked room until she was found at age thirteen. She was completely silent because her father punished her for making any sounds. Genie spent her life strapped to a toilet chair and so could not stand up or straighten her arms and legs. She wasn't used to wearing clothes, could not chew because she wasn't given solid food, and her social behavior was extremely primitive. Four years of attempts to socialize Genie were largely unsuccessful; she could not read and spoke only in short phrases, but she did achieve some control over her behavior.

The preceding cases illustrate the importance of social contact for the process of personal and social development. Retardation of development may occur even when contact with others is not as severely limited. Children in an orphanage were compared with those in a women's prison nursery. While the children in the orphanage were retarded and underdeveloped (a third of them died by age four), the children in the prison developed normally despite the lack of a clean environment. The difference in the two groups is that in the prison the mothers were with their infants during the first year of life. In the orphanage, the children did not receive much attention and lacked stimulation provided by toys. Similar results were found in comparisons of children in institutions with those in foster homes. In addition, a condition called deprivation dwarfism has been linked to emotional deprivation. Children who are extremely underweight and short for their age due to a lack of emotional attachment with their parents begin to grow physically when they are removed from their hostile home environments. Finally, studies comparing children in orphanages with those who are adopted have found the same types of results. Remaining in the orphanage had the effect of retarding IQ in every case.

II. Theoretical Perspectives and Socialization

- A. *Functionalism, Conflict Theory, and Symbolic Interactionism*—Each of the major sociological perspectives contributes to an understanding of socialization, although symbolic interactionism offers the most complete view. From a functionalist perspective, socialization is necessary for members of society to learn their culture and the appropriate behavioral expectations. Consistent with functionalism, socialization assumes continuity and stability; without socialization society is not possible. Conflict theorists view socialization as replicating the social structure. Children are socialized in different ways, according to their social class. Socialization helps to maintain privileges for the dominant groups in society. Symbolic interactionism is more precise in its exploration of the process of learning social roles.
- B. *Symbolic Interactionism and Socialization*—In the eighteenth century, Adam Smith laid the foundation for symbolic interactionism when he suggested that people imagine how they appear to others in order to evaluate their own behavior. In the early twentieth century, Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead developed symbolic

interactionism as they challenged the then current belief that human behavior is biologically determined. Symbolic interaction incorporates some key concepts when applied to socialization.

Cooley noted the existence of a self-concept, an image of oneself as separate from other people, as he watched his own children play. Children learn to judge themselves according to how they imagine that others are reacting to them. Others are the mirror in which they see their behavior; Cooley called this the looking-glass self. Three unconscious stages make up the looking-glass self: first we imagine how we appear to others, then we imagine others reacting to our imagined appearance, and finally we evaluate ourselves according to how we imagine others are judging us. The looking-glass may be distorted if it is not an accurate reflection of others' opinions of us. It is possible to misread another's reactions, or they may be constraining their reactions for some reason. Even if others' reactions are misinterpreted, the result is the same: the consequences of the perceived reaction are the same whether or not it is accurate. Viktor Gecas and Michael Schwalbe argue that the looking-glass is too passive and overly socialized a model. Other factors, such as a sense of having control over one's environment, also affect self-concept. Those with more power tend to have higher self-esteem than those who are more powerless. Self-efficacy contributes to self-esteem.

Mead noted that our self-concept is influenced more by some people than others. The judgments of significant others, people like parents, teachers, playmates, and peers, matter the most to us. Language and thinking allow us to imagine the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of others. We are able to anticipate the behavior of others, and imagine how they feel and respond to different situations. This process is called role-taking; it allows us to see things from another's perspective. Being able to think situations through prevents our having to use trial-and-error to solve various situations.

According to Mead, role-taking develops in three stages. When children are about one-and-a-half to two years old, they imitate the behavior of significant others without understanding the meaning of those actions Mead called this the imitation stage, the first of three stages involved in developing the ability to take the role of others. The second stage, which begins around age three or four, is called the play stage. Mead described this stage as one in which the child takes on the role of others, one at a time. In this stage children play at being various adults—for example a mother, a teacher, or an astronaut. The third and final stage is the game stage. Mead described this stage as the one in which children learn more sophisticated role-taking by playing games that have several participants. The child must be able to understand the roles of multiple people at the same time. According to Mead, children learn to perform according to the norms of the group during the game stage of development. During the game stage children learn to evaluate their behavior according to generalized referents or principles. At this time, the idea of a generalized other is formed, a concept composed of the norms, values, and beliefs of one's community or society.

Mead described the self as made up of two distinct parts: the "me" and the "I." The "me" is socially derived; it is the aspect of self that is learned through socialization and takes others into consideration before acting. In contrast, the "I" is the part of the self that acts spontaneously and unpredictably. The parts of the self work in tandem. The "I" has impulses that may be tempered by the "me." At times the "I" prevails and people behave in unpredictable and innovative ways.

III. Psychology and Life-Course Theories

A. *Psychoanalytic Perspective*—Psychological theories of the life course are relevant to sociology because socialization takes place throughout the course of one's entire life. Freud's psychoanalytic theory argues for the existence of the unconscious. Another important contribution of Freud is the importance he attached to early childhood experiences in the process of personality development. Freud argued that the experiences of the first few years of life largely shape future psychological and social functioning.

Freud described the personality as having three parts: the id, the ego, and the superego. The id consists of biologically based urges, impulses, and drives. The id operates according to the pleasure principle of having whatever feels good; it is irrational, unconscious, impulsive, and antisocial. Infants gradually learn to control their biological urges as parents and others interfere with their pleasure-seeking behavior. As infants begin to learn that others do not exist exclusively for their own pleasure, they develop an ego, or rational aspect of personality. The ego thinks, plans, and decides; it permits the self to delay gratification. The superego develops around the age of four or five. It is like a conscience and assists the ego in mediating between the id and the social world through an internalized understanding of right and wrong. As the superego develops we no longer need punishments and rewards from outside sources, but are able to monitor our behavior internally. The superego enables us to channel our behavior in socially acceptable ways. Freud presented the id, ego, and superego as separate, interacting, and conflicting processes within the mind. The id desires satisfaction without regard for others. The superego prohibits it, and the ego provides the rational guidance for attaining satisfaction within socially approved channels.

- B. *Psychosocial Development*—Erik Erikson was a student of Freud who also emphasized the role of the ego as mediator between the individual and society. Unlike Freud, Erikson did not believe the personality was completely determined in early childhood; he felt the personality could change throughout one's life. Erikson described a different "crisis" needing to be resolved at each stage of human development. He also stressed cultural variation, in contrast to Freud who attributed most behavior to universal instincts. Erikson also recognized the important influence of a variety of significant others, unlike Freud who focused on the impact of parents. Erikson outlined eight developmental stages at which the individual must resolve a psychosocial crisis or developmental task. The outcome at each stage has an impact on personal identity, and mastering earlier stages better enables the individual to meet later developmental tasks. According to Erikson, individuals who successfully meet the crisis at each developmental stage are the most mature, happiest, and have the most stable identities. By crisis Erikson did not mean a catastrophe, but a turning point or crucial period in terms of personal growth. At each stage, the crisis is not necessarily permanently resolved, so that later experiences may still impact self-esteem and self-confidence. Erikson's stages refer to psychosocial development; that is, each requires interaction with others and support from others in order to be sustained. Each of Erikson's crises takes place within a particular social setting, such as the family, school, peer group, neighborhood, or workplace.
- C. *Cognitive Development*—Jean Piaget outlined stages of development related to cognitive abilities such as thinking, perceiving, judging, and reasoning. Piaget argued that children develop cognitive abilities through social interaction, specifically the process of socialization. According to Piaget, children actively interpret their environment as they adjust to it. Cognitive ability advances as children learn to solve problems at different stages, before they proceed to later stages. The four stages of cognitive development described by Piaget are: the sensorimotor stage, the preoperational stage, the concrete operational stage, and the formal operational stage.

In the sensorimotor stage, between birth and the age of eighteen months to two years, the basis for thought is laid. At this stage cognitive development is associated with learning to coordinate body movements as children learn that they are separate entities who can cause things to happen. At this stage, information is obtained through the senses—touching, hearing, seeing, and feeling. An important development at this stage is a sense of "object permanence," an understanding that objects exist even when they cannot be seen. Children begin to learn that their world is understandable and predictable.

The preoperational stage occurs between the ages of two and seven, and involves learning to think symbolically and to use language. Until they fully understand the use of symbols, children have difficulty separating symbols from the objects themselves, and have difficulty with reversals of thoughts and operations. Self-centeredness is a dominant characteristic of children during this stage; they are unable to understand things from another's perspective.

From ages seven to eleven, the ability to think abstractly increases as a child learns to think about time, quantity, and space. In the concrete operational stage children learn they can reverse thoughts and operations, allowing them to spell backwards, for example. Children begin to be able to imagine themselves in the place of others and to act with others in mind. During the concrete operational stage, however, concrete objects are necessary for logical thinking. In the preoperational stage, if water is poured from a slender glass to a wider glass, a child will think the amount of water has changed. At the concrete operational stage, the child will understand that the amount of water is the same. However, the water in glasses is necessary for this understanding; completely abstract thought is developed in the final stage.

In the formal operational stage, beginning around age eleven, children learn to reason without the use of concrete objects. At this stage abstract principles and ideas are intelligible, and hypothetical reasoning begins to develop. In addition to being able to speculate, children learn to consider logical relationships, even if they are ridiculous. For example, "day is dark, then night is _____" would be nonsensical in an earlier stage of development, but in the formal operational stage children will understand light as the opposite of dark, as night is opposite of day.

IV. Socialization and the Life Course

- A. *Desocialization, Resocialization, and Anticipatory Socialization*—As socialization proceeds through the life course, we must abandon old ways of doing things, learn new ones, and make preparation for transitions from one stage to another. Desocialization, resocialization, and anticipatory socialization, respectively, are the symbolic interactionist terms for these processes. Erving Goffman applied the term "total institution" to places and situations such as prisons and mental hospitals in which people are separated from society and relinquish the freedom to manage their own lives. The process of getting rid of old norms, values, and attitudes in order to change one's self-concept is called desocialization. One must be desocialized prior to becoming resocialized into a new self-concept. Desocialization involves things like getting one's hair cut off, and relinquishing any personal items

and replacing them with standard issue items. An elaborate system of rewards for conformity and punishments for nonconformity is used during resocialization. While desocialization and resocialization apply to extreme environments, like prisons, they may also apply to the transition from child to adolescent and other life cycle transitions.

Anticipatory socialization refers to the voluntary changes that one undergoes in order to prepare to become a member of a new group. Because it is voluntary, anticipatory socialization does not require extreme measures. The group against one evaluates oneself is called the reference group. For example, preteens look to teenagers as a reference group for the norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs they will assume as they make the transition to adolescence. This is the process of anticipatory socialization.

Life stages are not universal. In preindustrial societies, a midlife crisis may be meaningless if people have a life expectancy of fifty years, as they did as late as 1900 in the United States. The concepts of childhood and midlife crisis are not relevant in preindustrial societies, and adolescence is a very recent development.

- B. *Socialization of the Young*—For the first few years of life children are helpless and defenseless, and their first exposure to the rest of the world is the family into which they are born. While children cannot choose their family, it is there they will learn to speak and think, and will internalize norms, values, beliefs, and attitudes. The foundation for personality and self-concept is set in childhood; by the time a child develops independent judgment, the role of the family in socialization has been largely accomplished. The impact of the family includes defining each member in terms of social class. Our family of birth helps determine our place in society. These effects extend into adulthood. The social class of one's family may shape educational level and occupation.

School is usually a child's first exposure to the supervision within an impersonal environment. Rewards and punishments replace affection, and evaluation is against objective standards. School provides a link to the broader society and creates loyalty to something beyond the family. In addition to the formal process of learning to read and write, for example, schools have a hidden curriculum, the term for the aspects of culture that are taught in unofficial ways. The hidden curriculum prepares children for life in a modern bureaucratic society by teaching conformity, order, discipline, and cooperation. Educational critic John Holt argues that schools are not always functional. They may place more stress on completing tasks within a given amount of time than on learning. Rules and regulations cover many aspects of behavior, and teachers focus on rewarding correct answers and proper behavior.

The only agency of socialization that is not controlled primarily by adults is the peer group. Children may belong to more than one peer group: neighbors, schoolmates, members of clubs and groups, and other children at church. The peer group gives children the opportunity to learn to negotiate conflict, competition, and cooperation. Children learn to make their own decisions and experiment with new types of self-expression. Peers introduce young people to a world that is sometimes in conflict with the adult world. This contributes to development of self-sufficiency. Peers also help expand capacity for intimacy with people outside of the family. In advanced industrial societies, like the United States, both parents may work at a distance and spend much of their time away from home. Children may spend more time with peers than they do with their parents. Some sociologists argue that peers are more important than parents in socializing children. While this is an extreme viewpoint, most do agree that the influence of the peer group is growing.

Technologies designed to reach a broad general audience are called the mass media. The mass media are a powerful socializing agency, and have the function of informing children about their culture. Children learn what is expected in a variety of social situations from the mass media. Distorted and overly simplified images of different characters provide role models for children. The media also present both real and idealized versions of the values of society, for example, achievement and success, democracy and equality, and consumerism and violence.

Ninety-eight percent of all households in the United States have at least one television set, and almost 75 percent have three or more. The average household watches six hours of television daily; the only activity that children engage in more is sleeping. By the end of elementary school a child has seen 8,000 murders, and by age 18 the same child will have seen 200,000 violent acts. Most sociologists agree that watching aggressive behavior on television significantly increases aggression in children. At times the effect of television is direct and dramatic. However, the effects of television are more often subtle and long term; overtime repeated exposure to violence increases the likelihood that a child will behave more violently than he or she would otherwise. The impact is greatest on children with multiple risk factors, such as gang membership or extreme poverty. Anita Chandra and her colleagues found a connection between watching sexually explicit television programming and teen pregnancy. Teens who watched sexual programming were twice as likely to be involved in pregnancy as those who did not.

Newer technologies have a mixed influence on children. Video games are played in 90 percent of homes with young people who average 13 hours of playing time each week. Research by Craig Anderson and his colleagues finds a link between exposure to violent video games and the likelihood of engaging in physical aggression over time. But video games also bring teens into contact with friends and family online and offline. Researchers have found that playing video games also exposes young people to ethical and moral issues, and decisions about community and city affairs. Teens who play games with civic dimensions are more likely to vote, to raise money for charity, and to convince others of how to vote.

In an ethnographic study of youth engagement with new media, Mizuko Ito and his colleagues have found that the digital world enables young people to learn more about their culture. Most online networks consist of friendships that were first made offline in church, school, or other activities. Teens use online media to pursue interests and find peers beyond their local boundaries.

In addition to family, school, peer group, and mass media, religion may have an impact on socialization, although it may not have the same degree of influence. Youth organizations such as scouting and the YMCA, as well as athletic and academic teams, may also be agents of socialization. Conflict among agents of socialization is inevitable in a complex society, and may even occur within the same single agency. Parents may disagree with the schools, but also with each other, over what are important values. Peer groups and church may have conflicting messages, families may undermine the schools, and feel that the media are undermining their influence.

C. *Early and Middle Adulthood Socialization*—The socialization process does not end with childhood, but continues throughout one's life. Adults must learn new skills, and the elderly must confront new roles and situations. In early adulthood, ages eighteen to late thirties, one leaves adolescence and makes preliminary steps in adulthood. This period ends when one has established him or herself in the adult world. This is happening later in today's world than it has in the past, due large to economic considerations and high rates of unemployment. In the period of early adulthood, one chooses an occupation, and may establish a family through marriage. Occupational success, making a contribution to society, and establishing a solid family life may become important. In middle adulthood, one may question one's place world, what one has accomplished, and begin to explore how best to spend the remainder of the working years. During the forties, one may decide to make dramatic life changes such as divorce, having an extramarital affair, or moving to a new community. More often subtle changes occur: family life may improve or deteriorate, work becomes more important, and individuals begin to plan for retirement. As one completes middle adulthood in the years leading to retirement, personal relationships become more important as does a focus on simple pleasures.

Most of the research supporting the model as described has been done on men. Initial research on women indicates the socialization process is different from them. In early adulthood, women may experience conflict between traditional roles learned as children and more contemporary roles. Women continue to be expected by men to perform most household tasks, even when women are employed in demanding jobs. When women have spent most of their adult lives identified with their roles as wives and mothers, they may experience difficulties when their children, and even husbands, begin to need them less. The death of a husband or a divorce may result in a decline in standard of living and dramatic life changes such as entering the job market or returning to school. Additionally, the effects of aging on physical appearance have a more severe impact on women than they do men. Despite the continuing pay gap between men and women, there is some evidence that women currently in middle adulthood are faring better than expected. New opportunities are opening up for women as their family responsibilities diminish. The current generation of highly educated and occupationally successful women will be even better situated to weather the difficulties of middle adulthood.

D. *Late Adulthood Socialization*—The economic base of society has a significant impact on life expectancy. In preindustrial societies people die much younger than in advanced industrialized societies. Today adults may expect to live beyond the age of seventy, exposing them to unique challenges. In late adulthood, one is expected to withdraw from many aspects of social life, losing major statuses. Older workers are given many cues that it is expected they will retire. They receive less training and less may be expected of them. Yet, there is little preparation for life without work. Many older adults are suddenly cut off from creative and active engagement, and forced to assume a "roleless status" that may have negative consequences for identity and self-esteem. Older adults also face the possible loss of a spouse and may be unprepared for single life. Widows and widowers are expected to resume their normal functioning after the death of a spouse, and there is often support from agencies, friends, and families for learning to reestablish an independent life. Still, widowhood may be considered another roleless status.

Despite the youth orientation of society, a majority of aging adults adjust fairly well. Robert Atchley uses continuity theory to explain this adjustment. The basic life themes and patterns of one's life are maintained, and

past life experiences are used, while one adapts to changing circumstances. According to Atchley, the highest degree of continuity occurs in values, beliefs, ideas, and social relationships. Much less continuity is maintained in activities. About three-fourths of baby boomers intend to work after retirement, and 2007 data indicates that Americans over age 50 remarry at a rate similar to the population as a whole.

Death is not discussed much in the United States and Americans are not well socialized for handling death. Americans do not like to talk about death, especially with the dying. Sixty-six euphemisms for death have been identified in the United States. Popular culture contains conflicting messages about accepting or fighting against death. Death is handled much differently in other cultures. Alaskan Indians have a role in timing and planning for death. Hawaiians view death as a constant companion, a big luau follows a wailing procession for a funeral, and children learn early that death is a part of life.

As the American population ages, more research is being done on death and dying. People are more accepting of death if they are permitted to talk openly about it. Those in hospices, organizations to support the dying and their families, are better socialized because they may share feelings with others who are dying. Elisabeth Kübler-Ross identified five stages of the terminally ill: denial and isolation, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. It is not clear whether these stages also apply to other cultures, and it is dangerous to view the stages as inevitable. The stages are not necessarily followed in every case, and people may experience more than one stage at a time.

- E. *The Sociology of the Life Course*—Care should be taken with regard to understanding the life course. 1) The model of early and middle adulthood is based primarily on males; 2) although there is a general pattern of again, not all people go through these stages. And 3) ages for each stage are only approximates; individuals may enter stages at different ages. While it is possible to view adulthood from a developmental perspective, sociological factors differentially impact the socialization experiences of men and women. Gender, social class, race, and ethnicity all have an influence on the aging process.

Social class refers to a segment of the population that shares the same access to society's resources. Members of a social class may also share attitudes, values, norms, and an overall lifestyle. Economic resources and occupational status are strongly associated with social class, and both have an effect on the experience of retirement. Financial stability and occupational status are both important determinants of satisfaction among retirees. Retirees from higher-status occupations are generally more financially secure than those from lower-status occupations. In addition, higher-status occupations involve more interpersonal contact and more participation in structured activities; these skills and a positive attitude toward group activities may contribute to more satisfying retirement activities and less social isolation and loneliness.

The major sociological factors associated with gender are financial security and the extent of social involvement. Older widows who were economically dependent on their husbands face hardship when their husbands die. If they are under age sixty, they may not qualify for social security. Even if they do, they may still live near or below the poverty line. While women are disadvantaged financially, they are better at maintaining networks of friends, relatives, and other widows. Male widowers have more difficulty expressing their grief and recover more slowly from the death of their spouses.

V. Socialization and the Mass Media: Functionalist and Conflict Theories

- A. *Functions of the Mass Media*—It is difficult to separate the functions of the mass media from the functions of the other institutions that use the media for their own purposes. Positive functions of the mass media include the following. 1) The media provide information about events inside and outside a society. The media enhance social control by publicizing information about deviant behavior. 2) The mass media promote continuity and integration by exposing the population to the dominant beliefs, values and norms of society. This exposure occurs throughout one's lifetime. 3) The mass media entertains by providing amusement, diversion, and relaxation. This reduces social tensions enabling people to function better making society more stable. 4) The mass media explain and interpret events and information, supporting established cultural forms and building consensus within society. This function of the media is particularly involved in the socialization process. 5) The mass media may serve to mobilize members of society in any number of ways: for war, for humanitarian efforts, or for social protest.

Dysfunctions of the mass media are also apparent. The mass media may foster panic within society, increase social conformity, legitimate the status quo, and impede social change while promoting continuity and integration. In addition, the mass media may divert members of society from serious social issues through an emphasis on short-term events and trivial entertainment. The media may also shape public opinion by editorializing about events and information. Cyber bullying is a new form of bullying behavior. Cyber bullying, through the

use of electronic media, is particularly dangerous because 1) anyone can do it; it does not require the courage to confront someone or physical strength; 2) it never goes away; bullies do not generally go home with you, but cyber bullying is inescapable.

- B. *Conflict Theory and the Mass Media*—Marxists see the media as a tool of the ruling class, used to maintain its power. In this view, the media are monopolized by the ruling class for the purpose of increasing profit and power. Workers in the media industries are exploited, customers are overcharged, and profits are excessive. Marxists view the media as supporting the ideology of the ruling class. An ideology is a set of ideas that justify and defend interests and actions. The media serve to prevent the development of a class consciousness and impede workers taking political action in their behalf. The theory of the power elite is a non-Marxist view that also sees the media as controlled by members of a coalition of top military, corporate, and government leaders.

There are three lines of evidence that the media are controlled by the power-elite. First, ownership of the mass media in the United States is being concentrated in fewer corporations, from fifty to five. Television is primarily controlled by four networks; most local stations are affiliated with one of these. Each of the four networks own local stations, watched by one-third of American households. Despite the growth of cable networks, the four major networks hold over 40 percent of all television viewing. They are also part of larger corporations that own movie studios, theme parks, newspapers, radio networks, publishers, and cable television networks, further concentrating these types of mass media. Fox network is the only one located outside of the United States; it is owned by an Australian-based corporation whose principle activities are publishing, commercial broadcasting, film production and distribution, and motion picture studio operations. Further evidence of the concentration of power in the media is the fact that most of the news used by newspapers and radio stations comes from the same two wire services: the Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (UPI). Various mergers, such as those of TimeWarner and AOL, have resulted in the mass media being in the control of a very few corporations.

The FCC has historically prohibited the cross-ownership of television and radio stations and newspapers. Recently attempts by the FCC to loosen restrictions on networks owning local stations have not been successful, the FCC has voted to permit broadcast media giants to own newspapers. The power elite model highlights the fact that the mass media have the power to set the political agenda by selecting what issues will be presented and highlighted. The media can also downplay an issue or event so that it disappears from public view. Thus, the media has the ability to not only tell us what to think, they are also extremely successful in determining what we think about. Television is the most widely shared experience in the United States and exposes Americans to a particular view of the most appropriate and desirable ways of thinking and acting. The conflict perspective emphasizes this point, that the media effectively socializes the population into beliefs that serve the interests of the elite.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. In groups, or working alone, ask the students to consider the major agents of socialization mentioned in the text. Which do they perceive as having the greatest impact on their own socialization? What has been the impact of agents of socialization that are not developed in the text (e.g., religion, youth organizations)?
2. Find children's toys at a local Goodwill, Salvation Army, or garage sales. Bring a variety of toys to class, and distribute them to students working alone or in groups. Ask students to consider how children would play with that particular toy, and to analyze the play and the toy for their impact on socialization. What skills does the toy help to develop? Are there gender role messages involved in playing with the toys? What about anticipatory socialization: do any of the toys introduce students to potential future occupations?
3. Bring clips of different types of television programs to class. Present each clip, then engage students in a discussion of the socializing impact of that program. Be sure to present a variety of types of programs (e.g. drama, cartoon, news). Ask students to analyze the nature of socialization going on in the programs, making connections to the discussion of the media in the text. As they view the clips, remind them to be on the lookout for ideological messages.
4. Have students bring to class a children's book that was one of their favorites when they were growing up. You may give this assignment with enough advance time that students may bring a book from home, but they may also find the book in the local library. Working in groups of 4 or 5, have students share and discuss their books. What was the socializing impact of those particular books? Ask them to analyze the content for messages designed to impart important social values, beliefs, and/or norms for behavior.

5. Divide the class into groups of 4–5. Ask students to discuss, and make a list of, what they were taught in terms of the rules of behavior for boys and girls. What types of behavior was either promoted or discouraged for males and females? What messages were they given about members of the opposite sex? Have the students analyze their lists, and their discussion, for evidence of the dominant cultural beliefs about masculinity and femininity. Ask each group to present their findings to the class.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Use this link to access the article, “Learning the Student Role: Kindergarten as Academic Boot Camp,” by Harry Gracey: <http://www.sociology101.net/readings/Learning-the-Student-Role.pdf>. You may direct students to read the article prior to class, or present the basic ideas as part of lecture. Use the article to engage students in a discussion of the hidden curriculum, as well as socialization.

Gracey describes a very structured day of activities in the kindergarten classroom. Outline the activities on the board (ask for student involvement). Then compare this structure to a boot camp.

1. Each soldier’s hair is cut in a similar fashion.
2. Each soldier wears the same uniform.
3. Each soldier maintains the same schedule (sleeping, eating, and training activities).
4. All are subjected to harsh treatment.

Here are some of the elements in the article to use for comparison:

Structure is imposed by the authorities. While the structure is obviously different, every minute of the day in boot camp is structured by those in charge of the training. In kindergarten, the children usually enjoy the events of the day, but they have virtually no say in determining what that structure will be. In fact, Harry Gracey found that many kindergartners would ask questions such as, “Teacher, why are we doing this?” The teacher rarely felt the need to explain the object of the activities to the students. The reason for this seems to be that teaching them the ability to perform, even when they don’t understand the reasons why they are performing, is the object of the exercise. Likewise, the structure in boot camp life is imposed on the soldiers (they probably have less fun than the kindergartners!). The ability to conform to rules and other expectations (especially when those rules seem stupid or arbitrary) is an important element of this training.

Opportunities for spontaneous individual activity are rare. They are allowed very little time for spontaneous individual activity. The expectation in both environments is that each individual will conform to the structure imposed on the group without question. This socializes each individual within the group to forego their own interests in order to work as a member of the group.

Exposing all members of the group to the same experiences develops a sense of group solidarity. In the kindergarten and military training, the goal is to expose every individual to virtually the same experiences. Why? You might say that it helps re create a sense of mechanical solidarity among the members of the group. After a while, they have a common history, they have shared common experiences, they have similar expectations of each other, and they have a common understanding of what their authority figures expect of them. These commonalities produce a remarkable sense of group solidarity.

Nonconformists are separated from the rest of the group. Perhaps students recall being singled out for their behavior, or witnessing other children punished by being sent to the principal’s office. Looking at this sociologically, very often people who simply refuse to accept or participate in a culture are viewed as a threat to that culture.

2. Using the information above, discuss how functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism each differ in the way they would evaluate both the experiences of kindergarten and boot camp. Highlight the significant differences in perspective, and the types of questions each approach would apply to these experiences.
3. Present the cases of Genie, Anna, and Isabelle and discuss the importance of physical contact, intimacy, and social interaction in the process of socialization. From the descriptions of these isolated and deprived children, what might we speculate about instincts in human beings? Present and discuss the experiments done with monkeys. Explain how this supports the need for warmth and contact for proper development. Ask students if they think the findings in the monkey experiments may be applied to humans. Why or why not? You might also raise the question of research ethics. How do students feel about this type of experimenting with monkeys?

4. Review the process of Cooley's looking-glass self. Give examples of how the looking-glass may present a distorted version of reality. Ask students to think about times when they have completely misinterpreted another person's demeanor or reactions. What impact might this have on self-concept? Email and other types of electronic communication may present even more opportunities for misunderstanding. Ask students to discuss this type of communication and types of responses they receive to messages. Have they ever experienced miscommunication?
5. Consider an important area of socialization, such as gender roles, sexual relationships, or alcohol and drug use. Discuss the importance of family, school, peer groups, and mass media as the major agents of socialization. How might each of them differ in terms of the messages they deliver about the topics above? Ask students to consider their own experiences; have they received conflicting information and guidance? How do they handle these types of conflicts or contradictions?
6. Ask students to describe their own process of becoming university students, both prior to coming to campus and since they have been here. What forms of anticipatory socialization did they engage in? Once on campus, have they felt desocialized or resocialized in any ways? Ask them to be specific about the activities they have engaged in, and the media messages they have received, and the impact these have had (or were intended to have). Note: this would also work as a class activity having students discuss this in groups.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Nell (113 minutes)

This 1994 film starring Jodie Foster introduces Nell Kellty, a girl who was raised by her partially paralyzed mother with little contact with the outside world. After Nell's mother dies, she encounters the world for the first time, but cannot communicate with strangers because of the odd, idiosyncratic language that she developed in concert with her mother. The film could be a way to discuss the importance of socialization and language development.

Television

The Children are Watching (60 min.)

This PBS special looks at how parent behavior impacts children by following four families whose personal struggles are being passed to their teenage sons and daughters. The video provides a good example of socialization or a way of sparking discussion around family. More information is available at: <http://www.shoppbs.org/sm-pbs-children-are-watching-dvd--pi-2560383.html>.

Documentaries

Obedience: The Milgram Experiment (45 min.)

The video of Milgram's classic experiment on obedience and conformity remains a powerful tool for teaching students about the impact of social influence. Despite aging visuals and audio, I find that students are still fascinated by the experiments.

Secret of the Wild Child (56 min.)

This NOVA special looks at the case of a girl who was socially isolated for most of her life until she was 13 years old. Genie's story provides an excellent starting point for a discussion of the importance of socialization and language acquisition. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/teachers/programs/2112_wildchil.html.

Internet Clips

Breaking Social Norms (5 min.)

These two students videotape their attempt to break a social norm for a class assignment. I like to use this video as a cautionary tale for my students when I assign them to break a folkway. Can be found at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zf_PE1Ivj4k.

Improv Everywhere (varies)

This informal band of improvisers stage huge public events around norm breaking. I like to use the No Pants 2k8 to demonstrate norm breaking and sanctions. The Grand Central Freeze is also entertaining. Can be found at: <http://improveverywhere.com/video/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Visit your school's website on the Internet. Spend a few minutes browsing the site, while keeping the concept of socialization in mind. Is the website an effective tool of socialization for the school? If so, to what stage of psychological development is it aimed? What type of socialization is it accomplishing? If it is not an effective socialization tool, what is it lacking?
2. Think of a company that you might be interested in working for when you graduate. Use a browser to locate its website, and evaluate the site in regard to anticipatory socialization for prospective employees. Does the site provide sufficient information and the type of information that a prospective employee needs? Analyze the information presented for the specific messages (overt or not) that are being communicated. Is it apparent what the dominant values of the company are?
3. As Americans are living longer, there is more information giving advice on how to age in a healthy manner. Explore the web looking for sites dedicated to helping people age in a healthy way. You may find advice for health, nutrition, age-appropriate exercises, social life, and retirement. Pick 3–4 different sites and do a content analysis. What messages about aging are delivered in the content of the site? Is the site directed at men, women, or both? Are the messages the same for men and women? If not, how are they different? If someone from another country saw only these websites, what would they determine about our cultural values and beliefs about aging? Give specific evidence to support your findings.
4. Explore various Internet video sites for comedy routines that are specifically about age— childhood, youth, or aging. Humor gives insight into cultural norms, but also areas of discomfort within a culture. Describe several specific jokes or gags, and explain why they are funny. What is the source of the humor? If it is visual, that is makes fun of someone's appearance, describe and examine that as well.
5. One of the primary agents of socialization discussed in the text is school. What about children who are home-schooled? Do they suffer from a lack of the type of socialization that takes place in a school system? Use the Internet to try and find answers to this question. You are likely to find sites aimed at supporting parents who are home-schooling their children, as well as articles that either support or are critical of the ability of home-schooling to meet the needs for socialization of children. Summarize your findings for presentation to the class. Always remember to keep track of your sources, and to evaluate the websites from which you take information.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, has a page on their website that compares high school to college, and discusses the transition that students must make in order to be successful college students. The web page may be useful for the class activity discussed above, asking students to discuss how they are socialized into the university. "How is College Different From High School?" <http://smu.edu/alec/transition.asp>
2. The debate between nature and nurture as the source of human behavior is ongoing. While sociologists focus on socialization, they also acknowledge there is a biological basis for behavior. The website for the Human Genome Project has a page dedicated to Behavioral Genetics that includes a discussion and examples of genetic influences on behavior. http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/elsi/behavior.shtml#1
3. A web page devoted to the architecture of prisons includes a guest article entitled, "The Architecture of Re-Socialization", that explores the role of architecture in controlling inmate behavior. This is an interesting website and a different perspective on the "total institution." <http://prisondesign.org/2011/05/10/chris-alker-on-the-architecture-of-re-socialization/>
4. Erickson's stages of development for children and teenagers are outlined and described on the website of the Child Development Institute. Search the site for more information on the socio-emotional development of children.

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Anticipatory socialization (99)	Ideology (111)	Reference group (100)
Continuity theory (108)	Imitation stage (94)	Resocialization (99)
Cyber bullying (111)	Looking-glass self (93)	Role taking (94)
Desocialization (98)	Mass media (102)	Self concept (92)
Game stage (94)	“Me” (94)	Significant others (93)
Generalized other (94)	Peer group (101)	Social class (109)
Hidden curriculum (100)	Personality (88)	Socialization (88)
Hospices (109)	Play stage (94)	Total institutions (98)
“I” (94)	Power elite (112)	

FURTHER READING

deMause, Lloyd. 1976. *The History of Childhood*. London: Souvenir Press.

This is a classic exploration of the history of childhood as a stage of life. The violence perpetuated against children in early epochs is painfully described. According to the author, deMause, the further back in time the more likely children were to be beaten, sexually abused, abandoned, terrorized, and otherwise deprived.

DeSpelder, Lynne Ann, and Albert L. Strickland. 2011. *The Last Dance: Encountering Death and Dying*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

This is an interdisciplinary textbook on death and dying. It includes a chapter on socialization, in addition to contemporary theory and research on many dimensions of death and dying.

Erikson, Erik H. 1993. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

In this classic work, Erikson discusses socialization in various social contexts. In his discussion of the growth of the ego, Erikson includes a detailed description of his eight-stage theory presented in the text.

Goffman, E. 1962. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Chicago: Aldine Publishers.

This classic from Goffman analyzes the asylum and other examples that illustrate his concept of the total institution. Goffman is particularly interested in the interaction between the institution and the individual.

Grusec, Joan E. and Paul D. Hastings, eds. 2007. *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*. New York: Guilford Press.

Although essentially a resource for developmental psychology, this is a reference book that is useful for sociologists. It summarizes the major theoretical perspectives on socialization, as well as the history of socialization research. This is an anthology of academic articles on topics such as behavioral genetics, child development, and family diversity.

Johnson, Jeffrey G., et al. 2002. Television viewing and aggressive behavior during adolescence and adulthood. *Science* (March 29) 295: 2468–2471.

This is a report of the results of a study of television viewing and aggressive behavior over a 17-year period. Findings indicate a significant relationship between the amount of time spent watching television during adolescence and early adulthood and the likelihood of subsequent aggressive acts against others.

Postman, Neil. 1985/2005. *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. New York: Penguin.

This book discusses the pervasive nature of the mass media, particularly television, and the adverse effects it imposes on society.

Suomi, Stephen J. 1997. Early determinants of behaviour: Evidence from primate studies. *British Medical Bulletin* 53: 170–184.

This article summarizes evidence from animal studies that demonstrates the relationship between early social experiences and development. The author reports that recent studies with rhesus monkeys demonstrate dramatic short- and long-term effects of early experience on behavioral and physiological development. Relationships with mothers and other caregivers appear to be particularly important to normal development.

Chapter 5: Social Structure and Society

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Social Structure and Status

II. Social Structure and Roles

- A. Roles
- B. Role Performance and Social Interaction
- C. Relationship between Culture and Social Structure
- D. Role Conflict and Role Strain
- E. Theoretical Perspective and Social Structure

III. Society

- A. Preindustrial Societies
- B. Industrial Societies
- C. Postindustrial Society

IV. Modernization and the Theoretical Perspectives

- A. Functionalism and Modernization
- B. Conflict Theory and Modernization
- C. Postmodernism and Modernization

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Explain what sociologists mean by social structure.
2. Distinguish between role and status.
3. Discuss the relationship between role performance, role conflict, and role strain.
4. Define the concept of society, and the relationship between means of subsistence and the structure of society.
5. Compare and contrast preindustrial, industrial, and postindustrial societies.
6. Delineate the unique perspectives functionalism, conflict theory, and postmodern theory have on modernization.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Social Structure and Status

Humans are not preprogrammed biologically; culture and society are essential for human survival. Social structure is the way that society is organized. As in a theatre production, every member of society has a role to play. The structure of society contributes to making social life predictable. We have an idea of what to expect from new situations because we have a mental map for group situations. This map or awareness enables us to interact with others in an orderly manner. The underlying pattern of social relationships is called the social structure. Like culture, the social structure must be learned from others.

Sociologists use the term status to refer to a position that one occupies within a social structure. Status defines who we are, and how we stand in relation to others within the same social structure. Some statuses are acquired at birth, others are assumed throughout one's life. Statuses may be either ascribed or achieved. Ascribed statuses are not earned nor chosen, but assigned to us. Sex (except in the case of sex-change operations), age, and in some cases religion, are examples of ascribed statuses. An achieved status is earned or chosen. Being a parent or spouse and one's occupation are examples of achieved statuses. The relationship between statuses is of interest to sociologists.

A status set is all of the statuses that an individual occupies at any particular time. Master statuses are those that influence most other aspects of a person's life. They may be achieved or ascribed. In industrialized societies occupations are often achieved master statuses. Having HIV/AIDS and being physically handicapped are examples of ascribed master statuses. Age, gender, race, and ethnicity are also considered master statuses because they shape

opportunities to achieve other statuses. Statuses are similar to the parts performers play in theatre; the behavior of the individual depends largely on the status that individual holds.

II. Social Structure and Roles

A. *Roles*—Rights are the culturally defined rights and obligations that are attached to a particular status; they indicate what behavior is expected from a person occupying a given status. A status may have a number of roles, and roles may hold a network of statuses together through a system of rights and obligations. Rights indicate what behavior one may expect of others, while obligations let an individual know what behavior is expected of them. The rights of one person correspond with the obligations of another. Patients have a right to expect diagnosis and treatment; doctors have an obligation to provide these. Roles act as a script, indicating to the actors what feelings and actions are expected of them. Culture determines the parts played in any given culture; the scripts will be different within different cultures. The theatre analogy is the work of Erving Goffman and his dramaturgical approach.

B. *Role Performance and Social Interaction*—Roles are activated in the process of social interaction. Role performance is the term for the actual behavior enacted. While role performance may be private, it often involved social interaction. Social interaction is the process of two or more persons influencing each other's behavior. Not all social interaction follows expected role performance.

C. *Relationship between Culture and Social Structure*—The concept of role provides a link between the social structure and culture because roles are culturally defined rights and obligations of a given status. Another link between social structure and culture is the status to which the role is connected. Role performance, the way a role is actually enacted, is yet another link between the social structure and culture. Social interaction is patterned through role performance, and patterned relationships constitute social structure. Thus, the social structure affects culture and vice versa.

Sociologists deal with abstractions, with unobservable phenomena whose existence is assumed through the observation of other observable things. Patterned social relationships are used to infer the existence of the social structure. These terms and concepts permit sociologists to establish the existence of the abstract concept of social structure. Sociological concepts and their relationships are necessary as are concepts in any area of scientific study.

Unlike a theatre performance, most role performance in real life occurs without much forethought. Our behavior is often unconscious; we adopt the ways of our culture acquired through socialization. Another significant difference is that in a theatre performance the actors generally follow the script. In real life roles and role performance are not easily controlled. A third difference is that on stage the relationship between cues and responses between actors is predictable. In real life, we may choose our own cues and responses; we may choose from among different roles. Still, only responses within a particular range are considered culturally appropriate.

D. *Role Conflict and Role Strain*—An individual may occupy different statuses simultaneously, and each status has any number of roles. Conflict and strain is likely to occur. Role conflict occurs when the role for one status interferes with the performance of a role for another status. For example, a student who is employed full-time will have conflict between the role for student and that for employee. Groups and subcultures may have their own unique role conflicts. Role strain occurs when the roles attached to a single status clash or interfere with each other. Professors teach, conduct research, and publish. Each of these roles is time consuming and may interfere with the performance of the others. Students have multiple classes, are encouraged to get involved in campus and community activities, and perhaps play a sport. Again, this is an example of role strain; each of these roles of being a student may interfere with the others.

Role conflict and role strain may both be minimized by setting priorities. We decide which role is most important and act accordingly. We also segregate roles or compartmentalize to keep roles from impinging on each other. Conformity to all roles is impossible, but this is not problematic as long as role performance occurs within accepted limits.

E. *Theoretical Perspectives and Social Structure*—The concepts of role, status, and patterned social relationships are consistent with functionalism because they involve stability, order, and consensus. Conflict theory helps to understand clashes between persons occupying statuses with varying amounts of power, and how social change affects role expectations. Role performance and social interaction are obviously connected with symbolic interactionism.

III. Society

Society is the term for the largest, most self-sufficient social structure. A society is a group of people living within defined territorial boundaries who share a common culture. Theoretically a society has no outsiders, and is able to meet most of the needs of its members. However, modern societies must have ties with other societies. As the world is increasingly globalized, people all over are linked. One classification system is based on subsistence, from preindustrial to industrial to postindustrial societies. Subsistence is reflected in culture and social structure.

A. *Preindustrial Societies—Hunting and gathering*: The oldest form of subsistence is based on hunting animals and gathering edible plants. Other forms of subsistence emerged only about nine thousand years ago. Hunting and gathering societies share some basic features. They are nomadic, accumulate few material possessions, and tend to be very small. The family is the central institution and provides for the needs of its members. Hunting and gathering societies are organized around kinship, as self-sufficient families or loose groupings of families.

Economic relationships in hunting and gathering societies are based on cooperation. Members of the group share surplus with each other. The scarcer a resource becomes, the more freely it is shared. Generosity and hospitality are valued, and thrift is seen as selfishness. Hunting and gathering societies have little conception of private property and thus no social classes, no rich or poor. There are no status differences. The division of labor is based on sex and age. Hunting and gathering groups have more leisure time than any other type of society. Today, only a few hunting and gathering groups remain; these include the Khoi-San (Bushmen) of southern Africa, the Kaska Indians in Canada, and the Yanomamo of Brazil.

Horticultural societies have subsistence based on the domestication of plants, a form that came into being just nine thousand years ago. The shift from hunting and gathering to horticulture occurred over centuries, and led to more permanent settlements. Plots could be worked for extended periods of time before the group would need to move to more fertile land. The relative stability permitted the growth of larger societies with greater population density. The family provides labor for food production and households are relatively self-sufficient and independent of each other. Horticultural societies may have a great deal of intervillage conflict, which results in little death and resembles sports more than warfare.

In pastoral societies food is obtained through the domestication of herd animals that provide milk and meat. Pastoralists may cultivate some land or trade with people who do. Mobility is necessary for finding water and pastures. In some cases, women may stay with the village while men take the herds to different pastures, or if the weather changes the entire population may move with the herd. Horticulture and pastoralism produce a food surplus and some members of society may become religious or political leaders. In addition, nonedible goods may be produced for trade. Surplus may create social inequality, competition over resources, or even the emergence of slavery.

The invention of the plow permitted the shift from horticulture to agriculture. The plow permitted the permanent cultivation of land and the production of more food per unit of land. Draft animals could pull a plow, and increased productivity freed more people from food production. Noneconomic activities such as education, music, politics, and other occupations not related to farming emerged. In addition, cities and more separate social institutions are the outgrowths of agricultural society. The state replaced kinship as the primary type of social organization, and distinct social classes appeared for the first time, based on land ownership. The elite benefited from the work done by peasants. Merchants had higher status than peasants and an economy based on trade and a monetary system developed. Agriculture brought a division between rural and urban centers, and institutional separation including a separation between the political and religious elite.

B. *Industrial Societies*—The industrial revolution brought about the existence of industrial society with subsistence based on the application of science and technology in the production of goods and services. As societies shift from agriculture to an industrial economic base, other changes occur. New technological devices such as the steam engine and electrical power—and later nuclear energy, the computer, and nanotechnology—are used in manufacturing and also in agriculture. In industrial society human and animal power is replaced by machines that are operated by wage earners who produce goods for sale on the market. Industrial agriculture moves away from subsistence to the production of a large surplus that supports urbanization as people move from rural areas to urban centers. Today about half of the world's population lives in cities, and the world's urban population is expected to grow by 72 percent by 2030.

When a single social structure divides into two or more social structures this is called structural differentiation. The new social structures operate more efficiently than the one alone could. An example is the movement of production out of the family to the factory, creating separate and segregated institutions. Similarly, education of the young moves from the home to schools as education is extended to the masses. Kinship declines in importance and personal choice and love replace arranged marriages. In industrial societies women become

less subordinate to their husbands as they enter the workforce. Religion becomes a separate and distinct institution, social mobility increases, and social class is more based on occupational achievement than one's family of birth. These effects of industrialization are easiest to see in newly industrializing countries such as Vietnam and Malaysia.

Three early sociologists each contributed their unique approach for the comparison of preindustrial and industrial societies. Ferdinand Tönnies, an early German sociologist, distinguished between *gemeinschaft* or community, based on tradition, kinship, and social relationships, and *gesellschaft* or society, having weak family ties, competition, and less personal social relationships. Émile Durkheim distinguished societies by the nature of their social solidarity. In societies with a simple division of labor, mechanical solidarity is the basis of social unity. This is achieved through a consensus of beliefs, values, and norms, pressure to conform, and dependence on tradition and family. In contrast, modern societies with their complex division of labor have organic solidarity that is achieved by complex specialization that makes members of society interdependent. The term organic is a reference to a biological organism which survives only if its composite specialized parts work together. Individualism replaces strict conformity in modern societies, there is a lack of consensus, and kinship diminishes in importance.

Anthropologist Robert Redfield distinguished folk society and urban society. Folk society is based on tradition, cultural consensus, close personal ties, little division of labor, and an emphasis on the sacred. In contrast, urban society is based on impersonal and contractual relationships, diminished importance placed on the family, a decline in consensus, and increased specialization of task. In urban society, secular concerns outweigh sacred ones.

- C. *Postindustrial Society*—Postindustrial societies have passed beyond industrialism and are more based on service industries than manufacturing. Postindustrialism relies on expertise in production, consumption, and government. Five features of postindustrial society were identified by Daniel Bell: 1) the majority of the labor force is employed in services rather than agriculture or manufacturing; 2) white-collar employment replaces blue-collar work; 3) theoretical knowledge used for innovations and the creation of policy is the key organizing feature. Educational and research institutions increase in importance. 4) Through the use of technological forecasting, society can plan and control technological change. Technology is more scrutinized in postindustrial society so that the effects—good and bad—are assessed before it is introduced. 5) Intellectual technology dominates human affairs. Modern computers permit the consideration of a large number of interacting variables; mathematical reasoning can replace human judgment in some situations.

IV. Modernization and the Theoretical Perspectives

- A. *Functionalism and Modernization*—Economic development based on industrialization brings about social changes that together are termed modernization. Modernization theory is a type of functionalist theory that argues modernization is an adaptive response to increase complexity and economic development. With modernization deaths decline and life expectancy is increased, creating population growth. The population moves from rural to urban areas, and has a more complex class system. Middle and upper classes expand, greater emphasis is placed on individual achievement, social mobility increases, and inequality declines. Modernization brings about more centralized political institutions, that are more involved in economic and social affairs. Democratization occurs to varying degrees as power is dispersed. Other institutions take over functions previously accomplished within the family. Extended family ties become less strong and intimate, the nuclear family dominates and the family is not the center of economic activity.

Some scholars argue that modernization brings increasing social and cultural similarity or convergence among modernizing nations. This is the result of the need for an increasingly educated population, as well as the expanded role of government and the influence of multinational corporations. Advocates of convergence see the emergence of a global culture, homogeneity throughout the world. Advocates of divergence do not see the emergence of a global culture. Instead the unique cultural and social features shape modernization differently for different nations. A middle stance favors globalization over global culture. Globalization is the term for more permeable geographical borders through which similar social, economic, and political structures emerge. But these are shaped by the preexisting cultures of different societies. Examples are family structure, which doesn't change in the same way in all societies, and variation in the degree of democratization that modernizing societies undergo.

B. *Conflict Theory and Modernization*—One type of conflict theory, World Systems Theory, sees conflict and diversity among nations. According to this theory, the world is divided into different segments. Core countries are those like the U.S. that dominate the global economy and exploit the resources and labor of peripheral or less-developed nations. Core countries have a higher standard of living, more educated and skilled workers, and a free labor market. Peripheral countries have largely unskilled, cheap, labor and a low standard of living. World systems theory argues that this arrangement intentionally keeps the periphery from developing, to the advantage of the core.

Some argue that globalization is positive because free markets promote democracy, prosperity and peace. Sociologist Chua counters that while democracy does grow, but inequality increases and a new elite class is produced, whose members are of the same ethnic group. The newly empowered majority then turns on the elite ethnic minority with violence and hatred. Another controversial stance comes from Klein who argues that the movement for a global free market takes advantages of crises like war in order to enrich the already powerful and wealthy.

C. *Postmodernism and Modernization*—Postmodernism is critical of modernism for promoting inequality, and challenges its assumptions that there is an ultimate truth and the superiority of reason. Postmodernists argue these stances serve to perpetuate and mask inequality, and protect the interests of the powerful. The massive poverty in the developing world provides some evidence that supports the postmodern perspective.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. The text states that within industrialized countries occupations tend to be master statuses that determine standard of living. Break the class up into small groups and ask students to discuss which occupations they think benefit society the most. Have them make a “top ten” list of the most beneficial occupations. After they are done discussing their lists in the small groups, have them compare their lists with the occupational prestige rankings in Table 8.1, page 209 of the text. Are their lists similar or quite different? If there are significant differences, ask the students to contemplate why this is the case.
2. Ask students to make a list of the statuses they occupy (their status set) and to identify any that are master statuses. Then ask them to describe the roles that are attached to each. From their own list and experience, ask them to identify a role conflict and a role strain. This may be done in groups having each group present some examples to the entire class.
3. This exercise is a fun and simple way to illustrate the concept of roles. Think of several common situations involving social interaction. These could be checking out in a grocery store, a classroom situation, being on an airplane, or going to the eye doctor, as just some examples. Write the scenes one a piece on 3x5 index cards. Divide a small class into groups and give one card to each group. For larger classes select a number of students to demonstrate in front of the class. Ask students to enact the social situation for the class. Some of the scenes will likely be humorous. The point to emphasize is that we are socialized into playing different roles, and we know how the roles are played. However, the idea of scripts can be misleading; each person enacts a role in a somewhat different way.
4. Have students anticipate a job interview for a professional position in their major. Ask them to describe the interview: what will people be wearing, what questions will be asked, how will the student respond to those questions? How is it that students can imagine an interview that has not yet taken place? Develop the idea that roles are a type of script that one follows, providing a guide to the rights and obligations associated with various statuses. In the interview example, ask students to explicitly define what rights and obligations are associated with each status involved.
5. Ask students to consider the question, “How is college different from high school?” This could be an in-class writing exercise, in small groups or working alone. Have them analyze their responses in terms of the different statuses, roles, and the elements of culture (values, customs, etc.) that relate to these different educational environments.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Peter Blau's model for describing social structure is still relevant, and is useful as the basis for lecture. It would be helpful to read Blau's presidential address in the *American Sociological Review* or his book *Inequality and Heterogeneity* (see Further Reading section for references).

Blau's Theory of Social Structure

Social structure refers to patterned social relationships. Sociologist Peter Blau created a model for understanding social structure, which he called "inequality and heterogeneity." In this theory, society is viewed as being differentiated along two axes, vertical and horizontal. Along the vertical axis are those social groupings that we rank hierarchically, such as educational level, income, occupational status, race, and gender. These strata consist of social groups that aren't equal in their access to vital resources such as wealth, status, and power.

Along the horizontal axis, society is differentiated concerning the normative systems advocated by various subgroups within society (these include subcultures and countercultures). This type of heterogeneity refers to differences in values and group memberships. These differences don't necessarily refer to access to wealth, status, or power. Examples of these variables might be religion affiliation, political affiliation, marital status, membership in various voluntary groups, and the like.

Inequality

Most modern societies are highly stratified along the vertical dimension. Marx tried to explain that this inequality of access to wealth, status, and power is the result of conflict between competing groups fighting over scarce resources. Durkheim viewed the unequal distribution of wealth, status, and power as the inevitable result of the division of labor. In other words, people are rewarded according to their abilities and effort. Here several examples of resources that are unequally distributed:

Education. In *The Republic*, Plato envisioned an educational system that would recruit and train people from all social classes to be society's leaders. Like Durkheim, he believed a strong system of education would lead to a "natural elite" and a smooth-running society. Research into a variety of factors reveals that the upper classes have an incredible advantage in education. Whether inequities exist in education or not, the outcome is the same. An elite is created to whom status and power are granted. This tends to create a social distance between those who have a high level of education and those who do not.

Income. The amount of money we earn from our jobs has become another reliable (albeit partial) indicator of inequality. In American society, income is a common way of allocating status to people. Income is important because it largely determines our access to the things that are necessary for survival. However, not all families earn enough income to meet basic needs, while others are able to accumulate great excesses. This creates economic distinctions by which people evaluate each other.

Occupation. Different occupations vary in the amount of prestige they are accorded. Is the prestige necessarily related to the value of the occupation to society? Not always. The research in this area shows that the two criteria that affect the prestige of an occupation are the job requirements and job rewards (Matras, 1984). What are job requirements? They refer to the type and amount of schooling, training, or experience needed to do the job. Job rewards refer to income, benefits, and the amount of authority associated with a particular occupation.

What are the effects of inequality? Inequality tends to foster different world views based upon social status and it limits our social relationships to people with similar social status. Marx and Weber stated that social groups tend to espouse values that justify their own interests. Thus, dominant groups tend to hold values that justify their control over vast resources, while subordinate groups maintain beliefs that challenge the values of dominant groups.

Heterogeneity. This refers to social characteristics that cannot be ranked hierarchically. This means that there are groups whose differences are not based on access to resources, but different ways of thinking or different norms. Each sub-group within society tends to socialize its members into its own value system. Let's look at four types of heterogeneity: race, sex, political affiliation, and religious affiliation.

Race. Society is differentiated by race, as we will read in later chapters. The vast majority of the political, economic, and religious elites in the United States are white. Also, a disproportionate number of non whites belong to the lower classes.

Sex. While sex is inherently a variable for the horizontal axis, women tend to have less access to resources in society than men. Larger percentages of women fall in very low-income categories, while men tend to fall in

higher ones. We also know that the median income for women is far less than the median income for men. Men tend to receive better pay, better jobs, and higher status than women.

Political affiliation. Historically, political conservatives in the United States have favored little governmental interference in the economy. The free market economy is viewed by conservatives as inherently fair and just, while political liberals have challenged that assumption. According to conservatives, wealth is accumulated by those who deserve it because of talent or hard work. The liberal philosophy proposes that an unregulated economy is inherently unfair and leads to accumulation at the top of the economic spectrum and deprivation at the bottom.

Religious affiliation. While there are too many religious groups to go into a detailed discussion of their beliefs, we do find that people tend to favor the beliefs into which they were raised. These beliefs affect their attitudes and behavior in many other spheres of life. For example, the abortion and euthanasia debates are greatly affected by religion.

Correlations between inequality and heterogeneity

Although the variables that we can rank (inequality) and those we cannot rank (heterogeneity) are distinct from each other, they are often related. We do find a relationship between income and religious affiliation (more conservative religious groups have lower incomes). There is a relationship between education and religious affiliation (liberal groups are more highly educated). These correlations between factors are what make analysis of social structure so complex.

References

- Blau, Peter M. 1977. *Inequality and heterogeneity: Primitive theory of social structure*. New York: Free Press.
 Matras, Judah. 1984. *Social inequality, stratification, and mobility*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

2. In his book *The Great Disruption*, Francis Fukuyama states that status and hierarchy within a society are inevitable. As support for his argument, he cites a number of surveys that have found that people judge themselves to be happier the richer they are in relation to other people. This relationship holds regardless of the specific country in which the survey is conducted, and it holds through time. Thus, a person in the upper income bracket of a poor country considers himself happier than his poorer compatriots, and a person who was wealthy in the 1960s considered herself happier than her contemporaries of that era. To Fukuyama, this suggests that happiness is related to relative income, not absolute income. The satisfaction associated with more money is the ability to “glory” in the riches. In his words, “Once human beings seek status rather than ordinary goods [which apparently they do], they become engaged in a zero-sum rather than a positive-sum game.” This suggests that not only are humans explicitly aware of the status position of themselves and others, but that this knowledge is quite important in their lives.

References

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2000. *The great disruption*. New York: Touchstone, 229–230.

3. (Note: this information would also be useful for lecture on economic systems.) Marcel Mauss was a French sociologist, and nephew of Émile Durkheim, who wrote a book analyzing the power of gift giving. In his classic book, *The Gift*, Mauss argues that gifts are never “free”; gifts are never given without anticipation of some type of return. For Mauss the return did not need to be concrete, nor immediate. The act of giving a gift, he argued, goes beyond the object that is given. A gift is almost magical in that it conveys along with it a bit of the gift giver. In this way, according to Mauss, gift giving creates a social bond between the giver and the recipient, and an obligation on the part of the recipient to give something in return. In fact, Mauss argued, a failure to reciprocate would result in a loss of status. Mauss saw gift giving as a means of achieving social solidarity. Present Mauss in the context of Durkheim’s types of solidarity.

Applying Mauss to the value placed on generosity and hospitality within hunting and gathering societies, it is possible to see what sharing is so important, especially in times of scarcity. The mutual exchange or reciprocity ensures the survival of the entire group. Gift giving as a source of solidarity is functional for hunting and gathering societies.

Ask students to think about the nature of gift giving in their own lives. Are there situations in which they have perceived either receiving or giving a gift as creating a type of obligation? What examples of social solidarity being achieved or sustained through gift giving?

References

- Mauss, Marcel. 2000. *The gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. Trans. W.D. Halls; foreword Mary Douglas. New York: W.W. Norton.

4. Develop the concept of status. Help the students differentiate between ascribed and achieved status by giving examples of gender, race, education, and income. Is religion an achieved or an ascribed status? Use other examples to illustrate the complexity of these concepts. Are social class and gender ascribed or achieved?
5. Ask the students to evaluate the various statuses in the classroom environment. Obviously, they will notice the difference in status between the professor and students. Are there other statuses? If the class is small enough, the students are often aware of their classifications (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior). Does the variation of statuses affect the roles each plays in the classroom?
6. Give examples of role conflict, such as the psychiatrist whose client admits to killing someone. The psychiatrist's role involves maintaining the confidentiality of the client, but her role as a citizen may prompt her to turn in the client to law enforcement.
Discuss role strain within the context of the student's role. The student often has demands from more than one professor. The strain felt by the student when these demands conflict with one another is role strain.
7. One of Daniel Bell's features of postindustrial society is the increased ability to plan and control technological change. According to Bell, in postindustrial society the potential impact of technology is assessed before it is introduced. Engage students in a discussion of this feature. Does it seem accurate to them; why or why not? Be prepared with examples of unintended consequences of technologies to bring into the discussion.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

The Terminal (128 minutes)

This 2004 film is about a man from a fictional European nation who is stuck in an international airport terminal when his country's political schism causes his passport to become invalid. *The Terminal* can be used to begin conversations about socialization, groups, and expressive and instrumental ties.

Television

Kid Nation (13 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

This reality show took dozens of children and required them to create a functioning society. In different episodes, the children deal with issues of stratification, employment, social status, norms, laws, etc.

Documentaries

Obedience: The Milgram Experiment (45 min.)

(Socialization, Social Structure and Interaction, Deviance and Social Control)

The video of Milgram's classic experiment on obedience and conformity remains a powerful tool for teaching students about the impact of social influence. Despite aging visuals and audio, I find that students are still fascinated by the experiments.

Internet Clips

Start Seeing Cycles ("Awareness Test") (2 min.)

This fun short public service announcement points out how easy it is to overlook information when a problem has been framed for us. The clip could be used as a precursor to a discussion about framing social issues, priming effects of social cognition, the unreliability of eyewitness reports or qualitative research methods. Can be found at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ahg6qcgoay4&feature=related>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. The Harris Poll updated scores for occupational prestige in August of 2009. Go to the Harris Poll website (<http://www.harrisinteractive.com/vault/Harris-Interactive-Poll-Research-Pres-Occupations-2009-08.pdf>) and review the information presented. Instead of a list of occupations with prestige scores, this site discusses changes in prestige rankings for various occupations. After reviewing the information, analyze the results. How would you explain the increases or decreases in rankings for the occupations discussed? Be sure to use your sociological imagination and analyze the information in the context of the broader society.

- If you did not already do so in Chapter 2, visit the website for Philip Zimbardo's infamous experiment having university students pose as prisoners and prison guards (<http://www.prisonexp.org>). Using the concepts of statuses (with rights and obligations), roles, and role performance, explain why this experiment became so real for those who participated. Where did their knowledge of the behavior of prisoners and prison guards come from?
- Select one of the preindustrial societies from the textbook (hunting and gathering, horticultural, pastoral) and use it as a search term, using your favorite search engine. Browse some of the sites that come up, and find some interesting facts about that society. Be prepared to share your findings with the class.
- Search the Internet for definitions of and information about "postindustrialism". Your search will return results from web sites that are critical of postindustrialism, and which connect postindustrialism in the U.S. to economic decline. Other sites will promote a more positive assessment of the impact of postindustrialism. Summarize the arguments from both perspectives in a bulleted list. Be sure to cite your sources and create a "works cited" page.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- Forty years of Harris Polls, on topics related to politics, economics, family life, lifestyles and the like, are available in the Harris "vault" or archives. <http://www.harrisinteractive.com/Insights/HarrisVault.aspx>
- Brazilian theatre director, Augusto Boal, founded a movement known as "theatre of the oppressed," or "forum theatre," that is based on the idea of theatre as a dialogue between the audience and performers. This form of theatre is used to empower audiences, encourage dialogue about social issues, and promote democracy. Theatre is the basis for the dramaturgical approach to understanding society, and the concept of social "scripts" and role performance. <http://www.wwcd.org/action/Boal.html>
- The Union of Concerned Scientists has part of its web site devoted to issues related to industrialized agriculture. Agriculture is an area in which modernization has led to environmental degradation. This web site has discussions of the environmental impact of industrialized agriculture, as well as sustainable solutions.

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Achieved status (118)	Industrial society (130)	Role strain (123)
Agricultural society (130)	Master statuses (119)	Roles (120)
Ascribed status (118)	Mechanical solidarity (132)	Social interaction (121)
Convergence (135)	Modernization (134)	Social structure (118)
Divergence (136)	Modernization Theory (134)	Society (126)
Folk society (132)	Obligations (120)	Status (118)
<i>Gemeinschaft</i> (132)	Organic solidarity (132)	Status set (119)
<i>Gesellschaft</i> (132)	Pastoral societies (129)	Structural differentiation (131)
Global culture (135)	Postindustrial society (132)	Urban society (132)
Globalization (136)	Rights (120)	World-system theory (136)
Horticultural societies (128)	Role conflict (123)	
Hunting and gathering society (126)	Role performance (121)	

FURTHER READING

- Blau, Peter M. 1974. Presidential address: Parameters of social structure. *American Sociological Review*, 39: 615–635.
A brief description of a model of social structure given by Blau in his presidential address to the American Sociological Association. This is recommended reading before the Lecture Suggestion is given.
- . 1977. *Inequality and heterogeneity: Primitive Theory of Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.
This is a more thorough version of Blau's theory of social structure, relating the vertical dimensions (inequality) and horizontal dimensions (heterogeneity).

Ehrenfeld, John R. 2008. *Sustainability by Design: A Subversive Strategy for Transforming our Consumer Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ehrenfeld argues that human and other life on Earth is sustainable, but only if cultural changes occur. Specifically, the modern value placed on unlimited consumption is detrimental to long term sustainability. Ehrenfeld argues that the mindset of “having” will have to be replaced with a mindset focused on “being.”

Fukuyama, Francis. 2000. *The Great Disruption*. New York: Touchstone.

Fukuyama does an excellent job of using a wide variety of subjects to inform his reflection on the causes of recent social instability and the outlook for future change.

Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

This book is one in a classic series by Goffman exploring social interaction. In *Interaction Ritual*, Goffman analyzes the symbolic interaction that people in various roles use unconsciously.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

The authors present comparative data from eighty-one societies to support their theory of cultural change with industrialization and modernization. Secularization and democratization both tend to follow industrialization and modernization.

Chapter 6: Groups and Organizations

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Concept of the Group

II. Types of Groups

- A. Categories, Aggregates, and Groups
- B. Primary Groups
- C. Secondary Groups
- D. Reference Groups
- E. In-Groups and Out-Groups
- F. Social Networks

III. Social Interaction in Groups

- A. Cooperation
- B. Conflict
- C. Social Exchange
- D. Coercion
- E. Conformity
- F. The Business of Groups

IV. Formal Organizations

- A. Theoretical Perspectives and Formal Organizations
- B. The Structure of Formal Organizations
- C. Advantages of Bureaucracy
- D. Disadvantages of Bureaucracy

V. Dynamics of Formal Organizations

- A. Informal Organization
- B. The Need for Informal Organization
- C. The Role of Power in Formal Organizations
- D. Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Social Class in Organizations
- E. Organizations and Their Environments

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Define the concept of the group, and differentiate it from social categories and social aggregates.
2. Outline the basic characteristics of primary and secondary groups.
3. State the functions of primary groups.
4. Differentiate between in-groups and out-groups.
5. Discuss the idea of a social network.
6. Describe the five major types of social interaction.
7. Elaborate on the existence of cooperation and conflict in groups.
8. Discuss the nature of group processes: task accomplishment, leadership styles, and decision making.
9. Define the concept of formal organization, and identify the major characteristics of bureaucracy.
10. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of bureaucracy.
11. Distinguish between formal and informal organization.
12. Describe the iron law of oligarchy, and demonstrate its importance with examples.
13. Discuss prejudice and discrimination in organizations.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Concept of the Group

Americans may find the idea of the group difficult at first because of our emphasis on individualism. According to Howard Becker, even art, which is considered the product of individual creativity, is an essentially group activity. In reality, a complex network of relationships permits the individual artist to accomplish his or her work. This is an example of how groups play an important role in society and in the lives of individuals. Groups are defined as people who are in contact with one another; share some ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving; take one another's behavior into account; and have one or more interests or goals in common.

II. Types of Groups

A. *Categories, Aggregates, and Groups*—A social category is a set of people who share a social characteristic, and an aggregate refers to people who happen to be in the same place at the same time. Neither a category nor an aggregate fit the definition of a group, but they are often confused with groups. Members of categories and aggregates may form groups if they begin to interact with each other and to share a common goal.

B. *Primary Groups*—The two basic types of groups are primary and secondary groups, which have characteristics opposite of the other. A primary group is one that is tightly integrated; primary groups are emotionally close and members have relationships that are intimate, personal, and caring. The term primary group was first coined by Charles Horton Cooley, who recognized the importance of this type of group for socialization. Children are born into the primary group of the family, and are exposed to other primary groups early in life. People are also members of primary groups, such as friends and family, throughout their entire lives.

Although primary groups may develop without these conditions, these are conditions that promote the creation of primary groups:

- 1) *Small group size*: It is difficult for members of large groups to meet often enough to form close, emotional ties.
- 2) *Face-to-face contact*: It is possible to sustain primary groups when members are separated, such as long-distance relationships. Close relationships are also sometimes established by telephone or email. Still, face-to-face contact is more likely to promote the development of a primary group because it permits members to see facial expressions and use tone of voice and touch to establish intimacy.
- 3) *Continuous contact*: Despite the belief in love at first sight, most people require continuous interaction in order to develop primary relationships.
- 4) *Proper social environment*: When people are expected to relate to each other on the basis of their status, or the role they play, emotional closeness is less likely to develop. When people relate based on their roles the total personality is not engaged, and personal relationships are often discouraged. Also, roles such as teacher and student, or lawyer and client, are unequal which also inhibits the creation of primary relationships.

Primary groups provide emotional support and intimate relationships. The bonds formed in primary groups may sustain members of the groups through extreme hardships. Primary groups are also essential to the socialization process. The family provides the emotional nurturance necessary for development of a sense of self, and also introduces new members to the culture of their society. Later in life, primary groups aid adults as they adjust to new environments such as school, new jobs, and different stages of life. Primary groups provide the emotional support to make transitions less difficult emotionally. Primary groups also contribute to social stability by promoting conformity. By teaching new members the norms and values of the culture, and pressuring them to conform, primary groups help maintain social order and promote social control. William F. Whyte's research in the area of sports indicates that one's rank in a primary group has an impact on one's ability at the sport shared by the group. Group pressure ensures that the hierarchy of skill will be maintained.

C. *Secondary Groups*—Unlike a primary group, a secondary group is impersonal and goal oriented; a secondary group exists for a specific purpose. Secondary groups involve only a portion of the participants' lives so that those secondary relationships do not engage their entire personalities. Secondary group membership may be pleasant, but the group may not survive if the friendships are more important than the group's purpose.

Although primary relationships are more likely in primary groups, they may develop in secondary groups. Work relationships, for example, may become supportive and fulfilling in themselves. Similarly, secondary relationships may develop in primary groups, for example if a family member hires or lends another member money.

- D. *Reference Groups*—When groups are used to evaluate ourselves or used as a model for the acquisition of norms and values, they become a point of reference and are called reference groups. Reference groups may be part of one's family, school, work, or other experiences, and may have an impact on one's self-esteem. We imagine how our performance is evaluated by comparison with a reference group. Membership is not required for a group to be used as a point of reference. We can evaluate ourselves in comparison to groups to which we do not belong. Reference groups may be positive or negative. Comparing ourselves to groups whose behavior we do not approve may provide reinforcement for a contrary way of behaving.
- E. *In-Groups and Out-Groups*—In-groups and out-groups exist only in relationship to each other. An in-group encourages intense identification and loyalty so that members tend to exclude others. The group toward which the in-group feels competition or opposition is called the out-group. In- and out-groups refer to the sense of “we” and “they.” In-groups and out-groups may be formed within any aspect of social life. High school cliques are good examples of in-groups and out-groups. Members of the jocks or cheerleaders, for example, are an in-group for students interested in athletics, and an out-group for those who are not. Political groups, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, countries, and even generations may form in-groups and out-groups. Baby boomers, for example, may see themselves in opposition to member of the later Generation X. The formation of in-groups and out-groups necessitates the creation and maintenance of group boundaries. Group boundaries are maintained by the commitments of group members, and may include acts of aggression against others, and/or symbols ranging from tattoos and bumper stickers to rituals and ways of speaking.

The positive effects of an in-group for those on the inside may be heightened self-esteem and a sense of social identity or belonging. However, this sense of their own worth may result in an unrealistically negative view of others. A sense of self-importance may become so distorted as to retard growth and development among in-group members. The impact on out-group members may be even more negative. Those considered outsiders by in-group members have been victims of prejudice and discrimination, physical injury, or even death. Examples range from the behavior of neo-Nazi groups and religious fanatics, to members of the dominant racial and gender groups. Typically, however, in-groups express competition with out-groups in more benign forms of competition.

- F. *Social Networks*—A social network is a web of relationships among the people with whom we interact, and the people with whom those people interact. A social network connects groups with each other. Social networks include family members, work colleagues, classmates, the professionals we utilize, church members, and close friends. They connect us with as many as 2500 people within our community, country, and even around the world. The Internet has had a dramatic impact on the ability of people to form widespread networks. One example is the expansion of the environmental movement, which previously had to rely on telephone and mail communication. Today information may be spread further and faster, permitting the rapid organization of protests and other actions around the country..

Members of a social network may not share a sense of belonging, and do not have continuous contact. Social networks do not have boundaries. Therefore, while social networks may include primary or secondary relationships, they do not fit the definition of a group. The strength and number of ties in a social network depends on the characteristics of those involved. People with higher levels of education tend to have a greater number and variety of strong ties outside the family. Urban residents have more ties outside the family than rural residents, and older people have fewer strong ties than those who are younger. While women may have as many strong ties as men, women's ties are more likely to be family-related. Social networks provide a sense of belonging, help and advice, and assist members in finding employment. The fact that historically women have had fewer high-status contacts than men has significantly hindered them in terms of employment.

III. Social Interaction in Groups

- A. *Cooperation*—Robert Nisbet has identified five different types of social interaction: cooperation, conflict, social exchange, coercion, and conformity. Cooperation results when individuals or groups combine their efforts to achieve a common end. Cooperation may occur under the extreme conditions of an emergency, or in daily activity such as work life or children's games. Social life would not exist without some degree of cooperation.
- B. *Conflict*—Those who work against each other are in conflict. While conflict is generally considered a negative and disruptive form of social interaction, it can be positive or beneficial. According to George Simmel, conflict may work to achieve a greater degree of unity within the opposing groups. Members of a group come together in the face of a common enemy. Conflict may also serve to rejuvenate norms and values. Social protest, such as the civil rights movement, may bring attention to major social problems, and help refocus attention on the

shared values, such as equality, of society. Challenging social norms or values, another form of conflict, may also be beneficial. The student protests of the 1960s helped to end the military draft and raise doubts about military intervention in other countries. Douglas Maynard's research found that conflict among children serves to create a social structure, and may also establish authority and friendships.

- C. *Social Exchange*—Social exchange refers to interaction in which one person voluntarily does something with the expectation of something in return. The act of doing something for someone else serves to create an obligation. The benefit derived is more important than the actual relationship, and the expectation of reciprocity exists even when it is not conscious or explicit. Exchange relationships may be exploitative, but they may also be based on mutual trust and affection, as when friends and family members do things for each other. Cooperation and exchange both involve individuals or groups working together. However, in cooperation the work toward the shared goal may not be of direct benefit to those cooperating. Among those cooperating, benefiting in some way is not the primary objective. Implicit in exchange relationships is the question, what's in it for me?
- D. *Coercion*—Coercion refers to an individual or group compelling others to act in a particular way. Coercive relationships are unequal; the dominant party is able to get something from others without the necessity of repayment. Domination may occur by force or through more subtle pressure such as ridicule or ostracism. Coercion is part of many social relationships (e.g., parent-child, teacher-student) and is of particular interest within the conflict perspective.
- E. *Conformity*—Conformity occurs when we adapt our behavior to those around us. Social life is dependent to some extent on conformity, and all of us conform to some degree or another. Conformity is the basis for groups, communities, society, and culture.
- F. *The Business of Groups*—George Simmel, one of the first to identify the importance of groups for society, also identified their central dilemma: in order to achieve the benefits of group membership one must submit to a degree of social control and relinquish some individual freedom. This dilemma creates pressures that may interfere with the smooth functioning of groups. Sociologists have been very interested in aspects of groups, such as task accomplishment, leadership, and decision-making.

Most groups are designed to accomplish a particular task, and the goals of the individual may not always coincide with the goals of the group. In order to understand how task accomplishment impacts both the group and the individual's goals, Robert Bales developed a scheme, called interaction process analysis. This scheme classifies group interactions into twelve different categories that relate to two basic problems to be solved in any social system. The first type of problem is instrumental; these problems involved the achievement of the goals of the group. Bales called the problems involving individual satisfaction, disagreements, and other related matters that arise whenever individuals try to coordinate their activities, social-emotional problems. Both instrumental and social-emotional processes are important if the group is to achieve its goals.

Effective leadership is not related to any specific trait, and effective leaders may demonstrate any number of different characteristics. What is most important is the ability of the leader to translate personal traits into behaviors. Many sociologists have done research on this process. Rensis Likert emphasized the importance of supportive behavior on the part of leaders to help group members maintain a sense of worth and importance. Ralph White and Ronald Lippett found that democratic leaders are more effective than authoritarian ones, and both are more effective than laissez-faire leaders. Some studies suggest that the most effective type of leadership depends on the situation. Fred Fiedler found that in situations in which leaders have either very little or a great deal of control they are most effective if they are authoritarian. Examples would be being well-liked in a highly structured environment, or being disliked in an unstructured environment. In situations of intermediate control, such as being a well-liked director of an unstructured activity, a more democratic approach is more effective. While Fiedler's work has been criticized, it is reflective of efforts to understand leadership within different contexts.

In some situations, such as solving intellectual tasks, groups seem to make better decisions than individuals because more perspectives and ideas may be discussed. Group pressure, however, may result in excessive conformity and a loss of individuality. In a classic experiment by Solomon Asch, participants were asked to compare a single line drawn on a card with three lines on another card, and determine to which line did it best correspond. All but one member of each group was told to pick a line that obviously did match the length of the single line. Individuals alone had a matching error rate of just 1 percent. The unknowing members in groups picked the incorrect line one-third of the time. There were groups of people unknown to each other. In situations of emotional and personal relationships, the pressure may be presumed to be even greater.

Groupthink is defined as a situation in which pressures toward uniformity discourage members of the group from expressing their reservations about group decisions. The Bay of Pigs invasion during the Kennedy administration and the U.S. invasion of Iraq under the administration of George W. Bush are examples of the impact of groupthink. In both cases there were people who had opposing opinions about taking these actions, but the pressure to create the illusion of consensus kept them from expressing their views or those views being seriously considered. Groupthink may be avoided through conscious attention to including all group members in the decision-making process, and by tolerating dissension and conflicting opinions.

IV. Formal Organizations

Until the early twentieth century, primary groups dominated American daily life. With the advance of industrialization and urbanization, secondary groups took on greater importance. Throughout their lives, individuals living in modern societies are highly dependent on large organizations—both business and nonbusiness—called formal organizations. Most people are born in hospitals, educated in schools, work in various companies and corporations, are governed by the state, and will end their lives in nursing homes and funeral establishments.

- A. *Theoretical Perspectives and Formal Organizations*—Both functionalism and conflict theory are related to the study of formal organizations. Functionalism is more interested in the structure, stability, regulations, and hierarchy of organizations, while conflict theory is often predominant in the study of organizational dynamics.
- B. *The Structure of Formal Organizations*—Formal organizations are deliberately created to achieve one or more goals. Most formal organizations today are bureaucracies, which are organizations based on rationality and efficiency. Bureaucracies have proven to be very effective forms of organization within industrialized society. Max Weber was concerned about the long-term effects of bureaucracy.

Weber identified the primary characteristics of any bureaucracy. The characteristics are: 1) a division of labor based on the principle of specialization. Each member of the organization performs a specific function. This improves efficiency as each person is expert in a particular area. 2) Every bureaucracy has a hierarchy of authority. Authority refers to legitimate power (power is to the ability to control the behavior of others, even against their will). In a hierarchy, people comply with authority because it is the proper thing to do. Authority is concentrated among a few people at the top of an organization; there are progressively more positions with less power toward the bottom of the hierarchy. The structure of hierarchies is typically pyramidal. 3) Affairs are based on a system of rules and procedures. Rules create stability by coordinating activities and providing direction for most situations. 4) Members of the organization maintain written records of their organizational activities. Written records provide continuity and ensure stability. 5) Statuses—especially managerial ones—are considered full-time jobs, not avocations. The full-time job requires more attention and commitment from members. 6) Relationships are impersonal, devoid of favoritism. Promotion in a bureaucracy is based strictly on merit without regard to personal consideration. This is meant to ensure fairness and equal treatment for all. And finally, 7) the employees in a bureaucracy do not own their positions. The organization is free to find the most qualified people to fill positions. Weber believed that these characteristics would help to achieve order, which he saw as more difficult in industrial than in pre-industrial societies in which all aspects of life were closely related. Bureaucracy provides a means of maintaining order within an extremely complex society.

Weber introduced the method of the ideal type to describe bureaucracy. The ideal-type method isolates the most basic characteristics of any phenomenon to the point of exaggeration, thereby describing a pure form. In reality, not all bureaucracies have all characteristics, nor to the same degree. For example, universities may be less bureaucratic than governmental agencies or business firms. Various organizations emphasize each characteristic of bureaucracy to different degrees, and within an organization some units may be more bureaucratic than others.

- C. *Advantages of Bureaucracy*—Weber described bureaucracy as a technically superior form of organization. According to Weber, bureaucracy compared to other forms of organization as the machine compared to non-mechanical modes of production. Bureaucracy, with its precision, speed, and efficiency, was better suited to rise of the capitalist economy. By comparison, earlier forms, such as monarchies, were hindered by politics and favoritism. Capitalism brought with it an increase in rationality, the solution of problems by using logic and planning rather than tradition and superstition. The impersonal nature, and rules and regulations of bureaucracy, are intended to protect the individual and ensure equal treatment within an organization. Adam Smith described the benefits of specialization in his classic book, *The Wealth of Nations*. In contrast to the wealth found in the royal treasury, Smith described the wealth of a productive division of labor, noting that ten men working in a factory could make 48,000 pins daily, whereas a man working alone could make only 20 or so.

D. *Disadvantages of Bureaucracy*—While Weber praised the benefits of bureaucracy, he also expressed concern about the possibility of undesirable outcomes related to the concentration of power in the hands of just a few individuals within an organization. Weber also feared what he called the “iron cage of rationality”—rationality spreading from the workplace to all aspects of life, dehumanizing people and destroying social relationships. Contemporary theorist George Ritzer, following Weber, describes the “McDonaldization of society,” using McDonald’s as the metaphor for extreme rationality and describing its impact on all areas of society. Like Weber, Ritzer believes that McDonaldization is a dehumanizing force that has influenced the organization of education, medicine, and every other aspect of society.

Others have noted the internal inefficiencies of bureaucracy. One such problem has been termed Parkinson’s law—work expands to fill the time available. Bureaucracies are often wasteful, having too much staff for the work needing to be accomplished. Parkinson’s law addresses the bureaucratic structure as creating the problem. Bureaucrats want to increase the number of people below them, and make work for each other. Another problem described by Laurence J. Peter and Raymond Hull is that because of the bureaucratic tendency to continue to promote people who do their jobs well, ultimately workers find themselves stuck in jobs that they do not perform well. This has been termed the Peter Principle, that people rise until they reach their level of incompetence. When employees reach their levels of incompetence, they become more concerned with organizational values, evaluating subordinates on the basis of things like promptness and cooperation rather than competence. Whyte and Nocera argue that organizations may shape the very personalities of the people who work in them. The “organizational man or woman” has no fixed values of their own; instead, they shift according to the needs of the organization and the people around them. These internal inefficiencies of bureaucracy have gained popularity despite a lack of scientific evidence in support of them. Goal displacement and trained incapacity are two negative consequences of bureaucracy that are widely recognized by sociologists.

Goal displacement refers to a situation in which organizational rules and regulations have become more important than the organization’s goals. For example, when social workers worry more about eligibility requirements than providing services, or teachers care more about their students’ grades than what they are learning, goal displacement has occurred.

When previous training results in inflexibility and inability to change, there is a risk of trained incapacity, the inability of employees to work under new conditions or when situations arise that are not explicitly addressed in regulations. The USS *Vincennes* mistakenly shot down an Iranian passenger flight in 1988 because the crew of the *Vincennes* was unable to adapt their training to changed circumstances. Trained to respond on the open sea, the crew was unable to differentiate between a passenger airline and an enemy threat when they were on a small body of water with many vehicles entering the radar.

More recent organizational forms have been identified by sociologists as replacing the bureaucratic organization. Warren Bennis predicted that bureaucracies would be replaced by organizations based on rapid response to change rather than the implementation of established administrative principles. He termed these new forms organic-adaptive systems. Organizational researchers tend to agree that bureaucratic structure is more appropriate for stable, predictable situations, while new forms are likely to emerge in situations of rapid change and uncertainty. The contingency approach to organization theory refers to attempts to relate the structure of organizations to the situations they face. At the opposite end of the spectrum from bureaucracy is the cooperative organization identified by Joyce Rothschild. These are owned and managed by their employees, and are characterized by participation, minimization of rules, promotion of primary social relationships, hiring and promotion based on intimate ties and shared values, elimination of status differences, and a de-emphasis on job specialization. Recently, decentralized authority within formal organizations has been promoted by some authors as a means of adapting to new circumstances. The analogy used is a comparison between a spider and a starfish. A spider dies if it loses its head which holds its brain. In contrast, a starfish can lose limbs, but will survive and even regenerate because the major organs of a starfish are replicated in the arms. Despite the existence of alternatives, most scholars agree that bureaucracy will remain the dominant organizational form, in part because they work best with the technologies and environments characteristic of the modern era.

Sociologists have created categories to account for the differences found among formal organizations. Churches, political parties, and other groups based on personal interest are voluntary organizations because members choose to join them. Amitai Etzioni has called these normative organizations because shared understandings provide an important basis for coordination of members’ activities. Coercive organizations are those that people are forced to join, such as prisons, labor-camps, and elementary schools. People join utilitarian organizations because they derive some benefit from membership. Examples include various types of workplaces. Utilitarian organizations have elements of coercive and voluntary organizations. We are not absolutely required to work, for example, but we do need to support ourselves. Peter Blau and Richard Scott have categorized organizations based on who benefits from their operation. Organizations that exist to promote the interests of those

who belong to them are called mutual-benefit organizations. Business organizations are intended to benefit the owners, and service organizations such as schools and hospitals are expected to meet the needs of the clientele. Finally, commonwealth organizations like the fire department and agencies of the Federal government are intended to benefit the general public.

V. Dynamics of Formal Organizations

- A. *Informal Organization*—In addition to their formal frameworks or structures, organizations also have dynamic processes. These both result from, and impact, their structure. Within any formal organization patterns of interaction and relationships emerge that are not part of the formal structure. Informal organizations are groups within formal organizations that have norms and rituals that are not part of the formal organization. Informal organizations include primary relationships, while the structure of a formal organization is based on secondary relationships. Informal groups are spontaneous and based on shared interests and personal relationships. A group of sociologists from Harvard first recognized informal organization while studying the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company in Chicago. The researchers discovered norms and social sanctions unique to particular work groups. Group norms governed the amount of work done and communication with authorities. They were enforced through sanctions such as ridicule, sarcasm, and hostility.
- B. *The Need for Informal Organization*—Informal organization emerges to meet those needs that are not met by the formal organization. Informal groups tend to provide emotional support, affection, and humor. They humanize the formal organization and provide protection against maltreatment by members outside the group. Informal organization may promote behavior that is counterproductive to the formal organization, as in the case of the Hawthorne plant workers discussed above. There are also positive consequences of informal organization, such as increasing job satisfaction, reducing friction between employees, and creating a cooperative atmosphere, all of which promote lower turnover and higher productivity.
- C. *The Role of Power in Formal Organizations*—Power is inherent throughout any formal organization. The hierarchy of formal organizations involved differences in power. Decision-making based on a rational calculation of all the competing perspectives within an organization is not possible. So, decisions are often political, with those having the most power getting their way. Achieving organizational goals requires the exercise of power. When power is monopolized by a few individuals for limited purposes this illustrates the iron law of oligarchy.

The iron law of oligarchy was introduced by Robert Michels to describe the tendency within any organization for power to become concentrated in the hands of a few members. According to Michels, even in democratic organizations, power becomes concentrated because those in power want to remain in power. Politics in the United States provides an example. So few people become involved that those who do have considerable power. The same is often true in labor unions.

There are three factors, according to Michels, that cause organizations to result in oligarchy. The first is that a hierarchy of authority is necessary in order to delegate decision-making. Like Weber, Michels believed that bureaucracy was necessary to solve organizational problems. Even highly democratic organizations require the masses to delegate decision-making to fewer people, resulting in hierarchy. The second factor is that the advantages for those at the top of any organization enable them to strengthen their positions and consolidate power. By virtue of their positions leaders have information that others do not have. Finally, oligarchy is encouraged by the membership or masses who tend to defer to the authority of the leadership. The masses may not want to spend the time, may feel they lack the skill, or may simply be passive and defer responsibility to the leadership within the organization. They may even feel grateful for the leadership.

The greatest problem presented by oligarchy, according to Michels, is that the leadership begins to concentrate more on retaining and increasing power and less on organizational goals. Oligarchic leaders become very careful and conservative and may ignore the needs of the membership. Research tends to support Michels' theory. Oligarchy has been documented in various types of organizations, including churches, labor unions, and the American Sociological Association. Alvin Gouldner contends that if an iron law of oligarchy exists, it is accompanied by an iron law of democracy. Opposition to oligarchy in organizations is widespread. Enough deeply entrenched leaders are dislodged periodically to indicate that oligarchy is not absolute and does not destroy democracy. Democratic organizations may erect barriers to oligarchy. Other sociologists have argued that establishment of an oligarchy does not necessarily lead to abandonment of the organizations goals. In fact, a strong leadership may be essential in cases where an organization's goals are controversial. Civil rights leaders, for example, held to the goals of their organizations even when doing so meant loss of membership or a loss of position within the organization. Rothschild and J. Allen Whitt argue that the existence of cooperative, organizations that are owned and operated by the workers is evidence that oligarchy is not inevitable.

D. *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Social Class in Organizations*—The highest positions in organizations are most often held by those with the highest status and power within society, white men of the upper classes. Societal patterns of discrimination persist in the workplace. The term, glass ceiling, was coined to reflect the reality that few members of minority groups or women get promoted to the highest positions in an organization.

A graphic example of racism in organization comes from the secretly taped meetings of Texaco's upper management. Top executives of the company were graphic in their racism. A racial discrimination suit against Texaco by African American employees was settled for \$115 million. There is a great deal of research documenting inequality in organizations. Even when education levels are the same, white men are promoted more often than African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans. One study found that African Americans were fired twice as often as whites.

Like other minority group members, women are less likely to be promoted than men with the same levels of education. Women are judged by more stringent criteria, and are fired more often than men. Rosabeth Moss Kanter's research conducted in 1999 demonstrated how women were used as tokens within companies. Kanter found that men significantly outnumber women at upper levels, making women more visible as role models, leaving them left out by their peers, and putting them under greater pressure not to make any mistakes. Sexual harassment, when a person used their position in order to sexually intimidate another, is another indicator of gender inequality. Sexual harassment has been documented in virtually all types of organizations.

Working class people are often placed in low-paying, temporary, and dead-end jobs. Employees from lower-income backgrounds may be judged on the basis of their speech or dress. They are less likely to be promoted or receive raises and are fired more often than their middle-class counterparts.

E. *Organizations and Their Environments*—Organizational environment refers to the forces outside an organization that exert an actual or potential influence on the organization. These may include technological, economic, political, cultural, and related conditions in which the organization operates. Organizations are often dependent upon these forces for things such as new member or funding that are necessary for their survival. While affected by the organizational environment, organizations also have an impact on their environment.

Interorganizational relationships, or the interaction among authorized representatives of two or more formally independent organizations, may occur for a number of reasons. Most often, the relationships are entered into when one organization recognizes that another has resources, or access to resources, that are desirable. In interorganizational relationships, all parties are dedicated to the protection of their own organization's interests. These types of relationships may be both cooperative and conflictual.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Ask students to list and develop an example of each of the following, from their own experience. What aggregates and categories have they found themselves in? Have they had the experience of a group forming out of one of those? Compare and contrast the primary groups they belong to with secondary groups they are involved in. Think about their experience in secondary groups; how has the size of the group had an impact on the group dynamics? Describe a network that they belong to. These questions could be used as the basis for small group discussion, made into a worksheet to be completed during class, or posted on the Internet using the course software and completed as an assignment outside of class.
2. In class, show the movie *Twelve Angry Men* (a film about a jury deliberating the guilt or innocence of a young man charged with murder). Ask the students to compare the group's processes taking place in the movie to those described in the text. What pressures toward conformity existed? Where do they see cooperation, conflict, and coercion? What is the importance of leadership in the group?
3. Using Rosabeth Moss Kanter's study *Men and Women of the Corporation* as an example, ask the students to evaluate their university environment for gender bias. Again, this may be done in small groups, or working as a class using the board. What factors should be the basis of this type of evaluation (e.g. number of women faculty and students, what positions women occupy, and the like). In terms of enrollments, there are more women students generally than male students. Are students aware of this, and if so how does it shape their perception of gender issues on campus?
4. Divide the class into groups. Ask each group member to describe an organization that they belong to. Working as a group, students should discuss each example by applying the three theoretical perspectives to each student's organization. Ask students to develop a list of issues or questions specific to that particular organization from each of the three theoretical perspectives.

5. As an individual in-class writing activity, ask students to reflect on their own experiences with a reference group. Are they a member of this group? If not, why do they choose to use it as a reference group? What aspects of themselves do they evaluate using this reference group, and how does that shape their identity and/or their behavior?
6. Ask students to apply the concepts of in-group and out-group to their own high school experience (or more generally to high school, if they're uncomfortable sharing their personal experience). You may ask them to work in groups, each presenting the class, or as an in class writing exercise. They should be directed to apply the information from the text about the positive and negative consequences of in-groups and out-groups.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Develop a lecture on the concept of groupthink. Groupthink is a term coined by Irving Janis to describe the decision-making process of groups that have become highly cohesive. Janis goes to some lengths to emphasize that groupthink is a group process, not a situation where one member dominates the group, or where individual members suffer from some sort of distortion in their thinking. He notes that groupthink happens in highly cohesive groups, in part because these groups are able to: 1) better retain members and gain their full participation; 2) strongly enforce conformity among group members, and 3) provide a source of security for its members.

Unfortunately, the very cohesiveness that enables groups to perform at elevated levels also tends to cause members to exclude outside opinions and external forces that could help the group make better decisions. As a result of their cohesion, group members begin to think of outsiders in terms of stereotypes that dehumanize them (in essence, a strong form of in-group/out-group). Cohesive groups also tend to move toward riskier actions, thinking that they are somehow buffered from possible negative consequences.

As a result of these actions, group members begin to place more emphasis on seeking concurrence among the members than on making a good decision. With this deterioration in judgment, groupthink produces the following defects in decision-making: 1) few alternative courses of action are investigated; 2) chosen courses of action are not re-examined; 3) courses of action that were initially rejected are not reconsidered, even in the light of new information; 4) no effort is made to get outside experts' opinions; 5) selective bias occurs; 6) little effort is made to foresee possible problems; and 6) no contingency plans are made.

Janis' findings should be a cause of concern for anyone involved in an organization. Common wisdom says that developing a highly cohesive group is an aid to motivation and task accomplishment. In many ways that is true. However, the downside to highly cohesive groups is that groupthink may set in, and disastrous decisions may be made.

References

Janis, Irving L. 1972. *Victims of groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

2. Describe George Ritzer's concept of "McDonaldization" and put it into historical context through presentation of Weber's "iron cage of rationality." Like bureaucracy, McDonaldization is pervasive because it is an efficient means of production, but also because it offers a number of other advantages that most of us take for granted. Ask students to think of organizations or businesses they come into contact with that have been McDonaldized. Ask them to describe the specific aspects that make these businesses McDonaldized. Then ask students to brainstorm the advantages or benefits of McDonaldized systems. These specific examples are quoted from Ritzer (2004, 16):
 - A wider range of goods and services is available to a much larger portion of the population than ever before.
 - Availability of goods and services depends far less than before on time or geographic location; people can do things, such as obtain money at the grocery store or check a bank balance in the middle of the night, that were impossible before.
 - People are able to get what they want or need almost instantaneously and get it far more conveniently.
 - Goods and services are of a far more uniform quality; at least some people even get better quality goods and services than before McDonaldization.
 - Far more economical alternatives to high-priced, customized goods and services are widely available; therefore, people can afford things they could not previously afford.
 - Fast, efficient goods and services are available to a population that is working longer hours and has fewer hours to spare.
 - In a rapidly changing, unfamiliar, and seemingly hostile world, the comparatively stable, familiar, and safe environment of a McDonaldized system offers comfort.

- Because of quantification, consumers can more easily compare competing products.
- Certain products (e.g., diet programs) are safer in a carefully regulated and controlled system.
- People are more likely to be treated similarly, no matter what their race, gender, or social class.
- Organizational and technological innovations are more quickly and easily diffused through networks of identical operators.
- The most popular products of one culture are more easily diffused to another.

Like bureaucracy generally, McDonaldization does create certain benefits for the consumer, but it can also have a negative impact. Now ask students to consider what might be negative about systems that are McDonaldized. Ritzer suggests the following negative consequences:

- “(R)ational systems inevitably spawn irrationalities.” They “deny human reason” and often become unreasonable. Ritzer offers the example of McDonald’s needing to have uniform potatoes for their French fries, and the negative effect this has on the environment.
- McDonaldized systems may be very “dehumanizing environments in which to eat and work”. These locations make patrons feel as though they are part of an assembly line, and assembly lines are sometimes “inhuman settings in which to work”.
- McDonalds and McDonaldization may have a negative impact on culture globally. Do we really want every place we go to function in exactly the same way? (Ritzer, 2004, 17)

References

Ritzer, George. 2004. *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

3. Explain the nature of (and various perspectives toward) leadership in groups. Discuss the concept of power and how it is used in formal organizations. Include the iron law of oligarchy in discussing how power is distributed (or concentrated) in organizations. Ask students to consider how traditional power relationships have impacted the lives of minority group members and women.
4. Select several accounts of the days leading up to and immediately following the flooding after Hurricane Katrina. The selections should come from newspapers and magazines having different perspectives. Analyze the accounts for how organizational structure (or lack of) had an impact on planning, service provision in the immediate emergency, and how victims responded. What aspects did the media highlight (in many cases, the disorganization)? How accurate was that portrayal?
5. For a light-hearted approach to the disadvantages of bureaucracy, show clips from *Office Space*, a film about a dysfunctional bureaucracy. Use the clips as a springboard for discussion. Ask students to identify the characteristics of bureaucracy, as well as the disadvantages these can produce.

<http://movieclips.com/4aBM-office-space-movie-did-you-get-the-memo/>

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Office Space (89 minutes)

This 1999 comedy is a great way of demonstrating concepts about organizations and bureaucracy with humor. Although the whole movie is quite long to show in class, there are several “clips” that would be easy to show for just a few minutes to talk about bureaucracy.

Television

Kid Nation (13 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

This reality show took dozens of children and required them to create a functioning society. In different episodes, the children deal with issues of stratification, employment, social status, norms, laws, etc.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. The textbook notes that one of the primary functions of social networks is to assist people in their search for new jobs. Quintessential Careers at <http://www.quintcareers.com/networking.html> provides information about how these networks function, and advice about how to establish an effective network for one’s self. Visit this website and learn more about social networks. Be prepared to share what you learned with the class.

- Formal organizations have very specific rules about who reports to whom and who (or really, what office) has the authority to perform certain functions within the organization. These rules are displayed graphically through an organization chart. The textbook provides one example of an organization chart in Figure 6.2. For another example, study the organization chart of the United Nations at <http://www.un.org/aboutun/chart.html>. Notice that both charts specify the positions of the people who are authorized to perform certain functions, not the individuals who are currently in those positions. This is in keeping with Weber's list of characteristics of a bureaucracy—that employees of bureaucratic organizations do not own their positions.
- Max Weber, who wrote extensively about bureaucracy and the “iron cage of rationality,” and Robert Michels, who coined the phrase “iron law of oligarchy,” were contemporaries and friends. Both men were obviously concerned about the potential ill effects of bureaucracy. To learn more about their ideas, search the Internet using “iron cage of rationality” and “iron law of oligarchy” as search terms. How were their ideas similar? How were they different? Summarize your findings. Be sure to cite your sources.
- Search the Internet using the terms “social network diagram.” Your results should include many graphic depictions of social networks. Review at least five of these, and if possible, learn about the networks being depicted. Select two diagrams to share with the class. Cite the source of the graphics you select. Be prepared to discuss what you found interesting about these particular social network diagrams.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- Here is a link to a blog on teaching and learning with technology. The blog may be useful for other chapters, as well. In the current case, note the use of a feature on Facebook, the “Friends Wheel.” Students could produce their own wheels and bring them for comparison, or like the author of the blog, one could use university contacts, or those of another large organization, to produce a denser network.
http://www.personal.psu.edu/ejp10/blogs/tlt/2007/11/a_social_network_diagramstraight.html
- This link leads to a report on the impact of social networking sites, a project of the Pew Research Center, on the Internet & American Life.
<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/2025/social-impact-social-networking-sites-technology-facebook-twitter-linkedin-myspace>
- The ABC TV series “What Would You Do?” is a new take on the old “Candid Camera.” Actors play out different scenarios and the responses of bystanders are recorded (in some cases). The program asks viewers to consider what they would do under the circumstances. Some of the scenarios are set up as experiments, with actors changing their appearance to gauge different responses based on social class. Segments deal with issues such as parenting, work, sexuality, race, and social class. All of them are based on group interaction. This website would be very useful for many topics, and to support material from many chapters in the text:
<http://abcnews.go.com/WhatWouldYouDo/>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Authority (155)	Informal organization (162)	Reference groups (145)
Bureaucracies (154)	In-group (145)	Secondary group (144)
Coercion (150)	Interorganizational relationship (165)	Secondary relationships (144)
Conflict (149)	Iron law of oligarchy (163)	Sexual harassment (165)
Conformity (150)	Organic-adaptive systems (160)	Social aggregate (142)
Cooperation (148)	Organizational environment (165)	Social category (142)
Formal organization (154)	Out-group (145)	Social exchange (149)
Goal displacement (159)	Power (155)	Social network (146)
Group (142)	Primary group (143)	Trained incapacity (160)
Groupthink (153)	Primary relationships (143)	
Ideal-type method (156)	Rationalism (157)	

FURTHER READING

Bakan, Joel. 2005. *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*. New York: Free Press.

A more recent organizational form not discussed in the text is the corporation. Multinational corporations wield more power and have larger budgets than some nations. The sole goal of corporations is to make profits for shareholders. Little or no attention is paid to the welfare of workers or the environment. Bakan argues that corporate rule must be challenged in order to bring promote democracy, social justice, and compassion for people and the earth.

Christakis, Nicholas A., and James H. Fowler. 2011. *Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives — How Your Friends' Friends' Friends Affect Everything You Feel, Think, and Do*. New York: Back Bay Books.

Written by Harvard professor and healthcare policy specialist, Christakis, and a health systems and political scientist, Fowler. The book explores the structure of social networks. They note rules for the relationship between individuals and their networks, including “mutual adaptation, the influence of friends and friends’ friends, and the network’s “life of its own.” They also note that social networks have negative as well as positive influence. For example, they support substance abuse, among other things.

Gross, Edward, and Amitai Etzioni. 1985. *Organizations in Society*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

The authors provide discussions of rational, interactionist, and structuralist models of organization. This book includes excellent discussions of leadership and organizational contexts.

Hall, Richard H. 1995. *Organizations: Structures, Processes, and Outcomes*. 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

In this text, Hall discusses the nature of organizations, various perspectives on their structure, organizational environments, and theories explaining organizational effectiveness.

Hechter, Michael. 1987. *Principles of Group Solidarity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hechter presents a general theory of how group solidarity is developed. This theory focuses heavily on dependence and formal social controls. The author moves the analysis into the limits of compensation in organizations, which makes humanization of the workplace a more important issue.

Helgesen, Sally. 1990. *The Female Advantage: Women's Ways of Leadership*. New York: Doubleday/Currency.

Some philosophers are now attributing to women a more caring, humane nature than men. The author attempts to support the contention that the nature of women leads to a style of leadership that is beneficial to both subordinates and the bottom line.

Jackall, Robert. 1988. *Moral Mazes: The World of Corporate Managers*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Based on numerous interviews with managers at two industrial firms, Jackall presents a view of corporate life and organization that was very surprising to readers at the time. Although the book is more than twenty years old, there are still many lessons to be learned from it, for both potential managers and students of organizations.

Janis, Irving L. 1972. *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Janis credits the work of earlier sociologists Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead for informing his groundbreaking studies of group decision-making processes. By studying several instances of faulty decisions, he was able to inductively reason about the circumstances that lead to groupthink.

Ritzer, George. 2004. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer coined the term “McDonaldization” to refer to the way in which the principles of the fast food industry have permeated all aspects of society. In this book, he defines the concept and its key characteristics, discusses advantages, and points out the disadvantages for society of the over-use of standardization.

Smith, Kenwyn K., and David N. Berg. 1999. *Paradoxes of Group Life*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass Publishers.

Smith and Berg offer an examination of the conflicts between individuals or factions within groups that can keep them from reaching their goals. They assert that many analyses ignore the conflicts inherent in group life, thus preventing them from offering suggestions on the potential functions of these conflicts.

Chapter 7: Deviance and Social Control

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Deviance and Social Control

- A. The Nature of Deviance
- B. Conditions Affecting Definitions of Deviance
- C. Forms of Social Control

II. Biological and Psychological Explanations of Deviance

- A. Search for a Biological Basis for Deviance
- B. Personality as the Source of Deviance

III. Functionalism and Deviance

- A. Costs and Benefits of Deviance
- B. Strain Theory
- C. Control Theory

IV. Symbolic Interactionism and Deviance

- A. Cultural Transmission Theory
- B. Labeling Theory
- C. Mental Illness and Labeling Theory

V. Conflict Theory and Deviance

- A. Deviance in Capitalist Society
- B. Race, Ethnicity, and Crime
- C. Occupational and Corporate Crime

VI. Crime in the United States

- A. Measurement of Crime

VII. Global Crime

- A. Global Crime Comparisons

VIII. Global Terrorism

- A. The Nature of Global Terrorism

IX. Crime Control in the United States

- A. Deterrence
- B. Retribution
- C. Incarceration
- D. Rehabilitation

X. Global Crime Control

- A. Differences in Crime Control

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Define deviance, and explain its relative nature.
2. Define social control, and identify the major types of social control.
3. Describe the biological and psychological explanations of deviance.
4. Discuss the positive and negative consequences of deviance.
5. Differentiate the major functional theories of deviance.
6. Compare and contrast cultural transmission theory and labeling theory.
7. Discuss the conflict theory view of deviance.

8. Compare crime in the United States and the world.
9. Discuss the nature of global terrorism.
10. Compare and contrast crime control domestically and globally.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Deviance and Social Control

- A. *The Nature of Deviance*—While conformity and predictability are necessary for society to exist, violations of norms are widespread. Deviance refers to any behavior that falls outside the normal range of expectations for behavior. Deviance may be positive or negative. The most commonly understood type of deviance is negative, or behavior that underconforms to social norms. Negative deviance results from the rejection, or lack of awareness or understanding, of social norms. In contrast, positive deviance results from overconforming to social norms. Positive deviants not only know about and accept norms for behavior, they conform to them in a manner that exceeds social expectations. Positive deviance may be as disruptive as negative deviance.

Deviance is a matter of social definition. Because different social groups have different norms, there is often disagreement about what does and does not constitute deviant behavior. Instances of deviance from norms that are considered minor are extremely common. Sociologists tend to limit their study to more significant violations of social norms that result in negative responses from others. While the public generally defines deviant behavior in negative terms, sociologists attempt to avoid judgments.

- B. *Conditions Affecting Definitions of Deviance*—Definitions of deviance are relative as norms vary according to the group, the location, and the time period. Emile Durkheim argued that no behavior is inherently deviant, and that all deviance is a matter of social definition. Many sociologists are in agreement that what is considered deviant depends on 1) the social status and power of the individuals involved, 2) the social context in which the behavior occurs, and 3) the historical period in which the behavior takes place.

In a classic study of two teenage gangs, William Chambliss demonstrated the role of social status and power in defining deviance. The Saints were a gang of white, upper-middle-class boys, and the Roughnecks were white, lower-class boys. While the two groups engaged in very similar activities, the Roughnecks were judged and punished more harshly than the Saints. Lower-class people are more likely than middle- and upper-class people to be labeled deviant. However, high status does not ensure protection from punishment for deviant behavior. The recent cases of Bernie Madoff, and Catholic Priests accused of child abuse, illustrate this point.

Behavior that is considered deviant in one society may be accepted or encouraged in another; for example, spiritual beliefs in spirits residing in rocks and trees are common among some traditional Alaskan Eskimos, but would be considered odd if practiced by most Americans. Definitions of deviance also vary between groups in a society. What is considered appropriate behavior among young people might appear deviant if practiced by older people. In the United States there is such a diversity of cultures that the likelihood of some behavior being considered deviant from some group's point of view is very great. Definitions of deviance may also depend on geographical location. For example, in Florida casinos are illegal on land, but three miles out into international waters casinos are legal.

Societal attitudes toward cigarettes and drugs are a good example of how definitions of deviance change over time. Smoking was considered very negative at the beginning of the twentieth century, became glamorous sophisticated during the 1950s, and is illegal in most public places in the United States today. While Europe has had a strong stance against drugs, there is now a movement toward liberalization and less harsh penalties for drug use. For example, Portugal has decriminalized the use of all previously banned narcotics, including marijuana and crack cocaine. In the United States, efforts to legalize or decriminalize marijuana have failed, but medical marijuana has become more acceptable. About half of Americans favor the legalization of marijuana. The severity of penalties for use of crack cocaine has been lessened to reduce the discrepancy between punishments for those using cocaine and those using crack cocaine.

- C. *Forms of Social Control*—Most of the time, we know what to expect in different situations. Social control refers to the means of promoting conformity to norms in society. Some social control is necessary for the smooth functioning of society. Social control may be internal or external. The distinction between internal and external social control – Internal social control is acquired during socialization and is self-imposed. Most of us accept norms and do not commit serious violations because we believe this is wrong. The process by which social norms become a part of the individual is called internalization. Internalization of norms is not complete for all individuals or groups in society. Because socialization does not ensure conformity, external forms of social control are necessary. These take the form of rewards (called positive sanctions) and punishments (negative

sanctions). Sanctions may also be formal or informal. A smile is an informal positive sanction; good grades are a formal positive sanction. A frown or booing are informal negative sanctions; parking tickets are formal negative sanctions.

II. Biological and Psychological Explanations of Deviance

Despite renewed interest in sociobiology, most sociologists are skeptical of biological explanations of deviance. Still, they have a long history.

A. *Search for a Biological Basis for Deviance*—Cesare Lombroso, an early advocate for the biological basis of deviance, was an Italian physician who believed that criminals were evolutionary throwbacks. American psychologist, William Herbert Sheldon, following Lombroso, identified three body types that represented different likelihoods of deviance for those who had them. Both Lombroso and Sheldon have been discredited, but researchers continue to be interested in the connection between physical characteristics and deviance. Influential contemporary theory comes from James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein who argue that while deviants are not born, people may be born with traits that predispose them to deviant behavior. Wilson and Herrnstein use research on identical and fraternal twins, and adopted children, to support their argument. They avoid determinism by clarifying that predispositions do not ensure deviant behavior, and that socialization in an emotionally supportive environment may offset any predispositions toward deviance.

Most sociologists do not support claims of a biological basis for deviance for at least five reasons: 1) deviance is more widespread in the population than any of the supposed predisposing traits or hereditary abnormalities; 2) biological theories tend to discount any social, cultural, or economic factors (e.g., how can there be a biological predisposition for something that is relative?); 3) early biological theories of deviance were not based on sound methodological work; 4) there are ideological and controversial implications of biological approaches; forced sterilization and other eugenic approaches are considered very problematic; and 5) while biological factors are used to explain street crime, they are not generally applied to the crimes of corporate executives and government officials.

Psychological explanations of deviance all locate the behavior in the individual personality of the deviant; they take for granted the existence of a criminal personality distinguishable from a non-criminal personality. Some psychologists explain deviance as a response to unresolved conflicts created in infancy and childhood. Others link deviance and crime to particular personality traits, such as aggression and extreme extroversion. Like biological theories, psychological explanations ignore cultural, social, and economic factors. Psychological theories only address crimes like rape and murder; they do not explain white-collar crime. Physical or psychiatric disorders are addressed by these theories, but not the legal and social definitions of deviance. Psychological theories fail to explain deviance that is committed by people who have no pathological personality traits. Finally, similar to biological explanations, psychological theories suggest eugenic solutions to the problem of deviance.

III. Functionalism and Deviance

A. *Costs and Benefits of Deviance*—Functionalism examines both the positive and negative effects of social forces on society. The negative effects of deviance are, perhaps, easiest to see. Widespread deviance from social norms would threaten the existence of society. Deviance on a regular basis threatens trust and creates social disorder, making society chaotic and unpredictable. Unpunished deviance may lead to more lack of conformity among others. Deviance diverts resources from areas where they could have a proactive impact; deviance is costly for society.

Deviant behavior may also have positive consequences for society. Deviance clarifies social norms. Confronted with deviant behavior, society adjusts and reaffirms norms and values. Deviance may also provide a safety valve to release tensions. Deviance in others may contribute to unity among people who are reminded of the values they hold in common. Social change is often the result of deviance, and this may be very positive for society. From women's suffrage, to child abuse, to the Civil Rights movement, deviance has resulted in significant social change.

B. *Strain Theory*—Durkheim coined the term anomie to refer to situations in which norms are weak, conflicting, or absent. Using the concept of anomie, Robert Merton developed strain theory, which explains deviance as the result of discrepancies between socially prescribed goals and the legitimate means to achieving them. The strain between goals and the means of achieving them accounts for deviance. Merton's theory includes five types of deviance, corresponding to different adaptations to this strain: 1) conformity—accepting the goals and the legitimate means of achieving them; 2) innovation—accepting the goals, but using an illegitimate means

of reaching them (an example is theft); 3) ritualism—one rejects the goal, but goes through the motions of achieving it (a teacher who no longer thinks schools do any good, but who continues to go to work each day, for example); 4) retreatism—occurs when both goals and means are rejected, and a person withdraws from society (bag ladies, recluses, and drug addicts may be examples); finally, 5) rebellion—both goals and means are rejected, and then replaced by new set of goals and means that may be in conflict with those rejected (militia groups, student radicals in the 1960s, and utopian communities are all examples).

The most extensive application of strain theory has been in the area of juvenile delinquency. Albert K. Cohen argues that lower-class youth, who are not given the means to succeed in the middle-class world, will turn to other means of protecting their self-esteem, such as being tough or destructive. Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin emphasize that deviant responses to strain are not automatic; deviance must be learned. Young people learn the means of success by watching those around them. In some cases, the role models may be criminals, as is the case in detention centers.

Strain theory has been accepted, to some extent, because of its application to juvenile delinquency, and because of its focus on the social structure instead of the individual. Criticisms of strain theory are that it assumes shared values and norms, and does not explain why a person chooses one type of adaptation over another. In addition, while strain theory may explain some types of crime, like theft, it does not explain forms of deviance such as drug abuse.

- C. *Control Theory*—Based on Durkheim’s ideas, Travis Hirschi’s control theory locates the source of deviance in the strength of the social bonds between the individual and society. When the bond is weak or missing, a situation of anomie, deviance occurs. Individuals conform as a means of sustaining their relationships with others; the social bond controls the individual’s behavior. According to Hirschi, the social bond has four dimensions: 1) attachment—the bond one has with one’s family and friends. The stronger the bonds, the greater the likelihood of conformity; 2) commitment—the greater one’s commitment to social goals such as education, the more likely one is to conform; 3) involvement—the more one engages in socially approved activities, the greater the likelihood of conformity; and 4) belief—subscribing to the norms and values of society promotes conformity. Individuals who lack these elements are more likely to engage in deviance. Empirical support for control theory has been strong in terms of its explanation of delinquent and non-delinquent behavior. When control theory is applied to types of crime, however, control theory cannot explain why a well-integrated person would engage in corporate and other forms of white-collar crime.

IV. Symbolic Interactionism and Deviance

- A. *Cultural Transmission Theory*—Symbolic interactionism views deviance as learned through the process of socialization. According to cultural transmission theory, deviance is part of a subculture and is learned through socialization into that culture. When delinquency in a neighborhood remains high, regardless of the composition of the residents, this provides support for cultural transmission. Sutherland’s differential association theory explains deviance as learned in primary groups. The more individuals are exposed to people who break the law, the more likely they are to break the law themselves. The ratio of exposure to deviants and non-deviants has an effect on the likelihood of engaging in deviance, as does whether or not significant others engage in deviance, and the age at which one is exposed to deviants.

Cultural transmission theory is consistent with the relativity of deviance; what is conforming in one group is deviant in another. Cultural transmission also explains why people sent to prison become more committed to deviance, and it also explains recidivism, or return to criminal behavior, among those who have spent time in prison. Upon release, those convicted return to their significant others and primary groups. However, cultural transmission theory does not explain why some individuals commit crime when they have not had any exposure to deviant subcultures. Nor does it explain why some people from crime-ridden environments do not engage in crime themselves. Another weakness is that cultural transmission only addresses crime, and does not account for the fact that some behaviors are considered deviant while others are not.

- B. *Labeling Theory*—Labeling theory attempts to explain the relative nature of deviance by arguing that no act is inherently deviant; it is the social definition that makes behavior deviant. According to Howard S. Becker, society creates deviance by setting norms or rules, and then labeling those who violate them deviant. Deviants are those people who have successfully been labeled deviant. Labeling theory explains the differential judgments made about female and male sexuality, for example, or about members of different social classes. Edwin Lemert explains the labeling process by distinguishing between primary and secondary deviance. Isolated acts of deviance that are not followed by still more deviant behavior are considered primary deviance. Those who break the law for the first time do not necessarily consider themselves deviant. When deviance is not part of one’s lifestyle

or self-concept it is considered primary deviance. When deviance becomes a lifestyle and part of one's identity it is considered secondary deviance. Deviant is the status that dominates other statuses, and others label the person deviant and respond to them accordingly. This reinforces the deviant identity, and deviance becomes a way of life.

Erving Goffman used the concept of stigma to illustrate the consequences of labeling. Stigma is the attachment of negative perceptions to some particular trait. The undesirable trait is used to discredit the individual, as in the case of calling someone fat or a "cripple." It is not having whatever attribute that is painful for the individual; the problems are created by the labeling and resulting treatment. The type of characteristics that are stigmatized vary by time and place. Deviance is defined in reference to norms, so that it is possible for deviant behavior to occur and go undetected. Still, labeling is important and may shape the way people respond to deviance when it occurs. In this sense, labeling may be understood to create deviants. When a label results in ostracism from the conventional society, the person labeled deviant may look for acceptance in different groups and this may provoke more acts of deviance. In this way, a person may go from primary to secondary deviance. Labels of conformity may constrain further acts of deviance.

There are many positive contributions of labeling theory. It highlights the relativity of deviance, that deviance is a matter of social definition. In addition, deviance draws attention to the process of creating a deviant self-concept. Unlike other theories, labeling theory can be applied to a wider variety of types of deviance. However, labeling theory does not explain undetected deviants who continue deviant behavior, nor does it acknowledge that a label may actually deter further deviance instead of encourage it. A person whose deviance is made public may refrain from further acts of deviance. The emphasis on relativity ignores the fact that some types of behavior, such as murder and incest, are deplored in many different societies. Finally, just because a particular action is not labeled deviant, does not make it benign. Being mugged or beaten is a negative experience regardless of how it is labeled.

- C. *Mental Illness and Labeling Theory*—Mental illness is considered a medical diagnosis, and assumed to have an objective basis. Labeling theory views mental illness as a result of social interaction and responses to our behavior, and our interpretation of what those responses mean. In this way, mental illness is a matter of social definition. Thomas Szasz argues that there is no such thing as mental illness. Individuals facing "problems of living" assume the role of a sick person in order to get help from others. Thomas Scheff notes that under pressure anyone may engage in behavior that violates norms. If this behavior is labeled and exaggerated by others, a person may commit to a career path of mental illness. Others counter that negative responses are to the behavior, not the label. In any case, research does indicate that labeling is a factor in understanding responses to the mentally ill.

Labeling theory contributes to the sociological understanding of deviance by recognizing that deviance is relative, and that assuming a deviant self-concept is part of career of deviance. Labeling theory contributes the concepts of secondary deviance, and of stigma. The theory applies to more types of deviance than do other types of theory. There are limitations to labeling theory. Clearly not all types of deviance are relative (e.g. murder), and labeling sometimes brings deviant behavior to an end, as in the case of someone who is discovered using pornography. Labeling theory cannot explain deviance that is never detected or labeled. A final limitation is that labeling tends to create sympathy for deviants. Even if police officers did not arrest people for theft, the thefts would still be harmful to those who are stolen from.

V. Conflict Theory and Deviance

- A. *Deviance in Capitalist Society*—Marxist criminologists have defined deviance as behavior that threatens the interests of the ruling class. Those with power and wealth determine what acts are deviant and how they will be punished. The elite may use the law to protect their status because, Marxist theorists argue, norms and values exist in society to protect the interests of the ruling class.

Sociologist Spitzer argues that the culture of capitalism supports the economic system by labeling anyone who criticizes it as deviant. Capitalism requires a willing workforce so that those who will not work are also considered deviant. In addition, those who threaten private property are severely punished, and those who do not respect authority are also labeled deviant. Activities and characteristics are either encouraged or discouraged according to whether or not they support the economic system. From this perspective, athletes are honored because they foster the values of competition, teamwork, and winning. Nonathletes are deviant "wimps."

- B. *Race, Ethnicity, and Crime*—Other types of conflict theory point to the differential treatment that members of racial minorities receive in the criminal justice system. At all points in the system, African Americans and Latinos are treated more harshly than whites. They are more likely to be convicted, and spend more time in prison, even when the criminal offense is the same as that of a white person. While over half of homicide victims are African

Americans, 80 percent of inmates on death row are there for murdering whites. When an African American is killed, attorneys are less likely to call for the death penalty, and the death penalty is less likely to be imposed by judges and juries when the victim is African American. Conflict theorists explain the differential treatment in a number of ways. Minority group members are less likely to have the resources to afford good legal representation. In addition, sociologists argue that the interests of minority groups are not taken as seriously as those of the dominant white group. According to the logic of “victim discounting,” the less valuable the victim, the less serious the crime, and the less severe the penalty.

In *The New Jim Crow*, author Alexander argues that Jim Crow type of discrimination has been replaced by the widespread imprisonment or warehousing of black inner-city youth. The stigma of prison prevents them from ever entering the mainstream. Alexander argues that the racially-motivated War on Drugs is responsible for this situation, while others contend that black resentment contributes to the movement of “get tough on crime.”

- C. *Occupational and Corporate Crime*—According to Edwin Sutherland, who first used the term, white-collar crime is any crime committed by persons considered respectable and of high status, in the course of their occupations. The term white-collar has been reserved for economic crimes such as price fixing, insider trading, embezzlement, bribery, corporate polluting, manufacture of harmful products, and tax evasion. The concept of white collar crime has been refined to distinguish between crime perpetrated by individuals (occupational) and crime committed by organizations (corporate). In an example of occupational crime, committed as part of one’s employment or personal financial pursuits, in 2009 Bernie Madoff, founder of his own investment securities firm, bilked customers of some \$65 billion dollars, a crime for which he was sentenced to 150 years in jail. Corporate crime is crime committed by employees and employers, in collusion, in order to benefit the organization. In 2002 cases of intentional stock inflation by Enron and WorldCom were made public. They were aided by accounting firms such as Arthur Anderson, who were supposed to be auditing them. Brokerage firms, like Merrill-Lynch, it was discovered, had long been encouraging stockholders to invest in worthless stocks in order to protect their contracts with these corporations. When the stock values collapsed, thousands of workers lost their jobs and their retirement savings, and stockholders and pension funds lost billions of dollars.

More recently, in the first part of this century, investment banking giant Goldman-Sachs sold securities based on bundled mortgages known to be fraudulent and risky. They then bet against these investments in the stock market. Lehman Brothers also sold these types of securities, even after it was understood that the mortgages were sure to be defaulted. In 2008, Lehman Brothers, the fourth largest Wall Street Bank, collapsed. Ameriquest Mortgage also contributed to the housing crisis by using techniques from the film, *Boiler Room*, to sell over-priced subprime mortgages.

Conflict theorists point out that occupational and corporate crime is more costly to society than street crime, yet offenders are treated more leniently. Occupational and corporate crime cost the U.S. more than \$200 billion annually, more than eighteen times more than street crimes. Five times as many Americans are killed in illegal working conditions than are murdered annually. Society is further damaged by widespread loss of trust in public officials, corporate and religious leaders, the costs of which are incalculable. Despite the harm done, white-collar perpetrators are treated more leniently than people from lower classes. They are less likely to be imprisoned, receive lighter sentences, and more likely to serve time in facilities with extra amenities. None of the executives of the Wall Street banking and financial corporations received jail time, despite their role in the housing crisis that created global losses of trillions of dollars.

Not all deviance can be attributed to exploitative relationships. Some laws protect potential victims of all social classes, and some laws regulate business despite the opposition of corporations. Still, the conflict perspective does highlight the relative nature of deviance. Its greatest strength is its ability to link deviance to social inequality and differential power.

VI. Crime in the United States

- A. *Measurement of Crime*—Crime is the term for acts of deviance that violate the law, which could be any one of more than 2800 federal acts and many more local and state statutes. The FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) is the primary source of crime statistics for the United States. Law enforcement agencies throughout the country voluntarily submit reports to the FBI for this report. Crime in the United States sharply increased between 1960 and the early 1990s. The rate of violent crime in the United States is much higher than that of most other industrialized nations. Since the 1990s, both violent crime and property crime have decreased, and continued to decline in 2017, with minor annual fluctuations.

There are serious limitations to the UCR. Critics argue it over-represents the lower classes and minority groups, while under-representing middle and upper classes. Amateur thefts and minor assaults are not likely to

be reported to the police; prostitution, intoxication, and drug use are more likely to result in arrest when they are public than when they are private. About half of violent crimes and 40 percent of property crimes are not reported. Crime reporting varies with jurisdiction and type of crime. White-collar crimes are seldom reported in official crime statistics. Some violations, such as unfair advertising or employment discrimination, are handled by special boards, not local law enforcement.

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) was instituted in the early 1970s in response to these criticisms. It is a survey conducted semi-annually by the U.S. Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The two sources contradict each other; the NCVS, for example, indicates the UCR seriously underestimates the amount of crime victimization in the United States. Both the UCR and the NCVS have their strengths. The UCR is completed by police officers who are knowledgeable about when and what statutes have been broken. The NCVS has the advantages of compensating for the massive underreporting of crime, and of being scientifically sound. Together the UCR and the NCVS provide a complete account of the extent and nature of crime in the United States. Both sources agree that crime is decreasing in the U.S. According to the NCVS, violent and property crime are now at their lowest level since the survey began in 1973.

VII. Global Crime

A. *Global Crime Comparisons*—Crime rates vary within any society, according to sociological factors such as age, sex, social class, and neighborhood. Rates are also variable between countries. The rate of violent crime in the U.S. is higher than in any other industrialized country. The overall crime rate is also comparatively high. The United States has the highest rates of violent crime of all the major industrialized nations. Despite an increase in crime in Europe in the 1990s, crime is a much greater problem in the United States than in other countries. Still, crime has increased in some countries, such as Denmark, Finland, and Japan. While it is reasonable to question the accuracy of other countries' crime statistics, given our own difficulty with reporting, the fact remains that the differences in crime rates are too great and too consistent to be discredited.

The United Nations Survey of Crime for 1996 to 2006 found that for most countries, the rate of violent crime fell between 2003 and 2008. The lowest rates of homicide are found in Western, Southern, and Northern Europe, Oceania, and Eastern Asia. The highest homicide rates are found in Southern Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean. Globally, assault or physical action against another person increased between 1996 and 2006. Rates of assault in the U.S. and Canada are second only to those of West, Central and Southern Africa. Rate of rape are increasing in North America, followed by Southern Africa and Oceania. Asia has the lowest incidence of rape. Robbery is also on the rise globally, with the highest rates in Southern Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and North America in that order. The lowest rate, and it is extremely lower, is in Asia. Europe, North Africa and Oceania are in the middle. Burglary, which involves the use of force, is on the decline overall. It is highest in Oceania (especially Australia and New Zealand). North America, Southern Africa, West and Central Europe follow, in that order. In other regions the incidence of burglary is extremely low. Overall, the world is becoming safer, except for the occurrence of terrorism.

VIII. Global Terrorism

A. *The Nature of Global Terrorism*—Terrorism is the use of illegal violence to intimidate a country, group or individual while in pursuit of an economic, political, religious or social goal. Transnational terrorism occurs when members of one country commit crimes against another. Domestic terrorism involves victims and perpetrators in the same country. In 2015, 11,774 terrorists occurred worldwide. As a result, over 30,000 died and more than 35,000 were injured. This does not include the over 12,000 people who were kidnapped or held hostage. Bombing, car bombing, suicide bombing, execution, shooting, landmines, stabbing are common methods used by terrorists. Because so many of these methods are indiscriminant as to who is victimized, this death toll includes many women and children. Almost 80% of the terrorism deaths occurred in only five countries (Iraq, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Syria).

Unlike ordinary criminals who generally work alone or in small groups, terrorists belong to dedicated organizations, share beliefs, and adhere to an ideology. Terrorists are well-trained, disciplined, and committed to meticulous planning. While not always the case, a sizeable proportion of current terrorist acts are religiously motivated. Terrorism is most likely in politically weak states or long histories of political violence. Other conditions make areas prone to terrorism, including occupation by a foreign military, widespread racial and ethnic discrimination, and extreme religious or secular ideologies.

IX. Crime Control in the United States

The criminal justice system is made up of institutions and processes responsible for enforcing the law. It includes the police, the courts, and the correctional system. Approaches to crime control include deterrence, retribution, incarceration, and rehabilitation.

A. *Deterrence*—The use of “caning” in Singapore, a lashing with a 4-foot rattan cane, is an example of a punishment meant to be so severe as to discourage future criminal activity. When the penalties for crime are sufficiently bad to discourage future crime, this is deterrence. Deterrence refers to using the threat of punishment to prevent the occurrence of crime. There is debate about the effectiveness of deterrence. Until the 1960s, sociologists tended to discount any deterrent effects of punishment, based on research that the death penalty did not deter murder any better than life imprisonment. More recent evidence indicates that if the offender is of the belief that they are likely to be caught, and that the punishment will be severe, then threat of punishment may be effective. In the United States punishment is not certain, swift, nor severe, making deterrence ineffective. Since murder often follows an outburst of emotion, it is not likely to include a rational calculation of consequences and deterrence is unlikely. There is no correlation between the use of the death penalty and the murder rate.

American attitudes toward capital punishment have changed historically, from being accepted during the colonial period to losing favor by the late nineteenth century. In the late 1960s, the death penalty was abolished; it was reestablished a decade later. Nonetheless, the trend over the last twenty years has been for less support of the death penalty. For example, a substantial majority of voters would choose a punishment other than the death penalty in cases of murder (61%), such as life without parole. Attitudes toward the death penalty in the United States vary according to race. Sixty-three percent of whites favor the death penalty, compared with 34% of African Americans. This is not surprising given the fact that 40 percent of inmates on death row are black, compared to 16 percent in the general public. Only about one-third of Americans believe the death penalty is a deterrent to murder, a view shared by 12 percent of America’s top criminologists. About three-fourths of Americans who support the death penalty would continue to support it even knowing it does not deter murder, indicating the need for revenge or retribution is greater than deterrence. In response to some inmates being released based on new DNA evidence, nineteen states and the District of Columbia have abolished the death penalty, and nearly all of the states still with the death penalty executed no one in 2016.

In *The Peculiar Institution*, Garland argues that the death penalty is deeply embedded in American history and culture, bound up with a commitment to federalism, to local democracy, racism and violence. In other nations, the elite have banned the practice over the objections of the population, something that U.S. leaders have not been willing to do. The Supreme Court has refused to declare it cruel and unusual punishment in deference to public opinion.

B. *Retribution*—Retribution means that criminals pay in compensation equal to their crimes against society. Legal authorities are permitted to demand retribution, but individual acts of revenge are not tolerated. The responsibility for punishment lies with the state, not the individual, so that punishment is a social issue. Retribution is directed toward past, not future crimes.

C. *Incarceration*—The American rate of incarceration is the highest in the world. While the United States represents less than 5 percent of the world’s population, it holds almost 22 percent of the world’s prisoners. This is six to eight times the incarceration rates of Western European countries. Between 1980 and 2008, the number of inmates in American jails and prisons quadrupled from about 500,000 to 2.3 million. Combining the people in prison or jail with those under parole or probation supervision, 1 in every 31 American adults, or 3.2 percent of the population, is subject to correctional control. Racial and ethnic disparities in incarcerations are glaring. African Americans constitute almost half of the 2.3 million in jails or prisons, yet they are imprisoned at six times the rate of whites. While accounting for only one-fourth of the American population, African Americans and Latinos make up almost 60 percent of the prison population.

D. *Rehabilitation*—The rehabilitation approach attempts to resocialize criminals in order to reduce crime. Prison programs have been geared toward improving social and employment skills prior to release. Thirty to sixty percent of those released from prison will return within two to five years. The high rate of recidivism may be due to characteristics of the criminals, the stigma attached to being an ex-convict, and problems within prisons themselves. Prisoners may leave prison more committed to crime. It is difficult to change attitudes and behavior within the prison subculture, which has a greater influence than the formal authorities. In addition, extended separation from society results in the loss of network contacts, and one’s job skills becoming obsolete. The values and norms of prison are not effective in the conventional workplace.

Alternatives to prisons—Alternatives include a mixture of prison and probation. One example is shock probation, which uses time in prison to shock offenders into realizing the consequences of their actions. The remainder of a prison sentence is suspended and replaced with probation. Community-based programs may release prisoners to work in the community for part of the day. Another strategy is diversion, which directs prisoners to community treatment instead of the penal system in order to avoid the stigma and other problems of imprisonment. Finally, reducing obstacles to work following imprisonment helps former prisoners find jobs and avoid reincarceration.

Rather than directing attention toward criminals, prevention programs try to keep potential offenders from being criminals in the first place. Programs may include treatment for addictions, mentoring for at-risk children, and the creation of more employment opportunities, improving schools, and offering evening recreation programs. Prevention programs are not consistent with American emphasis on punishment.

X. Global Crime Control

A. *Differences in Crime Control*—All countries use incarceration. Rates of incarceration vary greatly, even among European countries that share many cultural traditions. The United States is at the top in terms of numbers of prison inmates; no other industrialized country is in the top ten. More than one in every hundred Americans is in jail or prison. The United States also differs in its use of the death penalty, which the European Union expressed its opposition to in 2007. Also in 2007, the United Nations General Assembly called for a moratorium on the death penalty, with a plan to ultimately abolish it.

Innovative approaches to prevention and rehabilitation have been implemented in other countries. These include helping with the social development of children, and ensuring that children complete their education. New Zealand's Project Turnaround involves offenders, victims and members of the community to create action plans for compensation to victims and communities. Other examples are Sweden, which emphasizes rehabilitation, treatment, and job training, and Japan, where criminals are resocialized to acknowledge their need for moral improvement.

The U.S. has not made a commitment to prevention or rehabilitation, though there has been some change in attitudes toward punishment. Fewer Americans today agree that the criminal justice system "is not tough enough on crime." A smaller percentage sees increased law enforcement as the solution; 69 percent favor attacking the conditions that promote crime by improving educational opportunities and improving job training. Americans are beginning to doubt the effectiveness of "get tough on crime" policies, though the motivation may be economic and not humanitarian. States cannot afford the \$50 billion annual prison costs and are looking for alternatives such as improved sentencing methods, early and more frequent parole, streamlined probation and new treatment programs. Today, for the first time since 1980, the rate of incarceration in the U.S. is declining.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Develop your own questionnaire about participation in deviant activities. The questions might ask about behaviors that violate norms ranging from folkways to minor criminal offenses (e.g., petty theft as a child). Other examples you might include are underage alcohol use, speeding, and lying. Administer the questionnaire to students telling them NOT to include their name or any identifying comments. You will have them fold the questionnaire in fourths before you collect them to protect their privacy. Tally the results and present the results during the next class, omitting any results if there are so few responses as to make any students uncomfortable. For most items "yes" responses will be so frequently occurring that the question for discussion is, if these acts are so common why are they considered deviant? Or are they? By whom?
2. After discussing the four approaches to crime control, ask the students to discuss which seem to be currently favored by American society. Ask for possible explanations concerning what factors in the current socio-political climate makes these preferred. As an example of the different political views, the instructor may want to focus on the different attitudes toward the death penalty. Fifteen of the fifty states do not allow capital punishment. Even among the thirty-five states that do permit the death penalty, there are major differences in attitudes about it. Texas, Virginia, and Florida far surpass any other states in the number of annual executions, and Wyoming has the highest death-sentencing rate of any state. Contrast those states with Illinois, which instituted a moratorium on the death penalty and commuted the sentence of all death row inmates in January 2003.

3. On the February 16, 1994 edition of ABC's *Nightline*, Ted Koppel interviewed former Deputy Attorney General Philip Heymann. Heymann had just resigned over President Clinton's crime bill, which included "three strikes and you're out." Heymann criticized this and other proposed alternatives. Obtain this video from ABC news (1 800 ABC 7500) and show it to the classroom. After viewing the video, ask the students to place Heymann's criticisms in the context of the four approaches to crime control discussed in the text. Additionally, discuss the clip in the context of changing attitudes toward crime control, and the search for less costly alternatives to incarceration.
4. Invite a representative from a community-based program to talk to the class about that agency's programs and their goals and objectives. Many communities may have after-school programs, teen centers, alcohol and drug rehabilitation programs, and/or mentoring programs. Discuss diversion programs with the class ahead of time and help them brainstorm questions for the guest speaker.
5. Divide the class into small groups and ask them to discuss the comparisons of crime statistics for the United States and other countries. Ask them to develop their own explanation for the higher rate of crime in the United States. What are they basing their explanations on? Have them outline a study that would investigate whether or not their explanation is valid. Be sure to include a discussion of which theoretical perspective the explanations pertain to.
6. Engage students in a discussion of deviance that is not developed in the text. It is easiest to address crime, or deviance that violates statutes about which there is some agreement. What about physical conditions such as obesity or being physically challenged in some way. How does American society deal with physical difference? Are students in agreement about whether or not this is deviance? Some commonly accepted practices for discussion include smoking, tattoos, use of marijuana. Ask students to apply each of the theoretical perspectives to these possibly deviant behaviors.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Discuss the concept of social control as a largely informal process. Ask students to consider their own socialization process. What messages did they receive about conforming to society's normative expectations? What were the sources of those messages (note: encourage them to think beyond a general response of family and school, to be more specific). Most of our behavior is regulated by internalized norms, not by fear of formal sanctions such as incarceration. Ask students to give examples of situations in which their own behavior has been regulated by internalized norms. Be prepared with your own examples (e.g., stopping at stoplights even in the middle of the night, returning even desirable items when found in the classroom or other locations, correcting a clerk who has given back more change than is correct). Use this discussion to illustrate and differentiate between internal and external social control.
2. Routine activities theory suggests that the causes of deviance are rooted in the routine activities associated with our culture. Use this information to develop a lecture/discussion of approaches to crime prevention based on routine activities theory. In 1979, Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson proposed a new approach to crime called the Routine Activity Approach. According to this approach, the likelihood of criminal activity depends on three variables: 1) likely offenders (people inclined toward and capable of committing a crime); 2) suitable targets (someone who is easily victimized); and 3) absence of capable guardians (people capable of preventing the criminal activity).

Cohen and Felson argue that without these conditions, crime is less likely to occur. The explanation posed by this theory suggests that the incidence of crime is related to daily activities, the way we live. Routine activities and taken-for-granted living conditions make crime more or less likely to occur. Keep in mind that Cohen and Felson were writing in the late 1970s. At that time, they identified two trends that made crime more likely than it used to be. First, there were more families in which all members were away from home during the daytime. This increased the number of suitable targets and increased the absence of capable guardians. If people are not at home, even with a stable number of potential offenders and/or guardians, the likelihood of crime increases. Second, the size and weight of valuable goods (such as home electronics) had decreased. You might say that the value per ounce of everyday goods had increased, making for more suitable, less risky targets. Theoretically this would also increase the likelihood of crime even if the other variables remained constant.

In 1991, Cromwell, Olson, and Avary published the results of research based on routine activity theory in their book, *Breaking and Entering*. Many of the burglars they studied reported selecting targets during routine activities. Specifically, homes were more likely to be burglarized if they shared the following characteristics: 1) slower traffic in front of the residence; 2) located close to a school, church, corner, stop sign/light, or a four-lane

street (not a four-lane business street; 3) residences with no garage (a garage made it difficult to tell if a capable guardian was home). Cromwell, Olson, and Avary's study found support for the three necessary conditions discussed by Cohen and Felson:

Occupancy Probes—90 percent of the offenders said they would never enter a house if they knew it was occupied!

- Telephone—often the burglar would telephone the residence from a nearby pay phone and hurry to the house, leaving the pay phone off the hook and the phone ringing. If the phone in the home was still ringing when they arrive, they knew the house was empty.
- Mail return—another ploy used was taking some of the potential victim's mail to the door and pretending to return it as if it were delivered to the wrong address. If someone answered the door, they would give them the mail; if not, the burglar knew the house was unoccupied.

Deterrents—These deterrents discussed by respondents also fit the model proposed by Cohen and Felson.

- Alarms—any type of alarm system or warning sticker tended to result in the burglar selecting another, more suitable target.
- Locks on all doors and windows (target hardening)—while there are still so many homes without elaborate locks, they become better potential targets than those with locks.
- Dogs—while many of the burglars arrogantly declared that they weren't afraid of dogs, the presence of a dog usually resulted in a decision not to burglarize that house.

The research by Cromwell, Olson, and Avary draws attention to the decision strategy used by burglars. This decision strategy takes into account two of the issues central to routine activity theory: the suitability of the target and the presence of capable guardians (or the likelihood of alerting a nearby guardian). According to Cromwell, Olson, and Avary, this boils down to a simple equation—potential guardians increase the risk of being caught, while the potential gains remain the same. This increases the probability that the criminal will choose another target.

For class discussion: Discuss the implications of the research for effective crime prevention programs. Is a focus on law enforcement effective? Routine activity theory calls into question some approaches to crime control. Specifically, retribution and incarceration seem to play little or no role in the burglars' reasoning process about committing the crimes. Their primary focus appears to be on *which* house to burglarize, not whether to commit the crime or not.

The research suggests that we should also be considering the role of lifestyle. For example, nosy neighbors could be considered a benefit. What other aspects of lifestyle are relevant? The research suggests that, regarding the protection of our homes, we don't have to have the most secure homes in the world. We just have to be more secure than our neighbors. (Of course, this attitude probably doesn't do much to foster a sense of community within our neighborhoods.) Use the research as the basis for a discussion of the role of culture in crime prevention. Some issues to discuss include the use of space, as well as the role of new technologies. In the U.S. we tend to separate recreation, business, residential, and institutional areas. If downtown areas were used throughout the day and night, because they included a mix of land uses, this would increase the presence of potential guardians, and reduce the incidence of at least some types of crime. What impact does the prevalence of cell phones have on the incidence of crime? Finally, be sure to raise the issue of types of crime. The research relates to burglary primarily. What other types of crime would be impacted by the same factors (e.g. domestic violence?), and which would not? (e.g. cyber-crimes like identify theft, corporate crime).

References

Cohen, Lawrence E., and Marcus Felson. 1979. Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach, *American Sociological Review* Vol. 44 (August): 588–608.

Cromwell, Paul F., James N. Olson, and D'Aunn Wester Avary. 1991. *Breaking and entering: An ethnographic analysis of burglary*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

3. In 2003, George Ryan, Governor of Illinois and a former death penalty supporter, emptied out death row by pardoning several inmates and commuting the sentence to life imprisonment for 167 others. His actions coincided with renewed debate about the death penalty after DNA evidence lead to the exoneration of some convicts. Scott Turow, an attorney and author (*Presumed Innocent, The Burden of Proof, Reversible Errors*, and others), was a member of Governor Ryan's Commission on Capital Punishment in Illinois. As a result of his career as a prosecutor and defense attorney, and his work on the Commission, Turow wrote a book entitled *Ultimate Punishment*. This is a summary of his reflections about the death penalty, and explains why he changed his view of it.

This book is fairly short and can be read in a few hours. The instructor should definitely take the time to read it, and be prepared to talk about it to the class. Turow does an excellent job of reviewing reasons both for and against the death penalty. The deciding factor for Turow is that the criminal justice system is too flawed to avoid gross miscarriages of justice, and executing the accused negates any possibility of correcting errors. These are some of the reasons he gives for his opposition to capital punishment:

- Eyewitness testimony is not nearly as accurate as is commonly believed.
- It is not unusual for the accused to confess to a crime that they have not committed.
- The very crimes that invoke the death penalty (typically only multiple murders or murders with “aggravating circumstances”) arouse such passion in the community and criminal justice system that they are uniquely prone to error.

Perhaps Turow’s greatest contribution in this book is the model he presents for the ability to reason logically about an emotionally charged issue.

4. The 1987 movie, *Nuts*, is a classic and should be widely available. The film is also classic in its presentation of the impact of labeling. Show the film (or portions of it), to the class. This synopsis is taken from the Internet Movie Database: “A high-class call girl (Barbara Streisand) kills a customer in self-defense. To avoid scandal, her parents try to have her declared mentally incompetent. Not helping matters is that she is very distrustful of everybody, including her court-appointed attorney (Richard Dreyfuss), and is very disruptive during her court hearings.” The film is written by Tony Berkoff (aberkoff@hq.caci.com). The film provides a very good example of how labeling creates deviance, and how stigmatized people are assumed to be deviant.
5. Contrast the conflict and functional approaches to deviance. To illustrate the positive functions of deviance, bring to class examples of famous deviants who had a powerful impact on their societies, or even the world. You might develop the examples of Ghandi, Martin Luther King, and Nelson Mandela. All spent time in jail or prison. Examples go beyond social movement figures, and include innovators in art (e.g., Van Gogh and Picasso), science, and all other aspects of social life.
6. To demonstrate the relevance of deviance bring to class examples of people whose roles have changed in ways that has redefined them either as deviant or as non-deviant. Use power point to create slides with photographs (easily found online) and brief textual explanations. For example, George Washington, Fidel Castro, and David Ben-Gurion were all revolutionaries who lead the fight for independence in their respective countries. Each then went from being a revolutionary to being a head of state. Nelson Mandela is another interesting example. He was incarcerated as political prisoner, became a popular hero, and later the first head of the newly independent South Africa.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

V for Vendetta (132 minutes)

This film, based on a comic book series, explores the dynamics of a fictional, future, fascist British government. This film could provide a starting point for a discussion on deviance, social control, or collective behavior.

Documentaries

After Innocence (95 minutes)

This 2005 Showtime documentary follows several exonerated inmates (innocent men wrongfully convicted of crimes, imprisoned for years, and then released after DNA evidence proved their innocence). This film talks about the challenges the men face as they try to reenter society, including the difficulty they have finding jobs and re-incorporating into their families and communities. Also deals with the tricky issues associated with how we define and punish deviance in the U.S. More information can be found at: <http://www.afterinnocence.com/>.

Quiet Rage: The Stanford Prison Experiment (50 minutes)

Quiet Rage is another aging, but powerful documentary about a classic social experiment. Zimbardo filmed his experimental “prison” from beginning to end and then provided the commentary for this revealing film.

This Film is Not Yet Rated (98 minutes)

This documentary includes graphic sexual and violent footage from NC-17 and R rated films. The filmmaker explores the power relationships involved in the MPAA ratings board (which assigns the age ratings for movies). Specifically, the video looks at the kinds of material the MPAA finds objectionable and questions whether the values of the MPAA reflect the values of the “average American.”

Prisontown, USA (75 minutes)

This POV special looks at the economic and social impacts of basing a local economy on the prison industry by highlighting the case of Susanville, CA. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/pov/pov2007/prisontown/>.

Spin the Bottle: Sex, Lies, and Alcohol (45 minutes)

This 2004 film features both Jean Kilbourne (*Killing Us Softly* series) and Jackson Katz (*Tough Guise*) talking about media messages that college students receive about alcohol use and abuse. Also includes college students talking about their own experiences with alcohol. Available at: <http://www.mediaed.org>.

Internet Clips**The Meth Epidemic (60 minutes)**

This *Frontline* special is available to be viewed in-full online. The program looks at the methamphetamine epidemic in the U.S. and globally. It includes biological information about how meth affects the brain as well as how the drug impacts individuals and communities. The program is available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. In January 2003, just before leaving office, then Governor George Ryan of Illinois commuted the death penalty for all prisoners on the state's death row. Ryan, an advocate of the death penalty, became convinced that the criminal justice system was too flawed to provide a "fair" evaluation of the accused innocence or guilt, much less to make life and death decisions. Prior to his decision, Ryan had appointed a commission to study the issue. This report is published in full on the Internet at http://www.idoc.state.il.us/ccp/ccp/reports/commission_report/complete_report.pdf. Visit this site and read the Preamble and Conclusion of the report. Summarize the arguments made by the Commission while issuing their recommendations.
2. Go to the homepage for the Death Penalty Information Center at <http://www.death>. Read some of the information it publishes at this site. After reading the literature, write your responses to these questions: Which theoretical perspective do you think this organization subscribes to? What factors lead you to your conclusion? Did the information you read change your own views on capital punishment? Why or why not?
3. As discussed in the textbook, the FBI publishes an annual Uniform Crime Report. The report is provided on the FBI's website, at <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm>. Visit this site and look at the most recent report. How do they compare to the statistics provided in the text? Are there crime statistics you think should have been included in the text, that weren't? What crime statistics do you find most interesting? Explain your reasoning.
4. *Frontline* on PBS ran a program on juveniles who commit murder and the debate over whether or how they should be punished. Go to the website for the program, *When Kids Get Life*. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/whenkidsgetlife/view/>. Watch the video clips, and explore the site completely. Write an essay clarifying your own opinion. How should juveniles who commit murder be dealt with? Use information from the program site to support your position.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The Vera Institute of Justice is an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit center that combines expertise in research, demonstration projects, and technical assistance to order to provide information necessary to make justice systems fairer and more effective. In particular, look for the sections on youth, race and ethnicity, cost-benefit analysis, and sentencing under "Topics" on the home page. <http://www.vera.org/>
2. The Bureau of Justice Statistics, part of the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs (<http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov>), is the primary source of statistical information on criminal justice within the U.S. The site includes detailed reports and graphics for key topics. Students might be particularly interested in "Violent Victimization of College Students," a special report issued in 2003: <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&id=592>.
3. Sproutflix is the title of a film site and a film festival focusing on developmental disability. There are many films available on the site for immediate use. Shorter ones are free, as are trailers. Longer films ask for a small donation for limited viewing rights (7 days) or slightly larger for downloading. The fees support the filmmakers. One of the most powerful films on the site is "Willowbrook: The Last Great Disgrace." (<http://www.sproutflix.org/content/willowbrook-last-great-disgrace>). The trailer for "Offense Taken" reveals the hurt caused by the use of "retarded" as an all-purpose insult—and the potential for tertiary deviance as activism (<http://www.sproutflix.org/content/offense-taken>).

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Anomie (178)	Domestic terrorism (193)	Secondary deviance (182)
Control theory (180)	Incarceration (196)	Social control (175)
Corporate crime (186)	Labeling theory (181)	Stigma (182)
Crime (187)	Negative deviance (171)	Strain theory (178)
Criminal justice system (194)	Occupational crime (186)	Terrorism (192)
Cultural transmission theory (180)	Positive deviance (171)	Transnational terrorism (192)
Deterrence (194)	Primary deviance (182)	Victim discounting (185)
Deviance (171)	Property crimes (187)	Violent crimes (187)
Deviant (172)	Recidivism (181)	White-collar crime (185)
Differential association theory (181)	Rehabilitation (196)	

FURTHER READING

Britt, Chester L. and Michael R. Gottfredson, Eds. 2003. *Control Theories of Crime and Delinquency*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

An anthology of articles on various aspects of control theory. Part one deals develops the central components and assumptions of control theory; part two addresses issues like gender differences in crime and domestic violence; and part three presents a view of crime cross-nationally.

Cohen, Lawrence E., and Marcus Felson. 1979. Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review* Vol. 44: 588–608.

Cromwell, Paul F., James N. Olson, and D'Aunn Wester Avary. 1991. *Breaking and Entering: An Ethnographic Analysis of Burglary*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

An actual ethnographic study of the habits of thirty burglars. The authors discuss the actual burglary event, factors affecting the decision to burglarize, categories of burglars, drug and group effects on burglars, marketing of stolen property, and reducing vulnerability to burglary through a “routine activities” approach.

Freilich, Morris, Douglas Raybeck, and Joel Savishinsky, Eds. 1991. *Deviance: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.

A compilation composed of two parts. The first focuses on models for cross-cultural research in the area of deviance. Part II provides six ethnographic essays on various deviant phenomena including witchcraft and deviance, female violence against related children, deviant careers, and gangsters.

Kelly, Delos H., and Edward J. Clard, eds. 2003. *Deviant Behavior*. 6th ed. New York: Worth Publishing.

A collection of works in the sociology of deviance. This reader includes a thorough collection of theoretical works in deviance including functionalism, conflict theory, cultural transmission theory, anomie theory, radical conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism/labeling theory. It also provides compilations of work in institutional and non institutional deviance, along with discussions of changing deviance.

Mauer, Marc, and the Sentencing Project. 2006. *Race to Incarcerate*. New York: The New Press.

Mauer is the Executive Director of The Sentencing Project, a criminal justice reform organization. This book is an investigation of race, class, and the criminal justice system. With up-to-date statistics, the book explores the dramatic increase in the number of prisons, and the U.S. reliance on imprisonment to deal with social problems. Mauer argues for humane alternatives.

McLean, Bethany, and Peter Elkind. 2004. *The Smartest Guys in the Room: The Amazing Rise and Scandalous Fall of Enron*. New York: Portfolio Trade.

Covers two years of the corruption scandal by the Texas-based energy company, Enron, which is described in the text. Reviewers call McLean and Elkind corporate anthropologists in their approach to recording the scandal. The focus on the individuals involved, and the corporate culture that enabled the fraudulent practices.

Simon, David R. 2007. *Elite Deviance*. 9th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Allyn & Bacon.

This book is unique in its focus on deviance committed by the elite within society. It includes both criminal and non-criminal, corporate crime, and political corruption in historical and contemporary contexts. The book uses case studies to illustrate ideas and the theoretical points in the book.

Turow, Scott. 2003. *Ultimate Punishment*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.

As discussed in Lecture Suggestion 2, this book provides a very good review of the arguments for and against the death penalty, and an explanation of why the author changed his views on this controversial topic.

PART THREE

Social Inequality

Chapter 8

Social Stratification

Chapter 9

Inequalities of Race and Ethnicity

Chapter 10

Inequalities of Gender

Chapter 8: Social Stratification

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Dimensions of Stratification

- A. The Economic Dimension
- B. The Power Dimension
- C. The Prestige Dimension

II. Explanations of Stratification

- A. The Functionalist Theory of Stratification
- B. The Conflict Theory of Stratification
- C. The Symbolic Interactionist Theory of Stratification

III. Stratification in American Society

- A. Class Consciousness
- B. Identification of Social Classes

IV. Poverty in America

- A. Measuring Poverty
- B. Identifying the Poor
- C. Perceptions of the Poor

V. Consequences of Stratification

- A. Life Chances
- B. Lifestyle

VI. Social Mobility

- A. Types of Social Mobility
- B. Caste and Open Class Stratification Systems
- C. Mobility in American Society

VII. Global Inequality

- A. Identification of Economies
- B. Global Poverty

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Explain the relationship between social stratification and social class.
2. Compare and contrast the three dimensions of stratification.
3. State the major differences between the functionalist, conflict, and symbolic interactionist approaches to social stratification.
4. Identify the distinguishing characteristics of the major social classes in America.
5. Discuss the extent of poverty and the perceptions of poverty in the United States.
6. Outline some of the consequences of social stratification.
7. Describe upward and downward social mobility in the United States.
8. Discuss the major features of global stratification.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Dimensions of Stratification

Inequality among nonhumans is common. Other primates have hierarchical ranking within groups, but humans have very elaborated systems of social stratification. Social stratification refers to the layers or strata of people in

society, each having different access to resources such as income, wealth, power, and prestige. Segments of the population that hold relatively equal amounts of resources, and who tend to share norms, values, and an identifiable lifestyle, are called social classes. The number of social classes varies from society to society. Marx first identified the economic foundations of social class. Max Weber added to this an emphasis on prestige and power.

A. *The Economic Dimension*—Marx viewed economics as the foundation of social classes, while Weber saw economic factors as the consequence of social class. Marx predicted that capitalism would result in just two social classes—the bourgeoisie, who were the ruling class and owners of the means of production, and the proletariat, the ruled or workers. According to Marx, the bourgeoisie would exploit the labor of the proletariat and profit from any surplus created by their labor. Marx believed that all other social institutions were based on the economic structure.

In contrast, Weber identified several different social classes based on the consequences of their relationship to the economic institution. The consequences are the likelihood of achieving things like education, housing, health, and food—those things necessary for a comfortable life—based on access to economic resources. Weber called these life chances. While the standard of living in North America and Europe has steadily increased, there is still a lot of income inequality. Two concepts are involved in understanding inequality: income, the amount of money received in a given period, and wealth, the total amount of economic resources possessed.

Ideally America was not supposed to have any inequality; as late as post WWII the expectation was that there would be a steady closing of the gap between the rich and the poor. However, income inequality has been increasing over the past thirty years. The United States is the most economically unequal of all the Western countries, and becoming more so. Some 45 million people are now living in poverty, yet there are also 10 million millionaires, and some 500 billionaires. The distribution of income in the United States is concentrated at the top. The percentage of before-tax income going to the top 1 percent of the population is the highest it has ever been. It has doubled over the last 30 years. Currently, 38 percent of all privately-held wealth is in the hands of the richest 1 percent of the population. In fact, the richest 1 percent now holds greater wealth than the bottom 90 percent. Wealth is harder to compare, but research indicates that the top 1 percent of the population holds 34 percent of all wealth, and the next top 10 percent holds 38 percent. The bottom 50 percent shares 2.5 percent of the wealth.

Healthcare, leisure, diet, housing, and police protection for those with fewer resources are all negatively affected by growing inequality. Relative educational level is lowered, reducing the percentage of workers with a college education. The rate of job growth is also negatively impacted by income and wealth disparity.

B. *The Power Dimension*—Power is the ability to control others, even against their will. Those with power may use it to their own advantage. Those with more economic resources may have greater power, but this is not always necessarily so, and not everyone with wealth uses it to achieve political power. Wealth is not the only means of achieving power. Expert knowledge, special skills, fame, and social position may also be sources of power. Mass movements achieve power through mobilization of large numbers of people.

C. *The Prestige Dimension*—Prestige refers to the recognition, respect, and admiration attached to social positions. It is defined by society, based on the values and norms of a group. Prestige is given voluntarily, not taken. Recognition must come from others. People with similar amounts of prestige share similar lifestyles. In this way, social classes are like subculture. People with economic resources may increase their prestige by consuming goods and services that display their wealth to others, a phenomenon labeled conspicuous consumption by Thorstein Veblen. There are several outrageous examples, including a diamond studded handbag from Chanel with a price of more than \$260,000.

Prestige is distributed in accordance with societal values. Those in statuses that are considered more important will have greater prestige. More prestige tends to go to positions of wealth and power. Occupation is the most stable indicator of prestige in modern society. White-collar occupations have higher prestige than blue-collar occupations. Education also plays a role, as professors have higher prestige than bankers. Some sociologists have demonstrated that the basis of occupational prestige is the very similar in advanced and less-developed countries. Factors affecting prestige include education, skills and ability, power, importance of the position to society, the nature of the work, and gender.

From an examination of 100 studies from different societies, Trieman concluded that all societies need to accomplish similar objectives, around which occupations develop. This is consistent with a functionalist perspective. Throughout the world, similar occupations have similar access to resources like power and property. Power brings privilege, and together power and privilege may be used to earn greater prestige. This is true cross-culturally, and accounts for the similar evaluations of prestige in different societies. This is clearly conflict perspective.

These dimensions are strongly correlated with each other. Wealth can be used to gain power and prestige as in the case of wealthy people entering politics; prestige can be turned to gaining wealth and power as when athletes and other famous people endorse products or causes; and power can be used to enhance one's wealth and prestige because it can be used to create policies favorable to one's own interests.

II. Explanations of Stratification

The social class one is born into has considerable influence over their lives. Most societies have some degree of stratification, even those meant to be classless. Communist countries like the former Soviet Union and China had a great deal of stratification, much of it based on party membership.

- A. *The Functionalist Theory of Stratification*—Functionalists view inequality as a means of guaranteeing that the best qualified people will fill positions. Additionally, not all jobs are of equal skill or importance. Rewards are needed to encourage people to undergo the extensive training needed for some positions. One weakness of functionalism is that many occupations earn more money than others that are far more important. For example, entertainers make more than the President. Another problem is that functionalism fails to consider that some people face barriers to competition on an equal footing. Many members of racial and ethnic minority groups, the disabled, women, and others have skills that go undeveloped for lack of access. Functionalism also fails to address the fact that social class is inherited and social mobility, even in the United States, is rarely dramatic. Finally, functionalism is ethnocentric, assuming everyone is motivated by money and not other values such as equitable distribution of resources.
- B. *The Conflict Theory of Stratification*—Sociologist Melvin Tumin stated more than 50 years ago that stratification exists to sustain the status quo and protect the interests of those with the most power. From his perspective functionalism serves to preserve the status quo. This is the conflict theory of stratification. Conflict theory argues that stratification exists because those with more power and wealth are willing to exploit those with less, and use their position to increase their power and wealth. Conflict theory is based on the class conflict described by Marx. Despite their smaller number, capitalists dominate the working class through the creation of a belief system that legitimates the status quo. When working the class accepts this belief system or ideology, Marx called false consciousness. Marx believed that eventually the working class would recognize their true interests, reject the dominant ideology, and join together to create a socialist society in which the means of production would be owned by the people. Socialism would then be replaced by communism, and this would end human suffering.

Some sociologists have neglected Marx's work because it is not consistent with the American emphasis on capitalism, achievement, and upward mobility. Still, Marxist theory has been influential within sociology, if only through negative reaction. Marx's predictions did not materialize: revolutions took place in non-capitalist countries, and communism did not produce classless societies. In addition, the middle class has expanded under capitalism more so than the working class. Marxists note that the existing communist societies did not follow capitalism and could not be used examples of what Marx envisioned. Socialist revolutions in precapitalist societies were based on a misinterpretation of Marx. According to Marx, the middle class is part of the working class because it does not own the means of production. Marxists argue it is too soon to judge Marx's predictions because capitalism has not yet disappeared. Sociologists have appreciated some aspects of Marx's ideas, for example, an understanding that the elite may use institutions for personal interests. Dahrendorf argued that conflict theory should shift from a focus on class conflict to conflict between groups. In his view, power more than wealth is the basis of stratification. From a conflict perspective, the struggle over scarce resources creates social classes.

- C. *The Symbolic Interactionist Theory of Stratification*—For stratification to be sustained it must be seen as legitimate. Symbolic interaction helps to understand how legitimation is achieved by socialization. American children are socialized to accept that those at the top have achieved that position, and those at the bottom have lacked talent and/or motivation. The system is perceived as fair. These ideas are internalized and incorporated into one's self-concept. Self-esteem is based, in part, on how we believe others perceive us. The knowledge that failure to achieve in American society is attributed to lack of effort or talent, therefore, results in lowered self-esteem for people at the bottom. Self-esteem affects our sense of entitlement; those at the bottom come to believe they are undeserving. All classes blame the victim for their lack of success. The opposite is true for the upper class, whose success heightens self-esteem.

III. Stratification in American Society

- A. *Class Consciousness*—Americans are aware of inequality, but have had little awareness of class consciousness, or sense of identification with the interests and goals of the members of one's class. Sociologists did not begin to investigate social class in the United States until the 1920s.
- B. *Identification of Social Classes*—Social class is fluid, and full of exceptions. Even so, sociologists have described the class structure in the United States. The upper class is about 1 percent of the population. The upper-middle class comprises about 14 percent of the population, and the middle class represents 30 percent. The working class is also 30 percent. About 25 percent of the population is lower class.

Even the upper class is stratified. The top 1 percent is the aristocracy, including families with old money and famous names (e.g., Vanderbilt and Rockefeller). Lineage is important to this class and there is a great deal of intramarriage. The lower-upper class are the new rich whose money was earned rather than inherited. In this class are people from varied backgrounds; despite their wealth they tend to be barred from the elite social circles. As a whole the upper class is the power elite, responsible for most decision making in the United States.

The upper-middle class is 14 percent of the population, and consists of people successful in a variety of occupations. This group benefited from the boom after WWII, earned enough to save money, have high levels of education, and have high aspirations for their children. They wield power in their communities, not the nation. The middle class is 30 percent of the population and very heterogeneous, including professionals, semi-professionals, entrepreneurs, farmers, managers, and clerical workers. They do not live as well as the upper-middle class, and they may not have completed college. They are more engaged in civic affairs than the classes below them. Since 1980, the middle class has decreased in size by 20 percent.

The working class is sometimes called the lower-middle class and it makes up about 30 percent of the population. Members are lower-level sales and clerical workers, and blue-collar workers who work with their hands. While as a group they earn less than the middle-middle class, some in the trades may earn more. This class of people is frequently without health insurance or retirement benefits, and deals with the stress of unstable employment. Their incomes are generally below the national average, and a serious illness or unemployment is catastrophic for them. Outside of unions, they have little political power, and they are generally not involved in civic affairs.

Members of the lower class are 20 to 25 percent of the population, and share the characteristic of being of little value in the workforce. They are the unemployed, the underpaid, and the working poor. Entry into the lower class is caused by divorce, unemployment, illness, old age, alcoholism, or lack of education. It is very difficult to move up from this class. The working poor are in low-skill jobs with little pay. Their employment may be intermittent, and they do not earn more than the poverty level. The underclass (12 percent) are mostly unemployed and come from families who were unemployed. They lack education and frequently suffer from disabilities.

IV. Poverty in America

- A. *Measuring Poverty*—Absolute poverty means a lack of enough money to acquire even basic necessities. Relative poverty is measured in comparison to groups with more resources. It is possible to have enough to survive and still be poor. Definitions of poverty are determined by the standards of society, and vary cross-nationally. In measurements of relative poverty the poverty line would be raised according to the standard of living in the country. Relative poverty is measured by comparing the bottom fifth of the population with the other four-fifths. Comparatively, the bottom will always be poor unless resources are equally distributed. Absolute poverty is measured by drawing a poverty line below which one is considered poor. This has been the method of measurement in the United States. The poverty line in 2015 was \$24,250 for a family of four; 14.8 percent of the population is poor as measured by this federal standard.
- B. *Identifying the Poor*—The economic downturn that began in 2007 has increased the number of poor people in the U.S. People in female-headed houses, children under 18, the elderly, minorities, and people with disabilities are the most disadvantaged groups in the United States today. Minorities are disproportionately poor. Over 40 percent of the poor in America are white; minorities account for the remaining percentage. The poverty rates for African Americans and Latinos are much higher than for whites (see Figure 8.5). While the poverty rate among whites was 12.7 percent in 2014, the rates for African Americans and Latinos were 26.2 percent and 23.6 percent, respectively. African Americans and Latinos combined account for only 30 percent of the total population.

One-half of poor households are headed by women. About 30 percent of families headed by women are poor, compared with just over 11 percent of all families. Related to this is that 22 percent of children under the age of eighteen are poor. This is the highest rate of any age group. Since the 1960s an increasing number of women and children are among the poor. This has been termed the feminization of poverty. On average, women earn less than men, and women with children have a difficult time maintaining employment. The smallest age group represented among the poor is the elderly. Those with severe disabilities are also more likely to be poor.

The federal government's absolute measure of poverty was developed in 1964; poverty was not measured before that. The measurement is based on an economy food plan, and what resources remain after allowing for a minimally adequate diet. The measure is changed with inflation, but does not recognize social changes such as the gender of the head of household, or the higher costs of child care, transportation and healthcare. The same measurement is used throughout the country without regard for differences in the cost of living.

- C. *Perceptions of the Poor*—The traditional American view of poverty has taken the form of social Darwinism, arguing that the fittest people survive and those who are inferior do not. While not embraced outright, this perspective has shaped America's basic value system called the work ethic, the achievement and success ideology, or the ideology of individualism: each person should work and strive to succeed, those who work hard should be rewarded with success, equal opportunity assures those who work hard they will be rewarded, and economic failure is an individual's fault and indicates a lack of effort. In the extreme the ideology would argue against protective legislation because it interferes with the process of natural selection. A survey of Americans' explanations for poverty indicates a belief in individualistic causes that persists. It is much more common than recognition of structural explanations, especially among affluent, older, whites who are furthest from the situation.

Americans are not against welfare for those who deserve it because they try to work. The undeserving poor, they believe, are just looking for a handout. Racial stereotypes have become intertwined with attitudes toward welfare. While attitudes toward welfare for African Americans generally are not negative, many Americans believe that undeserving African Americans are benefiting from the welfare system. Race complicates the picture, but many Americans are against welfare benefits for all the undeserving, regardless of race and ethnicity.

Research indicates that the image of the poor as unwilling to work is inaccurate. Over 24 million of the poor are over the age of 18. About 65 percent of the working-age (18-64) poor are eligible to work. Of these, 63 percent are working full-time or part-time. The rest are ill, disabled, retired, not working for family reasons, in school, or looking for work. So, contrary to the popular belief that the poor don't want to work, nearly all of the poor in the United States are under the age of eighteen, working, or not working for a legitimate reason.

Research challenges the stereotype that the poor are lazy and prefer to live off of others. Most of the poor of any race or ethnicity are trying to form families, work steadily and support themselves. The menial jobs available to them trap them and keep them from upward mobility. Surveys of mothers on welfare indicate they would rather be employed, if they are not working it is due to problems with health or child care. A national survey found that the poor were more likely to subscribe to the belief in hard work than the non-poor, and were more likely to express support for workfare, the requirement that people work in exchange for their benefits. Children in poor areas are as likely as others to express their desire to go to college and achieve higher level occupations. There is much evidence that the poor share the same work-related values as other Americans.

V. Consequences of Stratification

- A. *Life Chances*—Life chances refers to the probability of achieving the positive things in life, such as education, happiness, health, legal protection, and wealth. Life chances are significantly shaped by social class. High status is often connected with power and wealth, which can ensure rewards. Life chances are shaped to a large extent by an unequal distribution of resources in society. Life expectancy increases with social class. The disparity is connected to the ability to afford quality medical care, neighborhood safety, health insurance, and proper nutrition. People at the bottom of the stratification system are more likely to be sick or disabled, and to receive poor medical care. At age 50, adults who were raised in poverty are more likely to have heart disease and suffer from asthma and diabetes, and are more likely to have had a heart attack or a stroke. Mental health problems are also more likely among members of the lower class, and they are less likely to receive therapeutic help. The poor may pay more for goods and services, are more likely to be arrested, and receive harsher penalties. The poor receive inferior public services, as was illustrated dramatically by the lack of assistance directed at the lower income neighborhoods before and after Hurricane Katrina.
- B. *Lifestyle*—Social class differences are seen in many areas of social life. People in higher classes marry later, have fewer divorces, and greater marital satisfaction. Compared to middle class parents, lower class parents pay less attention to their children's social and emotional needs, and are more likely to use physical punishment. Middle class parents are more likely to emphasize curiosity, self-control, creativity, and concern for others; lower class parents are more likely to focus on conformity, orderliness, and neatness.

VI. Social Mobility

A. *Types of Social Mobility*—Movement within the stratification structure is called social mobility. While mobility seems to imply an increase in social class, downward movement is also possible. Social mobility may be vertical or horizontal, intergenerational (between generations) or intragenerational (within a person's life). A change from one occupation to another of similar status is horizontal mobility, which is not studied much. Vertical mobility, movement upward or downward, is studied extensively. Intragenerational vertical mobility is measured by comparing a person's former occupation or social status with their current one. Intergenerational mobility is measured by comparing the occupations and social classes of parents and their children. A plumber's daughter becoming a physician is an example of vertical intergenerational mobility.

B. *Caste and Open Class Stratification Systems*—The extent of vertical mobility varies from one society to another. Caste and open class are examples of two very different systems. In a caste system social status is inherited (ascribed) and cannot be changed, so there is no social mobility. Members of a particular caste may only marry members of the same caste, and contact with castes that are higher or lower is restricted. South Africa's former apartheid system was an example of a caste system. India has a complex and rigid caste system based on occupation and religion, which is divided into four categories of castes. A fifth caste, called the untouchables, is considered so low as to be impure and capable of contaminating the religious purity of higher caste members. Traditionally, members of different classes were not permitted to eat together or marry, and there could be no movement to a higher caste. The prohibition against marriage has been made illegal, although few marriages across castes occur. The caste system has broken down some, although it is in the interests of the higher castes to prevent change from occurring. Evidence of change comes from a woman named Mayawati, from the former untouchable caste, who rose to being a candidate for Prime Minister.

In an open class system, merit and effort are the basis for one's social class position. Inequality in an open class system should only be based on the accumulation of monetary worth and personal accomplishment. In reality, the American class system can only be called open in theory. Some groups, such as African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, have been denied the opportunity for advancement.

C. *Mobility in American Society*—Americans tend to be optimistic and this is reflected in attitudes about social mobility. America as the land of opportunity is mythologized in the stories of Horatio Alger, Jr., a down-on-his-luck boy who makes good through his effort and diligence. Despite the recent economic recession, a survey of Americans finds that the majority believe that social mobility is within their control; 80 percent (including the unemployed, less-educated, and lower-income) believe it is possible to get ahead. Three-fourths believe that individual characteristics like hard work and ambition outweigh factors like economic conditions or family background.

Exceptional individuals, such as Tiger Woods, Bill Gates, Oprah Winfrey, Shawn (P. Diddy) Combs, and Mark Zuckerberg lend support to the idea of equal opportunity. In reality, leaps in upward mobility are very rare. Recent research supports the findings of early studies, that upward mobility, when it occurs, is usually slight. Both sons and daughters tend toward occupations of similar social status to those of their fathers. Research using income levels instead of occupation have the same results, and the pattern is the same for males and females. The most dependable predictors of a child's economic future are the characteristics of the parents, which are factors beyond the child's control.

Mobility is significantly impacted by intergeneration assistance; children of upper class parents receive help in the form of college tuition, down payments for homes, capital to start a career, or the inheritance of a business. Parents' social class also influences attitudes toward education, social network contacts, knowledge of opportunities, and optimism about a career. Lower income children, without access to the same resources, are less likely to move up; children from wealthier families are less likely to move down.

Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan have identified three determinants of upward social mobility: 1) as less qualified workers take low-level positions, more qualified workers will assume higher level positions; 2) because higher status people have fewer children, more lower status workers are needed to fill higher status jobs; and 3) as technology advances more higher-level jobs are created than lower-level jobs. Children whose parents had lower-level jobs are not able to follow in their parents' footsteps, and must seek training for jobs that will be somewhat higher status. This type of mobility is called structural mobility. Structural changes have sent manufacturing jobs out of the country, and this may have forced some blue-collar workers into new jobs with slightly upward mobility. At the same time, the opportunities for higher wages with little education that were found in manufacturing have disappeared, and many lack the education for more technologically sophisticated jobs. This is causing more workers to take lower-paying jobs. U.S. workers are experiencing more downward mobility compared to their parents.

Research using parents' and children's incomes as indicators of mobility indicates that there is much more mobility in Canada and European countries such as Norway, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Australia, and Germany. Figure 8.6 shows the intergenerational correlations between the earnings of fathers and sons in developed countries. The higher the correlation is between father-son earnings in a country, the lower the social mobility. For example, compare the relatively high correlation of father-son earnings in the United States (0.47) with the relatively low correlations in Canada (0.19) and Australia (0.26). This means that sons in the United States are less likely to end up earning more than their fathers, while sons in Canada and Australia are more likely to out earn their fathers. Said another way, family background affects mobility in the U.S. more than in other high-income countries.

Between 1970 and 2000, upward mobility declined and downward mobility increased, as the earlier expansion of higher-level jobs waned. Holland identifies three factors making advancement harder today than for earlier Americans. The loss of higher paying manufacturing jobs is accompanied by a reduction in the safety net of support. Children in countries with a stronger safety net have an advantage over American children. The U.S. educational system is weak when compared internationally, and students from poorer homes are even more disadvantaged by underfunded schools. A university education is much more expensive than it was a generation ago. The United States is the only advanced nation with no direct federal government involvement in its educational system.

On the college scene, no one has to tell students that education costs are going through the roof. According to the College Board, a student in 2016–17 paid annual tuition and fees of \$33,480 at a private college, \$9,650 as an in-state student at a public college, and \$24,930 as an out-of-state student attending a public university. As a result of these soaring costs, attendance at a college or university is more dependent on family resources. Obviously, students born to families higher on the stratification structure have a decided advantage over students from families lower on the stratification structure. Students with less family resources have to work and/or borrow money if they want to go to college, which makes it more likely that they will either not attend college or will dropout. The resultant absence of higher education creates enormous obstacles to achieving upward mobility.

VII. Global Inequality

Levels of income inequality vary from low amounts in the Netherlands and Switzerland, to moderate inequality in the United States, to high inequality in South Africa. Despite economic growth over the past 20 years, inequality has increased in most areas of the world. The *Human Development Report 2010* documents a decrease in income inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa, and governmental programs in Latin American countries, like Brazil, Ecuador and Paraguay have lowered income inequality. For every country in which inequality decreases, there are at least two more in which it has increased. The former Soviet Union and countries of East Asia and the Pacific have been hardest hit.

A. *Identification of Economies*—The gross domestic product (GDP) is used as an indicator of a country's wealth, and is also correlated with a country's power and prestige. Based on GDP countries may be categorized economically. The richest countries are almost all capitalist: England, Germany, France, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland; the U.S. and Canada; Australia and New Zealand; and Japan. Kuwait and United Arab Emirates also have high-income economies. These countries comprise one-fourth of the earth's land, and 15 percent of its population, and control most of the wealth. The standard of living for people in these countries is higher than for the average person in a low-income economy.

Middle-income economies include, but are not limited to, countries with formerly socialist or communist economies: countries of the former Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Hungary, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Cuba. These countries account for only 10 percent of the world's population. The extent of industrialization in these countries is variable. While most people in these countries live in urban areas, they have a larger percentage of rural population than higher income countries. Middle-income countries not part of the former Soviet bloc are in Central and South America, Africa, and Asia.

The economic base of low-income countries is primarily agricultural. Population density of these countries is very high; about two-thirds of the world's population lives on 60 percent of the land. The low-income countries have no economic system in common, and are extremely poor. People in these countries survive on less than 10 percent of the official poverty line in the United States. Lowered infant mortality and high birth rates keep populations large.

B. *Global Poverty*—Despite an almost \$80 trillion global economy, the world has a great deal of poverty. One-fourth of the world's population is in extreme poverty. Three billion of the world's population lives on less than \$2.50 per day. By this standard the areas with the most poverty are in Southern Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern and

South Eastern Asia. Among more developed countries, Eastern Europe and countries of the former Soviet Union have experienced the greatest increase in poverty in the past decade. About a third of people in these countries live on less than \$4.5 a day.

More than billion people globally have inadequate access to water; 2.6 billion lack basic sanitation. Almost half of the population of the developing world suffers disease from water and sanitation deficiencies. Children are particularly vulnerable; there are 1.4 million deaths each year due to lack of sanitation and water. Another 2.2 million children die due to lack of immunization. Almost one-fourth of the world's children under age 5 are underweight. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, almost 800 million people were undernourished worldwide in 2014–2016.

Poverty has declined all over the world. Poverty rates have been reduced by more than half since 1990. The past 50 years have seen a greater reduction in poverty than the 500 years before that. In the past twenty years, China and fourteen other countries have cut the number of people living in poverty by half. Ten countries have cut their poverty rates by one-fourth. Still poverty remains widespread, and is increasing due to the global economic crisis.

Modernist explanations of global poverty are functionalist. They blame traditional ideas, attitudes, technologies and institutions for the inability of societies to escape poverty. Modernization, they believe, will bring economic growth and prosperity. In contrast, postmodernists take a conflict theory approach and blame poverty on unequal relationships between countries. According to Dependency Theory, poor countries are disadvantaged by their dependence on wealthier countries for capital, and on foreign markets for their products. There is a pattern of neocolonialism among nations that is supported by debt dependency created by the World Bank and the IMF, the need for foreign aid, and the deals made by multinational corporations and the corrupt leaders of poor countries. Much depends on which of these explanations of global poverty proves to be accurate.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Divide the class into small groups for discussion of social class markers within the U.S. Ask each group to develop a list of characteristics that might be indicators of social class (e.g. clothing, speech). Students may say that these things don't matter. You may want to be prepared with photographs (slides) to generate discussion. In addition, ask groups to discuss and list factors that might make it difficult to identify social class (e.g. thrift store clothing, education). Finally, what examples of conspicuous consumption can they think of? Can conspicuous consumption be used for "impression management" to make one appear of a higher social class?
2. Students enjoy discussing their own career plans. Ask them to state their desired future occupation, and then compare these with the scale of occupational prestige in the text. Ask the students how aware they are of the prestige attached to their occupational goals. Was prestige a consideration in their career choice? Continuing the discussion of occupational prestige, with reference to table 8.1, page 209, in the text. Ask students what examples of contradictory status markers they are aware of. For example, are there positions in society which have high economic rewards with little prestige or power? Are there high prestige positions that typically provide low income?
3. Have the students break up into groups of four and play the board game *Monopoly*. Before they start playing, assign each player to a social class—at each board, have one upper class player, one middle class, one working class, and one lower class. The players should start the game with the following assets:
 - Upper class – \$10,000 and ten properties (including Boardwalk and Park Place, all with hotels)
 - Middle class – \$3,000 and three properties
 - Working class – \$1,000 and one property (Baltic or Mediterranean Avenue, no hotel)
 - Lower class – \$100 and no property

Depending on how severe the instructor wants to make the game, the following rules can be implemented:

Passing Go:

- Upper class gets \$800
- Middle class gets \$200
- Working class gets \$100
- Lower class gets \$50

Make two piles of Chance and Community Chest cards:

- Favorable cards – Upper and middle classes draw from this pile.
- Unfavorable cards – Working and lower classes draw from this pile.

Have the students play for thirty minutes or so (the working and lower class players must keep playing, even if they are bankrupt—they should sign “IOUs” for the expenses they incur). At the end of the playing session, ask the students to evaluate their experience. Who “won” the game? Was the outcome a surprise? Why or why not? How did the students feel about their roles in the game? (The instructor may have to remind them that this was just a game, and it only lasted for thirty minutes.) Ask the students to imagine how the working class and lower class feel when this is what they face every day of their lives.

4. Ask students to draw a diagram of the social cliques in their high school. What was the relative status of each; how was membership determined? Ask them to reflect on their feelings toward cliques while they were in high school. Did they perceive the relative prestige of the cliques as fair? What was it based on? In discussion make the connection between the students’ varying perspectives and the three theoretical perspectives of functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism.
5. Students may work alone or in groups. This would also work as an in class writing exercise. Apply the symbolic interactionist theory of social stratification to their own experiences. In what ways, can they think of, have they been socialized to accept inequality? What agencies of socialization are involved? Give an example of a message, and way in which it was delivered, from agencies of socialization such as family, education, religion, and peers.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. In her book *Nickel and Dimed*, Barbara Ehrenreich lived as a member of the working poor. Ehrenreich is highly educated, with a Ph.D. in biology, and made a comfortable living as a writer. As any good scientist does when she notices a question that doesn’t have a readily apparent answer, she decided to find out for herself how someone lives on an income of \$6.00 or \$7.00 per hour (it should be noted that those wages were actually above the minimum wage in effect at the time of her research, 1998).

To answer her question, Ehrenreich moved out of her home in Key West, Florida, and took jobs as a waitress, hotel maid, cleaning lady, nursing home aide, and Walmart sales clerk. Even with some added benefits that the true working poor do not have (such as a car and health insurance), Ehrenreich found it extremely difficult to make ends meet.

In addition to her experiences trying to live on a limited income, Ehrenreich also learned something about social stratification. “There seems to be a vicious cycle at work here, making ours not just an economy but a culture of extreme inequality. Corporate decision makers, and even some two-bit entrepreneurs like my boss at The Maids, occupy an economic position miles above that of the underpaid people whose labor they depend on. For reasons that have more to do with class—and often racial—prejudice than with actual experience, they tend to fear and distrust the category of people from which they recruit their workers” (Ehrenreich, 2001: 212).

Ehrenreich reports that her attitude toward the poor was changed during her research.

“...now that the overwhelming majority of the poor are out there toiling in Walmart or Wendy’s—well, what are we to think of them? Disapproval and condescension no longer apply, so what outlook makes sense? Guilt, you may be thinking warily. Isn’t that what we’re supposed to feel? But guilt doesn’t go anywhere near far enough; the appropriate emotion is shame—shame at our own dependency, in this case, on the underpaid labor of others. When someone works for less pay than she can live on—when, for example, she goes hungry so that you can eat more cheaply and conveniently—then she has made a great sacrifice for you, she has made you a gift of some part of her abilities, her health, and her life. The ‘working poor,’ as they are approvingly termed, are in fact the major philanthropists of our society. They neglect their own children so that the children of others will be cared for; they live in substandard housing so that other homes will be shiny and perfect; they endure privation so that inflation will be low and stock prices high. To be a member of the working poor is to be an anonymous donor, a nameless benefactor, to everyone else” (Ehrenreich, 2001: 220–221).

Although her specific experiences are too lengthy to delve into during a classroom lecture, this book is an extremely revealing look at the life of the working poor in America. It is an excellent candidate for supplemental reading.

Reference

Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2001. *Nickel and dimed*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

2. After discussing the class structure of the United States, ask the students to evaluate where they fit in. To demonstrate the concept of life chances, ask them how their placement in the system of stratification affected their chances of going to college and their alternatives of which colleges to attend.
3. Discuss the nature of occupational prestige and how it is allocated among American occupations. Use the scale from the General Social Survey presented in Table 8.1 as an example for this discussion. Ask students to evaluate the rankings. Are there any with which they disagree? Why or why not (how do they believe they are justified)? Use the students comments to draw out the differences between the functionalist (rankings are based on worth and ensure the best person for the job) and conflict (rankings are unfair in places, perhaps related to the race or gender of the person in the job) perspectives.
4. Show parts of the film, “People Like Us,” a documentary about social class. Various segments are available on YouTube, including a part about the rich and upper-middle class segments (http://www.youtube.com/view_play_list?p=C6D871A2A8C3C8EF&annotation_id=annotation_429839&feature=iv) and the section on Tammy, a poor woman in Ohio, illustrating rural poverty (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q8VXrHeLqBA&feature=related>) This segment, in particular, tends to provoke student discussion (argument) about whether Tammy’s son is right to be ashamed of her, among other things. The segment is a good illustration of some of issues discussed in the text about perception of the poor, and can be used to discuss stigma.
5. Discuss class structure in the United States. Include a discussion of the nature and extent of poverty in American society. Present explanations of inequality from a conflict, functionalist, and symbolic interactionist perspective, incorporating specific examples for each. Engage students in a discussion of which they find most compelling, encouraging them to explain their thinking. After gauging the opinions of the class, locate student opinions within the broader social context with a discussion of the explanations of poverty used by most Americans. Illustrate that, as with many issues, Americans tend to prefer individualistic explanations to structural explanations.
6. Use the table below to illustrate the concept of income disparity, and how the United States compares with other industrialized nations. This and other charts are available from the Economic Policy Institute, www.epi.org, and may be downloaded for use in a PowerPoint presentation.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Titanic (194 minutes)

This popular film displays the ways that class inequality impacts people’s experiences, relationships and life chances. Again, instructors may want to find clips rather than show the whole film.

Television

Kid Nation (13 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

This reality show took dozens of children and required them to create a functioning society. In different episodes, the children deal with issues of stratification, employment, social status, norms, laws, etc.

Waging a Living (85 minutes)

This PBS special from P.O.V. makes a nice accompaniment to Ehrenreich’s book, “Nickel and Dimed.” The show follows the day-to-day struggles of four low-wage workers. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/pov/pov2006/wagingaliving/>.

Affluenza (57 minutes)

This 1997 film looks at the impacts that consumerism and materialism have on our society, our families and our environment.

The Colbert Report (approx 25 minutes)

The Colbert Report often has segments that directly (and humorously) address class inequalities. A regular segment is called “Colbert Platinum” is supposed to be for the ultra-rich and often points out the ridiculous amount of class inequality that exists. Segments are often available for download and viewing at www.colbertnation.com.

Documentaries

People Like Us (120 minutes, divided into 11 stories)

This popular documentary, originally broadcast on PBS, explores the lives of people in various positions within the American class system. From working-class families in Kentucky to WASPs discussing the markers of social class to middle class blacks talking about the relationship between race and class, this film touches on several aspects of the complicated American class system. "People Like Us" is now available on DVD.

Born into Brothels: Calcutta's Red Light Kids (85 minutes)

This Academy Award winning documentary was made with photographs taken by the children of prostitutes in Calcutta's red light district. The filmmakers gave the children cameras and showed them how to use them. The result is a powerful film about childhood and art. More information can be found at: <http://www.kids-with-cameras.org/bornintobrothels/>.

Black Gold (78 minutes)

This documentary follows the path of coffee beans from grower to drinker, highlighting the exploitative nature of the traditional coffee markets and describing the benefits of fair trade coffee for both drinkers and growers. Provides a useful tool for beginning a discussion of the ideas of globalization and "fair trade."

Bowling for Columbine (120 minutes)

Here is another Michael Moore documentary, this time on the Columbine high school shootings. Moor tries to create a connection between the shootings and a number of social issues, such as the availability of guns and the violence in our media and in our society.

Walmart, the High Cost of Low Prices (95 minutes)

This documentary about the world's largest retailer points out ways that Walmart is damaging our environment, our economy, our communities, our health and our citizens. While the video clearly has an agenda, it is very well done and most of the interviews are with current and past Walmart employees. <http://www.walmartmovie.com/>.

Class Dismissed: How TV Frames the Working Class (62 minutes)

This documentary looks at how TV shows shape our visions of the working class including how social class intersects with race, gender, and sexuality in TV media. This video includes interviews with Barbara Ehrenreich, Michael Zweig and Stanley Aronowitz. Available at: <http://www.mediaed.org>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Visit the website for UNICEF, an international program serving and protecting the rights of children throughout the world. "UNICEF is mandated by the United Nations General Assembly to advocate for the protection of children's rights, to help meet their basic needs and to expand their opportunities to reach their full potential" (mission statement, UNICEF). Explore the site and learn more about poverty among children throughout the world: www.unicef.org.
2. The Census Bureau provides a wealth of data pertaining to poverty in the United States. Visit its website at <http://www.census.gov>, click on "P" under "Subjects A to Z," and then click on "Poverty Data." From this site, you will be able to browse a wide variety of information about poverty. Review some of the tables provided by the Census Bureau and be prepared to share what you learned with the class.
3. The *World Development Report* is published annually to provide information about the state of the world's poverty stricken countries and people. The most recent report is provided online at <http://econ.worldbank.org/wdr/wdr2004/>. Visit this website to see how much, if any, progress has been made in alleviating poverty in recent years.
4. Explore the teacher's guide for the PBS *American Experience* program, "The Carter Family: Will the Circle Be Unbroken" at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/carterfamily/tguide/index.html>. From the website for the program: "This hour-long documentary by Emmy Award-winning producer Kathy Conkwright explores the lives of A.P., Sara and Maybelle Carter, starting with their childhood in Poor Valley, Virginia, and following their story through the early 1940s, when they stopped playing and recording together. The film features rarely seen family photographs, memorabilia, and archival footage that chronicles the life and music of this famous and influential trio." The program follows the Carters while also chronicling poverty in the United States, the Great Depression, and Appalachia, a poor region in the eastern United States. Complete the exercises on poverty in the teacher's guide and bring them to class for discussion.

5. *People Like Us*, a documentary about social class in America, was originally run on PBS. Visit the PBS website for the program and find the resources area with links to a bibliography, discussion, and quizzes for placing people in social classes by cultural tastes (<http://www.pbs.org/peoplelikeus/resources/index.html>). Use the “games” tab for additional ways of exploring the cultural aspects of class.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. A publication of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, “Rural Poverty at a Glance,” explains poverty patterns in urban as well as rural locations and includes easy-to-understand figures suitable for use in class. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/rdr100/rdr100.pdf>
2. The “Socioeconomic Class” topic collection from Pew Social & Demographic Trends includes reports about the differential impact of the recession on social classes in the U.S., among other topics: <http://pewsocialtrends.org/topics/socioeconomic-class/>
3. *The New York Times* “Class Matters” site includes the articles that were the basis for the book of the same name as well as interactive features exploring statistics, change, and personal stories. <http://www.nytimes.com/pages/national/class/>
4. There is a wealth of information on all aspects of global inequality on the website of Share The World’s Resources (STWR): <http://www.stwr.org/poverty-inequality/global-inequality.html>. STWR is a think-tank advocating the sustainable management of natural resources such as oil and water for the common good. STWR advocates for the accessibility of the goods and services necessary for survival, including food, shelter, and primary health-care. STWR is a non-governmental organization (NGO) with consultative status at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC).

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Absolute poverty (218)	Income (207)	Social class (205)
Bourgeoisie (206)	Intergenerational mobility (226)	Social mobility (226)
Caste system (226)	Intragenerational mobility (226)	Social stratification (205)
Class consciousness (216)	Life chances (207, 223)	Structural mobility (228)
Conspicuous consumption (209)	Lifestyle (224)	Underclass (218)
Dependency theory (233)	Power (208)	Vertical mobility (226)
False consciousness (213)	Prestige (209)	Wealth (207)
Feminization of poverty (220)	Proletariat (206)	Working poor (218)
Horizontal mobility (226)	Relative poverty (218)	

FURTHER READING

Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2001. *Nickel and Dimed*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

This book is an extremely revealing look at the life of the working poor in America. It is an excellent candidate for supplemental reading.

Giddens, Anthony, and David Held. 1982. *Classes, Power, and Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

This text is a compilation of articles taking theoretical approaches to the issue of class. This includes classical theories of class, contemporary theories of class, class consciousness and conflict, race and class, gender and class, and social class as it relates to urbanization.

Gilbert, Dennis, and Joseph A. Kahl. 2010. *The American Class Structure*. 8th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

The authors provide a discussion of the dimensions of class, socialization, mobility, power, class conflict, and the effects of stratification.

Hooks, Bell. 2000. *Where We Stand: Class Matters*. New York: Routledge.

Hooks confronts the American tendency to avoid discussion of social class as she writes about her own experience moving from the working class into the affluent world. She writes about “how classism has undermined feminism, about solidarity with the poor and how we see the rich.”

Hurst, Charles E. 2009. *Social Inequality: Forms, Causes, and Consequences*. 7th ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

This book provides an excellent introduction to the various aspects of social stratification.

Jacoby, Russell, and Naomi Glauberman. (Eds.) 1995. *The Bell Curve Debate: History, Documents, and Opinions*. New York: Times Books.

According to the *Bell Curve* argument, social class and intelligence are positively related. This contention is debated in a series of articles.

Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

An ethnographic exploration of parenting styles. Lareau finds that parenting styles are related to social class, not race. Lower-income children are less likely to talk back, and don't have the same sense of entitlement as middle class children. Lower class children accept financial limits and experience less sibling rivalry. Middle class children become adept at getting other to fill their selfish needs, and are better at the niceties of social interaction. Both styles of parenting have the advantages and disadvantages.

Secombe, Karen. 2007. *“So You Think I Drive a Cadillac?” Welfare Recipients’ Perspectives on the System and its Reform*. 2nd ed. Boston: Pearson Education.

Secombe uses interviews to better understand the lives of women on welfare. Her book applies a critical feminist framework that uses gender as the central variable in this study of welfare reform.

Shipler, David K. *The Working Poor: Invisible in America*. 2005. New York: Random House/Vintage Books.

Shipler examines the invisible group of working poor, who live precariously between poverty and well-being. They work hard and yet have so few resources that even a minor set-back like a car breaking down can send them into an irreversible downward slide. The book challenges the idea that working hard is all that is needed to succeed in American society.

Chapter 9: Inequalities of Race and Ethnicity

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Racial and Ethnic Minorities

- A. The Definition of Minority
- B. The Significance of Race
- C. The Significance of Ethnicity
- D. Patterns of Racial and Ethnic Relations

II. Theories of Prejudice and Discrimination

- A. The Nature of Prejudice and Discrimination
- B. The Psychological Perspective
- C. The Functionalist Perspective
- D. The Conflict Perspective
- E. The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

III. Institutionalized Discrimination

- A. African Americans
- B. Latinos
- C. Native Americans
- D. Asian Americans
- E. White Ethnics
- F. Jewish Americans
- G. Middle Easterners
- H. Beyond Direct Institutionalized Discrimination

IV. Global and U.S. Ethnic Diversity

- A. Global Ethnic Diversity
- B. Diversity in the United States

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Distinguish among the concepts of minority, race, and ethnicity.
2. Describe patterns of racial and ethnic relations.
3. Differentiate prejudice from discrimination.
4. Illustrate the different views of prejudice and discrimination taken by functionalists, conflict theorists, and symbolic interactionists.
5. Describe, relative to the white majority, the condition of minorities in the United States.
6. Describe the increasing global and domestic ethnic diversity.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Racial and Ethnic Minorities

- A. *The Definition of Minority*—The emergence of minority groups, and prejudice and discrimination toward them, are long-standing themes in American society. For sociologists, the term minority does not mean a numerically smaller group. Louis Wirth defined minorities as groups who are singled out for unequal treatment because of some shared physical trait. They share a sense of collective discrimination. The existence of a minority group implies the existence of a majority or more dominant group. Minorities are denied full participation in a society. It is possible for members of some minority groups to pass for members of the majority. When this is possible, when physical differences are not apparent, minorities are often differentiated in some other way from the dominant group. Minority status is reflected in the social structure, and minorities are denied access to desirable

resources. The alleged inferiority of a minority group becomes part of the dominant group's ideology to defend and justify their superiority. Physical or cultural traits are judged as inferior. Members of a minority group share a sense of group identity; minority status is ascribed and not easily shed.

- B. *The Significance of Race*—Race is a group of people who share biologically inherited characteristics that are considered socially important within a society. The most commonly used racial categories are Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid, and have been based on traits such as hair type, facial features, skin color, and eye color. The racial categories created by nineteenth-century biologists are now considered invalid, arbitrary, and misleading. Ashley Montagu has called race “man’s most dangerous myth.” Biologists know there is no such thing as a pure race. Even those who argue for the existence of race identify more than thirty categories, making the concept meaningless. Because racial categories are arbitrary, they may be socially imposed for superficial differences and upheld by laws. The “one drop rule” was applied so that anyone with any African American ancestors was considered black; there were strict penalties for passing as white. Today these rules are considered arbitrary and parents may indicate the race of their own children. The 2000 Census, for the first time, permitted the selection of more than one race.

Racism involves attempts to connect biological differences with ideas of inferiority or superiority. Through most of human history skin color has not been associated with slavery; slaves could be of any color. The concept of racial evaluations did not emerge until the 1600s. Racism first developed to identify some light-skinned people as superior to others. Racist thinking has attempted to link physical traits to physical and mental superiority or inferiority. Science debunks this thinking. Physical differences among people have developed because they have provided advantages for people living in particular environments. In fact, physical differences are controlled by a very few genes, and there is very little genetic difference between people of different races. There are no biologically inherent differences in intelligence among people of different races. Social scientists support the evidence that the range of mental capacities is the same in all racial groups is much the same, as stated by UNESCO in 1950. Differences in IQ among racial groups are due solely to differences in social environment, training, and education. While some recent DNA research has raised the question of biological difference again, the relevance of these findings is highly doubtful.

The consequences of perceived racial differences are real, causing social scientists to be interested in the socially created categories of people in society. Social races in the United States include Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans.

- C. *The Significance of Ethnicity*—A society may consider a particular group a racial category at one time and not another. For example, Anglo Americans considered Italians and Irish as different races at one time. As awareness changed so that physical differences were not recognized, these groups became known as ethnicities. Ethnicity originally referred to national or cultural identity. Ethnic groups are identified by characteristics related to culture or nationality. Ethnic minorities are defined by cultural differences and are considered subcultures identified by language, religion, values, and cultural norms. While sharing in the dominant culture, ethnicities also preserve their unique cultural identity either by choice, or because of barriers erected by the majority to keep them from full participation.

Ethnocentrism on the part of the dominant group often takes the form of discrimination and prejudice toward ethnic minorities. Attitudes toward different ethnic minorities vary between societies and over time, with earlier immigrants being more readily accepted than more recent immigrants. In the United States recently there has been strong sentiments expressed against Latinos, who are perceived as threatening jobs and relying on welfare. Particularly since the events of September 11, 2001, there has been a great deal of anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States.

- D. *Patterns of Racial and Ethnic Relations*—When racial and ethnic groups come into contact with each other, the outcomes may be categorized as either patterns of assimilation or patterns of conflict. Assimilation is the term for the integration of racial or ethnic minorities into a society so that they have full participation. Milton Gordon defined three patterns of assimilation in the United States: Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism. Anglo-conformity, the most common assimilation pattern, involves the acceptance of immigrant groups as long as they conform to the dominant cultural patterns, which reflect English inheritance. This pattern is not egalitarian as it requires immigrant groups to conform and suppress their own cultural values and practices. In the melting pot pattern, all ethnic and racial minority groups are blended together with the ideal of creating a new, single group. This has not occurred, causing social scientists to suggest that the salad is a better metaphor than the melting pot. As in a salad, the groups maintain their separate identities but are able to live together side by side.

Cultural pluralism is the term for the maintenance of cultural traditions and differences, while accommodating dominant American values and norms. Accommodation occurs when a minority group learns to deal with the dominant culture when necessary, but remains independent in language and culture. Cubans in Miami are an example of this. Cultural pluralism is more egalitarian than Anglo-conformity or the melting pot, recognizing the racial and ethnic diversity within American society.

Patterns of assimilation do not recognize the inequality and conflict between diverse groups in society. Conflict patterns involve the dominance of the majority over racial and ethnic minorities. The three basic patterns of conflict are genocide, population transfer, and subjugation. Subjugation is the most common conflict pattern of minority–majority relations. Members of the minority and majority groups may live in similar areas, but have very different access to resources and inequality is widespread. When subjugation has been codified into law it is called *de jure* subjugation as was the case for freed African Americans after the Civil War, and for blacks under apartheid in South Africa. *De facto* subjugation occurs when it is not legal, but discrimination is widespread nonetheless. The practice of housing discrimination in the U.S. is an example of *de facto* subjugation. It persists despite laws designed to end it.

Population transfers move members of minority groups to remote locations, or remove them completely from the territory controlled by the dominant group. Population transfer was the most common policy used against Native Americans, especially during the late 1800s. The Cherokee were forced to walk from the southeastern United States to Oklahoma, an action called the Trail of Tears.

Genocide is the most extreme form of conflict, and is the term for the politically-motivated mass murder of a people. Examples of genocide include the Arawak of the Bahamas killed by Christopher Columbus, the systemic killing of Jews in Germany under the Nazis and Adolph Hitler, and the “rape of Nanking” during which the Japanese killed hundreds of thousands of Chinese. Genocide is more frequent than imagined. More recent events include the Serbian “ethnic cleansing” against Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo, the mass killings of Hutus by the Tutsi tribe in Rwanda, and the killings of hundreds of thousands of blacks by Muslims in Darfur, Sudan.

The diverse patterns of ethnic and race relations may co-exist, and change over time. Many factors influence which pattern is adopted. These include the nature of the first contact, the reasons for contact and interaction, visibility of minority groups, views held by respective members, and general social conditions.

II. Theories of Prejudice and Discrimination

A. *The Nature of Prejudice and Discrimination*—In sociology, the term prejudice refers to widely held beliefs about a group that are often based on emotions, and are difficult to challenge. Prejudiced attitudes generally are not altered either by new personal experiences or by favorable accounts from others. Experiences that contradict prejudice are understood as being exceptions. Prejudice assumes that all members of the minority group share the same characteristics. It is based on overgeneralizations often supported by limited personal experience.

Prejudice is the term for attitudes; discrimination refers to unequal treatment. Discriminatory behavior may range from avoidance, to denying members of a minority group access, or to violence. Prejudice is often understood as causing of discriminatory behavior, although it does not necessarily have to. Discrimination may also cause prejudice if, for example, a group must generate justification for unequal treatment of minority group members. This was the case for the Chinese who faced discrimination from workers who were threatened by them. Stereotypes emerged to justify the discrimination.

Within sociology a stereotype is the term for ideas based on distortion, exaggeration, and oversimplification that are applied to all members of a particular group. Stereotypes are often used to justify prejudiced attitudes and discrimination, as was the case of Colonists’ depictions of Native Americans as “blood thirsty” savages that served to justify their displacement and genocide. In a recent study of racial prejudice, Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan sent out resumes under names that are traditionally African American and traditionally white. The callback rate for those with white-sounding names was higher, even when the African American names were put on resumes with better credentials.

Hate crimes are criminal acts, often extremely violent, that are motivated by prejudice. Hate crimes are committed against members of many different minority groups, including African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Jews, Muslims, gay men and lesbians, and people with disabilities. While the term hate crime is relatively new, the behavior is not. The U.S. government has kept statistics on hate crimes since 1990, though official figures appear to be serious underestimations. The Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks violent hate groups in the United States, reports a spike in the growth of domestic hate crimes in 2015 and 2016.

B. *The Psychological Perspective*—Psychological explanations of prejudice and discrimination focus on how the prejudiced personality developed and how it functions currently. Psychological questions would include asking about relationships in the family and individual self-esteem. Two prominent psychological explanations of prejudice and discrimination are the frustration-aggression explanation and the authoritarian personality.

According to the frustration-aggression explanation, aggression occurs when built-up hostility cannot be directed at the actual source of frustration. Instead, hostility is directed toward a substitute that is less threatening than the one causing the frustration, called scapegoats. Scapegoats are convenient and non-threatening targets for emotions such as frustrations, failures, or a sense of guilt. The frustration-aggression explanation was developed by John Dollard as a means of explaining German acceptance of anti-Semitism after World War I. Scapegoats are groups that have already been singled out for some reason by the dominant group and lack the power to defend themselves.

The authoritarian personality refers to a personality type that is considered more prone to prejudice than others. This explanation was developed by T. W. Adorno and his colleagues who describe it as an attitude permeating all aspects of life. Traits of the authoritarian personality include excessive conformity, submissiveness to authority figures, inflexibility, and fearfulness.

C. *The Functionalist Perspective*—The functionalist perspective views prejudice and discrimination as dysfunctions. Functionalists always seek the positive functions of social phenomena for society. As Durkheim stated, deviance may increase social cohesiveness. Functionalists believe that stratification serves to ensure the best qualified individuals for important positions. The ethnocentrism of the dominant group may encourage solidarity as members bond together in a belief in the superiority of their own way of life. There are serious negative consequences of prejudice and discrimination. The targets of ethnocentrism are disadvantaged, and prejudice and discrimination also have costs for society. An example is the continuing social conflict caused by centuries of legal enslavement and racism in this country.

D. *The Conflict Perspective*—From a conflict perspective prejudice and discrimination are tools used by the dominant groups to retain their position in society. Prejudice and discrimination are used to block access to resources for minority group members. Members of minority groups tend to view one another as competitors in their struggle for scarce resources. Despite sharing the experience of being a target of prejudice and discrimination, minority groups often do not see each other as allies. An example is the conflict between African Americans and Latinos that has increased recently for a number of reasons. From a Marxist perspective, the capitalist class benefits from conflict among minority groups. If the working class is divided, the ruling class is better able to make decisions that serve their own interests.

E. *The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective*—Neither conflict theory nor functionalism explains how prejudice and discrimination are learned. Symbolic interactionist Gordon Allport identified two stages in learning prejudice: the pregeneralized learning period, during which children are exposed to prejudice without having learned to categorize people on their own; and total rejection, during which they are able to use physical clues to sort people into groups. At this point children can identify groups that they hate, identify members, and completely reject all members of these groups, regardless of the circumstances. Symbolically, language may serve to support prejudice and discrimination, as is the case of the pejorative use of the word “black” in English. A focus on labeling, and the possibility of self-fulfilling prophecy, are also part of the symbolic interactionist approach. A self-fulfilling prophecy occurs when an expectation leads to that same expectation becoming a reality. For example, minority group members who are continually told they are not capable of achievement may stop seeking opportunities for achievement, making the expectation a reality.

III. Institutionalized Discrimination

Limited opportunity for members of minority groups has been a reality, despite the American belief in equal opportunity. Gunnar Myrdal termed this the American dilemma. The passage of civil rights legislation during the 1960s did not put an end to discrimination, in part because discriminatory practices had become part of the structure and traditionally accepted behavior. Institutional discrimination refers to discriminatory practices that have been so widely accepted as to become part of the structure of society.

Feagin distinguished between direct and indirect institutional discrimination. When institutionalized discrimination is intentional, it is termed *direct*. The legal segregation of African Americans is an example. Institutionalized discrimination that is unintentional, that is not necessarily directed at negatively affecting minority groups, is termed *indirect*. High school exit exams are an example of indirect institutionalized discrimination. Schools with disproportionate minority student populations are more likely to be located in urban areas than in wealthier suburbs where they would receive more funding. Unequal school funding affects the quality of training for teachers, textbooks, technology, and school buildings.

A. *African Americans*—African Americans are one of the oldest and largest minority groups in the United States, having been brought as indentured servants in 1619, and later as slaves. They comprise 13.2 percent of the population. The history of slavery created a unique situation of institutionalized discrimination that Blauner has termed “internal colonialism,” a situation in which one group is dominated and oppressed by another group within the same society. While not completely analogous to colonialism as it is commonly used, internal colonialism is useful for understanding the obstacles to complete integration faced by African Americans. African Americans are physically identifiable and affected by the negative stereotypes attached to skin color and other characteristics which have made assimilation difficult. Another factor related to the continued minority status of African Americans is manumission, the change from slave to free person, one of the most important aspects of any slavery system. In the United States, manumission was rare, and freed slaves risked being returned to slavery, which was considered a permanent condition in the south. Freed slaves were denied opportunities for upward mobility. After the Civil War, *de jure* (legal) segregation was institutionalized and remained until it was outlawed in the 1960s, just 50 years ago. The legacy of centuries of prejudice and discrimination is seen today in gaps between African Americans and whites in all areas.

The median income for African Americans is significantly lower than that for whites, and the poverty rate is more than double that of whites. While African American workers have made significant gains since the 1960s, African Americans continue to earn only half that of whites. At any point in the income distribution, black children are less likely than white children to achieve intergenerational mobility, and black children who are poor are more likely to remain poor into adulthood than white children who are poor. The average African American family holds less than one-quarter of the wealth of the average white family.

Research consistently demonstrates that African Americans face discrimination in employment despite legal prohibitions. When white and minority researchers apply for jobs using the same resumes, whites are consistently more likely to interview and hire the white candidates. Once hired, discriminatory practices include higher-status positions and higher salaries for white employees. Such employment practices perpetuate minority overrepresentation in low-prestige, low-paying jobs. One-third of African American men, compared with one-half of white men, and 60 percent of African American women, compared with 75 percent of white women, occupy high status occupations. African Americans are twice as likely as whites to work in low-level service jobs. Recent trends that are creating more low-level service occupations and decreasing manufacturing jobs have further reduced opportunities for higher-paying jobs, particularly in segregated areas.

Unemployment rates for African Americans are double those of whites. These rates do not include those who have given up looking for work or who are underemployed. If this “hidden unemployment” is considered, the rate of unemployment for African Americans is one in four persons, a rate as low as during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The situation is worse among teenagers; one in four African American teenagers is unsuccessfully looking for full-time work, and a much higher percentage are actually unemployed. This means that many African American youths are entering adulthood without employment experience.

Black men earn more than black women at every educational level. The advantage for males is decreasing, though, and black women with a college degree earn more than the median income for black males, which is not the case for whites. African American women with college degrees earn as much as white women with degrees. A third of African American women enter college, while only one-fourth of black men do.

As of 2015, high school graduation rates for whites and African Americans are 88 and 87 percent respectively. The disparity is greater for college; 33 percent of whites have college degrees compared with 22 percent of blacks. The payoff of education in terms of income is higher for white men than it is for African American men, or for women of either race.

Increased voter registration during the 1950s and 1960s is one factor that has contributed to increased political success for African Americans. Many cities have a majority black population, and today 5400 African Americans are county and city officials, compared with 715 in 1970. More than 9,000 African Americans are elected officials in the United States, six times the number in 1970. The election of black officials in areas with a white majority, and the entrance of blacks into the power elite within the United States (Clarence Thomas, Condoleezza Rice, and President Obama are examples), both point to some progress in political representation. The least gain has been in terms of serving as state governors (none are black) and in national offices. There are only three black members of the Senate, and only 10 percent of the House of Representatives are African American. In 1995, the Supreme Court ruled that race cannot be the predominant factor in determining congressional districts. Other antipreference legislation and rulings have dismantled Affirmative Action programs; the Universities of Texas and California have done away with any racially based admissions policies. Additionally, blacks vote in lower numbers than do whites. This may be because they are disproportionately represented among those with lower incomes and the poor, groups that are least likely to vote. Another factor may be less confidence in the political system and the belief that their votes count less, made worse by the undercounting of

low-income minority voters in Florida during the 2000 election. Unfortunately, this is not uncommon. Voters in low-income, high minority congressional districts have three times the likelihood of having their votes discarded than those in high-income low-minority districts.

Due to an increase over the past decades in the number of African Americans in the professions, there is a growing black upper-middle and upper class. Some researchers predict the emergence of two black Americas—a black underclass composed of the permanently poor trapped in inner-city ghettos, and a growing black middle class. This has been supported by Census data: since 1970 the number of African Americans earning more than \$50,000 has tripled, and about 30 percent earn between \$25,000 and \$50,000. At the same time, African Americans are disproportionately represented among the poor. Robinson (2010) argues that there are as many as four black Americas: a middle-class majority; a large contingent of hopelessly poor; a wealthy, powerful, and influential elite; and two new immigrant groups.

Increased income and entrance into the professions has led some to argue that race is declining in significance. Resources are considered more important than race so that well-educated African Americans are able to compete on an equal footing with whites. William Julius Wilson argues that even for African Americans trapped in poverty in urban areas, race is less of a factor than economic factors such as lack of employment opportunities and lack of training. The high-wage, low-skill jobs formerly available in manufacturing have been moved to countries with lower wages. Additionally, businesses have moved from central cities to the suburbs, as have upwardly mobile African Americans. A lack of positive role models leaves illegal activities like drug dealing and prostitution as the only means to success. The solution, according to Wilson, lies in policies that will create jobs, provide for higher quality education and job training, and relocation to areas where employment is possible. Publicly supported day care, a higher minimum wage, and medical insurance for those in low-paying jobs are also suggested solutions. Wilson and Herbert Gans argue against the use of the term “underclass” because it has come to symbolize the undeserving poor. Wilson suggests the term “ghetto poor” as a substitution.

Critics of Wilson believe that racial discrimination continues to be a determinant of the life chances of African Americans, despite the gains of the past decades. Some argue that racism has simply become more sophisticated and subtle, while others point to the lack of funding for education in cities as tied to race. Housing discrimination and segregation, the disproportionate number of African Americans in prisons, and the concentrated rural poverty among blacks in the South are also offered as evidence of continuing racial discrimination. According to the Census, inner cities are more segregated than they were in 1960, before segregation was made illegal.

- B. *Latinos*—Although Latino is a designation of ethnicity, as a group Latinos have been racialized. That is, they have been labeled a racial group and included in the racial hierarchy that places whites at the top and African Americans at the bottom. Latinos are too diverse a group to fit into any single category, and they do not fit the definition of a race. Still, as a group their racialization continues. Latinos comprise almost 17.6 percent of the U.S. population, and are made up of many different ethnicities, including Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and increasing numbers of people from Central and South American countries. High birth rates and immigration rates make Latinos a fast growing group, expected to comprise 24 percent of the U.S. population by 2050.

In 2015, 67 percent of Latinos over the age of 25 had completed high school, compared with 84 percent of the non-Latino white population. Due to different backgrounds prior to entering the U.S., Mexicans have the lowest educational levels, and Cubans have the highest. While income levels for Latinos are higher than those for African Americans, they still lag behind the non-Latino white population. Even Cubans, the most affluent group, have an income that is 75 percent of whites; Puerto Ricans are the lowest income group, with about 51 percent of the income of non-Latino whites. In 2015, 17 percent of Latino families were living in poverty, compared with 9.4 percent of whites. Cubans are the only group whose occupational prestige and income is even comparable to that of whites.

Latino workers are concentrated in low-skill, low-pay jobs. Agricultural work is common, especially among Mexican Americans. In the South, documented and undocumented Latino agricultural workers face Jim Crow-like conditions in which they are cheated out of earnings, denied health and safety protections, profiled by law enforcement, and preyed upon by criminals who know they are not likely to go to the police.

Latinos have become a visible political force. There are currently 34 Latinos in the U.S. House of Representatives, three times the number in 1981. The majority are Mexican Americans. There are 3 Latino U.S. Senators, 5 Latino governors, and 5,000 state and local Latino public officials. Issues of immigration, education, income, and quality of life will likely keep Latinos politically active.

C. *Native Americans*—Because of stereotypes, the extensive diversity among Native Americans is not recognized. Tribal groups are as different from each other as they are from the dominant culture. There are more than 562 tribes and bands, totaling around 4.5 million, three-fourths of whom do not live on reservations. Official U.S. policy toward Native Americans has ranged from oppression, impoverishment, deceit, and neglect, to paternalism, or domination, and care. Whatever the policies, Native Americans have been left out of social and economic opportunities.

The fact that the U.S. Census does not report data for Native Americans is evidence of official neglect. An estimated 25 percent of Native Americans live below the poverty line; the median income is about \$34,000 per year compared with African Americans (\$43,151) and Latinos (\$45,114). Over 20 percent of reservation households earn below \$5,000 annually. The unemployment rate for Native Americans in 2013 was around 11 percent, double the national unemployment rate at the time. High school graduation rates for Native Americans and whites are 65 percent and 88 percent, respectively. Nine percent of Native Americans have completed four years or more of college, compared to almost 33 percent of the white population. One-third of Native Americans work in blue-collar jobs, and only 20 percent are employed in professional or managerial positions. In terms of political representation, there are only three Native Americans in the House of Representatives and one U.S. Senator.

In terms of income and education levels, the situation for the one-fourth of Native Americans living on reservations is worse than those who do not live on reservations. Half those living on reservations are in poverty, and the rate of college degrees is half that of those living off reservations. Recently, gambling casinos have been welcomed on some reservations; only a few tribes receive the bulk of any income, so their economic impact is not clear at this time.

The relationship between the U.S. government and Native Americans has changed, and many tribes have proclaimed independent nationhood, which would entitle them to be part of the United Nations. Changes necessary for the future include preserving traditional culture while creating opportunities in a modern society, and incorporating native culture into the dominant society.

D. *Asian Americans*—Although currently only 5.5 percent of the population, Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing minority groups in the United States; their numbers are expected to double by 2025 and triple by 2050. Asian Americans are an extremely diverse population; the largest groups are from China, the Philippines, Japan, India, Korea, and Vietnam.

When Chinese immigrants entered the United States in large numbers in the mid-nineteenth century, their labor was exploited, while their presence created anxiety about an increase in social problems and competition with white males for employment. A virulent and violent anti-Chinese movement lasted for more than 50 years. Chinese were blocked from many types of employment, and in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act that restricted immigration for more than ten years. Chinese residents were pushed into urban areas where neighborhoods, called Chinatowns, exist yet today. Federal legislation against Chinese immigration was passed until 1940. After 1940, some Chinese Americans began to enter the professions, excelling in the arts and sciences in particular.

While relations between Japan and the United States were cordial during the nineteenth century, Japanese immigration just after Chinese exclusion resulted in prejudice and hostility. Some Japanese became successful farmers, and perceived competition with white farmers resulted in legislation that prohibited Japanese Americans from owning land or passing it to their children. Japanese immigration was halted in 1924, and the Japanese were the targets of hostility and prejudice even prior to Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor. This event resulted in anti-Japanese hysteria. President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which ordered 110,000 of the 126,000 Japanese in the United States into internment camps, despite the fact that many were U.S. citizens. Germans and Italians, also descendants of countries at war with the United States, were not interned. In 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that the internment of Japanese was based on racism, not military necessity. Despite hardships, Japanese Americans are one of the more successful minorities in the U.S., in part due to their commitment to hard work and education.

Asian Americans have been successful using education for upward mobility. Explanations offered for Asian American success include culture and work ethic, Confucian values that emphasize parental respect, and experience in systems with tougher academic expectations. The popular image of successful Asian Americans has masked the fact that many have not fared well economically. In 2017, 15 Asian Americans held seats in the House of Representatives, and there were three Asians in the Senate.

E. *White Ethnics*—White ethnics or Euro-Americans first came to the U.S. during the second wave of immigration in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. They are descendant from southern and eastern Europe, countries around the Mediterranean Sea, and Ireland, just to name some. In contrast to Anglo-Americans they were

Catholic and Jewish, and stereotyped as stupid, criminal, and illiterate. Today they comprise about 20 percent of the population. A large percentage of white ethnics live around urban areas on the east coast, and have blue-collar occupations. Today many are stereotyped as conservative, pro-war, and racist.

In reality, many members of ethnic groups opposed the Vietnam war, and Catholic blue-collar workers have been found to be more liberal than Protestants, more in favor of a guaranteed annual wage, more open to voting for a black candidate, and more concerned about the environment. While some white ethnic groups faced discrimination as new immigrants, they have not experienced long-term income and occupational discrimination. Despite persistent stereotypes about blue-collar white ethnic groups, many are successful professionals. After the black power movement of the 1960s there was a resurgence of interest among whites in their ethnic heritage. Some, like Lillian Ruben, argue that white ethnic identity is an effort toward inclusion in multiculturalism. Others, like Mary Waters, see the importance of ethnic identity diminishing among whites.

- F. *Jewish Americans*—Both the United States and Israel each have a Jewish population of 6 million, together a total of 80 percent of the world's Jews. In the United States, Jews are concentrated in urban areas in the northeast, as well as in California, Florida, and Pennsylvania. About ten percent of the U.S. Jewish population has been here less than a year; recent immigration has been from Israel and the former Soviet Union. Jews were denied political participation in the colonies. Jewish immigration increased mid-nineteenth century, and anti-Semitism peaked in the 1930s and 1940s.

Despite their exclusion in the early twentieth century from top positions in major industries, and restrictions on employment in universities, Jewish Americans have been a very successful immigrant group in the United States. They immigrated as skilled workers and had skills that matched U.S. industry. In addition, Jews placed a high value on education, and parents working in blue-collar occupations encouraged their children to seek higher education and enter the professions. Today, while about two percent of the population is Jewish, they represent five percent of college graduates. In 2017, there were 8 Jewish U.S. Senators, 22 Jewish U.S. Representatives, and 4 Jewish Supreme Court Justices. After being isolated due to their exclusion from much of society, Jewish Americans have begun to marry non-Jews in increasing numbers. In 2000, Joe Lieberman was the first Jewish American to run as a major political party candidate.

- G. *Middle Easterners*—Middle Eastern immigrants were not of general concern until after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September 2001. Strong emotions have contributed to confusion. Not all Arabs are Muslim. Arabs are people from the Middle East and Arab North Africa. Muslims are followers of Islam. Not all Arabs are Muslim, and not all Muslims are Arab. The Middle East is about 98 percent Muslim, but 75 percent of Middle Eastern immigrants to the U.S. are Muslim.

The 3.3 million Middle Easterners in the U.S. does not include the 1 million U.S.-born children with a parent from the Middle East. About 57 percent of Middle Eastern Americans are citizens; over 37 percent were born in the U. S. After Asians, Middle Easterners is the second most educated immigrant group. The percentage of Muslim Americans who have college degrees (26 percent) is about the same as it is for all U.S. adults. Similarly, Muslim Americans also complete high school at about the same proportion as the total population (86 percent of U.S. Muslims, 87 percent of the larger population). Considering income comparisons, those U.S. Muslims who have household incomes of \$100,000 or more are on a par with the U. S. population (14 percent versus 16 percent, respectively). However, there are fewer American Muslim households with incomes between \$30,000 and \$100,000 (40 percent) than in the total population (48 percent). Finally, a higher proportion of Muslim Americans report household incomes below \$30,000 (45 percent) than the general public (36 percent).

Surprisingly, Middle Easterners immigrants have a higher poverty rate and use welfare benefits more than natives. Despite significant success, not all are equally fortunate. Stereotyping is another problem. Research reveals prejudice against Muslims. One in four Americans is at least “a little prejudiced” against Muslims, and 53 percent view Islam unfavorably. Bias against Middle Easterners is reflected in racial profiling, police action based on characteristics rather than behavior. Four in ten Americans favor more strict security measures for Muslims than for other Americans; 43 percent favor requiring all Muslims, including U.S. citizens, to provide a special I.D. card on demand. Specific cases of violent attacks on Muslims alarm Muslims and non-Muslims Americans alike. While attitudes toward Muslims had improved somewhat by 2017, Americans continue to have more negative feelings toward Muslims than any other religious group. In fact, Americans place Muslims and atheists together at the very bottom of the list of religious groups.

- H. *Beyond Direct Institutionalized Discrimination*—The difference in socio-economic status between whites and minority group members may be attributed, in part, to prejudice and discrimination, but is complicated by structural aspects of the U.S. economy. The dual labor market refers to a split between preferred workers in core segments of the economy and marginalized workers in peripheral employment. This perspective attempts to explain continued racial and gender inequality despite programs designed to create equity. According to dual

labor market theory, hard work pays off in core areas of employment. Workers in core industries, such as durable manufacturing and the petroleum industry, enjoy higher wages, job security, and opportunities for advancement. However, retail trades and textile manufacturing, for example, pay less and offer little opportunity for advancement. Members of minority groups become trapped in peripheral employment, or this secondary labor market, and lack the resources to alter their position. The deeply embedded pattern of employment in the dual labor market prevents even fully qualified members of minority groups from entering the core occupations. The concentration of minorities in the secondary labor market becomes perceived as their preference or choice, further prohibiting minority group members from getting the training needed for advancement. Historical prejudice and discrimination interact with the current economic situation to reduce the likelihood of changes in life chances.

IV. Global and U.S. Ethnic Diversity

A. *Global Ethnic Diversity*—Wide variety, and intermingling through immigration, makes it impossible to determine the number of different societies or cultures throughout the world. Immigration is often from less developed to more developed countries, but it also takes place for religious, political, and ethnic reasons. There are currently 15 million people living as refugees outside of their own country, due to conflict or persecution. There are an increasing number of transnationals, people who maintain ties to more than one country. Globalization increases cross-national immigration. Throughout the world, immigration is increasing countries' foreign populations in less and more developed societies, as people feel pulled to more prosperous countries or pushed out of difficult political or economic situations. European countries receive immigrants from former colonies in Asia and Africa, but also from Eastern Europe. Costa Rica gets refugees from neighboring countries undergoing political upheaval, as well as immigrants seeking employment. Since 1960, the number of immigrants globally has doubled to 200 million. Between 1990 and 2005 the rate of immigration was 2.4 million per year, primarily to industrialized countries.

Immigration may provide employees for jobs that native workers do not want, and for lower pay. Immigrants may increase the pool of talent in the host country, and contribute to increased acceptance of diversity. At the same time, employers may exploit immigrants, who are also draining talent from their home countries. Additional disadvantages for the host countries are increased conflict, and in some cases an increase in crime. Immigrant minorities contributed to the breakup of the former Soviet Union. Ethnic conflict contributes to political instability, violent independence movements, and in extreme cases, genocide. Reactions to ethnic minorities have included violations of human rights, a charge some accuse the U.S. of in its war against terrorism. During periods of economic stress, immigration becomes a political issue when native workers feel their employment threatened.

B. *Diversity in the United States*—The U.S. is the most ethnically diverse country. The entire population, except for Native Americans and Mexican Americans, has immigrant roots. Immigration was slow from 1600 to 1820, when successive waves of immigrants became increasingly larger. Between 1820 and 1880, immigrants were primarily from Germany, Ireland and other western European countries. The second wave, from 1880 to 1914, were poorer, heavily Catholic and Jewish, and from European countries. Since 1960, the sending countries have been Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Between 1970 and 2009, the foreign-born population increased from 4.7 percent to 12.5 percent. Today, 53 percent of immigrants are from Latin America, 28 percent from Asia, and just 13 percent are European. Mexico is the largest source of foreign-born (30 percent).

The total population of the United States is expected to increase by 23 percent by 2025; the minority population is expected to increase by 64 percent. In 2008, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans together totaled more than 100 million—a population larger than that of countries such as Spain, France, Italy, or Great Britain.

The proportions of specific minority groups are expected to change over the next fifty years. African Americans, who have been the largest minority group during the twentieth century, will increase in number by 60 percent. Latinos are projected to increase by almost 200 percent, Native Americans by almost 58 percent, and Asian Americans by over 240 percent. These rates will alter the composition of the U.S. population, and will have differential social, economic, and political impacts. Changes in the size and composition of the minority population will likely lead to a reconsideration of legal and social issues. The increase in foreign-born workers and illegal immigrants has contributed to a resurgence of hate-based militia groups. Negative reaction to even legal immigrants is widespread, as native-born Americans feel their employment threatened, and observe some immigrant groups recovering more rapidly from recession. Immigrants with greater education, entering in professional and managerial positions are also threatening.

Fear of immigrant competition is overblown. Research indicates that the arrival of new immigrants stimulates the economy, creating a net gain in jobs. A pool of cheaper immigrant labor helps keep companies from relocating to other countries, which protects managerial positions. Immigrants are also new consumers, and contributors to the tax base of the country. Of the 11 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S., 8 million are in the workforce. Americans at all class levels, and particularly in border states, fear that unauthorized immigrants drain tax-supported services such as hospitals, schools, and public assistance. In 2010, Arizona made failure to carry immigration papers a crime, giving police the right to detain anyone suspected of being undocumented. In 2016, Arizona's anti-immigration law lost the battle to remain viable. After a six-year struggle, Arizona settled out of court with the National Immigration Law Center and other immigrants' rights groups, stripping the law of its bite. Although unauthorized immigrants pay an average of \$80 less in taxes annually, they use fewer public services which compensates for the loss of revenue.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Have students work in groups to discuss racial categories in the United States. Ask them to make a list of all the terms for different categories of race that they have either heard of, or used themselves (e.g., black, Asian, Hispanic, Chinese). Now ask them to analyze their lists logically. What do the various terms refer to (e.g., skin color, language, national heritage, continents). Does it make sense to have a categorization system with no internal logic? Why are racial categories nonsensical in the United States? Use this to discuss the social construction of race.
2. Prepare a list of behaviors or policies that could be viewed as discriminatory. Think of things that may be subtle, such as locking one's car doors when a black man walks by, or changing one's walking or driving path to avoid passing members of a minority group. You might include the policy of redlining, and also the practice of charging higher interest rates at "pay day loan" companies or rental companies for furniture and appliances. Organize students into working groups. Duplicate the list and give a copy to each group, and ask them to evaluate each of the behaviors, policies or situations noting the following: is it an example of prejudice or discrimination or both; is it an institutional or direct form of discrimination or both? Ask groups to take turns presenting their conclusions to the class, and use these to generate further class discussion.
3. Often, colleges and universities have people in charge of "special populations" or affirmative action. If these people function in relation to the academic achievement of these populations, ask them to visit the classroom to lead a discussion of the variations in educational opportunities available to minorities in comparison to whites. Ask them to present information about the history and mission of their office, and the specific programs available to students. Some programs use the category of "underrepresented" group, some specifically apply income guidelines. Ask students to reflect on the differences in the groups targeted, and whether or not they believe social class, race, or both should be the basis for program eligibility. What is their reasoning?
4. Show the film *To Kill a Mockingbird* in class. This film describes the unfair and discriminatory treatment of blacks in the criminal justice system. After showing the film, ask the students to discuss the ways in which racial inequality is still either codified into the law or inherent in the way justice is administered.
5. Have students take time in class to write a brief essay describing their own ethnicity and what it means to them. Ask students to share these with each other, in small groups or as an entire class. Do they see any patterns in the descriptions? Does ethnicity seem to be more relevant for some students than for others? Have students discuss why they think this is the case. What makes the application of the concept of ethnicity difficult in some situations? (e.g. conflating ethnicity and race; an apparent absence of ethnicity).

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Define the concepts of prejudice and discrimination, and discuss the relationship between the two. Raise the question of whether or not one may be prejudiced and not discriminate, or conversely, discriminate but not be prejudiced. Introduce Robert Merton's classic typology of prejudice and discrimination:
 - *All-weather bigots*—are prejudiced and act in discriminatory ways, despite potential consequences.
 - *Fair-weather bigots*—are prejudiced, but do not discriminate if they believe there will be negative consequences for themselves.
 - *Fair-weather liberals*—are not prejudiced, but may discriminate to go along with others and avoid possible conflict with their own group members.
 - *All-weather liberals*—are not prejudiced, and do not discriminate regardless of the situation.

According to Merton, prejudice and discrimination do not necessarily go hand-in-hand. Ask students to identify what theoretical perspective this typology pertains to, and why.

Reference

Merton, Robert K. 1949/1976. Discrimination and the American creed. In *Sociological ambivalence and other essays*, 189–216. New York: The Free Press.

- After the attacks on September 11, 2001, the U.S. Congress passed legislation, called the USA PATRIOT Act, the intent of which was described as protecting homeland security and fighting terrorism. Among other things, the Act gave the government the right to monitor some behavior on the part of its citizens. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and other organizations have taken a stand against the Act claiming it invades individual privacy and violated of civil liberties. Some localities passed resolutions aimed at protecting their populations from potential violations of civil rights. Present the elements of the Patriot Act, and arguments for and against it from different perspectives. (Information may be found many places on the Internet, including the ACLU website, www.aclu.org, and the U.S. Department of the Treasury website page on the Patriot Act, http://www.fincen.gov/statutes_regs/patriot/index.html. Ask students to discuss the pros and cons of this legislation.
- Prepare a lecture presenting the research of Joe Feagin (1991) regarding the continuing importance of race. While William Julius Wilson argued that the significance of race was decreasing and that the economic structure or economic situation (social class) that inner city blacks find themselves in is more relevant. Feagin's research illustrates the continuing importance of race in public places. In his article, "The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public Places," Joe Feagin studied three different aspects of discrimination: the sites of discrimination, the acts of discrimination, and the responses of blacks to discrimination.

Overall, he found that discrimination is more likely in relations that involve perceptions based on one characteristic only: race. Thus, discrimination is less likely when there is a degree of familiarity than in public accommodations (hotels and the like) or on the street. In this study, Feagin lists five types of actions described by the people he interviewed:

- avoidance (simply taking an action to avoid blacks)
- rejection (e.g., poor service in public accommodations)
- verbal attacks (shouting derogatory remarks)
- police harassment (threats and actual attacks)
- harassment by whites (threats and attacks by white citizens)

As Feagin anticipated, the types of discrimination were affected by the site of discrimination. The types of acts most likely on the street were: verbal attacks, police harassment, harassment by whites, and avoidance. Rejection and poor service were much more likely to occur in public accommodations such as hotels, restaurants, bars, and grocery stores.

Responses: The respondents interviewed by Feagin in his research stated that they responded in the following ways to the treatment they received:

- withdrawal or exit
- resigned acceptance
- verbal responses
- physical counterattack

Where the interaction takes place determines the type of response. Some responses were clearly more likely to take place on the street than in public places, while others were more common in public accommodations. The responses that were often used in public were verbal responses and resigned acceptance. In comparison, the responses common on the street were verbal responses and withdrawal or exit.

Conclusions: According to Feagin, the blacks in his study had two basic strategies for dealing with discrimination in public accommodations: verbal confrontation or accepting and sometimes withdrawing. Because verbal confrontation is used more often than acceptance, Feagin suggests that this represents a fundamental change in black–white interaction since the 1950s and 1960s. Then, the rules excluding blacks were responded to with resigned acceptance. Blacks who deviated from this were severely punished. Now, discrimination takes place in more subtle forms. The response of blacks to this tends to take the form of more militant verbal responses.

Feagin's research was conducted in 1991. Engage the class in a discussion of whether or not it continues to be relevant. Some argue we are a post-ethnic society, others that the type of racism has become much more subtle (e.g. color-blind racism). What do students think?

References

Feagin, Joe R. 1991. The continuing significance of race: Antiblack discrimination in public places. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 56 (February): 101–116.

Wilson, William Julius. 1980. *The declining significance of race*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, William Julius. 1999. *The truly disadvantaged*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- In the textbook, Shepard states that stereotypes “may be used as a justification for prejudiced attitudes and discrimination.” Although this may be true in many cases, at least one psychologist believes that stereotypes can also be thought-efficient starting points for understanding other cultures and social groups, as well as the individuals who belong to them.

Psychologist Yueh-Ting Lee received an email that made a tongue-in-cheek observation about the quality of life in different countries. “Heaven is a place with an American house, Chinese food, British police, a German car, and French art. Hell is a place with a Japanese house, Chinese police, British food, German art, and a French car.”

Although these stereotypes are not fully true, Dr. Lee says that they are accurate enough to provide the saying with its humorous touch. “Stereotypes are probabilistic beliefs we use to categorize people, objects and events. We have to have stereotypes to deal with so much information in a world with which we are often uncertain and unfamiliar.”

Lee contends that a growing body of research shows that in many real-life situations, stereotypes accurately portray cultural or group differences. In addition, stereotypes become less important to an individual’s judgment of others as that person becomes more familiar with individuals from a particular group.

Thus, it appears that stereotypes can be of service in initial organizing of information about unknown entities. The trouble with stereotypes comes when people rely on them as absolute truths, without supplementing them with personal observations and learning. Present this perspective and ask for student response.

References

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Lee, Yueh-Ting, Lee J. Jussim, and Clark McCauley. 1995. *Stereotype accuracy: Toward appreciating group differences*. Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association.

- Show part three of the series, *Race: The Power of Illusion*, to the class. This is a three-part series first aired on PBS, available for purchase. There is a companion website with exercises and ideas for discussion <http://www.pbs.org/>. Part three is subtitled, *The House We Live In*, and it discusses historical examples of institutional discrimination that have contributed to the disparities between whites and minority groups yet today. Discuss the importance of institutionalized discrimination in the lives of various minority groups within the United States.
- The film, *Crash*, is a popular portrayal of the complexities of race. Without being polemical, it asks the audience to consider issues of race, color, and culture. In addition, it subtly presents the distinction between direct and indirect discrimination, as well as the relationship between prejudice and discrimination. Show the film, or segments of the film, in class and use it as a vehicle for generating discussion. The film is widely available for rental or purchase.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Remember the Titans (113 minutes)

This drama about a high school football team that has to deal with racial integration demonstrates many of the aspects of institutional and individual racism.

Tusgekee Airmen (106 minutes)

This 1995 film about experiments at integrating the U.S. Airforce provides a useful history of racism in U.S. institutions.

Crash (112 minutes)

This compelling film explores current racial tensions through a series of events involving whites and blacks in Los Angeles. After the film was released, it sparked a national discussion of race, including an episode of *Oprah* in which Oprah Winfrey talks about having a “Crash moment.” It would be interesting to have students watch the film and then have them research some of the media that surrounded it in order to have a sense of the impact such media has on our understandings of race relations.

Television

Black/White (6 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

A reality show from the cable network FX that takes a black family and a white family and uses sophisticated makeup techniques to switch their races. The families then live in the same house and discuss the implications of current racial stratification. I have used episodes from this series in an upper level course on race to highlight issues of racial identity, but it could be used effectively in an introductory course as well.

The Office, Season 1, Episode 2: Diversity Day (approx 25 minutes)

In this episode, the hapless Michael Scott hijacks a tolerance presentation and turns it into an offensive event.

The Office, Season 3, Episode 5: Diwali (approx 25 minutes)

Office employees attend a Diwali festival (the Hindu Festival of Lights) with one of the employee's families. This episode has several examples of cultural ethnicity and miscommunication based on culture.

Documentaries

Race: The Power of an Illusion (3 episodes, 56 minutes each)

This is an excellent video series about the social construction of race in the U.S. I especially like the third part of this series (*The House We Live In*). The website also has excellent resources and activities regarding race. <http://www.pbs.org/race>.

When the Levees Broke: A Requiem in Four Acts (255 minutes)

This Spike Lee film looks at the racial and class-based ways that Hurricane Katrina affected New Orleans residents differently.

American Blackout (84 minutes)

This film is about race-based voter disenfranchisement and is clearly biased in favor of Democratic candidates. However, it does bring up important issues regarding voting, politics and elections and highlights continuing racial inequalities in accessing the right to vote. Much of the film also follows the controversial career of former Congresswoman, Cynthia McKinney as she fights for reelection. More information available at: <http://american-blackout.com/>.

Any of Jane Elliott's Videos (time varies)

Jane Elliott is the Iowa school teacher who conducted the brown eyed/ blue eyed activities with her elementary school students to demonstrate the negative impacts of racism. Since then, she has participated in numerous videos about her classroom exercises, similar workshops she conducts with adults around the country and her own experiences of discrimination after she conducted the experiment. Most of her videos can be found at: <http://www.janeelliott.com>.

Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1985 (14 one-hour episodes)

This excellent, critically-acclaimed documentary miniseries contains one of the most comprehensive collections of video footage from the Civil Rights movement ever assembled. While the entire series is 14 hours long, it is broken into one hour episodes with innumerable clips that could be used to highlight how social movements begin, evolve and achieve success. More information at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. During the 1960s, the Civil Rights movement brought radical changes to the way African Americans thought of themselves and in how they were treated in American society. One of the organizations that brought about those changes was the Black Panther party. Very little is written about this organization in textbooks. There continues to be a great deal of myth and misunderstanding surrounding the group, because it was one of the few armed revolutionary groups in American history. Visit its website at <http://www.blackpanther.org/> to learn more about its legacy and its vision for the future of African Americans. Additional information about the party and its movement is provided at <http://www.bobbyseale.com/>. Conduct interviews with people over the age of 40 to find what they recall about the Black Panthers. Compare this with information from the websites.
2. Affirmative action is one approach to lessening the inequalities among the majority and racial and ethnic minorities. Throughout its thirty to forty-year history, it has been a very controversial method of attempting to "level the playing field" for minorities. This debate continues today, and several jurisdictions are voiding existing affirmative action laws. Visit the website of The Affirmative Action and Diversity Project at: <http://vos.ucsb.edu/browse.asp?id=143> and learn more about this topic. In 1997, students filed a lawsuit against the University of

Michigan claiming its affirmative action policies for admission were discriminatory. Visit the Leadership Conference website for an update of affirmative action state legislation and federal initiatives: <http://www.civilrights.org/monitor/winter2007/art11p1.html> Prepare a brief thought piece/essay with your own views on this continuing controversy.

- Many colleges and universities are making concerted efforts to increase the diversity among students and faculty on their campuses. Visit your school's website and see if it has a statement on diversity. If it does, go to it and investigate your school's position or mission regarding campus diversity. Does it make an effective statement? If the school does not have a stated position regarding diversity, why not? Do you think it is something that is needed? What should be included? Write a summary of your responses to these questions.
- More than fifty years after the historic ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, that made separate but legal illegal, and effectively ended legal segregation, America's public schools are more segregated than ever. Visit the Civil Rights Project of UCLA for information on segregation in public schools, segregation among public school teachers, and school funding issues: <http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/>. Read through the news briefs and research reports. Write a brief statement of why, in your opinion, segregation persists yet today.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- Liberty or Death is a non-profit organization dedicated to making public the stories of those who have been targeted or profiled, actions supported by the Patriot Act, and other similar policies. The organization produces documentaries and film shorts that tell the story of different groups impacted by anti-immigration and anti-terrorist policies. The website has news updates and a resources page. <http://lifeorliberty.org/>
- "A Class Divided" is a documentary film about Iowa schoolteacher Jane Elliott's original brown-eyed/blue-eyed experiment. (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/etc/view.html>) Jane Elliot conducted the original experiment with her elementary school students to demonstrate the negative impacts of racism. Since then, she has conducted similar experiments in workshops with adults around the country. Various films and film clips are available online that document her work, and her own experiences of discrimination after she conducted the experiment. <http://www.janeelliott.com>
- Another film resource available from PBS is "A Class Apart," a documentary that tells the story of the 1951 murder that led to a U.S. Supreme Court case deciding that Mexican Americans are entitled to due process rights. As with many of their film sites, the PBS site includes many additional resources: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/class/>.
- "Not in Our Town: The Billings, Montana Story" is a documentary that tells the story of residents of Billings, Montana, who joined together to fight the hate and violence of white supremacists. When minority group members, citizens of Billings, were threatened with violence by members of the Aryan Nations, religious and community leaders, and concerned citizens and law enforcement officials organized to take a stand against hate. The community passed a resolution against hate crime, and proclaimed "not in our town." In the process of uniting as a community, they also founded a movement. The website compiles, documents, and publicizes the stories of communities across the country who are working together to stop hate. <http://www.niot.org/>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Assimilation (242)	Hate crimes (246)	Race (239)
Authoritarian personality (248)	Hidden unemployment (255)	Racial profiling (265)
De facto subjugation (242)	Indirect institutionalized	Racism (240)
De jure subjugation (242)	discrimination (251)	Scapegoats (248)
Direct institutionalized	Institutionalized discrimination	Self fulfilling prophecy (250)
discrimination (251)	(251)	Stereotype (244)
Discrimination (244)	Internal colonialism (253)	Transnationals (267)
Dual labor market (266)	Minority (238)	Underclass (257)
Ethnic minority (240)	Prejudice (244)	

FURTHER READING

Arber, Sara, and Jay Ginn. 2003. *Gender and Later Life*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

All elderly people in poverty face problems. This book concentrates on these problems using gender as the organizing concept.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. *Racism Without Racists*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Bonilla-Silva argues that racism is not disappearing, but changing form to become more subtle. “Color-blind racism,” he argues, is replacing the Jim Crow racism of the past. Based on qualitative analysis of interviews with blacks and whites of different social backgrounds, Bonilla-Silva’s analysis of current race relations and predictions for the future are sure to generate discussion.

Feagin, Joe R. 1991. The continuing significance of race: Anti-black discrimination in public places. *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 56 (February): 101–116.

In this article, Feagin presents research that demonstrates that discrimination against blacks in public places still persists in American society.

Feagin, Joe R. 2010. *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*. New York: Routledge.

Traces the significance of racism in the construction of American society, and outlines a theory of anti-racist social change.

Parrillo, Vincent N. 2009. *Diversity in America*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.

This book contains an excellent and concise historical examination of racial and ethnic groups in America.

Steinberg, Stephen. 2001. *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America*. 3rd ed. Boston: Beacon Press.

Steinberg debunks contemporary myths, like the concept of a model minority, by exploring historical examples involving application of the same concepts to different minority groups. In the nineteenth century, groups like Italians and the Irish were thought to have “cultures of poverty” and Jews were considered a model minority. Steinberg demonstrates that it is structural factors, like timing of entry into the United States and economic opportunity, which creates the circumstances labeled by these concepts.

Wilson, William Julius. 1980. *The Declining Significance of Race*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

In this work, Wilson elaborates on his theory that the economic situation of blacks is a more important factor than racial discrimination.

Wilson, William Julius. 1999. *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Continuing his analysis begun in *The Declining Significance of Race*, Wilson presents additional argumentation that the deteriorating condition of inner city blacks cannot be explained by race alone, but by economic factors as well.

Wilson, William Julius. 2009. *More Than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner City*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Combines sophisticated analysis, field studies, and a review of research on poverty and race to understand how African Americans have become trapped in poverty in urban areas. Wilson continues and expands his earlier argument that changes in the economic structure have disadvantaged the urban poor. Economic, social and cultural factors combine to keep poor urban blacks disenfranchised.

Chapter 10: Inequalities of Gender

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Antecedents of Gender

- A. Biological Evidence
- B. Cultural Evidence

II. Theoretical Perspectives on Gender

- A. Functionalism and Gender
- B. Conflict Theory and Gender
- C. Symbolic Interactionism and Gender

III. Sex Stereotypes and Gender Roles

- A. Sex Stereotypes
- B. Gender Roles
- C. Role Conflict and Role Strain

IV. Gender Inequality in the United States

- A. Women as a Minority Group
- B. Occupational and Economic Inequality
- C. Legal and Political Inequality

V. Global Gender Inequality

- A. Worldwide Attitudes Toward Gender Inequality
- B. The Extent of Global Gender Inequality
- C. A United States–World Comparison

VI. Changing Gender Roles in the United States

- A. Gender Roles and Social Change
- B. The Women's Movement
- C. Gender Roles in the Future

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Distinguish among the concepts of sex, gender, and gender identity.
2. Demonstrate the relative contributions of biology and culture to gender formation.
3. Outline the perspectives of gender expressed by functionalists, conflict theorists, and symbolic interactionists.
4. State the relationship between sex stereotypical and gender values.
5. Describe the position of women in the United States with respect to work, law, and politics.
6. Report the state of global gender inequality.
7. Discuss factors promoting resistance to change in traditional gender roles as well as factors promoting change in gender roles in the United States.
8. Describe the future of gender roles.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Antecedents of Gender

Differences between men and women have long been attributed to biological differences. This perspective, which attributes behavioral differences to biological characteristics, is called biological determinism. Today, social scientists believe that many characteristics may be overcome through cultural and social influences. A distinction is made between biological sex and gender, which refers to the expectations for members of a particular sex category,

and are acquired through socialization. Gender identity, the awareness of being masculine or feminine is learned and based on culture. Controversy still continues over which is more influential, biology or culture. Today, the question is being investigated using scientific research.

A. *Biological Evidence*—Biologically, men and women differ in terms of musculature, bone structure, and fatty tissue composition. Additional differences in reproductive organs result in different capacities in human reproduction. One of the 23 pairs of chromosomes that humans have is responsible for determining sex; men have an X and a Y chromosome, while women have two X chromosomes. The fetus is neutral until the eighth week of development, when chromosomes determine what reproductive organs will develop. Reproductive organs secrete hormones, which further influence different development in men and women. Men's have more activity in the regions of the brain responsibility for evolutionary responses such as fighting. Women have more activity in newer parts of the brain thought to relate to emotional expression. Women's brains are less specialized; women tend to use both sides of their brain while performing any task. Men tend to listen with their right ear; women use both ears. While men are stronger on average, women have greater endurance and live longer.

Cross-cultural similarities in the behavior of men and women suggest that some behavior is biologically based. For example, men and women emphasize different characteristics when looking for mates, and men are more likely to respond to conflict with aggressiveness. However, researchers have not found behavior for which it is clear sex is an independent variable. More attention needs to be paid to differences within each sex category, as well as similarities between men and women.

B. *Cultural Evidence*—Cross-cultural evidence that gender-related behavior is not biologically determined. The classic work of Margaret Mead suggests that gender-related behavior is not biologically determined. Among the Arapesh, one of three New Guinea tribes studied by Mead, both men and women were cooperative, unaggressive, and empathetic. Both Mundugumor men and women were aggressive, uncooperative, and unresponsive to the needs of others. Among the Tchambuli, gender roles were the reverse of those expected in Western culture: men were submissive and dependent, while women were dominant, impersonal, and aggressive. Subsequent research has confirmed Mead's findings that gender roles are not pre-determined. The Iroquois in the United States are another example. They were matrilineal and female elders chose the male members of the ruling council. Women were involved in governance and military activities. Some studies report socialization of children into the opposite gender roles being successful, and that children come to resist the prescribed roles.

The pattern of gender relations in most pre-literate societies is one of male dominance. Women's tasks are generally domestic tasks, care of children, and ensuring emotional well-being. Men are more likely to engage in economic activities and activities outside of the home.

In any society, definitions of appropriate gender roles may change over time. In the United States, E. Anthony Rotundo outlines three periods with different gender conceptions of middle-class manhood. The communal manhood of the colonial period was centered on community service and economic success. Men were considered superior to and more virtuous than women, and were responsible for their status in the community. The early nineteenth-century idea of self-made manhood was premised on personal achievement. A drive for dominance was considered virtuous, and self-interest was expected. Women during this period were considered morally superior and responsible for protecting the common good. Women's status was still determined by men's and women's role was to nurture her husband and children. The third phase, passionate manhood, begins in the late nineteenth century. During this period aggression, combativeness, and ambition are additions to the drive for achievement. Toughness in men begins to be admired. In all eras, women are considered subservient to men.

There is no clear resolution to the nature/nurture debate, but it is reasonable to assume that both biology and culture play a role in gender differences. Culture shapes biological characteristics.

II. Theoretical Perspectives on Gender

A. *Functionalism and Gender*—Functionalism assumes that gender-related behavior exists because it is useful for society. A gender division of labor is efficient, and men are more expendable in a reproductive sense, so it makes sense they would be assigned the more dangerous tasks. Others argue that while functionalism may be useful for explaining how gender roles emerged, the gender division of labor no longer makes sense in modern society. Functionalists do note that some gender divisions may be dysfunctional for society.

B. *Conflict Theory and Gender*—Conflict theorists note that differential access to valuable resources for men and women preserves the status quo of higher status and greater privilege for men. An extreme example of gender inequality is Afghanistan under the Taliban. Women were not educated, could not work outside the home, could not leave the house without a man, were required to completely cover themselves, including painting the windows to their homes black. From a conflict perspective gender inequality is outmoded; the contemporary

service occupations do not require physical strength, and there are benefits to the family if women work. Marxist and socialist feminists argue that capitalism requires an unpaid workforce in the home to produce and care for workers.

Conflict theorists see a connection between greater economic and social power and sexual harassment, the use of one's greater power in order to make unwelcome sexual advances. The incidence of sexual harassment is very high in all arms of the military. Recent public cases have been the Naval Tailhook scandal that occurred at a convention in Las Vegas, and the reporting in 2003 of fifty rapes or sexual assaults of female cadets at the Air Force Academy. Sexual harassment was brought to the public's attention in 1991 when law professor Anita Hill accused Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment during his confirmation hearings for appointment to the Supreme Court. The case illustrates how difficult it is to prove charges of sexual harassment.

- C. *Symbolic Interactionism and Gender*—Symbolic interactionism is most concerned with the process of gender socialization, during which children learn the roles considered socially appropriate for their sex. During socialization, gender is incorporated into the self-concept through role taking and the looking-glass self. The role of parents is vital to gender socialization, which begins at birth and is well-established by the age of two. Research has found that boys and girls are treated differently. Boys are discouraged from clinging, and girls are cuddled, handled gently, and talked to more. Gender socialization continues through childhood. Household chores are assigned on the basis of gender, and parents often evaluate their children according to their gender conformity.

Observation of pre-school teachers has found sex-based differences in parent-student relationships. These differences continue into elementary school. In one study, Myra and David Sadker found that boys who called out without raising their hands were called on, while girls were admonished for similar behavior. The Sadkers conclude the girls' educational experience is negatively impacted by gender bias in the classroom. Girls outperform boys in the early grades, but their ambition and competition are discouraged. Girls are taught passivity, deference to boys, and a dislike for math and science.

Even at very young ages, children are rewarded for gender role conformity by their peers. Peers also criticize and attempt to modify cross-gender behaviors. During adolescence, compliance with gender roles can contribute to approval and greater respect, resulting in increased self-concept. Adolescents who do not fit the cultural ideal for gender-related behavior may be ostracized and suffer lower self-concept.

All members of society are continually bombarded with images from the media, and many studies document how these include distorted images of women and men, both, as well as the prevalence of violence against women. Most recently, video games like, *Grand Theft Auto*, denigrate women and promote violence. The hugely popular harlequin romance novels are another source of stereotypical images of passive women and aggressive men. Although there has been some improvement, television continues to portray women who work outside of the home in primarily female-dominated occupations. Men are consistently aggressive, independent, and in charge, while women are the victims, passive and dependent. Advertising continues to be dominated by stereotypical images of men and women, based on the same characterizations of aggressive men and passive, dependent women.

III. Sex Stereotypes and Gender Roles

- A. *Sex Stereotypes*—Stereotypes are distorted and oversimplified ideas that are applied to every member of a particular group, and are used as the basis for judgments. Sex stereotypes characterize men in American society as virile, brave, sexually aggressive, unemotional, logical, rational, mechanical, practical, dominating, independent, aggressive, confident, competitive, and innately superior to women. Women are stereotyped in an opposite manner: weak, fearful, sexually passive, emotional, insecure, sentimental, "arty," dependent, submissive, modest, shy, and noncompetitive.
- B. *Gender Roles*—Gender roles are the idealized behavioral expectations for members of each sex. Gender roles represent an ideal that no individual meets completely. Individual men and women emphasize different aspects of gender roles in their own behavior. Gender roles are normative and promote conformity much of the time. The degree of conformity is correlated with a number of different sociological variables.
- C. *Role Conflict and Role Strain*—The female role has inherent strains. More married women with children are working outside of the home and must balance the requirements of work, the home, and child care. While women are increasingly employed outside of the home, men have not assumed domestic responsibilities to the same extent, and public institutions have not stepped in to help working women. The previous health advantage for women employed outside of the home has been countered more recently by the stress of balancing work and home responsibilities. Women with husbands supportive of their employment report better health status than those whose husbands are unsupportive of their employment.

Men's traditional gender roles also create strains and conflicts. Men whose wives work may feel they have failed as providers. They are encouraged to be successful occupationally, but are also judged by how much time they spend with their wives and families. Men's sense of themselves as tough and "macho" may conflict with women's desire for warm, gentle partners. In addition, women's expectations may be confusing because gender roles are somewhat variable depending upon the situation. At work women may prefer to be treated equally, while desiring male protection and other traditional treatment outside of employment. Confusion is compounded by the fact that individual women differ from each other in terms of their expectations for men.

Working class men and women advocate more conventional gender roles, yet paradoxically these women in the most likely to work outside the home. Less educated, lower-income men are less likely to assist with domestic tasks. In 1994, Lillian Ruben reported that more working-class men favor women's right to independence, yet still want women to express enough dependence to make them feel manly. While all the men studied did some housework, only 16 percent shared chores equally with their wives. Working class women are disproportionately disadvantaged by traditional gender roles.

IV. Gender Inequality in the United States

- A. *Women as a Minority Group*—Historically, biological determinism has been used to justify claims of the innate superiority of one group over another, a stance that is rejected by the majority of scientists. Sexism is a set of beliefs, norms, and values that are used to justify gender inequality. Sexist ideology is just to rationalize male dominance in all aspects of society. Despite a lack of factual basis, sexism persists.

Women have gained entrance, to some extent, to positions traditionally reserved for men. There are now 27 women heading Fortune 500 companies, and 33 percent of the corporate officers of these companies are women. About one-fourth of colleges and universities are headed by women, including several prestigious institutions such as Princeton, Harvard, and Michigan. The U.S. Military is 16 percent female, many in jobs traditionally reserved for men. Yet, despite some gains, women still experience occupational, economic, legal, and political inequality.

- B. *Occupational and Economic Inequality*—The most significant development in the U.S. labor market over the past thirty years has been the increased proportion of women in the workforce. In 2015, 57 percent of women worked outside the home, compared with 40 percent in 1960. Women currently comprise 47 percent of the workforce. The increase has been most dramatic among women ages twenty-five to fifty-four, particularly married women with children.

Occupational sex-segregation is still the norm. Women are concentrated in low-status occupations and under-represented in high-status occupations. Only 14 percent of engineering and architecture positions, and one-third of attorney jobs, are occupied by women. In contrast, almost all "pink collar" occupations such as secretaries, clerks, and stenographers are filled by women. When women do earn the high-status occupations, they are still over-represented in the lower-prestige, lower-wage jobs in these fields. Men occupy the highest-status positions in traditionally female occupations. As with race, sex segregation creates a dual labor market.

Income inequality between men and women has followed the same pattern since 1960. In 2015, women employed full-time earned 80 cents for every dollar earned by men. This is an improvement; in 1980 women earned 64 cents for every dollar men earned. Women in the same occupations as men still earn less, and the earnings gap persists regardless of level of educational attainment. This is true for women who pursued a full-time career in the same profession. Men in female-dominated occupations still earn more than women. Latina and African American women have a smaller gender wage gap than do white and Asian American women. Controlling for the influence of race, the wage gap between white men and women increases. The ratio of female to male earnings is greatest for Asian American women, 81 percent. Additionally, Asian American and white women typically earn more than Latina and African American women. While the gender wage gap is not likely to disappear, there is some hope for improvement. Two-thirds of women entering the workforce today are going into traditionally male-dominated professions. As women increase their employment in professional, managerial, and technical occupations, their earnings more closely approximate men's. Still, the female-male earnings differential holds across occupations.

Taking into account every factor that might reasonably create a wage difference between women and men, the gap remains. Sex discrimination is the major cause of the salary gap. Women are disproportionately represented among the poor. More than half of poor households are headed by women, and people living in households headed by women are three times more likely to live in poverty. In homes headed by minority women they are four times more likely. This is evidence of the feminization of poverty, a trend fueled by teenage pregnancy, divorce and singlehood. For the most part, men and women tend to have income levels similar to their

parents. The exception is that women from low-income families experience less social mobility than the sons of low-income parents. Women today earn far more than women of their mothers' generation; men's earnings are actually below those of their fathers' generation. Employment rates, wages, and hours worked have all declined for men between 1974 and 2004, while these have increased for women.

- C. *Legal and Political Inequality*—Over 800 sections of the U.S. legal code contain sexual bias, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. State law varies, so the legal situation for women varies from place to place. Some states have an Equal Rights Amendment, while some still have laws that define women in relationship to their husbands. While the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made some types of discrimination illegal, the protective legislation of the past that limited where women could work established patterns that still exist today. The Family and Medical Leave Act may inadvertently have created another reason for employers to prefer hiring men. In criminal law, prostitution laws are directed at women, more so than their male clients. Rape is a controversial legal area; no other crime requires independent corroboration that a crime has occurred. When rape is prosecuted, the victim is often treated more harshly than the defendant, having her sexual history used to undermine her testimony.

There is some bias in women's favor within the criminal justice system. Men having sexual relations with a consenting female minor may still be charged with rape. According to the chivalry hypothesis, the men in charge of the criminal justice system may have a protective attitude toward women and treat them more leniently. The higher the level within the system, the more generous the treatment of women; judges are more lenient than police officers. This is true for Latina and African American women, as well as white women. Women are viewed as more trustworthy.

Women are underrepresented in the political arena. In 2017, only 20 percent of cities with more than 100,000 people had female mayors, and only one-fourth of state legislators were women. While women comprise about half of the population, they hold just 19 percent of the seats in the House of Representatives and the Senate, and just 23 percent of statewide elected officials are women. Individual women have reached national political stature over the past two decades: Geraldine Ferraro was the first female vice-presidential candidate in 1988, Madeline Albright was the first woman Secretary of State in 1996, Elizabeth Dole ran for the Republican Presidential nomination in 2000, and in 2002 Nancy Pelosi became Speaker of the House, the highest ranking position a woman in Congress has ever held. In 2005, Condoleeza Rice was the second woman Secretary of State. In 2008, Hillary Clinton was the first woman to be a major party's leading candidate for president. The same year, Sarah Palin was the first female Republican Party Vice Presidential candidate. Starting in 2000, Hillary Clinton served as a U. S. Senator, Secretary of State, and Democratic presidential candidate.

Only thirty-three women have ever held cabinet positions: four under Jimmy Carter, twelve appointed by Bill Clinton, five under George W. Bush, and 6 in the first two years of Barack Obama's presidency. The first woman Supreme Court justice, Sandra Day O'Connor, was appointed by Ronald Reagan in 1981, and was replaced by a man when she retired. President Clinton appointed Ruth Ginsburg to the high court in 1993, and President Obama appointed the first Latina woman to the Supreme Court, Sonia Sotomajor, followed by Elena Kagan. Few federal judges are women. About 40 percent of the federal workforce is female, and 40 percent of these women are in midlevel grades. While 90 percent of men and women say they would vote for a woman candidate as their party's nomination; this is up from 33 percent in 1937. About half believe a man would be a better President than a woman. Some women from upper-class families have entered the power elite.

V. Global Gender Inequality

- A. *Worldwide Attitudes Toward Gender Inequality*—Although many Americans have embraced gender equality as a value, this has not resulted in gender equality in practice. This same pattern is found throughout the world. A 22-nation survey conducted by The Pew Research Center finds that in countries worldwide a majority support gender equality and women working outside the home. Majorities also state they think marriages with equal divisions of labor are the most satisfying, and that women's education is as important as men's. Still, inequality persists. Respondents state that men have a better quality of life than women.
- B. *The Extent of Global Gender Inequality*—Three major international reports concur that gender inequality has decreased more in developed countries than in less-developed countries. Throughout the world, over the past 20 years the rate of enrollment for girls in primary and secondary schools has increased more rapidly than for boys. At these levels, education for boys and girls is near parity in developed countries. The gap for primary grades is largest in Sub-Saharan Africa, Western Asia, and Oceania. For secondary levels, the gap is greatest in Sub-Saharan Africa, Western Asia, and Southern Asia. In the developing world, more men than women attend, and graduate from, college. Women are concentrated in the humanities and social sciences. Girls from wealthier families, and from urban areas, are more likely to attend schools than poorer girls, and those from rural areas.

Globally, women comprise about 41 percent of those employed outside of agriculture. In developing countries this figure drops to 20 to 30 percent. Within industry, women hold the most insecure positions. The global percentage of women senior officials or managers is about 25 percent; in the developing world the proportion falls to 10 percent. While a gender wage gap is universal, it is wider in some countries than in others. In Australia and Sweden, women earn about 90 percent of men's income; in Cyprus and the Republic of Korea women earn 56 or 57 cents for every dollar men earn.

Today, virtually all countries in the world grant all citizens the right to vote, with the exception of Saudi Arabia where women are not granted this right. Still, political representation is very unequal. At the high end, there are countries in which 30 to 40 percent of parliament is female; at the low end, in 58 countries women make up less than 10 percent of parliament. At higher levels, the percentages are far lower. In 2010, just 9 of the world's 192 elected heads of government were female. In Western Asia and Western Europe, women make up between 20 to 40 percent of the judiciary. In Eastern Europe, the average percentage of female judges is 64.

- C. *A United States–World Comparison*—The Global Gender Gap Index is a composite measure of gender inequality created by the World Economic Forum. It ranks 145 emerging and major countries on the degree of gender inequality in four areas: economic and employment, educational achievement, political power, and health. The score indicates the degree to which a country has closed its gender gap. The highest-ranking country is Iceland, having closed 88 percent of the gender gap. Yemen is the lowest ranking, having closed just 48 percent of the gender gap. The score is a reflection of the distribution of resources and is not tied to the degree of wealth or development of any given country. Until 2010, the U.S. was not in the top 20 countries in terms of closing the gender gap. In 2010, the United States came in at only number 19 on the Global Gender Gap Index. While disappointing at the time, things deteriorated a bit. By 2015, the United States had fallen to number 28, bypassed by countries such as Estonia, Moldova, and Bolivia. Nordic countries continue to hold their place at the top, ranging from 82 percent in Sweden to 88 percent in Iceland.

VI. Changing Gender Roles in the United States

- A. *Gender Roles and Social Change*—There are several reasons for resistance to change. First, even if one's advantages are not conscious, there is little motivation to change the way things are. Secondly, even if change is desirable, it may be costly. Third, both men and women may be hesitant to give up privileges or benefits they feel are part of their current positions in society. Finally, the dominant ideology favors maintaining the status quo for both men and women.

Demographic changes such as longer life expectancy, smaller families, increased education levels, and the jobs requiring these, have all been factors promoting change in gender roles. These trends have led to women's increased participation outside of the home.

- B. *The Women's Movement*—The women's movement has promoted change in the status of women. Feminism is a social movement with the goal of equality for women and men. It dates back as far as 1792 in England with the publication of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* by Mary Wollstonecraft. In the United States, in 1848 a Declaration of Sentiments was presented by a group of women, and feminism was a mass movement by the end of the nineteenth century. After women got the right to vote in 1920, the movement continued, addressing issues such as birth control and women's economic dependence on men. The Women's Movement came to national attention again in the 1960s through efforts to change gender roles and societal attitudes. By the 1970s it was a mass movement with widespread support.

The Women's Movement involves groups and organizations working to promote gender equality. Feminist theory is an academic pursuit, theory and research, which links women's lives to the structure of gender relationships in society. The Women's Movement may appear new when it gains public attention, but it is actually one broad, ongoing movement that takes different forms in different eras and places in the world.

- C. *Gender Roles in the Future*—Women are living longer, receiving more education, having fewer children, and entering the workforce in greater numbers than ever. These trends will likely contribute to even more women seeking careers. Already there are increasing numbers of women entering the medical, legal, and business professions. The future of gender roles is difficult to predict as they may be strongly influenced by unforeseen events, which may result in a reversal of future trends. However, current trends indicate a future in which even greater alternatives are open to both men and women.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Divide the class into small discussion groups. Ask each group to come up with a list of the characteristics most commonly associated with each gender. Drawing on their own experience, ask the students to discuss how the various agents of socialization contribute to perpetuating these gender stereotypes.
2. There are various organizations established to address issues related to gender (e.g. American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women, Zonta). Invite a representative of one or more of these groups to class. Ask them to present the mission of their organizations and their agendas for addressing women's needs in these fields.
3. Two older, yet still popular movies satirize occupational sex segregation. *Working Girl* (starring Harrison Ford, Melanie Griffith, and Sigourney Weaver) and *Nine to Five*, with Dolly Parton, Lily Tomlin, and Jane Fonda, both depict the plight of bright women held back in the workplace by the limits placed on them by male-dominated cultures. Show one of these films, or parts of one, to the class. Ask students to discuss whether or not they believe the scenarios presented (admittedly presented in a humorous fashion) still applicable to today's workplace.
4. Bring in a stack of *Sports Illustrated* magazines as part of a class discussion on gender roles and sports. Divide the class into groups and give each group a number of magazines to examine. How often do female athletes appear in comparison with male athletes? What kinds of sports does each engage in? How are women represented—is the focus on skill, appearance, or both? Students may also want to relate this to their own experiences as participants in sports activities. As athletes, were there ways in which traditional gender roles were reinforced? In their college experience, are these continuing?
5. Some argue that we are now in a “post-feminist” era. The implication (analogous to the argument for a post-ethnic society) is that equity has essentially been established. Ask students what they think of when they hear the term “feminist”. Use this as a starting place for a discussion of whether or not feminism has relevance, and whether there is still a need for the Women's Movement. If so, how do they envision the agenda of a Women's Movement today? What current issues do they see as important?

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Prepare a lecture that presents the research on the division of household labor between husbands and wives. Today we know that the traditional nuclear family never applied evenly across social class. Lower-income women have long worked outside of the home. In the ideal of the middle class nuclear family of the past, the gender division of labor left household chores to women. In the married couple households of today, women are almost as likely as men to be employed full-time. What impact has women's employment had on the division of labor within the household?

Research has found a pattern to the division of labor in the home. How much change have we seen over the past decade? In 1991, Blair and Lichter reported that women worked an average of 33 hours per week on housework, not including child care. Men worked an average of 14 hours weekly on housework. Not only was there a quantitative difference in the amount of housework done by men and women, there was also a qualitative difference. Ask students to brainstorm a list of probable household tasks for men and women. Write these on the board and ask students to review them and look for a pattern in the division of labor. It is likely they will suggest yard work, fix-it jobs, taking care of cars, and taking out the trash as men's work. For women, tasks like cleaning the kitchen and bathroom, laundry, and washing dishes are more likely. Analyze the lists and characterize the tasks for men and women.

In 1977, Meissner argued that men's work was less stressful than women's work for a number of reasons. Typically, men's jobs have a well defined beginning and end. Much of “women's work” is repetitive and continual. Men's tasks allow one to see progress, and a finished product. In contrast, the kitchen and bathroom begin to become dirty immediately, and there are always more dishes to be done. Another factor noted by Meissner is that there is more room for discretion regarding when men's tasks can be accomplished. Chores traditionally done by men do not have a specific time schedule. Mowing, for example, may be put off a day; laundry, cooking, and child care less so. Meissner also argued that the work assigned to men is more enjoyable because it leads to the opportunity for social interaction, while women's work is inside the home.

In another study, Blair and Johnson (1992) had similar results. In their study, men with non-employed wives worked an average of 12.23 total hours around the home, while men whose wives worked spent an average of 15.28 hours working at home. When women work outside of the home, there is not a commensurate increase in

men's involvement in household tasks. As in Meissner's study, Blair and Johnson found that men focused their efforts on more traditional men's tasks, particularly outdoor jobs. According to Blair and Johnson, the degree to which the woman buys into traditional sex role ideology is a major factor in determining the participation of the man in the household division of labor.

Some may argue that much has changed since these two studies were done. However, a recent study by Barley, Blanton, and Gilliard yields similar results. Their study examined decision-making, attitudes, and division of labor in dual-income earning households, and the impact of these on the perception of marital equity in the same households. The research found that women spend more time on household tasks than men, and the tasks they are most involved in are low-control household tasks. Men have more control over the domestic work that they do. When time in low-control household tasks is shared by women and men, there is a greater perception of marital equity.

References

Bartley, Sharon J., Priscilla Blanton, and Jennifer L. Gilliard. 2005. Husbands and wives in dual-earner marriages: Decision-making, gender role attitudes, division of household labor, and equity. *Marriage & Family Review*, vol. 37 (4), pp. 69–94.

Blair, S. L., and M. P. Johnson. 1992. Wives' perceptions of fairness of the division of household labor: The intersection of housework and ideology. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Vol. 54 (August), 570–581.

Blair, S. L., and D. T. Lichter. 1991. Measuring the division of household labor: Gender segregation of housework among American couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 12, 91–113.

Meissner, M. 1977. Sexual division of labor and inequality: Labor and leisure. In *Women in Canada*, Stephenson, M. Ed., 160–180) Toronto: Women's Educational Press.

2. Invite coaches (or a member of the coaching staff) from a men's team and a women's team on campus to speak to the class about their coaching style. If they are willing to attend class on the same day, it might be possible to find comparisons in their styles. Are these linked to gender? In advance of their visit, ask students to prepare a list of questions, and give these to the speakers in advance. Some ideas might be dealing with gender stereotypes (for men and women), and inequalities in funding and attendance at events.
3. In many societies, there are people who are transgender, meaning that they subscribe to gender roles, to varying degrees, that are different from those traditionally assigned to the category of sex they were born into. Sometimes transgender people have surgery to alter them physically, up to having a complete sex change operation to change their genitalia.

The experience of transgender men and women complicates discussions of gender in several ways. If gender socialization is effective, how does one become transgender? The varying degrees of acceptance of transgender men and women in different societies also supports gender as culturally variable and not biologically determined.

Review articles on transgender for material to be shared with the class. There are many online sources. The articles below describe transgender (also called berdache or "two-spirit") status among Native American tribes.

References

Forgey, Donald G. 1975. The institution of berdache among the North American Plains Indians. *The Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (February), 1–15.

Roscoe, Will. 1988. We'wha and Klah: The American Indian berdache as artist and priest. *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 2. (Spring), 127–150.

Williams, Walter L. 1985. Persistence and change in the berdache tradition among contemporary Lakota Indians." *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 11, No. 3–4 (Summer), 191–200.

4. This exercise underscores the persistence of gender roles and stereotypes. Ask students to take a few minutes and write their answers to this question: "If you woke up tomorrow and discovered that you were a (girl) (boy), how would your life be different?" Ask students to share some of the things they wrote. Write these on the board, and categorize them into themes, if possible.

This replicates research done by Alice Baumgartner-Papageorgiou in 1982 in a survey of third- through twelfth-grade students. The participants were asked to respond to a single question, the same one asked above. Baumgartner-Papageorgiou found responses in a number of recurring themes. Limited career choices, or more difficulty working outside the home was one. In addition, the importance of appearance for girls was apparent, and that appropriate behavior for girls was fearful and dependent. The prescribed behavior for boys noted included being aggressive and competitive, as well as having fewer limitations than girls.

Compare the responses of the class with those found by Baumgartner-Papageorgiou in 1982. The full text of the original document may be found online in the ERI database.

Reference

Baumgartner-Papageorgiou, Alice. 1982. *My Daddy might have loved me: Student perceptions of differences between male and being female*. Denver: University of Colorado, Institute for Equality in Education (available full text through ERIC: # ED221436).

5. Explore “Gender Bias Bingo,” an online game developed by the Center for WorkLife Law at the UC Hastings College of Law. The bingo page includes a link to ideas for using the site for teaching gender bias: <http://www.genderbiasbingo.com/games.html>.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Whale Rider (101 minutes)

This 2002 film is based on a book of the same name and follows the story of a young girl who is trying to claim her birthright as leader of her family’s tribe. The film may serve as a useful starting point for discussions regarding culture and gender inequality.

Bend It Like Beckham (112 minutes)

This story of a girl from a traditional Indian family who wants to play soccer can be used to point out cultural differences in gender expectations as well as the role of family in gender socialization.

Television

Mad Men, Season 1, Pilot (approx 50 minutes)

This original series by AMC looks at an advertising agency in 1960. The first episode of the first season demonstrates the common sexism and racism that infiltrated office settings and home life at the time.

The Office, Season 2, Episode 2: Sexual Harassment (approx 25 minutes)

The fictional office of Dunder Mifflin institutes a new sexual harassment policy that everyone has to abide by (including the blundering boss, Michael and his former colleague, Todd Packer).

The Office, Season 2, Episode 15: Boys and Girls (approx 25 minutes)

A female executive in the company holds a “Women in the Workplace” seminar with the office’s female employees. Michael, their incompetent boss, holds a competing seminar for the men.

The Office, Season 3, Episode 22: Women’s Appreciation (approx 25 minutes)

Michael, the hapless manager of the Scranton branch, takes the women of the branch out to the mall to show his appreciation for their contributions to the office.

3rd Rock from the Sun, Season 1, Episode 4: Dick is from Mars, Sally is from Venus (approx 25 minutes)

In this episode, the aliens explore their gender roles when Sally goes out on a date.

Documentaries

Girls Like Us (60 minutes)

This 1997 documentary follows four working class girls from South Philadelphia and follows them for four years, dealing with issues such as early pregnancy, sexism, racism and family structure.

Born into Brothels: Calcutta’s Red Light Kids (85 minutes)

This Academy Award winning documentary was made with photographs taken by the children of prostitutes in Calcutta’s red light district. The filmmakers gave the children cameras and showed them how to use them. The result is a powerful film about childhood and art. More information can be found at: <http://www.kids-with-cameras.org/bornintobrothels/>.

Killing Us Softly III (34 minutes)

This compelling video documents hundreds of advertisements that present women as objects, as sexualized, as children, as emaciated and in other damaging and demeaning ways. This video series remains powerful, despite its age.

The Motherhood Manifesto (59 minutes)

This film, put out by a group called Moms Rising, looks at U.S. policies regarding families and mothers and points out how the U.S. really isn't a "family friendly" nation. The film also suggests several solutions to each policy problem, including finding a way to medically insure every family, provide paid parental leave and affordable childcare and flexible work scheduling. While the beginning of the film is incredibly corny, I have found that students are surprised and interested in the information presented in the film. More information can be found at: <http://www.momsrising.org/film>.

Tough Guise: Violence, Media & the Crisis in Masculinity (available in 82 minutes or 57 minutes)

This popular film with Jackson Katz looks at how the media has influenced rising violence in American society while creating a "crisis of masculinity." The film shows how American movies and popular culture glamorize a manhood that is aggressive, hypersexual and violent. More information can be found at: <http://www.mediaed.org>.

Killing Us Softly 3: Advertising's Images of Women (37 minutes)

This powerful film is a continuation of Jeanne Kilbourne's work on advertising's depictions of women and girls. The film highlights how advertising depicts women as victims, as objects and as dangerously thin. *Slim Hopes* is another film by Jeanne Kilbourne that is a good option for this topic. More information about *Killing Us Softly 3* can be found at: <http://www.mediaed.org>.

Dreamworlds 3: Desire, Sex & Power in Music Video (available in 60 minutes or 35 minutes)

This classic film about the sexualization of women and violence against women depicted in music videos has finally been updated in 2007. Although the video contains significant amounts of violence and sexual imagery, the video's message about the ways we portray women and men in popular culture is powerful. More information is available at: <http://www.mediaed.org>.

Internet Clips**Killing Us Softly 3: Advertising's Images of Women (7 minutes)**

This short clip from *Killing Us Softly 3* can provide a nice starting point for discussion if there isn't time to watch the full video. The clip can be found at: <http://www.mediaed.org/cgi-bin/commerce.cgi?preadd=action&key=206>.

Dreamworlds 3: Desire, Sex & Power in Music Video (6 minutes)

Again, the Media Education Foundation provides a nice clip from this film that would work well to start discussions if there wasn't time to watch the entire film. In this clip, Sut Jhally points out the similarities between well-accepted music videos and a real-life mob-style sexual assault. The clip can be found at: <http://www.mediaed.org/cgi-bin/commerce.cgi?preadd=action&key=223>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. In this YouTube video blog (a blog exchange by three sisters), Salad Sister Liz shares her thoughts on why her sister, Invisister, should not read the book, *Twilight*. *Twilight* is the book that spawned the hugely popular movie and sequels, as well as the trend in vampire romances. Watch the clip, "The Trouble with Twilight," and write a brief essay response. Do you agree with this critique or not? Explain your reasoning.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wqSF694ZvQc&feature=channel>.
2. The Census Bureau provides a wealth of data pertaining to people in the United States. Visit its website at <http://www.census.gov>, click on "P" under "Subjects A to Z," and then click on "Poverty Data." From this site, you will be able to browse a wide variety of information about poverty. Pay special attention to data that will help you learn more about the feminization of poverty. For example, what is the poverty rate of households headed by women, compared to those headed by a man? Also go to the "Income" section of the site and get information about the earnings of men and women. Record information pertaining to the feminization of poverty.
3. The Center for American Women and Politics is headquartered at Rutgers University. Go to its website at <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/>. Take some time to browse the site and see what information is provided there. The archives section ("Did You Know?") and the current Fact Sheet Summaries are particularly informative. (These are found under "Facts.") One fact sheet is entitled, "Women Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates." You might be surprised to learn that as early as 1872 a woman, Victoria Woodhull, ran for president. Be prepared to share what you find with the class.

- One of the most widely known organizations for women is the National Organization for Women (NOW). It was formed in 1966, during a time of great social upheaval in the United States. Visit the website for NOW at <http://www.now.org/organization/info.html>. Go to “Hot Topics” to see what gender issues have recently been in the news. Also, “Actions” gives examples of social movement activities currently taking place. What can you learn about inequalities of gender from these sections? From the NOW website more generally?
- Visit YouTube at www.youtube.com. Explore contemporary attitudes toward gender by searching using the phrases “gender bender(s)” and “gender blender(s).” Select one or two videos appropriate for viewing in class. Analyze the video in terms of the gender roles being “bent” or “blended.” What do you learn about contemporary gender roles from these videos? Be ready to present the video clips and your analysis to the class.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- The CIA World Factbook includes sex-ratio data. Search by country, and expand the section on people for that particular country. Information on the age structure, as well as the sex-ratio, is included. For information about the importance of the sex ratio use the article below.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>
- A sex-ratio imbalance creates a variety of possible effects for a society, including the potential for increased crime and war. In China, the gap is created by selective abortion, but the preference for sons is not unique to Asia. Twice as many Americans want sons as want daughters, the preference has increased over time, and the overall difference is caused by men’s preferences rather than women’s.
<http://www.theatlanticwire.com/national/2011/06/twice-many-americans-prefer-have-sons/39265/>
- Nicholas Kristof’s *New York Times* editorials and blog are a good source of information about the challenges of women internationally (<http://kristof.blogs.nytimes.com/tag/women/>). An excerpt of the book by Kristof and co-author Sheryl WuDunn, *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*, is available as an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/23/magazine/23Women-t.html>).
- This interactive photography collection features photos submitted by readers worldwide to illustrate girls’ and women’s education and empowerment. Click on any thumbnail photo to see the full photo and a detailed caption. <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2009/08/26/magazine/20090826-a-womens-world-reader-photos.html>
- The Girl Effect is a unique website that brings attention to the importance of girls worldwide. When girls lack access to resources and education, communities suffer. The website is a program sponsored by Nike and supported by the Novo Foundation and Nike, Inc. <http://www.girleffect.org/question>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Biological determinism (276)	Gender identity (276)	Sex stereotype (284)
Chivalry hypothesis (292)	Gender roles (284)	Sexism (286)
Dual labor market (287)	Gender socialization (281)	Sexual harassment (281)
Feminist theory (300)	Occupational sex segregation (287)	Stereotype (284)
Gender (276)	Sex (276)	Women’s movement (299)

FURTHER READING

Bartley, Sharon J., Priscilla Blanton, and Jennifer L. Gilliard. 2005. Husbands and wives in dual-earner marriages: Decision-making, gender role attitudes, division of household labor, and equity. *Marriage & Family Review*, vol. 37 (4), pp. 69–94.

Updating research on the division of labor between men and women within the home. The research finds that women do more of the low-control tasks, and that perceptions of marital equity are influenced by the degree to which men and women share in low-control tasks.

Baumgartner-Papageorgiou, Alice. 1982. *My Daddy Might Have Loved Me: Student Perceptions of Differences Between Being Male and Being Female*. Denver: University of Colorado, Institute for Equality in Education.

In a 1982 survey of third- through twelfth-grade students, participants were asked to respond to a single question: "If you woke up tomorrow and discovered that you were a (girl) (boy), how would your life be different?" Responses reflected several themes: limited career choices, or more difficulty working outside the home; the importance of appearance for girls; and that appropriate behavior for girls was fearful and dependent. The prescribed behavior for boys noted included being aggressive and competitive, as well as having fewer limitations than girls.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall.

Covers the major themes in feminist thought, but brings race into the equation to demonstrate its interaction with gender.

Forgey, Donald G. 1975. The institution of berdache among the North American Plains Indians. *The Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (February), 1–15.

Berdache is the term used for members of Indian tribes who assume the dress, role, and status of a member of the opposite sex. This article examines the institution of berdache among Plains Indians, with ethnographic examples from specific tribes.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York: Viking.

This book presents an in-depth study of the housework and child care habits of working parents, and shows that women bear the brunt of work in the home.

Hooks, Bell. 1984. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Discusses the themes of the feminist movement and its significance, the issue of solidarity among women and the solidarity among men, the feminist agenda, and educating women regarding the feminist agenda.

Roscoe, Will. 1988. We'wha and Klah: The American Indian berdache as artist and priest. *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 2. (Spring), 127–150.

Roscoe describes and compares the experiences of Zuni We'wha and the Navajo Hastiin Klah, both berdache (or two-spirits) and artists. Both served as anthropological informants, and promoted the economic development of their tribes. One difference between the two is that Klah, unlike We'wah, did not cross-dress. Reasons for this are discussed, including ridicule from whites.

Stryker, Susan, and Stephen Whittle, eds. 2006. *The Transgender Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge.

A collection of articles relating to the study of transgender. The first section deals with older models for understanding transgender, and the role of science. Later sections are on transgender in the context of feminism, and the politics of transgender.

Ward, Martha C. 1996. *A World Full of Women*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Written by an anthropologist, much of this work is ethnographic in nature. Among other topics, it covers the various aspects of work related to women, biocultural markers in the lives of women, patterns of partnering, cultural systems for separating the sexes, and challenges to cultural relativism.

Williams, Walter L. 1985. Persistence and change in the berdache tradition among contemporary Lakota Indians. *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 11, No. 3-4. (Summer), 191–200.

Fieldwork among the Lakota in 1982 indicates the persistence of the institution of berdache, thought to have died out in contemporary tribes. The practice was suppressed by missionaries and the government. Today, it is not discussed with outsiders.

PART FOUR

Social Institutions

Chapter 11

Family

Chapter 12

Education

Chapter 13

Political and Economic Institutions

Chapter 14

Religion

Chapter 15

Healthcare and Aging

Chapter 16

Sport

Chapter 11: Family

BRIEF CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Marriage and Family Defined

II. Cross-Cultural Analysis of Family and Marriage

- A. Variations in Types of Family Structure
- B. Dimensions of Family Structure
- C. Mate Selection
- D. Types of Marriages

III. Theoretical Perspectives and the Family

- A. Functionalism
- B. Conflict Theory
- C. Symbolic Interactionism

IV. Family and Marriage in the United States

- A. The Nature of the American Family
- B. Romantic Love as the Basis for Marriage
- C. Divorce
- D. Family Violence
- E. Family Resiliency

V. New Family Forms

- A. Blended Families
- B. Single-Parent Families
- C. Childless Marriages
- D. Dual-Employed Marriages
- E. Single Life
- F. Cohabitation
- G. Same-Sex Domestic Partners
- H. Adult Children Returning Home
- I. The Sandwich Generation

VI. Looking Forward

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Describe the types of family structure, dimensions of family structure, societal norms for mate selection, and types of marital arrangements.
2. Compare and contrast views of the family proposed by functionalists, conflict theorists, and symbolic interactionists.
3. Describe the modern American family.
4. Outline the extent and cause of divorce in America.
5. Give an overview of family violence in the United States.
6. Describe contemporary alternatives to the traditional nuclear family structure.
7. Discuss the future of the American family.

DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Marriage and Family Defined

A marriage is a legal union based on rights and obligations; a family is a group of people related by marriage, blood, or adoption. These traditional definitions are being challenged by trends such as the push for same-sex marriage, civil unions, and cohabitation. One's family of birth is called the family of orientation, which establishes one's position within society. The family of procreation is established with marriage. Legal marriage provides official sanction for a couple to have children. This will be those children's family of orientation.

II. Cross-Cultural Analysis of Family and Marriage

A. *Variations in Types of Family Structure*—The nuclear family is what some would consider the smallest grouping that may legitimately be called a family: a mother, father, and their children. The nuclear family is sometimes referred to as the conjugal family, although they are not synonymous. A nuclear family may have just one parent, or may be siblings without parents. An extended family consists of two or more generations of adults who share a household and share economic resources. The extended family is based on ties of “blood” and is sometimes called the consanguine family. The extended family is most characteristic of preindustrialized societies and rural areas of industrialized societies, although nuclear families may also be present in these places.

The earliest human foragers were organized in bands composed of nuclear families. With the domestication of plants and animals, populations became more sedentary and more labor was needed to work the land. This encouraged the development of the extended family, which was most prevalent within agricultural societies. As societies move from agriculture to industrialism, the extended family becomes replaced with the nuclear family. Industrialism requires mobility; people move from rural areas into urban areas for work, and in urban areas they must move around for work. In addition, industrialism brings specialized organizations that care for the elderly and the infirm, so that family members are not as dependent upon each other.

Modern transportation and communication permit family members to maintain ties despite geographical separation. The growth of metropolitan areas permits children to attend school and find work and remain close to their families. Families of orientation and families of procreation are linked in a web of kin ties as adults in urban nuclear families maintain contact with their parents. The parents may assist by providing child care, financial assistance, and home repairs. In a study of Muncie, Indiana, Theodore Caplow found that family lived within a 50-mile radius, and adult children saw their parents at least once a month. Thus, the modern family may combine elements of nuclear and extended family structure.

B. *Dimensions of Family Structure*—When descent and inheritance are passed from father to son, this is termed a patrilineal society. When descent and inheritance is passed from mother to daughter the society is matrilineal. Native Americans in upper-state New York and Pennsylvania, the League of Iroquois, are an example. Most American families are bilateral, meaning descent and inheritance are passed equally through both the mother's and father's relatives. Patriarchal control refers to authority resting with a senior man in the household; in a pure patriarchy, the father is absolute ruler. Matriarchal control is so rare as to be thought non-existent. When authority is shared by the mother and father, the system is one of democratic control. When married children set up their own residence, this is called neolocal residence. Patrilocal residence occurs when a couple lives with the husband's family; matrilocality refers to living near or with the wife's family.

C. *Mate Selection*—In the United States we are of the belief that we have freedom of choice in terms of mate selection; however, all societies have norms that govern choice of a mate. When norms call for a person to marry outside of their own kind this is termed exogamy. Exogamous norms are related to the incest taboo, so that family members are prohibited from marrying one another. With the exceptions of royalty in some societies, incest has been forbidden as a pattern of mate selection.

Norms that encourage a person to marry their own kind are called endogamous. Endogamy is the term for cultural pressure to marry someone of the same race, religion, ethnicity, or social class. Homogamy refers to a personal preference for marrying someone similar to one self. Homogamous mate selection may involve looking for similar levels of education, degree of attractiveness, shared interests, or religious commitment. In the United States people tend to marry people of similar age and marital background (or lack of). Heterogamy refers to selection of a partner with a different socially significant characteristic. While this is still the exception in the United States, couples are increasingly crossing boundaries of race, ethnicity, social class, and age group. According to the Census Bureau, 15 percent of new marriages in 2008 were between spouses of different racial or ethnic groups. This is much higher than ever before, in part because young people of different races are now attending college together, and taboos against mixed marriage are weakening.

D. *Types of Marriages*—Within any society, a marriage ceremony is a means of establishing a couple as socially legitimate, and positively sanctioning any children born to them. Monogamy is marriage between only two people at a time, and is the type of marriage most widely practiced in the world today. Polygamy, or having multiple spouses, may take one of two forms: polygyny, or one man having multiple wives (e.g. Solomon in the Bible), and polyandry. Today polygyny is not legal in any Western country. Polyandry, the marriage of one woman to more than one man, is extremely rare and found only in parts of Tibet, Nepal, and India. The most common type of polyandry involves a woman married to two or more brothers. While group marriage, or the marriage of more than one man to more than one woman, is possible, it has not been documented in any society by researchers.

III. Theoretical Perspectives and the Family

A. *Functionalism*—Most people spend most of their lives in a family. Functions of the family include providing the earliest learning experiences, providing emotional support, reproduction of new members, regulation of sexuality, and locating family members within the social structure. For these reasons, the family is considered by some as the basic institution in any society. As parents care for infants they are already beginning to teach them the ways of their society. The family is the first place that children learn language and the norms for appropriate behavior. Socioemotional maintenance refers to the provision of a supportive environment in which individuals may experience unconditional love. Without the proper care and affection, children may experience low self-esteem and insecurity, and have difficulty establishing families of their own. Even well-adjusted individuals require support throughout their lives as they experience changing norms and new relationships.

The family functions as the site of reproduction; in fact, in many cultures and religions all sexual activity is meant to be geared toward reproduction. In many societies, failure to bear children is legitimate grounds for divorce. Throughout the world there are a host of rituals and traditions associated with pregnancy and childbirth. In most places in the world, regardless of how permissive, sexual activity is regulated and it is the family's responsibility to enforce the norms. The variability in sexual norms is broad. In the Trobriand Islands, children are expected to experiment sexually with many other children; in some Muslim countries, the family's honor rests on their assurance of their daughter's virginity. Norms in the United States vary from restrictive to permissive. Sexual norms in any society may vary over time.

Social class is transmitted primarily through the family, because it is family resources that determine one's access to resources in society. Children of higher-income families are more likely to attend college, for example. The family also transmits values that may contribute to future success. In earlier times the family was more self-sufficient and the center of production. In contrast, today's family is a unit of consumption, with household members contributing resources for the purchase of necessities. In both cases, the family is responsible for providing the necessities of life.

B. *Conflict Theory*—Friedrich Engels, a collaborator with Karl Marx, provided the first conflict perspective on the family. Engels saw women's subordinate position as the result of the loss of her productive role in society. Men's need to assure the paternity of their children, for reasons of surplus wealth and private property, subordinated women in monogamous marriage. Engels located the subordination of women in the family. Some feminist theorists have also argued that the family reflects social inequality; women were subject to their husbands long before capitalism and industrialism. According to some feminists, family conflict is the outgrowth of women's desire for more power within the family structure. Conflict theorists recognize that for much of history women have been considered subordinate to, or the property of, men. In the United States, it wasn't until 1920 that women got the right to vote, and not until 1974 that women had the right to contracts and credit independent of their husbands or fathers. The prevalence of patrilineal inheritance systems has given males more property and legitimizes the idea of male dominance. Patrilineal and patriarchy are related to traditional economic roles for men and women, which leave women doing unpaid labor in the home, further consolidating men's economic power. Despite changes brought about through industrialization, the pattern of female subordination continues.

C. *Symbolic Interactionism*—Interactions and the meanings people attach to them are the ways that symbolic interactionists understand the family. The process of socialization, including the looking-glass self and role taking, take place in the family. Family members share experiences and meanings, and it is in this context that children develop their self-concept. Much of an individual's personality and social skills are developed within the family. Symbolic interactionists are interested in how relationships are continually redefined over time. As couples and families negotiate problems and the incorporation of new family members, they continually redefine themselves, their self-concepts, and the ways in which they interact with each other.

IV. Family and Marriage in the United States

- A. *The Nature of the American Family*—The marriage rate is the number of marriages per thousand members of a population. The marriage rate in the United States has fluctuated, from 16 immediately following WWII, to about half of that today. While there is no one “typical” American family, there are more similarities than differences between families in the United States. Most have only parents and children living in the household (nuclear), trace descent and inheritance through both parents (bilaterally), share family decision making equally (democratic), establish new residences with marriage (neolocal), and follow the norm of one marital partner at a time (monogamy). Large families were the norm in earlier times; in 1971 three-fourths of the population expressed a preference for three or more children. In 2016, the average family size was 1.8 children. Factors contributing to a preference for smaller families include: later age at first marriage, men and women staying in school longer, greater access to birth control and abortion, more women working outside of the home, and greater emphasis on personal fulfillment. In addition, the cost of raising children has risen while the stigma attached to being childless has lessened. Less than one-fourth of families have two parents and children under age eighteen. Emerging family patterns include: single-parent families, childless marriages, dual-employed marriages, single life, cohabitation, and gay and lesbian couples.
- B. *Romantic Love as the Basis for Marriage*—Today a large majority of Americans rate “being in love” as the most important reason to marry. However, this has not always been the norm, nor is it the norm in all societies. For example, British feudal aristocracy saw romantic love as incompatible with marriage, and in ancient Japan love was considered a hindrance to marriages arranged by parents. Among contemporary Hindus, parents and relatives arrange marriages for young people; love is expected to follow marriage. While romantic love is often cited as a reason for modern marriage, it is not the only one. Other reasons for marriage are for a regular sexual partner, to legitimize living together, to enter a particular family or career, or just conformity to social norms and family pressure. About 80 percent of all adults in the United States do marry. While most consider that a marriage without love cannot last, it is more accurate to say that a marriage based only on love is sure to fail.
- C. *Divorce*—The divorce rate is the number of divorces per thousand members of the population. The U.S. divorce rate increased slowly between 1860 and 1960, followed by a sharp increase in the twenty years after, going from 2.2 in 1961 to 5.3 in 1981. Since then the divorce rate has leveled off, declining some since 1985. The divorce rate is about half of the marriage rate in the United States. This does not mean that half of all marriages end in divorce as each rate refers to a specific year only, and does not account for earlier marriages or divorces. To get an idea of the number of marriages that end in divorce, sociologists use a divorce ratio that is the number of divorced people divided by the number of married people living with spouses. The divorce ratio in 2014 was 52 percent. The divorce ratio for women is higher than that for men, reflecting men’s greater likelihood to remarry and to remarry faster. While the U.S. divorce ratio is high, the rate of increase has decreased since 1980. Still, the U.S. divorce rate is high among industrialized countries.

Individual factors affecting the probability of divorce are the age at marriage and the length of time married. The longer one is married, the less likely divorce becomes; in the United States the average length of first marriage before divorce is 6 years. Most divorces occur between the second and third years of marriage, indicating that poor mate selection is a likely factor. Additionally, the more flexibility and respect between partners, the less likely they are to divorce. At the societal level, rates of divorce increase during times of prosperity and decrease during times of recession or depression. The U.S. divorce rate also reflects the age structure of the population, with baby boomers contributing to the increases. That generation is considered more accepting of divorce. Women’s increased economic independence has likely contributed to the likelihood of divorce, as fewer need to remain married solely out of economic necessity. Finally, the stigma once attached to divorce has become much weaker.

It is reasonable to predict that divorce rates will continue to decline. Age at first marriage has increased, and people who marry later are less likely to divorce. The average age at first marriage has increased for men, from 23.2 in 1970 to 30; for women it has increased from 20.8 in 1960 to almost 29. At later ages, people have more mature and realistic ideas about marriage, and employment and financial issues are often lessened with age. The baby boomer generation is aging, moving them beyond the age bracket that has the highest likelihood of divorce. Couples are having fewer children, with more space between them. This reduces stress and may also keep the divorce rate from increasing.

A high rate of divorce is not unique to the United States. The divorce rate for Canada and the United Kingdom is five times what it was in 1960. In France, the rate has doubled; it has tripled in Germany and Sweden. To a lesser degree, the divorce rate has also increased in Japan. Increased prosperity is a contributing factor to the likelihood of divorce, but there is not a consistent correlation between economic development and divorce rates.

Other social factors are important. The predominance of the Catholic church in Central and South America has a diminishing effect on the rate of divorce, as it does in Ireland and Italy. Finally, a patriarchal family structure has a restraining impact on divorce. The stronger the patriarchal power structure, the less the likelihood of divorce. Countries in the Middle East, for example, may have lower divorce rates because it is extremely difficult for a woman to be granted a divorce. Only recently have Egyptian women been permitted divorce in the absence of abuse, and in Taiwan women do not ask for divorce as their children would automatically become the sole custody of their ex-husbands.

- D. *Family Violence*—In most places in the world, widespread family violence has been denied. Until fairly recently, family violence has been associated most with the lower-income families. Statistics came from law enforcement and public hospitals, places much less likely to be aware of middle- and upper-class family violence. During the 1990s there was heightened public attention to family violence, with some dramatic and infamous cases. The Melendez brothers were accused of killing their parents, who they accused of abusing them. There is evidence that O.J. Simpson's wife, Nicole, was abused, even before he was tried for her murder. Claiming a history of emotional and physical abuse, Lorena Bobbitt severed her husband's penis while he slept. Mel Gibson was captured on tape threatening to kill his wife.

Assault and murder are crimes more likely committed in the home; over 20 percent of reported cases of aggravated assault involve domestic violence, and perhaps as few as 10 percent of these cases reach the authorities. Domestic violence may involve any member of a family. A large percentage of assaults against women occur while they are pregnant, causing trauma or even miscarriage. One-fourth of adults report being physically abused as children. An estimated one in four girls, and one in ten boys, are victims of sexual assault inside or outside the home. Of the 700,000 children abused in 2014; 47 percent were age five or younger. The perpetrators are often adults the children trust. About 5 million women are abused by their husbands annually, 1500 of whom die of partner abuse. While violence against husbands may be overlooked, there are about 3 million reports of domestic violence against men each year, about 300 resulting in death. Women who perpetrate violence are often acting in retaliation or self-defense. However it begins, violence is likely to have a more damaging impact on women, given the likelihood of their being smaller and weaker than men. Research on domestic violence generally does not include abuse when couples are separated or divorced, so numbers are even higher. Reconciliation and fear of retaliation also contribute to suppressed reports.

Family relationships may also involve psychological or verbal abuse, which can be just as damaging as physical. Neglect, being completely ignored rather than abused, is four times more likely than physical abuse, affecting more than one-half million children. The most frequent and tolerated type of family violence occurs between children. Sibling violence may abate with age, but often does not disappear. One study found that family violence is most likely to come from children. Abuse of the elderly has not been researched as extensively, but may be emotional or physical, financial, or neglect. An estimated 3 million people are victimized annually. Abuse is most likely at the hands of a family member. Elder abuse may increase in the years ahead as the population ages and there are fewer young people supporting an older population. Older women are more likely to be abused, in part because they live longer. Abuse may result from the psychological, physical, and economic strain of caring for the elderly. Elder abuse may be perpetrated by an adult child who moves back home for some reason, or may also occur in a nursing home.

- E. *Family Resiliency*—Resiliency means being flexible, supple; able to bounce back. Family resiliency refers to a family's ability to recover and become stronger following a crisis. Resilient families flourish despite distress. Four factors promote resiliency: 1) individual characteristics such as sense of humor, self-esteem, problem-solving skills; 2) family characteristics such as cohesion, affection, warmth, support; 3) community characteristics, such as opportunities for involvement, opportunities for communication with other adults, the availability of activities for youth; and 4) family-friendly public policy. Public policy refers to a course of government action expressed in laws, programs, and initiatives, and developed through the interplay of government, lobbyists, and interest groups. Creating public policy involves trade-offs. One example is the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993, which guarantees 12 weeks of unpaid leave for family emergencies without the threat of losing one's job. Still, the U.S. is the only industrialized country without paid maternity leave. Compared to other countries, for example Germany which provides 14 weeks fully paid maternity leave, FMLA does not provide much protection. Stress on families is increased by an absence of health insurance, reducing family resiliency. In addition to a lack of health insurance, family resiliency is negatively affected by a lack of paternity and maternity leave options for working parents. Longer paid leave leads to improvements in maternal and infant health, as well as an increased likelihood of women returning to employment after childbirth.

V. New Family Forms

- A. *Blended Families*—High rates of divorce and remarriage make blended families in which one or more partners has been married before and has children from an earlier marriage the most rapidly growing type of family. In 1960, three-fourths of all children lived in a family with two married parents in their first marriage. By 1980, 61 percent of children had this type of family, and only 46 percent do today. Today marriages are more likely ended through divorce than through death, so parents are being added, not replaced. Blended families are a new type of extended family, not related by blood.

Blended families may be harmonious, but children from a previous marriage are often a factor contributing to divorce in second marriages. Problems facing blended families may be financial if parents are responsible for the support of former and current families. Antagonism of stepchildren may stem from hoping for a parental reunion; teenagers in particular may be critical of stepparents for many years after the remarriage. The roles for stepparents are often unclear. Especially with teenagers, questions of control and discipline may create problems.

- B. *Single-Parent Families*—Thirty-two percent of children live in single-parent families. Ninety-five percent of children with single parents live with their mother. African American and Latino children are more likely than white children to live in single-parent homes. In 2015, almost two-thirds of all African American families were headed by a single parent, compared with 42 percent among Latinos, and over 50 percent of Native American children. The courts are still more likely to award mothers in all social classes custody of children. Poor women, however, are more likely to be heads of households due to births out of wedlock, or abandonment by their husbands or their children's fathers. Poor women have low rates of marriage and remarriage. Well-educated, professional, and affluent women are electing to have children on their own in increasing numbers. Not only are they able to financially support children on their own, they may also have higher standards for selecting husbands.

Single parents cannot give their children the time, attention, or guidance that two parents can, generally. About one-third of children living with single parents were in poverty, compared with 7 percent of children living with 2 parents. Households headed by women are at greater risk of poverty. Earning enough to adequately support their families may be difficult for single women due to problems with child care and lack of education. Single mothers comprise one-fifth of single-parent households, but account for half of households with minor children living below the poverty line. The feminization of poverty affects women and their children. Only 16 percent of single fathers and their children live in poverty. The majority of research indicates that growing up with a single parent has a negative impact on children's well-being. Research finds that children of single parents have higher rates of teenage pregnancy, more behavior problems, lower academic performance, score lower on psychological assessments and are less adept in social situations. Children with two adults in the home do almost as well as those with two parents, leading researchers to believe it is not the lack of a father, but the aloneness of the mother that may have a negative effect. Regardless of income, race, or ethnic background, teenagers with one parent or a stepparent have higher rates of deviance than adolescents with two parents. Studies of adults have found that those raised in single-parent homes have less occupational, educational, and economic success, and are more likely to be divorced, have a child out of wedlock, receive counseling, be truant, and use alcohol or drugs.

Researchers recognize there is a lot of diversity among single-parent households. Unmarried parents may not live alone; they may be cohabiting with partners or living with other family members. Some children are born to single mothers; others have parents who divorced. Children may have varying numbers of adults in the home as they grow up. Also, black children in single-parent homes have higher self-esteem than white children in single-parent homes. Variation in outcome for children in single-parent homes is linked to other factors such as income inequality, lack of quality child care, and family instability. Poorer parents generally have less education, and these families may live in difficult neighborhoods with underfunded schools. Single parents have less time to give to their children for supervision and emotional support. Lack of quality daycare also has consequences for academic performance and behavior. In addition, children of stepparents do not fare as well as those with their married parents. Despite all of this evidence, having another adult in the home does not guarantee the well-being of the child. Family instability can be the result of divorce. Disruptions include parents' remarriage, perhaps subsequent divorce, the presence of cohabiting partners, and frequent residential changes.

- C. *Childless Marriages*—As the stigma attached to childless marriages diminishes, an increasing number of Americans are choosing to remain childless. Today, 1 in 5 women ages 40–44 are childless, a significant increase since 1970. White women are more likely than women of color to remain childless. Women with higher levels of education are more likely to remain childless. Reasons for not having children include the reduced stigma

attached to being childless, wanting to pursue a career, not wanting to shortchange a child of attention, questioning the future well-being of the world, finding it difficult to make that adjustment after postponing childbearing, and physical or mental limitations. Childless couples who want children are less happy than couples with children. However, for couples who choose not to have children, marital satisfaction and happiness are greater than for couples with children.

- D. *Dual-Employed Marriages*—In dual-employed marriages, both husband and wife are in the labor market; the woman is not employed just to supplement the family income to whatever extent. Dual-employed marriage is currently the norm. Women in dual-employed marriages are still expected to handle the bulk of household and childrearing tasks, resulting in married working women working about 15 hours a week more than married men. This additional work has been called the “second shift” by Arlie Hochschild. Men now spend an average of 16 hours a week on household and child care, an increase from the 12-hour average in 1965. Working women also experience role conflict, torn between the requirements of their job and wanting to spend time with their families. Although the demands on them are not as great, men may still feel the strain of conflicting demands on their time. In addition, they may have feelings about having a wife who works, particularly if she earns more than he does. This is a problem likely to increase as a larger percentage of women obtain more education and earn more than their husbands. The overall strain would be reduced by men’s greater involvement at home. In addition, accommodations by employers, like flex time, family leave, work-from-home, and on-site child care may help to reduce stress.

There are psychological benefits for women who work outside of the home. The work provides a wider set of social relationships, feelings of control, independence, and self-esteem. Work also provides a socioemotional cushion against the time when their children leave home. Employed women have more outlets for self-expression. The economic benefit of women’s employment may improve quality of life for all family members. Further, in many cases working women provide positive role models for their daughters, and may have a positive impact on the mate selection of their sons. For men, dual-employment households relieve them of the sole financial burden, and provide opportunities for job changes and education. Married couples’ relationships may benefit from being able to share experiences, and being satisfied as individuals.

Government policy can support families, and other industrialized countries have outpaced the United States in providing assistance for dual-employment families. At least 178 countries guarantee paid leave for new mothers, and 50 provide paid leave for new fathers. In the UK, employers must provide 25 weeks of paid leave for new mothers; new fathers may have up to one year with reduced compensation. The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 does allow employees up to 12 months of unpaid leave in the event of a family emergency, and requires employers to continue to carry them on their health plans. However, since many workers are employed in businesses with fewer than 50 employees, they do not benefit from this policy. Fewer than 40 percent of dual-employee families can afford to take unpaid leave, and an employee must be with the company a full twelve months in order to receive this benefit.

A recent report by Human Rights Watch finds that weak work-family support, such as lack of paid parental leave and lack of support for pumping breast milk, contributes to postponed doctor visits for infants, increased postpartum depression, increased debt, early end to breast feeding, and job loss. Businesses suffer reduced productivity and worker morale, and higher turnover. Today, mothers increasingly prefer part-time work, and there has been a recent decline in employment of women with infants under the age of one. A larger percentage of mothers express interest in part-time employment than in 1997. There has been a recent decline in employment of women with infants under age one from 60 percent in 1998 to 55 percent in 2006. Stay at home mothers are more likely to be younger, have less education, and to be less affluent.

- E. *Single Life*—Increased age at first marriage and higher rates of divorce have contributed to a greater number of people living single. In fact, singles now make up the majority of adults. While only a third of Americans identified themselves as single in 1976, 52 percent of the adult population now indicate they are single. At any one time, there are about 125 million unmarried adults. Some will eventually marry, while others will remain single their entire lives. While living alone has always been an option, it has been more stigmatized in the past when failure to marry indicated inadequacy or deviance. Many factors may contribute to the decision to live single, including pursuing a career, seeking sexual gratification, adopting children, or being lesbian or gay. Singlehood is a popular alternative to marriage, but it is too soon to tell if it will lead to a decline in marriage at all ages. It does imply a greater desire for freedom prior to assuming the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood.
- F. *Cohabitation*—Cohabitation means living in a marriage-like arrangement without the legal obligations of marriage. People with less education are more likely to cohabit, but it is increasing at higher levels of education. Cohabitation may delay or substitute for marriage. The number of cohabitating adults increased in 2009 about 19 percent. The number of cohabiting couples has doubled since 1995. National data indicates that half

of people ages 30 to 49 have cohabitated at some point. About one-third of these believe living together is a step toward marriage. Only twenty-five percent of cohabitating couples stay together more than four years, indicating a lower level of certainty than found in marriage. Cohabitating couples report lower satisfaction, which may be explained by the lack of commitment. The rate of abuse for cohabitating women is higher than for married, divorced, or separated women. There is no evidence that post-cohabitating marriages are any stronger than those of non-cohabitating partners, and there is some evidence that post-cohabitating marriages are more prone to divorce.

G. *Same-Sex Domestic Partners*—Because there continues to be a stigma attached to being gay or lesbian, it is impossible to know the number of cohabitating same-sex couples, but it seems clear that the number has been increasing. Further obscuring the extent of same-sex cohabitation is the fact that until 2014 the Census Bureau claimed that the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) prohibited the agency from officially recognizing same-sex marriage, even in states where it had been legal before the 2015 Supreme Court decision. In 2001, Americans disapproved of same-sex marriage by a margin of 57 percent to 35 percent. Approval of same-sex marriage has steadily increased ever since. A majority of Americans (55 percent) support same-sex marriage, while 37 percent oppose it, a clear reversal of attitudes in less than twenty years. There has been some recent change in the legal landscape for same-sex partners. In 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5–4 ruling, declared that states cannot constitutionally prohibit same-sex couples from marrying and must legally acknowledge their marriages. Age, in the form of generational changes, is clearly related to the more positive attitude toward same sex-marriage. Compare, for example, the trend lines for millennials and the silent generation. Millennials started at a higher level of support for same-sex marriage in 2001 than the silent generation and has continued to increase its level of approval over time. As you can see, however, even older generations have become more supportive of same-sex marriage in the last ten years.

Other countries are beginning to legalize same-sex marriage. In 2000, the Netherlands became the first country to legalize same-sex marriage, with the same rights enjoyed by heterosexual married couples. Belgium followed the Netherlands in 2003. Canada and Spain did the same in 2005. Nineteen countries have since followed suit.

H. *Adult Children Returning Home*—Compared to thirty years ago, young American adults (18 to 34 years old) have a significantly higher probability of either currently living with their parents or having lived with them temporarily in recent years. These offspring carry the label boomerang kids because they returned to their parents' home after living independently. In 2012, 39 percent of these young adults qualified as so-called boomerang kids. The percentage of young adults living with their parents decreases with age. While 53 percent of adults 18 to 24 had returned home, 41 percent of adults 25 to 29 had done so. Among adults 30 to 34, the percentage falls to seventeen. Later age of marriage and living at home during more years of education are reasons for adults living at home. The costs of living, and divorce, are also contribution factors. Costs of having children return home may create strain on older parents. Parents complain that their adult children do not help in the home, interfere with their own relationships, and do not share expenses. Higher marital dissatisfaction among middle-age couples is related to having children return home. The adult child returning home may also experience stress. Still, most families whose children return home appear to adjust fairly well.

I. *The Sandwich Generation*—Longer life expectancy, refusal to put parents into nursing homes, and fewer siblings with whom to share the burden are factors contributing to the creation of a “sandwich generation.” The term refers to adults who are caught between caring for their own families, and their parents who may or may not live with them. Positive repercussions are quality of care of the parents, and potentially, financial and emotional support for the children who care for them. Negative repercussions include increased stress if the parents have conditions such as Alzheimer's disease that make them difficult to care for. Guilt and anger are possible feelings for all involved. The burden is usually disproportionately given to women. It is most frequently daughters who care for their parents. A woman may spend more years caring for her parents than she did taking care of her own children.

VI. Looking Forward

Seventy percent of all American adults have been married at least once, and about 40 percent are married at any given time. An estimated two-thirds of those divorced remarry. While 60 percent of second marriages end in divorce, three-fourths of those married twice marry again, a pattern labeled serial monogamy. These figures indicate that marriage is not disappearing in American society. Americans are not avoiding marriage; they are most often simply postponing it. The nuclear family is still the most popular choice for Americans; about half of households were composed of married couples. Still, changes are occurring so that there is no single, preferable family

form. A large percentage of Americans are finding satisfaction in family life, despite predictions to the contrary. Still, the family is undergoing change. Only one-fourth of families today fit the traditional model of a married couple and their offspring. Various family forms are likely to increase, and a single dominant family form is not likely. But a sizeable and stable proportion of young people value marriage and family life. The family system is not likely to disappear. The growing immigrant and minority population in the U.S. will have an impact on the family into the future.

CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. As a class, review the functions of marriage discussed in the text. Ask students if they can think of any additional functions that were not included. Then ask students to consider whether or not different types of marriage or non-marriage partnerships fulfill the same functions. This could be an in-class writing exercise or a small group discussion. Should the legitimacy of marriage be based on a functional definition? Why or why not? Students are free to express their own opinions, but remind them to support their thinking with sound arguments.
2. Ask the students to identify the lifestyle variation that their family of orientation has. This will need to be done anonymously to protect any student who may be concerned about revealing this information. The instructor should compile and summarize the information provided by the students so that they can see firsthand the variety of lifestyles just within the confines of their classroom.
3. There are a number of magazines dedicated to parents and parenting, and women in particular. Bring in copies of different magazines (if the library does not have them, you may be able to borrow them from a pediatrician's office or a department on campus). Divide students into groups and give each group at least one, preferably two or more, of these magazines. Ask the students to do a content analysis. What types of families are depicted? What roles for men and women in the family are depicted and discussed? What does the selection of articles suggest about the philosophy or values-stance of that particular magazine? Ask the groups to share and discuss their findings with the entire class.
4. Divide the class into groups and assign a social issue related to the family to each of the groups. Examples might include: maternity and paternity leave, gay and lesbian marriage, blended families after divorce, or the need for affordable child care. Ask each group to examine their issue from both a functionalist and a conflict perspective. Each group should create a bulleted summary of the main points each perspective would make or questions that would be addressed. Have each group present their analysis to the class.
5. Ask students to review the sections on new family forms and write a brief essay in which they imagine the type of family they will be a part of in the future. Ask them to consider their career plans, whether or not they expect to be married or in a non-marital relationship. Do they imagine being in a dual employed partnership, to have any children? The essay could be made more interesting by asking to students to consider how their expectations compare with current trends. Are there trends they can't imagine for themselves? (e.g. moving back home with parents after having left home). Ask them to consider what factors (e.g. social class, career plans) shape their expectations.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

1. Develop a lecture that focuses on the importance of change in family life, drawing the students' attention to changes that have taken place even within their lifetimes. Focus the discussion on the influence of the social context on family life. The Marriage and the family in the U.S. While some aspects of family life in the U.S. have been somewhat stable, change is continuous as the family adapts to changes in other social institutions. Here are some examples of factors affecting change in the family.

Changing Gender Roles

Women's roles, in particular, have undergone change. The majority of women, even those with small children, are employed outside of the home. There are two basic reasons. First, the economic realities most families live under require the incomes of two partners, a partner is present. Alternately a woman must work to support herself and family on her own. Secondly, although much inequality still exists, there are more opportunities for women in the labor force than in the past.

What does this mean for the family? As one married student stated it once, "It means the house stays dirty!" To a great extent, she was correct. A consensus of research over the past 15 years has found that although men's participation in domestic chores has increased, women continue to bear more responsibility for household tasks.

Delayed Marriage

Both men and women are waiting longer to get married the first time. Economic reasons are largely responsible for this trend. Most people, both male and female, are choosing to wait until they have gone to college or vocational training, and found a job before they get married.

Single Parents

An increasing number of children are being raised by one parent. The vast majority of the time it will be the mother. What has caused this trend? The majority of single parent families are brought about by divorce. Traditionally, divorce was only granted in cases of adultery, desertion, or abuse, but since 1970, no fault divorce laws have become dominant and people get divorced for reasons of irreconcilable differences or incompatibility. After these laws were passed, the divorce rate drastically increased until the mid 1980s when it declined slightly before leveling out.

Less Stigma Associated with Lifestyle Variations

As the text describes, there are a lot of variation in the forms marriage and family take in the U.S. Today there seems to be less stigma attached to families that do not conform to the traditional model. There is an increased acceptance of cohabitation, although most Americans still believe in the ideals expressed in marriage and eventually do marry. There also appears to be more public awareness of and support for gay and lesbian couples. In fact, some corporations (e.g., Lotus Corporation and Starbucks) are now extending family benefits, such as health-care coverage, to the partners of their gay and lesbian employees.

What Can We Expect In the Future?

This is an area that is open to discussion with the class. On the one hand, it could be noted that there is currently an increasing amount of state intervention in at least some family issues. Many states have mandatory reporting for suspected child or spouse abuse. In addition, abortion is more regulated, and another current debate involves whether or not medical insurance should be mandated. Many states have more rigorous enforcement of child support by non-custodial parents. These are interventions intended to improve the quality of life for families and children. At the same time, economic support for poor families has been weakened by welfare reforms. Also, a sizeable number of states have legalized same-sex marriage or civil unions, and non-marital domestic partnerships for same-sex and heterosexual couples are also increasingly recognized. What directions do current indications suggest for the future of American marriage and family?

2. Most of the information provided in this section is taken directly from the website provided by Religious Tolerance.org at http://www.religioustolerance.org/hom_marr.htm. Use the website, and other resources to develop a lecture on the legal regulation of marriage. The institution of marriage has been in a state of flux for centuries:
 - It was only after the Civil War that African-Americans were allowed to marry in all areas of the United States.
 - It was only after a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1967 that mixed-race couples could marry anywhere in the country.
 - But, until recently, same-sex couples could not marry anywhere in the world.

This final restriction was lifted in April 2001, when Holland enlarged its definition of marriage to include both opposite-sex and same-sex couples. Belgium followed suit in January 2003. Finally, on July 9, 2003, same-sex marriage became permitted in the Canadian provinces of British Columbia and Ontario. Any adult couple—same-sex or opposite-sex—from any country can come to one of these two provinces, buy a marriage license and get married. Same-sex marriages became legal throughout Canada in 2004. Spain legalized same-sex marriage in 2005, and South Africa did the same in 2006. Since then other countries (e.g. Ireland and Argentina), and several states in the U.S. have legalized same-sex marriage or civil union. (Refer to the website for the most up-to-date information.) Some political jurisdictions have special legislation that allows gay and lesbian couples to register their committed relationship and gain some benefits. However, they do not receive all of the advantages that opposite-gender couples automatically acquire when they marry. Many people believe that same-sex marriage—or its equivalent under another name—will eventually become available to all loving, committed adult couples throughout North America and western Europe, whether they be same-sex or opposite-sex spouses. However, there is considerable opposition. As of November 2004, 33 states had enacted Defense of Marriage Acts (DOMAs) that ban same-sex marriage. Five other states have passed ballot initiatives banning same-sex marriage.

3. Show an episode of *Family Guy*, a popular animated television program about an American family. Episodes may be accessed online at: www.familyguy.com. *Family Guy* features a conventional nuclear family, in the sense that there is a working father, a stay-at-home mother, and three children. But the conventionality ends there. The

family is a mix of working-class and upper-class members, and is in many ways dysfunctional. Select a couple of episodes to show parts of in class. Working in small groups, or as an entire class, ask students to analyze the content and the sources of humor in the episodes. Do they find aspects of the animated family familiar to them? Why, do you think, do many people find this an amusing series? What are the primary sources of humor?

- According to an article in *Advertising Age*, Robert Epstein, a former editor of the magazine *Psychology Today*, plans to create a reality television show that will arrange marriages between strangers. Epstein believes that arranged marriages can work. Ten couples will be matched, and counseled on patience and caring, as parents in some countries would advise their children for whom they were arranging marriage. Cross-culturally, arranged marriage seems to work as well, if not better than marriages of choice based on romantic love. Present Epstein's idea to the class and discuss the pros and cons of arranged marriages and marriages of choice. Why might arranged marriages be successful? Discuss how the heavy reliance on love may be correlated with the divorce rate and even family violence.

Reference

Skenazy, L. 2008. 'Making love' (out of nothing at all) may be good reality TV. *Advertising Age*, 79(28), 13 (July 21). Academic Search Complete database (accessed September 27, 2008).

- There are many issues related to the family that are not developed in depth in the text. Use textbooks developed for family sociology courses to build a lecture that explores issues such as adoption, blended families, "boomerang" family structures, single fathers, and same-sex parents (adoptive and birth families). Select a number of topics of interest and create a lecture that describes the prevalence of these family forms, and describe some of the unique challenges faced by each. One suggested source is: Erera, Pauline Irit. 2002. *Family Diversity: Continuity and Change in the Contemporary Family*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

Monsoon Wedding (114 minutes)

In this 2001 movie about an arranged wedding in India can be useful in helping students think about ethnocentrism and different family structures. Because it is a popular film, it has a romantic, feel-good ending, but can still be a good way to spark discussion.

Bend It Like Beckham (112 minutes)

This story of a girl from a traditional Indian family who wants to play soccer can be used to point out cultural differences in gender expectations as well as the role of family in gender socialization.

Television

Baby Borrowers (6 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

This 2008 NBC reality television show takes teenage couples who are interested in having children at a young age and requires them to care for infants, toddlers, pre-teens, teenagers and elderly individuals. The show demonstrates many of the challenges facing families, and reflects many of the aspects of family dynamics. More information at: http://www.nbc.com/The_Baby_Borrowers/.

Lost Children of Rockdale County (90 minutes)

This Peabody Award winning documentary by *Frontline* begins with an investigation into a rare syphilis outbreak among a set of affluent teenagers from 1996. It expands from there into a discussion of the changing expectations of teenagers and their loneliness, reasons for engaging in risky behavior and the structures of their families. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/georgia/>.

The Simpsons (approx 25 minutes per episode)

Almost any episode of the Simpsons contains examples of family dynamics, family dysfunction, and family structure.

The Children Are Watching (60 minutes)

This PBS special looks at how parent behavior impacts children by following four families whose personal struggles are being passed to their teenage sons and daughters. The video provides a good example of socialization or a way of sparking discussion around family. More information is available at: <http://www.shoppbs.org/sm-pbs-children-are-watching-dvd--pi-2560383.html>.

Documentaries

Juggling Work and Family (120 minutes)

Examines the impact and implications of the shift in America's workforce that has buried the traditional working-father stay-at-home-mother model. Available at Films for the Humanities and Sciences: http://ffh.films.com/id/4123/Juggling_Work_and_Family.htm.

The Motherhood Manifesto (59 minutes)

This film, put out by a group called Moms Rising, looks at U.S. policies regarding families and mothers and points out how the U.S. really isn't a "family friendly" nation. The film also suggests several solutions to each policy problem, including finding a way to medically insure every family, provide paid parental leave and affordable childcare and flexible work scheduling. While the beginning of the film is incredibly corny, I have found that students are surprised and interested in the information presented in the film. More information can be found at: <http://www.momsrising.org/film>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. The U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institutes of Health sponsor a website called MEDLINEplus at: <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/>. Search the site using the key words "family health" and browse the results to find out 1) the wide range of types of health issues related to the family; and 2) current trends or patterns in family health issues, e.g. which seem to be demanding the greatest attention, and the characteristics of the families most affected. Select one or two family health issues and write a brief summary of your findings.
2. Focus Adolescent Services provides a website with a comprehensive source of information on a wide variety of family and teen issues. Go to the website at: <http://www.focusas.com/>. What types of issues are covered here? What does the breadth of topics mean to you, as you think about the responsibilities involved in parenthood? What can you learn from this website about the problems facing teens today?
3. The importance of the family as a social institution is displayed on the Internet by the number of websites that purport to provide information about it. Search the Internet using "family" or "family issues" as a search term. What kinds of organizations are involved in providing information about families? Briefly review a number of sites and create a typology of organizations that offer services to families. What does your typology suggest about the politics that surround the family, as well as the problems that families face?
4. "Family values" have been the source of much discussion in American politics. Some conservatives express concern about a decline in traditional family values as the structure of the family undergoes changes. One organization that represents a conservative perspective is Focus on the Family. The Council on Contemporary Families is an organization of researchers and family practitioners that is "dedicated to enhancing the national conversation about what contemporary families need and how those needs can best be met." Visit the websites for Focus on the Family (<http://www.focusonthefamily.com/>) and The Council on Contemporary Families (<http://www.contemporaryfamilies.org/>) and analyze them for their value content. How do they differ? Are there ways in which they demonstrate similar values?
5. Visit AppliedSoc.org (<http://www.appliedsoc.org/family/>) and read the section entitled "Applying Applied Sociology to the Family." This article discusses how the concepts of applied sociology may be used to analyze the family as a type of small society. Read the section that discusses the four ways in which "a micro-society like the family creates the ideas that govern it." Apply these four traits to your own family; that is, use examples from your own family to illustrate each of the four traits. Format your application as an essay to be submitted in class.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The National Center for Family and Marriage Research, located at Bowling Green State University, is the only national research center dedicated to the scholarship of family and marriage. Visit the website for the center, which offers working papers and data on cohabitation, marriage, divorce, the new lifecourse phase of emerging (young) adulthood, family structure, and more: <http://ncfmr.bgsu.edu/>.
2. Stephanie Coontz is a professor of family and marriage studies, and the author of many books and articles on the history of the family, including *Marriage, A History*. An article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Seven Ways Marriage is Changing," features a slideshow that includes remarks by Coontz: <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Society/2011/0214/Valentine-s-Day-report-seven-ways-marriage-is-changing/Maybe-yes-maybe-no>.

3. The Pew Research Center has an interactive page entitled, “The Changing American Family.” Read the material and engage in the interactive charts with data from Pew Social and Demographic Trends on marriage, household composition, and children: <http://pewsocialtrends.org/2010/11/18/five-decades-of-marriage-trends/>. Also, follow “Also of Interest” links or choose “Marriage, Family and Relationships” from the “Topics” menu across the top of the page.

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Blended family (322)	Family of orientation (306)	Nuclear family (306)
Cohabitation (329)	Family resiliency (320)	Patriarchal control (308)
Democratic control (308)	Heterogamy (309)	Patrilineal (308)
Divorce rate (317)	Homogamy (309)	Patrilocal residence (308)
Divorce ratio (317)	Marriage (306)	Polygamy (309)
Dual-employed marriage (326)	Marriage rate (314)	Polyandry (310)
Endogamy (309)	Matriarchal control (308)	Polygyny (310)
Exogamy (308)	Matrilineal (308)	Public policy (320)
Extended family (306)	Matrilocal residence (308)	Sandwich generation (332)
Family (306)	Monogamy (309)	Single-parent families (323)
Family of marriage (306)	Neolocal residence (308)	

FURTHER READING

Besharov, Douglas J. 1990. *Family Violence: Research and Public Policy Issues*. Washington, DC: The AEI Press.

A collection of articles on the relationship between research in family issues and public policy related to family violence.

Coontz, Stephanie. 2006. *Marriage, A History: How Love Conquered Marriage*. New York: Penguin Books.

Coontz examines marriage from a historical, anthropological, and sociological perspective. Myths surrounding marriage and family are deconstructed, as well as the association of love and marriage as a current American ideal.

Erera, Pauline Irit. 2002. *Family Diversity: Continuity and Change in the Contemporary Family*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

This is a Sage Sourcebook for the Human Services, volume 44. It describes the diversity of family life in the U.S. using history and current research. For each type of family, the unique circumstances and challenges of each are explored.

Kozol, Jonathon. 1996. *Amazing Grace: The Lives of Children and the Conscience of a Nation*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Jonathon Kozol is a chronicler of the impact of poverty and structural inequality on children’s lives (see also, *Rachel and Her Children and Savage Inequalities*). *Amazing Grace* is based on his visits to the South Bronx where he finds children with hope and resilience, despite the fact that their neighborhood is succumbing to drugs, violence, and AIDS, and their parents are often absent.

LeBlanc, Adrian Nicole. 2003. *Random Family*. New York: Scribner.

Adrian LeBlanc is a journalist who spent almost a year researching life in the Bronx. Her book tells the story of one extended family, as it copes with love, drugs, prison, babies, and work. LeBlanc presents her research from the point of view of her subjects, and demonstrates the family networks that help, and hinder, members as they negotiate lives of poverty.

Rubin, Lillian. 1994. *Families on the Fault Line: America’s Working Class Speaks about the Family, the Economy, Race, and Ethnicity*. New York: HarperCollins.

This book is a research based study of America’s working class as it is related to work, family, race, and ethnicity.

Sigler, Robert T. 1989. *Placing Domestic Violence in Context: An Assessment of Community Attitudes*. New York: Free Press.

This book provides a discussion of the various types of family violence and their prevalence in American society. The author then shifts his attention to community beliefs regarding family violence and what these mean for the future.

Wagner, Viki (Ed.) 1992. *The Family in America: Opposing Viewpoints*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press.

This provides a collection of articles debating the many sides of various issues related to family: the status of the family, divorce, the effects of dual career families, and state intervention in family life.

Chapter 12: Education

Brief Chapter Outline

I. The Development and Structure of Education

- A. Bureaucracy in Education
- B. Reforms in the Classroom

II. Competitors of Traditional Public Schools

- A. Charter Schools
- B. For-Profit Schools
- C. Homeschooling

III. The Functionalist Perspective

- A. Functions of Education
- B. Latent Functions of Education

IV. The Conflict Perspective

- A. Meritocracy
- B. Educational Inequality
- C. Tests of Reliance on Cognitive Ability
- D. Promoting Equality in Education

V. Symbolic Interactionism

- A. The Hidden Curriculum
- B. Textbooks and Teachers

VI. Higher Education Today

- A. College Attendance
- B. State Budgets and the Cost of College
- C. Economic Benefits of College
- D. Community Colleges
- E. Curriculum Change
- F. Online Learning
- G. For-Profit Colleges and Universities

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Describe the relationship between industrialization and education.
2. Discuss schools as bureaucracies.
3. Compare the competitors of traditional public schools.
4. Outline the basic functions (manifest and latent) of the institution of education.
5. Evaluate the meritocratic model of public education.
6. Discuss educational inequality.
7. Describe the ways in which schools socialize students.
8. Identify and describe the dominant issues in higher education today.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. The Development and Structure of Education

Prior to industrialization, the family, church, and the rural community were the primary socializing agents for children. With industrialization, however, the information offered from those sources became less relevant, and families were no longer able to adequately educate their children. The founding fathers foresaw public education as a means to keep an educated elite from having a monopoly on knowledge, and of creating an informed citizenry. By the mid-nineteenth century, immigration furthered interest in an education system to teach marketable skills and democratic values. Labor unions encouraged public education as a way to keep children out of the workforce. While there was not complete consensus on the role of teachers or how education should be organized, public education was seen as an effective method of social control. By the beginning of the twentieth century, new middle-management and clerical jobs, desirable as a means of improving one's life and life for one's children, required more advanced training. Secondary schools were developed and an increasing number of Americans of all social classes and races/ethnicities were graduating from high school.

- A. *Bureaucracy in Education*—Early school administration was modeled after factories; school-aged children would be educated in the same in which cars were produced. Bureaucratic organization, with specialization, rules and regulations, and impersonality, remains today. Education involves specialization of labor into administration, instruction (also specialized by subject and grade level), and resource personnel, such as librarians. Secretaries, bus drivers, and cafeteria workers are other examples of specialization. Age-graded classrooms, with standardized instruction, were designed for efficiency. Teaching the same subjects at the same time enables school districts to purchase materials in bulk, and standardize testing. Children may transfer between schools without losing progress. Schools are just one layer in the bureaucracy of education that extends to the federal and state levels, in addition to the local community. Children each have unique backgrounds, individualized knowledge, and experiences. Critics of bureaucratized schooling argue that it does not support the individuality, creativity, or emotional needs of students.
- B. *Reforms in the Classroom*—Philosopher John Dewey led the progressive education movement of the 1920s and 1930s that had a child-centered and work-related focus. Similarly, the humanistic education movement of the 1960s and 1970s sought to involve students in the education process and create a democratic learning environment, and saw the development of different approaches to education.

The 1983 report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, entitled *A Nation at Risk*, argued that the United States would soon lag behind other industrialized countries due to a mediocre educational system. The report noted that millions of adults, 17 percent of adolescents, and as many as 40 percent of minority youth, were functionally illiterate. Only a third of seventeen year olds could solve basic math problems, and SAT scores had declined between the early 1960s and 1980. The report urged a return to a bureaucratic model that emphasized basic skills like mathematics and reading. Many Americans supported the call for greater discipline and more homework. E. D. Hirsch furthered the cause in a series of books in which he argued that American children were functionally illiterate and lacked even the most basic knowledge of their country's history. Hirsch expressed concern that poor children, especially, were being doomed to a life of poverty.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Secretaries of Education under President Reagan and President Bush called for a back-to-basics educational reform plan that contained six concrete goals related to achievement measures. Currently high-stakes testing is at the core of President Bush's 2002 domestic policy, No Child Left Behind. This federal law requires that each student racial and demographic subgroup improve each year (grades 3–8) on mandatory standardized tests. Schools that fail to achieve these measures are at risk of personnel changes, transfers of students to other schools, or closing to re-open as a charter school. Another attempt to improve schools came in the form of President Obama's Common Core Standards. Its aim was to provide specific learning objectives for students as they prepare for college, career, and life. These standards attempted to clarify what students are expected to learn at each grade level so that parents and teachers can understand, participate, and support these goals for student learning.

President Trump is signaling yet another possible change in educational policy. The appointment of Betsy DeVos as Secretary of Education promises to move emphasis from reforming existing public schools to "school choice." According to the school choice movement, parents have the right to send their children to whatever school they think best. Through the use of vouchers (certificates of government funding), parents are provided public funds to cover the costs of the charter, nonprofit, or religious schools of their choosing. Current research suggests that these back-to-basics initiatives may not be effective, and in some cases may cause more harm than good by further discouraging minority and low-income students, and increasing rates of drop-outs and low levels of self-esteem.

II. Competitors of Traditional Public Schools

In the search for new models for how schools are funded, administered and organized, the latest back-to-basics reform is based on school choice, a free-enterprise approach that competes with public schools. Different models allow parents and students to select a school that best fits their needs. A voucher system takes the amount of money necessary to educate a child in the public schools and makes it available to parents for use at a private or parochial school. If the tuition is more than that amount, parents have to make up the difference. Advocates of vouchers argue that competition to keep students is good, and that students are able to find the type of education that best suits their needs. Critics argue that low-income parents will not be able to afford the difference between the amounts of tuition, and so low-income children will be left behind in urban schools. In addition, they believe that vouchers represent a diminishing commitment to public education and will further deterioration of public schools. Arguments that vouchers violate the separation of church and state have not been supported by recent court cases as parents still have choice as to where their children attend.

Evidence on the effectiveness of the voucher system is inconsistent and incomplete at this time. There is some evidence that African American students in small-scale, experimental programs in private schools for more than one year achieve some benefit. Critics are adamant that vouchers hurt public education, that there is no evidence of their effectiveness, and that voucher schools are not accountable to taxpayers. Current public opinion tends to favor the critics of the voucher system.

A. *Charter Schools*—Charter schools are publicly funded alternatives that operate like private schools, giving teachers and administrators wide latitude in terms of the methods they incorporate. One example, Mosaica Academy in Pennsylvania, has created a longer day, a longer school year, and a curriculum that immerses students in the study of civilizations over a period of four thousand years. After ten years of charter schools in operation, the American Federation of Teachers concludes that charter schools spend more on administration than they do on instruction, there is no evidence of any academic benefit to charter schools, and that they are more homogeneous and segregated racially than public schools.

Magnet schools attempt to achieve excellence through a focus on a particular area, such as the arts or science. Parents can decide which type of school best fits their child's needs. Because parents from throughout the district can choose to send their children to the same magnet school, advocates point out the fact that these schools are voluntarily desegregated in many cases. Advocates also claim that magnet schools have a beneficial influence on the curriculum and teaching methods in public schools more generally. Critics claim the desegregation effect and influence on other schools is overstated. In addition, they fear that magnet schools drain away resources and the best students from other public schools.

B. *For-Profit Schools*—For-profit schools are run using public funds by private corporations applying a business model of efficiency, productivity, and cost-effectiveness. Advocates argue that a free-market will result in more cost-effective education and that only the most effective schools will survive. The most comprehensive for-profit organization is Edison, which students in school almost a third longer than public schools and claims to have a more challenging curriculum. Supporters of this model claim that the competition from for-profit schools will encourage improvement in public schools. Critics of this model express concern over the need to balance student needs against profits, and the lack of oversight by the public.

C. *Homeschooling*—Prior to laws that mandate attendance at public schools, children were schooled at home or in schools organized by the local community. A critic of public education, John Holt, wrote two influential books. At first his aim was to make schools child-friendly, but ultimately he advocated homeschooling as the most child-friendly alternative. The number of homeschooled children has reached almost 1.8 million. The most common reason parents give for homeschooling is religious or moral grounds. The second most important reason is concern with issues such as safety, drugs, peer pressure and quality of instruction. Other reasons include lack of funds, distance, family time, and travel. Critics of homeschooling doubt the credentials of parents, question the ability of education in the home to keep up with changes in all areas, including science and technology. They also fear that homeschooling will drain resources from public schools.

Critics of school choice, including the former assistant secretary of education under President George W. Bush maintain that because school attendance is mandated and elected officials control funding decisions, there can be no such thing as genuine school choice. Further, public education has different goals than profit-making enterprises and regulation by the free market is not a substitute for knowledge of educational practices when it comes to improving public schools.

III. The Functionalist Perspective

A. *Functions of Education*—Functionalists believe that social institutions develop in order to meet basic needs within society. Education serves a number of vital needs for society, including cultural transmission, social integration, selection and screening of talent, promotion of personal growth and development, and the dissemination, preservation, and creation of knowledge.

One function of education is the transmission of culture, which enables a society to survive. While Americans are likely to call it indoctrination in other countries, there is no doubt that American schools are instilling values and promoting particular norms and attitudes as they also teach basic skills such as reading and mathematics. The merits of democracy, and the importance of competition, are two examples of values instilled through the educational system.

The educational system transforms a diverse population into one with a common identity through the instruction of an official language, national history, patriotic themes, and a similar informational sequence. Education creates a population with largely shared values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes. This function of education is at the center of the debate over bilingual education. Advocates argue that children should be taught in their native language, at least for a few years. Critics argue that bilingual education undermines the integrative function of public education. Twenty-three states have legally declared English as their official language.

Schools group students according to the scores on intelligence and achievement tests. Through the process of tracking, schools direct students into the curricula assumed suitable for them occupationally. Exams and performance records indicate what careers would best suit each student, and these are promoted by school counselors and teachers. As far as growth and development, schools expose students to a variety of experiences that are designed to help them grow and develop their creativity, verbal skills, artistic expression, intellectual accomplishment, and cultural tolerance. This function of education is aimed at improving the quality of students' lives. Finally, educational organizations work to disseminate, preserve, and create knowledge in a number of ways. Knowledge is preserved as it is disseminated in one generation after the next, as well as through transcriptions and recordings. Classroom instruction, textbooks, and other educational materials disseminate information to hundreds of thousands of people. Innovation, or the production of new knowledge, is generally perceived as a function of the university, as opposed to elementary and secondary education.

B. *Latent Functions of Education*—Cultural transmission; social integration; selection and screening of talent; promotion of personal growth and development; and the dissemination, preservation, and creation of knowledge are all manifest functions of education. That is, they are the recognized, intended functions of education. Latent functions are those that are generally unrecognized and unintended. Schools provide childcare for dual-income or single parent households, enabling parents to work. Schools are a means of keeping young people productively engaged, and out of trouble, and they provide an opportunity for young people to meet potential marriage partners. In addition, schools help mold students into a workforce that is compliant with a bureaucratic system, and they are also a training ground for young athletes. Negative consequences are considered dysfunctions. From a conflict perspective, schools serve the latent dysfunction of preserving the status quo and maintaining the social class structure through the process of tracking.

IV. The Conflict Perspective

A. *Meritocracy*—In a meritocracy, success is based on ability and achievement, as opposed to parents' social class. A meritocracy is an open system that permits all, equally, to achieve their potential for their own benefit and that of society. Meritocracy is premised on competition, as best illustrated in sports in which social rewards are based on the outcome of a comparison between groups engaged in the same tasks or activities. Although many believe that the United States is a meritocracy, research indicates an educational system that favors the economic elite is a barrier to true merit-based achievement.

Randall Collins argues that the U.S. is not meritocratic, but is composed of status groups in competition with each other for wealth, power, and prestige. The elite, the white Anglo-Saxon protestant males, have structured public education to reinforce the dominance of their own culture. Public schools stress values consistent with the dominant classes. Those students from higher social classes are more likely to go to quality schools and gain entrance into the occupations of their choice. Those deemed not to have the proper values, ways of speaking, manners, and dress, have a more difficult time entering universities and colleges, and obtaining high-level jobs. Randall argues against credentialism, stating that credentials are not necessary for many jobs. According to Randall, credentials serve a gate-keeping function, by ensuring that only those with the money to achieve them will enter elite occupations.

African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans have lower average scores on the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) than whites. Sociologists argue that this is due, at least in part, to the unequal quality of public schools. Parents' social class is related to both school quality and SAT scores. The SAT was created in 1926 to ensure that talented high school students could enter elite universities, regardless of their social class. However, social class is a major factor in achievement on the SAT, so that social class is still the major determinant in who attends elite universities. While it may appear that those who are most deserving, as indicated by SAT scores, are rewarded, those from lower social classes may have talent that is going unrecognized and undeveloped. In addition, it is arguable whether or not SAT scores are a valid predictor of future academic success.

To compensate for these concerns, in 1999, the Educational Testing Service (ETS) announced the creation of a "strivers" score that would compare a student's performance to predicted performance for those in the same social class and racial/ethnic category. The proposal was not enacted due to widespread criticism, but concern continued. By 2005, the SAT became understood as a predictor of academic preparedness as opposed to an IQ-type exam.

- B. *Educational Inequality*—From its incipience, public education has stressed educational equality. All students, regardless of background, were to be offered a free education and be exposed to the same curriculum. However, African Americans and Native Americans have been systematically excluded; African Americans were not even considered educable until after they had entered industrial jobs, many years after emancipation. The 1896 Supreme Court decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, made the doctrine of "separate but equal" legal, so that whites and African Americans had access to separate facilities, of supposed equal quality. The doctrine was not challenged until 1954 with the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. This did not result in immediate improvements, however. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin in any educational program or activity receiving financial support from the federal government.

Recently more attention has been paid to equality of the "effects" of public education; that is, whether it produces the same achievement and attitudes among lower-income and minority children as it does for other children. Funding is still important, and in most states the poorest neighborhoods receive the least funding. Funding determines class size, attracts qualified teachers, and supports extracurricular activities—all found to make an impact on student achievement. Other important factors are tracking, teacher evaluation, and tests of cognitive ability.

There is evidence that students' social class affects the way they are viewed by teachers. The same behavior in white and African American students may be seen as a learning difficulty in one and behavioral problem in the other, respectively. School counselors are more likely to rationalize poor performance among high-status students than they are for lower-status students. Similarly, lower-status students are more likely to be considered less capable by classroom teachers. Regardless of intelligence or past achievement, social class and race are still primary determinants of which students are assigned to the different curricula or tracks (college preparatory, commercial, vocational) in high schools. Once placed, students' academic performance is more influenced by the track they are in than by their academic ability. Students in the college-bound tracks improve their performance, while performance for students in the other types of tracks decreases. While there has been some movement away from tracking, other types of judgments continue to be used as gate-keepers.

- C. *Tests of Reliance on Cognitive Ability*—Cognitive ability is the term for intelligence or the capacity for abstract thinking. Testing cognitive ability has contributed to inequality within education. Some researchers still take the view of earlier social Darwinists that intelligence is inherited genetically. Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray made this argument in their 1996 book, *The Bell Curve*. They argue that 60 to 70 percent of intelligence is inherited, making programs like Head Start and affirmative action futile. Genetic explanations ignore the impact of social, economic, and psychological factors in human development. Even those who believe there is a genetic base to intelligence reject the claims of Herrnstein and Murray, and their policy implications. There is ample research that suggests that environmental factors are at least as influential as genetic factors when it comes to intelligence. Urban students score higher than rural students, and students of higher social class score better than those of lower social class. These findings suggest the existence of cultural bias in the tests.

Intelligence tests are viewed as culturally biased because they were designed for middle class children, and they tend to measure learning and environment as much as intellectual ability. Social class influences the experiences of students, and their familiarity with things like classical music that may appear in test questions. The testing environment also has an impact. There is evidence that low-income and minority children perform better when the tests are administered by members of their own race or income group. Children's attitudes

toward the tests themselves are also shaped by their social class; middle and upper class children are more likely to recognize their importance for future opportunities. Poor diet and malnutrition may also hinder the performance of lower-income students.

- D. *Promoting Equality in Education*—Despite the difficulties involved in overcoming barriers of social class, several avenues are being explored by educators and policy-makers. Four examples are: school desegregation, compensatory education, community control, and private schooling. A 1966 report by James Coleman stated that minority children have higher educational achievement in desegregated schools. More recent research confirms the findings of the report, and is further supported by evidence that recent increased segregation is related to a widening achievement gap in racial academic achievement. Some research counters this claim by stating that desegregation without sufficient support for minority children may have a detrimental impact. There is evidence that occupational positions and incomes are higher for minority students who attended desegregated schools than for those who attended segregated schools. In addition to improved achievement, it is likely that contact with middle-class white students provides more exposure to the norms for speech and dress often required by employers in the middle-class world. Education is increasingly important as well-paying jobs that require little education are a shrinking part of the economy.

Exposure to students from different backgrounds in desegregated schools may also lead to better ethnic and racial relations. This is the basis for multiculturalism as an approach to education. Stressing the viewpoints, experiences, and contributions of minority group members, including women, may help to dispel stereotypes and promote awareness of the contributions of these groups. According to one study, attendance and performance improved in schools with a multicultural curriculum.

Since 1986 schools are becoming increasingly re-segregated, which is not surprising given there were three Supreme Court decisions during the 1990s that permitted segregated neighborhood schools. In *The Shame of the Nation*, Kozol (2005), reports that inner-city schools have fallen back into segregation so that more minority children are in segregated schools than have been since 1968. Three-fourths of African American students are in schools with primarily minority enrollments.

It appears that compensatory education programs improve achievement for disadvantaged children. The best known compensatory or remedial education program is Head Start that came out of the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1965. Initial studies found that children ages 9 to 19 who had been in pre-school compensatory programs performed better, were more academically motivated, and had higher achievement test scores than low-income youth who were not in these programs. Follow-up research has confirmed these findings. Scores on IQ tests, general ability tests, and learning readiness assessments significantly improve after exposure to Head Start programs. Positive attitudinal, motivational and social changes have also been noted.

Most of the authority for funding and administering schools lies within the state, not the federal government. States entrust this authority to the local level where school administrators carry out the policies of the local school board. The rationale is that the local school board will be attentive to the needs of the community, and the administration to the needs of teachers and students. However, some believe that school governance is authoritarian and centralized, and is not responsive to parents and the local community. Particularly in urban areas, they argue, decentralized control placing authority with the individual schools would permit them to be more responsive to the needs of the immediate neighborhood. In particular, centralized authority is thought to focus on the needs of white students and ignore the problems of minority students. Problems with community control include the questionable ability of the local community to adequately fund their school, as well as the fear that local administration would further segregate schools.

In research conducted in the 1980s, Coleman and his colleagues found that students in private schools have higher achievement levels in mathematics and vocabulary, even controlling for student background. Minority students in private schools, particularly in Catholic schools, perform better than those in public schools. The researchers argue that higher standards, better discipline, more homework, and student perceptions of greater emphasis on academics account for the differences in achievement. The findings have been used to argue for implementation of similar policies in public schools, and to support the growing movement toward private education. Critics of the research argue the researchers overstated their findings and were biased toward private schools. Ravitch, the former assistant secretary of education, concludes that importance of the findings is that good schools, public or private, have an orderly climate, fair disciplinary policies, regular homework assignments, high enrollment in academic classes, and lower absenteeism and behavioral problems. These conditions are not absent in public schools but are more common in private schools.

V. Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism focuses on how culture is transmitted through socialization that takes place in the schools, primarily in three ways: the hidden curriculum, textbooks, and teachers.

- A. *The Hidden Curriculum*—Schools teach more than basic skills. Symbolic interactionists are interested in how schools socialize children through the hidden curriculum of values, norm, beliefs, and attitudes, such as conformity, cooperation, discipline, and order. Schools socialize students for the transition from the cooperation of their families, to the competition of the occupational world. Schools provide practice for working independently for individual success; grading and testing promote conformity and achievement. Relationships with teachers prepare students for future secondary relationships in employment and other circumstances.
- B. *Textbooks and Teachers*—The promotion of patriotism and civic duty are also part of the hidden curriculum. Government and history textbooks are generally slanted; they tend to ignore imperfections in the society or government. The treatment of Native Americans, for example, has not been accurately presented in U.S. history textbooks. In addition, textbooks convey values and beliefs about gender and social class. Earlier research found the portrayal of traditional gender roles, as well as the underrepresentation of women. Children in lower-income homes reportedly felt out of place, and their parents argued that textbooks were harmful to their children. Today, interested groups of parents and educators work with publishers and authors to ensure that a balanced image of society is presented to students.

Teachers are generally the first adult outside of the family to participate in socializing children. They socialize students in both direct and indirect ways. In their 1989 book, *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson describe how teachers' expectations can turn into behavior that causes the expectation to become reality. Teachers were told that randomly selected children were ready to blossom academically; these same children scored higher on intelligence tests at the end of the year. The teachers' expectations resulted in increased attention which, in turn, resulted in improved student performance. Other research supports their conclusions about self-fulfilling prophecy: children adjust their behavior to meet the expectations of adults, whether positive or negative. In 1990 the American Association of University Women issued a report summarizing research, all of which that found at every level schools discriminate against girls.

Teachers unconsciously transmit their assumptions based on stereotypes for appropriate gender behavior. According to research by Myra Sadker and David Sadker, girls learn to talk softly, avoid subjects like math and science, emphasize appearance over intelligence, and defer to the presumed intellectual superiority of boys. Girls are less likely to be called on, less likely to receive praise, less likely to be talkative or call out in class, and less likely to demand help or attention. Inequality remains in the classroom. There is some evidence that the impact of discrimination is decreasing. Recent research by the Sadkers (2009) finds that 40 percent of high school athletes are female. Girls and women enroll in science-oriented courses as often as men, and all colleges and universities are open to women. In fact, there has been such an improvement in gender equity that some argue that males are now the disadvantaged gender. However, there has been steady improvement in test scores for both sexes. Both sexes are graduating from high school and college in greater percentages than ever, although women have slightly higher rates of college graduation.

There have been recent refinements in gender bias research. Intragender research is paying more attention to differences among girls and among boys, suggesting that teachers pay greater attention to individual differences and not make assumptions by gender. In addition, more attention is being focused on the interactive impact of sex and race/ethnicity. For example, a recent study finds that white boys receive the most teacher attention, followed by minority boys, then white girls, and finally minority girls.

VI. Higher Education Today

- A. *College Attendance*—Enrollment in higher education has been increasing since World War II, when veterans entered under the GI Bill. About 20 million students are enrolled in universities and colleges today. Between 1980 and 2013, the percentage of high school graduates attending college has increased from 49 to 66 percent. Although there has been a decline in the size of the population ages 18 to 24, a much larger percentage of that age group is attending college. The number of people over age 24, the number of women, and the number of students remaining in college after their first year, has also continued to grow. Increased university recruitment efforts, an increased number of community colleges, and the decrease in desirable noneducational job options have all contributed to enrollment figures. The high unemployment and recession that began in 2008 have also contributed to increased enrollments.

Between 1985 and 2014 college enrollments increased 29 percent, from 12 million to more than 20 million. The children and grandchildren of baby boomers, called the “baby boomlet,” are beginning to enter college. Despite a slight downturn in college enrollment between 2008 and 2013, the percentage of high school graduates attending college remains at an all-time high.

- B. *State Budgets and the Cost of College*—While enrollments increase, state budgets for higher education are decreasing. As enrollments increase colleges must increase housing and access to classes, while also seeking sources of funding. The percentage of state support for many public universities makes them in actuality semi-public at best. In addition to seeking private funding, colleges are increasing tuition, making higher education increasingly expensive. Between 1981 and 2008 tuition quadrupled at private and public colleges and universities, while family income increased just 18 percent. Reduced public funding may reduce the ability of students from all backgrounds to attend college. Low-income, minority, and immigrant families are the hardest hit by tuition increases. In 2014, whites earned 65 percent of college degrees, while blacks earned 10.2 percent, Latinos earned 10.8 percent, Asian Americans earned 6.7 percent, and Native Americans just .6 percent.

The relationship between the university and industry is also changing. Instead of maintaining their own labs, corporations are being invited to use the research facilities at universities. Universities bring in funds, while corporations benefit from the cost efficiency of the arrangement. Stanford has received \$ 150 million from a Silicon Valley real estate developer. Professors at these institutions worry that the profit-motive will contaminate research. Another consequence of reduced state funding for education is increased student debt. Student loan debt is second only to mortgage debt in the United States. More than 44 million borrowers currently owe \$1.3 trillion student loans. The average amount of debt for students in the class of 2016 was \$37,132. Community college students who tend to be older and self-supporting are even more disadvantaged.

- C. *Economic Benefits of College*—A college education results in higher income, regardless of one’s race or gender. Over the same period of time, a college graduate can expect to earn two-thirds more than a high school graduate. Annual income for African American and white men with a college education is more than triple that of those who drop out of high school. White female high school graduates earn 56 percent of white college graduates; African American females with a high school diploma earn about 47 percent of African American females who graduate from college. However, African American and women college graduates do not earn as much as white men with the same education levels.

For all groups, occupational status improves dramatically with college education. The percentage for all race and gender combinations employed in white-collar occupations rises dramatically with educational level, although women and African Americans are likely to be concentrated in the lower-status positions within higher-status occupations.

- D. *Community Colleges*—In 2015, 38 percent of students in higher education were enrolled in two-year programs. Community colleges have contributed to the increases in college enrollments. Community colleges provide educational opportunities to students who would otherwise be unable to attend college. They tend to serve older students and those who are employed, enabling them to schedule classes around work schedules. Community colleges tend to be open-enrollment, less-expensive and be flexible in other ways to meet the needs of students. About half of African American, Latino, Asian American, and Native American undergraduates are enrolled in community colleges, making them an important step in the occupational ladder for these groups, as well as low-income students in general.

Community colleges have traditionally operated on a fraction of the budgets of larger universities. Increasing enrollments have created long waiting lists and students are being turned away. Citing the important role of community colleges into the future, President Obama called upon them to graduate an additional 5 million students by 2020. Obama’s American Graduation Initiative of 2009 added \$12 billion to community college budgets. A 2010 initiative, Skills for America, was a one-time initiative to create partnerships between colleges and a U.S. corporation. Additional trends in higher education over the past forty years include curriculum changes, distance education, and the appearance of for-profit colleges and universities.

- E. *Curriculum Change*—Since the mid-1960s, student demand for more courses that meet particular employment goals has resulted in a market-mentality within higher education. This includes a shift from students in the liberal arts to business and economics, demand for vocational training in community colleges, and increased grade inflation. These changes have resulted in the loss of liberal arts scholars, and the reduction of social sciences and humanities to “service courses” for nonmajors. Universities have lost some of their influence on the intellectual development of students.

In a critique of current trends, Martha Nussbaum argues that as higher education shifts to market-driven, career-oriented motivations, students are losing the ability to think critically and creatively. Not only does this undermine the social and intellectual development of students, but it also reduces their ability to participate fully in the democratic process. Nussbaum's concerns are not limited to the U.S. Throughout the world, she argues, education must curb the erosion of democratic ideals and return to an emphasis on the arts and humanities in order to enable citizens to think critically, rise above local loyalties and be able to sympathize with the situations of other peoples and other nations.

Another concern about American higher education is the alleged influence of political correctness. According to critics, the administration of universities and colleges are former members of the radical left. Administrators and professors, they allege, are displacing the works of white men with those of women and minority group members. Popular culture is replacing the study of the classics. From this perspective, minority status has become more important than merit as the basis for courses and reading lists.

- F. *Online Learning*—Online learning, originally called distance learning, began with closed-circuit television through which professors could deliver lectures to small groups of students at selected off-campus locations. The Internet has revolutionized distance learning so that students no longer even need to leave their homes. New technologies permit faculty to deliver the same material via the Internet that they would in the classroom, at very low cost. Web-based courses are easily repeated, and grading can be assumed by low-cost graduate assistants and instructors, thereby increasing the numbers of students reached by fixed labor costs. Geographically bound universities and colleges are being turned into virtual ones. Distance learning is flexible and convenient for students, expands the reach of colleges, and makes life-long learning more widely accessible.
- G. *For-Profit Colleges and Universities*—Web-based technology has permitted universities to enter the profit-making arena, while making for-profit institutions more direct competitors. For-profit colleges may seem antithetical to the tradition of the selfless, impartial “ivory tower” set apart from the real world. The increased need for higher education, combined with the technology to provide education at a cost that permits profit-making, has led to the 2 million students currently enrolled in for-profit institutions.

Criticisms of for-profit colleges include concern that unqualified instructors are teaching underdeveloped courses. Other concerns are the loss of teacher-student and student-student interactions, as well as problems with accreditation and evaluation of transfer credit. For-profit colleges spend about 30 percent of their revenues on marketing and advertising, making their degrees more expensive than those from non-profit colleges. Nearly all students attending for-profit schools shoulder student loans, compared to 57 percent of students at private non-profit schools, 48 percent of students at four-year public universities, and 13 percent of students attending community colleges. For-profit college students carry a median debt over \$30,000, while the average debt for students attending public and non-profit private schools is closer to \$20,000. Graduates from for-profit colleges have higher debt-to-income ratios and lower rates of student loan repayment. Federal student aid provides most of the revenue for for-profit colleges, and although these colleges have only 10 percent of all students, they have 50 percent of all loan defaults. Some states are investigating charges of fraudulent practices by for-profit colleges, involving recruitment, financial aid, accreditation, placement, and graduation rates. Congress is considering legislation to counteract unethical practices and punish violators.

Class Activities

1. Review the symbolic interactionist approach to the study of education, the concept of the “hidden curriculum” and how teachers and textbooks are used to socialize students. Then ask students to work in groups and discuss their own experiences. Ask students to give their own examples of how lessons about norms, values, beliefs, and attitudes were taught in their own educational experience, particularly elementary school, but at other grade levels as well. Can they also recall learning about patriotic themes, saying the pledge of allegiance? What did they learn about Native Americans in elementary school?
2. Ask the students how they came to the decision to attend college. Most will say that it was never doubted that they would attend, while others state that they were not sure they could afford it. Use this variation in experience to illustrate that one's placement in the economic structure usually determines one's opportunity to take advantage of the benefits offered by a college education. Students should also identify important people in their decision-making. Did their parents attend college? Other family members? Again, these are factors that indicate one's placement in the economic structure, but may also be viewed from the symbolic interactionist perspective and the focus on socialization.

3. Encourage the students to view one of two films, *Teachers* or *Stand and Deliver*. Ask them to take notes on the ways the structure of education is portrayed. Both of these films make a powerful statement regarding the problems associated with bureaucracy; ask the students to elaborate on these.
4. Ask students to apply functionalist concepts to their own experience in education. This could be a group activity or an in-class writing activity. Ask students to use their own experience and give a very explicit example of transmission of culture, social integration, selection and screening of students, promotion of personal development, and the dissemination, preservation, and creation of knowledge.
5. Using their own high school experience, ask students to discuss or write about the social structure of the student population, and apply concepts from the conflict perspective on education. Were they aware of tracking in their own high school? If not, explore why not? Discuss the conflict perspective issues of meritocracy and educational inequality. Ask students to explicitly identify ways in which the educational system perpetuates educational inequality.

Teaching Suggestions

1. Max Weber argued that rationalization would ultimately pervade all aspects of capitalist industrialized society. George Ritzer builds on Weber, with his concept of McDonaldization. According to Ritzer, virtually all social institutions are being modeled on the organizational structure of the fast food industry. Present the concept of McDonaldization and its components. Then engage students in an interactive lecture in which you explore the degree to which the educational system has been McDonaldized.

The four dimensions of McDonaldization are efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. Apply these to education.

Efficiency refers to finding the most convenient and rapid way of completing various tasks. Bureaucracies are organized to enable them to process large numbers of people very quickly and conveniently. In what ways is education set up for efficiency? Some examples are: large class sizes (especially introductory classes), multiple choice exams graded by computer, time constraints are placed on classes.

Calculability refers to an increasing dependence on the quantifiable phenomena in social life. Using McDonald's as the paradigm case, Ritzer points out that the portions served at fast food restaurants have slowly gotten bigger over time. Why? Since people are relying on quantifiable phenomena to evaluate the desirability of food, bigger becomes associated with better. How has calculability been incorporated into education? Some examples include the course grades, standardized exams, the emphasis on grade point average, ranking of graduate programs, teaching evaluations, and the emphasis on number of publications for promotion and tenure.

Predictability applies because schools have such an extensive number of rules that apply to everyone, and so most activities and events are relatively predictable. There are common features to academic classes such as dependence on a timetable for students' schedules. Each class meeting has a clear beginning and end, regardless of student attentiveness or need for additional explanation. Another example lies in the use of a syllabus. The syllabus in a class is virtually a contract which guarantees a certain level of predictability. In it, the teacher tells the students what is expected of them. Meanwhile, the instructor also tells the students the means of evaluation, testing, and teaching to be used in the classroom.

Control is maintained over faculty and students in different ways. There are rules that govern the behavior of faculty, as well as students. Even if many of the expectations are not written, they are expectations with sanctions for violation. Ritzer notes that labor in fast food restaurants is controlled by technology. This is also the case within education. Increasing numbers of courses are offered online, and the Internet has become an important vehicle for the dissemination of information.

These are just some examples. Students will certainly have more to add to the discussion.

References

Ritzer, George. 1996. *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Weber, Max. 1958a. Bureaucracy. In *Max Weber—Essays in sociology*, Eds. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, Max. 1958b. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Scribner's.

2. Homeschooling is gaining popularity in the United States and many other countries. In this alternative to public education, parents take back the responsibility for educating their own children. Many parents who homeschool their children report that they are concerned about the negative aspects of public education, such as underfunded schools, falling academic standards, unsavory influences, and violence. In addition, homeschoolers claim that the actual education is better at home.

The existing evidence seems to bear this out. According to the National Home Education Resource Institute (NHERI), homeschooled children outperform their public school counterparts by an average of 30 to 37 percentile points in subjects ranging from social studies to math. In addition, the educational inequality discussed in the textbook is nonexistent among homeschooled white and minority students.

One of the primary concerns expressed about homeschooling has to do with the socialization process provided by schools. Critics fear that homeschooling deprives children of needed interaction with peers and non-parental adults. Parents who homeschool point out that the socialization process in public schools is often something they *want* to avoid. By teaching their children at home, they hope to avoid many of the negative influences that children in public schools are exposed to. Further evidence to dispute this claim comes from NHERI, which states that homeschooled children participate in an average of 5.2 activities outside the home, providing them with ample opportunity for interaction with others.

Long-term benefits of homeschooling seem to be available as well. In a survey of five thousand adults who were homeschooled for at least seven years, the Home School Legal Defense Association found that young adults were more civic minded and more likely to vote than their peers, and were, in general, happier with their lives than the public at large.

3. The text presents the findings that higher education is associated with higher earnings for all groups. It would be easy to assume that because college education is associated with higher earnings, it is the *cause* of those earnings. However, the relationship between education level and income is complex. (This is a good correlation-versus-causation case.) In an article entitled “Subsidizing College Education: Why it Might Actually Increase Income Inequality,” written for the Center for College Affordability & Productivity, Daniel Bennett summarizes evidence for the argument that college is more likely an effect of income than a cause of it. Read the article (<http://centerforcollegeaffordability.org/archives/4592>) and present the argument and evidence to the class. Review the function of education as a screening device, and note the connection being made by Bennett. Ask students if this argument changes their opinions about how accessible higher education should be in the U.S. It should also be noted that economists and social stratification scholars agree, however, that college provides few economic benefits for students who don’t actually complete a degree.
4. Discuss the conflict perspective on the issues of meritocracy and educational inequality. Include the criticisms of the meritocratic model of society. In addition, elaborate on the ways in which the current educational structure perpetuates educational inequality and attempts to remedy these flaws. Recent Supreme Court cases have challenged versions of affirmative action programs. Do students see entrance to educational programs as a level playing field? If so, how do they explain differential scores on achievement tests? If not, what remedies do they suggest, particularly since affirmative action programs, as they’ve existed in the past decades, are beginning to disappear.
5. Discuss the current trends and recent changes in higher education. Describe grade inflation, and the consumer model of education. Ask students to consider whether or not they believe education can be run on that model. Is “the customer always right,” for example? As more students move away from degrees in the liberal arts, ask students to engage in a discussion of the benefits of the liberal arts. If universities were to shift to an exclusive focus on literal “job training,” what would be lost? What benefit is there for computer technicians, for example, to study literature or sociology?
6. Discuss the pros and cons of private and public education as presented in the text. If there is a charter or magnet school in your community, invite someone from the school to speak to the class. It is likely that the students in the class will have attended a variety of types of high schools. Ask them to discuss and compare their experiences with each other.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Documentaries

Declining by Degrees: Higher Education at Risk (120 min.)

This 2005 PBS special looks at the American higher education system and finds that in many ways, it is not keeping pace with the demands of contemporary workplaces. More information can be found at: <http://www.decliningbydegrees.org/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. On January 8, 2002, President George W. Bush signed the No Child Left Behind bill into law. According to the Bush administration, the law is based on four principles: accountability for results, emphasizing doing what works based on scientific research, expanded parental options, and expanded local control and flexibility. Go to the official website of No Child Left Behind at <http://www.ed.gov/nclb/landing.jhtml?src=pb>. Browse the site to find out what the provisions of the law are. In addition, use the name of the bill, “no child left behind,” as a search term. Look for evidence of the overall impact of the law. Summarize your findings.
2. The 1983 report *A Nation at Risk* alarmed the American public with its findings that public education was deteriorating. One of the specific findings was that children from other countries were outperforming American children on achievement tests. The No Child Left Behind law referred to in Internet Exercise #1 was implemented in order to reform America’s education system to achieve better results. To see how students in the United States compare to foreign students, go to: <http://nces.ed.gov/timss/results07.asp>. Results are available 1999, 2003, and 2007.
3. Educational *attainment*, measured in the number of years of school completed and degrees obtained, is also a source of interest. To see how the United States compares to other countries, visit the website of the Research Project on Educational Attainment and Enrollment around the World at <http://go.worldbank.org/Q44R7V9HZ0>. Select three different countries and compare levels of elementary and post-secondary education with those of the United States.
4. The Census Bureau provides a wealth of data pertaining to education in the United States. Visit its website at <http://www.census.gov/>. Select “E” under “Subjects A to Z,” and then click on one of the topics under “Education.” From this site, you will be able to browse a wide variety of information about education. Some examples are college enrollments and the costs of education. Review some of the tables provided by the Census Bureau and be prepared to share what you learned with the class.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The Chronicle of Higher Education maintains an interactive map that shows the percentages of adults with college degrees, by county within the United States. The interactive map may be selected for sex and race. Another interesting feature is that the map will indicate counties that have a predominantly black or white population. The map is especially dramatic and easy to read when projected on a large classroom screen. <http://chronicle.com/article/Adults-With-College-Degrees-in/125995/>
2. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics is a good source of information on employment, and also maintains information on the impact of education on employment and income. “Education Pays 2010” from the Bureau of Labor Statistics illustrates income and unemployment-risk payoffs for education. http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_chart_001.htm
3. Finland has what some consider the best education system in the world. Students attend classes fewer days than in any other industrialized nations, and education receives less public funding. Yet, Finnish students have high levels of achievement, and Finnish educators are treated with great respect. Visit the website of the Embassy of Finland and read about the documentary, *The Finland Phenomenon*, which explores the reasons for its success. At the end of the article, a link takes you to the trailer for the documentary on YouTube. <http://www.finland.org/Public/default.aspx?contentid=216586&nodeid=35833&culture=en-US>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Charter schools (344)	For-profit schools (344)	Multiculturalism (355)
Cognitive ability (353)	Hidden curriculum (357)	School choice (343)
Competition (349)	Latent functions (348)	Self-fulfilling prophecy (357)
Credentialism (349)	Magnet schools (344)	Status groups (349)
Cultural bias (353)	Manifest functions (348)	Tracking (348)
Educational equality (352)	Meritocracy (349)	Vouchers (343)

FURTHER READING

Bankston, Carl L., III and Stephen J. Caldas. 2009. *Public Education—America's Civil Religion: A Social History*. Teachers College Press.

The authors argue that in the U.S. we have unquestioning faith in the power of education to solve social problems. This makes education, according to the authors, a central part of American civil religion. The book draws from history, religion, sociology and educational theory for an in-depth cultural history of education in the U.S.

Bloom, Allan. 1987. *The Closing of the American Mind*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

In this controversial book, political philosopher Allan Bloom argues that the contemporary university is failing students by retreating from teaching the great ideas or classic canon. Bloom attacks the university focus on liberal education, arguing that it encourages self-interest over a search for truth. He also views education's embrace of relativism as part of what he sees as the crisis in education.

Kohn, Alfie. 1999. From degrading to de-grading. *The High School Magazine*, Vol 6, No 5.

1994. Grading: The issue is not how but why. *Educational Leadership* (October).

1991. Group grade grubbing versus cooperative learning. *Educational Leadership* (February).

Kohn is a leading critic of the teaching and grading models used in American schools. These articles represent a good overview of his views on the American public education system.

Kozol, Jonathan. 2005. *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Kozol visits sixty schools and reports that the situation in public schools, particularly urban schools, has gotten worse in the years since *Brown v. Board of Education*. Schools are more segregated, and Kozol is appalled to find harsh disciplinary methods, and dull and empty educational methods.

Kozol, Jonathan. 1992. *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools*. New York: HarperPerennial.

This book is now a classic, and still a powerful portrait of unequal education in the United States. Kozol compares the realities in different school districts, and personalizes the problems in America's schools.

LeVine, Robert A., and Merry I. White. 1986. *Human Conditions: The Cultural Basis of Educational Developments*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

A discussion of the social context of education, focusing on topics in the areas of cultural development throughout history, schooling and social change, and prospects for future educational development.

Russell, Bertand. 1988. *Education and the Social Order*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

An important and controversial early work in the sociology of education, highlighting the relationships between education and other social institutions (family, religion, economics, and politics) and social phenomena (sex, competition, class-consciousness).

Sadovnik, A. R. 2007. *Sociology of Education: A Critical Reader*. New York: Routledge.

An edited anthology of classic and contemporary readings examining current issues in education. The collection represents a variety of theoretical perspectives on schooling and society. Meant to be used as a supplementary textbook, this anthology focuses student attention on the role of schools in society.

Spencer, Herbert. 1966. *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*. Paterson, NJ: Littlefield, Adams & Co.

A look at education from a classical social theorist. Spencer includes an evaluation of what knowledge is most valuable and then elaborates on intellectual, moral, and physical knowledge.

Chapter 13: Political and Economic Institutions

Brief Chapter Outline

I. Power and Authority

- A. Defining Power and Authority
- B. Forms of Authority

II. The Nation-State

- A. Distinguishing Between Government and Nation-State
- B. A Functionalist View of the Nation-State
- C. A Conflict Perspective of the Nation-State

III. Global Political Systems

- A. Democracy
- B. Totalitarianism
- C. Authoritarianism

IV. Political Terrorism

- A. A Brief Biography of Terrorism
- B. Types of Political Terrorism

V. Political Power in American Society

- A. The Vote
- B. Pluralism: The Functionalist Approach
- C. Political Action Committees
- D. Elitism: The Conflict Approach

VI. Global Economic Systems

- A. Capitalism
- B. Socialism
- C. Mixed Economic Systems
- D. The Global Cultures of Capitalism

VII. The Corporation

- A. The Nature of Modern Corporations
- B. The Effects of Modern Corporations
- C. Globalization and Multinational Corporations

VIII. Work in the Contemporary American Economy

- A. Changes in the Workforce Composition
- B. Occupational Structure
- C. Downsizing and Contingent Employment

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Distinguish among power, coercion, and authority, and identify three basic forms of authority.
2. Discuss the nation-state, comparing and contrasting the functionalist and conflict approaches to this form of political authority.
3. Identify the major differences among democracy, totalitarianism, and authoritarianism.
4. Delineate the major types of terrorism.
5. Differentiate the views of functionalism and conflict theory on the distribution of power in America.
6. Describe the major characteristics of capitalism, socialism, and mixed economic systems.
7. Discuss the effects of the modern corporation on American society.

8. Describe the changing workforce composition in highly developed economies.
9. Portray the changing occupational structure in modern economies.
10. Discuss corporate downsizing and its consequences.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. Power and Authority

The economy is the institution that carries out the production and distribution of goods and services in society. The political system is the institution responsible for the general welfare of society, and exercises power to resolve conflict, which often results from economic issues.

- A. *Defining Power and Authority*—Max Weber defined power as the ability to control the behavior of others, even against their will. There are various sources of power, including personal appeal and relationships, or through force which is called coercion. Weber noted that coercion is an unstable source of power as it is seen as illegitimate and creates resentment. A more stable form of power is authority, which is legitimate power based on the acceptance of the authority by others.
- B. *Forms of Authority*—Weber described three kinds of authority: charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal. Charismatic authority is based on an individual's personal characteristics, such as magnetic personalities or inspiring trust. Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Cesar Chavez are examples. Charismatic authority cannot be transferred to another person, so it is inherently unstable as a permanent source of power. Traditional authority is based on custom. When a group shares customs, traditional authority may be fairly stable as it is commonly acknowledged. Traditional authority tends to be more stable than charismatic authority. Modern governments are based on a system of rational-legal authority in which power is assigned to particular offices, and is defined and limited by a set of rules and procedures. The power is invested in the position, so that people lose their authority when they leave a position. Even presidents may lose their power if they are found to be abusing the authority of their office.

These types of authority are ideal types. Weber's method of ideal type involves constructing a model that isolates the most basic characteristics of some entity. The types of authority as described are ideal types. In reality, a leader may have different types of authority simultaneously. Because authority is recognized as legitimate by others, it is the most stable type of power.

II. The Nation-State

- A. *Distinguishing Between Government and Nation-State*—A nation-state consolidates power over a large geographical territory. The United States is a nation-state with the power of the states superseded by the power of the federal government. The nation-state is a fairly recent development; for most of human history dispersed groups have exercised self-government or regulation. Today almost every single person in the world is part of the more than 100 existing nation-states. A nation-state is always the political authority over a particular territory. The nation-state has the ultimate authority over its citizens, and only properly appointed state representatives may act on behalf of the nation-state. Nation-states involve nationalism—a people's commitment to a common destiny based on recognition of a shared history and a shared future.

The political structure of any group or society is referred to as government. All groups have government, some means of resolving conflicts. When the function of the government is separate from other social institutions, it is called the state. The emergence of the state, separate from the institutions of the family and religion, is associated with agriculture and industrialism which produce surpluses resulting in inequality among citizens. The state is responsible for resolving conflicts that arise.

- B. *A Functionalist View of the Nation-State*—According to functionalists, the nation-state is necessary for the smooth functioning of society. English philosopher Thomas Hobbes argued that people act according to their own selfish interests, and the state is necessary to control these selfish impulses. Similarly, Émile Durkheim feared that the rapid social change brought by industrialism would produce conflict. Durkheim felt the state was necessary to provide centralized regulation or else people would undermine the social order as they attempted to act in their own self-interest. Functionalist Talcott Parsons also believed that a system of external controls was necessary in order for government to carry out the functions of mobilizing resources for the common good.
- C. *A Conflict Perspective of the Nation-State*—From a conflict perspective, the state exists to serve the interests of the elite. French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued against Hobbes; it was Rousseau's belief that humans lived in a state of harmony until the advent of private property. Rousseau saw the need for the state to resolve

the conflict caused by social inequality. However, he argued that the state was inherently slanted toward the interests of the elite or privileged, unless it was replaced with a social contract through which all pledged obedience to the “common will,” or the welfare of all.

Karl Marx argued that the nature of society was determined by the relationship between those who own the means of production and those who do not. According to Marx, in industrial society fewer and fewer people own the means of production. This ruling class he called the bourgeoisie. The workers, who do not own the means of production, he termed the proletariat. Marx argued that the state served the interests of the ruling class or bourgeoisie by providing a means of controlling the proletariat. Control is achieved through the promotion of an ideology that encourages acceptance of the legitimacy of the system, rather than the exercise of force. When one accepts a system that works against one’s own interests, Marx termed this a state of false consciousness. Marx felt that the state would serve the bourgeoisie until the proletariat recognized its own self-interests and created a revolution. A brief “dictatorship of the proletariat” would eventually lead to the final stage of historical development—communism. Under the communism envisioned by Marx, the state would serve a purely administrative role, and the control of resources would rest in the hands of the public. He did not foresee the difficulty of reducing the power of state bureaucracy and of persuading government officials to relinquish their power.

III. Global Political Systems

Globally, there are two polar types of government: democracy and totalitarian. Few societies have all the features of one or the other. In reality, most governments fall someplace between the two.

A. *Democracy*—The classic conception of democracy, inspired by the ancient Greeks, was a form of self-government involving the political participation of all citizens. New England town meetings are an example of this. A second conception of democracy involves elected officials carrying out the wishes of the majority of citizens. The United States is an example of this type of representative democracy. A representative democracy is based on the assumption that not all citizens in a modern society can be actively involved in political decision making. All that is required of them is that they vote. It is not possible for citizens to stay aware of all political activities and still perform all the other roles necessary for the maintenance of society. A second assumption of a representative democracy is that politicians who fail to serve the needs of the majority will not be elected.

In the United States, the candidate with the majority of votes wins the election. In Europe, where there are more than two parties, the parties participate in government in the same proportions as that they win representation in general elections. This proportional system can be more democratic, and encourages cooperation and compromise. However, it creates more fragile governments, as shifts in political allegiance can necessitate new elections. According to the United Nations, democracy is spreading throughout the world. Forty years ago, about 30 governments did not give the right to vote and to run for office to all of its citizens. The percentage of democratic governments went from one-third in the 1970s, to one-half today. The share of democratic governments increases with the level of development. Most highly developed countries have had democratic governments for a very long time. However, the sharpest increase in democracies has been among less developed countries. The dichotomy of democratic and undemocratic obscures the range of complexity in terms of degree of democratization. Only about half of new democracies are fully democratic. The most democratic governments belong to the most advanced countries of Europe, Japan and the U.S., and some Latin American and African countries.

B. *Totalitarianism*—In a totalitarian system a ruler with absolute power attempts to control all aspects of life. This is the polar opposite of a complete democracy. Totalitarian states generally consist of a single ruling party, a single party leader, a system of terror, control over all media resources, a monopoly on military forces, and a planned economy directed by the state. Nazi Germany and the former Soviet Union are classic examples. Adolf Hitler described the ideological foundation of the National Socialist party (Nazi) that came into power in Germany in the early 1930s. The philosophy of the Nazi party was the myth of Aryan racial superiority, and saving the world in part by destroying the Jews. Hitler had absolute power within the Nazi party, and controlled the Gestapo, a secret police force, and SS troops, both of which used terrorist practices to squelch any dissent. The media were eliminated or controlled by the Nazi party, and Hitler maintained control of the military over the opposition of his generals.

C. *Authoritarianism*—Authoritarianism is more difficult to define than the polar extremes of democracy and totalitarianism. Authoritarianism generally refers to a system of non-elected rulers who do permit a limited amount of individual freedom. Monarchies, military seizing of power, and dictatorships have all been types of authoritarianism.

IV. Political Terrorism

Terrorism is defined as the illegal use of violence or threats of violence in support of a political, religious, social, or economic goal. Terrorism is multidimensional and has been discussed in other chapters. Most Americans paid little attention to terrorism until the attacks on the World Trade Centers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. However, terrorism is not new.

- A. *A Brief Biography of Terrorism*—Although the methods, weapons, and objectives of terrorism have changed, terrorism is as old as human civilization. Terrorist acts were used against the government of ancient Rome, and were part of the French Revolution, as just two examples. The Ku Klux Klan used terrorism to control emancipated slaves and their supporters following the Civil War in the U.S. Nazi genocide and the repressive Soviet government were examples of state-sponsored terrorism. The most recent form of terrorism is international and perpetrated largely by religious fanatics.
- B. *Types of Political Terrorism*—A multidimensional approach that differentiates among types of terrorism increases understanding of any phenomenon. Kane (2007) identifies four types of terrorism: revolutionary, totalitarian, state and international. Revolutionary terrorism is violence directed at replacing an existing government, although the violence tends to increase after the government has toppled in efforts to avoid a counter-revolution. Examples of these reigns of terror are the Jacobins in France, and 1979 post-revolutionary Iran. Totalitarian terrorism is perpetrated by an established, recognized government in order to control and intimidate its own population. Not only dissenters are targeted; the government may terrorize any group for any reasons. Prison camps, death camps, labor camps, forced marches and purges are examples. State terrorism refers to short-term action against specific groups, such as the Tutsi massacre of Hutus in Rwanda. In the late-1980s, Saddam Hussein's Iraqi government killed 200,000 Kurds and deported more.

Today, even domestic terrorism has international aspects. Terrorist groups receive money, information, and other kinds of support from outside sources. Kane's definition of international terrorism is limited to actions by a foreign power, including terrorist acts against another country, collaboration with terrorists working within another country, or negotiation of terrorist demands with a foreign government. Napoleoni (2005) compares the Christian crusades called by Pope Urban II in 1095 to save Eastern Christendom from the Turks with the contemporary crusade being waged by Islamic extremists. The call to action and promise of heavenly reward invoked by Pope Urban prefigured and are eerily similar to the words of Osama bin Laden one thousand years later. According to Napoleoni, the *Jihad* promoted by bin Laden is motivated by economics more than religion. Bin Laden argued that secularized and modernized Muslim leaders opened the doors to Western powers who have exploited the resources and masses of the East for their own profit. Muslim elite were left with oligarchies while the East was pillaged and left economically dependent upon the West.

V. Political Power in American Society

Because it is not possible for the public to govern directly, even in a democratic society, the creation of an elite is inevitable. Citizens of democratic countries influence their representatives in government through voting and interest groups.

- A. *The Vote*—Voting enables citizens to remove officials from government and to decide issues at the local, state, or federal level. American politics often seems more concerned with getting elected than with a commitment to any particular ideological position. The exercise of power through voting has limitations. The politics of political parties determines the choices that the voters have to pick from. The United States has only two major political parties, and the candidates of each often closely resemble each other. Many groups are not adequately represented. The high cost of political campaigns is another limitation on the power of voting; only those who are wealthy or able to generate a great deal of money are able to run for office. In addition, voters are relatively powerless over a variety of different types of issues. Poverty and discrimination are not easy to address via voting, for example. In addition, matters decided at the highest ranks of the political structure. The decision to go to war is often made between Presidents and a few appointed officials; voters have no input.

The American public has low confidence in political leaders, and interest in voting is generally low. In 2000, only 62 percent of eligible voters went to the polls. The voter participation rate was up again in 2016 (59.7 percent). Only 32 percent of eligible voters went to the polls in the 2014 off-year elections. The United States has one of the lowest rates of voter turnout in the industrialized world. The working class and lower social classes are less likely to vote. Minority group members, and people with less education and income, are less likely to vote in presidential and congressional elections.

Most political opinions are formed through the process of political socialization, either formally in situations like classes in government, or informally through the family, media, and education. Children learn about their parents' political beliefs more than other attitudes; they learn by listening to conversations and watching the actions of family members. People with higher levels of education tend to have more knowledge of politics and policy, and are more likely to vote and otherwise participate in politics. For most people television is the primary source of political information. The media determine what issues and people will be brought to the public's attention. Research indicates that the media have the greatest influence on those who have not already formed an opinion about the issue being discussed. Economic status and occupation influence how one votes. For example, disadvantaged people will more likely vote for governmental assistance programs; corporate executives will vote for tax shelters. Young adults tend to be somewhat more liberal on racial and gender issues; women are more liberal on social issues such as abortion rights, women's rights, healthcare, and child care.

- B. *Pluralism: The Functionalist Approach*—Pluralism and elitism are two models of political power that exist within democratic systems. Pluralism refers to decision making through competition and compromise among different groups. In this model, power is distributed; there is no single majority that has all of the power. In the elitism model the community is controlled by a small group of people at the top. Pluralism relates to functionalism, and elitism relates more to conflict theory. Riesman (2001) argues that special interest groups compete with each other as part of the decision making process in the United States.

An interest group is one that is organized around one or more shared goals for the purpose of influencing political decisions. Interest groups in the United States have been part of the political system for a very long time. Groups in the 19th century included advocates for abolition and women's suffrage. Throughout the 20th century there have been labor unions, the Civil Rights movement, groups against the Vietnam War, and corporate lobbying groups, as just some examples. New interest groups are forming all of the time. Environmentalist groups have grown in number since passage of the Clean Water Act and other environmental legislation in the 1960s. Government officials must balance the concerns of the general public with those of special interest groups. There are more than 100,000 special interest groups in the United States. Two-thirds of Americans belong to a voluntary formal organization, and there are more than 3000 listings in the Washington, D.C. telephone directory for groups beginning with "National Association of ..." An estimated 11,000 lobbyists are currently attempting to influence Congress. Research suggests there is not a single elite group making decisions, and that power is distributed throughout a community, with different groups influencing different types of decisions. Pluralists note the 2010 tax bill that benefited people in different tax brackets as an example of how the system works.

- C. *Political Action Committees*—In the past political parties controlled nominations for offices, and oversaw campaign finances; people tended to vote along party lines. The power of the political parties in the United States seems to be diminishing. Less than one-fourth of Americans state that a party affiliation is significant in their choice for Congress; more than a third consider themselves independents. As participation in party politics declines, interest groups are being represented by political action committees who hire lobbyists to further their interests. Political action committees (PACs) are organized by special interest groups to raise and dispense funds for the election or defeat of specific candidates.

Today there are more than 7000 PACs, and they contribute ten times more than political parties do to congressional candidates. "Hard money" contributions, which are legally restricted, from PACs to federal candidates increased from \$12 million in 1974 to \$400 million in 2013-2014. A new type of tax exempt organization that may raise money for voter mobilization and issue advocacy is the 527 which cannot spend to attempt to elect or defeat a specific candidate. During the 2004 election cycle 527s raised and spent over one-half billion dollars, becoming a major factor in elections for the first time. Lobbyists also use gifts to promote their interests. One infamous example is that of Jack Abramoff, who plead guilty in 2006 to illegally soliciting Republican lawmakers' votes with a wide variety of gifts, including expense-free trips to foreign golf resorts, jobs for their spouses, and skybox sports seats. Health insurers spent about \$40 million in 2009 to lobby Congress regarding the healthcare plan that became known as Obamacare. Of the \$123 million spent in 2009 on lobbying by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, \$86 million was secretly donated to the Chamber by health insurers to defeat the healthcare bill.

PACs were originally designed as a means for very small contributors to become involved in politics, for those without wealth to run for office, and to move away from the dominance of party politics. However, today some argue that PACs undermine pluralism, as most are connected to business-related issues. Because of the high costs of running for office, House and Senate campaigns are particularly vulnerable to the influence of PACs. Books by Lewis (1998) and Kaiser (2010) include many examples of PAC contributions to Congress members prior to particular votes on issues. In 2007, the sugar industry successfully lobbied to retain a \$1 billion, 10-year

subsidy. The subprime mortgage industry successfully avoided enactment of regulatory legislation. Money may be one of several considerations a politician takes into consideration prior to a vote, but it is clear it always has some influence. Individual candidacies are also affected. According to the Federal Elections Commission (FEC), 90 percent of the winning candidates in the 2010 congressional primary elections raised more money than their opponents. In the 2010 midterm elections, just over 95 percent of U.S. House races and 75 percent of Senate races were won by the candidate who spent the most money. In 2015, 271 members, or just over 50 percent, of Congress were millionaires, compared with 7 percent of the American public. Still, money alone does not determine elections. There are many examples of candidates being defeated despite outspending their opponents. While money doesn't determine elections, one cannot win without it.

Despite the problems with PACs, the interests of individuals in the United States are represented in politics primarily through groups like political parties and interest groups. Many different types of groups, such as Civil Rights, environmental, and consumer groups, have won concessions that could not have been attained otherwise. Although voting has limitations, it is still the means of applying political pressure. Passage of the Brady handgun bill in 1993, and the ban on assault weapons in 1994, was achieved through public outcry, despite the opposition of the National Rifle Association. Bans on smoking are also examples of the public's ability to outweigh the tobacco lobby. According to functionalism and the pluralist model, interest groups and the public will continue to vie for political influence in the United States.

- D. *Elitism: The Conflict Approach*—Since the American Revolution, political leaders have expressed concern that concentrated power, creating an elite group, would undermine the republic. Although pluralism has been the dominant model in American sociology since the mid-twentieth century, there has also existed a very influential alternate view. According to C. Wright Mills, the top positions in the military, political, and economic spheres overlap to create a small group of the power elite. Mills argued that this coalition of corporate, military, and government leaders has greater power than Congress, and that it is at this highest level that decisions are made regarding national policy, war, and domestic affairs. Mills noted that members of the power elite shared much in common. They came from wealthy families, attended prestigious academies, inter-married with each other, had friends and acquaintances in common, and could, therefore, easily coordinate their actions for their own interests. Advocates of the power elite model are influenced by Marx, and believe that corporate interests drive decision making. Because a power elite is antithetical to democracy, it operates in secrecy.

Research by G. William Domhoff documents the existence of a very small group at the very top of the stratification system. According to Domhoff, and corroborated by Thomas Dye, the top 1 percent of the population are an elite group who are affluent, well-educated, have prestigious positions, and are the most eminent leaders in industry, the military, and government. Half of this group graduated from the same twelve private universities; only 5 percent are females, and one-fourth graduated from public universities. That an elite group exists does not prove they are united and wield power in their own interests. Still, conflict theorists offer evidence of a power elite. According to Dye, the people who occupy over 7,314 positions at the top of thirteen major industries control one-half the industrial and financial assets, one-half the assets of private foundations, and two-thirds the assets in private universities, in the United States. Additionally, they control the media, the most prestigious cultural and civic organizations, and all branches of the federal government. About 15 percent of the elite hold more than one position at a time, and almost one-third of the top positions are interrelated as a single person may hold more than three different positions at the same time. While 85 percent of the positions were not directly interrelated, people move in and out of positions in different institutions, creating many interconnections.

The top 1 percent of the American population are the “super rich”, holding about 200 times the net worth of the average household. Even compared with the portion of the population just below them, the super rich are extremely wealthy. Between 1979 and 2006 the after-tax income of the richest 1 percent of the population increased by 256 percent, compared with 55 percent for the next wealthiest 29 percent of the population. Some sociologists attribute the “winner-take-all” economy of the U.S. to the “winner-take-all” political system. The consolidation of wealth among the elite, began in the late 1970s with efforts to reduce government regulation and eliminate the progressive tax structure, both of which have worked to distribute income more equally prior to that time. The tax cuts of 2010, the average tax break for the average household is \$2700 compared with \$70,000 for the wealthiest 1 percent. Only the lower-income earning households (under \$40,000) and individuals (\$20,000) will pay increased taxes.

VI. Global Economic Systems

There is a close connection between the polity and the economy. Variations in economies have an impact on the relationships between countries because they tend toward different solutions of social problems related to production and the distribution of goods and services. Capitalism is based on two assumptions: the sanctity of private property, and the right of individuals to profit from their labor. In addition, capitalists believe the economy works best without government interference. In a socialist system property is owned by society and the economy is controlled by the government. In reality, these are ideal types that do not exist, but they are useful for analyzing the systems of different societies.

A. *Capitalism*—Capitalism is premised on the right of individuals and organizations to pursue their own gain, and that society will benefit in the process. Pursuit of profit also involves risking the loss of money. In a capitalist system most property is owned privately, and the individuals or organizations have an unalienable right to hold and control their own property. Private ownership may lead to concentrations of power among owners, but this is seen as preferable to concentrated power of the state. Private ownership permits the pursuit of profit and benefits society.

According to the 18th-century philosopher Adam Smith, who argued the benefits of capitalism, competition between capitalists would motivate them to provide desirable goods at prices the public is willing to pay. Inferior goods would result in a business failing. Another benefit of the “invisible hand” of the market is that capitalists would search for new products, motivating innovation and invention. Capitalists would also be motivated to use resources as efficiently as possible. Attempts at government regulation distort the economy’s ability to regulate itself for the benefit of everyone. There is no pure capitalist system, but the United States is generally considered the closest. Americans view their affluence as evidence of capitalism’s success. Only 11 percent of respondents in a worldwide survey believe that free-market capitalism works well; 23 percent believe it is fatally flawed. About half believe that regulation and reform can solve capitalism’s problems. The U.S. and Pakistan were the only countries in which more than 20 percent of people agree that capitalism functions as is.

Economist Stiglitz (2010) believes that markets are necessary for healthy economies, but that if left too free markets malfunction, as is the case in the 2008 recession that resulted from the belief in the infallibility of a free market. He favors an economic system that is balanced between the roles of the market, the government, and forces beyond both of these.

Deviations from the ideal model occur and may create problems. Examples are monopolies that occur when a single company comes to control a particular market. An oligopoly occurs when a combination of companies controls a market. Both of these are the result of successful businesses that come to dominate markets, making it difficult for other companies to provide competition. A lack of competition may lead to price fixing and other problems. An example occurred when Microsoft tried to demand that their Internet browser, and no other, be installed on computers using the Windows operating system. The number of stockholders may also have an impact; having fewer stockholders tends to result in a more concentrated focus on profit.

While Adam Smith was against overregulation by the government, he did see a place for government involvement. Government functions included the regulation of commerce, development of a strong currency, creation of uniform standards for commerce, and the provision of a stable system of credit. Since 1789 when the U.S. government added a tariff to goods imported on foreign ships, the role of government in the economy has expanded into business, agriculture, and labor. Recently the government has bailed out Wall St., banks, and automobile companies, and taken action to prevent a meltdown in financial markets. In addition, the government creates a minimum wage, health and safety standards, and provides support for unemployed workers. Billions of dollars each year go into supporting U.S. agriculture.

B. *Socialism*—Critics of capitalism argue that the search for profit leads to inequality. Marx argued that the proletariat would eventually cause the demise of capitalism and a transition to socialism, and later communism. Socialist thought is also found in Plato’s Republic and some places in the Bible. Characteristics shared by socialist economies include ownership of the means of production by the government, including nationalizing airlines and banks. Government planning of the economy, including which industries to develop. In a socialist system, the state acts on behalf of the people, owning and controlling property and ensuring that all share in the benefits. High taxes prevent the accumulation of wealth at upper income levels. Socialist thinkers believe that state control provides a means for the people to have control over the production and distribution of goods. Workers in a socialist system should benefit from state ownership because the state is acting in their interests.

Examples of pure socialism are rare as rare as pure capitalism. Even in the former Soviet Union, individuals worked privately for profit, much of the housing was privately owned, and managers earned more than workers. Poland provides a similar example, with many businesses privately owned even under the rule of communist

Russia. Polish businessmen formed international business relationships, bringing back hard currency and goods to fill demands. Socialist systems have not eliminated inequality, nor have they been able to guarantee sustained economic growth.

C. *Mixed Economic Systems*—In reality, most countries fall someplace in the middle between these two ideal types. In some Western European countries, for example, the economy is basically capitalist, but the government owns some essential industries, such as transportation. Many formerly socialist countries have moved toward a mixed economy. As one example, in Hungary many formerly state-owned businesses have become privately owned. Over 1 million Hungarians have been given the right to own land, businesses, and buildings that were taken over by the Soviet government in 1949. Even communist North Korea has created a free capitalist zone along its border with China in which businesses may solicit investment from the West. In 1979 the People's Republic of China began reforms to create free markets and trade relations with the West. High inflation and public demand for greater political freedoms (to match the newly granted economic liberation in the late 1980s) led to political turmoil that was suppressed by party hardliner Li Peng. Even so, China did not revert to centralized economic planning, and has honored its promise not to interfere in the capitalist economy of Hong Kong when it was returned. In a more recent system of state capitalism, the government is supporting selected companies with tax breaks and land deals. Some argue that the twenty-first century will see a global economy dominated by capitalism.

D. *The Global Cultures of Capitalism*—Variants of capitalism may be broken down into two categories—individualistic capitalism based on self-interest, a free market, and maximization of profit; and communitarian capitalism emphasizing the interests of employees, customers, and society. Individualistic capitalism is founded on the ideas of John Locke and Adam Smith. Locke was a 17th-century philosopher who influenced early American leadership and the nature of the Constitution. Locke believed in individual rights, including the right to private property, and that these should be protected by a government that had otherwise limited powers. Smith's idea of the "invisible hand" has been used to shape and maintain individualistic capitalism; freedom to pursue self-interest would work in the benefit of society. Individualistic capitalism is characterized by efforts to minimize wages, the need for labor, and short-term thinking in the name of maximizing profit. In individualistic capitalism, the government does not interfere with the market, and has the limited role of protecting private property.

Communitarian capitalism is a "soft" capitalism based on the ideas of the 18th-century philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In Rousseau's view, the individual gives up some rights in exchange for protection by the government. Rousseau's concept of the "general will" helped fuel the French Revolution. The general will put the community first. Japan, France, and other Western European countries share a communitarian view that emphasizes cooperation, interpersonal harmony, and the subordination of the individual to the community. In communitarian capitalism, the individual seeks the best firm and works hard to be part of the company and help it to achieve success. Personal success or failure is tied to the fate of the company; job switching is not common. The interests of the shareholders come after those of the employees and customers. Workers are rarely laid off, and high wages are a priority. In Europe and Japan, the government is involved in economic planning. There is cooperation between government and business, and businesses and labor. Individualistic capitalists believe that individual self-interest will ultimately benefit the customer and society; communitarian capitalists believe that by serving customers and society the individual will ultimately prosper. Some scholars believe that communitarian capitalism will outperform individualistic capitalism in the long run; some even believe a shift to communitarian capitalism is already taking place in the United States.

VII. The Corporation

The corporation is an important entity in capitalist and mixed economies. In fact, Morton Mintz and Jerry Cohen argue that corporations now own and operate the United States. The emergence of giant business organizations has promoted economic growth and also created some problems. It is more difficult for smaller firms to compete, while discouraging competition between larger firms.

A. *The Nature of Modern Corporations*—Since 1933 the U.S. GDP has steadily increased, accompanied by the growth of large business corporations. A corporation is an organization owned by shareholders who have limited control over organizational affairs; separation of ownership and control is a central feature of a corporation. The actual control of a corporation rests with the board of directors and the corporate managers. U.S. corporations dominate the economy. Total corporate assets are concentrated in the hands of a relatively few giant corporations. The top 100 corporations, which account for less than 0.1 percent of all corporations in the United States, control over 9 percent of total corporate assets; the top 200 corporations control nearly 11 percent of assets owned by the top 500 companies. Assets are also concentrated within the top corporations. Although only

0.2 percent of American corporations have assets of \$250 million or more, these corporations control over 80 percent of the corporate assets in the United States. In contrast, 98.5 percent of corporations with less than \$10 million control about 7 percent of the nation's corporate assets.

- B. *The Effects of Modern Corporations*—Corporations represent massive concentrations of economic resources, and so corporations such as Walmart, Exxon-Mobil, and Bank of America have a great deal of influence on the government. Many policies, aimed at regulating business and industry, reflect the influence of corporations. Corporate leaders affect decision making as they develop relationships with important political and social leaders. Many wealthy individuals alternate between important governmental and corporate positions, and movement between business and government occurs at lower levels, as well. Second, corporate leaders also wield influence through their investment decisions. As one example, when International Harvester announced it would close its plant in either Springfield, Ohio, or Fort Wayne, Indiana, both communities made concessions in order to try and keep the plant. In the end, Springfield had to come up with \$30 million in local and state funds to buy the plant and lease it back to the company, in order to keep the plant open. Third, political leaders risk not being elected if they offend corporations that are the source of major contributions to political campaigns. Fourth, the power of corporations is consolidated by interlocking directorates, that is, members of corporations sitting on each others' boards. This is not illegal as long as the corporations involved are not competitors. Finally, corporations may concentrate their power through the creation of conglomerates. A conglomerate is a network of unrelated businesses that are linked under a single, parent corporation that does not produce anything. An example is R. J. Nabisco that owns companies in tobacco, pet food, candy, food products, research, and technology. While corporations do not always see eye to eye, when their interests are threatened they are able to work together with all of the organizational resources at their disposal. Corporate influence has resulted in what some have called corporate welfare, the economic benefits that the government routinely gives to businesses. Corporate welfare amounts to as much as one-half trillion dollars annually, and may take the form of tax breaks, subsidies, or lax enforcement of regulations. Corporate influence extends beyond the national borders through multinational corporations that are owned by industrialized countries and operate facilities throughout the world.

Klein (2007) argues that the privatization of public resources is a source of government support for corporations. Specifically, she notes that during times of disasters the government has outsourced some of government's central functions such as providing healthcare to the military, interrogating prisoners, and data-mining. The \$200 billion homeland security industry has been contracted to private enterprises. Klein terms the union of government and wealthy politicians the corporatist elite.

- C. *Globalization and Multinational Corporations*—Globalization refers to the economic, political, and social interconnectedness of countries that is epitomized in multinational corporations. Multinational corporations are generally firms in industrialized countries with operating plants located throughout the world. They are concentrated in a few areas and dominated by just a few companies. Oil and automobile industries comprise about half of all multinational activity. Of the hundred largest political and economic entities in the world, about fifty-one multinational corporations, not nation-states. Seven corporations based in the United States—Exxon-Mobil, IBM, General Motors, Ford Motors, AT&T, Walmart Stores, and General Electric—have sales volumes on a par with the gross national products of the world's forty most productive nations. Nations ranking below both General Motors and Ford Motors include Argentina, South Africa, Venezuela, Greece, Portugal, Israel, and Ireland.

Political power is more difficult to measure than economic power. It is assessed by specific examples, such as government approval of international trade agreements that permit corporations to avoid regulation even in the most democratic nations. In the U.S. multinational corporations have successfully lobbied for tax breaks, subsidies, and exemption from some of the costs incurred, especially by the environment.

While proponents of multinational corporations argue that they provide access to technology, capital, foreign markets, and products that would otherwise be inaccessible, critics believe they harm the economies of the host nations. Multinationals rely on the cheap labor and/or raw materials of the developing country, but the profits are returned to shareholders and the corporate headquarters in rich nations. In the process, the multinationals may exploit raw materials, disrupt the local economy, introduce inappropriate technologies, and create income inequality. The developing country cannot compete with the multinational corporation by creating its own industry. In these cases, multinationals may retard rather than spur economic development. Although multinationals may create jobs in less developed countries, these are most often the lowest paid and unskilled. The jobs created are not commensurate with the amount of profit obtained by the corporations. Another justification for multinational corporations is the growth of economic prosperity. However, Stiglitz and others note that

the less developed countries end less stable economically and in greater debt, due in part to the relationship between the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the United States which has virtual veto power in some circumstances.

To correct the situation, moral appeals to corporations have been of little use. Stiglitz and others argue for government regulation to limit corporate power, such as reducing monopoly power. Additional suggestions are holding corporate leaders accountable for corporate abuses, and ordering compensation for endangering the health and safety of workers, and degrading the environment. Finally, the creation of international laws and international courts may also help to curb corporate abuse.

VIII. Work in the Contemporary American Economy

A. *Changes in the Workforce Composition*—The primary sector of an economy relies on natural resources for the production of goods. Jobs in this sector include farmer, miner, timber worker, and cattle rancher. Goods are manufactured from raw materials in the secondary sector. Jobs in this sector are blue-collar, such as those who produce computers, but also include white-collar jobs like management and office positions. In the tertiary sector employees provide services such as banking, healthcare, and education. In preindustrial society, the primary sector was dominant, and goods were made by hand. Mechanization in agriculture reduced the need for labor in the primary sector, while mechanization in other areas created the manufacturing jobs of the secondary sector. By 1900, 40 percent of the U.S. labor force had blue-collar jobs. Technological developments permitted manufacture with less labor, and white-collar occupations such as managers and secretaries began to dominate after World War II. As the demand for labor in the secondary sector was decreasing, computer technology was creating more jobs in the tertiary sector. The U.S. economy changed from a manufacturing base to a knowledge base.

B. *Occupational Structure*—In the two-tiered occupational structure, the core tier contains the dominant jobs in large firms such as those in computer technology, pharmaceutical, and aerospace. The peripheral tier is made up of jobs in smaller firms that compete for business not dominated by the larger firms, and less profitable industries such as agriculture, textiles, small-scale retail. About 60 to 70 percent of U.S. workers work in the peripheral tier. Traditionally, jobs in the core paid more, had better benefits, and provided longer term employment. Peripheral tier jobs are characterized by low pay, few benefits, and more part-time employment. Over the past twenty years the core has laid off many experienced workers. Since 1979, more than 43 million jobs have been eliminated in the United States. As jobs at the top, in the core tier, have disappeared, the peripheral tier has expanded, but the new jobs require skills that those laid off from core jobs do not have.

The U.S. economy is losing higher-paying jobs and gaining lower-paying jobs. “Downwaging” is expected to continue as more higher-paying blue-collar and white-collar jobs are moved out of the country. Some of the assumptions of the dual labor market perspective have not been clarified, and it does not always provide accurate predictions of an individual’s labor market experience. Studies within each sector reveal considerable variation in experiences of individuals. Still, the perspective is useful in bringing attention to changes in the labor market.

C. *Downsizing and Contingent Employment*—Downsizing refers to the reduction in a corporation’s workforce designed to cut costs, increase profits, and enhance stock values. Employers justify downsizing with reference to increasing costs of healthcare coverage, the need to be more competitive in a global market, and the replacement of middle management positions with more sophisticated technologies. Downsizing has increased and is likely to continue to increase. Since 1985, it is estimated that over 8 million employees were downsized, half of whom held white-collar jobs. In the auto industry alone, 200,000 jobs were cut between 2000 and 2006.

Part of the rationale for downsizing is that the work could be done in less efficient ways, such as by using contingent employees. Contingent employees are hired on a part-time, temporary, or contract basis. They have no job security, and so have been labeled marginal or even disposable employees. Almost one-third of the U.S. labor force is made up of contingent employees. Temporary employees lack benefits, and earn about 60 percent of the amount earned by a full-time worker. Contingent employees are most often those with the lowest status: women, minority group members, the elderly, youth, and recent immigrants. Recently different kinds of jobs are being outsourced to other countries. Information technology, legal, accounting, customer service, and insurance jobs are leaving the United States for places such as India and Mexico.

These trends represent significant changes in America’s employment. Particularly during the greatest recession since the depression, critics fear a fundamental change, a disruption in the contract between employer and employee. Robert Reich, former secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor under President Clinton, has expressed fears that downsizing and contingent employment are creating an even wider gap between those who control capital and those who do not. A survey of U.S. employees found that while many express increased job

satisfaction, there is a growing mistrust of management, a sense of a lack of commitment to them on the part of management, and a sense of injustice over the compensation gap between top management and employees. The future consequences of downsizing and contingent employment are unknown, but for future economic benefit, employers will need to recognize the needs of those employees who survive downsizing and provide remedial responses to restore trust and promote employee welfare.

Class Activities

1. Alone or working in groups, ask students to define the different types of power and authority (legitimate and illegitimate) and give at least two examples for each. Their examples should draw from their own experience, as much as possible.
2. Ask the students to list their impressions of bureaucracy. What do they think of when you say that word? Use this to begin a discussion of the bureaucratic model of most corporations and other workplaces in which they will work. This exercise provides a convenient entry into the discussion of attempts to make work more meaningful for those in the workforce.
3. Although the language is offensive, students should be encouraged to view the film entitled *A Few Good Men* (Columbia Tristar Home Video). This film depicts the trial of two U.S. Marines for practicing a tradition that is in violation of regulations. This film provides an excellent illustration of the distinction between formal and informal organization and culture in the workplace.
4. Working in groups, ask students to make a list of the basic features of the two economic systems: capitalism and socialism. The text discusses the trend of mixing capitalism and socialism in many former socialist countries. Ask students to discuss in what ways capitalism and socialism (or some of the features of socialism) are mixed in the U.S. economy.
5. Changes in the structure of the U.S. economy, and in patterns of employment, will certainly have an impact on students' lives after graduation from college. Ask students to consider and discuss how the composition of the workforce has changed in recent years. In addition, discuss the changes in the occupational structure since World War I, including downsizing and contingent employment. What will these changes mean, practically speaking, for students' future employment? What types of jobs will they be seeking? What is the likelihood they will have job security or earn as much money as they hope to? What future changes in employment might they predict based on current patterns?

Teaching Suggestions

1. Discuss the nature of power, and the difference between legitimate and illegitimate power. Ask students to contribute examples from their own experience of being subject to either form of power. Max Weber described three different types of legitimate power, or authority. For each of the three forms of authority, charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal, ask students to share examples from their own experience. Which of these types of authority is the most unstable; why? Which type of authority are students most likely to take for granted? Which are they most likely to question, or challenge? Why?
2. Show the film *Wag the Dog* (New Line Cinema, 1998) to the class (or clips could be used instead of the entire film). In this film, the President of the United States needs something to distract the public from a sex scandal. A Washington "spin-master", or media expert, suggests a war—and this is created entirely through the media. The film, while older, still has relevance. Present changes in journalism coverage of war, from the Vietnam War when journalists were responsible for exposing military excesses, to the war on Iraq in which the government regulated the public's access to news coverage. Ask students to discuss what they believe the role of the media should be in regard to political events, including war.
3. In the United States the idea of socialism usually generates an automatic, visceral response—if it is not capitalism, it must be bad. However, as we saw in Chapter 8, Social Stratification, the capitalist system employed in America produces a highly stratified society, with a few wealthy individuals and many in the lower socioeconomic class. Marx's ideas about false consciousness also come into play, when we realize that the poor are often strong supporters of capitalism, even though it does not seem to be working to their benefit. Use the current chapter, along with the information in Chapter 8, to start students thinking about the benefits and costs of the different economic systems.

One of the primary tenets of socialism is the opportunity for workers (in this instance, let us assume we are talking specifically about the working poor) to benefit from higher pay and the ability to gain more control over their work. Socialist theory points out that workers should benefit because both the state and the workplace exist for their benefit. Contrast that concept to that of capitalism, in which the primary benefit of a worker's labor is for the benefit of the owners of the business, and many believe that the state exists mainly to protect the interests of the wealthy.

Millions of people in the United States are without health insurance and millions, who are the working poor, struggle to acquire the bare necessities such as food, clothing, and shelter. Single parent families are increasing steadily with corresponding hardship on children. Prisons are overflowing, the environment is being despoiled, natural resources are being depleted, and education, the foremost element needed to solve these problems, suffers from a high degree of inequality (students should be reminded that the textbook has already covered many of these topics, from a sociological perspective). How can this be reconciled with the belief that capitalism works for the benefit of society? Some argue the problem is government interference that disrupts the workings of the free market. What do students think?

4. Show the documentary *The Corporation* to the class (or use clips from the film). Explain the nature and effects of modern corporations. Discuss the importance of national corporations in influencing national politics and the impact of multinational corporations around the globe. A key feature of corporations is the separation of ownership from control of the company. Ask students to consider what the practical implications of this feature are. How important do they think it is for the owners of a company to know about and influence the way that company is operated? What problems might this separation cause?
5. The United States is considered by some to be the quintessential example of a modern democracy. Historically, important political struggles have centered on winning the right to vote, for example, for former slaves and women. When a person in the United States is a convicted felon that person loses the right to vote, which is evidence that voting is the privilege of responsible citizens. So, how do we explain what has seemed to be a diminishing interest in voting over the past 30 to 40 years? Although there are some indications that this situation may be currently undergoing change, in past elections people who are older and who have more resources have been most likely to vote. How do social scientists explain this trend? Ask students about their own voting behavior. How important is voting to them? Discuss their reasoning.
6. An interesting recent trend is outsourcing from India to the United States. Indian firms specializing in high-tech product and software development are finding it cost effective to locate firms in the U.S. and reduce the amount of money spent on travel. In addition, working within the business context of the U.S. reduces the need for reworking of products to do misunderstandings. Use news databases to find articles in *The Christian Science Monitor* (April 2010), *The Washington Post* (May 2011), and other sources to develop a lecture on this recent phenomenon.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

V for Vendetta (132 minutes)

This film, based on a comic book series, explores the dynamics of a fictional, future, fascist British government. This film could provide a starting point for a discussion on deviance, social control, or collective behavior.

Television

Waging a Living (85 minutes)

This PBS special from P.O.V. makes a nice accompaniment to Ehrenreich's book, "Nickel and Dime." The show follows the day-to-day struggles of four low-wage workers. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/pov/pov2006/wagingaliving/>.

Affluenza (57 minutes)

This 1997 film looks at the impacts that consumerism and materialism have on our society, our families and our environment.

Documentaries

Zimbabwe: Shadows and Lies (60 minutes)

FRONTLINE/World goes undercover in Zimbabwe to reveal what has happened to a country once regarded as a beacon of democracy and prosperity in Africa. Available on the PBS website: <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/zimbabwe504/>.

Walmart: The High Cost of Low Prices (95 minutes)

This documentary about the world's largest retailer points out ways that Walmart is damaging our environment, our economy, our communities, our health and our citizens. While the video clearly has an agenda, it is very well done and most of the interviews are with current and past Walmart employees. <http://www.walmartmovie.com/>

The Persuaders (90 minutes)

This PBS Frontline special looks at the business of advertising and the shaky foundation of guesswork and assumption on which it stands. You can also watch the full program online. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/persuaders/>.

Granny D Goes to Washington (27 minutes)

This short (27 minute) documentary follows the story of 89-year old Doris Haddock as she walks across the continental United States to bring attention to campaign finance reform. More information can be found at: <http://www.grannyddoc.com/>.

Call It Democracy (85 minutes)

This bipartisan documentary critiques the Electoral College system by pointing out voting irregularities in the 2000 and 2004 elections. More information can be found at: <http://www.callitdemocracy.com/>.

Internet Clips

Clean Elections: Changing the Face of America (14 minutes)

This short film (narrated by Bill Moyers) about campaign finance reform highlights how the current system maintains political corruption. The film highlights real workable solutions that have already been adopted in some states and municipalities. It is available for viewing at: <http://www.publiccampaign.org/video>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Political scientists are interested to see how the Internet may affect the political process in the United States. One of the organizations that uses the Internet to establish a grassroots campaign to get more people politically involved is MoveOn.org, which labels its efforts as "Democracy in Action." Visit its website at <http://www.moveon.org/>. Review the site; what type of organization is MoveOn?
2. The two mainstream political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, also use the Internet to get their message out to citizens. Visit their websites at <http://www.democrats.org/> and <http://www.rnc.org/>. Evaluate these websites and answer these questions in a few short paragraphs. Which website do you think is more effective communicating its message; why? Your text book describes the parties as not being very different given their emphasis on electing candidates. Explore the two websites and write a brief statement of your opinion of how different or similar the two are. Use examples from the website to support your opinion.
3. One of the primary roles of any political process is the economic institution. See for yourself by going to <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/topics/business.html>. This federally sponsored website provides the latest economic indicators for the U.S. government, including business and the economy. Review the information on the site, then write a brief essay explaining why the economy and the political system are so intricately connected, using information from this website as examples.
4. Corporate crime is the term for unethical business practices that result in harm, or even death, for consumers or the general the public. Corporate crime is often difficult to prosecute because within complex bureaucracies it is hard to assign blame to any single individual. The Center for Corporate Policy has a section on Corporate Crime and Abuse. Visit their website at <http://www.corporatepolicy.org/issues/crime.htm> and review the examples of corporate crime that are currently being investigated. Judging by this website, what types of actions are considered corporate crime?

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press website includes an interactive feature showing how nine political groups feel about economic, foreign policy, social policy, and other issues. Students can take a quiz to see which group they are most similar to and how much they have in common politically with other Americans. <http://people-press.org/typology/quiz/?pass>
2. The official website for the documentary *The Corporation* has many resources available for free, including the complete transcript of the film, searchable by topic and participant name. On this site, look for the link the e-zine from the parent organization, *HelloCoolWorld.com*. The e-zine has back issues on a number of topics available. http://www.thecorporation.com/index.cfm?page_id=314
3. *The New York Times* has a searchable database of articles on a variety of topics. Here is the link to articles on the U.S. economy in *Times Topics*. The articles date back to 1980, and cover a wide array of economic issues. *Times Topics* could be used as a news source for the creation of exercises or assignments for students. http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/u/united_states_economy/index.html

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Authoritarianism (378)	Economy (371)	Political action committees (PACs) (385)
Authority (371)	Elitism (383)	Political institution (371)
Bourgeoisie (375)	False consciousness (375)	Power (371)
Capitalism (390)	Globalization (398)	Power elite (388)
Charismatic authority (371)	Government (374)	Primary sector (401)
Coercion (371)	Individualistic capitalism (395)	Proletariat (375)
Communitarian capitalism (395)	Interlocking directorates (398)	Rational-legal authority (372)
Conglomerate (398)	Interest group (384)	Secondary sector (401)
Contingent employees (404)	Monopoly (391)	Socialism (390)
Core tier (401)	Multinational corporations (398)	Super PACs (386)
Corporate welfare (398)	Nation-state (373)	Terrorism (378)
Corporation (397)	Nationalism (374)	Tertiary sector (401)
Dark money (386)	Oligopoly (391)	Totalitarianism (376)
Democracy (376)	Peripheral tier (402)	Traditional authority (372)
Downsizing (404)	Pluralism (383)	

FURTHER READING

Anderson, Benedict. 1983/2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

An historical look at the creation of national identity and nationalism through the print media. Newspapers permitted people in different geographic locations to be informed about the same events, and to share a sense of identity.

Christopher, Robert C. 1991. *Crashing the Gates: The De-Wasping of America's Power Elite*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

In this book, Christopher attempts to demonstrate that the power elite circles have now been breached and other groups besides white Anglo-Saxon Protestants are now attaining powerful positions.

Edelman, Murray. 1988. *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Edelman proposes that the political spectacle is a social construction of the media. The media affects politics by construction social problems, political leaders, and political enemies.

Granovetter, Mark, and Richard Swedberg, Eds. 2001. *The Sociology of Economic Life*. 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

This book of classic and contemporary readings provides an overview of the field of economic sociology, and an introduction to the dimensions of economic life. Included are examples of recent work on institutions, such as the stock exchange, that have historically been studied by economists, not sociologists.

Mills, C. Wright. 1999. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.

This book is a classic in sociological thinking, first published in 1956. Mills describes the organization of power in the United States, and coins the term “power elite” for the concentration of power among the heads of major institutions.

Parenti, Michael. 1992. *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

An analysis similar to Edelman, but from a conflict perspective which views the media as a tool of the elite to construct a reality favorable to elites.

Schor, Juliet B. 1992. *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure*. Basic Books.

An excellent examination of the working life of Americans and how capitalist productivity has resulted in less leisure time instead of more.

Skocpol, Theda. 1995. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

A social history of the development of social policy in the United States. Skocpol makes comparisons with Europe and historical material to explore why the U.S. has never developed a welfare-state to the same extent as Western European countries. The earliest broad-based social welfare programs in the U.S. were for Civil War veterans and their families, and the early women’s movement won some early protections for women and children—thus the title, protecting soldiers and mothers.

Woody, Bette. 1992. *Black Women in the Workplace: Impacts of Structural Change in the Economy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

This book focuses on black Americans, specifically women, at work. Their situation is viewed within the context of broad economic trends.

Chapter 14: Religion

Brief Chapter Outline

I. Religion, Science, and Sociology

- A. Religion and Science
- B. Religion and Sociology

II. Theoretical Perspectives

- A. Functionalism and Religion
- B. Conflict Theory and Religion
- C. Capitalism and the Protestant Ethic
- D. Gender and Religion
- E. An Evaluation
- F. Symbolic Interactionism and Religion

III. Religion: Structure and Practice

- A. Religious Organization
- B. Religiosity

IV. Religion in the United States

- A. The Development of Religion in America
- B. Secularization: Real or Apparent?
- C. Civil and Invisible Religion
- D. The Resurgence of Fundamentalism
- E. Islamic Fundamentalism
- F. Religious Movements in the United States
- G. Social Correlates of Religion

V. World Religions

- A. Eastern Religions: Hinduism and Buddhism
- B. Western Religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Explain the sociological meaning of religion.
2. Demonstrate the different views of religion taken by functionalists and conflict theorists.
3. Distinguish among the basic types of religious organization.
4. Discuss the meaning and nature of religiosity.
5. Define secularization, and describe its relationship to religiosity in the United States.
6. Differentiate between civil and invisible religion in America.
7. Describe the current resurgence of religious fundamentalism in Christianity and Islam.
8. Identify a wide variety of religious movements in America.
9. Discuss social class and politics as correlates of religion.
10. Compare and contrast five world religions.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. Religion, Science, and Sociology

A. *Religion and Science*—Science is based on observation, and religion is based on faith and the unobservable. Scientists who separate their scientific thinking and religious beliefs may not feel a conflict between the two. Religious fundamentalists who argue that the creationism of the Bible is scientifically valid have fueled a debate between scientific evolutionism and religious-based creationism. All societies have some form of religion, and there are questions that science will never be able to fully answer. Therefore, it is not likely that science will replace religion. Instead they will likely continue as separate modes of thought.

B. *Religion and Sociology*—In the nineteenth century, the early sociologists were interested in religion. They saw religion as the basis for social order and cultural variation. Auguste Comte went so far as to suggest sociology would become a type of religion. After that early interest, sociological concern with religion disappeared until after World War II.

Émile Durkheim defined religion as a set of beliefs and practices that are related to sacred things. He believed that all societies distinguished between the sacred, that which transcends human experience, and the profane, nonsacred aspects of life. The same object may be seen from different cultural perspectives as either sacred or profane, as is Temple Mount in Jerusalem. In addition, a particular sacred item may become profane, and vice versa, as illustrated by an icon like the bat Babe Ruth used to hit his home runs.

Sociologists focus on the social and cultural aspects of religion; they do not question the validity of any particular religion. Because religion involves a transcendent reality, a world beyond human observation, sociological study presents a challenge. Sociologists avoid the spiritual dimension of religion, and focus instead on the observable. Sociologists avoid theological issues by also avoiding any judgments about the validity of a religion. This makes it possible for a sociologist to retain his or her personal beliefs while studying religion.

II. Theoretical Perspectives

A. *Functionalism and Religion*—As early as 50,000 B.C. there is evidence that humans buried their dead, which is evidence of some type of religious beliefs. Archaeological evidence suggests that all societies have some type of religion. Durkheim suggested that the universality of religion was due to its function for society. According to Durkheim, religion developed as a means for people to reflect on themselves, a sort of worshiping of society and being reminded of having a shared past and future. Others have identified social functions of religion, including: 1) to legitimate social arrangements, 2) to encourage a sense of social unity, 3) to provide a sense of meaning, and 4) to promote a sense of belonging.

Legitimizing means justifying the status quo, or explaining why things are the way they are, including the existence of unequal relationships. Durkheim believed that religion was a representation of society, and that legitimizing was the central function of religion. Religion explains the nature of social life, and has been used to justify and explain racial and gender inequality. One of the most important functions of religion is to justify social arrangements. Durkheim believed that religion held societies together, and that without religion society would be chaotic. However, while religion promotes unity, it may also create divisions in society. Religion gives significance to day-to-day life by imbuing it with a sense of cosmic significance. People mark important occasions, such as births and deaths, with religious rituals. Religion provides a group identity, and for many people religion provides a sense of community. While other groups may serve the same function, the nature of religion gives it special significance.

B. *Conflict Theory and Religion*—Georg Friedrich Hegel believed that ideas and beliefs shaped social life; his critics argued the reverse, that the social structure determines ideas and beliefs. Karl Marx mediated between these positions. Marx believed that humans created religion, and then became alienated from it, treating it as if it had a reality beyond human control. Therefore, Marx argued, while humans have the power to change religion, they don't because they accept it as a force to which they must conform. According to Marx, religion justifies inequality and the position of the ruling class. If poverty and degradation are God's will, they must not be changed or mitigated. Similarly, according to Marx, the oppressed use religion to explain their existence and create hope for a better life after death. In this way, Marx believed religion served as a narcotic for the oppressed, making them numb to their situation. He believed if the oppressed would focus on the present, by turning away from the religion of the oppressor, they would be able to recognize their oppression and do something about it.

C. *Capitalism and the Protestant Ethic*—Unlike Marx who felt that religion impeded social change, Max Weber believed that religion could also encourage social change. He used the relationship between Protestantism and the

rise of capitalism to support this view. Weber questioned why capitalism had spread in northwestern Europe and America, but not in other parts of the world. According to Weber, under capitalism work became a moral obligation. In addition, he noted that for capitalism to grow, investment was more important than immediate consumption. Together these traits comprised the spirit of capitalism. Unlike other religions, some Protestant sects defined work in moral terms, and encouraged investment. In other words, some Protestants had values that encouraged the growth of capitalism; these values were termed the Protestant ethic.

According to Calvinism, a Puritan sect, a person's fate is predetermined by God at birth; some were chosen for salvation, and the majority were not. Calvinists believed that God identified the chosen with earthly rewards, so that the more successful one was the more likely one was to have been chosen. In addition, Calvinists believed that excessive consumption was immoral, and that the purpose of life was to glorify God through one's calling. Together, these characteristics of Calvinism created a situation in which capitalism could flourish. There is no evidence of any connection between Protestantism and capitalism today. Protestants do not value hard work any more than Catholics or Jews, for example. Capitalism flourished among Catholics in some parts of the world prior to the Protestant reformation. Weber did not argue that Protestantism caused the development of capitalism, only that it created a social environment conducive to its growth and development. In part, Weber was countering Marx' belief that the economic structure determined values and beliefs, by demonstrating that values and beliefs could have an impact on the economic structure of society.

- D. *Gender and Religion*—Conflict theorists note that religion has been a source of strife, even war, within and between societies. War is a visible religious-based conflict; less visible conflict is created by religious elites attempting to control a society or specific groups within society. Male domination of women is an example. Feminists argue that female subordination and inferiority is present in all the sacred texts of the major religions. Examples include Orthodox Jews thanking God daily for not being created a woman, and the Christian story of Adam and Even that explains female subservience to men. Despite the positive statements about women attributed to Jesus, the Old Testament has dominated the Christian view of gender. Many modern religious practices and organizations reflect the maintenance of patriarchy. Many major religious denominations prohibit the ordination of women. Even after ordination, women receive less pay and are assigned to smaller congregations.
- E. *An Evaluation*—Each of the views of religion and social change is viable under different conditions. According to Meredith McGuire, the relationship between religion and social change depends on factors such as 1) the quality of religious beliefs and practices existing in a society, 2) dominant ways of thinking in a culture, 3) the social location of religion within a larger society, and 4) the internal structure of religious organizations and movements. When religion is used as a critical standard against which the current society is measured, it may result in promoting change. In Latin America, for example, religion is a strong network throughout society, and the Catholic Church has played an important role in creating social change. The relationship of religion to social change is quite variable.
- F. *Symbolic Interactionism and Religion*—Symbolic interactionism's relationship to religion was described by Peter Berger in *The Sacred Canopy*. Berger sees religion as the source of traditions that provide symbolic meanings with which to cover the secular world. The meanings indicate the difference between sacred and profane, and guide social interaction. Religious meanings offer relief in times of extreme insecurity and uncertainty. Suicidal behavior is given meaning as reward after life; suffering endured is meaningful as an act of commitment and faith. Social change in society also influences religious beliefs and rituals. With an increase in scientific thinking came diminished belief in witches as the source of evil, and freed the heretics who were guilty of believing the earth orbited the sun. As another example, birth control is widely practiced, even among Catholics, and it is possible to imagine church acceptance at some point in the future.

III. Religion: Structure and Practice

- A. *Religious Organization*—The major religious faiths in the world are Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Most people practice their religion through a religious organization. Sociologists have identified four types of religious organization: church, denomination, sect, and cult. In a sociological context, church refers to a religious organization to which all members of a society belong. This occurs when religion and the state are intertwined as was the case of the Anglican church in the 16th-century England of King Henry the VIII. A denomination is one of several religious organizations that a society accepts as legitimate. Membership is voluntary, and denominations may compete for members. A denomination generally accepts, but may also be in opposition to, the norms and values of the secular society. When members of an existing denomination break away and create their own group, generally to protect valuable beliefs and traditions, this is called a sect.

Some sects actually create separate communities. The Jamestown Pilgrims and the Amish are examples of sects. A cult's beliefs are not drawn from any existing religion in society. Cults are groups with new religious beliefs, and are often associated with extreme behavior, such as the mass suicide of the Heaven's Gate cult. However, there are less sensational cults, such as Scientology. Cults in the United States that share a number of traits: rejection of secular ways, an authoritarian organizational structure, strict discipline, rigidity in thinking, a belief in the group's moral superiority, discouragement of individualism, and a conviction that they alone have the truth and wisdom.

- B. *Religiosity*—Religiosity is a concept that has been extensively explored by Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark. It refers to the ways in which people express their religious interests and convictions. Glock and Stark identified five dimensions of religiosity: belief, ritual, intellectual, experience, and consequences. Belief is an idea that a person holds to be true. Ritual is a religious practice, private or public, that one is expected to perform. The intellectual dimension is the ways in which a person seeks to be informed about their faith, and experience refers to the feelings that are attached to religious expression. Consequences are the decisions and commitments people make as a result of religious beliefs, rituals, knowledge, or experiences. Consequences may be social or personal. Although these dimensions are interrelated, they may also operation independent of each other.

IV. Religion in the United States

- A. *The Development of Religion in America*—There was a religious aspect to the colonization of America, and Americans continue to view the history of the country as having religious significance. Enlightenment thinking, which shaped the Declaration of Independence, also caused an examination of religion and its relationship to the state. The framers of the Constitution were against any mixing of church and state, and this separation has become a cornerstone of American society. Nonetheless, many in the United States have experienced religious persecution.

- B. *Secularization: Real or Apparent?*—In most places, an increase in industrialization and wealth of a nation is associated with a decline in religiosity. This has not been the case in the United States. Secularization is a process through which the sacred loses its influence in society. As secularization progresses, institutions shed their religious content, and religion becomes a separate social institution, as opposed to preindustrial society in which religion is inseparable from other aspects of society.

There is some evidence of a decrease in religiosity in the United States. The percentage of Americans stating that religion is very important in their lives decreased from 75 percent in 1952 to 53 percent in 2016. According to the Princeton Religion Index religiosity has declined since the 1940s. In 1957, just 14 percent said religion was losing influence in American life, compared with 61 percent in 2007. “Religiously unaffiliated” is now the third largest religious group in the country; 23 percent claim no preference for a religious faith, with young adults more likely in this category than people over the age of 70. A recent survey by Putnam and Campbell (2010) links decreased religiosity with the politicalization of religion. Younger people are more moderate politically, and so less likely to align themselves with conservative religious fundamentalists.

The United States is still unusually religious when compared with other industrialized countries; Putnam and Campbell (2010) find Americans slightly more religious than Iranians, even. Six out of 10 people state a specific religious affiliation, and half of these claim to be active in their congregations. Only 22 percent say they attend religious services infrequently or never, and just over half claim to attend services regularly. Forty-one percent of unaffiliated Americans say religion is somewhat important in their lives, and 89 percent believe in God or a universal spirit, and 75 percent attend religious services at least a few times annually. Theodore Caplow and his associates (1983) claim that religion is a buffer against the demands of the state. According to Gordon Gallup, Americans seek spiritual support because of the threat of nuclear war, loneliness, and disenchantment with society, which is perceived to be without rules. Other sociologists add that religion helps Americans deal with grief, misery, poverty, hopelessness, hunger, fear of the unknown, and a search for meaning beyond life in this world.

Weber, Marx, and Durkheim were observing major trends in human society, not short-term changes, when they noted that secularization accompanied the shift to industrial society. Secularization is contributing to a mixing of the sacred and the profane. Religious leaders are involved in community affairs, social movements, and contemporary social problems such as drug abuse, hunger, and homelessness. Places of worship have become more secular. New musical instruments are part of services, and televangelists use marketing to attract contributions. Since polls rely on self-reported data, some sociologists believe that reports of church attendance may be inflated. They claim actual rates of attendance are about half of the rate that is reported. Robert Wuthnow argues that secularization, like religiosity, is a process that fluctuates along with other aspects of society.

C. *Civil and Invisible Religion*—Civil religion is a public religion expressing a strong tie between a deity and a culture; it is broad enough to encompass almost the entire nation. Robert N. Bellah describes civil religion as comprised of a set of elements, not specific to any particular faith, that are widely shared in common and that provide a religious dimension to American life, including the political institution. Civil religion is expressed in speeches, on currency, in the pledge of boy scouts, and the pledge of allegiance. In the 1980s, conservative evangelical churches successfully made a connection between God and nationalism, which had a significant impact on the sustained expression of civil religion.

According to Thomas Luckmann, invisible religion is a private religion that is substituted for formal religious organizations, practices, and beliefs. A study of households in Baton Rouge found that two-thirds of the respondents relied on humanistic strategies to help them cope with the concerns of every day life. Strategies included meditation and reflection, informal discussion groups, and participation in civic organizations. People who do not ordinarily practice a religion will arrange for religious ceremonies for life events such as birth, marriage, and death.

D. *The Resurgence of Fundamentalism*—Since the late 1960s, American Protestant denominations such as Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans, have lost membership while the more conservative contemporary fundamentalist denominations have grown. There are fundamentalists in all Protestant organizations. About one-half of Protestants identify themselves as born again or evangelical Christians. Fundamentalists are found among Catholics, Jews, and Mormons; they are not exclusively Protestant. Fundamentalism rejects secularization and fosters adherence to traditional beliefs, rituals, and doctrines. Fundamentalism originated in the nineteenth century and developed around concern for the spread of secularization as science seemed to challenge the Bible and religion was losing control of social institutions. In addition, fundamentalists rejected the movement away from traditional Christianity and toward social service. Contemporary Protestant fundamentalists believe in the literal truth of the Scriptures, being “born again” through Jesus Christ, the responsibility to give witness to God, the presence of Satan as a force of evil, and the destruction of the world prior to the return of the Messiah.

Evangelical is often used as a synonym for fundamentalist, but fundamentalists are generally more rigid and less accommodating than evangelicals who may be politically to the right, center, and even some to the left. Other groups, such as Neo-Pentecostals, share the beliefs of fundamentalists but have their own unique rituals. For Neo-Pentecostals one of these is speaking in tongues, or glossolalia. The reasons for a resurgence of fundamentalism are the desire for an anchor in a world that feels out of control, and the need for a sense of community amid the weakening of community and family ties. Whereas mainline denominations are more accommodating to secular life, fundamentalists provide a more purely sacred environment. The electronic church, as part of mass media, has played a large role in the promotion of fundamentalism.

E. *Islamic Fundamentalism*—The negative connotations of fundamentalism generally, and the association of Islam with terrorism have led to negative characterizations of Islamic fundamentalism, despite the meaning of Islam being a religion of peace through submission to God. Just as not all Christians are fundamentalists, not all Muslims are fundamentalists. Muslims generally support education and political and social equality for women, while Islamic fundamentalists reject these things and other aspects of Western culture as corrupt. Failure to distinguish between radical Islam, Islamic fundamentalism, and Islam generally has led to Islamophobia, a fear of all Muslims based on negative stereotypes. The association of Islam with terrorism has led to Muslims being judged by their physical appearance, religious and cultural beliefs. Islamophobia has increased since September 11, 2001, and takes the form of hate speech, physical assaults, discrimination, and racism.

Islamophobia is based, in part, on the misunderstanding of the concept of *Jihad*, which simply translates into struggle but has been interpreted as meaning “holy war.” For most Muslims *jihad* refers to the daily struggle to be faithful to moral and religious beliefs. Political *jihad* may be directed at Jews, Christians, or other Muslims. Muslims who follow a religious *jihad* abhor the violence of the political *jihadists* as much as non-Muslims do. Islamic fundamentalism has grown in response to frustration with a perceived lack of concern on the part of Westerners and moderate Islamists for the economic and cultural struggles, as well as the struggle of the Muslim world against Western imperialism. Islamic fundamentalists believe that only a return to adherence to traditional Islamic principles will restore political, economic, religious, and cultural justice to the Muslim world.

F. *Religious Movements in the United States*—A wide variety of religious movements have emerged alongside fundamentalism in the U.S. Cults are just one example of these religiously and politically motivated movements. The Raëlians are a religious cult that in 2003 claimed to have cloned the first human baby, named Eve. The founder of the group, a French auto racer (Raël), had a messianic vision while on an alien spaceship on a trip to another planet whose inhabitants cloned themselves over 25,000 years ago. Raël sees cloning as a path to achieving eternal life.

The Unification Church was founded by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, a Korean industrialist turned prophet-minister-messiah-newspaper publisher. His followers are often referred to as Moonies. The Unification Church preaches a religion that is Protestant and anti-communist. Interesting sociological characteristics of the Unification Church are the total conformity of the members and a rigidly conservative morality. As the Unification Church has grown it has come to resemble a denomination, with its own seminary and faculty belonging to professional societies. The church attracted media attention when parents of converts claimed their children were brainwashed, and more recently for financial reasons. The Unification Church control more than \$10 billion in assets around the world, including an automobile plant in Asia, the *Washington Times*, and pharmaceutical companies.

Scientology was inspired by the late science fiction writer, L. Ron Hubbard, who claimed to have discovered therapeutic technique of Dianetics. Scientology also involves a system of metaphysical beliefs, including reincarnation, and the ability to perform physical and mental healing. Scientology has little ritual and demands complete conformity with its doctrine.

Neopaganism is perhaps the least related to Christianity. The term pagan has been used for centuries by Jews, Muslims, and Christians to refer to non-believers. Neo-pagans believe in pre-Christian Gods and Goddesses, and define themselves as nature-worshippers. Neo-paganism does not have any centralized authority, but groups do tend to share practices such as shamanism, magic, and environmental consciousness.

These new religions resemble old ones in many ways; for example, they demand conformity, self-denial, and separation from family and friends who cannot be converted. The political activities of fundamentalists like Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell have parallels in American history, and nor are cults new. The suicide-murders of members of the People's Temple, Jim Jones's semi-religious colony in Guyana in 1978, caused people to wonder why anyone would join this type of organization. Members of the People's Temple were young and fairly well-educated; Jones was respected by some in the California political establishment.

According to some, cults are a response to a value crisis or normative breakdown in industrialized society. They provide a rigid truth in the face of moral ambiguity. Glock and Bellah argue that interest in cults is a reaction to the emphasis on self-interest found in mainline denominations of American Protestantism. Interest in cults is geared toward socialism and mysticism, which are both incompatible with American Protestantism. Harvey Cox identifies four seductive features of cults: 1) they provide a supportive community for those seeking to overcome isolation and loneliness; 2) they emphasize immediate experience and emotional gratification over deliberation and rational argument; 3) a firm authority structure and simple rules provide converts with something in which to believe; and 4) cults appear to offer naturalness and authenticity in an artificial world.

- G. *Social Correlates of Religion*—Seventy-seven percent of Americans claim some religious affiliation. Despite the more than 300 different denominations and sects in the U.S., Americans are largely Christian (71 percent) and are concentrated in a few major religious groups: Evangelical Protestant (25 percent), Mainline Protestant (15 percent), and Catholic (21 percent). The remainder of Americans adheres either to a non-Christian faith (5.9 percent) or are unaffiliated (23 percent). In general, Presbyterians, Episcopalian, and Jews have more education and income than Catholics, Methodists, and Lutherans. Baptists tend to have the lowest social class, as determined by income and education. Members tend to select congregations with socioeconomic characteristics similar to their own. Catholics and Lutherans were later immigrants than Presbyterians and Episcopalians, generally speaking. Research in the 1950s and 1960s found high levels of religiosity at the extremes of social class, with different forms of expression. Those in the upper classes tend to express religiosity through church membership, attending services, and observing rituals. Those in the lower classes are more likely to pray privately and have emotional religious experiences. Some of the relationship between religion and politics is due to social class. Jews are most associated with the Democratic party, followed by Catholics, and then Protestants. Episcopalians and Presbyterians are more likely to be Republicans, although they are less socially conservative than Baptists who are more likely to be Democrats. The 2016 election followed the same pattern: white Protestants overwhelmingly voted Republican, while religiously unaffiliated voters supported Democrats. Catholics, while generally Democrat, voted more Republican than usual. White evangelical Christians also tended to vote Republican.

V. World Religions

Among the more than 4000 religions in the world, by convention three Western religions and two major Eastern religions have been considered world religions. Today, the designations Eastern and Western are more descriptive of beliefs than the geographical location of adherents.

A. *Eastern Religions: Hinduism and Buddhism*—Hinduism is the oldest of the world religions, having originated more than 2000 years ago in India. Hinduism is unique in that it does not have a specific founder, and it is very open to other religious traditions. Other religions are seen as inadequate, not wrong, so that Hindus may practice other religions in addition to Hinduism. Hinduism is polytheistic, and practitioners may worship different Gods or Goddesses at different times in their lives. The belief in reincarnation leads to an understanding of current experience as the product of past decisions, and as a determinant of future conditions. Hindu beliefs are central in everyday life, and there are no special religious holidays or special days of worship. Most of today's 1.1 billion Hindus live in South Asia; India's population is 80 percent Hindu.

Buddhism emerged in India in the 6th century B.C.E. as an alternative form of Hinduism. The founder of Buddhism, Siddhartha Guatama, was the son of a king who was led to witness the contrast between his life of beauty and life, and the miserable conditions of the poor, as well as the peaceful meditative life of monks. He resolved to practice meditation until he received enlightenment, and was called Buddha (Enlightened One). He preached living a life of balance; neither extreme self-negation nor extreme self-indulgence. The Buddha taught that all could achieve enlightenment, regardless of sex or caste, and that one should avoid lying, stealing, or killing, as well as improper sex and intoxication. Enlightenment is an individual state, and Buddha believed that Gods and Goddesses were mortal. Buddhism also includes the belief in reincarnation; the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth ends when one achieves enlightenment. Buddha did not seek to establish a new religion. The focus of Buddhism is service to and respect for others. There are about 500 million Buddhists today, concentrated in the Far East and East Asia, from Sri Lanka to Japan.

B. *Western Religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*—In the 18th century B.C. E., Abraham and his wife Sarah were migrating from what is now Iraq to Israel. They were forced by famine to migrate to Egypt where they were enslaved. Moses, a Jew living in the house of the Pharaoh, received a directive from the clan God of his ancestors to free the Jews. After liberation, while wandering in the desert, Moses was given the Ten Commandments, and the clan God became a single God. Jews obey God's commandments and receive God's blessing in return. Judaism is the religion of God's laws in the Scriptures (Torah). The synagogue is anywhere ten or more adult males congregate, generally led by a Rabbi or scholar of the Torah. Unlike the other religions of the time, Judaism is a written religion. Because of their own history of slavery and impoverishment, the Jewish moral principles are directed toward the disadvantaged, especially. Ritual is more important than doctrine; Jews may subscribe to a variety of beliefs. Practices such as dietary restrictions, and the observance of high holidays and the Sabbath are binding within Judaism. Holidays reflect Jewish history as agriculturalists, their history of oppression by Egypt, and liberation by God. Today there are about 13 million Jews, the majority of whom live in Israel, the U.S., and Eastern Europe. Eighty percent of the world's Jews live in the U.S. and Israel. Islam and Christianity both grew out of Judaism.

Christianity and Judaism are similar in a number of ways. They are both monotheistic and worship the same God. They share the Old Testament, and trace their ancestry to Abraham. The Jews expected a messiah, but did not recognize Jesus, who founded Christianity, as the Messiah. Jesus traveled the area of the Mediterranean, preaching love and forgiveness, performing miracles, and foretelling his death as the will of God. On judgment day, those who believe in Jesus will be resurrected and have everlasting life. The Christian's new covenant was the promise of eternal life to those who accepted Jesus as the son of God and their savior. The different covenants represent the differences in religions. Jews had only to be born into a Jewish community to be considered God's chosen people. Anyone who believed in Jesus could be Christian, and they had a duty to recruit new members. Within Christianity, belief is more important than ritual. Church membership and worship are not required to enter heaven. Because of its openness, Christianity is the world's largest religion, with 2.3 billion adherents all over the globe. There are 35 thousand denominations in 238 countries.

Islam also shares the ancestry of Abraham, is also monotheistic, and also worships the same all powerful, yet merciful God. Islam was founded by the prophet Muhammad who received his first revelation from God in 610 C. E. A third covenant was made between Muslims and God. All people were to submit to God and become members of the Islamic community, under Islamic rule. The belief was that Jews and Christians had corrupted their original revelations from God. The word of God, as revealed to Muhammad, is written in the Koran. All Muslims subscribe to the five pillars of Islam: declaration of faith in God and his prophet Muhammad, a commitment to prayer five times a day, charity in the form of a tithe or tax to support those less fortunate, keeping

the fast of Ramadan to learn to avoid temptation and compassion for others; and a trip to Mecca. Jihad is sometimes referred to as the sixth pillar of Islam. There are 1.8 billion Muslims in the world today, expected to reach 2.2 billion by 2030. Most people, especially Americans, think that nearly all Muslims live in the Middle East or North Africa when, in fact, almost two-thirds (62 percent) of Muslims reside in the Asia-Pacific region. Actually, more Muslims live in India and Pakistan (344 million) than in all of the Middle East-North Africa area (317 million).

Class Activities

1. As a small group discussion, or engaging the entire class, ask students to consider the functions of religion and whether or not these are necessary for a healthy society. If not, why is religion so pervasive? If so, is it possible for these functions to be fulfilled within a secular society? Is there something that takes the place of religious belief?
2. Show the film *Leap of Faith*, starring Steve Martin, or clips, during class. Alternately, include this film in a list of films for students to view outside of class. Use this as an illustration of the importance of socially constructed aspects of religion. In other words, if people are convinced of the reality of something, then it can have very real consequences.
3. As a small group exercise, or an in-class writing exercise, ask students to reflect on their own experience with religion. As the text suggests, parents are generally the first to introduce their children to religious beliefs. Ask students to recall their early experiences with religion. What messages did they receive about the importance of religion in their lives? Working with their early experiences, ask students if they can apply some of the functions of religion. Were they socialized into religious tolerance; how were they encouraged to look at other religions, or were they?
4. Religious organizations may be important agents of socialization. This probably explains why baby boomer parents, for example, returned to attending church services in order to expose their children to religious beliefs. This suggests that at least some parents believe that their children will benefit from being part of a religious organization. Applying both a functional and conflict perspective, describe the socialization process; what do children acquire through religion?
5. Divide the class into groups and ask all of the groups to spend a few minutes listing all the ways they can think of that religion is incorporated into civil society in the United States. Organize a class debate. Ask half of the groups to make a list of arguments defending these practices of civil religion. The other groups should make a list of arguments against the practice of civil religion. As part of this debate, ask students to consider whether civil religion is a violation of the principle of separation of church and state; why or why not?

Teaching Suggestions

1. Create an assignment that presents the opportunity for students to explore how secular events may fulfill some of the same functions as religious rituals. Offer the students an opportunity to attend and observe a religious ritual of their choice. This may be related to a traditional religious group such as a church (maybe a church they already belong to), or something more experimental. Alternately, they may elect to attend a secular ritual (such as a graduation ceremony, for example) or a civil religious function. Ask the students to analyze the service or event from a conflict and a functionalist perspective. Students should list and describe how what they observed may fulfill any of the functions of religion asserted by the functionalist perspective. Then ask them to consider how the service or event may have included elements that can be viewed as perpetuating class inequality or otherwise supporting the interests of the status quo or those with the most power in society.
2. Discuss Durkheim's concept of religion as a means for society to worship itself. Explain how symbolic interactionists may explore how meaning is constructed through social interaction. Then ask the students if the concept of religion as a social construction is offensive to them, and discuss why or why not. Explain that some students interpret this idea as an indication that sociology is stating absolutely that there is no reality to the beliefs many people hold. Take this opportunity to explain the approach of the scientific method to religion. Basically, sociology is not asserting that there is no reality to religious belief systems, but that science is incapable of studying that which we cannot observe. We can, however, observe and discuss the social factors related to religion and the effects of religious belief and participation on the lives of its adherents.

3. Use the information here to create a lecture discussing how the American religious landscape came to be the way it is. Using the arguments of Roger Finke and Rodney Stark (1993) and Nathan Hatch (1991), explain how the colonial mainline (Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches) lost the competition for members to the more conservative upstart sects (Baptists and Methodists).

During the colonial period, there were only three major players on the religious landscape. They were all what we call “mainline” or liberal Protestant churches. They were Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. From the colonial period until the mid-1960s, these churches were growing numerically and thought they were healthy. During the mid-1960s, they began to decline (or at least plateau) numerically. Some theorized as to whether the social factors present in the 1960s contributed to a decline in the number of traditional worshippers. In their book, *The Churching of America*, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark demonstrate how the decline of mainline Protestant churches actually began much earlier than the 1960s, immediately following the American Revolution when public financial support of churches was withdrawn. They termed this religious deregulation.

Until religious deregulation, the colonial mainline churches had little competition and a stable membership. What happened due to religious deregulation, which began the decline of the mainline? The answer lies in the coming of the new sects: Baptists and Methodists. According to Finke and Stark, religious deregulation created a competitive religious marketplace in which groups had to compete for members and resources. Evangelical groups like the Baptists and the Methodists were consistently trying to “convert” people. This is a built-in mechanism for recruiting in a competitive marketplace.

The mainline churches relied on an educated clergy. This placed them at a disadvantage for several reasons. Higher standards for any position decrease the number of people eligible to fill that position (see credentialism in Chapter 13 on Education). This limits the resources available for expansion and is an important reason the mainline denominations never made it out to the frontier. Also, an educated clergy meant needing more money to pay them. This left fewer financial resources to work with. Meanwhile, the new sects relied on circuit riders and farmer preachers to conduct their ministerial work. They could pay less (or not at all) and they had a nearly unending pool of qualified men to fill their pulpits.

According to Nathan Hatch, there are four additional reasons for the success of the new conservative sects. The values expressed in these practices were consistent with dominant American values at the time, while maintaining strong boundaries between members and outsiders (an example of in-groups and out-groups from Chapter 6, Groups and Formal Organizations). These practices are:

Individualization of conscience—the upstart sects promoted the idea that each individual was responsible before God. To this day, many Baptist groups refer to this belief as the “priesthood of the believer.”

Inversion of authority—the upstart sects operated in a democratic way, with decision making being conducted by the people at the local level, not by bishops in a hierarchical authority structure.

Vernacular preaching—because the preachers had relatively the same level of education as the parishioners, the language used in preaching was language the ordinary churchgoer could understand. In contrast, the seminary graduates in the mainline churches often had little to say to which the person in the pew could relate.

Strong claims to ultimate truth—since religion is still in the business of providing a sense of meaning related to the sacred, strong unchanging beliefs can bolster the confidence of the members in a group’s claims. The upstart sects believed they had the correct beliefs and were not willing to accommodate changes to their stands.

One might explain the rise of the new sects by referring to two primary functions of religion: meaning and belonging. They appeared to provide this well and remain strong in these areas today. This is one reason that conservative religious groups are still more successful than others at recruiting and retaining members.

References

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Hatch, Nathan O. 1991. *The democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

4. When Americans think of religion, they almost always think in terms of the dominant faiths, or World Religions. However, there are innumerable religious faiths in the world, from aboriginal beliefs to Satanism. The following is a brief description of some of the less well-known religions.

Primitive religions—Primitive religion is the beliefs and practices of people who lack writing and have a simple, material culture. Apparently, it has existed since the beginnings of mankind. It is the religion of man without

divine guidance, trying to make his peace with the terrifying and mysterious powers of nature. It can be said that primitive man lays bare the basic character of all men because he is stripped of the material benefits that often mask our need for God.

Probably most of the human race through the ages has adhered to primitive religion. It is still widely practiced today in its pure form among preliterate peoples; in addition, many members of major religions (including Christianity) partake of primitive thought and practice to varying degrees.

In the West, there is now a great interest in primitive religion. Many think that modern secular man needs to recover primitive man's participation in the cycles of nature as well as his sense of the sacred. Because primitive religion has developed over every continent among peoples who have no contact with each other, it is amazing that many basic similarities exist among primitive religions.

Satanism—There are probably dozens of different religious belief systems and practices that have been called "Satanism." Depending upon the precise meaning given to the word, the total number of Satanists in the world can be anything from a few thousand to four billion individuals. Dialogue on the topic is almost impossible because there is such variability in the meaning of "Satanism" and "Satanist."

Most religious historians, mainline Christians, liberal Christians, etc., view Satanism as Satanists themselves do: as a very small religious group that is unrelated to any other faith. There are perhaps ten thousand Satanists in North America. By far the largest satanic organization is the Church of Satan. Accurate membership numbers are difficult to estimate. The terms "Satanist" and "Satanism" should be used only to refer to religions that have some direct involvement with Satan in some form. Thus a "Satanist" is one who either:

- *Worships the Christian devil.* Although the Christian Churches taught during the Renaissance that devil worshipers were very common, such individuals were in fact extremely rare, and remain so. The very few who do exist appear to be solitary practitioners; they do not appear to have formed an organization.
- *Accepts Satan as a pre-Christian life-principle concept worth emulating.* These are religious Satanists, who follow a number of religious traditions, of which the largest by far is the Church of Satan.

Wicca—Depending upon how you look at Wicca, it is either one of the newest or one of the oldest religions in the world:

- Wicca is a recently created, Neopagan religion. The various branches of Wicca can be traced back to Gardnerian Witchcraft, which was founded in the United Kingdom during the late 1940s.
- Wicca is based on the symbols, seasonal days of celebration, beliefs, and deities of ancient Celtic society. Added to this material were Masonic and ceremonial magical components from recent centuries. In this respect, it is a religion whose roots go back almost three millennia to the formation of Celtic society circa 800 BC.

A follower of Wicca is called a Wiccan. Wicca and other Neopagan religions are currently experiencing a rapid growth in the United States, Canada, and Europe. This is seen particularly among some teenagers, who are rejecting what they feel is the autocracy, paternalism, sexism, homophobia, and insensitivity to the environment that forms part of some more traditional religions. Many North Americans of European descent, who are keen to discover their ancestral heritage, are also attracted to this religion.

Depending upon one's point of view, Wicca can be considered a monotheistic, duotheistic, polytheistic, or atheistic religion:

- *Wicca is monotheistic:* Some Wiccans recognize a single supreme being, sometimes called "The All" or "The One." The Goddess and God are viewed as the female and male aspects of this single deity.
- *Wicca is duotheistic (rarely as bitheistic):* Wiccans often worship a female Goddess and a male God, often called the Lady and Lord.
- *Wicca is polytheistic:* Wiccans recognize the existence of many ancient Gods and Goddesses, including Pan, Diana, Dionysius, Fergus, etc.
- *Wicca is atheistic:* Some Wiccans view the God and Goddess as symbols, not living entities. Depending upon which definition of the term "Atheist" that you adopt, these Wiccans may be considered Atheists.

Reference

Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance, 2008. <http://www.religioustolerance.org/>.

- As an activity outside of class, ask students to conduct research into a specific cult. Their research does not need to be extensive, but they should be able to describe the basic tenets of the cult's faith, and perhaps describe the characteristics of cult members. Working as a class, or in small groups, compare and contrast the beliefs of the various cults.

According to sociologists of religion, cults attract followers for a number of reasons. As described above, some believe cults emerge as a response to a value crisis or a perceived breakdown of the norms and values of society. Because of their emphasis on conformity and authority, cults may provide structure and definitive truths in a society that some see as slipping into complete relativism.

After comparing the characteristics of cults investigated by students, compare these to the features described by Cox as the attractive aspects of cults:

- they provide a supportive community for those seeking to overcome isolation and loneliness;
- they emphasize immediate experience and emotional gratification over deliberation and rational argument;
- a firm authority structure and simple rules provide converts with something in which to believe; and
- cults appear to offer naturalness and authenticity in an artificial world.

Ask students how well these characteristics fit the particular beliefs systems of the cults they have investigated.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Documentaries

Jesus Camp (84 minutes)

This even-handed documentary with very little narration looks at the children and families that attend a Pentecostal summer camp that encourages children to practice their "prophetic gifts."

INTERNET EXERCISES

- Visit the website Religious Tolerance.org and explore the sections on Christianity. The site lists various definitions of Christian, and states that this section often elicits a lot of angry email. See for yourself: <http://www.religioustolerance.org/>. Why would any of these definitions anger some Christians? How do you respond to these definitions?
- The Hartford Institute for Religion Research conducts research on many different aspects of religion. Their website describes their work as "gathering reliable information about what is happening in religious life today." There is a complete section on the sociology of religion. Explore the website and from the information you find, generate a description of "religious life today" in the United States: <http://hrr.hartsem.edu/index.html>.
- RainbowBaptists.org is the website for the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists (AWAB). This organization is made up of groups, churches, and individuals who are openly affirming of all people, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Visit their website, and explore the link to Bible studies. In this section, there are various perspectives on how the Bible treats homosexuality. Report your findings to the class: <http://www.rainbowbaptists.org/>.
- According to its website, The Pew Research Center is "a nonpartisan 'fact tank' that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. It does not take positions on policy issues." One of the projects of the center is The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. Visit this website for a wealth of information about religious trends and attitudes toward many social issues. The Forum on Religion page has a listing of the "top religion headlines." Explore these; based on the listing, what seem to be the most immediate concerns of Americans in regard to religion? <http://pewforum.org/>

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The National Congregations Study (NCS) is a study based on interviews with the leaders or directors of randomly selected congregations in the U.S. The website for the NCS explains the methodology used, and includes data from the first two waves of the research. The site permits the user to answer simple questions using the available data. In addition, there are links to a blog maintained by the primary investigator, Mark Chaves, as well as other research articles. <http://www.soc.duke.edu/natcong/index.html>
2. The Quakers, or Religious Society of Friends, is a unique religious group in that there is no set of religious teachings or principles that all must subscribe to or profess. Quakers are diverse (as are members of any religious organization) but share the belief in the inherent value or worth of each individual. They tend to emphasize simplicity, pacifism and the internal spiritual world of all people, and the experience of God in different ways. The website for the Religious Society of Friends is full of information, links to articles and blogs, events, and links to regional organizations. <http://www.quaker.org/>
3. Gallup surveys of religiosity throughout the world find that level of religiosity is generally associated with level of economic development and economic well-being. See the summary of these 2009 surveys, that places religiosity within the U.S. in the context of the rest of the world. Gallup is a good source of national and international data on many different topics.
<http://www.gallup.com/poll/142727/religiosity-highest-world-poorest-nations.aspx>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Civil religion (427)	Invisible religion (428)	Sacred (411)
Cult (420)	Profane (411)	Sect (419)
Denomination (419)	Protestant ethic (415)	Secularization (422)
Ecclesia (419)	Religion (411)	Spirit of capitalism (415)
Fundamentalism (429)	Religiosity (420)	Symbolic interactionism (417)

FURTHER READING

Bellah, Robert Neely. 1992. *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bellah explores the history and development of civil religion in America. He analyzes the mythology related to Americans understanding of themselves as a religious people. Bellah states that his hope that by understanding the past, Americans may restore a commitment to the common good in the present.

Berger, Peter L. 1990. *The Sacred Canopy*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.

Berger presents a basic theory of the function of religion in society, stating that religion functions to protect society from anomie.

Chaves, Mark. 2004. *Congregations in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

A report of some of the more striking findings of the first wave of the National Congregations Survey of 1236 congregations, completed in 1998. Chaves is the principle investigator. Some of his findings include the fact that most congregations are quite small and lack significant resources. The type of service work must conduct is fleeting and does not maintain contact with any population for any length of time.

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 1993. *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners and losers in our religious economy*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Analyzes the growth of conservative sectarian religion and the decline of the mainline through a market-oriented approach.

Frankl, Razelle. 1986. *Televangelism: The Marketing of Popular Religion*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Frankl traces the roots and history of televangelism in the United States. She makes the connection between televangelism and entrepreneurship, and explores the political and commercial importance of the electronic church.

Hoge, Dean R., Benton Johnson, and Donald A. Luidens. 1994. *Vanishing Boundaries: The Religion of Mainline Protestant Baby Boomers*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press.

An analysis of the baby boomers among mainline Protestantism. Views the religion of the baby boomers in the context of mainline decline.

Lenski, Gerhard. 1977. *The Religious Factor*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

A very important classic empirical study of the relationship between religion and economics, politics, family, education, and science.

Putnam, Robert D., and David E. Campbell. 2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

The authors trace trends in American religiosity through the declines of the 1960s and a resurgence during the 1970s and 1980s. In recent decades, there has been a decrease in religious commitment overall, yet the authors find continued high levels of religiosity overall. The book addresses the politicization of religion within the U.S.

Shupe, Anson, and Jeffrey K. Hadden. 1988. *Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

An analysis of how conservative religion has used the media to exert power in the political arena.

Chapter 15: Healthcare and Aging

Brief Chapter Outline

I. Healthcare as a Social Institution

- A. Healthcare and Society
- B. The Nature of the Healthcare System

II. Theoretical Perspectives and the Healthcare System

- A. Functionalism
- B. Conflict Theory
- C. Symbolic Interactionism
- D. Sociological Views of Disability

III. Global Healthcare

- A. Healthcare in the Developed World
- B. Healthcare in the Developing World

IV. Healthcare Reform in the United States

- A. The Need for Healthcare Reform
- B. Healthcare Reform Options
- C. The Healthcare Reform Road Taken

V. The Graying of America

- A. A Global Context
- B. Aging in the United States

VI. Age Stratification

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Define the concept of a healthcare system, and identify its major components.
2. Apply functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism to the healthcare system in the United States.
3. Compare healthcare performance within developing countries and between developed and developing countries.
4. Discuss current healthcare reform in the United States.
5. Describe the aging of the world's population.
6. Discuss the graying of America.
7. Distinguish between age stratification and ageism.
8. Summarize the relationship between healthcare and aging in the United States.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. Healthcare as a Social Institution

- A. *Healthcare and Society*—Healthcare is an important institution in all societies and exists within a cultural framework. In the United States, it is shaped by Americans' concern with personal health. In the United States, doctors are more aggressive in their treatment of patients than in other industrialized nations.
- B. *The Nature of the Healthcare System*—The U.S. healthcare system is a very large sector of the economy, encompassing professional services, organizations, training institutes, and technological resources, all directed toward treatment, management, and prevention of disease. Americans will spend more than \$4 trillion on healthcare in 2018. Healthcare expenditures account for 16 percent of the gross domestic product today, compared with just 5.4 percent in 1960.

Physicians, nurse, hospitals, and patients are all components of the healthcare system. Physicians are 10 percent of healthcare employees, but have the majority of the responsibility for decision making, and as a result high status and monetary rewards. Nursing has undergone continual change since becoming a profession in the late nineteenth century. When Florence Nightingale was laying the groundwork for the nursing profession she was met with resistance from those who did not feel it was appropriate work for women. At the time nurses were expected to be “clean, chaste, quiet, and religious.” Over time nurses’ training has shifted from hospital programs to colleges and universities, but nurses still face professional and economic problems. Hospitals range from small, short-term facilities to large medical centers with long-term care that provide research and training for patient care. Definitions of illness are cultural, and patients enter the healthcare system when they have been defined by others as ill or injured. Symptoms that are seen as proof of illness in some cases may be ignored in others. Old people are more likely to be labeled ill than younger people. Talcott Parsons identified the “sick role” as the complex set of rights and responsibilities of the patient.

II. Theoretical Perspectives and the Healthcare System

A. *Functionalism*—Parsons was the first to define sickness as a sociological problem, noting that if people are too sick to fulfill their roles then society will not survive. To protect itself, society labels the faking of illness as deviance, and constructs a sick role composed of socially legitimate behavior. The sick role is a set of appropriate behaviors for those who are ill: removing them from normal routines, giving them special protection and privileges, and setting the stage for their return to normal activity. Four major aspects of the sick role identified by Parsons are 1) the sick are permitted to withdraw from other roles; 2) it is assumed the sickness is not the person’s fault and cannot be willed away; 3) the sick are expected to define their illness as undesirable; and 4) they are expected to follow the advice of healthcare providers. If these aspects are missing privileges may be withdrawn. If disorders are judged as self-imposed, the ill person may not receive care. The sick role concept is criticized for having a Western bias, for not including all aspects of illness, and for not applying to conditions such as pregnancy. In addition, the sick role applies only to acute and treatable illness; it does not apply to terminal or stigmatized illnesses such as AIDS. Further, as outlined, the sick role only pertains to the conventional healthcare system and ignores other means of coping with illness.

A functionalist explanation for the rise of the medical profession comes from Paul Starr. Applying a pluralist perspective, Starr argues that the American Medical Association (AMA) competed with other interest groups, such as patent medicine producers, at the turn of the twentieth century. The AMA successfully convinced the public that it needed doctors to handle their health problems, and this elevated the status of the profession.

B. *Conflict Theory*—Vicente Navarro asserts that the prestige of physicians comes from their alignment with the dominant capitalist class, whites, and men. The political and economic forces of capitalism also shaped the medical profession, according to Navarro. Physicians effectively created a monopoly by repressing alternative approaches to healthcare. From this perspective, conflict and struggle shapes the healthcare system. From a functionalist perspective, high rewards are necessary to attract talented people to a profession that demands extensive training. Conflict theorists argue that occupational groups use practices such as credentialing and licensing to limit competition. The medical establishment keeps enrollment in medical schools artificially low thereby ensuring higher rewards by decreasing competition. Physicians in the United States have unusually high status compared with those in other industrialized countries.

Whether U.S. physicians can maintain their high status is unknown. There are far more physicians per 10,000 people today than in the 1950s. A number of factors have been contributing to an increasing loss of control among physicians over their work. The cost of malpractice insurance, increased enrollment in medical schools, declines in population growth, and increased specialization are pushing physicians to take salaried positions with organizations, indicating decreased ability to dictate the nature of healthcare. Still, physicians are not likely to lose their high status. Strikes by physicians over the cost of malpractice insurance, refusal to undertake high risk procedures, early retirements, and leaving states with the highest malpractice insurance premiums are evidence of physician dissatisfaction and feelings of powerlessness.

Nurses tend to patients much more than physicians but lack the power to make important decisions. Nurses pay is considerably lower than that of many other professionals. This may be related to the fact that over 90 percent of nurses are female, compared with 30 percent of physicians. This may also account for the low pay compared with physicians. Current attention to the role of comfort and emotion in care, combined with increased specialization among nurses may serve to elevate their status.

A conflict view of healthcare in the U.S. begins with epidemiology, the study of the distribution of diseases in a population. Social epidemiologists study the relationship of illness to the social and physical environment.

Conflict theorists note that members of minority groups have higher rates of illness and shorter life expectancies. They argue those with the highest status maintain a system of unequal access to healthcare, an important determinant of health status. Healthcare is a market commodity so that only those with money have access. Those without money to purchase healthcare and likely to be ill more often, have more serious illnesses, and die younger. The healthcare system is an industry that brings in some \$2 trillion annually. The combined vested interests of hospitals, physicians, pharmaceutical companies, nurses, nursing homes, medical schools, and medical technology suppliers ensure continued unequal healthcare.

Pharmaceutical companies are large enough to have a significant impact on healthcare costs. The pharmaceutical industry is the most profitable in the U.S., and it has the most lobbyists. New drugs may be developed by university researchers with federal funds, and the patents then licensed to pharmaceutical firms, thereby saving them the costs of research. Extending the length of patents helps firms maintain a monopoly on drugs. Federal subsidies for Medicare prescriptions, and direct advertising to consumers also increase profits.

- C. *Symbolic Interactionism*—The socialization of physicians begins early. Many who become doctors decide to do so at an early age and have family members who are physicians. In addition to teaching skills and technical knowledge, medical schools socialize students into the values, beliefs, norms, and attitudes of the medical profession. They learn to be unemotional about illness, suffering, and death; not to criticize another physician publicly; how to avoid revealing a lack of knowledge; and how to appear confident and professional. Because they cannot possibly learn everything, medical students must master a selective learning process through which they identify what it is safe not to learn by what the faculty want them to learn.

Nurses may be male or female, and come from a variety of backgrounds, but the majority of them are white, middle-class females. Nurses tend to be more altruistic, generous, and interested in power, control, and self-advancement compared to female college students generally. They are taught to think for themselves, and to value empathy, rational knowledge, and innovation. In the bureaucratic hospital settings in which they are employed after graduation, these traits may create conflict as they attempt to interpret their occupational world through meanings that are not suited for that environment.

“Sickness” and “illness” are labels that may have stigmas attached to them. Definitions of health and illness are culturally variable. The elderly are commonly, erroneously, labeled ill or forgetful; people with mental health problems are stigmatized. AIDS is an example of a diagnosis that brings with it stigma; patients are often considered immoral or deviant.

- D. *Sociological Views of Disability*—The different theoretical approaches each frame concept of disability differently. Functionalism views disability as a medical problem. Disability is the problem of the individual who cannot meet societal expectations, and is therefore considered deviant. Conflict theorists see this as a form of “blaming the victim.” From this perspective, those with disabilities are members of a minority group whose lives are controlled by those with the most power within social institutions. From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, disability is the result of successfully labeling someone as different or inadequate. People with disabilities are stigmatized and form identities based on this stigma. Taken together, the three theoretical perspectives help us to understand the social nature of sickness and health.

III. Global Healthcare

- A. *Healthcare in the Developed World*—The United States is the only industrialized country in the world that does not have national health insurance for all of its citizens. In addition, the United States does not have direct delivery of healthcare for the general public. In most modern developed societies, free or inexpensive healthcare is provided by the government. In Canada and the United Kingdom, for example, government finances and ensures equal access to medical care. The U.S. has the most expensive and the poorest performing healthcare system among developed countries. The United States spends a higher percentage of its GDP (over 16 percent) than any other nation. The Netherlands, the next highest comparison country, spends 11.1 percent of its GDP on healthcare. In descending order come Canada (10 percent), New Zealand (9.5 percent), Norway (8.9 percent), and the United Kingdom (8.5 percent).

Despite the high expenditures in the U.S., it ranks lowest among industrialized countries on five dimensions of healthcare, and second to the last on one. On overall quality, the U.S. ranks next to the last, with scores lowest for chronic care management and coordination of care. People in the U.S. are more likely to go without care than those in the six other countries in the comparison. Lack of insurance and cost are the biggest factors in going without care. In the U.S. those with insurance have easy access to specialized treatment. In the U.K. and Canada, the cost of specialized care is low, but people must wait a long time to receive it. In Germany and the Netherlands, access is easy and there is little out of pocket expense for specialized care. The U.S. ranks

behind the U.K. and Australia on efficiency of delivery, and ranks the lowest on all factors related to equal access to treatment. Almost half of lower-income adults in the U.S. go without care due to the costs. The U.S. also ranks last on health outcomes, having high rates of death from treatable illnesses.

- B. *Healthcare in the Developing World*—Progress in healthcare in developing countries has been modest and uneven; the poorest of the poor suffer the most. Trends for infant and adult mortality are similar. Since the 1970s, the rate of infant mortality in developed countries has declined from 17 to about 5 per 1,000 live births. In the developing world, the rate has also declined, from 89 to 45 live births. While the percentage decline is greater for the developed countries, the poorer countries are still worse off due to their higher starting point. Life expectancy has increased in rich and poorer countries, however the poorer countries still lag behind and their progress has slowed recently. Around the world, the poorest women and children are less knowledgeable about health issues, make less use of healthcare services, and have higher health risks.

IV. Healthcare Reform in the United States

- A. *The Need for Healthcare Reform*—Americans have conflicting ideas about the healthcare system. About 65 percent of Americans are satisfied with their healthcare coverage. This is at odds with their attitudes regarding the need for healthcare reform. Americans consistently place healthcare among the top domestic issues requiring political attention. In 2017, 60 percent of the public believed that government should be responsible for ensuring healthcare for all Americans. Another 32 percent favored the continuation of Medicare and Medicaid. Only 5 percent saw no role for government involvement in healthcare. Fifty-eight percent favored replacing the Affordable Care Act with a federally funded healthcare system. One motivation for reform is economic. Many believe that healthcare is siphoning resources that are much needed in other areas. Even with Medicaid, about half of the poor are without medical coverage. Many plans do not cover dependents, or covering them is costly. Six percent of children under the age of 18 were without health insurance in 2014. Quality of life is a reason for healthcare reform; one-third of Americans have put off treatment for themselves or a family member because of cost. Lack of coverage creates fear for those who know a major illness would consume all of their resources. Employees with coverage are paying increasingly high premiums. As baby boomers age, the strains caused by the need for healthcare will increase.
- B. *Healthcare Reform Options*—Seventy-seven percent of Americans favor government deregulation of healthcare to create competition among providers. About 58 percent support some kind of national healthcare system. “Modified competitiveness” is one option; it would involve consumer cost-sharing and would require universal health coverage. A second option is “managed competition” that mixes free market competition and government regulation. Plans would be modeled like large HMO-like healthcare providers. Employers would form purchasing networks to increase their ability to compete for the lowest prices. Providers with the best cost, quality, and patient satisfaction would be the most successful. A third option is a single-payer system like that of Canada in which the government finances medical services. Finally, another option is the “pay or play” system, modeled after the German system, is another option. Employers either provide coverage or pay into a system that provides for the uninsured. The German system is widely considered one of the best in the world.
- C. *The Healthcare Reform Road Taken*—Healthcare reform has eluded every President since 1965 when President Johnson made Medicare legal, except for the partial success of Medicare drug reform under President Bush. With the exception of the elderly, health insurance has been the privilege of those with full-time jobs in well-established firms. In 2010, President Obama attempted reform to fulfill a campaign promise. The reforms that were ultimately passed do not provide universal coverage for all Americans. The law does require all citizens to purchase health insurance. It penalizes those who don’t, as well as firms with more than 50 employees who do not offer some form of coverage. Firms employing more than 200 must automatically enroll employees in a healthcare plan. Medicaid is expanded to extend coverage to all uninsured children, and subsidies are provided to help low-income families purchase insurance. Children may remain on their parents’ policies until the age of 26, and coverage may not be denied for preexisting conditions. While advocates argue the bill does not go far enough, opponents vow to repeal the legislation in Congress. Even though opponents want to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, they want to retain certain features. They like the fact that people cannot be denied coverage due to preexisting conditions, that children are covered by their parents’ insurance until age twenty-six, and that there is no lifetime cap on the amount of coverage one can receive.

Supporters add to these features the reduction in the number of uninsured Americans brought on by the Affordable Care Act. Between 1995 and 2007, about 16 percent of the nonelderly population lacked health insurance coverage. The share of the uninsured nonelderly population peaked to over 18 percent during the

economic recession. As the features of the Affordable Care Act went into effect in 2010, and the economy improved, the uninsured rate began to drop steadily to an historic low of 10.5 percent in 2015. Gains in health insurance coverage were particularly notable among low-income people living in states that expanded Medicaid.

V. The Graying of America

A. *A Global Context*—As countries develop economically, medical care and contraception improve so that the birth rate drops and life expectancy is increased. These trends have caused the world's population to become older overall. The population of the world age sixty-five and over is increasing at a rate of 6 percent a year, while the annual growth rate is 2 percent. Today the elderly comprise about 8 percent of the world's population; by 2050 they will comprise 16 percent of the population. The fastest growing age group is over 85, two-thirds of which are women. Because of the size of their populations, by 2050 over one-half of the world's elderly population will live in East and South Asia. Africa has the most dramatic increases; by 2025 the population aged sixty-five and older will have increased to 100 million, from 23 million in 1980.

B. *Aging in the United States*—An age cohort is a group of people who were born during the same time period and pass through life together. Age cohorts influence society and share the experience of some societal effects. By 2040, 20 percent of the nation's population will be over the age of sixty-five; by 2080 the median age will be forty-three, compared to sixteen in 1800, and thirty-six in 2000. The number of Americans over age eighty-five will increase from about 4 million in 2000 to about 8 million in 2010, to over 17 million by 2050.

The age and sex distribution of a population is illustrated graphically in a population pyramid. The classic pyramid has more young people at the bottom and progressively fewer people at older ages. By 2050, the pyramid for the United States will be more rectilinear with similar numbers of people in each age group. This age structure, or distribution of people at different ages, is created by a low fertility rate and a low mortality rate.

Between 2010 and 2030, those born in the baby boom following World War II will reach the ages of sixty-five and older. This increase in the elderly population will decline as those born during the “baby bust” of the mid-1960s and 1970s reach age sixty-five. The children of baby boomers will swell the ranks of the elderly when they reach the age of sixty-five around 2045. The growth of the number of older Americans is due primarily to medical advancements such as improved sanitation, vaccines, and antibiotics that have decreased the death rate. Today 80 percent of Americans reach the age of sixty-five, compared with 40 percent at the turn of the century. Life expectancy for men will increase from 75 to 76 in 2015; for women, it will increase from 80 today to 82 in 2015. The children of pre-World War I immigrants who had high birth rates are now among the elderly.

The proportion of people under the age of 15 and over the age of 64 in relation to those age 15 to 64 is called the dependency ratio. A higher dependency ratio indicates that each worker has to support more dependent people; a lower ratio indicates that each worker has fewer people to support. Youth dependency is the number of youthful dependents per worker; old-age dependency is the number of elderly dependents per worker. Less developed nations have higher youth dependency; more developed nations have significantly higher old-age dependency.

A high youth dependency means that a country's savings must be diverted to care for a large population of children. Old-age dependency combines with the age structure of the United States so that there are fewer working-age people caring for an older population. In 1995 there were about four times as many people age 15 to 64 as there were over the age of 65. By 2050 there will be 50 people over the age of 65 for every 100 working-age people, creating a strain on Medicare and Social Security. The cost of healthcare, and the needs of the elderly, will increase the economic burden. However, the U.S. continues to be the fastest growing industrialized nation, with a birth rate of 2.1, just over replacement level. The U.S. will have a balance between older and younger people. New attitudes toward retirement may help alleviate some of the stress. The expected negative effects of some 74 million baby boomers who are either retired or approaching retirement may be cushioned by the boomers' view of retirement. Half of boomers still working indicate that they either do not intend to retire until they are 66 or older, or do not expect to retire ever. The baby boomers have high levels of education and are living longer. They also enjoy working. These factors are affecting attitudes toward retirement, along with the fear of not having enough money in retirement due to healthcare costs and diminishing pensions.

VI. Age Stratification

Age stratification is the term for the age-based unequal distribution of resources in society. Sociologists are particularly interested in inequality among older Americans as this is the population that is rapidly expanding. The economic situation for the elderly has improved since 1960, and some now view the elderly as well-off or taking resources away from young people. The poverty rate for the elderly has declined from 35 percent in 1960 to below

9 percent, but these figures do not capture the complexity of their situation. The poverty line for older people is drawn assuming they have a lower cost of living than younger people. Yet the elderly pay more for healthcare and for housing. If the standard for younger people were applied to the elderly their rate of poverty would increase from 10 percent to 15 percent. An additional 7 percent of the elderly are “near poor.” Official statistics do not include the hidden elderly who live in institutions or with family members because they cannot afford to live alone. There is a gap between the elderly who have moderate to high incomes from investments, cash savings, and private retirement programs, and the majority of the elderly who do not have income beyond Social Security.

The median income for whites age sixty-five and older was \$24,638 in 2015, while the median income for African Americans was \$16,988 and for Latinos it was \$14,901. The poverty rate for elderly African Americans is almost triple that of elderly whites, and for elderly Latinos the rate is two and a half times that of whites. Problems of prejudice and discrimination intensify over time.

There is a global trend of the feminization of poverty. Women have longer life expectancy, and single women have the highest rates of poverty. Women in poverty will live longer in that condition than will men. Women over the age of sixty-five are almost twice as likely as men to live in poverty. Those who are divorced, widowed, separated, or never married are the most likely to be poor. The average income for elderly women is just 58 percent that of elderly men. Age compounds the problems of gender inequality.

The American public has a negative view of the elderly. Jack Levin and William Levin argue that the elderly have been blamed for their own situation, and that earlier researchers overstated problems of diminished mental and physical capabilities by studying only the elderly in institutions. While many sociologists view the elderly as a minority, some argue that minority group status is not necessary; it is sufficient to recognize the existence of ageism. The justification for age stratification comes from ageism, a set of values, beliefs, norms, and attitudes that justify prejudice and discrimination.

Stereotypes are ideas based on distortion, exaggeration, and oversimplification that are applied to all members of a social category. The many stereotypes about the elderly include that they are slow, unable to grow and develop mentally, conservative, not open to new ideas, living a second childhood, egocentric, irritable, failing mentally and physically, lost in memories of the past, often ill, feeble, uninteresting, and with no capacity or desire for sex. Stereotypes are always inaccurate because they do not apply to all members of a group. Older people are not senile; they are able to learn new things and adapt to change. Old age is not a sexless period for most over the age of sixty-five. While some individuals may have some of these characteristics (as they might at any age), the application of these stereotypes across the board is inaccurate. In a survey that included people over the age of sixty-five, the seniors in the sample experienced issues at far lower rates than anticipated by the younger members of the sample. The older respondents reported feeling younger than their age, while those younger reported feeling older than their age. The survey finds evidence to dispute popular stereotypes. Still, age-related stereotypes are used to deny the elderly healthcare. Because the young may fear being economically burdened with the care of the elderly, there is some concern they may support reduced Medicare and other social support programs for the elderly.

Class Activities

1. In small groups, ask students to discuss the practical application of healthcare reform. Many argue that for healthcare reform to be cost effective it will have to include criteria for how funds are allocated. Take for example situations of extremely high-risk surgeries. If there is a high probability that a patient will die, is it advisable to spend that many resources on one case, in a system where so many people cannot afford healthcare? If we start making policies regarding the allocation of resources, on what criteria do we decide? The text mentions that doctors are aggressive in their treatment, even in cases of terminal illness. Is this an area where from which resources could be reallocated?
2. As an in-class writing activity, ask students to consider their own experience with the sick role. They may write about being in the sick role, and how they felt others perceived them. Have they ever falsely played the sick role? Alternately, perhaps they have an example of believing that someone else (a sibling, or roommate perhaps?) was playing a sham or false sick role. How did they feel about this; how did others respond to the situation?
3. Ask the students to divide into groups and compare the conflict and functional approaches to healthcare. Why are physicians so highly rewarded? Would healthcare suffer if the rewards for being a physician were not so high? Ask the students to address these questions in their discussion.
4. Ask the students what they think of when you say the word “old” or “elderly.” What images are conjured up in their minds by those words? If they are honest, they must admit that the majority of those images do not

portray the elderly in a positive light. Ask them to evaluate how this affects treatment of the elderly in society. When an elderly person has a legitimate complaint in a business transaction, he or she is viewed as “old and cranky.” When they are ill, they are told to expect such things with age rather than being treated with the same compassion as other patients.

5. Review the information in the text about the conflict and functionalist perspectives on disability. Assign different groups one or the other perspective. Ask them to work as a group to generate a set of arguments for the position they have been assigned. Regardless of their own opinion they should be able to argue for each of the theoretical positions and give examples to support their position.

Teaching Suggestions

1. Use the information included here to create a lecture that explores the physician’s role in euthanasia. The information is taken from the research of David P. Caddell and Rae R. Newton (1995) and James G. Anderson and Caddell (1993) regarding the attitudes of Americans toward the physician’s role in euthanasia, and the beliefs of healthcare professionals about their role in the process.

Technology has greatly altered the role of the physician in modern society. Along with medicalization, which has expanded the role of physicians into areas that used to be viewed as personal problems, technology has allowed physicians to become involved with many different areas of life. Baldness, alcoholism, big noses, breast size, and various lifestyle choices are all now in the purview of physicians. At the same time that new drugs and technologies are prolonging life, the issue of how one should be allowed to die is being debated. Some argue that physicians should be involved in helping a terminally ill person die with dignity. There are two separate issues involved in this debate—the acceptability of euthanasia in general, and the acceptability of physicians playing a part in euthanasia.

What are the factors that affect the attitudes of Americans toward the physician’s role in euthanasia? In a study of the attitudes of 8,384 Americans from 1977 to 1988, researchers found that religious affiliation, religious self-perception, and education were related to the acceptance of euthanasia. Religious categories are listed here, along with the percentages of these groups who agree that doctors should be allowed to assist a terminally ill patient to die:

- No religious preference (82.8 percent agree)
- Jews (81.4 percent agree)
- Liberal Protestants (73.2 percent agree)
- Moderate Protestants (66.4 percent agree)
- Catholics (63.1 percent agree)
- Conservative Protestants (54.1 percent agree)

Also, agreement with euthanasia increased as education increased. Those who are more educated tend to show more agreement with euthanasia. Meanwhile, agreement with euthanasia decreased as religious self perception increased. People who viewed themselves as more religious tend to agree less with euthanasia.

Perhaps the most interesting finding is not American attitudes toward euthanasia, but their attitudes toward the physician’s role. Researchers looked at this by comparing subjects’ attitudes toward euthanasia (death assisted by a physician) with attitudes toward suicide (taking one’s own life). Among this sample, people were more accepting of euthanasia (62.8 percent agreement) than suicide (44.9 percent). Perhaps this is not surprising given the medicalization of so many conditions. Voluntary death may be more legitimate if it is condoned through the assistance of a physician. Researchers found a strong correlation between level of education and making a moral distinction between euthanasia and suicide. Those with more education were less likely to see a moral distinction between them.

It is plausible that educated people are more likely to understand their options once their physician explains them. Thus, they want a little more autonomy and participation in decision making. People who are more highly educated don’t view the physician with as much veneration as those with less education. When the physician is less intimidating in the eyes of the patient, euthanasia performed by a physician and suicide performed by the patient are morally equivalent, as long as the patient retains the autonomy to decide.

In a study of oncology (cancer) nurses, Anderson and Caddell (1993) found that among those who disagreed with euthanasia (about 40 percent), the disagreement was based on either professional norms or legal self-interest. Those disagreeing based on professional norms believed that euthanasia violates the classical Hippocratic Oath, “I will neither give a deadly drug to anybody who asked for it, nor will I make a suggestion to this

effect.” Those who disagreed based on legal self-interest were keenly aware of the potential legal minefield involved in euthanasia cases. This was especially true among healthcare professionals who had experienced a case in which they had to withdraw care and let someone die.

A question for class discussion would be to describe what kind of public policy would be necessary for regulating physician-assisted suicide.

References

Anderson, James G., and David P. Caddell. 1993. The attitudes of medical professionals toward active euthanasia. *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 37 (January).

Caddell, David P., and Rae R. Newton. 1995. Euthanasia: American attitudes toward the physician’s role. *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 40 (January).

- In spite of being the wealthiest nation on earth, the United States is the *only* industrialized country in the world without universal healthcare coverage for its citizens. The primary source of health insurance in this country is provided through the workplace rather than the government. Thus, if a person becomes unemployed, he or she is likely to lose access to health insurance as well. The Census Bureau says layoffs and scaled-back job benefits are largely to blame for the recent increase in the uninsured.

Healthcare reform has become a very volatile issue in American politics. Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP) is a not-for-profit organization of physicians, medical students, and other healthcare professionals that support a national health insurance program. Specifically, they believe that a single-payer system (where the government finances it, but keeps the delivery of healthcare primarily in private control) is the only realistic solution to solving the United States’ many healthcare problems: millions of citizens with no health insurance, many more with only limited coverage, skyrocketing health insurance premiums, malpractice costs, long-term care issues, and relatively poor health indicators, when compared to similar industrialized nations, indicate that the United States has a long way to go in providing an adequate healthcare system.

Proponents of national healthcare coverage argue that adequate medical care is a right for all citizens, not a privilege that is available only to those who can afford it. They see little difference between the “right” of adequate healthcare and the “rights” of education and safety. They insist that medicine be a public service, not a business, as it is presently practiced in the United States. PNHP quotes Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of the Chicago Archdiocese: “Healthcare is an essential safeguard of human life and dignity and there is an obligation for society to ensure that every person be able to realize this right.”

Reference

Physicians for a National Health Program. 2008. <http://www.pnhp.org/>

- As noted in the textbook, America’s elderly are a diverse group that seldom, if ever, speaks with a unified voice about political issues. How then, does AARP (the largest group devoted to concerns of older Americans) make sure that its policies represent such a diverse membership? Developing public policies that serve all kinds of people in all kinds of situations is a big challenge. That is why they gather members’ ideas from town meetings, phone calls, letters, surveys, and polls, which its leaders then discuss and debate.

What happens to all of this information? The National Legislative Council, a special advisory body of 25 volunteers within AARP, is tasked with balancing these perspectives. They hear from renowned experts, elected leaders, as well as everyday people. Then they make policy recommendations to AARP’s Board of Directors.

The 21 members of the AARP Board of Directors consider the recommendations of the National Legislative Council. The Board relies on various member surveys and feedback, as well as discussions with federal and state legislators, government leaders, business and industry representatives, and policy experts to help make its policy decisions. AARP policy recommendations cover a broad range of topics, including the budget, taxation, retirement income, prescription drugs, employment, low-income assistance, healthcare, long-term care, social services and education, housing, transportation, technology, consumer protection, personal and legal rights,

- Caring for Your Parents* is a PBS program produced by WGBH Boston. Show the class this program, which integrates issues of healthcare and aging. There are many companion materials available online at the program’s website, including interviews with geriatric doctors, a resource guide, and a complete caregivers handbook. Students may be directed to this site for follow-up information or out of class assignments. The complete program may be viewed online, or is available for purchase. For information visit the website at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/caringforyourparents/index.html>.

5. Show the Michael Moore documentary, *Sicko* (123 min.), to the class. The film is an expose of the problems with America's healthcare and insurance system. Use the website for information to supplement the film. After viewing the film, students could be assigned to review and evaluate Moore's recommendations for healthcare reform available on the website.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

John Q (116 minutes)

This film is about a man who resorts to violence after his poor insurance leaves his son without appropriate treatment. It could provide a nice way of beginning a discussion about the impacts of not having affordable health insurance on individuals and society.

The Doctor (122 minutes)

This 1991 film about a doctor who becomes a patient highlights the way our medical system is both overburdened and dehumanized.

Miss Evers' Boys (118 minutes)

This HBO special about the Tuskegee syphilis studies can be used to raise questions about research ethics, racial and class inequality and the U.S. healthcare system.

Television

Baby Borrowers (6 episodes, approx 50 minutes each)

This 2008 NBC reality television show takes teenage couples who are interested in having children at a young age and requires them to care for infants, toddlers, pre-teens, teenagers and elderly individuals. The show demonstrates many of the challenges facing families, and reflects many of the aspects of family dynamics. More information at: http://www.nbc.com/The_Baby_Borrowers/.

The Office, Season 1, Episode 3: Healthcare (approx 25 minutes)

The office has to cope with a scaled-back healthcare plan. Dwight makes everyone reveal their healthcare needs in a public meeting, leading to embarrassment regarding health issues.

3rd Rock from the Sun, Season 1, Episode 3: Dick's First Birthday (approx 25 minutes)

This 1990s sitcom about aliens who disguise themselves as a human family in order to study Earth is full of examples of sociological concepts because the premise of the show is "making the familiar strange." In this episode, Dick, the father of the family, experiences his first birthday and deals with the concept of getting older.

Documentaries

Sicko (123 minutes)

This Michael Moore documentary looks at the problems with America's health insurance system.

Supersize Me (100 minutes)

This documentary by Morgan Spurlock follows his efforts to eat nothing but food from McDonald's for 30 days, agreeing to supersize his meal every time he was asked. During this time, he consumed an average of 5,000 calories a day, gained 24.5 pounds and experienced a host of negative psychological and physical effects.

Sick Around the World (60 minutes)

This PBS Frontline special looks at healthcare systems in democracies around the world and contrasts those systems to the U.S. healthcare system. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/sickaroundtheworld/>.

Rx for Survival: A Global Health Challenge (345 minutes)

This PBS special looks at healthcare in a global context. Specifically, the video deals with the crisis that is occurring as healthcare advances are slowing and diseases are becoming more virulent and difficult to treat. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/rxforsurvival/>.

Internet Clips

The Meth Epidemic (60 minutes)

This Frontline special is available to be viewed in-full online. The program looks at the methamphetamine epidemic in the U.S. and globally. It includes biological information about how meth affects the brain as well as how the drug impacts individuals and communities. The program is available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/>.

The Age of AIDS (240 minutes)

Another Frontline special, *The Age of AIDS* looks at the history and science AIDS epidemic in a global context. It's easy to show parts of the program from the online menu. The program can be viewed in its entirety at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/aids/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. An increasing number of alternative approaches to treatment have become so popular it is questionable whether “alternative” is still an accurate label. In fact, the National Institute of Health (NIH) has a website for the National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine. Explore the site and note what forms of medicine are included as “complementary” or “alternative.” What is the distinction between alternative medicine and complementary therapies? <http://nccam.nih.gov/>
2. AARP (formerly the American Association of Retired Persons) conducts a great deal of research about topics of interest to the elderly. Visit its policy and research website and view some of the topics it has investigated. Pick a topic you know little about, and be prepared to share new information with the class. <http://research.aarp.org>
3. The Gray Panthers is an organization composed largely of older Americans devoted to social change. Its name is a play on the infamous Black Panthers, an armed militant group representing many African Americans during the tumultuous 1960s. Go to the Gray Panthers website and click on “Information” and “History” to learn more about this organization. Note that links for new social media are included (e.g. FaceBook and Twitter). Does this contradict popular stereotypes of the elderly? <http://www.graypanthers.org>
4. The National Caucus and Center on Black Aged provides information about the combined effects of racial inequalities and age inequalities. Visit this website and see if it provides a different picture of the concerns of American’s elderly than AARP or The Gray Panthers. Under the link for Health and Wellness select programs and read about the health disparities project. Be prepared to share what you learn with the class. <http://www.ncba-aged.org>

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The report “Health, United States,” produced annually by the CDC, provides information about a variety of physical and mental health issues, including how these vary according to group membership. Find the 2010 report at: [www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/10.pdf](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/10.pdf)
2. The American Society of Plastic Surgeons makes procedural statistics available on their website. Type of surgery is included, as is the age of those having the surgery. The statistics reveal interesting patterns according to age and sex. <http://www.plasticsurgery.org/news-and-resources/statistics.html>
3. The Center for Immigration Studies has a number of articles relating to immigration and aging, including the impact of decreasing birth rates and the impact on social security. Search the site using the keyword “aging” to find reports on “immigration in an aging society” from a number of different years. <http://www.cis.org/node/654>
4. Transgenerational Design Matters is a site with the mission of promoting and encouraging “transgenerational” designs that attract—and accommodate—people of all ages and abilities.” See the page on the demographics of aging on their website. The heading reads: “Fifty million (sic) aging Baby Boomers are sparking demand for products and environments that accommodate their changing physical and sensory capabilities.” View information on perceptions of age, and age and ability, as just two examples. <http://transgenerational.org/aging/demographics.htm>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Age cohort (464)	Dependency ratio (466)	Sick role (448)
Age stratification (467)	Epidemiology (451)	Social gerontology (469)
Age structure (466)	Healthcare system (445)	Stereotypes (469)
Ageism (469)	Population pyramids (464)	

FURTHER READING

AARP. 2003. *The Policy Book: AARP Public Policies*. Washington, D.C.: AARP.

This book presents the current policies of the largest organization of older Americans. It is also available online at <http://www.aarp.org/legipoly.html>.

Gerber, Jerry, Janet Wolff, Walter Mores, and Gene Brown. 1991. *Lifetrends*. New York: Stonesong Press, Inc.

This is a discussion of recent trends and predictions regarding the lifestyle of the elderly. The topics include the family life of the elderly, retirement, social security and Medicare, possible age wars, and the culture of the elderly.

Kornblum, William, and Carolyn D. Smith (Eds.) 1994. *The Healing Experience*. Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

This work examines the various dimensions of healing including the role of the physician, the work environment of medical professionals, patient interaction, women's issues, medical care for the marginalized, and healthcare reform.

Magnus, George. 2009. *The Age of Aging: How Demographics Are Changing the Global Economy and Our World*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons

Longer life expectancy and lower birth rates are creating aging populations in Western industrialized countries, as well as places like Japan and Singapore. Examines the impact of these demographic changes on economic growth, healthcare, and social life.

Schwartz, Howard D. (Ed.) 1994. *Dominant Issues in Medical Sociology*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

A reader containing essays concerning the major issues in medical sociology including patient interaction, the relationship between professional and profession, the healthcare system, healthcare delivery, and social epidemiology.

Sherwin, Susan. 1992. *No Longer Patient: Feminist Ethics and Health Care*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

The author explores the need for a feminist perspective on healthcare issues.

Starr, Paul. 1984. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books.

A Pulitzer prize winner, Paul Starr takes a historical perspective and demonstrates the processes which made medicine a sovereign and high status profession.

Waitzkin, Howard, 2000. *The Second Sickness: Contradictions of Capitalist Health Care*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

An analysis of the role of economics and other social forces in healthcare. Examines contemporary issues such as insurance, managed care, and healthcare reform.

Weiss, Gregory L., and Lynne E. Lonquist. 2009. *The Sociology of Health, Healing, and Illness*. 6th edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

A very good resource in the format of a traditional text. This book explains the sociological approach to healthcare, the development of medicine, the influence of the social environment on health and illness, health and illness behavior, healthcare delivery, and the relationship between healthcare practitioners and their patients.

Chapter 16: Sport

Brief Chapter Outline

I. Sport as a Reflection of Society

- A. Sport as a Social Institution

II. Theoretical Perspectives and Sport

- A. Functionalism
- B. Conflict Theory
- C. Symbolic Interactionism

III. Mobility, Inequality, and Sport

- A. Social Mobility in Sport
- B. Racial and Ethnic Inequality in Sport
- C. Gender Inequality in Sport

IV. Globalization and Sport

- A. Influence of Transnational Corporations
- B. Creation of a Consumer Culture

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Justify sport as an American institution.
2. Compare and contrast sport in America from a functionalist, conflict, and symbolic interactionist perspective.
3. Understand the relationship between American sport and social mobility.
4. Cite evidence of sexism and racism in American sport.
5. Discuss social issues associated with the globalization of sport.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. Sport as a Reflection of Society

Sociologists define sport as a set of competitive activities in which winners and losers are determined by physical performance within a set of established rules. Not all forms of recreation are sport, particularly if they do not involve rules and standardized conditions.

A. *Sport as a Social Institution*—Social institutions meet the basic needs of society. Sport is not considered a basic institution in all societies. In the United States, sport teaches the basic values of society, such as identification with society or the group. Sports are a means for individuals to demonstrate their identification with society. In the U.S. sport reflects the cultural value placed on achievement. This gives sports a central role within society. Since sports are a reflection of society, it is not surprising that sports are male dominated. Progress toward equality for women in sports is being made, particularly in golf, tennis, and professional basketball.

A sport subculture is a group within the larger context of sports that has its own distinct roles, values, and norms. Sport subcultures are organized around specific activities; their beliefs vary. Hockey players, for example, are part of a subculture of violence. Violence is expected in response to any challenge or insult. Coaches and teammates expect players to be violent, and they are criticized if they are not. In another example, subcultural differences were found between surfboard riders and surf lifesavers in Australia and New Zealand. Non-team sports, such as horse racing, also have subcultures. Among jockeys, displaying dignity, poise, and integrity are highly valued, and coolness in risky situations is seen as a reflection of moral character.

II. Theoretical Perspectives and Sport

- A. *Functionalism*—Functionalists believe that sports help society to function more smoothly. Sports serve a number of functions: 1) Sports teach basic beliefs, norms, and values, preparing young people for achievement in a modern economy; 2) sports promote a sense of social identification, binding fans to their community; 3) sports provide a safe release of aggressive feelings generated by the stresses and strains of modern life; and 4) sports encourage the development of character, through hard work, discipline, and self-sacrifice.

Functionalists also note some dysfunctions of sport. When achievement and winning become the only goals of any sport, winning at any cost may encourage cheating or violence. Players in many sports resort to violence, and some sports have developed the role of enforcer—a player whose responsibility is to provoke, intimidate, and even injure other players. Cheating is sometimes harder to identify but there have been high profile examples. Lance Armstrong, seven-time winner of the Tour de France, was found guilty in 2012 by the United States Anti-Doping Agency for using performance-enhancing drugs throughout his career. Consequently, Armstrong received a lifetime ban from participating in all sports covered by the World Anti-Doping Agency code and denied claim to all of his Tour de France victories. Bill Belichick, coach for the NFL's New England Patriots, was fined \$500,000 for videotaping his opponents' signals. The use of steroids in many different sports is often in the news.

- B. *Conflict Theory*—From a conflict perspective, sport is a social institution in which the most powerful oppress, manipulate, coerce, and exploit others. Conflict theorists emphasize the role of sport in maintaining inequality. The unity created by sport is not enduring, according to conflict theorists; social inequality continues even if everyone is cheering for the same team. In terms of building character, studies have shown that sportsmanship declines the more involved in the sports system athletes become. Nonscholarship athletes display more sportsmanship than athletes on scholarship, and those without letters are more sportsmanlike than letter winners. Conflict theorists can point to any number of scandals involving athletes at all levels.

- C. *Symbolic Interactionism*—Symbolic interactionists are concerned with the symbols of sports, their meanings and interpretations. An example of research from this perspective was done by Gary Alan Fine, with suburban males playing Little League Baseball. Fine studied the meanings the boys assigned to their team activities, and the impact meanings had on interactions. While parents and coaches emphasized the rules of the game, and values such as hard work, team play, fair play, competition, and winning were promoted, the boys created their own meanings out of those values. Boys interpreted these same values as meaning typically masculine values of toughness, risky behavior, and dominance. When the boys thought they were acting tough, the coaches interpreted their behavior as “hustle” and dedication to winning, and praised them for it. This reinforced the behavior in the boys, who turned it on children they perceived as weaker, such as girls, weaker peers, and younger children. The boys' scornful behavior had a detrimental impact on the self-esteem of those who were picked on.

Critics of functionalism argue that the elite are far more likely to benefit from sports than is society as a whole. In addition, they point to the ample evidence of racism and sexism in sports. Conflict theorists may overlook many potential benefits, however. Functionalists argue that conflict theorists underestimate the character-building impact of team sports, while they overestimate the amount of manipulation and control that is exercised by the elite. Symbolic interactionism makes an important contribution in terms of understanding how socialization takes place through sports, but it does not address the larger social and cultural context.

III. Mobility, Inequality, and Sport

- A. *Social Mobility in Sport*—Sports do have the potential to help collegiate athletes achieve upward mobility, but the reality is that opportunities are very limited. Some minority athletes have used sports as a way out of poverty, and it is true that the salaries of professional athletes are very high. There is evidence that participating in collegiate sports does contribute moving up in the social structure. College athletes, regardless of the sport they play, tend to be better educated, earn more money, and have higher occupational prestige than their fathers. In these terms, they are more successful than other college students. However, the issue of mobility is still open to debate.

There is no doubt that sports have elevated the status of people like Tiger Woods, LeBron James, and Venus and Serena Williams. However, some argue that the emphasis on athletics diverts attention away from getting the academic and business-related skills necessary to succeed in society. The allure of high salaries may keep some from working on alternate plans. When minority youth work on their athletic skills at the expense of their education, they are likely to be victims of unrealistic expectations. Some convincing evidence supports the idea that playing a sport is not a dependable avenue to upward social mobility for minorities (or, for the matter, for

anyone). Table 16.3 shows six different team sports cross-tabulated with the percentage of high school athletes who advance to college teams, the percentage of college players who become professionals, and the percentage of high school players who become professional athletes. Consider basketball. Only 3.4 percent of male and 3.9 percent of female high school basketball players get to wear college uniforms, and a scant one percent of those college players become pros. Only about 0.03 percent of high school basketball players are drafted by the NBA or WNBA. Thus, only two or three out of every 10,000 high school basketball players enter professional basketball. Yes; athletics have provided educational opportunities for some people who might not have had access otherwise. However, no high school athlete should rely solely on sport for his or her success.

- B. *Racial and Ethnic Inequality in Sport*—The practice of stacking assigns players to less central positions on the basis of race. Leadership and decision-making positions, that are most likely to affect the outcome of the game, are considered the central positions, and these generally go to white players. Minority players have historically been assigned to positions requiring little interaction or coordination with other players. The obvious example is that in football, black quarterbacks have been somewhat rare. The positions more often assigned to minorities put them at greater risk of injury, cutting careers short and impacting income and pension benefits. African American professional athletes appear to be paid as much as their white counterparts, unless one controls for level of performance. African Americans have lower salaries for the same level of performance; they must play better in order to earn as much as whites.

Minority former athletes do not profit from appearances and commercial endorsements as much as white athletes. Minorities are underrepresented in the power structure, as coaches, managers, owners, executives, and commissioners. In 2016, 82 percent of NBA players were people of color, while on 13 percent of senior administration positions were held by people of color. Michael Jordan is the only minority group member to own a majority share of a professional basketball team. At the beginning of the 2016 season, only 24 members of NFL management were people of color, compared with 70 percent of the players. Only one person of color has owned a majority share of a NFL team. The situation in Major League Baseball appears more equitable, in part because a smaller percentage of players are people of color. The 2016 season began with only three field managers of color. At the professional staff level, people of color represented 29 percent of the employees. Four people of color held the position of general manager. One person of color was majority owner of a baseball franchise. At the collegiate level the overwhelming number of power positions are held by white men. Excluding the historically black colleges and universities, 100 percent of conference commissioner positions in Division I are held by white men. In men's Division I basketball, only 22 percent of head coaches were African American. About 88 percent of head football coaches were white.

- C. *Gender Inequality in Sport*—Among the ancient Greeks, the gods were strong, athletic, powerful, competitive, and intellectual; most goddesses were passive, beautiful, physically weak, and unathletic, with two notable exceptions being Athena and Artemis. Women who were physically or intellectually superior to men were not considered attractive or feminine. This influence is present in sports yet today. Negative stereotypes have discouraged some women from playing sports, and women have been denied access to organized sports, particularly at the local level. In the 1970s, legal threats ended the male-only policy of Little League baseball. Title IX, the 1972 Educational Amendment Act, permitted equal access to sports programs at institutions receiving federal funds. While debate continues over how to implement the legislation, current rulings are that schools must match the ratio of men to women in sports programs to the ratio in the student population.

Although Title IX increased equality for women athletes, it led to a decrease in the number of women in coaching and administrative positions. More than 60 percent of women's teams in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) are coached by men. Rarely does a woman become head coach for a men's team, although it is common practice for men to coach women's teams. Women are head coaches in only 39 percent of all head coaching jobs in Division I sports. In fact, women hold less than half of all assistant coach positions. Women hold less than 9 percent of Division I athletic director positions. As money and prestige associated with women's athletics have increased, coaching these teams has become more attractive to men. In addition, athletic programs are generally headed by men, who may be more likely to hire male coaches. At the national level, professional sports for women include a basketball league (WNBA), a volleyball league, a tennis circuit, and a golf tour. Even professional women athletes earn less than men. For example, in 2015 the top female golfer won \$3.8 million in total tour prize money compared to \$12 million by the top male golfer. They both played essentially the same number of golf tournaments over the year. When all annual income is considered, the earnings of the top male golfer dwarfed the earnings of the top female golfer (\$53 million versus \$5 million).

IV. Globalization and Sport

Commonalities among societies throughout the world are most common within popular culture. Sport is one of the primary forms of entertainment shared across national boundaries. Globalization of sport began in the 1870s with the spread of cricket and soccer throughout the British Empire. Transnationalization of sport increased during the twentieth century and continues today. The Olympic Games are the most emblematic of the globalization of sport, as is Japanese baseball, and the increasing popularity of soccer including an NFL-type international league.

A. *Influence of Transnational Corporations*—The global sports market generated revenue of \$90 billion in 2017, up from \$47 billion in 2005, with the most rapidly expanding markets in East and Central Asia, the Middle East, and Central and Eastern Europe. As in the U.S., brand name sport apparel is a status symbol. Nike, founded in 1964 as a shoe company, had \$32 billion in sales in 2016, and employs 450,000 in Southeast Asia and 120,000 in China. In the U.S. 35,000 Nike employees work in design, product development, and marketing. Production moves to find the cheapest labor. In the 1980s, Nike moved manufacturing from South Korea and Taiwan to Indonesia and Thailand, and later Southeast Asia and China for that reason. Three-fourths of Nike's workers are young women working 10-13 hours a day, 6 days a week, for \$1.60 to \$2.20 a day. Despite the efforts of human rights groups, children often work in the same appalling conditions. Demands for more money or better conditions lead companies like Nike to move operations to even poorer countries where workers are less demanding. Nike is not alone; just a representative example. Although Nike is large enough to operate more humanely.

To create new markets for products, corporations hire researchers to the preferred activities and clothing of a society's young people in order to produce good (shoes and clothing) to meet local culture and tastes. Consumers are bombarded with messages that influence local cultural norms and preferences. Ritzer describes different processes with the blending of terms. *Glocalization* describes the blend of global and local influences; *globalization* incorporates the concept of growth and the attempts to make local cultures part of global culture.

B. *Creation of a Consumer Culture*—The creation of a global consumer culture is described by Nixon beginning with the concept of the golden triangle – the global sport power elite formed by sport organizations, corporate media, and corporate sponsors. Golden triangles form around the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup. The elite attempt to create new markets where none exist by generating a universal sports culture. An example of globalization is the increasing prices charged for corporate sponsorship of televised events. In 1960, U.S. broadcast rights for the summer Olympics cost \$400,000, compared with almost \$1.3 billion for the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Enormous worldwide audiences are attracted by the Olympics, the World Cup, and the Superbowl. In addition, U.S. professional sport organizations have spread their influence around the world. Major League Baseball, the NFL, and the NBA each have tours, activities, and events that attract audiences and participants from throughout the world.

Class Activities

1. Invite someone from the coaching staff for women's sports to come and talk to the class. Ask students to prepare questions ahead of time. They might consider questions about the challenges of funding, and scheduling events for women's teams. In addition, ask the speaker to be prepared to discuss how decisions about scholarships and recruitment generally are made. Are there issues regarding the relative funding of men's and women's sports on campus?
2. Bring to class copies of sports magazines. These should be a variety, including general magazines such as *Sports Illustrated*, and also magazines more specific to particular sports. Be sure to include a wide variety of sports (e.g., golf, auto racing, football, tennis, and/or swimming). The local library may have copies that can be borrowed. Working in groups, ask students to do a content analysis of the images of male and female athletes depicted in the magazines. What do the images say about sports and athletes generally? What do they say about masculinity and femininity, and how these concepts relate to athletes?
3. As an in-class writing exercise, ask students to respond to this question: Should athletic teams for any particular sports be co-ed (a mix of males and females) at any ages? If so, for which sports, and at what ages would co-ed teams be appropriate; why? If not, why not? In either case, their response should develop sound arguments. Read a selection of these responses (anonymously or not) to the class as a means of initiating discussion.
4. At the university level, there is often conflict over how sports are funded. When budgets are tight, men's sports such as rugby, swimming, or tennis sometimes experience cuts. Many blame women's sports; a familiar argument is that men's sports receive less money because of women's sports. Divide the class into groups. Assign different perspectives to different groups, asking each group to develop a set of arguments (or debating points).

Then reorganize the groups so that each has one person in it from each perspective. These groups should have an informal debate, and report on their discussions to the entire class.

5. Ask students to reflect and write about their own experiences with sports. Have they played a sport? Just for fun, or as part of a school or community team? If they have, what do they feel they got out of the experience? Do they think it was beneficial? If they have never played a sport, has that ever created conflicts for them? The United States is a very sports-involved society. Is there a stigma attached to not being involved in a sport? For all students, ask them to reflect on how athletes generally, but also from particular sports, were treated in high school. What was the relative status of the various athletes? How do students respond to the issue of status among athletes, including their own experience as an athlete or as someone uninvolved with athletics?

Teaching Suggestions

1. Today there are cheerleading “camps” where girls, and women, of all ages may go to develop their cheerleading skills. In addition to training camps, there are also cheerleading competitions at the state and national levels. (See www.cheerleading.net for a list of associations, events, cheerleading squads, and other resources.) In many ways it appears that cheerleading has become a sport in its own regard.

Natalie Adams and Pamela Bettis (2003) trace the history of cheerleading, which was an exclusively male activity from its origins in the mid and late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. As with many other areas of society, opportunities in cheerleading were opened up to women around the time of World War II, as fewer men were available. According to Adams and Bettis, the feminist movement influenced cheerleading, moving it to become more of a competitive sport that incorporated difficult jumps and other techniques. Adams and Bettis argue that cheerleading should not be trivialized, and that the sport merits more than the stereotypical “cute and perky” image implies.

Based on interviews and ethnographic research, Adams and Bettis conclude that cheerleading provides girls with “the opportunity to perform ideal girlhood without being located in a disabling discourse of femininity that equates femininity with exploitation and oppression” (2003, p. 87).

Invite members of the cheerleading squad, both male and female, to talk to the class about their experiences and what attracted them to cheerleading, as opposed to another sport.

Reference

Adams, Natalie, and Pamela Bettis. 2003. Commanding the room in short skirts: Cheerleading as the embodiment of ideal girlhood. *Gender & Society*, 2003, Vol. 17, No. 1 (February): 73–91.

2. In conjunction with the suggestion above, and to introduce the element of stereotypes and sexual orientation, show parts of the film, *But I'm a Cheerleader*, in class. The film is available for rental through national franchises. Caution: the film was rated R, and some of the content may be offensive to students. You should preview and select clips to show to the class. The plot centers on a high school cheerleader. Her friends and family fear she is a lesbian and send her to a resocialization camp in order to “cure” her. Ironically, while there she realizes she is, in fact, a lesbian. Using satire, the film demonstrates the socially constructed nature of gender, and illustrates the issues of stereotypes around athletic women, and heteronormativity. Students sometimes do not understand satire, so use the film with caution. For those who do, the film is an amusing vehicle to use for discussion of stereotypes and heteronormativity.
3. According to Shepard, the probability of a high school football player making it to the pros is less than two-tenths of one percent; for a high school baseball player, the probability is 0.2 percent of getting into the major leagues. High school basketball players have a 0.1 percent probability of making it into the NBA. Still, many high school students, particularly students of color, may see sports as a means for upward social mobility. As Shepard notes, a focus on sports as a means of success may leave a student without a viable alternative occupational goal.

Tamela McNulty Eitle and David J. Eitle (2002) have found that the link between sports and education is complicated. The impact of participation on academic achievement varies according to the cultural resources of the student and the sport they play. Eitle and Eitle found, among other things, that participation in basketball and football had a negative impact on achievement test scores, regardless of the race of the student. They also found that in general, playing sports other than football and basketball is associated with higher grades for whites and lower grades for blacks. Their findings suggest that in the long run, participation in sports may hinder students in terms of acquiring other educational experiences that might prove more beneficial in the long run.

If possible, invite someone involved with recruiting student athletes or the athletic academic advisor to class to discuss the relationship between sports and academics.

Reference

Eitle, Tamela McNulty, and David J. Eitle. 2002. Race, cultural capital, and the educational effects of participation in sports." *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (April): 123–146.

- In conjunction with the discussion presented above, show parts of the film *Hoop Dreams* to the class as a means of generating discussion about this issue. *Hoop Dreams* is a documentary film that follows two black high school basketball players who are recruited to play for a predominantly white high school. While each has dreams of making it to the NBA, neither does. In their cases it is their participation in the making of this documentary that helps their families to improve their economic status.

The entire film is long, almost three hours, so it will be necessary to select sections to show to the class. After viewing the film, ask students to discuss whether they think that sports should be seen as a vehicle for social mobility. Even if they never make it into professional sports, do players in high school and college receive other benefits, tangible and intangible, from playing sports? The film is also useful as an introduction to the issue of racial inequality in sports.

- Develop the conflict and functionalist approaches to the role of sports in society. Shepard describes four functions of sports:
 - Sports teach basic beliefs, norms, and values.
 - Sports promote a sense of social identification.
 - Sports offer a safe release of aggressive feelings generated by the frustrations, anxieties, and strains of modern life.
 - Sports encourage the development of character.

In addition, sports have become a major industry, providing employment to thousands of people. As a social institution, sports are interconnected with other major social institutions, particularly education and economics. While becoming a professional athlete may not be a realistic goal, sports scholarships are one way that low-income high school students can afford to go to college.

From a conflict perspective, sports are yet another means by which those with the most power in society may oppress and exploit others. Conflict theorists see the structure of sports as a reflection of the structure of society generally. Those with the most power, white males, occupy the positions at the top of the hierarchy. Women and men of color occupy the lower status positions that serve to support those at the top.

In terms of teaching the norms and values of society, conflict theorists point to accusations of steroid use and other scandals as evidence that the values of sports may not be desirable for society. Excessive competition, winning at any cost, has led to numerous incidents involving cheating, intentionally throwing games, illegal gambling, steroid use, and even cases of assault. From this perspective, it is arguable as to whether or not sports build character.

- An interesting topic for discussion is the use of performance enhancing drugs by athletes. Use this discussion in conjunction with the discussion of theoretical perspectives. Ask students for their opinions about the use of performance enhancing drugs; do they think this is a serious problem? Why or why not? In an article in the *New York Times* (2005), Kate Zernike poses the question of how steroids in sports are different from the use of other "performance enhancing" drugs such as Ritalin or Viagra, or hormonal treatments. Cosmetic surgery enhances one's appearance. What is it about sport that makes enhancing performance unethical, compared to enhancing performance in other areas?

Reference

Zernike, Kate. 2005. "The difference between steroids and Ritalin is..." *The New York Times*, March 20, 2005. Copyright 2005, *The New York Times*.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

General Video Sources

Ironweed Films

Ironweed Films is a film club that sends out a DVD with multiple independent films to members every month. The films tend to be documentaries. I have subscribed to Ironweed for over two years and it has given me an incredible film library to draw from. Some of the films are done better than others and I have found some to be too politically biased to be useful, but overall I have found that subscribing to Ironweed is well worth the monthly fee to have a small stock of documentaries on a wide variety of topics. I was originally introduced to many of the films on this list through Ironweed. <http://www.ironweedfilms.com>.

Media Education Foundation

This distributor of documentary films has a comprehensive collection of high quality movies available to educators. In addition, many of their films include online clips that are more than just previews of the film. They are pithy segments of the actual documentary that could be used in class in lieu of showing a lengthier, full documentary. <http://www.mediaed.org>.

PBS.org

Public television produces some of the most thorough, well researched, and professionally edited documentaries available on a wide variety of social issues relevant to introductory level classes. Most of their videos are backed by superb websites that include instructor resources, online activities, additional research and information and, occasionally, supplemental video clips. Their selection of videos and resources regarding race and ethnicity is especially useful. <http://www.pbs.org>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. *True-Hearted Vixens* is a point of view (POV) documentary on PBS. The film follows two women as they become players for the Women's Professional Football League's first professional tour. While women in football obviously violates American gender norms, read the film synopsis for more ways in which gender became an issue. Explore the website. There are many links to women's sports teams and organizations, as well as library resources. Select "more about the issue" for a time line of the history of women in sports in the United States. <http://www.pbs.org/pov/trueheartedvixens/>
2. *In Whose Honor* is a documentary about one woman's fight to end the University of Illinois' use of the pseudo-Native American, "Chief Illiniwek," as its mascot. Visit the website for the film and filmmaker at <http://jayrosenstein.com/pages/honor.html>. Watch a clip of the film, and read the list of schools, colleges, and universities (including University of Illinois) that have discontinued using Native American or related imagery to promote sporting events. What is your view on this practice? Is it harmful? Given the length of time that attention has been given to this issue, why haven't the Cleveland Indians, for example, changed their name or logo? Do you think they should? Why or why not?
3. CNN has a site for news specific to racism in sports. The site has news stories and video clips from around the world. In the section called "top stories," look for stories specific to the United States. What is currently in the news regarding racism and sports? Are you surprised at the number of stories you find? Are there more or fewer than you expected? Share one or two of the most relevant stories with the class. <http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2008/news/racism.in.sport/>
4. World News Network (WN Network) is an international news site that offers stories in 48 languages. The WN Network has a page that is dedicated to news stories about racism throughout the world. Recent incidents of racism involve sporting events—for example, the Football Association (soccer) ruling on whether or not to have England play Spain in Madrid due to the racist abuse directed toward black players on England's team the last time they played there. Search the site for news stories involving racism in sports in the United States. The site's stories are written from an international perspective. Select a story and analyze how coverage of the incidents or events reported might differ from coverage originating in the United States. <http://www.wn.com/worldracism/>

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. Americans' participation in physical activity declines sharply with age. The National Coalition for Promoting Physical Activity offers links to research resources on participation in physical activity, factors promoting and hampering it, its consequences, and policy initiatives. The site is a clearinghouse for CDC and other sources. "Fast Facts" is the quickest way to get statistics. <http://www.ncppa.org/resources/aboutRR/>
2. This 2010 report from the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency discusses a survey of American children's and adults' attitudes toward sports: "What Sport Means in America: A Survey of Sport's Role in Society" www.usada.org/uploads/usadaresearchreport.pdf
3. The Women's Sports Foundation, founded by Billie Jean King, provides research reports on the benefits of sport, sexual harassment, LGBT issues, disability issues, and more. <http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/sitecore/content/home/research/articles-and-reports/mental-and-physical-health.aspx>
4. The H.J. Lutchter Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports, at University of Texas at Austin, is a research center in the Department of Kinesiology and Health Education and the College of Education. The website for the center hosts links to web resources and scholarly sports sites, with a focus on history. <http://www.starkcenter.org/research/>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Sport (476)
 Sport subcultures (477)
 Stacking (485)

FURTHER READING

Adams, Natalie, and Pamela Bettis. 2003. Commanding the room in short skirts: Cheerleading as the embodiment of ideal girlhood." *Gender & Society*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (February): 73–91.

Adams and Bettis argue that far from being a purely supportive role, cheerleading provides girls with the opportunity to be powerful while remaining within the boundaries of the feminine ideal.

Eitle, Tamela McNulty, and David J. Eitle. 2002. Race, cultural capital, and the educational effects of participation in sports. *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (April): 123–146.

In a study of the relationship between participation in sports and academic achievement, Eitle and Eitle find that while involvement in sports may not have a direct negative impact on academic achievement, the time and energy spent on sports might yield better long-term results if shifted to cultural educational activities.

Eitzen, D. Stanley, and George H. 1997. Sage. *Sociology of North American Sport*. Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark.

This is a standard textbook that addresses all of the basics in terms of sport as a major social institution.

Giulianotti, Richard. 2005. *Sport: A Critical Sociology*. Oxford: Polity.

Giulianotti outlines how functionalist theorists, from the classical theorists to the present, have looked at sports in terms of social solidarity and ritual. Giulianotti favors functionalist insights over conflict theory; he also incorporates the microsociology of Irving Goffman.

Harris, John, and Andrew Parker, eds. 2009. *Sport and Social Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Examines how social identities of race, social class, nationality and sexuality are constructed and reinforced through participation in sport.

Human Kinetics Publishers. 1984-present. *Sociology of Sport Journal*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers.

The *Sociology of Sport Journal* is a scholarly journal dedicated to research on the role of sport in society. The journal is available in print or electronic formats.

Maguire, Joseph, et al. 2002. *Sport Worlds: A Sociological Perspective*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

The authors explore the interconnections between sports and other social worlds, incorporating historical issues in sports, and current trends.

Sage, George Harvey. 2010. *Globalizing Sport: How Organizations, Corporations, Media, and Politics are Changing Sports*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Globalization of sport begins with the shift from local to national, then national to global. The book includes discussions of the migration of sports figures, the globalization of sports business, and the global sports mass media.

Yiannakis, Andrew, and Merrill J. Melnick, Eds. 2001. *Contemporary Issues in Sociology of Sport*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

This is an anthology of 34 research articles on sports, by the editors and others. Topics covered include the influence of sports on society, female athletes, homophobia, the challenges and benefits of big collegiate sports, and racial stratification in sports.

PART FIVE

Social Change

Chapter 17

Population and Urbanization

Chapter 18

Social Change and Collective Behavior

Chapter 17: Population and Urbanization

Brief Chapter Outline

I. The Dynamics of Demography

- A. The Nature of Demography
- B. Fertility
- C. Mortality
- D. Migration

II. Population Growth

- A. World Population Growth
- B. The Malthusian Perspective
- C. The Demographic Transition
- D. Population Control
- E. Future World Population Growth
- F. Population Growth in the United States

III. Urbanization

- A. Basic Concepts
- B. The Urban Transition
- C. Preindustrial Cities
- D. Rise of the Modern City
- E. Suburbanization
- F. Consequences of Suburbanization
- G. World Urbanization

IV. Theories of City Growth

- A. Concentric Zone Theory
- B. Sector Theory
- C. Multiple-Nuclei Theory
- D. Peripheral Theory

V. The Quality of Urban Life

- A. The Traditional Perspective on Urbanism: Loss of Community
- B. The Contemporary Perspective on Urbanism: Community Sustained

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Distinguish among the concepts of demography, formal demography, and social demography.
2. Distinguish the three population processes.
3. Discuss the major dimensions of the world population growth problem.
4. Predict future world and U.S. population trends.
5. Differentiate among the basic measures of urbanization.
6. Trace the historical development of preindustrial and modern cities.
7. Describe some of the consequences of suburbanization.
8. Discuss world urbanization.
9. Compare and contrast four theories of city growth.
10. Compare and contrast traditional and contemporary views on the quality of urban life.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. The Dynamics of Demography

A. *The Nature of Demography*—Demography is the study of all characteristics of a population: size, distribution, composition, age structure, and change. It draws from a number of disciplines. Formal demography deals with gathering, collating, analyzing, and presenting population data—for example, changes in the U.S. population. Social demography is the study of population patterns within a social context, such as the relationship between U.S. population changes and congressional redistricting. Demographers study the relationship between quantities of people and the quality of their lives. By gathering and analyzing information about growth, location, and trends in populations, demography plays a major role in policy formation, planning, and decision making in both public and private sectors of modern economies. Demographic information is used to plan for the health, education, transportation, and recreation needs of communities in the United States, and to identify specific socioeconomic groups in order to provide them with services. Fertility, mortality, and migration are responsible for population growth and decline.

B. *Fertility*—Fertility measures the number of children born to a woman or a population of women; fecundity refers to the maximum rate at which women can produce children. The estimate for the upper limit of a society's average fecundity is fifteen births per woman. The record fertility rate for a group is held by the Hutterites, a group of Swiss immigrants, who in the 1930s produced an average of more than twelve children each. Theirs is an example of a natural fertility rate, or the number of children born in the absence of conscious birth control practices.

The crude birth rate is the annual number of live births per one thousand members of a population. Birth rates range from very high, for example 43 per 1,000 in Uganda, to very low, as is Germany's rate of 9 per 1,000. The birth rate for the United States is 14 per 1,000. The birth rate is calculated by dividing the total annual number of live births by the total population and multiplying by one thousand. The age structure of a population affects the birth rate, so that in addition to the crude birth rate, demographers use the fertility rate which is the annual number of live births per one thousand women ages fifteen to forty-four. An age-specific fertility rate may be calculated for any particular age group. The total fertility rate is the average number of children born to a woman during her lifetime. Like other birth rates, the total fertility rate may be very high, as is the case of 4.7 for Africa, or very low, as is 1.6 for Europe. The total fertility rate for the U.S. is 1.8. Biological factors, such as disease and fecundity, affect the birth rate. In addition, social factors such as average age at marriage, the educational status of women, and the level of economic development of a country also affect the birth rate. Due in part to an increase in the use of contraception and abortion, the U.S. birth rate has declined over the last 30 years. Other factors such as ideas about the ideal family size, and delayed childbearing for women with careers, also influence the birth rate.

C. *Mortality*—Mortality refers to deaths within a population. The dimensions of mortality are life span, the oldest age to which humans can survive, and life expectancy, the average number of years that people in a population at a particular time can expect to live. Morbidity refers to rates of disease and illness in a population. The types of illnesses vary by level of economic development. In early twentieth-century America, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis accounted for nearly 25 percent of all deaths; today heart disease, stroke, and cancer are more likely to be the cause of deaths.

The crude death rate is the annual number of deaths per one thousand members of a population. It is calculated by dividing the annual number of deaths by the total population and multiplying by one thousand. Globally, the death rate varies from a low of 5 per 1,000 in Central America to a high of 14 per 1,000 in Middle Africa. The death rate in the United States is about 8 per 1,000. As with birth rates, age-specific death rates measure the number of deaths per one thousand persons in a specific age-group in order to compare the risk of death for different groups. The death rate is influenced by factors such as age, sex, race, occupation, social class, standard of living, and healthcare. The infant mortality rate is the number of deaths among infants under one year of age per one thousand live births. It is used as an indicator of the health status of a group because infants are extremely susceptible to variations in food consumption, availability of medical care, and public sanitation.

D. *Migration*—Migration is the term for the movement of people from one geographical area to another for the purpose of establishing a new residence. Migration can either be within a country or between countries. The gross migration rate is the number of persons per one thousand members of a population who, in a given year, enter (immigrants) or leave (emigrants) a geographical area. The combined effect of immigration and emigration on the size of a population is called net migration. The net migration rate is the annual increase or decrease per

one thousand members of a population resulting from movement into and out of the population. Only legal migration is reported by the U.S. Census Bureau. If current trends continue, experts expect 10-15 million new immigrants coming to the United States over the next decade. It would not be surprising to see 30 million new immigrants arrive over the next 20 years. While no exact information is available, it is estimated that one-half of foreigners currently in the United States entered illegally. Immigration has become the primary factor in U.S. population growth, accounting for about 30 percent of the U.S. population increase between 1980 and 2000. In 2016, the foreign-born comprised about 13 percent of the total population—the largest proportion in 94 years, due to war, violence, or persecution. The so-called “Arab Spring” in the Middle East unleashed a wave of migration from war-torn nations to welcoming countries considered safe.

Push-pull theory is used to explain migration, push factors being those that impel people to leave their current location, and pull factors attracting people to new locations. Despite significant factors pushing or pulling, not everyone migrates. Economic or health considerations, for example, may affect the decision to migrate. Economic reasons are most associated with voluntary migration. The greatest movement is found among young people leaving home to attend college, to take a job, to marry, or to join the military.

II. Population Growth

A. *World Population Growth*—In 1999 the United Nations reported that the world’s population had reached 6 billion. According to Population Connection, the world’s population is growing at a rate of 83 million people per year. Both birth rates and death rates contribute to population growth. Populations in developing countries are increasing because improvements in medicine and sanitation have slowed death rates, but birth rates have not declined. There has never been a complete worldwide numeration of the population. Although most countries take a census, some national populations are still not calculated. The quality of census data varies a great deal from country to country. Still, world population growth patterns are projected using historical information and recently collected data. The current rapid rate of world population growth, about 1.11 percent or 80 million people per year, is a relatively recent phenomenon. An estimated 250 million people were on the earth in A.D. 1; around 1650 the world’s population doubled, to half a billion. The second doubling occurred in 1850, bringing the world population to just over 1 billion. By 1930, only eighty years later, another doubling had taken place. Population has been growing at an increasingly rapid rate. In 1976, the population doubled yet again, raising the world’s population to 4 billion. At the current growth rate, the world’s population will reach almost 10 billion persons by the year 2050.

The population growth that occurs within a given time period becomes part of the base for the growth rate in the next time period. This explains why population does not grow linearly; instead, it increases geometrically or exponentially, as in 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, and so on. Even if the actual growth rate is identical for two consecutive years, the second year’s population increase will be larger. This has been the case in reality. The world population grew at about 2 percent per year between 1960 and 1970, which produced an increase of 650 million people. At the same rate, by 1980, one would expect the world population to increase by 800 million, and this was nearly the case. In 1970, the world population was 3,261 million; in 1980, it was 4,414 million, an actual increase of 1,153 million. A term often used in analyzing population growth is doubling time—the number of years needed to double the original population size, given its current rate of growth. If a population is growing at 1 percent per year, it takes only seventy years to double. Thus, at the current world population growth rate of 1.2 percent the population is growing at the rate of 152 per minute, nearly 220,000 per day, or almost 83 million per year. Fortunately, the world’s growth rate has been declining since the 1970s, from 2.1 percent in 1970 to 1.7 percent in the 1980s, to 1.1 percent where it stands today. Of course, the future of world population growth depends in part on levels of fertility.

Using the United States as a hypothetical illustration, limiting family size by one child makes a significant difference in population growth. When small decreases in the crude death rate and a stable net migration are assumed, an average two-child family size would result in a population of 300 million in 2015. Taking the hypothetical average family size of three children, the U.S. population would grow to 400 million by 2013. With an average family of two children, the U.S. population would not quite double itself between 1970 and 2070. An average family size of three children would cause the population to double itself twice during this same period.

B. *The Malthusian Perspective*—In 1798, Thomas Robert Malthus, an English minister and economist, proposed a set of relationships between population growth and economic development. According to Malthus, population, if left unchecked, will tend to exceed the available food supply because while population grows exponentially, the food supply does not. Positive checks on population are those factors that increase mortality, such as famines, disease, or wars. Preventive checks on population are those factors that decrease fertility, such as later marriages

or abstaining from sexual relations in marriages. Malthus described the process of population among the poor: increased income would be offset by increased births, reducing the food supply, and ultimately creating positive checks on population. Preventive checks are practiced by the wealthy and better educated. Malthus suggested that universal education would help to control fertility. The affects of education could be enhanced by raising aspirations to a higher standard of living. Increasing income would provide the poor with the choice between more children, or fewer children and a higher quality of life.

Malthus' predictions were questioned during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. However, since then they have been given legitimacy by global crises. In some places, population growth has outstripped food resources and the ability of societies to provide even minimal quantities of basic necessities such as housing, healthcare, education, and employment. Neo-Malthusians have modified Malthus's propositions in order to explain the current world situation and to predict possible futures. First, they note that, contrary to Malthus' fears, the development of reliable contraceptives has not distorted marital relations. Second, they note that social and economic changes affect attitudes toward family size, so that fertility may be regulated without positive checks. However, in some cases, population growth may require diverting resources to population maintenance and away from socioeconomic improvements. Currently, whether or not the world's population is out of control is the subject of debate.

- C. *The Demographic Transition*—Some developed countries may have avoided crisis by undergoing a demographic transition, the process by which a population moves from high birth rates and death rates to low birth rates and death rates, as a result of increased economic development. In stage one of the demographic transition, both the birth rate and the death rate are high, and population growth is modest. This is characteristic of preindustrial societies. In stage two, the birth rate remains high, but the death rate begins to drop sharply because of improvements in sanitation, increased food production, and medical advances. The rate of population growth is very high. Most sub-Saharan African countries are presently at this stage. In the third stage, the birth rate declines sharply; but because the death rate continues to drop, population growth is still rapid. In the fourth and final stage, both the birth rate and the death rate are low, and the population grows slowly if at all. North America, Europe, and Japan are at this stage today.

Europe is experiencing the second demographic transition, which began in the mid-1960s. The second demographic transition is characterized by a decline in fertility. In Europe, the fertility rate has dropped from slightly above replacement level, the birth rate at which a couple replaces itself, to a rate of 1.6. At this rate, without immigration, the population will decline, as it has been in Italy, Sweden, Germany, Hungary, and Russia. The assumption that developing societies would proceed through the same stages as the developed world has been criticized as being ethnocentric. Developing countries began their transitions with much higher birth and death rates than the now-developed world had at the time their transitions occurred. In addition, in developed countries it was domestic industrialization that decreased mortality, as opposed to disease control as is the case for developing countries.

- D. *Population Control*—Population control is the conscious attempt to regulate population size through national birth control programs. It is necessary to curb population growth because death rates have already declined dramatically throughout the world. In the past, high birth rates were needed to offset the high death rates from disease and poor hygiene. Larger populations were desirable for forming armies, and for agricultural labor. Religious prohibitions against birth control promoted increases populations, and aging parents wanted children who would care for them. However, since the mid-twentieth century governments have come to view high birth rates as a threat to their national well-being. By 1990, most countries had either voluntary or compulsory programs to reduce birth rates.

Voluntary population control is known as family planning, making it possible for women to choose the number of children they will have. Family planning programs include making contraception available, providing birth prevention information, and other services. Since 1969 birth rates for women in the poorest countries have declined by 50 percent, but preferred family size remains high. The World Fertility Survey reports the average preferred family size of women in African nations is 7.1; in Middle Eastern nations, 5.1; in Latin American nations, 4.3; and in Asian Pacific nations, 4.0. In European countries, the average preferred family size ranges from 2.1 to 2.8. As an example, Taiwan industrialized and went through the demographic transition rapidly after World War II. Today the birth rate is below replacement level. In contrast, India has been unable to reduce population through voluntary means. India did not have rapid industrialization. In addition, policy makers have not worked to overcome religious and cultural opposition to birth control, and implementation of national policy has been left up to individual states governments. India implemented a compulsory program in 1976. Those who could not produce official proof of sterilization were denied such things as business permits,

gun licenses, and ration cards for the purchase of basic goods. Still, India has a total fertility rate of 2.3 and is expected to have the world's largest population by 2050.

Through a system of rewards and punishments China has been successful in reducing its total fertility rate from 7.5 in 1963 to 1.6 today. In cities, couples with only one child could obtain a one-child certificate that entitled them to a monthly allowance for the costs of children up to age fourteen. In addition, they received a larger retirement pension and enjoyed preference in housing, school admission for their children, and employment. Families with more than one child were subjected to an escalating tax on each child, and received no financial aid from the government for the medical and education costs of their extra children. China's one-child policy worked so well that fears of the negative effects of the aging population on economic development led to a reversal of the policy. The 40-year-old one-child policy ended on January 1, 2016 when the new law permitted families to have two children if one parent, rather than both parents, was an only child. The law still requires government-issued birther permits, the absence of which is penalized by forced abortions. Using similar policies, Singapore reduced its total fertility rate from 4.5 children per woman in 1966 to 1.4 in 1985. Although the Singapore government has changed its policy, the fertility rate remains below replacement level.

- E. *Future World Population Growth*—The world population growth rate is declining, and the rate is projected to drop to zero by the end of the twenty-first century. Birth rates, and the population growth rate, are declining in both developed and developing areas of the world. Predicting future world population growth is difficult because we do not know for sure how many children today's youth will have, or what might happen to change life expectancy, particularly in developing countries. While some worry about a population decline, or implosion, others note that fertility rates are still very high in developing countries.

The United Nations offers three possible scenarios for world population growth, depending on the average number of children women will bear. In the medium scenario, women will have an average of two children, the world population will rise to over 9 billion by 2100, and zero population growth (ZPG) will follow. ZPG exists when deaths are balanced by births so that the population does not grow. In the high fertility scenario, women worldwide will average about 2.5 children; world population will rise to 14 billion in 2100 and continue to grow indefinitely, exceeding 27 billion 100 years later. In the low fertility scenario, women will have an average of 1.6 children or less; world population will peak at 8 billion in 2050 and drop to 6 billion by 2100. Despite the reduction in the annual growth rate and birth rate, the world's population will continue to increase; nearly 7 billion people are expected to inhabit the globe by 2010. By mid-twenty-first century, the world population will stabilize at about 12 billion people as zero population growth is achieved. Due to a high proportion of women in their childbearing years, limiting the average family size does not result in an immediate reduction in population. A time lag of 60 to 70 years must pass before zero population growth is achieved; this is termed population momentum.

- F. *Population Growth in the United States*—The population of the United States has grown from less than 4 million in 1790 to 309 million in 2010, and is expected to continue growing despite average Americans reproducing below the replacement level of 1.8 children per family. Unlike other industrialized nations, the United States is undergoing a "baby boomlet," a trend due to the baby-boom that produced the large number of women whose children and grandchildren are now having children. The 4.3 million births in 2006 was the largest number of children born in the United States in almost 50 years. In addition, rates of mortality and migration are also impacting population size. The U.S. population is projected to increase to almost 400 million by 2050, while population growth in other more developed countries is expected to decline. Thus, the United States will remain the largest of the more developed countries.

As in most cases, fertility is the primary factor in population growth in the United States; during each decade of the twentieth century there were more births than deaths, or a natural increase. Between 2000 and 2001 there were 4 million births, and 2.4 million deaths. This accounted for 60 percent of the population increase that year. During the early twentieth century the fertility rate for native-born white women was 3.5. During the 1930s a lower total fertility rate lowered natural increase, but this trend reversed after World War II when the baby boom occurred with a fertility rate of 3.5. In the early 1970s fertility was again low, at 1.7 children per woman, followed by a small increase in the late 1970s.

The U.S. foreign-born population has reached a new high of 43 million, up from 9.7 million in 1960. Legal immigrants continue to account for three-fourths of the foreign-born population in the United States, while about 11 million are unauthorized immigrants. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 caused a major shift in the countries of origin of U.S. immigrants. In 1960, 84 percent of the nation's immigrants originated in Europe and Canada (see Figure 17.5). By 2013, the proportion of European and Canadian immigrants had shrunk to 14 percent, superseded by South/East Asians (26 percent), Mexicans (28 percent), and other Latin Americans (24 percent).

The United States has the largest foreign population of any developed country, by a considerable margin. Immigration has been an important factor in population growth in the most recent decades due to fertility at or below replacement level among native-born women. The contribution of immigration to population growth is even greater than suggested by the number of foreign-born people entering the United States, due to high fertility rates among immigrants. Almost one-fifth of births in 2000 were to immigrant women. If current immigration and fertility trends continue for 100 years, four in ten Americans will be post-1980 immigrants or their descendants. The U.S. death rate is relatively low, but has been increasing slightly since the early 1980s due to an aging population. Life expectancy has increased as the death rate has declined so that an American born now can expect to live 78 years, up from 71 years at the beginning of the 1970s. Life expectancy for males is 76 years; for females it is 81 years. U.S. death rates could decline if deaths due to poverty or a lack of medical care among poor youth were prevented. This would have an impact on population growth.

III. Urbanization

A. *Basic Concepts*—A community is a concentration of people whose major social and economic needs are satisfied primarily within the area where they live. When several million people live within a given geographical area, some sociologists do not believe that such large concentrations of people can be described as communities. A city is a dense and permanent concentration of people who live in a limited geographical area and who earn their living primarily through nonagricultural activities. The definition of a city was established when urbanization had just begun and population concentrations were small. The U.S. Census Bureau defined a city as having more than 2500 people. This is small by today's standards, so other criteria have been added. In addition to containing a reasonably large number of people, cities are characterized by permanence, density, heterogeneity, and occupational specialization of inhabitants.

The Census Bureau distinguishes urban areas of varying size. An urban area is a census block with a population density of no less than 1,000 persons per square mile. Urban clusters are areas with over 10,000 people, but fewer than 50,000. An urbanized area is composed of a central city, or cities, of 50,000 or more and the surrounding densely inhabited territory. A micropolitan statistical area (MicroSA) has at least one urban concentration of 10,000 to 50,000 people, plus the adjoining integrated territory. In 2015, 10 percent of the U.S. population resided in 577 MicroSAs. A metropolitan statistical area (MetroSA or MSA) is a grouping that contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more, or an urbanized area of at least 50,000 inhabitants, and the surrounding integrated population. The influence of any city extends far beyond its official boundaries, and the designation of MicroSAs and MSAs allows the Census Bureau to identify large areas whose populations have interdependent relationships with a central city. The Census Bureau identifies a combined statistical area (CSA) as two or more adjacent MSAs or a MSA and one or more MicroSAs. Newark, New Jersey, is an example; it is a MSA, but is also interrelated with New York City.

B. *The Urban Transition*—Urbanization refers to the process by which an increasingly larger portion of the world's population lives in urban areas. While now taken for granted in many parts of the world, urbanization is a fairly recent development. One of the world's first major cities was Ur, located in what is now Iraq, and at its peak it had about 24,000 people. During the time of the Roman Empire, it is unlikely that many cities had populations larger than 33,000; the entire population of Rome itself was probably under 350,000. As recently as 1800, less than 3 percent of the world's population lived in cities of 20,000 or more, compared with 49 percent of the world's population today.

C. *Preindustrial Cities*—The development of cities required an agricultural surplus. The first urban settlements were established around 3500 B.C. in Mesopotamia, in what is today southwestern Asia. This is one of the world's most fertile areas, and at that time it provided the necessary surplus of food for people in cities. Four types of people were attracted by cities: 1) the elite for whom the city provided a setting for consolidating political, military, or religious power; 2) the functionaries or political or religious officials who carried out the plans of the elite; 3) craftspeople who came to the city to work and sell their products to the elite and functionaries; and 4) the poor and destitute, who came to the city for economic relief but were seldom able to improve their condition.

Preindustrial types of cities exist today in places in Africa, Asia and Latin America that are not industrialized. Particularly capital cities attract people from rural areas seeking a better life. Many cities in developing nations lack the housing, sanitation, transportation, and communication facilities needed to accommodate their residents, not do they have the expected economic opportunities. Despite these problems, for some the rural areas are worse. In cities, many live in makeshift housing with few or no necessities.

D. *Rise of the Modern City*—The Industrial Revolution brought changes in agriculture, commerce, and industry that allowed for better food production and more efficient transportation systems with less human labor. Reliable food production and transportation contributed to the growth of cities. Factories, however, were the primary reason for the growth of cities. Factories tended to be located near each other where they took advantage of available resources, like waterways, and could share transportation and raw materials. The concentration of industry led to denser populations of factory workers, which in turn attracted retailers, innkeepers, entertainers, and a wide range of people offering services to city dwellers.

The center of the city was most important during preindustrial times; it was safer to live in cities than outside of them. Members of the upper class lived near the center of preindustrial cities, which gave them access to the most important government and religious buildings as well as the main market. The outskirts of cities were populated by the poor and those with low-status craft occupations, such as tanning and butchering. These were the least desirable areas due to their lack of accessibility to the central city. In contrast, cities in industrialized nations are connected by sophisticated communication and transportation networks which have the opposite effect of the walls that protected preindustrial cities. Industrial cities have an outward orientation. Development has occurred away from the central city and into surrounding suburban areas. In fact, many central cities are now losing population to the areas surrounding them.

E. *Suburbanization*—Suburbanization is a sign of contemporary urban growth. It occurs as central cities lose population to the areas surrounding them. The population outside central cities is expanding faster than central cities themselves. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the population of the central cities of the 255 MSAs increased by only 3.9 percent between 1990 and 1998, whereas the population of MSA areas outside the central cities (almost entirely suburbs) increased by 12.5 percent during the same period. The United States is now predominantly suburban. Improvements in communication, such as telephones, radios, television, and (later) computers, fax machines, and the Internet, allow people to live away from the central city without losing touch with its activities. Developments in transportation make it possible for people to commute to work and for many businesses to leave the central city for suburban locations. Cultural and economic pressures have also encouraged the development of suburbs. American culture has always been biased against urban living. Still, suburbs are attractive because of decreased crowding and traffic congestion, lower taxes, better schools, less crime, and reduced pollution. In addition, developers find suburban locations cheaper than urban ones, and government policies support the development of suburbs over the central city.

Over the last decade, the nature of suburbanization has changed to include the movement of jobs and businesses to the suburbs as well. This change in suburbanization has created the edge city, a suburban unit specializing in a particular economic activity. An edge city will have a focus like computer technology or healthcare, but will also include many other types of economic activities such as office parks, distribution and warehousing clusters, and home offices of national corporations. Edge cities are actually little cities in themselves with a full range of services, including schools, retail sales, restaurants, malls, medical facilities, hotels, motels, recreational complexes, and entertainment centers. While they do not have legal and physical boundaries separating them from the larger urban areas, edge cities have names attached to them. Boomburbs have over 100,000 residents, but are not the largest cities in their metropolitan areas. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the United States has 53 boomburbs, 41 of which exceed 100,000 people. Despite their size, boomburbs retain their suburban character; however, they still have many traditional urban problems such as sprawl, overused government services, and traffic congestion.

F. *Consequences of Suburbanization*—In the 1930s only the upper and middle classes could afford to live in the suburbs; in the 1950s they were joined by the working class. Despite prohibitions against racial discrimination, until the 1970s the suburbs remained largely white. Although suburban counties are still predominantly white, more minority group members have moved to the suburbs in large numbers. Despite this reduction in the degree of racial segregation, African Americans remain the most isolated ethnic or racial minority in the United States. Latinos and Asians are more suburbanized and less concentrated in the central cities than African Americans. In addition, Latinos and Asians are less segregated in suburban areas. As some minority group members are able to move to the suburbs, the “underclass” accounts for a larger proportion of the remaining central-city population.

Businesses followed the more affluent people to the suburbs, attracted by lower tax rates, less expensive land, less congestion, and their customers who have already left the city. With the exodus of the middle class, the manufacturers, and the retailers the central city has lost much of its tax base. As a result, the central city has become increasingly populated by the poor, the unskilled, and the uneducated. This situation has been termed the central-city dilemma, the concentration of a large population in need of public services (schools, transportation,

healthcare) but without the money to provide for them. The socioeconomic situation in the central city has contributed to the growth of serious social problems. Poor inner-city African American children are handicapped by inferior educational facilities and teachers, and the dropout rate among them is considerably higher than among whites. African Americans in large-city slums exist in a world of poverty, congestion, prostitution, drug addiction, broken homes, and brutality.

Several trends may contribute to restoring a tax base for the central city. Some cities require municipal workers to live in the city. Gentrification, the development of low-income areas by middle-class home buyers, landlords, and professional developers, is restoring some areas of the city. In addition, there has been movement back into cities by whites, particularly two-income families, singles, and childless couples.

- G. *World Urbanization*—Close to 54 percent of the world's population lives in urban areas, and this is expected to reach 60 percent in 2025. Seventy-eight percent of the population in more developed countries lives in urban areas, compared with 49 percent in less developed countries. The urban areas in the more developed countries of the West expanded between 1850 and 1950. In contrast, in the developing world rapid urbanization has occurred primarily since World War II, as former colonies gained their independence. In the cities of less developed countries, industrial developments have not kept pace with urbanization so that the supply of labor entering from rural areas exceeds the demand for labor. This results in overurbanization, a situation in which a city is unable to supply adequate jobs or housing for its inhabitants. This has not been the case in the cities of North America and Europe. In developed countries there are a few large cities, many medium-sized cities, and a large base of small cities. In the less developed world, many countries have only one tremendously large city that dwarfs a large number of villages. In 2005, fifteen of the world's twenty megacities, with populations of 10 million or more, were located in developing countries. The agricultural economy in developing countries cannot support the rural population, which is pushed out to the city. In addition, rural peasants believe there are opportunities for better education, employment, social welfare support, and medical care in cities, even though they are likely to be disappointed.

IV. Theories of City Growth

The patterns of all cities may be studied from a perspective of urban ecology, the relationships between humans and their urban environments. Early sociologists at the University of Chicago realized that residents in different parts of the city were affected differently by urban life. This led to the development of theories of urban ecology and city growth. There are four major theories of city growth, each of which has led to a different understanding of urban space: concentric zone theory, sector theory, multiple-nuclei theory and peripheral theory.

- A. *Concentric Zone Theory*—Developed by Ernest Burgess, concentric zone theory describes city growth in relation to distinctive zones that develop from the central city outward, in a circular pattern. The innermost circle is the central business district, the heart of the city, containing major government and private office buildings, business enterprises, and cultural facilities. The area immediately surrounding the central business district is called the zone in transition. Former middle- and upper-class inhabitants have left this zone, and property is mostly held by absentee owners who only want to extract profit, not invest in development. Until, if ever, this zone is absorbed by the central business district, it is used for slum housing, warehouses, and marginal businesses unable to compete economically in the central business district itself. Surrounding the zone in transition are three zones devoted primarily to housing: the zone of workingmen's homes populated largely by blue-collar workers, the residential zone containing mostly single-family dwellings in middle-class and upper-middle-class neighborhoods, and the commuter's zone, often outside the city limits, which contains upper-class and upper-middle-class suburbs.
- B. *Sector Theory*—Homer Hoyt developed sector theory based on his observations that land use did not change so much due to distance from the central city as it does according to major transportation routes. Sectors are pie-shaped wedges radiating from the central business district to the city's outskirts, organized around transportation routes. Each has its own social class and ethnic composition, and a different general use: some are industrial, some retail, some contain motels and fast food, and some are residential. Sector theory is not concerned with the shape of the city boundaries; instead the emphasis is on land patterns around transportation routes.
- C. *Multiple-Nuclei Theory*—Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman developed multiple-nuclei theory to account for the fact that many cities have areas that cannot be explained by either concentric zone or sector theory. Multiple-nuclei theory does not predict a land use pattern that applies to all cities. A city may have several separate centers, reflecting factors such as geography, history, and tradition.

D. *Peripheral Theory*—Unlike the other theories that were developed over fifty years ago, peripheral theory recognizes that more flexible means of transportation are moving the orientation of many cities away from the older urban center. In addition to residential areas, offices, factories, schools, retail stores, restaurants, and health centers have also moved into the suburbs. Urban geographer Chauncy Harris created peripheral theory to account for these current changes in urban growth.

While none of these theories applies to all cities, each emphasizes importance factors. Concentric zone theory highlights the fact that growth in any one area of a city is part of the processes of segregation, invasion, and succession, and is strongly influenced by those with money and the purposes they have in mind. Concentric zone theory needs to be modified to account for the fact that many central cities have ceased to grow. Sector theorists also contributed an understanding of the strong influence transportation routes have on cities. The types of geographical and historical factors emphasized by multiple-nuclei theory are also important for understanding any specific city. Finally, peripheral theory brought urban growth research up to date by emphasizing the development of suburbs around the central city. Recognizing that each type of theory makes a different contribution, some researchers explain patterns of land use by combining the insights of each. As an example, some have described how sectors attract people from different social classes, based on the geography and history associated with the particular transportation routes around which they develop.

V. The Quality of Urban Life

The early sociologists of the University of Chicago were concerned about the effects of the city on people. They concluded that people in cities have a unique way of life that they termed urbanism. Louis Wirth, the first to develop the idea of urbanism as a way of life, believed that because urban residents are confronted with a variety of lifestyles, they are more tolerant of diversity and less ethnocentric than residents of small towns or rural areas. However, Wirth also saw impersonality and social disorganization in urban areas, a view presented in the classic work of Ferdinand Tönnies.

- A. *The Traditional Perspective on Urbanism: Loss of Community*—Tönnies's viewpoint – Tönnies distinguished between *gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (society). *Gemeinschaft* was the type of society that existed before the Industrial Revolution. Social relationships were intimate because people knew each other. There was a sense of a shared way of life and an interest in the common good of the community. In *gesellschaft* type of society, which emerged after industrialization, most of the people with whom one interacted were strangers. Although the immediate family remained important, the wider kinship network did not. As tradition disappeared, interest shifted from the community's welfare to self-interest. According to Wirth, the sophistication, freedom, and diversity of urbanism was marked by a depersonalization of human relationships. Urban residents interact on the basis of rigidly defined roles, not their total personalities. Reliance on roles occurs because it is impossible to know everyone, and while urbanites may know more people than rural residents, they do not know them well enough to interact personally. Wirth believed that as cities become larger, more densely settled, and more socially diverse, residents become more sophisticated and more reliant on impersonal relationships.
- B. *The Contemporary Perspective on Urbanism: Community Sustained*—Wirth has been criticized for his assumption that all urban residents share a common lifestyle. Herbert Gans argued that five basic population groups could be found within inner-city areas, and that some of these live in the inner city by choice and do not experience the negative consequences depicted by Wirth. Gans identified: 1) cosmopolites who are well educated, have high incomes, and are attracted to cultural advantages, such as art museums, theaters, and symphony orchestras; 2) the unmarried and childless also live in the inner city by choice because it allows them to meet other people, and the area is convenient to jobs and entertainment facilities; 3) ethnic villagers live in inner-city neighborhoods with strong ethnic identities—while they may not participate in the city as a whole, their immediate neighborhood is an important source of intimate, enduring relationships; 4) the trapped are people such as the elderly living on pensions or public assistance who cannot afford to leave the inner city—they may identify with their own neighborhood, but consider overall changes in the central-city area undesirable; and 5) the deprived who may be poor minorities, the psychologically and physically challenged, some divorced mothers, and other people for whom the city may offer increased opportunities, but who are not able to choose where they will live. These are the people most affected by population size, density, and diversity.

Research has found that urban residents have informal, emotionally supportive relationships. According to John Kasarda and Morris Janowitz, those who are not involved in such relationships tend to be those who have not lived in the city long enough to become a part of it. Studies in areas as diverse as lower-class slums and middle-class suburbs also show the importance of personal relationships among family members and friends. Neighborhoods, as well as families, provide urban residents with emotional support and mutual aid.

Class Activities

1. Ask the students to divide into groups. Instruct them that they have been chosen as the Committee on Global Population Problems (COGPP). Ask them to evaluate the problems associated with continued population growth presented in the text and to develop their own ideas for solutions. Have each group present their ideas to the class. Ask the class to evaluate the suggestions in terms of the outcomes they might predict would occur.
2. Ask the students to view the film entitled *Soylent Green* (1973, starring Charlton Heston), in which the need for population control in future societies leads to euthanasia centers and the recycling of human flesh into food products. Ask them to evaluate the plausibility of such predictions, both within the United States and in other societies.
3. Invite a city planner to come to the class and discuss what he or she does in that job. Ask that person to discuss population projections for the local area. Is the population expected to grow, shrink, or remain stable? By how much? How confident is the planner in these projections? Also ask the planner to relate the local area to one of the theories of city growth. Which one seems to most accurately explain the growth pattern of the local area?
4. Ask students to draw a picture of their own community, of any cities that they visit in nearby areas, and of the largest city with which they are familiar. Divide the class into small groups and ask students to share and discuss their drawings with each other. What theories do their drawings tend to illustrate? Have they identified particular neighborhoods, concentric circles, or areas surrounding major transportation routes? Each group should present to the class the drawings most representative of a particular theory.
5. Students have probably heard others talk about “bad neighborhoods” in urban areas. Perhaps they have their own experience with areas they avoid in the cities they visit. Ask them to discuss as a class what makes these “bad” neighborhoods. Do they understand these areas in a different way after reading the chapter? What programs might they suggest to make these neighborhoods safer and more hospitable for those who live there?

Teaching Suggestions

1. World population growth is a major concern for many environmentalists and futurists. Using Malthus, they imagine a doomsday scenario in which the world’s population grows unchecked, surpassing the available natural resources, and resulting in mass death. Population Connection (formerly Zero Population Growth) and Negative Population Growth are two organizations dedicated to finding ways to limit the growth of world and U.S. population growth, respectively. Both organizations point out that the vast majority of population growth takes place in developing countries—exactly the places with the least ability to support more people. Negative Population Growth also notes that immigration is a source of population increase for the U.S.

According to these two groups, there is a clear connection between population growth and virtually every challenge facing our planet. More people means more pollution, more sprawl, less green space, and even more demands on the earth’s already overburdened resources. Both organizations are active in the movement for sound population policies and advocate a stable or smaller and truly sustainable population through education and voluntary incentives for smaller families.

Up-to-the-minute data about U.S. and world population figures are available at the Census Bureau’s website, <http://www.census.gov/main/www/popclock.html>. Graphs of the growth in U.S. and world populations are shown at <http://www.npg.org/popfacts.htm> (U.S. population numbers) and <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/img/worldpop.gif> (world population growth).

The concern about population growth is not a new phenomenon. Thomas Robert Malthus expressed concern about the topic as early as 1798. Nearly two hundred years later, President Richard Nixon said (in 1969, with a population of 203 million Americans), “Where, for example, will the next hundred million Americans live? You can’t pour them into New York, into Los Angeles, into Chicago and the rest and choke those cities to death with smog and crime and all of the rest that comes with overpopulation.” Today, at nearly 217 million people, America has apparently found somewhere to put those extra 100 million. Where will the next 100 million or billion go?

References

Negative Population Growth, <http://www.npg.org/>.

Population Connection, <http://www.populationconnection.org>.

2. According to the National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH) a lack of affordable rental housing, and an increase in poverty, have combined to increase homelessness over the past 20 to 25 years. As discussed in earlier chapters, poverty has been increasing in the United States and most of those affected are children. Causes of poverty include changes in the occupational structure that has made self-sufficiency through employment more difficult, and a decrease in the availability of public assistance. Even when people are employed they may not make enough to afford housing and the other necessities such as food and transportation. Stagnant and falling incomes, and a lack of job security, have contributed to the persistence or worsening of homelessness in the United States.

A lack of affordable housing, and a decrease in the availability of public assistance, contribute to making homelessness a problem, despite the fact that many of the homeless are working. Many of the people in homeless shelters are employed full time. According to a 2007 survey by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 17.4 percent of homeless adults in families and 13 percent of homeless single adults or unaccompanied youth were employed. Another survey by the U.S. Conference of Mayors in 2005, of 24 U.S. cities, found that 13 percent of the homeless were employed. According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Coalition for the Homeless, the figures are probably much higher.

This information is taken from the website for the NCH, <http://www.nationalhomeless.org/index.html>. The NCH website has a great deal of information and resources, including video clips, that would be useful for a lecture on homelessness in urban areas.

3. Homeless persons face an increasing risk of violence. Feeding America, a national organization and network of food banks, estimates that 49 million Americans (1 in 6) are food insecure, hungry, or at risk of hunger. As a follow-up to a lecture on homelessness, invite personnel from a local homeless shelter, soup kitchen, and/or food pantry to speak to the class about the problems of homelessness in the local area. <http://www.feedingamerica.org/>
4. As discussed in the chapter, immigration is an important factor in population growth within the United States. In 2000 almost one-fifth of births were to immigrant women. *The New Americans* is a series of programs that follows recent immigrants from their homelands to the United States. The series is a program of Independent Lens, through the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Purchase or rent the series and show at least one of the segments to the class. <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/newamericans/>
5. Show *World in the Balance* (120 min.), a 2004 PBS/NOVA documentary that examines the “people paradox” of global population. Countries that can least afford to support an increasing population are experiencing population growth, while wealthier countries are experiencing population declines. After showing the film (or parts of it) in class, use the website to develop group exercises or activities for students outside of class. The website has a wealth of information about population globally, and within particular countries. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/worldbalance/>

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Television

The Simpsons, Season 2, Episode 4: Two Cars in Every Garage and Three Eyes on Every Fish (approx 25 minutes)

The nuclear power plants safety violations impact the environment and Mr. Burns runs for public office in order to change policy to accommodate the plants' pollution.

Journey of Man (120 minutes)

This National Geographic special presents genetic evidence that all humans descended from one man in Africa and have migrated out to populate the rest of the world. Parts of the film would be a nice addition to a lecture or discussion of population, urbanization or human impact on the environment. More information can be found at: <http://shop.nationalgeographic.com/product/3436.html>.

Documentaries

Demographic Winter

This documentary looks at falling fertility rates in the developed world and hypothesizes about the dire consequences of such precipitously falling fertility rates. More information is available at: <http://www.demographicwinter.com/index.html>.

Rx for Survival: A Global Health Challenge (345 minutes)

This PBS special looks at healthcare in a global context. Specifically, the video deals with the crisis that is occurring as healthcare advances are slowing and diseases are becoming more virulent and difficult to treat. More information can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/rxforsurvival/>.

World in the Balance (120 minutes)

This PBS/NOVA special looks at the consequences of an exploding global population combined with slowed population growth in developed nations. More information is available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/worldbalance/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. The text asks the question of what difference a single child makes in terms of population size. The impact an individual makes in terms of consumption of the world's resources depends on where that child is born. The Center for Biodiversity and Conservation, of the American Museum of Natural History, was created in 1993 in response to concern about habitat degradation and the loss of species around the world. The website for the Center for Biodiversity and Conservation includes information on resource consumption. For example, while the United States and Canada make up 5.3 percent of the world's population, they produce about 26 percent of CO₂ emissions. Visit the website and investigate global consumption patterns: <http://cbc.amnh.org/crisis/resconpercap.html>. In addition, part of the website offers suggestions for what each individual can do: <http://cbc.amnh.org/center/programs/wycd.html>. Explore this site and bring suggestions for changing consumption patterns to share with the class.
2. What is your favorite city, or the city you would most like to visit? Search the Internet to find that city's official home page (it is very likely that every large city has a website by now). Keeping in mind that most official websites are used as promotional tools for the city, browse the site and learn what you can about the problems facing the city. Is its population growing rapidly? If so, what strains does that put on the city's infrastructure and services? Look at a map of the city. Can you tell which theory of growth best describes the city?
3. Access Genealogy is an interesting gateway to vast amounts of information about immigration to the United States and, to a lesser degree, emigration from America. Visit this website at <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/emmig.htm>. You will find links to a wide variety of sites that describe immigration/emigration patterns with other countries. Choose a link that is related to your ancestry and learn about migration between the two countries.
4. The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation maintains a website related to U.S. Global Health Policy. Visit the website and look for the population calculator for individual countries and the world. On the page with the world population map look for the link to the custom data sheet through which you may compare up to five different countries on characteristics of your choice. Select countries to represent the least, most, and moderately developed world and compare them on health and population indicators.
http://www.globalhealthfacts.org/data/topic/map.aspx?ind=98&gclid=CO_0v8CGyKsCFZAAQAoddG434Q

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. Worldometers is project of Real Time Statistics, an international team of researchers and others whose goal is to bring global statistics more widely available. The worldometers website updates key world statistics in real time: <http://www.worldometers.info/>.
2. "Rethinking the Meat-Guzzler"—As global population increases and becomes more prosperous, global demand for meat is increasing. This New York Times article explores the consequences of increasing meat consumption for energy use and environmental impact. The online article has links to useful graphics that depict the relative energy consumption for different foodstuffs. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/weekinreview/27bittman.html>
3. The website for the U.S. Conference of Mayors is a useful resource for many topics related to urban sociology and population studies. The site has links to videos of various sorts, and online reports on topics such as water quality and the impact of foreclosures. Search "best practices" using key words relating to social problems.
<http://www.usmayors.org/>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Age-specific death rates (501)	Formal demography (497)	Overurbanization (518)
Age-specific fertility (498)	<i>Gemeinschaft</i> (523)	Peripheral theory (520)
Boomburbs (517)	Gentrification (517)	Population control (507)
Central-city dilemma (517)	<i>Gesellschaft</i> (524)	Population momentum (509)
Community (513)	Gross migration rate (501)	Replacement level (506)
Combined statistical area (CSA) (513)	Infant mortality rate (501)	Sector theory (520)
Concentric zone theory (520)	Life expectancy (499)	Social demography (497)
Crude birth rate (498)	Life span (499)	Suburbanization (515)
Crude death rate (500)	Metropolitan statistical area (MetroSA or MSA) (513)	Total fertility rate (499)
Demographic transition (506)	Micropolitan statistical area (MicroSA) (513)	Urban area (513)
Demography (497)	Migration (501)	Urban clusters (513)
Doubling time (505)	Morbidity (499)	Urban ecology (520)
Edge city (516)	Mortality (499)	Urbanism (523)
Exponential growth (504)	Multiple-nuclei theory (520)	Urbanization (513)
Family planning (507)	Natural increase (510)	Urbanized area (513)
Fecundity (497)	Net migration rate (501)	Zero population growth (509)
Fertility (497)		
Fertility rate (498)		

FURTHER READING

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Addams founded Hull House in 1889 in a run-down mansion in Chicago. Her goal was to provide a center for civic and social life for new immigrant populations and other urban dwellers. While somewhat autobiographical, this book documents some of the history of Hull House as a philanthropic project for female college graduates whose gender and social class kept them from paid employment.

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Florida is an academic in regional development. He argues that there is a new creative class that consists of academics, entertainers, artists, educators, architects and other professionals whose jobs involve the development of new technologies, ideas, and creative content. This creative class is characteristic of the most economically successful geographical areas.

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An overview of the sociological study of cities. Holton addresses various theories of urbanization as society transitions to capitalism. This text provides a good historical perspective on the process of urbanization.

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Neurath, Paul. 1994. *From Malthus to the Club of Rome and Back: Problems of Limits to Growth, Population Control, and Migrations*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

The author presents a collection of his own articles on population, including limits to growth, migration, and population control, with the goal of furthering understanding of what some see as a global population crisis.

Chapter 18: Social Change and Collective Behavior

Brief Chapter Outline

I. Social Change

- A. Social Change a Constant
- B. Processes for Change

II. Sources of Social Change

- A. Technology
- B. Population
- C. The Natural Environment
- D. Revolution and War
- E. Ideas

III. Theoretical Perspectives

- A. The Cyclical Perspective
- B. The Evolutionary Perspective
- C. The Functionalist Perspective
- D. The Conflict Perspective
- E. Reconciling the Functionalist and Conflict Perspectives

IV. Collective Behavior and Dispersed Collectives

- A. Rumors
- B. Mass Hysteria and Panics
- C. Fads, Crazes, and Fashions

V. Crowds

- A. Distinguishing Characteristics of Crowds
- B. Social Media and Crowds
- C. Theories of Crowd Behavior

VI. Social Movements

- A. The Nature of Social Movements
- B. Relative Deprivation Theory
- C. Value-Added Theory
- D. Resource Mobilization Theory
- E. The Future Direction of Social Movement Theory

Learning Objectives

After careful study of this chapter, students should be able to do the following:

1. Illustrate three social processes contributing to social change.
2. Discuss, as sources of social change, the role of technology, population, the natural environment, conflict, and ideas.
3. Explain the why and how of social change within the context of the functionalist and conflict perspectives.
4. Discuss the unique nature of collective behavior in sociology.
5. Describe social activities engaged in by dispersed collectivities.
6. Describe the nature of a crowd, and identify the basic types of crowds.
7. Contrast contagion theory, emergent norm theory, and convergence theory.
8. Define the concept of social movement, and identify the primary types of social movements.

Detailed Chapter Outline

I. Social Change

- A. *Social Change a Constant*—Social change is defined as societal alterations with long-term and relatively important consequences; it is a constant and inevitable process. The rate of change may be very slow or extremely rapid. Every society responds to change in a way that is consistent with its culture, so the results are different in different places. In addition, people may act to deliberately avoid a particular predicted occurrence. Thus, social change is difficult to predict, but that should not prevent attempts to understand it. Accurate predictions must be based on the correct assumptions. There are complex reasons for the rate of change in different societies. Societies that are more technologically complex tend to change more rapidly than simpler societies. Technology permits control over the natural environment, which creates opportunities for change in other areas of society.
- B. *Processes for Change*—Discovery, invention, and diffusion are three interrelated, yet distinct, social processes that lead to social change. Discovery occurs when something is learned or reinterpreted. As one example, early navigators demonstrated that the world is round; this discovery or reinterpretation of reality created further change including new patterns of colonization and commerce. When two or more existing elements are combined to create something altogether new, this is called invention. The complexity of the social or cultural base of society influences the pace of change by providing the means available for invention. The more complex and varied a society, the more rapidly it will change. Social change is even more rapid when an invention can be combined with other aspects of society. This explains why it took so long for humans to invent the means for flight, and only 70 years after that for trips to the moon to be possible. Diffusion refers to a group borrowing elements from another group. The rate and extent of diffusion depends on the degree of social contact. Diffusion may take place between groups in the same society, or between different societies. Only items that are compatible with the current culture will successfully diffuse; diffusion involves selectivity and modification. In modern societies, diffusion is a more common source of change than invention or discovery.

II. Sources of Social Change

- A. *Technology*—Technology refers to the combination of knowledge and hardware used to achieve a particular goal. As Marx noted in the transition to industrial society, technology is often a precursor to social change. Even minor technological advances may have a profound impact on social change and the rate of change in other, seemingly unrelated areas of society. There are many examples; for one the automobile contributed to rapid change in courtship and dating norms, sexual morality, residential patterns, and the impact of humans on the environment. Similarly, the creation of the silicon chip has wrought unprecedented and far-reaching changes at an unimaginable pace. These rapid technological changes have further altered virtually all aspects of human life, from surgery to telephone communication. Research into the human genome and use of stem cells will also have far-reaching implications for human life. “Synthetic biology” will create further change (and debate): Syntha is a human created micro-organism with computer designed DNA. Syntha reproduces independent of human biology.

Technological determinism assumes that technology determines other aspects of society. While this idea is tempting, it is important to remember that changes occur without technology, and that not all new technologies lead to social change. Also, the impact of any particular technology will vary as its use is shaped by the cultural norms and values of each different society. Still, the potential impact of technological change is inarguable. Shepard suggests it is best to view technology as an important factor in a network of causes, and to keep in mind how rapidly change can occur.

- B. *Population*—Changes in the population create changes throughout society in any number of ways. An example is the population pressure China, which has caused the imposition of conservation efforts, as well as lead to changes in burial practices from traditional burials to cremation. The “baby boom” in the United States after the end of World War II is another example. The large cohort known as baby boomers created a need for more schools. Now that baby boomers are aging, they are causing the population to be older, creating a need for more healthcare services and a reconsideration of retirement.
- C. *The Natural Environment*—Interaction with the natural environment also promotes social change. The westward expansion of the colonizers of what is now the United States destroyed Native American people and cultures, and became part of a national identity for European Americans. Current concerns about global warming may shape social changes in the immediate future. Some dire predictions include conflict between the developed and less developed countries, massive migrations, proliferation of disease, and global power realignments based on the availability of resources. In his book, *\$20 per Gallon*, Steiner (2009) discusses the changed likely to occur

as the price of oil, the most important resource in the modern world, goes up. At “peak oil” when more oil is consumed than found, a global turning point will be reached and social changes will begin to take place. From hybrid cars and mass transportation, to leaner people who walk and bike more; higher prices will lead to fewer vacations, schooling closer to home, families living closer to each other, and cities becoming more popular, as will apartment and condo living. At \$20 a gallon, solar, hydro, wind and nuclear power will replace oil.

- D. *Revolution and War*—Social thinkers, including Marx, have viewed conflict as a major source of social change. A revolution is a social movement that violently replaces one political regime with another. Those involved, the revolutionaries, expect widespread social change as a result of their actions. Marx expected a workers revolution to replace the class structure of inequality. Revolutions are not generally followed by radical social change. Any immediate changes are soon replaced with a social order very like those that were replaced. Even successful revolutions do not completely replace the old with the new; there is a great deal of continuity with the past. Charles Tilly argues that revolutions do have lasting effects if there is a genuine transfer of power. Change does not occur, most often, because the government that is seized is too weak to effect any change. The French Revolution created successful change because there was a centralized government that gave revolutionaries the means to seize and redistribute property. Regardless of whether or not they bring about the complete change promised by their leaders, revolutions are still a powerful source of change.

War, the armed conflict within a society or between nations, is a source of social change in part because it breaks down insulating barriers between nations. War breaks down barriers between societies promoting diffusion. The pressure of war promotes invention and discovery in the areas of technology. In the United States, World War I propelled the emergence of technologies like the airplane, automobile, nylon, and the radio. It is too soon to determine how the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan will create change.

- E. *Ideas*—Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic* and its impact on the development of capitalism is an example of an idea that brought about social change. Alfred North Whitehead stated, “A general idea is always a danger to the existing order.” Ideas may promote change, but they may also slow social change. During the Middle Ages, much of the power of the Catholic Church came through its resistance to change. Stereotypes and prejudice have perpetuated inequality in terms of race and gender.

Abortion presents an example of the interconnections of these sources of change. Medical technology permits abortion to be accomplished safely, which has the effect of reducing the birth rate and creating other social changes, such as smaller families, childless couples, more dual-employed families, and a reduced demand for natural resources. Conflicting ideas about when a fetus becomes a human being have created tensions since the Supreme Court legalized abortion in the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision.

III. Theoretical Perspectives

- A. *The Cyclical Perspective*—Tumultuous events of the early twentieth century, especially the costs of World War I in terms of deaths and money, left many scholars wondering if change was always progressive. Some scholars considered the possibility that civilizations rise and fall in a cyclical process. Between 1777 and 1788, British historian Edward Gibbon published six large volumes on the rise and fall of the Roman empire. Many saw some validity to the argument that there may be a pattern of growth and decay. In 1926–28, Historian Oswald Spengler wrote *The Decline of the West*, in which he described his belief that civilizations are born, ripen, decay, and perish. Another advocate of the cyclical perspective, British historian Arnold Toynbee, wrote *A Study in History* in 1946 in which he presented his challenge-response theory of social change. According to Toynbee, civilizations rise presented with an environmental challenge they are capable of meeting. If they fail to be challenged, or fail to meet the challenge, the societies will either fail to rise or decline. Sociologist Pitirim Sorokin outlined a cycle of sociocultural history. Societies would move from ideational cultures convinced that truth and value come from God, to sensate cultures in which truth is discovered through empirical observation using the senses. A third type of culture, idealistic, is a blend of ideational and sensate, combining the spiritual with materialism and pleasure seeking. According to Sorokin, history is a continual movement from one type of culture to the next: sensate culture dominated in Christ's time, culture shifted from sensate to ideational in Christian medieval Europe, and idealistic culture emerged in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Europe. Modern Western society is again grounded in sensate culture.

History provides evidence that societies do, in fact, rise and fall. However, cyclical approaches describe the historical process without explaining it. None of the works described explains the changes that are described. The cyclical perspective provides an important historical attempt to explain social change, and it helps to legitimize the study of social change. The cyclical perspective also provides an illustration to explore in terms of the difference between description and explanation.

B. *The Evolutionary Perspective*—The evolutionary perspective dominant in the nineteenth century took the view that all societies must progress through a series of stages from less to more complex and advanced. Early evolutionary thinking was consistent with the time in which it developed. Western Europeans thought of themselves as superior, and were colonizing other people throughout the world. Contact with newly “discovered” preliterate cultures reinforced the view European superiority. In addition, Charles Darwin presented his ideas about the continual change and increasing complexity of all living things. Darwin’s ideas were used by Herbert Spencer, who drew a parallel between living things and societies and coined the expression “survival of the fittest.” Spencer’s Social Darwinism was used to explain why some cultures were civilized while others remained “savage” or “barbarian.” The Western societies of Europe and America felt they had the right and the obligation to protect, civilize, and dominate less developed societies. Social Darwinism and classical social evolutionary theory is not accepted as valid today.

Contemporary evolutionists understand that there is no single line to development, that evolution is multi-linear or multidirectional. The recent sociocultural evolutionary theory of Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski is based on the premise that both stability and change must be understood. In the midst of global rapid social change, individual societies have been remarkably resistant to change. Nolan and Lenski explain resistance in the midst of rapid social change with the proposition that a system can still change despite the resistance of most of its parts, as long as the parts that do not change do not survive. This is the equivalent of suggesting that the process of natural selection favors innovative societies over those that resist change. According to Nolan and Lenski, improvements in subsistence technology are a necessary precondition for the evolution of a society in terms of complexity, wealth and size. Advances in subsistence technology will drive technological developments in other areas such as transportation, warfare, and communication, which in turn influence technological development in subsistence. Nolan and Lenski are not determinists, and acknowledge that the society’s values and beliefs play an important role, especially in terms of openness to change.

C. *The Functionalist Perspective*—While functionalism focuses on stability, two theories of social change, based on equilibrium, have been proposed by William Ogburn and Talcott Parsons. Equilibrium implies balance and consistency; in a sociological sense equilibrium refers to the reestablishing of stability after some type of upheaval. Functionalists argue that societies respond to disturbance by absorbing the shock and readjusting or changing as needed. Societies move from stability to temporary instability and back to stability, a process termed dynamic equilibrium. An example is the retreat from the extremes of sexual freedom in the 1960s and a movement toward new values and norms for sexual behavior. Functionalism and evolutionary theory share a view of society as made of highly differentiated parts all contributing to the wellbeing of the society. While traditional evolutionary theory sees change as a continual forward movement, functionalists emphasize a restructuring and return to stability.

Ogburn argued that not all parts of society reestablish equilibrium at the same time; some change more rapidly than others. This leads to a condition called cultural lag in which disequilibrium is created by one part of society not changing at the same pace as another, interrelated part of society. According to Ogburn, material culture changes more quickly than nonmaterial culture so that social change occurs when nonmaterial aspects of society are forced to change due to a prior change in material culture. One example is the emergence of the conservation movement in response to the cutting down of entire forests, or debates about the morality surrounding contraception and abortion technologies.

Parsons early work did not address social change. His background in evolutionary theory is apparent in his later work, in which he outlines the processes of change through which societies reestablish equilibrium by incorporating new characteristics. Differentiation is the first process and occurs as different aspects of society are separated into increasingly specialized parts. For example, the family is differentiated into separate functions of education, medicine, and production. The second process of integration links these separate functions thereby creating a new equilibrium. Families find ways to accommodate children leaving for school, and later for work. Together, differentiation and integration create new, more complex society.

A contribution of functionalism is its attempt to explain both stability and change. Ogburn explains how a society’s ways of thinking and behaving are always trying to catch up with technological changes. Through the processes of differentiation and integration, Parsons attempted to demonstrate that continuity exists along with social change. Functionalism is criticized for being conservative, due to its emphasis on resistance to change. In addition, functionalist explanations focus on external forces promoting change, and ignore the potential for internal sources of change. Finally, functionalists view social change as gradual and do not address the potential for radical change.

D. *The Conflict Perspective*—Conflict theory views society as inherently unstable and focuses on the potential for conflict among the different parts of society. From a conflict perspective, conflict over scarce resources drives social change. The conflict perspective originates in the work of Karl Marx who wrote, “without conflict, no progress...” Specifically, Marx argued that the struggle for scarce resources is the primary stimulus for change. In a capitalist society, the inequality between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat classes becomes so great that a revolution of the proletariat is necessary to equalize power. This revolution establishes a classless society and eliminates conflict.

Defenders of Marx argue he was not an economic determinist, but that he allowed for the influence of non-economic factors on the economic base of society. A contribution of Marx is the understanding that a society's values and beliefs are a reflection of its economic system. In addition, Marx highlighted the effects of conflict within the stratification system and how power is distributed unequally within the economic system. Critics of Marx argue that he overemphasized economic factors and ignored social and cultural forces. In addition, critics argue that the conflict perspective ignores the integrative aspects of conflict and the prevalence of cooperation throughout societies. Where they have occurred, most recent revolutions have been initiated by the middle class, not the working class, and revolutions have not occurred as predicted in highly industrialized Western societies. Finally, critics point out the growth of a large middle class, mitigating the polarization of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Ralf Dahrendorf and other sociologists have rejected some of Marx's ideas, while revitalizing the conflict perspective generally. Dahrendorf highlights the struggle over power, not just economics, as the source of social change. Unlike the two classes identified by Marx, Dahrendorf sees conflict between many competing interest groups such as those based on politics, religion, gender, race, and ethnicity. Social change occurs as the power relationships between groups change. History seems to support Dahrendorf's perspective on conflict more than Marx's. Some sociologists conclude that the process of social change is too complex to be explained by any single perspective.

E. *Reconciling the Functionalist and Conflict Perspectives*—While no theory has been completely successful at synthesizing the functionalist and conflict perspectives on social change, there have been interesting attempts. One example is Pierre van den Berghe who identifies several commonalities between the perspectives: they both view society as systems with interrelated parts, they both understand conflict as a contributor to social integration and integration as a producer of conflict, both assume an evolutionary view of social change, and both may be understood as types of equilibrium models. Lewis Coser distinguishes between change within a system and change of a system, meaning that a society may maintain its basic structure while being flexible enough to accommodate internal conflicts, or a less society may the system may change in its entirety in response to conflict. An example of the former are successful social movements within the United States; the Chinese Communist Revolution is an example of the latter. Coser argues that it is the response of the elite that largely determines the outcome. If the dominant group is flexible enough to allow the free expression of complaints, readjustments within the existing social structure are possible. If the dominant group is not flexible then conflict may result in a change of the system in its entirety. Coser also argues that radical change does not have to be sudden; a complete restructuring of society may occur gradually over time as has been the case in the United States since the Revolutionary War. In their attempt to reconcile functionalism and conflict theory, Nolan and Lenski give equal weight to stability and change. They point out that when conflict over territory happens, the society with more advanced technology is generally dominant. Nolan and Lenski incorporate conflict between societies as well as within a particular society. While attempts at synthesis are interesting, functionalism is still important for its emphasis on dynamic equilibrium and conflict theory for its focus on social change through conflict over power and interests.

IV. Collective Behavior and Dispersed Collectives

A. *Collective Behavior*—Collective behavior is spontaneous and unstructured behavior that occurs among a large group of people in response to similar stimuli. The stimuli may be events such as the September 11 attacks on the U.S. The spontaneous and unstructured nature of collective behavior may make it difficult to study, but some types of collective behavior are more structured than others. Dispersed members of a society, or dispersed collectives, engage in behaviors that are not structured, yet are widespread, such as rumors, mass hysteria, panics, fads, and fashions. Members of a dispersed collective are not in physical contact, but are responding to the same stimuli and are aware of being a collective.

Rumors may be benign or have serious impact. At best, they are inaccurate and misleading. Although false information, rumors are communicated as if true. Whether or not someone repeats a rumor depends on factors

such as the level of anxiety that person has, the extent of the uncertainty surrounding events, the credibility of the person passing the rumor, and the relevance of the rumor for that person. Rumors generally focus on people or events that are of interest to others, and certain media exploit this fascination. Rumor and gossip are closely related. Recent examples of rumors that were furthered by the national media include alleged incidents of murder and rape during Hurricane Katrina, and the accusations against then-presidential candidate Barack Obama that he supported Muslim extremists. These rumors were spread and believed because they touched people's insecurities and anxieties. Rumors that President Obama is not a U.S. citizen remain active among some groups, as does the rumor of "death panels" as part of healthcare reform.

Urban legends have longer life and are more widespread than rumors. They tend to have a moral or message, and are often told as happening to a friend, or a friend of a friend. Urban legends incorporate current events, places, and concerns. Examples include the story of a babysitter on drugs who puts the baby in the oven, and the story of a man who wakes up in a hotel room missing a kidney. Urban legends often focus on current concerns and fears.

- B. *Mass Hysteria and Panics*—Mass hysteria is collective anxiety produced by acceptance of one or more false beliefs. The classic example of mass hysteria is a 1938 radio broadcast by Orson Welles, called the "Men from Mars." Although the broadcast was based entirely on H. G. Wells's novel *The War of the Worlds*, it induced public panic. A million listeners became afraid, jammed telephone lines, and made escape plans. The accusations of witchcraft cast against women in Salem, Massachusetts, in the seventeenth century, and false beliefs and misconceptions about AIDS and its spread during the mid-1980s, are two other examples of mass hysteria. A panic is a response to a real threat, but one that results in self-damaging behavior. Panics usually occur in response to unexpected disasters such as fires, invasions, or ships sinking. In 2003, 117 people died in nightclubs in Chicago and Rhode Island when panic resulted in escape routes being jammed. While panic may be the first response to a disaster, chaos is soon replaced with highly structured behavior. Behavior during the attacks of September 11, 2001 are an example. Some occupants panicked and jumped from windows, while the response of firefighters was highly structured. Contrary to popular misconceptions, during a crisis as during normal activity, the common response is for people to help themselves before they help others.
- C. *Fads, Crazes, and Fashions*—While rumors and panics are based on repulsion, fads, crazes, and fashion are based on attraction. Fads are behaviors that spread rapidly among a particular group or segment of society, and disappear just as rapidly. The popularity of a fad results from its novelty. Streaking, running naked in a public space, was a fad in the early 1970s. Fads may be hobbies, clothing, entertainment, but also serious activities. More recent fads include snapchats, tattoos and piercings, and selfie sticks. A craze is a fad with serious consequences, such as extreme dieting and getting high on cold medication. Fashions appear over time, are widely approved, and expected to change periodically. As societies modernize fashions change more rapidly. Clothing, hair styles, and other aspects of appearance are affected by fashion, as are styles of home décor, automobile design, and politics. Slang is an example of fashion, language that goes in and out of style. Modern societies have economies based on mass consumption, so changing styles fuels profits and employment. Modern societies lack the strong traditions that might inhibit fashion, and relative affluence and disposable income permits people to indulge desires for change.

V. Crowds

- A. *Distinguishing Characteristics of Crowds*—Whether they are joyous or rioting, crowds involve intense emotions. They are the most dramatic form of collective behavior, often at the center of the news. A crowd is a temporary collection of people who share an immediate common interest. An aggregate is a collection of people who occupy the same area at the same time, but they do not share an immediate interest. If something occurs that attracts attention, an aggregate may change into a crowd. Crowd behavior can be very unpredictable. Herbert Blumer identified four types of crowds. A casual crowd is the least emotional and most temporary, forming around a point of interest and then fading away. People who gather after an accident would be an example. A conventional crowd gathers for a specific interest and follows guidelines for appropriate behavior. People in a movie theatre are an example. There is little interaction with casual and conventional crowds. The sole purpose of expressive crowds is to vent emotions. Free expression in the form of yelling, screaming, crying and the like is characteristic; a rock concert or Times Square on New Year's Eve are examples. An acting crowd has some specific objective, and may act aggressively to achieve it. Protest marches are an example. A conventional or expressive crowd may become an acting crowd as has been the case of fans attacking officials or police after sporting events, or celebrating fans turning to the destruction of property.

A mob is an emotionally stimulated, disorderly crowd that is ready to use destructiveness and violence to achieve a specific purpose. Members of a mob are strongly discouraged from deviating from the ultimate goal; control is achieved through strong leadership. History provides many examples of violent mobs: French Revolutionaries storming the Bastille, American colonists attacking tax collectors, Civil War unrest over the draft in the North, and white mobs in the South lynching African Americans. In the 2008 presidential elections in Kenya, a mob burned a church in which hundreds of citizens had sought shelter.

Acting crowds that lack organization and that engage in deliberate destruction and violence are called riots. Mob action is focused on a specific target; a riot includes the actions of different groups, and violence directed at targets chosen at random for the sake of convenience. Rioting is used by people who lack power, and is a means of expressing frustrations. In 1967 rioting broke out in more than twenty major American cities in response to continued discrimination, poverty, massive unemployment, and charges of police brutality. Most of the violence was directed at local neighborhoods and people, who suffered much more than the establishment that was the source of the frustration. It can be difficult to distinguish crowds, mobs, and riots. Protestors in the streets of Cairo present a recent example. A peaceful acting crowd protesting the Egyptian President Mubarak was attacked by pro-Mubarak forces, resulting in a mob. After two days of fighting, a peaceful protest resumed culminating in Mubarak resigning under pressure from the military that assumed power.

- B. *Social Media and Crowds*—New technologies permit people to engage in collective behavior without leaving their homes. In 2003, anti-war protestors jammed the switchboards of the White House and Congress, with phone calls, faxes, and emails. Rheingold has labeled these types of actions, organized with social media, smart mobs. A smart mob is organized via the mobile Internet. New technologies permit new types of collective action. The impact of social media is still being debated. Most agree that social media can attract a crowd, but some question how committed and successful these are. If social media can successfully demonstrate that a number of people share the same beliefs, collective action is more likely. The speed of communication is an asset in organizing collective behavior. To be successful there must be a structured organization with leaders to direct the action. Rheingold notes positive and negative consequences of social media. Negatives include loss of privacy, capacity for terrorists to act undercover, and the opportunity for new criminal behavior. Positives are the ability to organize mass protests and overthrow dictators.
- C. *Theories of Crowd Behavior*—Contagion theory emphasizes the irrationality of crowds, as individuals lose their own will to that of the crowd, leaving themselves open to the influence of charismatic leaders. Contagion theory is rooted in the classic work of French aristocrat Gustav Le Bon who characterized crowd as barbarian and primitive. Blumer also developed contagion theory in a less elitist manner, describing a circular reaction of crowds. It begins with milling as people move in random and excited ways. As interaction continues, emotion becomes more intense and the crowd becomes responsive to the suggestions of others; individual identity is diminished as people take on the identity of the crowd. Blumer called this collective excitement. In the last stage of social contagion behavior becomes irrational and further transmits the emotional excitement. Fans attacking officials at a soccer game is an example. A less dramatic example is getting caught up in the excitement of bidding at an auction and purchasing useless things. Contagion theory assumes that crowd behavior is irrational, which is not always the case.

Emergent norm theory stresses the fact that norms guide both everyday behavior and crowd behavior. Rules develop in crowds; they are not known ahead of time, but emerge as the action unfolds. The people in crowds pick up cues for behavior from each other, but emergent norm theory argues that not all people are involved for the same reasons and so people will behave in different ways. Some will conform actively, as in the case of joining destructive behavior, while others conform passively, but simply watching.

Contagion and emergent norm theories both assume people respond to others in a crowd. Convergence theory assumes that people who are like-minded deliberately congregate with each other. Instead of the crowd determining the behavior, it is the desire of people to come together that determines the behavior. According to convergence theory, crowds are motivated to congregate by shared values and beliefs, as in the example of protests against an abortion clinic.

V. Social Movements

- A. *The Nature of Social Movements*—A social movement has four defining elements: a large number of people, a common goal to promote or prevent social change, leadership and organization, and activity over a long period of time. Social movements are the most structured and longest lasting type of collective behavior; they are also most likely to create social change which is their most common goal. Four types of social movements have been identified by David Aberle. A revolutionary movement seeks to change society completely, as was the case

in the Chinese communist revolution. Reformatory movements only want to change some part of society. The women's movement is an example of a reformatory movement promoting change. Movements against globalization and against abortion are examples of reform movements that oppose social change. A redemptive movement seeks change in individuals; religious cults are an example. An alternative movement seeks limited change in individuals. Population Connection, that promotes zero population growth, is an example.

- B. *Relative Deprivation Theory*—Discontent with current conditions that seem unfair or undesirable motivates collective action. Unfulfilled rising expectations and relative deprivation are most likely to lead to a social movement. When one compares oneself with others and desires the same things that others have, this leads to relative deprivation. There is no absolute standard against which the comparison occurs. Instead, feelings of deprivation are relative, based on a comparison made with some other group or individual. When hopes are raised for an improvement in one's situation, and these hopes are not fulfilled or not fulfilled as rapidly as one would like, this creates what is termed unfulfilled rising expectations. For example, in developing countries when expectations for improved material conditions increase faster than any actual improvement in material conditions, this may lead to revolutionary discontent. The concept of unfulfilled rising expectations helps to explain why revolutionary situations arise only after there has been some economic and social improvement. According to the J-curve theory of James Davies, a revolutionary movement is most likely when a period of rising expectations and actual economic improvement is followed by a decline in material wellbeing. Once expectations are raised, they continue to rise. A gap between expectations and fulfillment is tolerated as long as it is not too great. When need satisfaction drops and the gap between what people want and what they get increases, a revolutionary social movement is likely to occur. Relative deprivation theory does not explain why revolutions do not occur in all cases of social discontent. Deprivation and discontent are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions of revolutionary social movements.
- C. *Value-Added Theory*—Based on economic theory, Neil Smelser's value-added theory works on the premise that each step in the creation of a product adds value to the final product. The Tea Party (now called the Freedom Caucus) is a current example. It is not a true political party, but a social movement ignited by what it opposes. According to Smelser, six conditions are necessary for the development of a social movement. Structural conduciveness refers to a social environment that is open to the creation of a social movement. For the Tea Party, technology in the form of conservative talk shows, radio, and blogs created the conducive environment. Structural strains, conflicts, ambiguities, and discrepancies within a society, must exist. Some form of strain is necessary to motivate change. In the case of the Tea Party, ideological disputes about the role of the government in daily life are the source of structural strain. Third, generalized beliefs, including the belief that there is a problem and something should be done about it, are necessary. Among the Tea Party participants government fiscal irresponsibility is a shared and commonly expressed belief. Next, one or more precipitating factors are necessary to move people to action. Social action for the Tea Party was precipitated first by a blogger's call for a local protest, that then went viral attracting more supporters who called for more actions. At this point, the next step for the emergence of a social movement is the mobilization of participants for action. This step requires leaders and structured organizations. The Tea Party, lacking any formal leaders, was mobilized by the media, specifically Fox News. Finally, ineffective social control, that is, the inability of the society to interrupt momentum for a social movement, is a necessary precondition for a social movement. If social control efforts are effective, a social movement may be prevented. Efforts to control the Tea Party would be inappropriate due to the freedom of speech in the U.S. Populist movements generally dissipate over time. The Tea Party has succeeded in electing representative to Congress, but to survive it will need to become a viable third party or achieve the support of the mainstream Republican party.

Value-added theory recognizes that discontent and deprivation are not sufficient for a social movement to emerge. However, critics challenge the assumption that social movements are unplanned and spontaneous. They find value-added theory most useful for crowd behavior, even though all conditions are not always present. Value-added theory does not consider the importance of resources, both monetary and people, for social movements.

- D. *Resource Mobilization Theory*—Resource mobilization is the process by which members of a social movement secure the resources necessary to promote their cause. Resources include leadership, labor power, money, and equipment. The Civil Rights movement mobilized not only the African American community, but people of other races as well. In contrast, the gay movement experienced a shortage of labor and money. Leadership is necessary to coordinate efforts and calculate the likelihood of achieving one's goal. Unlike the perspectives that view social movements as emerging out of the interaction of members, resource mobilization theory sees pre-existing organizational structure as central to launching a social movement. Critics believe resource mobilization

theory ignores the strain necessary for a social movement to emerge. In addition, they argue that the spontaneous nature of social movement activity is important and should not be underestimated.

- E. *The Future Direction of Social Movement Theory*—The theories of social movements are not mutually exclusive. The specific emphasis of each are complementary. Social movement theory into the future will likely incorporate both structure and spontaneity, as well as irrationality and rationality. Some make a distinction between old and new social movements. Old movements, like the Civil Rights and labor movements, are based on the interests of the poor and working class. New social movements are not linked to economic conditions, and instead address conditions that are unique to postindustrial society. Their goal is to change values and norms rather than the economic structure.

Class Activities

1. Have the students list at least three different types of social change that have occurred in their lifetimes. Have them discuss or write about these social changes, applying concepts from the text. For example, what caused these particular social changes—discovery, invention, or diffusion? Ask them to describe the emergence of these changes, to the best of their ability.
2. Divide the class into five groups. Have each group represent a factor encouraging social change: technology, population, the natural environment, revolution and war, and ideas. Ask each group to generate a list of positive (and negative) contributions from these areas to social change during their lifetimes. In a debate format have each group argue how the factor represented by them has changed society for the better.
3. Ask the students to list various social movements with which they are familiar. Next, ask them to list the names of people they associate with each. Ask students to discuss how important these people have been to the social movement; in what ways are they important. This provides a good illustration of the symbolic importance of charismatic leaders within social movements.
4. Using the social movements students have used in the activities above, ask the students to categorize them according to the four types of social movements discussed in the text: revolutionary, reformative, redemptive, and alternative movements. Push them to give a rationale to justify placing a movement in a particular category.

Teaching Suggestions

1. How does the Internet create or propel social change? It is clear that computers have had a dramatic impact on the way we live, and not always in a positive way. We can use George Ritzer's model of McDonaldization in order to examine the impact of computers on social change.

As was discussed in chapter six, George Ritzer uses "McDonaldization" as a metaphor for what Weber called the iron cage of rationality. Ritzer argues that McDonald's represents the epitome of rationality within an organization. Specifically, he identifies four characteristics that compose McDonaldization: efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control. More than any other invention, the computer has certainly increased the tendency toward all of these.

Efficiency—Computers are an extremely fast and efficient method of handling many types of information. If you are writing a paper, it is much more efficient to do it on a computer. The computer will check the spelling (and sometimes grammar) for you. You can make and alter various copies of the same document. Computers are built into almost every gadget we use now to make them more efficient. Cars, airplanes, ovens, stereo systems, television sets, and cellular phones are all equipped with computer chips to make them more efficient.

Calculability—Computers are almost solely responsible for an increase in our society's reliance on quantifiable phenomena. Computers are made for handling large amounts of numerical data very quickly. This has increased our dependence on data that can be easily accessed and used. The need for calculability has changed how we do business, and even how we think. Food portions are standardized based on weight or volume. We measure time in precise increments. Even student papers may be measured in terms of number of words.

Predictability—At this point in time, computers are not creative in terms of how they accomplish tasks. Once they are programmed to do something, they do it that way each time. We take for granted predictable amounts, sizes, costs, time frames—in fact, some would argue that computer technology has taken not only guess work, but also spontaneity, out of daily life.

Control—The advent of computers has definitely made possible the separation of tasks from human control and placing them under non human technological control.

What social changes can we expect because of computers

We can certainly expect some of the advantages of bureaucracy discussed by Ritzer (1996), but this incredible advance in technology may also make society an increasingly inhumane place to be. We see many advantages for consumers—we get products faster, we check out of stores faster, we purchase airline tickets more conveniently—yet, those who work in highly computerized environments don't find computers very socially stimulating. In fact, these environments can be alienating to individuals who work in them. Are we moving further toward Weber's iron cage of rationality? What might we predict will result from this?

Reference

Ritzer, George. 1996. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

- How might we apply Durkheim's ideas to the impact of computers in modern life? According to Durkheim's model of society, as society industrializes, people are increasingly differentiated, or separated by specialization. This allows fewer opportunities for people to get together and communicate in ways which would reinforce their commonly held values. This eventually brings about a state of anomie, where the norms of society are no longer sufficient to bind people to normative behaviors.

Ask students to consider the impact of computers on modern society by applying Durkheim's ideas. You might suggest the possibility of two competing hypotheses regarding the direction of social change being caused by computers.

Hypothesis 1: Computers will further erode common values in society.

Computers will exacerbate the decline of mechanical solidarity brought on by the process of differentiation. Because of the amount of work done by computers in the modern work environment, many people have the ability to work at home. This could have the impact of decreasing the number of opportunities for people to get together and reinforce common values and beliefs.

Hypothesis 2: Computers will strengthen common values and beliefs in society.

Similar to the ways that technological advances during the Industrial Revolution separated people, computers might do the same if it wasn't for the Internet. One could hypothesize that the Internet may be used by people in all specializations as a means of communicating with each other in ways that would reinforce a sense of mechanical solidarity.

Students may discuss or debate these hypotheses in groups, or in a class discussion. Ask them to consider which hypothesis is more probable, in their opinion, and to explain why.

- Provide a comparison to the functionalist perspective developed in the suggestion above by presenting an application of conflict theory to the ever-growing dependence on computers. How might Karl Marx analyze the impact of computers?

If we remember the model of society proposed by Marx, it was one in which two competing classes engage in conflict over resources. The ruling classes (bourgeoisie) and working class (proletariat) are always in conflict, according to Marx. Innovations in technology do not necessarily change that. Discuss the nature of class conflict in a computerized society. Just as we did with Durkheimian theory, we can develop two rival hypotheses from conflict theory.

Hypothesis 1: Computers and the Internet will help change the current class structure of society.

According to Marx's model of social change (see Turner, Beeghley, and Powers, 1995), society starts with a stable system based on the division of labor. This division of labor leads to economic inequities. Eventually, members of various classes become conscious of their common situation (class-consciousness). This leads to class conflict and then to social change.

Marx's model suggests two important factors in social change. First, members of common classes must recognize their common situation before they unite to change it. Second the unification of the working class must take place on a large enough scale to make sweeping changes. Like the unification of the agricultural and industrial proletariat during the French Revolution (Moore, 1993), the working classes in various settings must understand their common interests if change is to occur. This is where computers and the Internet come into the picture. If computers eventually make their way into the hands of the working classes, many of whom conduct their daily work on computers, the Internet may actually serve to increase class-consciousness. Due to the Internet, the possibility exists that this sense of class-consciousness can be so widespread that large-scale conflict is possible. This would make social change on a broad scale more likely.

Hypothesis 2: Computers and the Internet will inhibit social change.

A competing hypothesis would be that computers and the Internet will inhibit social change because obtaining and using computers requires resources which are already controlled by the elite. The elite already have access to the resources necessary to communicate on the Internet. Therefore, in a sense, elites already have a jump on the prospect of conflict. Already, computer technology is making it possible for managers to oversee workers more closely than ever. Productivity can be measured precisely, as can the pace of work. In office settings, computer technology can monitor how office computers are being used, how many telephone calls are answered, even how many keystrokes of typing are done in a given time period. This ability to control the workplace could have the effect of preventing use of technology to promote class consciousness. Thus, even if the working class and lower-income people gain access to the Internet on a large scale, it may be regulated by the elite in ways that will decrease the likelihood of its use for promoting social change.

As is discussed in your text, technology does not determine what happens in society. It is, however, an extremely powerful catalyst for social phenomena. What potential do students see for computer technology to be a force for creating more equality in society, or increasing social conflict? Again, these questions and hypotheses may be explored in small groups, or with the entire class.

References

Moore, Barrington. 1993. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Turner, Jonathan H., Leonard Beeghley, and Charles H. Powers. 1995. *The Emergence of Sociological Theory*, 2nd ed., Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

4. This is a lecture explaining the political movement of fundamentalists through resource mobilization theory. The basic concept of this lecture concerns how resources are secured and coordinated in an overall strategy for social change. If resources are secured and an organization exists for coordination, change becomes more likely.

In Chapter 18 of the textbook, resource mobilization is referred to as “the process through which members of social movement secure and use the resources needed to advance their cause.” According to this theory, the ability to acquire needed resources is the primary ingredient to get a social movement going and keeping it going. All kinds of “resources” are needed for a social movement, so this theory looks at many different variables. We can include tangible assets like money, property, and equipment, but we should not overlook the importance of other resources such as people with specialized skills that might be relevant to the movement, people with leadership ability, and people who can help set up an organization aimed at social change.

Using Resource Mobilization Theory to Explain the Rise of Fundamentalist Politics—Chapter 14 of the text discusses the rising power of fundamentalists in politics. How do you suppose they achieved such power? What will they have to do to retain or increase their influence? According to resource mobilization theory, the answer lies in their ability to acquire the resources they need. In fact, you might say that their ability to secure resources is somewhat unique in comparison to other social movements. They have special access to people and their economic resources, and their connection to people sympathetic to their cause is through a life encompassing belief system supported by local church congregations which continually reinforce the values of the movement. Here are examples of resources:

Ideological Foundation—Before the political movement was ever started, it had an ideological foundation provided by conservative religious groups around the country. It is much easier to start a social movement when the justification for it already exists. Very few resources were expended trying to win people over. This ideological foundation consisted of a combination of beliefs that Christians should help shape social life according to God’s plan and a conviction that secularization was sweeping over the land (defined as a decline in Christianity, not religion in general).

Charismatic Leadership—According to Weber, leaders can often assert great power over people by virtue of personal charisma. This has been the case in the fundamentalist movement. Previous leaders were Jerry Falwell, pastor of Liberty Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, and Ralph Reed, former head of the Christian Coalition. What charismatic leaders are currently in the news?

Electronic Media—While the first two resources, an ideological foundation and charismatic leadership, are vital elements in this social movement, they would never have come together if it weren’t for the contribution of the electronic media. These charismatic leaders would never have been able to get their message heard or to demonstrate their charisma without the use of television to get into the homes of people whose ideology already supported their visions for a social/political movement. Television was influential in making the political mobilization of fundamentalists a national movement instead of a few concentrated local

movements. The economic resources generated by local movements could not compare to the motherlode of wealth generated by national exposure on television.

While television has created an environment to showcase the charisma of various leaders within the fundamentalist movement, the movement has discovered that television can also create a degree of intimacy that is not desired by such leaders. The problems experienced by Jim and Tammy Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart are good illustrations of how electronic media allowed the public to be more intimately knowledgeable of their lives than they were prepared for.

Other Organizations with Similar Goals/Ideologies—One way for a social movement to gain national power is to exert influence within other organizations that already wield that power. In the case of fundamentalist politics, the movement has found other organizations with which they can coordinate activities. Much of the national political influence of the fundamentalists has been due to their influence within the Republican Party.

As we can clearly see when we look at any social phenomenon using a theoretical perspective, we get a more organized understanding of why things happen in society. We get a framework that organizes the events and an opportunity to see various factors in relation to each other. Such is the case when we look at the rise of fundamentalist politics through resource mobilization theory. This is a movement based on religious ideology which is aimed at social change. The degree of change it achieves is highly dependent on the resources it can muster.

5. Show all or parts of the film *Mississippi Burning* to the class. This film is set in the deep South during the early days of the Civil Rights movement. After the film, ask students to analyze the Civil Rights movement by applying each of the theories of social movements. One way to approach the discussion is to use a “jigsaw” to create different groups. Divide the class into groups and ask each group to apply only one of the theories, becoming “experts” on that theoretical approach to the film. Then reorganize the groups so that each new group has one student from each of the theory groups. The experts on each approach show the other students in their group how that particular theory may be applied to the film. Ask all students to consider how using different theories and perspectives helps us to understand the Civil Rights movement, or any other social movement.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Popular Film

V is for Vendetta (132 minutes)

This film, based on a comic book series, explores the dynamics of a fictional, future, fascist British government. This film could provide a starting point for a discussion on deviance, social control, or collective behavior.

Documentaries

Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1985 (14 one-hour episodes)

This excellent, critically acclaimed-documentary miniseries contains one of the most comprehensive collections of video footage from the Civil Rights movement ever assembled. While the entire series is 14 hours long, it is broken into one hour episodes with innumerable clips that could be used to highlight how social movements begin, evolve and achieve success. More information at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/>.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Visit YouTube at www.youtube.com and enter “fads” as a search term. You may also want to try “crazes” and “fashions.” You will see a list of the most viewed video clips. Analyze these for their content. What does the popularity of these video clips say about American culture? Your search will return examples of a great variety of fads: investment fads, dieting fads, clothing fads, advertising fads, and music fads, for example. What types of fads are new to you? Can you offer any explanations for the newer types of fads that have appeared more recently? What do they suggest about social change?
2. A patent grants legally binding property rights to inventors. Patents are a legal means of preventing others from making or selling something that another person has invented. As your text discusses, inventions are one of the three interrelated processes for social change. Search the site at Google that has thousands of patents, and find several inventions you believe are relevant to social change—either having already encouraged change, or they have the ability to do so. Write a brief analysis of how these inventions are related to social change.
<http://www.google.com/patents>

3. What are some of the urban legends that have developed in our society? At least two websites have extensive lists of these moralistic tales, Snopes and urbanlegends.com. Visit these websites at <http://www.snopes.com> and <http://www.urbanlegends.com>. Explore the examples of urban legends, and consider these questions: Where did the stories come from? What do urban legends suggest about American culture? Do they reflect specific anxieties? What can we learn about collective behavior and social change from urban legends?
4. The Disaster News Network (DNN) is an online news outlet with the goal of disseminating information about disasters and how the public can help survivors. The site is funded by various disaster relief organizations. Browse the website and find stories about a recent disaster. Read the news coverage (you may also refer to other websites) and note how the response of those immediately impacted shifts from initial panic to organized response. <http://www.disasternews.net/>

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. The Civil Rights Movement is discussed in the text as a successful social movement, and the source of social change. A short documentary (28 min.) about the “I am a Man” 1968 Memphis civil rights campaign is available for viewing here with a donation: <http://www.iamamanthemovie.com/>.
2. “Generations 2010” is a report by the Pew Internet & American Life Project that tracks how different generations in the U.S. use the Internet. Online use has increased among members of all U.S. generations. Millennials are more likely to use social networking sites and online entertainment, but use of the internet for email, news, shopping, banking, and information has become more common across age groups. <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2010/Generations-2010.aspx>
3. Conspiracy theories become, in some cases, a type of rumor. The History Channel has had a number of programs dealing with historical conspiracies. The History Channel website has information about these programs, and the conspiracies they reported. <http://www.history.com/search?search-field=conspiracy>
4. The Tea Party, while not having a formal organizational structure, is represented on the Internet by a number of websites. Information at these sites may be useful for supplementing the discussion of the Tea Party in this chapter. <http://theteaparty.net/> and <http://www.teapartypatriots.org/>

KEY TERMS

After studying the material in this section, students should have a clear understanding of the following concepts (page references in parentheses):

Alternative movement (554)	Fads (547)	Revolutionary movement (554)
Collective behavior (544)	Fashions (547)	Riots (550)
Contagion theory (552)	Invention (531)	Rumor (546)
Convergence theory (552)	Mass hysteria (546)	Social change (530)
Craze (547)	Mob (550)	Social movement (554)
Crowd (549)	Panic (547)	Technology (532)
Cultural lag (540)	Redemptive movement (554)	Unfulfilled rising expectations (554)
Diffusion (531)	Reformative movement (554)	Urban legends (546)
Discovery (531)	Relative deprivation (554)	Value-added theory (555)
Dispersed collectivities (545)	Resource mobilization (557)	
Emergent norm theory (552)	Revolution (534)	

FURTHER READING

Bornstein, David. 2007. *How to Change the World: Social Entrepreneurs and the Power of New Ideas*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Social entrepreneurship refers to the application of business solutions to the amelioration of social problems. Bornstein profiles nine successful international social entrepreneurs and explores the commonalities in their approaches, and the reasons for their success.

Enarson, Elaine, and Betty H. Morrow, Eds. 1998. *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Contributors note that gender relations are highlighted when disaster strikes. Although gender may make women vulnerable in times of disaster, they are not passive victims. Articles document the many roles women play in times of crises, and explore cases of women rebuilding their communities following disasters.

Haferkamp, Hans, and Neil J. Smelser, Eds. 1992. *Social Change and Modernity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

This book examines the transition from a traditional, undeveloped society to an economically developing society. The variety of changes this process of modernization entails is covered by this collection of essays.

Katz, Claudio J. 1989. *From Feudalism to Capitalism*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Approaches social change from the perspective of conflict theory.

Larke, Lee. 2006. *Worst Cases: Terror and Catastrophe in the Popular Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Some people live in fear of cataclysmic disaster, and are considered paranoid as a result. Larke argues that the threat of disaster has become so widespread that we have become immune to it. Maybe the alarmists are correct. Larke thinks that some threats are real, but that the ubiquity of disaster scenarios and information has made worst cases seem ordinary.

Lauer, Robert H. 1991. *Perspectives on Social Change*. 5th ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

The author provides one of the few introductions to the sociological study of social change. He elaborates on theories of change, sources of change, and the process of modernization.

McPhail, Clark. 1991. *Myth of the Madding Crowd*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

This book challenges the early idea that crowd behavior is irrational. The author argues that crowd behavior is rational and structured.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2009. *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

This book is part of a series on globalization. The author synthesizes research on the impact of globalization and its consequences, and how these contribute to the growth and diffusion of social movements.

Peacock, W. G., B. H. Morrow, and H. Gladwin. 1997. *Hurricane Andrew: Ethnicity, Gender, and the Sociology of Disasters*. New York: Routledge.

At the time this was published, Hurricane Andrew had been the most costly natural disaster in U.S. history. While disasters may be natural physical events, they have significant social impact and affect different groups in different ways. The distribution of resources, frequently very unequal, is crucial to understanding the impact of disaster and the process of recovery. In this book, the authors explore how race, ethnicity and gender were variables in the aftermath of Hurricane Andrew.

Scott, Alan. 1995. *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. London: Routledge.

The author explores the ways in which followers of a social movements affect their organization's leaders.

Volti, Rudi. 1995. *Society and Technological Change*. 3rd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.

This book explores the role of technology in social change. Topics include the nature of technology, the process of technological change, technology and the changing nature of work, and controlling technology.