SOCIOLOGY

IN MODULES

FOURTH EDITION

RICHARD T. SCHAEFER

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fourth edition

Richard T. Schaefer
DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

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SOCIOLOGY IN MODULES, FOURTH EDITION

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 RMN 21 20 19 18 17 16

ISBN 978-1-259-70271-6
MHID 1-259-70271-5

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dedication

To my grandchildren, Matilda and Reuben. May they enjoy exploring life's possibilities.

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about the author

Richard T. Schaefer Professor, DePaul University
BA Northwestern University; MA, PhD University of Chicago

Growing up in Chicago at a time when neighborhoods were going through transitions in ethnic and racial composition, Richard T. Schaefer found himself increasingly intrigued by what was happening, how people were reacting, and how these changes were affecting neighborhoods and people's jobs. His interest in social issues caused him to gravitate to sociology courses at Northwestern University, where he eventually received a BA in sociology.

"Originally as an undergraduate I thought I would go on to law school and become a lawyer. But after taking a few sociology courses, I found myself wanting to learn more about what sociologists studied, and fascinated by the kinds of questions they raised." This fascination led him to obtain his MA and PhD in sociology from the University of Chicago. Dr. Schaefer's continuing interest in race relations led him to write his master's thesis on the membership of the Ku Klux Klan and his doctoral thesis on racial prejudice and race relations in Great Britain.

Dr. Schaefer went on to become a professor of sociology at DePaul University in Chicago. In 2004 he was named to the Vincent DePaul professorship in recognition of his undergraduate teaching and scholarship. He has taught introductory sociology for over 35 years to students in colleges, adult education programs, nursing programs, and even a maximum-security prison. Dr. Schaefer's love of teaching is apparent in his interaction with his students. "I find myself constantly learning from the students who are in my classes and from reading what they write. Their insights into the material we read or current events that we discuss often become part of future course material and sometimes even find their way into my writing."

Dr. Schaefer is the author of *Sociology: A Brief Introduction*, 12th edition (McGraw-Hill, 2017), *Sociology*, 13th edition (McGraw-Hill, 2012), *Sociology in Modules*, 4th edition (McGraw-Hill, 2018), *Sociology Matters*, 6th edition (McGraw-Hill, 2014), and, with Robert Feldman, *Sociology and Your Life with P.O.W.E.R. Learning* (McGraw-Hill, 2016). He is also the author of *Racial and Ethnic Groups*, now in its 14th edition (2014), *Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the USA*, 1st edition, (2014), and *Race and Ethnicity in the United States*, 7th edition (2013), all published by Pearson. Together with William Zellner he coauthored the 9th edition of *Extraordinary Groups* (Waveland Press, 2015). Dr. Schaefer served as the general editor of the three-volume *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society,* published by Sage in 2008. These books have been translated into Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish, as well as adapted for use in Canadian colleges.

Dr. Schaefer's articles and book reviews have appeared in many journals, including *American Journal of Sociology; Phylon: A Review of Race and Culture; Contemporary Sociology; Sociology and Social Research; Sociological Quarterly;* and *Teaching Sociology.* He served as president of the Midwest Sociological Society in 1994–1995.

Dr. Schaefer's advice to students is to "look at the material and make connections to your own life and experiences. Sociology will make you a more attentive observer of how people in groups interact and function. It will also make you more aware of people's different needs and interests—and perhaps more ready to work for the common good, while still recognizing the individuality of each person."

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chapter opening excerpts

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The Tender Cut: Inside the Hidden World of Self-Injury by Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler 29

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Modules allow you to assign the content you want in the order you prefer, and the format promotes student learning and success by presenting content in small, manageable chunks.

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Why Does Sociology Matter?

Whether you're a first-time student, someone who is returning to the classroom, or even an instructor leading a discussion, you've probably thought about that question. Sociologists examine society, from small-scale interactions to the broadest social changes, which can be daunting for any student to take in. *Sociology: A Brief Introduction,* 12th Edition, bridges the essential sociological theories, research, and concepts and the everyday realities we all experience. The program highlights the distinctive ways in which sociologists explore human social behavior—and how their research findings can be used to help students think critically about the broader principles that guide their lives. In doing so, it helps students begin to think sociologically, using what they have learned to evaluate human interactions and institutions independently.

What do a police officer, a nurse, and a local business owner need to know about the community that they serve? It turns out quite a lot. And *Sociology: A Brief Introduction* is poised to give students the tools they need to take sociology with them as they pursue their studies and their careers, and as they get involved in their communities and the world at large. Its emphasis on real-world applications enables students to see the relevance of sociological concepts to contemporary issues and events as well as students' everyday lives. In addition, the digital tools in Connect foster student preparedness for a more productive and engaging experience in class and better grades on exams.

Help Your Students Succeed with Connect

Connect® is a digital teaching and learning environment that improves performance over a variety of critical outcomes; it is easy to use; and it is proven effective. Connect includes assignable and assessable quizzes, exercises, and interactive activities, all associated with learning objectives for *Sociology: A Brief Introduction,* 12th Edition. Videos, interactive assessments, links to news articles about current issues with accompanying questions ("News-Flash"), and scenario-based activities engage students and add real-world perspective to the introductory sociology course. In addition, printable, exportable reports show how well each student or section is performing on each course segment.

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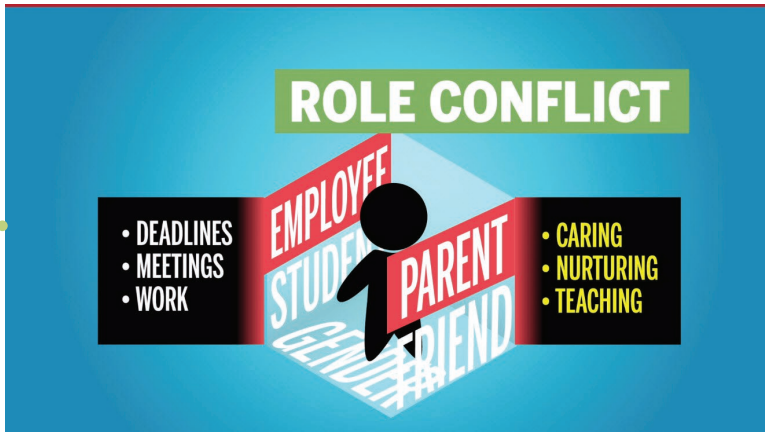

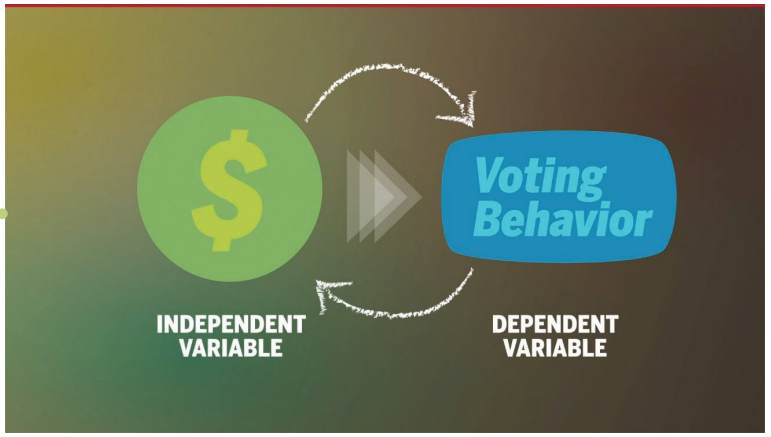

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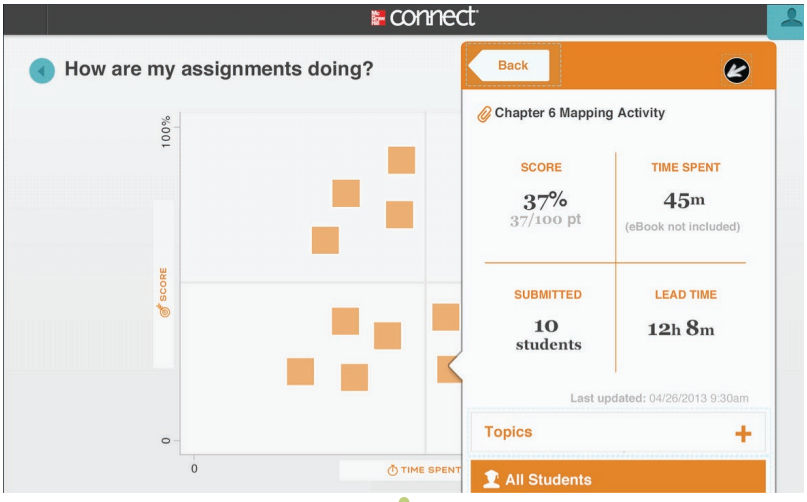

What's New

Chapter 1: Understanding Sociology

- Expanded introduction of the term *sociological imagination*
- Thinking Critically question in Module 1
- Updated coverage of sociological study of post-Katrina New Orleans
- Key term treatment of *mesosociology* and *global sociology*
- Updated table, "Major Sociological Perspectives"
- Updated research data throughout section on "Applied and Clinical Sociology"
- Updated figure, "Occupations of First-Year Sociology Majors"
- Added Taking Sociology with You question

Chapter 2: Sociological Research

- Updated figures, "Educational Level and Household Income in the United States," "Impact of a College Education on Income," and "Changing Attitudes toward the Legalization of Marijuana
- Research Today box, "Visual Sociology," with key term treatment of *visual sociology* and *applied sociology*
- Inclusion of transgender issues in section on "Queer Theory and Methodology"
- Added Thinking Critically question in section on "Queer Theory and Methodology"
- Expanded discussion of portrayal of gender in movies in "Social Policy: Studying Human Sexuality" section
- Added Taking Sociology with You question

Chapter 3: Culture

- Updated figure, "Counties with High Child Marriage Rates"
- Added photo to "Role of Language" section
- Updated data in section on values and in figure, "Life Goals of First-Year College Students"
- Added figure, "Values: Acceptance of Non-Marital Cohabitation"

Chapter 4: Socialization and the Life Course

- Opening excerpt, *The Wolfpack*, based on interview with filmmaker Crystal Moselle
- Photo of Marine basic training to illustrate concept of total institution
- Added Taking Sociology with You question

Chapter 5: Social Interaction, Groups, and Social Structure

- Enhanced discussion and new examples in section on "Ascribed and Achieved Status"
- Photo of Denali to illustrate role conflict
- Photo from *Survivor: Cambodia* to illustrate coalition building
- Thinking Critically question in Module 16
- Discussion of how gender influences ascribed status within formal organizations elaborated with new research
- Discussion of "flat" hierarchies in section Module 19
- Our Wired World box, "Becoming Social in a *Gesellschaft*"
- Coverage of 2015 U.S. labor rulings in Social Policy feature

Chapter 6: The Mass Media

- Chapter-opening photo emphasizing worldwide reach of Western media
- Enhanced discussion of conferral of status through social media
- Let's Discuss question in box, "Inside the Bubble: Internet Search Filters"
- Enhanced discussion of dominant ideology in the media and expanded Use Your Sociological Imagination question
- Enhanced discussion of feminist research and perspectives on media
- Our Wired World box, "Can Cell Phones Solve the Refugee Crisis?"

Chapter 7: Deviance, Crime, and Social Control

- Enhanced discussion of solitary confinement in Module 23
- Research Today box, "Debtor's Jails in the Twenty-First Century"
- Thinking Critically question in Module 23
- Sociology on Campus box, "Packing Firearms on Campus"
- Social Policy feature, "The Death Penalty in the U.S. and Worldwide"
- Enhanced discussion about public perceptions of violent crime in Module 25
- Figure 25-1, "Reported Hate Crimes by Category," updated and revised to reflect new category of Gender

Chapter 8: Stratification and Social Mobility in the United States

- More comprehensive definition of *income*
- Chapter-opening excerpt from Federal Reserve chair Janet Yellen's remarks about income and social inequality
- Research Today box, "The Shrinking Middle Class"
- Research Today box, "Taxes as Opportunity"
- Figure, "The Distribution of Family Wealth in the United States"
- Figure, "U.S. Minimum Wage Adjusted for Inflation, 1950–2015"
- Sociology on Campus box, "Student Debt"

- Social Policy and Stratification feature, "Executive Compensation"
- Cartoon showing the relationship between life chances and lifespan

Chapter 9: Global Inequality

- Sociology in the Global Community box, "It's All Relative: Appalachian Poverty and Congolese Affluence"
- Section on the United Nations' Millennium Development goals
- Updated figures, "Foreign Aid Per Capita in Nine Countries," "Multinational Corporations Compared to Nations," and "Distribution of Income in Nine Nations"
- Sociology in the Global Community box, "Getting Ahead Globally," with bar graph, "Will Children Be Better Off Than Their Parents?"

Chapter 10: Racial and Ethnic Inequality

- Discussion of effects of social media on attitudes toward police treatment of minorities
- Discussion of Black Lives Matter movement and of attitudes toward Muslims during the 2016 presidential campaign in section on racial profiling
- Think About It questions about racial and ethnic makeup of U.S. population, differences in earning power between ethnic groups, sociological theories of discrimination, treatment of Native Americans (with new illustration), and religious affiliation of Arab Americans
- Key Term treatment for *redlining, asylee,* and *refugee*
- Expanded discussion of redlining as an effect of the Great Recession
- Main section, "Immigration and Continuing Diversity in the United States," with illustrations and Thinking Critically question
- Discussion of the effects of renewed relations between the United States and Cuba in material on migration
- Main section "Immigration and Continuing Diversity," including Social Policy section, "Global Immigration Crisis" with figure, "Legal Immigration to the United States, 1820–2014" and table, "Top Sources of Refugees to the United States"
- Updated table, "Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2014"
- Revised figures, "Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States, 1500–2060 (Projected)," "U.S. Median Income by Race, Ethnicity, and Gender," "Mapping Life Nationwide: Voter ID Requirements," "Asian American and Pacific Islander Population by Origin, 2014," and "Hispanic Population by Origin, 2014"

Chapter 11: Stratification by Gender and Sexuality

- Think About It questions about conventional gender behavior, social implications of the matrix of domination, and women's labor force participation
- Key term treatment for *gender identity* and *sexual identity*
- Discussion of gender identity as a spectrum
- Sociology in the Global Community box, "No Gender, Please, It's Preschool!"
- Figure, "Women's Labor Force Participation Rates, Selected Countries"
- Main sections, "Gender and Human Sexuality" and "Labeling and Human Sexuality," with Thinking Critically question
- Updated table, "U.S. Women in Selected Occupations"
- Revised figure, "Mapping Life Worldwide: The Global Divide on Abortion"

Chapter 12: Stratification by Age

- Revised figures, "World's 'Oldest' Countries versus the United States," "Percentage of U.S. Population in Selected Age Groups, 1970–2060," "Minority Population Age 65 and Older, 2014–2060," and "Labor Force by Age, 2004–2024"
- New figure, "Physician-Assisted Suicide by State"
- Research Today box, "Elderspeak"
- Research Today box, "Cautiously Good News: Declining Poverty among the Aged"
- Updated discussion of physician-assisted suicide to include Brittany Maynard case
- Cartoon on attitudes toward aging
- Chapter-opening photo, photo of *AARP* magazine cover featuring Dr. Dre

Chapter 13: The Family and Household Diversity

- Main section, "Gay and Lesbian Relationships"
- Figure, "U.S. Households by Type, 1967 and 2014"
- Discussion of Supreme Court's ruling legalizing same-sex marriage and its social implications
- Discussion of cross-cultural attitudes toward divorce
- Key term treatment of *flexibility stigma*
- Updated figures, "Median Age at First Marriage in Eight Countries," "Rise of Single-Parent Families in the United States, 1970–2015," and "Trends in Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1920–2014"
- Research Today box, "An Extraordinary Patriarchy: The Oneida Community"
- Social Policy section, "Family Leave Policy Worldwide" with figures, "Paid Maternity Leave, Selected Countries," "Paid Paternity Leave, Selected Countries," and "Acceptance of Parental Leave, Selected Countries"

Chapter 14: Education

- Elaboration of material on hidden curriculum, with example linked to queer theory
- Discussion of new research on effects of tracking

- Revised figures, "Current Higher Education Graduation Rates, Selected Countries," "Tuition and Room and Board Costs, 1963–2013," "Mapping Life Nationwide: Average Salary for Teachers," "College Campuses by Race and Ethnicity: Then, Now, and in the Future," and "Mapping Life Nationwide: Charter Schools"

Chapter 15: Religion

- Figure, "Religious Affiliation 2010–2050"
- Discussion of impact of the Internet on religion
- Updated discussion of religious observances in public schools

Chapter 16: Government and the Economy

- Section on the sharing economy
- Discussion of recent political trends in the United States
- Research Today box, "The Latino Political Voice," with figure, "Latino Participation in Presidential Elections, 1988–2012"
- Discussion of criticism of pluralist model of American politics
- Discussion of growing importance of online politicking
- Enhanced discussion of the influence of the elite and of money on politics
- Figure, "Global Terrorism Index"
- Discussion of terrorism and labeling theory
- Updated figures, "World's Largest Economies," "Voter Turnout Worldwide," "Women in National Legislatures, Selected Countries," and "Mapping Life Worldwide: Global Peace Index"
- Taking Sociology with You question about the sharing economy

Chapter 17: Health, Population, and the Environment

- Discussion of interactionist perspective on provider-patient relationship, with emphasis on role of class and race and on the role of technology
- Discussion of stigma associated with illness, with emphasis on electronic patient records
- Discussion of trend toward jailing of the mentally ill
- Updated Taking Sociology to Work box about director of programs focusing on children's health and health in Africa
- Figure, "The Environment versus Energy Production"
- Updated discussion of China's new two-child policy
- Sociology in the Global Community box, "Environmental Refugees"
- Discussion of 2015 Paris environmental summit
- Updated figures, "Infant Mortality Rates in Selected Countries," "AIDS by the Numbers Worldwide," "Mapping Life Nationwide: Percentage without Health Insurance," "Total Health Care Expenditures in the United States, 1970–2020 (Projected)," and "Use of Complementary and Alternative Medicine"
- Taking Sociology with You question about effects of lack of health insurance

Chapter 18: Social Movements and Social Change

- Chapter-opening excerpt from *Social Movements and New Technology* by Victoria Carty
- Figures, "Declining Drive-Ins 1954–2012," "Walking to Work 1960–2012," "The Changing U.S. Economy," and "Estimated Global Sale of Industrial Robots, 2010–2018"
- Discussion of the importance of gender in understanding social movements
- Enhanced discussion of role of social media in developing social movements
- Example of vested interests
- Example of culture lag
- Discussion of women's role in migration of families
- Updated figures, "Internet Users by World Region," "Internet Penetration by World Region," and "Internet's Top Ten Languages"
- Thinking Critically question about the effects of technological innovation on society

Teaching Resources

Instructor's Manual. The Instructor's Manual includes detailed chapter outlines and chapter summaries; learning objectives; a chapter-by-chapter bulleted list of new content; key terms; essay questions; and critical thinking questions.

PowerPoint Slides. The PowerPoint Slides include bulleted lecture points, figures, and maps. They can be used as is or modified to meet the instructor's individual needs.

Test Bank. The Test Bank includes multiple-choice, true-false, and essay questions for every chapter. TestGen software allows the instructor to create customized exams using either publisher-supplied test items or the instructor's own questions.

These instructor resources can be accessed through the Library tab in Connect.

Take Sociology with You

Sociology in Modules highlights the distinctive ways in which sociologists examine human social behavior, as well as the ways in which research findings contribute to our understanding of society. In doing so, it helps students to think like sociologists and to apply sociological theories and concepts to human interactions and institutions. In other words, *Sociology in Modules* gives students the tools they need to take sociology with them when they graduate from college, begin to pursue careers, and become involved in their communities and the world at large.

Thinking Critically: These questions, appearing at the end of each module, prompt students to review and reflect on the content.

Sociology on Campus: These boxes apply a sociological perspective to issues of immediate interest to students.

Use Your Sociological Imagination: These short, thought-provoking exercises encourage students to apply the sociological concepts they have learned to the world around them.

Taking Sociology with You: These critical thinking questions and reflection prompts at the end of each chapter encourage students to apply the material they have just read to their daily lives.

Taking Sociology to Work: These boxes underscore the value of an undergraduate or community college degree in sociology by profiling individuals who studied sociology and now use its principles in their work.

Research Today: These boxes present new sociological findings on topics such as sports, social networks, and transracial adoption.

Careers in Sociology: This appendix to Chapter 1 presents career options for students who have their undergraduate degree in sociology and explains how this degree can be an asset in a wide variety of occupations.

Our Wired World: These boxes describe the Internet's effect on social activities such as lying, love, and politicking.

Sociology in the Global Community: These boxes provide a global perspective on topics such as stratification, marriage, and the women's movement.

Social Policy Sections: The end-of-chapter social policy sections apply sociological concepts and theories to important social issues currently being debated by policymakers and the general public.

Maps: Mapping Life Nationwide and Mapping Life Worldwide maps show social trends in the United States as well as in the global community.

Campus

McGraw-Hill Campus is a first-of-its-kind institutional service that provides faculty with true, single sign-on access to all of McGraw-Hill's course content, digital tools, and other high-quality learning resources from any learning management system (LMS). This innovative offering allows secure, deep integration and seamless access to any of our course solutions, including McGraw-Hill Connect, McGraw-Hill LearnSmart, McGraw-Hill Create, and Tegrity. **McGraw-Hill Campus** covers our entire content library, including eBooks, assessment tools, presentation slides, and multimedia content, among other resources. This open and unlimited service allows faculty to quickly prepare for class, create tests or quizzes, develop lecture material, integrate interactive content, and much more.

Acknowledgments

Since 2010, Elaine Silverstein has played a most significant role in the development of my introductory sociology books. Fortunately for me, in this Fourth Edition, Elaine has once again been responsible for the smooth integration of all changes and updates.

For over 30 years, I have enjoyed and benefited from the friendship and sage professional counsel of Rhona Robbin. Fortunately, she has continued to contribute to the Fourth Edition in her capacity as managing development editor. I would also like to acknowledge my 10-year working relationship with Gina Boedeker in a number of roles, most recently as managing director, Higher Education Group.

I deeply appreciate the contributions made by all those who assisted me in making this edition even better than the last. I received strong support and encouragement from Kaitlyn Lombardo, marketing manager; Marianne Musni, program manager; Susan Trentacosti, lead content project manager; Katie Klochan, senior content project manager; Briana Porco, senior product developer; Jessica Cuevas, designer; Peter de Lissovoy, copyeditor; and Susan Pierre-Louis, digital product analyst.

This edition continues to reflect the many insightful suggestions made by reviewers of the previous editions as well as hardcover and brief paperback editions. Earlier editions also benefited from the creative ideas of Betty Morgan, Thom Holmes, and Jinny Joyner.

As is evident from these acknowledgments, the preparation of a textbook is truly a collaborative effort. The most valuable member of this effort continues to be my wife, Sandy. She provides the support so necessary in my creative and scholarly activities.

I have had the good fortune to introduce students to sociology for many years. These students have been enormously helpful in spurring on my sociological imagination. In ways I can fully appreciate but cannot fully acknowledge, their questions in class and queries in the hallway have found their way into this work.

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This project has benefited from constructive and thorough evaluations provided by sociologists from both two-year and four-year institutions.

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1 Understanding Sociology

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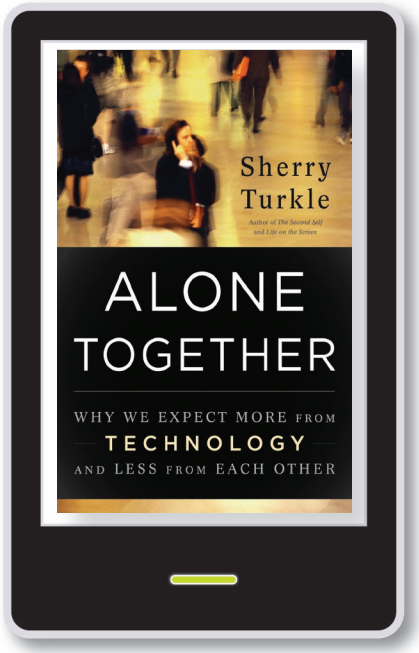
One of the things sociologists study is how people organize themselves into groups to perform tasks necessary to society. In California, volunteers pick up debris for eventual recycling.

MODULE 1 What Is Sociology?

MODULE 2 The Development of Sociology

MODULE 3 Major Theoretical Perspectives

MODULE 4 Taking Sociology with You



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Did you ever suspect that you were hiding from people while you were online with them? MIT sociologist and psychologist Sherry Turkle thinks that the web may actually distance us from others.

"Technology proposes itself as the architect of our intimacies. These days, it suggests substitutions that put the real on the run. The advertising for Second Life, a virtual world where you get to build an avatar, a house, a family, and a social life, basically says, "Finally, a place to love your body, love your friends, and love your life." In Second Life, a lot of people, as represented by their avatars, are richer than they are in first life and a lot younger, thinner, and better dressed. And we are smitten with the idea of sociable robots, which most people first meet in the guise of artificial pets. Zhu Zhu pet hamsters, the "it" toy of the 2009–2010 holiday season, are presented as "better" than any real pet could be. We are told they are lovable and responsive, don't require cleanup, and will never die.

Technology is seductive when what it offers meets our human vulnerabilities. And as it turns out, we are very vulnerable indeed. We are lonely but fearful of intimacy. Digital connections and the sociable robot may offer the illusion of companionship without the demands of friendship. Our networked life allows us to hide from each other, even as we are tethered to each other. We'd rather text than talk.

From the start, people used interactive and reactive computers to reflect on the self and think about the difference between machines and people. Were intelligent machines alive? If not, why not?

Computers no longer wait for humans to project meaning onto them. Now, sociable robots meet our gaze, speak to us, and learn to recognize us. They ask us to take care of them; in response, we imagine that they might care for us in return. Indeed, among the most talked about robotic designs are in the area of care and companionship. And Microsoft demonstrates a virtual human, Milo, that recognizes the people it interacts with and whose personality is sculpted by them. Tellingly, in the video that introduces Milo to the public, a young man begins by playing games with Milo in a virtual garden; by the end of the demonstration, things have heated up—he confides in Milo after being told off by his parents.

We are challenged to ask what such things augur. Some people are looking for robots to clean rugs and help with the laundry. Others hope for a mechanical bride. As sociable robots propose themselves as substitutes for people, new networked devices offer us machine-mediated relationships with each other, another kind of substitution. We romance the robot and become inseparable from our smartphones. As this happens, we remake ourselves and our relationships with each other through our new intimacy with machines. People talk about web access on their BlackBerries as "the place for hope" in life, the place where loneliness can be defeated. A woman in her late sixties describes her new iPhone: "It's like having a little Times Square in my pocketbook. All lights. All the people I could meet." People are lonely. The network is seductive. But if we are always on, we may deny ourselves the rewards of solitude."

Digital connections and the sociable robot may offer the illusion of companionship without the demands of friendship.

(*Turkle 2011:1–3*) Quotation from Sherry Turkle. Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other. NY: Basic Books. Copyright © 2012. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, a member of The Perseus Books Group.

Think about your life before you owned a cell phone: How did you connect with others then? How do you connect with them now? In this excerpt from *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other,* Sherry Turkle writes that modern technology—especially communications technology—is changing the way we relate to others. Today, our digital communications devices tend to preoccupy us, often burying us in a deluge of information, both audio and video. Yet in the end, they cannot substitute for the ties that bind, the face-to-face relationships that hold family and friends together. Ironically, in an effort to dig out from the communications overflow, we are constantly seeking new networking gadgets (Turkle 2011:280).

We've come a long way from the days when home entertainment meant black-and-white television, and "reaching out" involved a land-line telephone and voice messages. Today, we not only carry the telephone with us; we use it to watch television and movies delivered over the Internet. Social life is being impacted by and carried out through an object we hold in our hand.

As a field of study, sociology is extremely broad in scope. You will see throughout this book the range of topics sociologists investigate—from suicide to TV viewing habits, from Amish society to global economic patterns, from peer pressure to genetic engineering. Sociology looks at how others influence our behavior; how major social institutions like the government,

religion, and the economy affect us; and how we ourselves affect other individuals, groups, and even organizations.

How did sociology develop? In what ways does it differ from other social sciences? These modules will explore the nature of sociology as both a field of inquiry and an exercise of the "sociological imagination." In Module 1, we'll look at the discipline as a science and consider its relationship to other social sciences. In Modules 2 and 3, we'll meet four pioneering thinkers—Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and W. E. B. DuBois—and examine the theoretical perspectives that grew out of their work. In Module 4, we'll note some of the practical applications for sociological theory and research. Finally, we'll see how sociology helps us to develop a sociological imagination. For those students interested in exploring career opportunities in sociology, the chapter closes with a special appendix.

MODULE 1 What Is Sociology?

"What has sociology got to do with me or with my life?" As a student, you might well have asked this question when you signed up for your introductory sociology course. To answer it, consider these points: Are you influenced by what you see on television? Do you use the Internet? Did you vote in the last election? Are you familiar with binge drinking on campus? Do you use alternative medicine? These are just a few of the everyday life situations described in this book that sociology can shed light on. But as the opening excerpt indicates, sociology also looks at large social issues. We use sociology to investigate why thousands of jobs have moved from the United States to developing nations, what social forces promote prejudice, what leads someone to join a social movement and work for social change, how access to computer technology can reduce social inequality, and why relationships between men and women in Seattle differ from those in Singapore.

Sociology is, simply, the scientific study of social behavior and human groups. It focuses on social relationships; how those relationships influence people's behavior; and how societies, the sum total of those relationships, develop and change.

The Sociological Imagination

In attempting to understand social behavior, sociologists rely on a particular type of critical thinking. A leading sociologist, C. Wright Mills, described such thinking as the **sociological imagination**—an awareness of the relationship between an individual and the wider society, both today and in the past (Mills [1959] 2000a). This awareness allows all of us (not just sociologists) to comprehend the links between our immediate, personal social settings and the remote, impersonal social world that surrounds and helps to shape us.

A key element in the sociological imagination is the ability to view one's own society as an outsider would, rather than only from the perspective of personal experiences and cultural biases. Consider something as simple as sporting events. On college campuses in the United States, thousands of students cheer well-trained football players. In parts of South America and the Caribbean, spectators gather around two cages, each holding a finch. The covers are lifted, and the owner of the first bird to sing 50 songs wins a trophy, a cash prize, and great prestige. In speed singing as in football, eager spectators debate the merits of their favorites and bet on the outcome of the events. Yet what is considered a normal sporting event in one part of the world is considered unusual in another part (Rueb 2015).

The sociological imagination allows us to go beyond personal experiences and observations to understand broader public issues. Divorce, for example, is unquestionably a personal hardship for a the partners who split apart. However, C. Wright Mills advocated using the sociological imagination to view divorce not as simply an individual's personal problem but rather as a societal concern. Using this perspective, we can see that an increase in the divorce rate actually redefines a major social institution—the family. Today's households frequently include stepparents and half-siblings whose parents have divorced and remarried. Through the complexities of the blended family, this private concern becomes a public issue that affects schools, government agencies, businesses, and religious institutions.

The sociological imagination is an empowering tool. It allows us to look beyond a limited understanding of human behavior to see the world and its people in a new way and through a broader lens than we might otherwise use. It may be as simple as understanding why a roommate prefers country music to hip-hop, or it may open up a whole different way of understanding other populations in the world. For example, in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, many citizens wanted to understand how Muslims throughout the world perceived their country, and why. From time to time this textbook will offer you the chance to exercise your sociological imagination in a variety of situations.

use your sociological imagination

You are walking down the street in your city or hometown. In looking around you, you can't help noticing that half or more of the people you see are overweight. How do you explain your observation? If you were C. Wright Mills, how do you think you would explain it?

Sociology and the Social Sciences

Is sociology a science? The term **science** refers to the body of knowledge obtained by methods based on systematic observation. Just like other scientific disciplines, sociology involves the

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Sociology is the scientific study of social behavior and human groups.

organized, systematic study of phenomena (in this case, human behavior) in order to enhance understanding. All scientists, whether studying mushrooms or murderers, attempt to collect precise information through methods of study that are as objective as possible. They rely on careful recording of observations and accumulation of data.

Of course, there is a great difference between sociology and physics, between psychology and astronomy. For this reason, the sciences are commonly divided into natural and social sciences. **Natural science** is the study of the physical features of nature and the ways in which they interact and change. Astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, and physics are all natural sciences. **Social science** is the study of the social features of humans and the ways in which they interact and change. The social sciences include sociology, anthropology, economics, history, psychology, and political science.

These social science disciplines have a common focus on the social behavior of people, yet each has a particular orientation. Anthropologists usually study past cultures and preindustrial societies that continue today, as well as the origins of humans. Economists explore the ways in which people produce and exchange goods and services, along with money and other resources. Historians are concerned with the peoples and events of the past and their significance for us today. Political scientists study international relations, the workings of government, and the exercise of power and authority. Psychologists investigate personality and individual behavior. So what do *sociologists* focus on? They study the influence that society has on people's attitudes and behavior and the ways in which people interact and shape society. Because humans are social animals, sociologists examine our social relationships scientifically. The range of the relationships they investigate is vast, as the current list of sections in the American Sociological Association suggests (Table 1-1).

Let's consider how different social scientists might study the impact of the Great Recession that began in 2008. Historians would stress the pattern of long-term fluctuations in world markets. Economists would discuss the roles played by government, the private sector, and the world monetary system. Psychologists would study individual cases of emotional stress among workers, investors, and business owners. And political scientists would study the degree of cooperation among nations—or lack of it—in seeking economic solutions.

What approach would sociologists take? They might note a change in marital patterns in the United States. Since the recession began, the median age of first marriage has risen to 28.7 years for men and 26.7 years for women. Sociologists might also observe that today, fewer people are making that trip to the altar than in the past. If the U.S. marriage rate had remained the same as it was in 2006, about 4 million more Americans would have married by 2010.

Similarly, sociologists might evaluate the recession's impact on education. In the United States, private school enrollment from elementary through high school declined from 13.6 percent in 2006 to 12.8 percent in 2010 as families cut back on nonessential expenditures. Sociologists might even consider the recession's effect on environmental actions, such as carpooling. In all but one of the 50 largest metropolitan areas in the United States (New Orleans), the percentage of working people aged 16 to 64 dropped significantly during the recession. When friends and coworkers are laid off, carpools shrink and more people end up driving to work alone (El Nasser and Overberg 2011).

Sociologists would take a similar approach to studying episodes of extreme violence. In April 2007, just as college students were beginning to focus on the impending end of the semester, tragedy struck on the campus of Virginia Tech. In a two-hour shooting spree, a mentally disturbed senior armed with semiautomatic weapons killed a total of 32 students and faculty at Virginia's largest university. Observers struggled to describe the events and place them in some social context. For sociologists in particular, the event raised numerous issues and topics for study, including the media's role in describing the attacks, the presence of violence in our educational institutions, the debate over gun-ownership laws, the inadequacy of the nation's mental health care system, and the stereotyping and stigmatization of people who suffer from mental illness.

TABLE 1-1 SECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Aging and the Life Course	Emotions	Organizations, Occupations, and Work
Alcohol, Drugs, and Tobacco	Environment and Technology	Peace, War, and Social Conflict
Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity	Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis	Political Economy of the World-System
Animals and Society	Evolution, Biology, and Society	Political Sociology
Asia and Asian America	Family	Population
Body and Embodiment	Global and Transnational Sociology	Race, Gender, and Class
Children and Youth	History of Sociology	Racial and Ethnic Minorities
Collective Behavior and Social Movements	Human Rights	Rationality and Society
Communication, Information Technologies, and Media	International Migration	Religion
Community and Urban Sociology	Inequality, Poverty, and Mobility	Science, Knowledge, and Technology
Comparative and Historical Sociology	Labor and Labor Movements	Sex and Gender
Consumers and Consumption	Latino/a Sociology	Sexualities
Crime, Law, and Deviance	Law	Social Psychology
Culture	Marxist Sociology	Sociological Practice and Public Sociology
Development	Mathematical Sociology	Teaching and Learning
Disability and Society	Medical Sociology	Theory
Economic Sociology	Mental Health	
Education	Methodology	

The range of sociological issues is very broad. For example, sociologists who belong to the Animals and Society section of the ASA may study the animal rights movement; those who belong to the Sexualities section may study global sex workers or the gay, bisexual, and transgender movements. Economic sociologists may investigate globalization or consumerism, among many other topics.

Source: American Sociological Association 2016.

Besides doing research, sociologists have a long history of advising government agencies on how to respond to disasters. Certainly the poverty of the Gulf Coast region complicated the challenge of evacuating New Orleans in 2005. With Hurricane Katrina bearing down on the Gulf Coast, thousands of poor inner-city residents had no automobiles or other available means of escaping the storm. Added to that difficulty was the high incidence of disability in the area. New Orleans ranked second among the nation's 70 largest cities in the proportion of people over age 65 who are disabled—56 percent. Moving wheelchair-bound residents to safety requires specially equipped vehicles, to say nothing of handicap-accessible accommodations in public shelters. Clearly, officials must consider these factors in developing evacuation plans (Bureau of the Census 2005b).

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As the nation struggled to recover from a deep and lengthy recession, recently laid-off workers jostled the long-term unemployed at a crowded job fair in San Francisco. Sociologists use a variety of approaches to assess the full impact of economic change on society.

Sociological analysis of the disaster did not end when the floodwaters receded. Long before residents of New Orleans staged a massive anticrime rally at City Hall in 2007, researchers were analyzing resettlement patterns in the city. They noted that returning residents often faced bleak job prospects. Yet families who had stayed away for that reason often had trouble enrolling their children in schools unprepared for an influx of evacuees. Faced with a choice between the need to work and the need to return their children to school, some displaced families risked sending their older children home alone.

In the ten years since Katrina, crime has dropped significantly by many measures—the murder rate is the lowest in 40 years.

But the crime rate is still high compared to that of other cities. The majority of people feel that their neighborhoods do not have enough police presence, and over a quarter are "very worried" that they will become a crime victim. Less progress is seen in addressing crime than in repairing the levees or improving medical facilities (Hamel et al. 2015).

Throughout this textbook, you will see how sociologists develop theories and conduct research to study and better understand societies. And you will be encouraged to use your sociological imagination to examine the United States (and other societies) from the viewpoint of a respectful but questioning outsider.

Sociology and Common Sense

Sociology focuses on the study of human behavior. Yet we all have experience with human behavior and at least some knowledge of it. All of us might well have theories about why people become homeless, for example. Our theories and opinions typically come from common sense—that is, from our experiences and conversations, from what we read, from what we see on television, and so forth.

In our daily lives, we rely on common sense to get us through many unfamiliar situations. However, this commonsense knowledge, while sometimes accurate, is not always reliable, because it rests on commonly held beliefs rather than on systematic analysis of facts. It was once considered common sense to accept that the earth was flat—a view rightly questioned by Pythagoras and Aristotle. Incorrect commonsense notions are not just a part of the distant past; they remain with us today.

Contrary to the common notion that women tend to be chatty compared to men, for instance, researchers have found little difference between the sexes in terms of their talkativeness. Over a five-year period they placed unobtrusive microphones on 396 college students in various fields, at campuses in Mexico as well as the United States. They found that both men and women spoke about 16,000 words per day (Mehl et al. 2007).

Similarly, common sense tells us that today, violent crime holds communities on the border between the United States and Mexico in a kind of death grip, creating an atmosphere of lawlessness reminiscent of the old Wild West. Based on televised news stories and on concerns expressed by elected officials throughout the southwestern United States, this assertion may sound reasonable; however, it is not true. Although some communities in Mexico have fallen under the control of drug cartels, the story is different on the U.S. side of the border. All available crime data—including murder, extortion, robbery, and kidnapping rates, whether reported or documented in victim surveys—show that in the hundred-mile-deep border area stretching from San Diego to Brownsville, Texas, crime rates are significantly lower than in similar U.S. cities outside the area. Furthermore, the crime rate has been dropping faster near the border than in other similar-size U.S. communities for at least the last 15 years (Gillum 2011; Gomez et al. 2011).

Like other social scientists, sociologists do not accept something as a fact because "everyone knows it." Instead, each piece of information must be tested and recorded, then analyzed in relation to other data. Sociologists rely on scientific studies in order to describe and understand a social environment. At times, the findings of sociologists may seem like common sense, because they deal with familiar facets of everyday life. The difference is that such findings have been *tested* by researchers. Common sense now tells us that the earth is round, but this particular commonsense notion is based on centuries of scientific work that began with the breakthroughs made by Pythagoras and Aristotle.

What Is Sociological Theory?

Why do people commit suicide? One traditional commonsense answer is that people inherit the desire to kill themselves. Another view is that sunspots drive people to take their lives. These explanations may not seem especially convincing to contemporary researchers, but they represent beliefs widely held as recently as 1900.

Sociologists are not particularly interested in why any one individual commits suicide; they are more concerned with identifying the social forces that systematically cause some people to take their own lives. In order to undertake this research, sociologists develop a theory that offers a general explanation of suicidal behavior.

We can think of theories as attempts to explain events, forces, materials, ideas, or behavior in a comprehensive manner. In sociology, a **theory** is a set of statements that seeks to explain problems, actions, or behavior. An effective theory may have both explanatory and predictive power. That is, it can help us to see the relationships among seemingly isolated phenomena, as well as to understand how one type of change in an environment leads to other changes.

The World Health Organization (2010) estimates that almost a million people die from suicide every year. More than a hundred years ago, a sociologist tried to look at suicide data scientifically. Émile Durkheim ([1897] 1951) developed a highly original theory about the relationship between suicide and social factors. Durkheim was primarily concerned not with the personalities of individual suicide victims, but rather with suicide rates and how they varied from country to country. As a result, when he looked at the number of reported suicides in France, England, and Denmark in 1869, he also noted the total population of each country in order to determine the rate of suicide in each nation. He found that whereas England had only 67 reported suicides per million inhabitants, France had 135 per million and Denmark had 277 per million. The question then became "Why did Denmark have a comparatively high rate of reported suicide?"

Durkheim went much deeper into his investigation of suicide rates. The result was his landmark work *Suicide,* published in 1897. Durkheim refused to accept unproved explanations regarding suicide, including the beliefs that inherited tendencies or cosmic forces caused such deaths. Instead, he focused on social factors, such as the cohesiveness or lack of cohesiveness of religious, social, and occupational groups.

Durkheim's research suggested that suicide, although it is a solitary act, is related to group life. He found that people without religious affiliations had a higher suicide rate than those who were affiliated; the unmarried had much higher rates than married people; and soldiers had a higher rate than civilians. In addition, there seemed to be higher rates of suicide in times of peace than in times of war and revolution, and in times of economic instability and recession rather than in times of prosperity. Durkheim concluded that the suicide rates of a society reflected the extent to which people were or were not integrated into the group life of the society.

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Émile Durkheim, like many other social scientists, developed a theory to explain how individual behavior can be understood within a social context. He pointed out the influence of groups and societal forces on what had always been viewed as a highly personal act. Clearly, Durkheim offered a more *scientific* explanation for the causes of suicide than that of inherited tendencies or sunspots. His theory has predictive power, since it suggests that suicide rates will rise or fall in conjunction with certain social and economic changes.

Of course, a theory—even the best of theories—is not a final statement about human behavior. Durkheim's theory of suicide is no exception. Sociologists continue to examine factors that contribute to differences in suicide rates around the world and to a particular society's rate of suicide. In Las Vegas, for example, sociologists have observed that the chances of dying by suicide are strikingly high—twice as high as in the United States as a whole. Noting Durkheim's emphasis on the relationship between suicide and social isolation, researchers have suggested that Las Vegas's rapid growth and constant influx of tourists have undermined the community's sense of permanence, even among longtime residents. Although gambling—or more accurately, losing while gambling—may seem a likely precipitating factor in suicides there, careful study of the data has allowed researchers to dismiss that explanation. What happens in Vegas may stay in Vegas, but the sense of community cohesiveness that the rest of the country enjoys may be lacking (Wray et al. 2008, 2011).

MODULE 1 | Recap and Review

Summary

Sociology is the scientific study of social behavior and human groups. In this module, we examine the nature of sociological theory and the work of some of the founders of the discipline.

1. The **sociological imagination** is an awareness of the relationship between an individual and the wider society. It is based on the ability to view our own society as an outsider might, rather than from the perspective of our limited experiences and cultural biases.
2. In contrast to other **social sciences**, sociology emphasizes the influence that groups can have on people's behavior and attitudes and the ways in which people shape society.
3. Knowledge that relies on common sense is not always reliable. Sociologists must test and analyze each piece of information they use.
4. Sociologists employ **theories** to examine relationships between observations or data that may seem completely unrelated.

Thinking Critically

1. How might sociology approach an issue such as gun-ownership laws differently from the way economics or political science would study the same issue?
2. What aspects of the social and work environment in a fast-food restaurant would be of particular interest to a sociologist? How would the sociological imagination help in analyzing the topic?
3. Think about the sociologists profiled in this module, Mills and Durkheim. Whose work seems most relevant to today's social problems? Why did you choose that thinker, and which social problems were you thinking of?

Key Terms

Natural science

Science

Social science

Sociological imagination

Sociology

Theory

MODULE 2 | The Development of Sociology

People have always been curious about sociological matters—how we get along with others, what we do for a living, whom we select as our leaders. Philosophers and religious authorities of ancient and medieval societies made countless observations about human behavior. They did not test or verify those observations scientifically; nevertheless, their observations often became the foundation for moral codes. Several of these early social philosophers correctly predicted that a systematic study of human behavior would emerge one day. Beginning in the 19th century, European theorists made pioneering contributions to the development of a science of human behavior.

Early Thinkers

Auguste Comte

The 19th century was an unsettling time in France. The French monarchy had been deposed in the revolution of 1789, and Napoleon had suffered defeat in his effort to conquer Europe. Amid this chaos, philosophers considered how society might be improved. Auguste Comte (1798–1857), credited with being the most influential of the philosophers of the early 1800s, believed that a theoretical science of society and a systematic investigation of behavior were needed to improve society. He coined the term *sociology* to apply to the science of human behavior.

Writing in the 1800s, Comte feared that the excesses of the French Revolution had permanently impaired France's stability. Yet he hoped that the systematic study of social behavior would eventually lead to more rational human interactions. In Comte's hierarchy of the sciences, sociology was at the top. He called it the "queen," and its practitioners "scientist-priests." This French theorist did not simply give sociology its name; he presented a rather ambitious challenge to the fledgling discipline.

Harriet Martineau

Scholars learned of Comte's works largely through translations by the English sociologist Harriet Martineau (1802–1876). But Martineau was a pathbreaker in her own right: she offered insightful observations of the customs and social practices of both her native Britain and the United States. Martineau's book *Society in America* ([1837] 1962) examined religion, politics, child rearing, and immigration in the young nation. It gave special attention to social class distinctions and to such factors as gender and race. Martineau ([1838] 1989) also wrote the first book on sociological methods.

Martineau's writings emphasized the impact that the economy, law, trade, health, and population could have on social problems. She spoke out in favor of the rights of women, the emancipation of slaves, and religious tolerance. Later in life, deafness did not keep her from being an activist. In Martineau's ([1837] 1962) view, intellectuals and scholars should not simply offer observations of social conditions; they should *act* on their convictions in a manner that will benefit society. That is why Martineau conducted research on the nature of female employment and pointed to the need for further investigation of the issue (Deegan 2003; Hill and Hoecker-Drysdale 2001).

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Harriet Martineau, an early pioneer of sociology who studied social behavior both in her native England and in the United States. Martineau proposed some of the methods still used by sociologists, including systematic observation.

Herbert Spencer

Another important early contributor to the discipline of sociology was Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). A relatively prosperous Victorian Englishman, Spencer (unlike Martineau) did not feel compelled to correct or improve society; instead, he merely hoped to understand it better. Drawing on Charles Darwin's study *On the Origin of Species,* Spencer applied the concept of evolution of the species to societies in order to explain how they change, or evolve, over time. Similarly, he adapted Darwin's evolutionary view of the "survival of the fittest" by arguing that it is "natural" that some people are rich while others are poor.

Spencer's approach to societal change was extremely popular in his lifetime. Unlike Comte, Spencer suggested that since societies are bound to change eventually, one need not be highly critical of present social arrangements or work actively for social change. This viewpoint appealed to many influential people in England and the United States who had a vested interest in the status quo and were suspicious of social thinkers who endorsed change.

Émile Durkheim

Émile Durkheim made many pioneering contributions to sociology, including his important theoretical work on suicide. The son of a rabbi, Durkheim (1858–1917) was educated in both France

and Germany. He established an impressive academic reputation and was appointed one of the first professors of sociology in France. Above all, Durkheim will be remembered for his insistence that behavior must be understood within a larger social context, not just in individualistic terms.

To give one example of this emphasis, Durkheim ([1912] 2001) developed a fundamental thesis to help explain all forms of society. Through intensive study of the Arunta, an Australian tribe, he focused on the functions that religion performed and underscored the role of group life in defining what we consider to be religion. Durkheim concluded that like other forms of group behavior, religion reinforces a group's solidarity.

Another of Durkheim's main interests was the consequences of work in modern societies. In his view, the growing division of labor in industrial societies, as workers became much more specialized in their tasks, led to what he called "anomie." **Anomie** refers to the loss of direction felt in a society when social control of individual behavior has become ineffective. Often, the state of anomie occurs during a time of profound social change, when people have lost their sense of purpose or direction. In a period of anomie, people are so confused and unable to cope with the new social environment that they may resort to suicide.

Durkheim was concerned about the dangers that alienation, loneliness, and isolation might pose for modern industrial societies. He shared Comte's belief that sociology should provide direction for social change. As a result, he advocated the creation of new social groups—mediators between the individual's family and the state—that would provide a sense of belonging for members of huge, impersonal societies. Unions would be an example of such groups.

Like many other sociologists, Durkheim did not limit his interests to one aspect of social behavior. Later in this book we will consider his thinking on crime and punishment, religion, and the workplace. Few sociologists have had such a dramatic impact on so many different areas within the discipline.

Max Weber

Another important early theorist was Max Weber (pronounced VAY-ber). Born in Germany, Weber (1864–1920) studied legal and economic history, but gradually developed an interest in sociology. Eventually, he became a professor at various German universities. Weber taught his students that they should employ ***verstehen*** (pronounced fair-SHTAY-en), the German word for "understanding" or "insight," in their intellectual work. He pointed out that we cannot analyze our social behavior by the same type of objective criteria we use to measure weight or temperature. To fully comprehend behavior, we must learn the subjective meanings people attach to their actions—how they themselves view and explain their behavior.

For example, suppose that a sociologist was studying the social ranking of individuals in a fraternity. Weber would expect the researcher to employ *verstehen* to determine the significance of the fraternity's social hierarchy for its members. The researcher might examine the effects of athleticism or grades or social skills or seniority on standing within the fraternity. He or she would seek to learn how the fraternity members relate to other members of higher or lower status. While investigating these questions, the researcher would take into account people's emotions, thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes (L. Coser 1977).

We also owe credit to Weber for a key conceptual tool: the ideal type. An **ideal type** is a construct or model for evaluating specific cases. In his works, Weber identified various characteristics of bureaucracy as an ideal type (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). In presenting this model of bureaucracy, Weber was not describing any particular organization, nor was he using the term *ideal* in a way that suggested a positive evaluation. Instead, his purpose was to provide a useful standard for measuring how bureaucratic an actual organization is (Gerth and Mills 1958). Later in this book, we will use the concept of *ideal type* to study the family, religion, authority, and economic systems, as well as to analyze bureaucracy.

Although their professional careers coincided, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber never met and probably were unaware of each other's existence, let alone ideas. Such was not true of the work of Karl Marx. Durkheim's thinking about the impact of the division of labor in industrial societies was related to Marx's writings, while Weber's concern for a value-free, objective sociology was a direct response to Marx's deeply held convictions. Thus, it is not surprising that Karl Marx is viewed as a major figure in the development of sociology, as well as several other social sciences (Figure 2-1).

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Karl Marx

Karl Marx (1818–1883) shared with Durkheim and Weber a dual interest in abstract philosophical issues and the concrete reality of everyday life. Unlike them, however, Marx was so critical of existing institutions that a conventional academic career was impossible. He spent most of his life in exile from his native Germany.

Marx's personal life was a difficult struggle. When a paper he had written was suppressed, he fled to France. In Paris, he met Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. The two lived at a time when European and North