

Cengage Advantage
Books

Eleventh Edition

An aerial photograph of a paved outdoor area, likely a campus walkway. Several students are walking in various directions. In the upper left, a group of three students (two women and one man) are walking together. In the upper right, a single student is walking away. In the lower right, a man and a woman are walking towards each other, with the woman touching the man's shoulder. In the lower left, a man is walking while talking on a mobile phone. The word "sociology" is printed in large white lowercase letters across the center of the image.

sociology

Jon Shepard

CENGAGE
ADVANTAGE:
SOCIOLOGY

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United States Map



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World Map



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CENGAGE ADVANTAGE: SOCIOLOGY

ELEVENTH EDITION

Jon M. Shepard

Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University



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For Jon



About the Author

While an undergraduate student, Jon Shepard was inspired and nurtured by his sociology professor, Richard Scudder. After graduating from Michigan State University with a Ph.D. in sociology, Shepard taught introductory sociology and the sociology of organizations at the University of Kentucky. For fourteen years, he was Head of the Virginia Tech Department of Management. He is the author of ten books and more than forty professional journal articles. He has received teaching awards, including the University of Kentucky Great Teacher Award, at both universities.

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Preface

A Note to Students from the Author

The issues discussed in my freshman introductory sociology class were not the sort that I spent time thinking about: Is divorce more likely or less likely when people have the same social-class background? Are some races inferior to others? What is the social significance of Darwinism?

Suddenly, I began to see human behavior in a different light. I discovered that Richard Wright's classics, *Native Son* and *Black Boy*, are not merely stories about black youth but rather autobiographical reflections of the black experience in America. Prejudice and discrimination are not just characteristics of individuals; they are part of society as a whole. I learned that football, the game I was playing, is actually as much a business as a sport. It became apparent that the fraternity I was about to join was not only a brotherhood but also part of the campus social hierarchy.

I began to see social relationships as essential for human survival. And if the world is a stage and all its men and women merely players, these players generally deliver their lines and act out their parts as if they were rehearsed, and with a definite flair for mimicry. Yet, the action that sociologists label *social structure* depends less on the conscious learning of appropriate attitudes, beliefs, and behavior than on unreflective acceptance of our culture and society. In this sense, we are like puppets responding to tugs on the strings that bind us to essential social relationships—relationships in which people, I came to understand, do not usually behave randomly and do not always behave only as individuals. People often think, feel, and behave in rather predictable ways because of what they have been taught and because of the many social pressures to which they have been exposed. At the same time, however, individuals interacting with others create their own understandings of situations. In this sense, human beings are not like puppets, because they have the potential to buck tradition; they are active, thinking creatures even when they are conforming.

Society was demystified for me. I came to value sociology as a tool for understanding the world. In fact, this experience led me to major in sociology and subsequently to obtain my Ph.D. in the field. I have never regretted those choices.

You might not major in sociology. You can, however, enjoy this course and take lifelong benefits from the slant on social life that sociology provides.

A Note to Instructors from the Author

Several specific goals continue to energize me as we introduce the significance and excitement of sociology to students. First, sociology—with its perspectives, concepts, theories, and research findings—offers a window on the social forces that affect us all daily. This perspective is vital for students as they grapple to understand the social factors that promote patterned behavior in themselves and others. Second, the material must be readable and at the same time theoretically and empirically sound. Third, students deserve a textbook design that is dynamic and demonstrates, clearly, the application of a new perspective to their personal lives. Fourth, I want a presentation from which students can not only learn the basics of sociology, but can acquire the ability to pose their own questions about social life. Finally, the catalyst: stimulate students to become more active learners.

Unifying Themes and Features

Sociological Imagination

The study of sociology encourages critical thinking about conventional wisdom through the development of the sociological imagination—the mind-set that enables individuals to see the relationship between events in their personal lives and events in their society. To this end, each chapter opens with a question about some aspect of social life. The answer to each question contradicts a popular or commonsense belief. Sometimes the question will focus on a result that even sociologists doubted until a sufficient amount of convincing research was done. The correct answer is given at the beginning of the chapter and further elaboration of the explanation will be within the chapter itself. Topics covered include the following:

- Suicide (Chapter 1, “The Sociological Perspective”)
- Television and violence (Chapter 4, “Socialization over the Life Course”)
- Selfishness and human nature (Chapter 5, “Social Structure and Society”)
- Date rape (Chapter 7, “Deviance and Social Control”)
- Racial inequality (Chapter 9, “Inequalities of Race and Ethnicity”)
- Gender income inequality (Chapter 10, “Inequalities of Gender”)
- National health care (Chapter 15, “Health Care and Aging”)
- Revolutions and social change (Chapter 18, “Social Change and Collective Behavior”)

See Sociology in Your Life

A boxed feature called *See Sociology in Your Life* now appears in each chapter. This feature presents interesting, timely, and relevant examples intended to stimulate the sociological examination in students' personal lives. Here are some examples:

- “Should You Believe Everything You Read?” (Chapter 2, “Social Research”)
- “Facebook and Personal Identity” (Chapter 4, “Socialization over the Life Course”)
- “Privacy in a Digital World” (Chapter 6, “Groups and Organizations”)
- “Cyber Criminals Want Your Identity” (Chapter 7, “Deviance”)
- “Cyber Bullying and Stratification” (Chapter 8, “Social Stratification”)
- “Spinning a Web of Hate” (Chapter 9, “Inequalities of Race and Ethnicity”)
- “Gender-Based Hierarchy” (Chapter 10, “Inequalities of Gender”)
- “Looking for Mr. or Ms. Right” (Chapter 11, “Family”)
- “How to Avoid Bigotry in Sport” (Chapter 16, “Sport”)
- “Terrorist Attacks and Disaster Myths” (Chapter 18, “Social Change and Collective Behavior”)

Of course, opportunities to cultivate a sociological imagination permeate the entire text.

Consider This research

A second boxed feature within each chapter, entitled *Consider This Research*, presents the theory, methods, conclusions, and implications of significant sociological studies. This feature demonstrates the scientific method in social research.

Several criteria guided the selection of these research studies. Some studies, such as Emile Durkheim's work on the social antecedents of suicide, are sociological landmarks. Others, such as Philip Zimbardo's experiment involving a simulated prison and George Ritzer's analysis of the McDonaldization of higher education, reinforce a major point in a chapter. Still other studies illustrate the imaginative use of a major research method. Durkheim's application of existing sources in the study of suicide and Donna Eder's use of a variety of research methods in her study of popularity in middle school are examples.

Given these criteria, it is hardly surprising that many of the studies included are sociological “classics”; they have had a lasting influence on the field and are continuously cited by researchers. Like classics in all fields, these pieces of research generally have high interest value. They are innovative in approach and explore important topics in ingenious ways. If read carefully, these detailed accounts of significant sociological

studies cannot fail to pique interest in social research and stimulate the sociological imagination. Here are some other examples:

- “Teenagers in a Cultural Bind” (Chapter 3, “Culture”)
- “High School Reunions” (Chapter 4, “Socialization over the Life Course”)
- “Adopting Statuses in a Simulated Prison” (Chapter 5, “Culture and Society”)
- “Who's Popular, Who's Not” (Chapter 8, “Social Stratification”)
- “No Shame in My Game” (Chapter 9, “Inequalities of Race and Ethnicity”)
- “Men's Work, Women's Work” (Chapter 10, “Inequalities of Gender”)
- “The McDonaldization of Higher Education” (Chapter 12, “Education”)
- “Tough Guys, Wimps, and Weenies” (Chapter 16, “Sport”)
- “Gang Violence” (Chapter 17, “Population and Urbanization”)
- “The Withering of the American Dream?” (Chapter 18, “Social Change and Collective Behavior”)

Accent on Theory

Each chapter contains a prominent section on the distinctive views of three major theoretical perspectives—functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism. In each chapter a table, entitled “Focus on Theoretical Perspectives,” presents succinct illustrations for the three theoretical perspectives. Two emerging social theories, feminist social theory and postmodernism, are introduced in Chapter 1.

Global Perspective

Never has the world been as interconnected as it is now. Gone are the comfort and simplicity of geographic isolation. Events in one nation can have repercussions for other nations. Thus, it is imperative that some sociological phenomena be viewed in a global frame. Consequently, this edition offers ample coverage of globalization, global crime and crime control, global terrorism, global inequality, global gender inequality, global ethnic diversity, global political and economic systems, world religions, global health care, and globalization and sport.

To this end, cross-cultural examples and research are throughout the text. This cross-cultural emphasis alerts students to our tendency to accept our own culture while rejecting others. By interacting mentally with other cultures within the context of sociological concepts, theories, and research findings, students are better able to apply the sociological perspective to their daily lives. This cross-cultural emphasis encourages in students a more self-conscious awareness of their own society and a better understanding of other cultures.

In each chapter, a world map feature, entitled *Think Globally*, displays a worldwide comparison of a particular social phenomenon. In addition, a U.S. map is included in each chapter. Each *Sociology Eyes America* permits a state and regional comparison of some aspect of American culture.

Critical Thinking

Intellectual historians trace critical thinking—questioning commonly held assumptions—to fifth-century-B.C. Greece, particularly to the Athenians (Brinton 1963). Full-fledged Western interest in critical analysis did not appear until the eighteenth century, the period known as the Enlightenment (Gay 1966). Respect for critical and reasoned analysis has been a key element of the Western world ever since.

Critical thinking is crucial for today's college students. First, the tradition of liberal education is the tradition of critical thought (Pelikan 1992). Second, as the nature of work continues to move from physical labor to cerebral activities, the facility for critical reasoning becomes an increasingly valuable asset on the job. Third, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to realize the need for critical thought among all American voters; behavior of our political leaders makes this point daily. Finally, but not least, critical thinking is vital in personal contexts such as family life, decision making, and personal enrichment.

Critical thinking is incorporated in this edition in three ways:

1. **The SQ3R method.** The promotion of critical thinking lies at the heart of the “question” step of the SQ3R method described in “A Text Message” prior to Chapter 1.

Although gaining information is essential, we emphasize further interaction with the knowledge as it is being acquired. Following are some sample critical-thinking SQ3R questions:

- If prisons do not rehabilitate, what are some alternatives?
 - Is the negative image of the poor in America accurate?
 - What is required to prove the existence of the power elite in American society?
2. **Critical-thinking questions.** Critical-thinking questions are liberally interspersed throughout each chapter. Questions follow the *Consider This Research* and *See Sociology in Your Life* features. A critical-thinking question is also included in each table, figure, and map. A set of four to six critical-thinking questions appears in the *Review Guide* at the end of each chapter. Consequently, a critical-thinking opportunity appears at least every few pages. These wide-ranging questions encourage students to think critically and creatively about the ideas within a

chapter. Sometimes students will apply these ideas to a particular aspect of society. At other times students will use sociological ideas to analyze and understand events and experiences in their own lives.

For example each *Consider This Research* closes with a series of critical-thinking questions under the heading, “Thinking About the Research.” The subsequent questions follow a description of Stanley Milgram's study of group pressure and conformity:

- Discuss the ethical implications of Milgram's experiment.
 - If the researcher had not been present as an authority figure during the experiment to approve the use of all shock levels, do you think group pressure would have been as effective? Explain.
3. **The sociological imagination.** It is easy to fall into a pattern of nonreflection about prevailing ideas that are passed from generation to generation. The feature *Using the Sociological Imagination*, described earlier, opens each chapter with a question designed to challenge some aspect of a social myth.

What Is New in the Eleventh Edition?

New topics include modernization, postmodernization, terrorism, cyberbullying, global crime and crime control, global and domestic ethnic diversity, Middle Easterners as a U.S. minority group, global gender inequality, global health care, world religions, disability, Obama health care reform, globalization and sport, the Tea Party, and social media and crowds. In the process of adding, revising, and expanding existing topics, over 30 new concepts and more than 400 new references have been added. In addition to twenty-eight new figures and tables, the most current information is added to other figures and tables.

Nearly all of the U.S. and world topical maps are either new (16) or updated (12). Ten of the world maps are new to this edition:

- Access to World Markets (Chapter 4, “Socialization”)
- Relative Wealth of Nations (Chapter 8, “Social Stratification”)
- Ethnic Diversity (Chapter 9, “Inequalities of Race and Ethnicity”)
- Global Gender Gap Index Rankings (Chapter 10, “Inequalities of Gender”)
- Gay Marriage (Chapter 11, “Family”)
- Illiteracy Rates (Chapter 12, “Education”)
- International Terrorist Incidents (Chapter 13, “Political and Economic Institutions”)
- Religions of the World (Chapter 14, “Religion”)
- Old-Age Dependency (Chapter 15, “Health Care and Aging”)
- Political Violence (Chapter 18, “Social Change and Collective Behavior”)

Six of the U.S. maps are new:

- Immigration to the United States (Chapter 3, “Culture”)
- Employment/Population Rate by State (Chapter 5, “Social Structure”)
- Percentage of Children in Single-Parent Families (Chapter 11, “Family”)
- Importance of Religion in One’s Life (Chapter 14, “Religion”)
- Teen Birth Rate (Chapter 17, “Population and Urbanization”)
- Children in Single-Parent Families (Chapter 18, “Social Change and Collective Behavior”)

Sociology comprises eighteen chapters divided into five parts. The following thumbnail sketches of each chapter place the additions in the context of their appearance. New topics appear in bold typeface.

Part 1 contains chapters introducing the nature of sociological theory and inquiry. **Chapter 1** first covers the sociological perspective, its practical uses, and history. Three major sociological theories (functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism) close the section. New material expands the presentation of two emerging social theories, feminist theory and postmodern theory. **Chapter 2** explores the major research methods used by sociologists. It concludes with an enhanced discussion of ethics in social research. The concept of ethnography is new to this edition.

Part 2 presents the foundations of social structure. **Chapter 3** promotes a broader understanding of the pivotal concept of culture. It expands the section on culture as a tool kit and broadens the concept of counterculture to include terrorism.

Chapter 4 focuses on socialization, the process of learning to participate in society through the acquisition of culture. Cyberbullying contains new information and early adulthood receives a new emphasis.

Chapter 5 examines the concept of social structure. It explains and illustrates the major sociological concepts underlying social structure. This chapter contains a new section on modernization and sociological theory with an expanded description of preindustrial society. **Chapter 6** distinguishes among various types of groups and the interactions within them. **Chapter 7** opens with the biological, psychological, and sociological explanations of deviance. The last half of the chapter focuses on global and domestic crime. The coverage of juvenile crime now includes race and gender. There are new sections on global terrorism, global crime, and global crime control.

Part 3 explores social inequality. **Chapter 8** takes up social stratification, one of the most integral areas of sociology. It incorporates new material on global poverty, including dependency theory. **Chapter 9** turns to the significance of race, ethnicity, prejudice, and

discrimination in America. A new section covers global and domestic ethnic diversity. Middle Easterners are new to the coverage of U.S. ethnic groups and white ethnics have new coverage. New concepts include racial profiling, transnationals, and internal colonialism. **Chapter 10** concentrates on gender inequality. It now embodies a new section on global gender inequality and adds the chivalry hypothesis.

Part 4 covers basic social institutions. **Chapter 11** looks at the family. New to this edition is racial and ethnic group differences in family. **Chapter 12** turns to the organization of schools, the functions of education, educational inequality, and the transmission of culture in schools. New information on competitors of traditional public schools includes for-profit schools, homeschooling, and the concept of school choice. A new section on higher education entails state budgets and college costs, community colleges, distance learning, and for-profit colleges and universities.

Chapter 13 covers the political and economic institutions. This chapter includes a new section on terrorism. It has expanded coverage on multinational corporations and the nature of work in the contemporary American economy. **Chapter 14** delves into sociology’s unique perspective on the institution of religion. New to the eleventh edition is coverage of world religions and Islamic fundamentalism. In addition, it introduces neo-paganism and the concept of ecclesia.

Chapter 15 is a combined chapter covering health care and the inequalities of age. Global health care, disability, and Obama health care reform are additions to this chapter. **Chapter 16** explores the institution of sport. Its major topics include the nature of sport, theoretical perspectives and sport, sport and social mobility, racial and ethnic inequality in sport, and gender inequality in sport. A new section on globalization and sport closes the chapter.

Part 5 turns to the topic of social change. **Chapter 17** contains the related topics of population and urbanization. **Chapter 18** combines the areas of social change and collective behavior. New to this chapter are the Tea Party as a social movement and social media and crowds.

Review Guide

The Review Guide at the end of each chapter begins with integrated goals and chapter summary. Next is a Concept Review of approximately 50 percent of the concepts introduced in each chapter. Students can test their grasp of key concepts by matching concepts with definitions. A Check Yourself review consists of a sample of questions taken directly from the Check Yourself questions appearing at the end of each major chapter section. In each chapter, a Graphic Review feature tests understanding of a particular table or figure in the chapter. Several Critical-Thinking Questions follow the

Concept Review. These broad questions provide practice for essay tests. An Answer Key closes each Review Guide.

Supplements for the Eleventh Edition

Supplements for the Instructor

Instructor's Edition of *Sociology: The Essentials*.

An Instructor's Edition (IE) of this text containing several features useful to instructors is available. The IE contains a walk-through of the several themes and many features of *Sociology* along with a complete listing of available bundles for this text. To obtain a copy of the Instructor's Edition, contact your Cengage Sales Representative.

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This manual offers the instructor brief chapter outlines, student learning objectives, detailed lecture outlines, and teaching suggestions to facilitate in-class discussion. American Sociological Association (ASA) recommendations are noted for each chapter and matched to the A-heads of the detailed outlines to help instructors streamline their teaching methods with the American Sociological Association. Innovative class activities and Internet activities are included for each chapter. The test bank has 180 new questions, which are noted, and each multiple-choice and true/false item has the question type (factual, applied, or conceptual) and corresponding learning objective indicated.

ExamView® Computerized Testing. Create, deliver, and customize tests and study guides (both print and online) in minutes with this easy-to-use assessment and tutorial system. ExamView offers both a Quick Test Wizard and an Online Test Wizard that guide you step-by-step through the process of creating tests. The test appears on screen exactly as it will print or display online. ExamView includes all new eleventh edition test bank questions. Using ExamView's complete word-processing capabilities, you can enter an unlimited number of new questions or edit existing questions included with ExamView.

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Videos. Adopters of *Sociology* have several different video options available with the text.

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An exclusive offering jointly created by Wadsworth/Cengage Learning and Dallas TeleLearning, this video contains a collection of video highlights taken from the "Exploring Society: An Introduction to Sociology" Telecourse (formerly "The Sociological Imagination"). Each three- to six-minute-long video segment has been especially chosen to enhance and enliven class lectures and discussion of twenty key topics covered in any introductory sociology text. Accompanying the video is a brief written description of each clip, along with suggested discussion questions to help effectively incorporate the material into the classroom.

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Readers

Classic Readings in Sociology, Fourth Edition

(edited by **Eve L. Howard**). This series of classic articles written by key sociologists will complement any introductory sociology textbook. The reader serves as a touchstone for students: original works that teach the fundamental ideas of sociology.

Understanding Society: An Introductory Reader,

Third Edition (edited by **Margaret Andersen, University of Delaware, Kim Logio, St. Joseph's University, and Howard Taylor, Princeton University**). This reader includes articles with a variety of styles and perspectives, with a balance of the classic and contemporary. The editors selected readings that students will find accessible, yet intriguing, and have

maximized the instructional value of each selection by prefacing each with an introduction and following each with discussion questions. The articles center on the following five themes: classical sociological theory, contemporary research, diversity, globalization, and application of the sociological perspective.

***Sociological Odyssey: Contemporary Readings in Introductory Sociology, Third Edition* (edited by Patricia A. Adler, University of Colorado and Peter Adler, University of Denver, Colorado).**

This reader contains highly engaging, current articles that bring hot sociological topics to life for readers. Students enjoy the Adlers' balanced selection of timely readings, which cover issues and areas of interest to the general collegian, including male college cheerleaders, exploitation of immigrant laborers, teenage girls and cell phone usage, cyber romantic relationships, and cheating. In-depth introductions, explanation of theory, and discussion questions before each reading help guide students through the material.

***Sociological Footprints: Introductory Readings in Sociology, Eleventh Edition* (edited by Leonard Cargan, Wright State University and Jeanne H. Ballantine, Wright State University).**

This anthology of seventy-six sociological studies provides a link between theoretical sociology and everyday life. *Sociological Footprints* offers classical, contemporary, popular, and multicultural articles in each chapter to show students a wide range of perspectives. Articles address today's most important social issues that are relevant to student's lives, social construction of sex, divorce trends, and American health care crisis. Each article is preceded by a short introductory essay, a series of guideline questions, and a list of glossary terms found in the article and therefore establish the student's reading of the article into a solid sociological framework.

Online Resources

Shepard, *Sociology, Eleventh Edition Student Companion Website*. www.cengage.com/sociology/shepard/. This Website, available to all students, provides useful learning resources for each chapter of the book:

- Practice quizzes
- Glossary
- Flash cards
- Crossword puzzles
- Web links
- Video exercises
- Learning modules
- Virtual explorations
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A Text Message

u g2b crz 2 ms dis

Want to learn more and earn a better grade? This text is based on a proven method for student success called SQ3R. I know that looks like a Roman sign, but stay with me. The SQ3R method will help you identify the significant ideas, grasp these ideas more readily, remember the essential points, and be better prepared for exams. With this in mind, it is key for you to understand the five steps of SQ3R as they appear in this book. The following explains how the S in SQ3R refers to *survey*; the Q refers to question; and 3R refers to *read, recite, and review*.

S Survey. Before reading a chapter, read the outline and the goals at the beginning. Then read the integrated goals and summary at the end of the chapter in the *Review Guide*. This survey provides you a heads-up familiarity with the chapter content and takes only a few minutes.

Q Question. Subheadings throughout the text are phrased as questions that help you identify important issues. For example, instead of broad headings such as “Working Women,” you are guided by more to-the-point questions such as “Have men and women reached financial equality?” and “How do American women fare globally?”

R1 Read. Of course, reading is involved in every assignment. As part of that reading, your comprehension increases immeasurably if, as you read, you focus on the answer to each subhead question.

R2 Recite. Following each major section is a feature called *Check Yourself*. Your response to these questions will be an indication of your comprehension: A hesitancy here reminds you to reexamine the material you just covered.

R3 Review. A *Review Guide* closes each chapter. Components of this guide include a Summary, a Concept Review, a Check Yourself Review, a Graphic Review, and Critical-Thinking Questions to help you prepare for an exam.

The SQ3R MENU below identifies each of the five steps of the SQ3R method. Beside each step is the symbol that will appear as a reminder at appropriate places throughout the text.

Notice that the Check Yourself feature appears at the end of each major section within a chapter. The Review Guide follows the entire chapter. Keep in mind that neither feature is a comprehensive exam. Rather, they are mini-tests designed to prevent false confidence, the problem we all have when we think we know something that we do not fully understand.

SQ3R as Expressed in This Text

SQ3R STEP	Symbol in Text	Location in Text
Survey	S	-Outline -Goals -Summary
Question	Q	-Subheading questions
Read	R1	-Assigned reading
Recite	R2	-Check Yourself
Review	R3	-Review Guide

CENGAGE
ADVANTAGE:
SOCIOLOGY

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The Sociological Perspective

1



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GOALS

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

The Sociological Perspective
Uses of the Sociological Perspective
The Social Sciences
Founders of Sociology
Major Theoretical Perspectives
Two Emerging Social Theories

OUTLINE

USING THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

Why do people commit suicide? Answers immediately come to mind: prolonged illness, loss of a lover, public disgrace, depression, heavy financial loss. Each of these explanations assumes personal crisis as the sole motivation. Yet, suicide is affected

not only by personal trauma but also by social forces. Specifically, sociologist Emile Durkheim revealed that suicide rate varies with social characteristics. Highly socially integrated people—married, females, Catholics—exhibit lower rates of suicide. More socially isolated persons—unmarried, males, Protestants—show higher suicide rates. After 100 years, research continues to support Durkheim’s findings and conclusions.

Durkheim is one of the pioneers of sociology who will be profiled in this chapter. Before turning to these pioneers, however, we will discuss the unique sociological perspective that Durkheim identified and developed (R. A. Jones 2005).

beautiful or which fish is the biggest. Coming from a more collectivist culture, a Chinese person is more likely to notice the context in which the fish swim. A Chinese person would more likely notice things like the cleanliness of the water in which the fish swim or the size of the fish tank relative to the number of fish in the tank. (See “Think Globally” 1.1 for another example of perspective mattering.)

Defining Sociology

Q **At this point, how would you define sociology?** As a novice to the field, you may at first view sociology as the study of human groups. As you progress, however, you will acquire a more precise understanding of **sociology** as the scientific study of social structure, which actually refers to patterns of social relationships. In the meantime, the first four chapters lay a foundation for Chapter 5 (“Social Structure and Society”).

Until Chapter 5, then, your understanding of the concept of social structure will be understandably vague. For now it is sufficient for you to become familiar with two key aspects of the sociological perspective: (1) Individuals share patterns of behavior with others in their group or society and (2) sociologists can view social relationships from either of two separate levels of analysis: within a group or between groups.

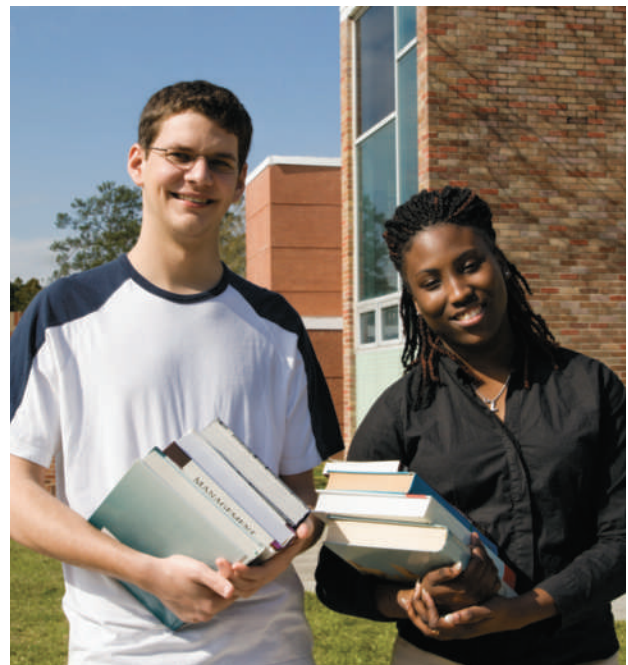
The Sociological Perspective **R1**

Beyond Psychology: The Social Animal

A couple divorces because the love is gone; a student commits suicide because she is depressed. These explanations look at individual causes of behavior. At the psychological level, this makes perfect sense. Sociology, however, looks beyond individual factors to explain social behavior: A husband and wife are more likely to divorce when they are from different social classes; people with weak social bonds commit suicide more often. Social classes and social bonds are distinctly social, not individual, factors. Thus, the overarching objective of this book is to enable you to view yourself and your world from a sociological perspective, to move from the individual level to the group level in understanding social behavior.

The Importance of Perspective

Q **Why begin your study of sociology with a discussion of perspective?** We all interpret the happenings around us through our own perspective—our own particular point of view. It can hardly be any other way. For example, if, as an American, you were asked to observe a fish tank, what would you tend to describe? Because you have been raised in an individualistic and competitive culture, you are likely to notice which fish is the most



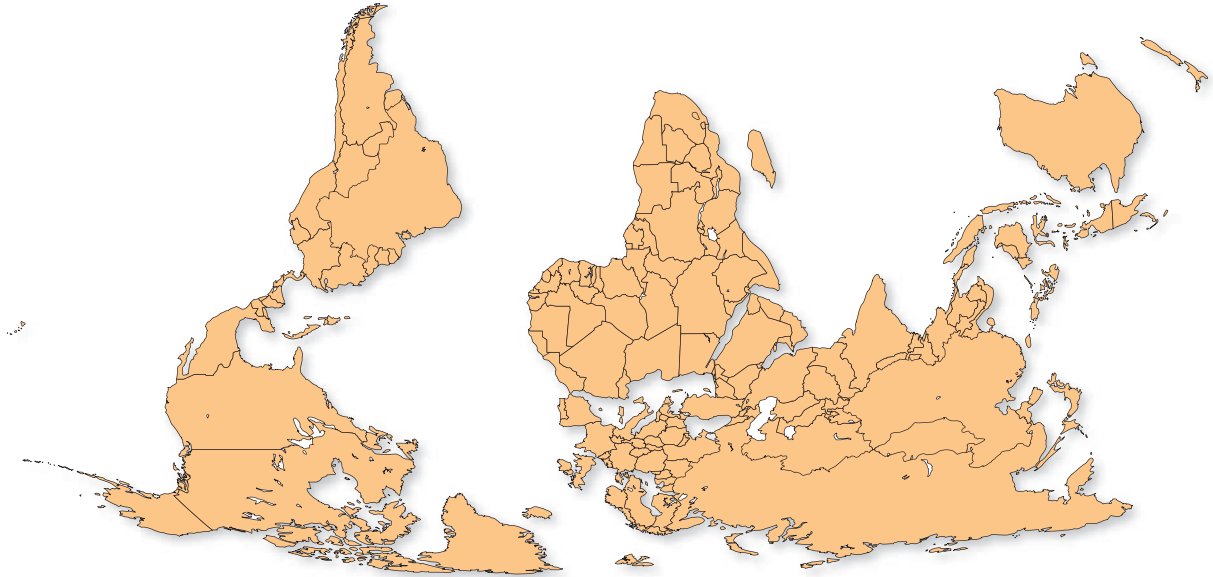
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The decision to attend college is not merely a choice made by an isolated individual. Social relationships, with teachers, parents, peers, and others, influence a person’s decision to become a college student. Sociologists study these patterned social relationships referred to as *social structures*.

THINK GLOBALLY

1.1

A World Turned Upside Down



Without turning this map upside down, locate the United States. Do you find it more difficult than usual? Do you find this view of the world disorienting? Because you are so used to the conventional representation of the Earth, you may reject this worldview. So it is with any perspective.

In this book, you will be asked to abandon the typical American psychological perspective in favor of the sociological perspective.

1. How would you feel if this map were universally substituted for the one you

know? Describe your feelings, and explain why you feel this way.

2. What does your reaction to this map tell you about the power of the perspective you bring to a situation?

Patterns of Behavior

Q What is an example of “patterned” social behavior? As you know, college students in a classroom do not all behave exactly alike. Some attempt to write down everything their professors say, some just listen to the lecture, some record the lecture, and others text their friends. Yet, if you visit almost any college or university, you will find patterned relationships. Professors lecture, students remain in their seats; professors give examinations, students take them. Although the individual characteristics of students and professors may vary from school to school, students and professors relate in similar patterned ways. It is the predictable, *recurrent* patterned interaction of people and the social structures created by such interaction that capture the attention of sociologists.

Q How does group behavior differ from individual behavior? Emile Durkheim (1966; originally published in 1895), a pioneering nineteenth-century sociologist, argued that we do not attempt to explain bronze in terms of its component parts (lead, copper, and tin). Instead, we consider bronze an alloy, a unique metal

produced by the synthesis of several distinct metals. Even the consistency of bronze is not predictable from its components: bronze is hard, whereas lead, copper, and tin are soft and malleable. Durkheim reasoned that if a combination of certain metals produces a unique metal, some similar process might happen in groups of people. Indeed, people’s behavior within a group setting cannot be predicted from the characteristics of individual group members. Something new is created when individuals come together as a collective. Sometimes the citizens of a city whose team has just won a major championship (e.g., World Series, Super Bowl) become unruly and frenetic, breaking windows, tearing down street signs, starting bonfires. College students on spring break in Florida repeatedly behave in ways they never would as individuals in their home communities. Whether because members value their group’s ways or because they yield to social pressures of the moment, the behavior of a group cannot be predicted simply from knowledge about the individual members. A group is not equal to the sum of its parts any more than is bronze (see “Consider This Research”).



Emile Durkheim—The Study of Suicide

Emile Durkheim, the first person to be formally recognized as a sociologist and the most scientific of the pioneers, conducted a study that stands as a research model for sociologists today. His investigation of suicide was, in fact, the first sociological study to use statistics. In *Suicide* (1964; originally published in 1897), Durkheim documented his contention that some aspects of social behavior—even something as allegedly individualistic as suicide—can be explained without reference to individuals.

Like all of Durkheim's work, his study of suicide is best considered within the context of his concern for social integration (R. Collins 1994; Pickering and Walford 2000). Durkheim wanted to see if suicide rates within a social entity (e.g., a group, an organization, or society) are related to the degree to which individuals are socially involved (integrated and regulated). In his study, Durkheim described three types of suicide: egoistic, altruistic, and anomic. He hypothesized that

egoistic suicide increases when individuals do not have sufficient social ties. Because single (never married) adults, for example, are not heavily involved with family life, they are more likely to commit suicide than are married adults. On the other hand, he predicted *altruistic suicide* as more likely to occur when social integration is extremely strong. The Al Qaeda agents who slammed jetliners into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001 are one example, as are suicide bombers. Altruistic suicide need not be this extreme, of course. Military personnel who lay down their lives for their country are another illustration.

Durkheim forecasted his third type of suicide—*anomic suicide*—to increase when existing social ties are broken. For example, suicide rates increase during economic depressions. People suddenly without jobs, or without hope of finding any, are more prone to kill themselves. Suicide may also increase during periods of prosperity. People may loosen their social ties by taking new jobs, moving to new communities, or finding new mates.

Using precollected data from government population reports of several countries (much of the data from the French government statistical office), Durkheim found strong support for his predictions. Suicide rates were, in fact, higher among unmarried than married people and among military personnel than civilians. They were also higher

among people involved in nationwide economic crises.

Durkheim's primary interest, however, was not in the empirical (observable) indicators he used, such as suicide rates among military personnel, married people, and so forth. Rather, Durkheim used the results of his study to support several of his broader contentions: (1) social behavior can be explained by social rather than psychological factors; (2) suicide is affected by the degree of integration and regulation within social entities; and (3) because society can be studied scientifically, sociology is worthy of recognition in the academic world (Ritzer 2008). Durkheim was successful on all three counts. If Auguste Comte told us that sociology *could* be a science, Durkheim showed us *how* it could be a science.

Evaluate the Research

1. Do you believe that Durkheim's study of suicide supported his idea that much of social behavior cannot be explained psychologically? Why or why not?
2. Which approach do you think Durkheim followed in his study of suicide: functionalist, conflict, or symbolic interactionist? Support your choice by relating his study to the assumptions of the perspective you chose.

Q **How is conformity related to global group behavior?** We live in groups ranging in size from a family to an entire society, and they all encourage conformity—conformity often promoted by social forces that individuals do not create and cannot control. American, Russian, and Chinese citizens, for instance, have distinctive eating habits, types of dress, religious beliefs, and attitudes toward family life. Groups of teenagers within a society tend to listen to the same music, dress alike, and follow similar dating customs.

Q **Why is the existence of conformity important to sociology?** Because a high degree of conformity within societies exists, similarities or patterns in social behavior exist. Sociologists can attempt to understand, explain, and predict the often invisible social processes that permit successive generations to live predictable and orderly lives without each generation creating its own new guidelines for social living. Because a particular generation is spared this trouble, its members usually fail to ask why things are the way they are, or

why things are changing. Sociologists, in contrast, constantly wrestle with these questions.

Q But don't people, in turn, affect society? Yes. But, it is necessary to begin with the social emphasis because without some considerable degree of conformity, there can be no group life. Still, this necessary nonindividualistic emphasis should not obscure the effect that individuals can have on social structures. Individuals are active, thinking beings who do not always follow social scripts. The interplay between individuals and their social structures is a two-way street: people are affected by social structures, and people change their social structures. Consequently, you should not conclude that all human behavior in groups is determined by preexisting social structures. For example, historian Joyce Appleby (2001) documents how the first generation born after the American Revolution fashioned a national culture based on an interpretation of their parents' creation of a new nation.

In summary, the sociological perspective focuses on the group, examines patterns of behavior, isolates patterns of conformity, and recognizes the effects of people on society. Table 1.1 illustrates these unique aspects of the sociological perspective using suicide rates among Catholics and Protestants.

TABLE 1.1

WHAT SOCIOLOGISTS SEE AND HOW THEY STUDY SUICIDE: Comparing Protestants and Catholics

SOCIOLOGISTS FOCUS . . .	SOCIOLOGISTS MIGHT INVESTIGATE . . .
on the group, not the individual.	distinct characteristics of both Protestants and Catholics that affect their differential suicide rates.
on patterns of social behavior.	data to determine if Protestants and Catholics actually do consistently commit suicide at different rates.
on social forces that encourage conformity.	the ways that greater social integration among Catholics promotes a lower rate of suicide compared to more socially isolated Protestants.
on the effects people have on social structure.	the means that Protestants may use to lower their suicide rate, such as the promotion of social involvement through church activities.

Levels of Analysis: Microsociology and Macrosociology

Sociologists work from two distinct levels of analysis: They study the interaction of people “within” groups (*microsociology*) and they research the “intersection” of groups as a whole (*macrosociology*). *Macro* means “large”; *micro* means “small.” Macro research focuses on entire groups. Microanalysis investigates the relationships within groups. Macro views from a distance, micro from close range (Helle and Eisentadt 1985a, 1985b; Scheff 1990; A. H. Hawley 1992).

Suppose for the moment that social structures are directly observable as tangible objects and that we are cruising at 20,000 feet at the controls of Sociologist One. On a clear day at this altitude we would be able to observe definite social structures, just as we can observe the lay of the land from an airplane. At 20,000 feet we will see no movement in the form of people interacting. We are at the macro level. Suppose we wish to get a closer look and start descending. As we descend, we will begin to see people interacting. When we focus on these relationships, we are at the micro level. Formal definitions of microsociology and macrosociology will make more sense against this general background.

Microsociology is concerned with the study of people as they interact in daily life. Consider the practice of knife fighting among street gangs. At the micro level, a sociologist attempts to explain participation in gang knife fighting based on the social relationships involved. For example, gang leaders, to validate their right to leadership, may feel that they must either fight members of their own gang who challenge their position or fight leaders of other gangs.

Macrosociology focuses on groups without regard to the interaction of the people within. Some sociologists examine entire societies (Tilly 1978, 1986; Wallerstein 1979, 1984; Skocpol 1985; Lenski 1988; Nolan and Lenski 2010). We will use the term *macrosociology* in referring to the study of societies as a whole as well as to the relationships between social structures within societies. For example, sociologists might study the patterned relationships between the defense industry and the federal government, or the effect of the economy on the stability of the family.

The macro and micro levels of analysis are complementary; their combined use tells us more about social behavior than either one alone (Alexander et al. 1987; Sawyer 2001). To understand gang warfare, a microsociologist would want to know about the social relationships involved—the relationships between gang leaders and followers or between gang members and police on the beat. To supplement this understanding of gangs obtained at the micro level, the macro level can be used to examine the larger social structures of which

CHECK YOURSELF

1.1

R2

The Sociological Perspective

1. Sociology is the scientific study of _____.
2. _____ explanations of group behavior are inadequate because human activities are influenced by social forces that individuals have not created and cannot control.
3. Microsociology focuses on relationships between social structures without reference to the interaction of the people involved. T or F?

Answers: 1. social structure; 2. Individualistic; 3. F

gangs are a part. A macrosociologist might look for the aspects of a society or social structure that produce the poverty promoting delinquency in the first place—such as lack of education and joblessness.

Uses of the Sociological Perspective **R1**

Q Why study sociology? Each of the following three personal benefits of sociology involves critical thinking and analysis of social issues. First, the sociological perspective enables you to develop the *sociological imagination*. Second, sociological theory and research can be applied to important public issues. Third, the study of sociology can sharpen skills useful in many occupations.

The Sociological Imagination

Q What is the sociological imagination? Knowing how social forces affect our lives can help prevent us from being prisoners of those forces. C. Wright Mills called this personal use of sociology the **sociological imagination**—the set of mind that enables individuals to see the relationship between events in their personal lives and events in their society. The sociological imagination invites us to examine the intersection between personal biography and social influences. Events affecting us as individuals, Mills pointed out, are closely related to the ebb and flow of society (Mills and Etzioni 1999). Decisions, both minor and momentous, are not isolated, individual matters. Historically, for example, American society has shown a bias against childless marriages and only children. Couples without children have been considered selfish, and only children have often been labeled “spoiled” (Benokraitis 2010). These values date back to a time when there was a societal need for large families because of the high infant mortality rate and the need for labor on family farms. Only now, as the need for large families is disappearing, are we reading of the benefits of one-child families—to

the child, to the family, and to society. The sociological imagination enables us to understand the effects of such social forces on our lives. With this understanding, we are in a stronger position to make autonomous decisions rather than merely conform (Game and Metcalfe 1996; Peck and Hollingsworth 1996; K. T. Erikson 1997; Berger and Zijderveld 2009).

This broadened social awareness permits us to read the newspaper with a more complete understanding of the implications of social events. Instead of interpreting an editorial opposing welfare as merely a selfish expression, we might see the letter as a reflection of the importance Americans place on independence and self-help (A. M. Lee 1990; Straus 2002). The sociological imagination, then, opens our minds and expands our horizons. It enables us to question conventional wisdom and free (intellectually liberate) ourselves from unwanted social pressures to conform (Berger 1963, Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

Q How will the debunking theme open our minds and stimulate our sociological imagination? Despite the availability of accurate information and explanations, people tend to cling to myths and false ideas about social life—impressions that are passed from generation to generation. Plato’s “Allegory of the Cave” comes to mind. In *The Republic*, Plato describes a cave in which people have been chained, from childhood, so they cannot move. Forced to look only straight ahead, these prisoners cannot see behind them the blazing fire and a raised walkway in front of the fire. Men walk along the wall carrying all types of objects. The shadows on the wall in front of the prisoners, made by the walking men and the fire, are the only things the prisoners have ever seen. Their interpretations of these shadows constitute reality to them. Sociology attempts to replace common misconceptions about social life (shadows on the cave wall) with accurate information and explanations (Ruggiero 2001).

Because the task of sociology is to reveal the nature of human social behavior, it often opens our minds and leads us to question what we usually take for granted. What people take to be unassailable truth may, under



Jack Star/Getty Images

The sociological imagination allows us to see that joining a gang is a social act providing some young men and women with a sense of security and belonging they haven't found elsewhere.

scientific examination, be false. The sociological imagination, then, replaces common misconceptions about social life with accurate information and explanations.

Q How does the sociological imagination expand our horizons and encourage intellectual liberation? Like all liberal arts courses—anthropology, history, literature, and philosophy—sociology encourages intellectual liberation (Bierstedt 1963; Brouillette 1985). You can, for example, learn that among the Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin it was socially acceptable for parents to kill children who became too great a liability (Radin 1953). Among the Toda of southern India, female infants were frequently killed at birth; if twins of different sexes were born, the female was always killed (Murdock 1935). The Winnebago and Toda, like all humans, had been taught the ways of their group. Through the sociological imagination, you can become aware of the rationale for infanticide practiced by a society under extreme population pressure and living on the margin of subsistence.

Even more interestingly, sociology provides a window into our own social world, allowing us to see the

many social forces that shape our lives. Sociology thus complements rather than replaces other ways of viewing human behavior. The more we seek to apply a range of different perspectives in attempting to interpret social forces and their meanings, the greater will be our understanding of our own behavior as well as the behavior of others. With such understanding comes the potential for greater personal freedom from social pressures. Consider divorce, for example. Social research reveals many factors in modern society that promote marital failure. Divorce is more likely to occur among couples who share particular characteristics: low levels of education, early marriages, premarital pregnancies, or living arrangements with parents. Awareness of the inevitable pressures of such marriages may convince couples under these circumstances either not to marry, or at least to anticipate and prepare more effectively for such problems. The successful application of the sociological imagination enables us to share Somerset Maugham's insight that "tradition is a guide and not a jailer."

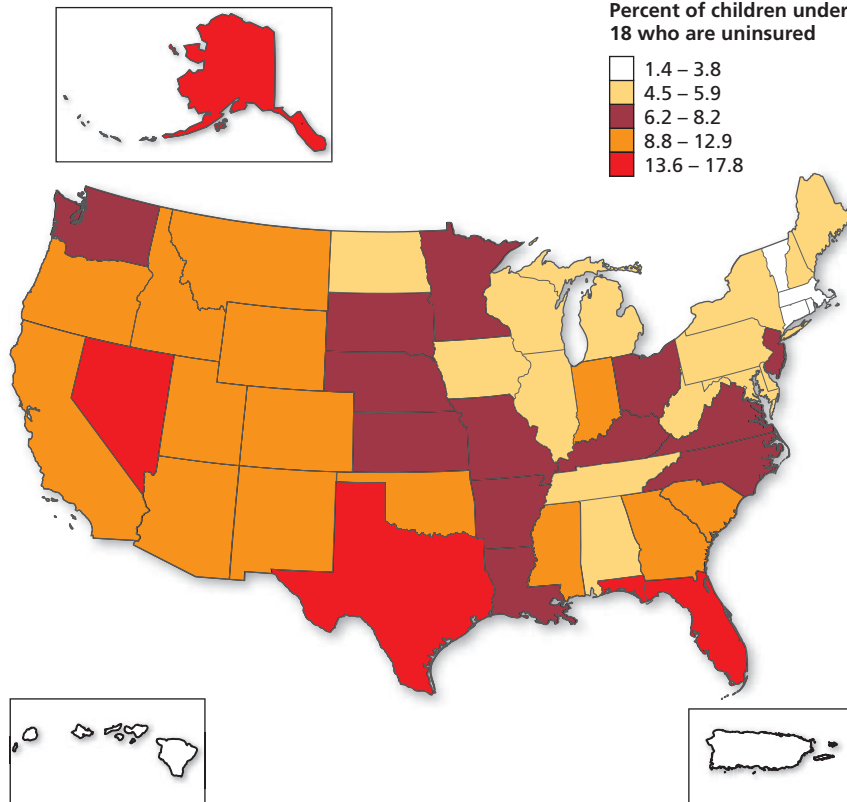
Applied Sociology

Q Do sociologists have a moral responsibility to speak against and attempt to change aspects of social life they believe to be wrong? From the time it first appeared on the American academic scene in the late 1800s, sociology has steadily attempted to move from its origins as a social problem-solving discipline to a nonsocially involved science. During the intervening years, disagreement has periodically surfaced on the compatibility of these two viewpoints (A. M. Lee 1978; Weinstein 2000; Hamilton and Thompson 2002; Burawoy 2005; Phillips 2008; Steele and Price, 2008). Those arguing against the involvement of social scientists in the eradication of social ills view science as "value neutral"; that is, scientific research is supposed to discover what actually exists, with no room for personal value judgments as to what *ought* to exist. The idea of value neutrality has dominated sociological thought for years. And although the idea of science as a value-neutral enterprise remains strong among sociologists, those favoring the interjection of standards of good and bad are on the increase (J. Q. Wilson 1993; Bickman and Rog 1997). This issue has gained considerable prominence in the form of both **humanist sociology**, which places human needs and goals at the center (A. M. Lee 1978; Scimecca 1987; Giddens 1987), and **liberation sociology**, whose objective is to replace human oppression with greater democracy and social justice (Feagin 2001).

Q Does sociological research influence public policies and programs? Yes. Social scientists, for instance, contributed to the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing separate but equal schools for African Americans and

SOCIOLOGY EYES AMERICA 1.1

Children Without Health Insurance



Americans tend to believe that all children have the right to receive good medical care. Research has shown, however, that American children do not have equal access to medical care. One reason for this is lack of health insurance. This map shows, by state, the percentage of children under age eighteen who do not have health insurance.

Interpret the Map

1. Which states have the fewest uninsured children? Which state has the most?
2. How does your state rate on health insurance coverage for children?
3. How might using your sociological imagination help you to explain why children in the United States have unequal access to medical care?

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*: 2009

whites. This is one of the earliest examples of the U.S. court system accepting social science research as a basis for legal decisions. Subsequent research has explored a variety of related topics, including the effects of school quality on student performance, the impact of social environment on measured IQ, the influence of school desegregation on the performance of African American and white students, and the effects of busing when desegregating schools.

Knowledge, then, is a prerequisite to the creation of sound laws, and that is where sociology contributes. Before attempting to create any national policy regarding children's access to health care, for example, it is necessary to know the extent of the problem of inaccessibility (see "Sociology Eyes America 1.1"). The definition of family is another example. Traditionally, American culture limited marriage to the legal union of a man and a woman. Recent research tells us that Americans are increasingly adopting alternatives such as same-sex marriage, civil unions, and unmarried cohabitation as legitimate forms of family. What constitutes a legal family has policy implications affecting health insurance coverage, inheritance rights, child custody, and end-of-life decisions. Lawmakers considering these

legal questions will have to take into account research addressing the evolving definition of family (Powell et al. 2010).

Some sociologists advocate intervention beyond policy-related research. Following a long-neglected lead (Wirth 1931), **clinical sociology** (or "sociological practice") involves using sociological theories, principles, and research to diagnose and measure social intervention (Steele and Price 2008). Clinical sociologists provide help for individuals or serve as agents for change in organizations, communities, and even entire societies (Black 1984; Erickson and Simon 1998; Du Bois and Wright 2000; Koppel 2002; R. H. Hall and Tolbert 2008). Clinical sociologists may work as marriage and family therapists, might design intervention programs to reduce juvenile delinquency, or may redesign the social environment of cancer patients.

Sociology and Occupational Skills

Q How will the study of sociology contribute to the development of work skills? Most employers are interested in four types of skills: the ability to work well with others, the ability to write and speak fluently, the

ability to solve problems, and the ability to analyze information. Because computers have revolutionized the office, information analysis skills are becoming much more important to managers in all types of organizations. In addition, the increasing complexity of work demands greater critical analysis and problem-solving skills. The levels of each of these skills can be improved through the broad liberal arts foundation of sociology (Billson and Huber 1993; Stephens 2002, American Sociological Association 2007; Ferrante 2009).

Q What about more specific preparation for employment?

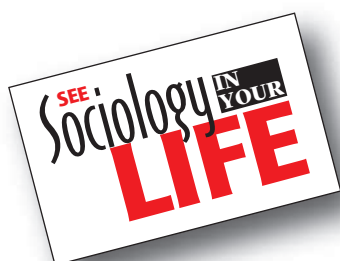
In addition to general skills, specific sociology subfields offer preparation for fairly specialized jobs.

Consider these examples:

- Training in race relations is an asset for working in human resources (personnel) departments, hospitals, or day-care centers.

- Background in urban sociology can be put to good use in urban planning, law enforcement, and social work.
- Courses focusing on gender and race serve as valuable background for work in community planning, arbitration, and sexual harassment cases.
- Training in criminology is sought by agencies dealing with criminal justice, probation, and juvenile delinquency.
- Courses in social psychology are valuable for sales, marketing, and advertising, as well as for counseling.

These jobs only scratch the surface; students of sociology are prepared to pursue many other careers (see “See Sociology in Your Life”). Consider this selected list: manager, executive, college placement officer, community planner, employment counselor, foreign service worker, environmental specialist,



Job Opportunities in Sociology

In general, all employers are interested in four types of skills regardless of what specific career path you choose. These skills are:

- The ability to work with others.
- The ability to write and speak well.
- The ability to solve problems.
- The ability to analyze information.

Because computers have revolutionized the office, for example, information analysis skills are becoming much more important to managers in all types of organizations. The increasing complexity of work

demands greater critical thinking and problem-solving skills. Knowledge is of limited use if you can't convey what you know to others.

The study of sociology helps students develop these general skills, so it is a solid base for many career paths. For sociology majors, the following list of possibilities is only the beginning—many other paths are open to you.

- Social services—in rehabilitation, case management, group work with youth or the elderly, recreation, or administration.
- Community work—in fundraising for social service organizations, nonprofits, child-care or community development agencies, or environmental groups.
- Corrections—in probation, parole, or other criminal justice work.
- Business—in advertising, marketing and consumer research, insurance, real estate, personnel work, training, or sales.
- College settings—in admissions, alumni relations, or placement offices.

- Health services—in family planning, substance abuse, rehabilitation counseling, health planning, hospital admissions, and insurance companies.
- Publishing, journalism, and public relations—in writing, research, and editing.
- Government services—in federal, state, and local government jobs in such areas as transportation, housing, agriculture, and labor.
- Teaching—in elementary and secondary schools, in conjunction with appropriate teacher certification; also in universities, with research opportunities.

Think About It

1. Which of the career paths listed is most interesting to you? What is it about this area that you find interesting?
2. Evaluate your current strengths and weaknesses in the four primary skill areas.

Source: Adapted from *Careers in Sociology*, American Sociological Association, 2006.