Sociology 101

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Define the sociological imagination.
- Apply the sociological imagination to divorce and other topics.
- Define social facts.
- Define and identify personal troubles.
- Define and identify social issues.

SEEING THE SOCIAL WORLD IN A NEW LIGHT: PERSONAL AND LARGER SOCIAL WORLDS

The average person lives too narrow a life to get a clear understanding of today's complex social world. Our daily lives are spent among friends and family, at work, play, watching TV, and surfing the Internet. No way can one person grasp the big picture from their relatively isolated lives. There's just not enough time or capacity to be exposed to the complexities of a society of 305 million people. There are thousands of communities, millions of interpersonal interactions, billions of Internet information sources, and countless trends that transpire without many of us even knowing that they exist. What can we do to make sense of it all?

Psychology gave us the understanding of self-esteem; economics gave us the understanding of supply and demand; political science gave us the understanding of polling; and physics gave us Einstein's theory of $E=MC^2$. The sociological imagination by Mills provides a framework for understanding our social world that far surpasses any common sense notion we might derive from our limited social experiences. C. Wright Mills (1916-1962) was a contemporary sociologist who brought tremendous insight into the daily lives of society's members. Mills stated: "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both." [1] The **sociological imagination** is *making the connection between personal challenges and larger social issues.* Mills identified "troubles" (personal challenges) and "issues" (larger social challenges) , also known as biography, and history, respectively. Mills' conceptualization of the sociological imagination allows individuals to see the relationships between events in their personal lives, biography, and events in their society, history. In other words, this mindset provides the ability for individuals to realize the relationship between personal experiences and the larger society.

Remember that **social facts** *are social processes rooted in society rather than in the individual*. Émile Durkheim studied the science of social facts in an effort to identify social correlations and ultimately social laws designed to make sense of how modern societies worked, given that they became

increasingly diverse and complex. [2] The national cost of a gallon of gas, the war in the Middle East, the depressed economy, the trend of having too few females in the 18-24 year old singles market, and the ever-increasing demand for plastic surgery are just a few of the social facts at play today. Social facts are typically outside of the control of average people. They occur in the complexities of modern society and impact us, but we rarely find a way to significantly impact them back. This is because, as Mills taught, we live much of our lives on the personal level, while much of society happens at the larger social level. Without a knowledge of the larger social and personal levels of social experience, we live in what Mills called a **false social consciousness** *which is an ignorance of social facts and the larger social picture.*

Personal troubles *are private problems experienced within the character of the individual and the range of their immediate relation to others*. Mills identified the fact that we function in our personal lives as actors and actresses who make choices about our friends, family, groups, work, school, and other issues within our control. We have a degree of influence in the outcome of matters within the personal level. A college student who parties 4 nights out of 7, who rarely attends class, and who never does his homework has a personal trouble that interferes with his odds of success in college. However, when 50% of all college students in the United States never graduate, we label it as being a larger social issue.

Larger **social issues** *are those that lie beyond one's personal control and the range of one's inner life*. These pertain to society's organizations and processes; further, these are rooted in society rather than in the individual. Nationwide, students come to college as freshmen ill-prepared to understand the rigors of college life. They haven't often been challenged enough in high school to make the necessary adjustments required to succeed as college students. Nationwide, the average teenager text messages, surfs the Net, plays video or online games, hangs out at the mall, watches TV and movies, spends hours each day with friends, and works at least part-time. Where and when would he or she get experience focusing attention on college studies and the rigorous self-discipline required to transition into college credits, a quarter or a semester, study, papers, projects, field trips, group work, or test taking?

In a survey conducted each year by the U.S. Census Bureau, findings suggest that in 2006 about 84 percent of the U.S. population graduated high school.[3] They also found that only 27 percent had a Bachelor's degree.[4] Given the numbers of freshmen students enrolling in college, the percentage with a Bachelor's degree should be closer to 50 percent.

The majority of first year college students drop out because nationwide we are deficient at preparing students for these new challenges, and because students do not feel a sense of belonging to the new institution. In fact, college dropouts are an example of both a larger social issue and a personal trouble. Thousands of studies and millions of dollars have been spent on how to increase a freshman student's odds of success in college (graduating with a 4-year degree). There are millions of dollars of grant monies awarded each year to help retain college students. Interestingly, almost all of the grants are targeted in such a way that a specific college can create a specific program to help each individual student stay in college and graduate.

The real power of the sociological imagination is found in how we learn to distinguish between the personal and social levels in our own lives. Once we do, we can make personal choices that serve us best, given the larger social forces that we face. In 1991, Ron graduated with his Ph.D. and found himself in a very competitive job market for University professor/researcher positions. With hundreds

of job applications out there, he kept finishing second or third and was losing out to 10-year veteran professors who applied for entry-level jobs. Ron looked carefully at the job market, his deep interest in teaching, the struggling economy, and his sense of urgency in obtaining a salary and benefits. He came to the decision to switch his job search focus from university research to college teaching positions. Again the competition was intense. On his 301st job application (that's not an exaggeration) he beat out 47 other candidates for his current position. In this case, knowing and seeing the larger social troubles impacted his success or failure in finding a position. Because he used his sociological imagination, Ron was empowered by an understanding of the job market, so was able to best situate himself within it.

Making Sense of Divorce Using the Sociological Imagination

Let's apply the sociological imagination to an issue that many people are concerned about— divorce. Are there larger social and personal factors that will impact your own risk of divorce? Yes. In spite of the fact that 223,000,000 people are married in the U.S, divorce continues to be a very common occurrence.[5] Divorce happens, and since millions of people experienced their own parents' divorce, we are especially concerned about the success of our own marriage.

What's in the larger social picture? Estimates for the U.S. are that about 80% of males and about 86% of females will be married before they reach age 44[6] yet so many of us feel tremendous anxiety about marriage. Consider the marriage and divorce rates in Table 1 below. The first thing you notice is that both have been declining since 1990. The second thing you notice is that the ratio of marriages to divorces is consistently two marriages to one divorce (2:1). By the way, the divorce and marriage rates in Table 1 are called "Crude Divorce" and "Crude Marriage" rates because they compare the divorces and marriages to everyone in the population for a given year, even though children and others have virtually no risk of either marrying or divorcing.

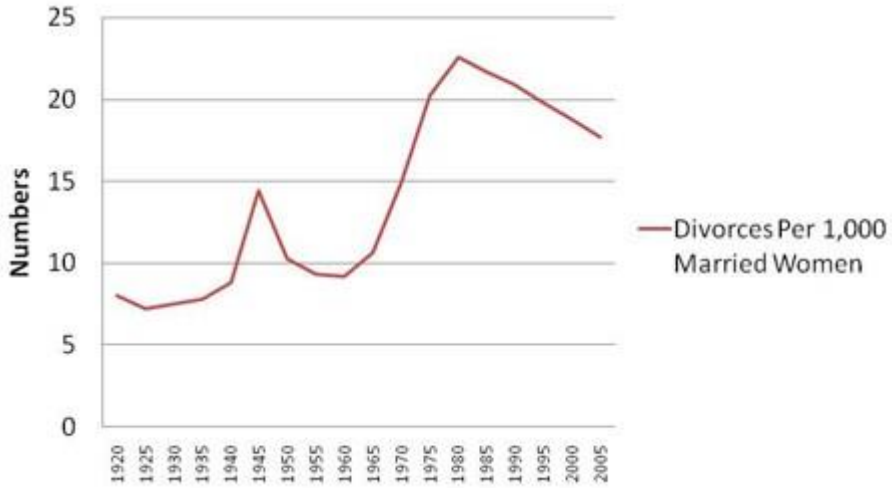
Table 1. Comparison of U.S. Marriages/1,000 Persons to Divorces/1,000 Persons 1990, 2000, and 2005. [7]

	1990 Rates	2000 Rates	2005 Rates	3-year Average
US Marriages	9.8/1,000	8.3/1,000	7.5/1,000	8.5/1,000
US Divorces	4.7/1,000	4.1/1,000	3.6/1,000	4.1/1,000
US Ratio of Marriages to Divorces	2:1	2:1	2:1	2:1

Does Sociology provide personal and larger social insight into what we can do to have a good marriage and avoid divorce? Absolutely! But before we discuss these, let's set the record straight: There has never been a 1 in 2 chance of getting divorced in the U.S.[8] Divorce rates peaked in the 1980s and have

steadily declined since then (See Figure 1). Even though all married people are at risk of divorcing, most of them won't divorce. Many studies have consistently shown exactly how our personal choices and behaviors can actually minimize our chances of divorce.

Figure 1. United States Historical Data-Divorce Trends 1920-2005.[9]



First, wait to marry until you reach your mid-20s, at the earliest. Teens who marry have the highest risk of divorce.[10] Avoid cohabitation if you plan to marry. While cohabitation is on the rise in the U.S., it is still associated with higher risks of divorce once one is married. Numerous studies have rigorously researched the impact of having cohabited on the odds of marital success.[11] Finish college before you marry. College graduates divorce less than dropouts or high school graduates. Research finds that having gone to college and having an income over $50,000 decreases the risk of divorce. Those with incomes under $25,000 have a 50% chance of divorce.[12]

Be aware of the three-strike issue: Strike 1, you are poor; Strike 2, you are a teenager when you marry; and Strike 3, you are pregnant when you marry. This could prove to be a terminal combination of risk factors as far as staying married is concerned. Know which factors you can control that will likely impact your marital success odds. Other scientifically identified divorce risk factors include high personal debt; falling out of love; not proactively maintaining your marital relationship; marrying someone who has little in common with you; infidelity; remaining mentally "on the marriage market…waiting for someone better to come along;" having parents who are divorced; and neither preparing for, nor managing the stresses that come with, raising children.[13]

Often couples on the fringe of divorce later emerge from those states of unhappiness and hopelessness with renewed happiness and hope, by simply enduring the difficult years together. With all of these factors listed above, you can decide how to best situate yourself to deal with the factors. But, as Mills taught, you must consider both personal and larger social issues simultaneously to fully benefit from the sociological imagination. It is true that divorce is still very common in the U.S. Notice the peak was found in the 1980s, and the trend shows a slightly decreased pattern since then.

What are some of the larger social factors that have historically contributed to these patterns of divorce? You'll notice a brief spike in divorce after World War II. The post-war year, 1946 was a true anomaly as far as rates measuring the family are concerned. It was the highest rate of marriages, highest rate of births (the Baby Boom began in 1946), and the lowest median age at marriage in U.S. history. Divorce rates surged in 1946 as all the soldiers returned home having been changed by the traumas, isolation from their families, and challenges of the war. They were probably less compatible to the wife they left when they went to war. Divorces tend to follow wars where one spouse is deployed into combat (WWI, WWII, Vietnam, Korea, Kuwait, and Iraq).

Other factors influencing this divorce pattern have to do with the economy, marriage market, and other factors. Divorces continue to be high during economic prosperity and often decline during economic hardships. Divorces tend to be higher if there is an abundance of single women in the society, and divorces tend to be more common in urban rather than rural areas; the Western U.S. than in the Eastern; and among the poor, less educated, remarried, less religiously devout, and children of divorce. Please note that recession, war, secularism, and western U.S. cultures don't cause divorce. Scientists have never identified a cause for divorce, but they have clearly identified risk factors.

Could there be larger social factors pressuring your marriage right now? Yes, but you are probably not enslaved to their forces. They still impact you, and you can follow Mill's ideas and manage as best you can within your power the consequences of these forces. What can you do about it? Well, if you are single, you'd best situate yourself in terms of marital success by waiting to marry until you are in your 20s; finishing and graduating from college; and taking careful attention to find the right person (especially one with common values to your own). Once married, you should work proactively to nurture your marriage relationship on an ongoing basis, such as finding counseling to help mediate the influence of your parents' divorce on your current marital relationship. If you are married and things appear to hit a wall, consider counselling, consulting with other couples, and reading selfhelp books. Often the insurmountable barriers that couples face in marriage slowly collapse with time and concerted effort.

Divorce is also not the end of the world. Since there are so many divorces, our sociological imagination indicates that individual behaviors are not the only risk factors leading toward divorce. Contemporary society allows for the formation of new forms of family and social bonds. Perhaps some people are not compatible as life partners, but can sustain a relationship for a certain number of years, dissolve their relationship, hopefully amicably, then forge relationships with others.

[1] Mills, C. W. 1959. The Sociological Imagination page ii; Oxford U. Press.
[2] See Emile Durkheim, The Rules of the Sociological Method, Edited by Steven Lukes; translated by W.D. Halls. New York: Free Press, 1982, pp. 50-59.
[3] http:// www.factfinder.uscensus.gov; see table R1501 at http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GRTTable?_bm=y&geo_id=01000US&-_box_head_nbr=R1501&-ds_name=ACS_2006_EST_G00_&-format=US-30.
[4] http:// www.factfinder.uscensus.gov ; see table R1502 at http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GRTTable?_bm=y&geo_id=01000US&-_box_head_nbr=R1502&-ds_name=ACS_2006_EST_G00_&-redoLog=false&-format=US30&-mt_name=ACS_2006_EST_G00_R1501_US30.
[5] See http://www.Census.gov.
[6]

http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0763219.html

[7] Statistical Abstracts online: Table 121. Marriages and Divorces—Number and Rate by State: 1990 to 2005 Taken from the Internet on 5 June, 2008 from http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/births_deaths_marriages_divorces.html

[8] See http://www.Rutgers.edu the National Marriage Project, 2004 The State of Our Unions or Kalman Heller The Myth of the High Rate of Divorce taken from Internet 5 June, 2008 from http://www.isnare.com/?aid=217950&ca=Marriage.

[9] U.S. Bureau of the Census Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2; Washington, D.C., 1975 Series B 216-220 Divorce 1920-1970 and Statistical Abstracts of the United States 2001 Page 87 Table 117 and 2002 Page 88 Table 111.

[10] See Center for Disease Control First Marriage Dissolution, Divorce, and Remarriage: United States taken from Internet 5 July, 2008 from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/ad/ad323.pdf

[11] See Lisa Mincieli and Kristin Moore, The Relationship Context of Births Outside of Marriage: The Rise of Cohabitation, Child Trends Research Brief 2007-13 (May 2007); or Matthew D. Bramlett and William D. Mosher, Cohabitation, Marriage, Divorce and Remarriage in the United States, National Center for Health Statistics, Vital and Health Statistics, 23 (22), 2002; or Larry Bumpass and Hsien-Hen Lu, Trends in Cohabitation and Implications for Children's Family Contexts in the U. S., Population Studies 54 (2000): 29-41; or Jay Teachman, Premarital Sex, Premarital Cohabitation, and the Risk of Subsequent Marital Disruption among Women, Journal of Marriage and the Family 65 (2003): 444-455.

[12] See http://www.divorce360.com/

[13] See Glenn, N. 1991 Recent trends in Marital Success in the U.S. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 261-270.

SOCIOLOGICAL BEGINNINGS

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following. Identify founders of Sociology and their contributions.

- Compare and contrast pre- and post-Industrial Revolution society in America.
- Define anomie.
- Compare Durkheim's types of suicide.
- List notable people who majored in Sociology.
- Define positivism.
- Recall the important contributions of each of the theorists

THIS NEW SCIENCE OF SOCIETIES: SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is a relatively new discipline in comparison to chemistry, math, biology, philosophy and other disciplines that trace back thousands of years. Sociology began as an intellectual/philosophical effort by a French man named Auguste Comte who coined the term "Sociology." **Sociology** *is the science of society* and of human behavior when influenced by society.

Why did thinkers of the day find a need for the new science of sociology? Societies had changed in unprecedented ways and had formed a new collective of social complexities that the world had never witnessed before. Western Europe was transformed by the **Industrial Revolution***, a technological development of knowledge and manufacturing that began in the late 1600s and continued until the early 1900s*. The Industrial Revolution transformed society at every level. Look at Table 1 to see pre and post-Industrial Revolution social patterns and how different they were.

Table 1. Pre-Industrial and Post-Industrial Revolution Social Patterns

Pre-Industrial Revolution	Post-Industrial Revolution
Farm/cottage	Factories
Family work	Breadwinners /homemakers
Small towns	Large cities
Large families	Small families
Homogamous towns	Heterogamous cities
Lower standards of living	Higher standards of living
People died younger	People died older

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, families lived on smaller farms, and every able member of the family did work to support and sustain the family economy. Towns were small and very similar (**homogamous**) and families were large (more children=more workers).

There was a lower standard of living, and because of poor sanitation people died earlier. After the Industrial Revolution, farm work was replaced by factory work. Men left their homes and became breadwinners earning money to buy many of the goods that used to be made by hand at home (or bartered for by trading one's own homemade goods with another's). Women became the supervisors of home work. Much was still done by families to develop their own home goods while many women and children also went to the factories to work. Cities became larger and more diverse (**heterogamous**). Families became smaller (less farm work required fewer children). Eventually, standards of living increased and death rates declined.

It is important to note the value of women's work before and after the Industrial Revolution. Hard work was the norm and still is today for most women. Homemaking included much unpaid work. For example, your great grandmother may have worked hard her entire life in a factory or perhaps on a farm, and also at home raising her children and even grand-children. We'll talk more about women and work in a later chapter.

These pre and post-industrial changes impacted all of Western civilization because the

Industrial Revolution hit all of these countries about the same way: Western Europe, United States, Canada, and later Japan and Australia. The Industrial Revolution brought some rather severe social conditions including deplorable city living conditions: crowding, crime, extensive poverty, inadequate water and sewage, early death, frequent accidents, and high illness rates. These new social problems required a new science that was unique from any scientific disciplines of the day. Comte wanted a strong scientific basis for sociology, but because of various distractions he never quite established it. The discipline of Sociology was thus established by Comte's successors who sought to understand how these large-scale changes in society affected social interaction.

Social Integration *is the degree to which people are connected to their social groups*. Emile Durkheim suggested that religion was a powerful source of **social solidarity**, or *unity in society*, because it reinforced collective bonds and shared moral values. However, since the power of the collective over the individual could also take secular forms (e.g., the workplace, family, political groups, or schools), he recognized that traditional religious beliefs were not the only source of social stability.

Let's check your own personal degree of social integration. On a piece of paper write down how many close family members you have. Then add in how many close friends and coworkers you have. Finally, add in all others whose name you know and who know yours. This number is one measure of your social integration. However, you might evaluate these relationships. In other words, list your top six closest relationships in order. Make a short list of the six closest relationships you have. Now, rank one for the

closest, two for next closest and so on up to the sixth. Durkheim realized from his suicide studies that the closer we are to others, the more socially integrated we are, and the less likely we are to commit suicide. The second concept to understand is called anomie.

Anomie *is a state of relative normlessness that comes from the disintegration of our routines and regulations*. Anomie is common when we go through sudden changes in our lives or when we live in larger cities. Sudden changes bring stress and frustration. To illustrate this, Ron often tells his students to remember how they felt the day after high school graduation. They walk for graduation then wake up the next morning with very few demands on their time and energies. This sudden shift in demands from very intense to almost absent, leads many to feel extremely frustrated and lost. Add to that they are now adults and no longer students (children) and we get a prime formula for anomie (role shift + vague understanding about what is expected of them + sudden change = anomie).

One of Ron Hammond's college students told him that at the end of last semester she had four finals, one paper, two presentations, and one lab project all due in the last five days of the semester. She finished it all, packed, and moved back home. The first morning she woke up at home she got out her planner and realized that all she had to do that day—all the demands placed upon her—were to eat and shower. She was not a full-time student for now and was between significant roles. "It took a week to get my life back into a routine for the break," she explained.

As a larger social fact, anomie is a by-product of large complex societies, especially in large cities. It's easier to get lost in the crowd, not be noticed, and to rarely receive praise or criticism for personal actions. Durkheim and others were aware that society impacted the life of the individual even if the individual had very little impact on society. By the way, Durkheim measured suicide rates as we still do today. **Suicide** *is the purposeful ending of one's own life for any reason*. **Suicide rate** *is the number of suicides per 100,000 people in a population.*

Durkheim's first two types of suicide had to do with the degree of social integration of the individual into their groups. **Altruistic Suicide** *is suicide which occurs when people are over involved and over committed to a group or society as a whole*. This occurs when the needs of society as a whole override the needs of the individual. Soldiers often commit this type of suicide in order to protect their comrades.

Egoistic Suicide *is suicide which occurs when people are under-involved or under-committed to groups*. This is the loner-type suicide when an individual is disconnected (or never connected) to others. Certain social pressures isolate us more than others and suicide becomes more likely for the isolated. Certain social forces within society create this isolated state within us (TV viewing, video games, online time, and other solo activities that preoccupy us with our own interest and isolate us from our groups and relationships.)[1] Interestingly, the Suicide Prevention Resource Center gives a few suicide prevention strategies that relate to social integration. "Strong connections to family and community support; cultural and religious beliefs that discourage suicide; support self-preservations; and various other types of social support are recommended."[2]

The next two types of suicide described by Durkheim have to do with the levels of social control and social regulation. **Anomic Suicide** *is suicide which occurs when people are under-regulated by familiar norms that serve as anchors to their social reality*. You'd expect this type of suicide in very large cities or when dramatic social changes have transpired (e.g., 9-11 terrorist attacks or recent economic recessions).

Fatalistic Suicide *is suicide which occurs when people are over-regulated or overconstrained*. This might happen in oppressive societies where people prefer to die rather than continue under the hopeless state of oppression (e.g., prisoners of war, inmates, and refugees). The US Centers for Disease Control lists suicide as the 10th most common form of death with about 34,500+ suicides reported last year in the US. That is a rate of 11.5 suicides per 100,000 living people. [3]

In Durkheim's day, he found highest suicide rates for Protestants, males, singles, and wealthy persons. He found lowest rates for Jews, Catholics, females, married people, and poor persons. Many of these are still common predictors of suicide today. The World Health Organization reported that worldwide the suicide rates show clear patterns being higher for males at all ages and especially higher for the elderly.[4] This report also noted that the highest suicide rates in the world were reported in Lithuania 51.6; Russian Federation 43.1; and Belarus 41.5/100,000 population. Isn't it interesting that the three highest countries are geographically close together? Durkheim also found geographic patterns within his researched countries. The countries with the three lowest suicide rates were Azerbaijan 1.1; Kuwait 2.0; and Philippines 2.1/100,000 population.[5]

Look at Figure 1 to see a recent pattern of suicide rates in the United States. Since 1950, male rates (red line) have gone down overall, but did experience a slight increase in the early 1990s. The blue line is the combination of males and females into the total and it parallels the other lines about mid-range. The green line represents females. Females typically commit less suicide than males in most countries worldwide. We use many figures and charts in this book so here are a few tricks to reading them. Look at the legend on the side or bottom of the charts. It tells you which lines represent which categories. Also, look at the title to make sure you understand what is being represented.

Now let's consider the US rates by age. Look at Figure 2. Isn't it ironic that the older persons (persons with the most wisdom and experience) would have the highest suicide rates? The 75 to 84 and 85+ age categories have the highest suicide rates while the 15 to 24 years olds have the lowest. Durkheim would argue that these rates are social facts. At the core of the problem lays social level processes that either facilitate or inhibit personal choices by exerting social pressures.

Figure 1. Suicide Rates per 100,000 United States, Various Categories 1950 to 2005.[6]

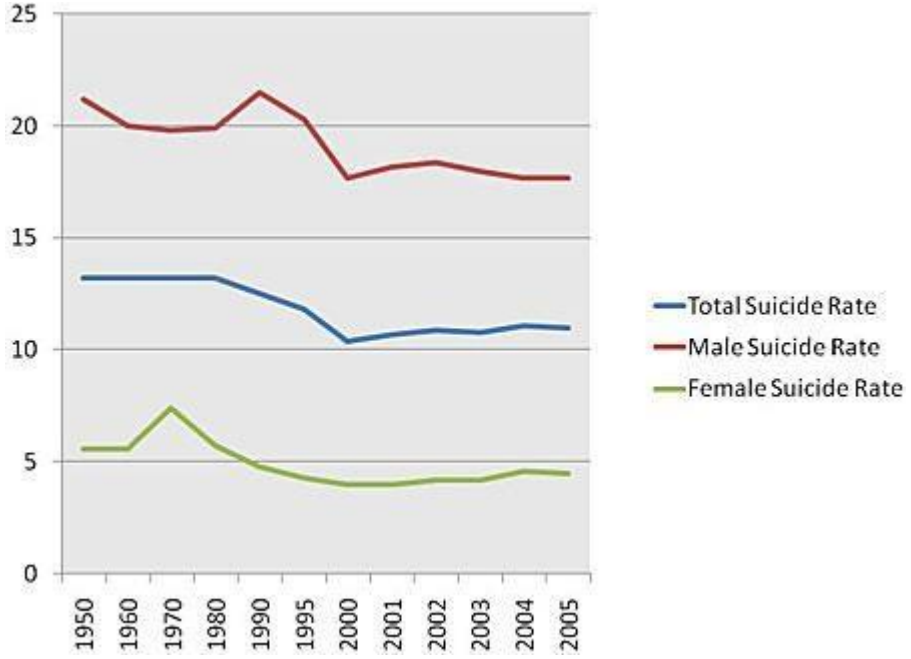
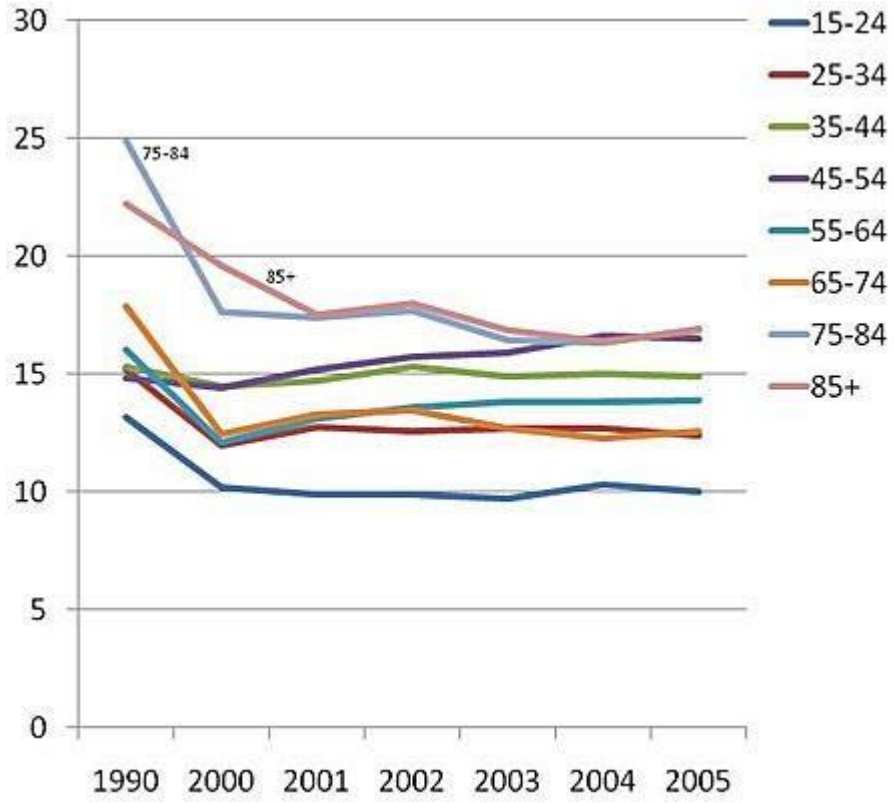


Figure 2. Suicide Rates per 100,000 United States, Age Categories 1990 to 2005.[7]



THE DISCIPLINE OF SOCIOLOGY, TODAY

Sociology's roots are in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, from where founding fathers Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel hail. Sociology waxed and waned in popularity outside of the U.S. over its short history. Today, sociology has become a United States-centered scientific discipline with most sociologists living in the U.S.. There is significant sociological work being done in various countries of the world, but most of the 14,000 members of the American Sociological Association (the world's largest professional sociology organization) live in the U.S.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Chicago School was a center for sociological research that focused on urban and ecological sociological issues. Within the Chicago School were two other important U.S. sociologists, Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929) and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). Their work together gave tremendous support to Symbolic Interactionism Theory. The construction of how we form the "I" and the "me," the selfconcept, and the looking glass self were crucial and are still widely used in today's scientific inquiry.

Some notable people who majored or made a career in Sociology include The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Alexis de Tocqueville, Ronald Reagan, Robin Williams, Dan Aykroyd, and First Lady Michelle Obama. Most people who take Sociology take only one course (that's estimated to be 600,000 US students per year). Over 20,000 students graduate each year with a Sociology Bachelor's degree. Many of them find work in government, social service, business, and other service-related sectors of the economy. About 2,000 graduates earn their Master's degree in Sociology each year. About 550 students graduate each year with their Doctorate in Sociology.

Sociology is a good undergraduate degree that leads easily into a variety of graduate degrees, such as counselling and law, and also offers good career opportunities. *Money Magazine* often rates good jobs in the United States. Sociologist had an average annual pay of $68,724 with an estimated high range of about $138,000.[8] This report also ranked college professors as the second best job in America. Over half of full-time doctoral-level sociologists are faculty at colleges and universities.[9]

Now that you have some background information as to where sociology came from it is important to know some of the early thinkers that shaped the discipline as we know it today. Each on of their contributions can be found either directly or indirectly in the theories we'll learn about in another chapter.

Adam Smith, 1723-1790
Smith was born in Kirkcaldy, Fife, Scotland. He wasn't known as a sociologist, but instead he was a philosopher and early economist. In 1776, he published his famous book *The Wealth of Nations* which laid the groundwork for modern economic thought and the concept of individual freedom.[10]

He was a professor of logic at Glasgow University in 1751 and became the Chair for the Moral Philosophy Department in 1752. He lectured on topics such as "ethics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, and political economy." He published a book, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in 1759, about ethical conduct and how that conduct solidifies societal connections. It emphasized "human motives and activities under a beneficent Providence."[11]

"Smith moved to London in 1776, where he published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which examined in detail the consequences of economic freedom. It covered such concepts as the role of self-interest, the division of labor, the function of markets, and the international implications of a laissez-faire economy. "Wealth of Nations" established economics as an autonomous subject and launched the economic doctrine of free enterprise."[12]

Smith paved the way for modern understanding of the free market system. He is credited with the term *the invisible hand*, which demonstrates "how self-interest guides the most efficient use of resources in a nation's economy, with public welfare coming as a byproduct."[13] He claimed that "rational self-interest in a free-market economy leads to economic well-being."[14] "Smith believed that competition—the belief that everyone should have a fair chance to compete to make, sell, and buy goods and services—was the key to economic success. . . . Smith argued that such free competition would lead to the best goods made at the lowest prices. This would bring economic growth and higher wages. Smith argued that if competition was going to work, governments should not interfere with business." This notion of *laissez-faire* was intended to prevent government from forming monopolies, and to maintain few laws that regulate business.[15]

Of his two major contributions to the field of Sociology, the first was that he attributed much of human behavior to the influence of society. His second contribution is that he laid the foundation for one of the three major theoretical perspectives in Sociology known as **Symbolic Interactionism**. His focus on the interconnection between individual personality and the interaction with society in determining individual behavior is key in the roots of this perspective. He died from an illness in Edinburgh, Scotland on July 17, 1790.[16]

Auguste Comte, 1798-1857

Comte had a significant part in the formation of Sociology. As the founder of Positivism, he is also credited for coining the term Sociology, and is also recognized as the **father of Sociology**.[17] Comte was born a Catholic, but somewhere around the age of fourteen, he stopped believing in God. At the same time, he left the ideals of his royalist family behind and became a republican. Comte attended the École Polytechnique (think MIT-

Massachusetts Institute of Technology) which was a leading scientific institution in France at the time. He was kicked out of this school for leading a student protest.[18]

When Comte claimed to have invented the new science of Sociology, he said that it was going to be the science that held all other sciences together. As in the course of Positive Philosophy, he said that a science must depend on the previous science to be understood.[19] **Positivism** asserts that the only authentic knowledge is that which is based on sense experience and positive verification (empirically observable events or occurrences).[20]

Comte divided the progress of mankind into three stages: 1) the Theological Stage which relies on explanation by personified deities (e.g., what man cannot explain is explained by supernatural agencies), 2) the Metaphysical Stage which refers to explanation by impersonal abstract explanation. Often those

who developed metaphysical systems believed they were engaging in scientific activity, but they were not, and 3) the Positive Stage which refers to "scientific explanation based on observation, experiment, and comparison. Positive explanations rely upon a distinct method, the scientific method, for its justification."[21] Through social science, Comte believed all human social ills could be remedied.[22]

Harriet Martineau, 1802-1876

Martineau was born in 1802, the sixth of eight children in an upper-middle class, English family. She was mostly educated at home, and had some exposure to subjects that were traditionally taught only to males. During her time, studying at a university was not available for women. After the death of her father and the end of her marriage, she was forced to support herself, and did so successfully as an author by writing essays, novels, biographies, news columns, and pieces on sociology.[23]

In 1834, Martineau began a two-year study of the United States. She wrote two books on her research, *Society in America* and *Retrospect of Western Travel*. In 1838, she published *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, the first methodology book in Sociology. It laid out the manner in which social research was to be undertaken. She emphasized the use of theoretical framework as a guide to observation, having a specific set of research questions before gathering data, objectivity, and representative sampling techniques.[24]

Martineau travelled to the Middle East and published *Eastern Life Past and Present* (1848) based on that trip. Another writing that Martineau is most well-known for was her translation in 1851 of Auguste Comte's *Cours de Philosophic Positive* into English. With her translation, the idea of Positivism was accessible to American and other English-speaking sociologists.[25] Martineau wrote much on the anti-slavery movement. She found a connection between slavery in America and working-class oppression in England. Therefore, she strongly urged governmental action to end chattel slavery, wage slavery, and class oppression.[26]

While Martineau wrote more than 1,500 columns and pioneered methodological studies that are now known as Sociology, because of the male-dominated academic system at this time, most of her writings on Sociology were not acknowledged.[27]

Karl Marx, 1818-1883

Though Karl Marx did not consider himself to be a sociologist, his work provides much of the philosophical foundation of the discipline of Sociology. He "was trained as a philosopher and became a political economist, journalist, social critic, and political agitator."[28] "Although he was one of the greatest social thinkers during the 1800s, most of his ideas and intellect were not recognized until after his death. Marx was born to a middle class German family" and became a communist when he moved to Paris in 1843. This was when he outlined communism, but his work was not published until the 1930s. "While Marx was in Paris he met the man who would become his lifelong friend and partner,

Friedrich Engels." It was with Engels that he wrote his famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (or, *The Communist Manifesto*) in 1848. Engels helped Marx survive by being one of his major sources of income during the 1850s"[29] until his death.

Karl Marx believed that through much of history, resources have been unfairly distributed. Therefore, revolutionary social change was required so that all members of society could have their needs met. In order to achieve revolutionary social change, the powerless would have to bring about class conflict, which would bring about revolution. For Marx, the economy was the most powerful sector in society. Those who held power in the economy, held power in society, overall. He briefly explained history's inevitability toward class conflict and revolution in *The Communist Manifesto*. The two classes, the capitalists and the working class, would engage in this conflict. The capitalists are also known as the **bourgeoisie**. They own and control the means of production, that is land, factories, raw materials, etc.. The working class, which is also known as the **proletariat**, are the workers exploited by the bourgeoisie, who own nothing but their ability to labor. Hence, they sell their labor for a wage to buy the goods necessary for survival in a capitalist economic system.

"Marx is now known as one of the founders of Communism, modern Socialism, and Sociology. Since his death Marxism has led to socialist thought.[30] He foresaw the proletariat gaining class consciousness, starting class conflict, defeating the bourgeoisie, instituting a temporary socialist state to pave the way to a communist system. In this new system, the government will eventually "whither away", and classes will be abolished, since the proletariat consists of the vast majority of the population. Furthermore, resource distribution will be based on the principle of "each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"[31]

Marx's most obvious contribution to sociology is Conflict Theory which is focused on the competition between groups for scarce resources. According to this theory, conflict is inevitable and serves as the force for social change. It is a natural feature of society that leads to social change. Marx is not responsible for naming his perspective.[32] He lived during the **Industrial Revolution** in Europe. This was a time of rapid economic, social, and political change. Great amounts of people were moving from agricultural areas to large cities to find employment in manufacturing. The move to a wage-based economy held promise of prosperity and abundance. This concentration of people into denser living conditions in urban areas caused crime, disease, and poverty.

The main source of conflict in Marx's day of the industrial age was between the workers (Proletariats) who only had their labor to sell to make a living, and the owners of the factories (Bourgeoisie) who needed the labor of the workers to earn a profit. The model used in factories where each worker performed a narrow range of specific tasks created a sense of alienation from the work. No worker saw the manufacture of a product from beginning to end; thus was unable to take pride in creating this product. Factories were also dangerous places to work with workers frequently becoming injured. The Proletariats would benefit from change towards more equality while the Bourgeoisie resisted such change. This change would require them to relinquish most, if not all, of their profits.[33]

In defining Marxism, a distinction has to be made between the writings and ideas of Karl Marx, the ideology of Marxism as a sociological perspective, and the politics of communism and socialism."[34] "Marx believed in a humanist conception of communism which was based on the contrast between the alienated nature of labor under a capitalist model and a utopian communist society in which human beings freely engaged in cooperative production.[35]

Communism as Marx had imagined it, has not actually existed on a national scale. However, some argue that this social system has just not *yet* come to be. It is also important to note that Conflict Theory has had an immeasurable impact on the discipline of Sociology. Many sociological theorists critique his theories, then build their own theories based on their critiques.

Herbert Spencer, 1820-1903

Spencer was born in Derby, England during the period of British industrialism. He was the oldest of nine children, but the only one to live past his infancy. He was the product of an undisciplined, largely informal education. His father, George, was a school teacher, but an unconventional man, and Spencer's family were Methodist 'Dissenters,' with Quaker sympathies. From an early age, Herbert was strongly influenced by the individualism and the anti-establishment and anti-clerical views of his father, and the Benthamite radical views of his uncle Thomas. Indeed, Spencer's early years showed a good deal of resistance to authority and independence.[36] Instead of obtaining a college education, he sought a 'practical' career with the London and Birmingham Railway as an engineer, though he continued to produce work on philosophical topics.[37]

"One of the main reasons that Herbert Spencer was important to sociology (*sic*) was because of his views and ideas about evolution. Charles Darwin is always given credit for the idea of **survival of the fittest**, but most likely it was Spencer who coined this phrase." This phrase was almost always used to scientifically explain individual life conditions, but in Spencer's work it took on some political meaning as well.[38]

Once the railway was completed in 1841, Spencer wrote for *The Nonconformist*, a dissenting newspaper. In this, he expressed his very laissez-faire views arguing "that the role of government should be restricted solely to policing, while all other matters, including education, social welfare, and economic activities, should be left to the private sector."[39] Such ideas are fundamental in Libertarian political philosophy.

Spencer had many very extreme political views. Though his ideas stem from Darwin's theory of evolution, Spencer took it one step further than Darwin by saying that it involved much more than just biology."[40] "According to Spencer, government regulations interfere with the laws of human evolution."[41] They interfere with the natural law of survival of the fittest. During the course of Spencer's life, women and non-White peoples were believed to be inherently inferior to White men, and were considered White men's property. Spencer's theory supports these notions, which have since been scientifically disproven. The legal systems in various nations denied many people the status necessary to pursue an education, careers, and independence. In the end, it was such harsh views on politics that held his ideas back from being accepted right away. Writings such as *Principles of Sociology* and others were set aside for years.

Spencer's work was influential in the United States. His influence extended into the upper echelons of American society. It has been claimed that, in 1896, "three justices of the Supreme Court were avowed 'Spencerians.' His reputation was at its peak in the 1870s and early 1880s, and he was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1902. Spencer, however, declined most of the honors he was given."[42]

Spencer's health significantly deteriorated in the last two decades of his life, and he died in relative seclusion, following a long illness, on December 8, 1903.[43] He left behind many bigoted ideas to the world of Sociology, including one that states that because we are part of a society and culture we are therefore part of nature.[44]

Émile Durkheim, 1858-1917

David Emile Durkheim is a French sociologist. He, along with Marx and Weber, is one of the founders of social science. He worked to have Sociology recognized as an academic discipline separate from biology and psychology.[45] Durkheim believed that people's actions have a social basis, and they cannot be explained on a purely individualistic level. Durkheim advocated for the scientific study of social facts. **Social facts** are defined as *aspects of social life external to the individual that exert some kind of force or pressure, influencing individual behavior*.

Durkheim recognized the interrelatedness of work tasks. **The division of labor** is *the differentiation of tasks necessary for the functioning of society*. One characteristic of modern society is the specialization of occupations. Today, a doctor's job is very different from the job of a farmer. While you could expect a doctor in the 1800s to have a basic understanding of farming, and for a farmer to know a few home remedies for common ailments, today a doctor may not know harvesting techniques, and a farmer would not be called on to treat patients. What is believed to be the first division of labor[46] that is still present in contemporary society is gendered work. This is the association of tasks with one's gender. It encompasses the belief that women's work is within the home because of their reproductive capability, while men's work is outside of the home. Women's reproductive capability was associated with nurturing and caring for others. Therefore, it was believed that women should tend to family needs. In contemporary society, most women who work outside of the home work in caring and nurturing professions.[47]

Durkheim's had several contributions to Sociology. We name a few crucial ones here. First, he strove to develop Sociology as its own discipline. To this effect, he was the only one of the three founding fathers to hold the position of chair in this discipline.[48] Second, he introduced one of the main sociological perspectives, Functionalism. According to this perspective, all of the various sectors of society fulfill their role in order for the whole society to function, like a healthy living organism. Third, is the idea of **social integration** or social cohesion. Generally speaking, social cohesion is *the connectedness of the individual to society*. It can also be described as the degree to which people feel like they are a meaningful part of human groups.

Durkheim's most important written contribution to the field of Sociology is his book *Suicide*, written in 1897. For this study, Durkheim collected data on the marital status, religious affiliation, and gender of suicide victims, among other variables. In trying to test his theory that there was a relationship between social integration and rates of suicide, he found that an inverse relationship exists—that is, the more

connected individuals feel to social groups, the less likely they are to take their own lives. He, like his fellow founding fathers, was concerned with the vast changes industrialization and modernization were bringing to society. Hence, among the four types of suicide that he identified, the one he wrote most about was anomic suicide. He coined the term **anomie**, *a state of relative normlessness that may result from a society undergoing rapid and extreme social change*, since this type of suicide was fairly new and not well understood.

His research results showed that the rate of suicide for females is lower than that of males (although recent studies suggest that females actually attempt suicide at greater rates than males. However, their method of suicide, such as pills rather than firearms, makes them more likely to fail[49]). Traditionally, in their childrearing roles, females are more connected to the social institution of the family. Similarly, the suicide rate of married persons is lower than that of the unmarried group because the institution of marriage makes people feel more socially integrated. Lastly, the suicide rates of Catholics and Jews are lower than those of Protestants. This can be attributed to the fact that the Catholic and Jewish religions are more group-oriented in their religious services. Durkheim's underlying theory of social integration is still true today in analyzing rates of suicide worldwide. He connected these findings back to the notion of social facts to show that even the most individual of all acts, suicide, is affected by social circumstances.

Jane Addams, 1860-1935

Addams is the best known and most influential of the early female social reformers in the United States. She was born in Cedarville, Illinois, and was the eighth of nine children. "Her father was a prosperous miller and local political leader who served for sixteen years as a state senator and fought as an officer in the Civil War."[50] Addams studied medicine for a time after earning her Bachelor's degree from Rockford College for Women, but had to stop due to ill health.

She traveled quite extensively and on one of her trips to London she visited Toynbee Hall, a settlement house. This gave Addams the idea of building a similar facility in Chicago. In 1889 Addams and her traveling friend, Ellen Starr, leased a large home built by Charles Hull. The purpose of *Hull House* was to provide a place for people who needed help— immigrants, the sick, the poor, and the aged—to find some relief. Addams focused on the problems caused by the imbalance of power among the social classes.

"By its second year of existence, Hull House was host to two thousand people every week. There were kindergarten classes in the morning, club meetings for older children in the afternoon, and for adults in the evening more clubs or courses in what became virtually a night school. The first facility added to Hull House was an art gallery, the second a public kitchen; then came a coffee house, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a cooperative boarding club for girls, a book bindery, an art studio, a music school, a drama group, a circulating library, an employment bureau, and a labor museum."[51]

She invited sociologists from the University of Chicago to Hull House to witness firsthand the effects of the exploitation of the lower class. In addition to her work with the underclass, Addams was active in the women's suffrage and peace movements. She was also a member of the American Sociological Society[52]—now known as the American Sociological Association.

Addams and other pioneering female sociologists commonly combined intellectual inquiry, social service work, and political activism—all with the goal of assisting the underprivileged and creating a more egalitarian society. For example, working with the Black journalist and educator Ida B. Wells, Addams successfully prevented the implementation of a racial segregation policy in the Chicago public schools. Addams' efforts to establish a juvenile court system and a women's trade union also reflect the practical focus of her work.

As a result of her tireless work for social reform, Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931—the only sociologist to receive this honor. The irony is that Addams herself suffered a sort of class discrimination. She was not considered a sociologist during her lifetime in part because she did not teach at a university; rather, she was considered a social worker (a less prestigious career) because she was a woman and because she worked directly with the poor.

Addams had a heart attack in 1926 from which she never fully recovered. She was admitted into the hospital on the day she was awarded the Nobel Prize, December 10, 1931. She died in 1935.[53]

George Herbert Mead, 1863-1931

Mead was born in South Hadley, Massachusetts to a minister and his wife. He started college at age 16, and after he graduated he worked as an elementary school teacher. He was later fired after only a few months because he sent uninterested or disruptive students home. He earned his MA in philosophy at Harvard University. During his pursuit of a Ph.D., he was offered a job as professor of Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Michigan. He never resumed his Ph.D.

Eventually Mead moved to the University of Chicago during which time he made substantial contributions to the fields of Social Psychology and Philosophy. His major contribution to the field of Social Psychology was "his attempt to show how the human self arises in the process of social interaction, especially by way of linguistic communication (symbolic interaction)."[54]

Mead's theory of the emergence of the mind and socialized self out of the social process of significant communication has become the foundation of the symbolic interactionist school of Sociology and Social Psychology. In addition to his well-known and widely appreciated social philosophy, Mead's thought includes significant contributions to the philosophy of nature, the philosophy of science, philosophical anthropology, the philosophy of history, and process philosophy.[55]

In one of his famous books, *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934), Mead discusses "how the individual mind and self arises out of the social process. Instead of approaching human experience in terms of individual psychology, Mead analyzed experience from the 'standpoint of communication as essential to the social order'."[56] The mind comes from the social process of communication and one cannot understand the mind outside that process. The process of communication has two phases. The conversation of gestures is the first phase and language, or the conversation of significant gestures, is the second phase. In each phase two or more individuals interact with each other. The conversation of gestures is best illustrated by Mead's dog-fight example.[57]

> Dogs approaching each other in hostile attitude carry on such a language of gestures. They walk around each other, growling and snapping, and waiting for the opportunity to

> attack . . . .[58] The act of each dog becomes the stimulus to the other dog for his response. There is then a relationship between these two; and as the act is responded to by the other dog, it, in turn, undergoes change. The very fact that the dog is ready to attack another becomes a stimulus to the other dog to change his own position or his own attitude. He has no sooner done this than the change of attitude in the second dog in turn causes the first dog to change his attitude. We have here a conversation of gestures. *They are not, however, gestures in the sense that they are significant*. We do not assume that the dog says to himself, "If the animal comes from this direction he is going to spring at my throat and I will turn in such a way." What does take place is an actual change in his own position due to the direction of the approach of the other dog (emphasis added).[59,60]

In this example, as with human interaction, the communication takes place without conscious thought that a response by one person generates a response by the other person. From this comes language, which is conscious communication. Language is communicating by significant symbols, a gesture, vocal or otherwise, that is interpreted identically by all.[61] Not long after his wife died, Mead died in Chicago on April 26, 1931.[62]

Max Weber, 1864-1920

Maximilian "Max" Weber (pronounced VAY-ber) is a German sociologist who expanded the application of economics and religion to the study of social groups. He also wrote extensively about bureaucracy. Weber's research was written in response to Marx's theories. While Marx believed that economics was the central driving force behind society, Weber believed it to be religion. His major work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of*

Capitalism (1920), relates the Protestant religion to the rise of capitalism. He describes the **Protestant Ethic** as *self-denial and a belief in the calling and morality of work*. The **Spirit of Capitalism** is *an attitude which seeks profit—rationally and systematically*.

Weber showed that certain types of Protestantism favored the rational pursuit of economic gain. He analyzed two main branches of Protestantism-Lutheranism and Calvinism. Lutherans, or followers of Martin Luther, believed that God only provides what is necessary to sustain life. They advocated for restricted consumption and against climbing the social ladder. These conditions were not conducive for capitalism. Weber specifically traced the Protestant work ethic back to Calvinism, a branch of the Protestant religion developed by John Calvin. Calvinists believed in **predestination**-*the idea that God has preordained who can enter heaven*. Calvinists viewed wealth as a sign of God's approval and used religious justification for the accumulation of wealth. This intense pursuit of accumulation had been given positive spiritual and moral meaning. Weber believed that the values taught by Calvinism paved the way for modern capitalism.

In addition to his theories of religion, Weber developed the basis of management theories still used today. Weber saw bureaucracy as the application of the division of work to administrative duties. His ideal type of bureaucracy was hierarchical in nature and had the ability to be very efficient. It was, however, very rigid and required an establishment of rules governing both the employees and the business of the bureaucratic organization.

According to Weber, a bureaucratic organization is governed by the following seven principles:[63], [64]

1. official business is conducted by qualified officials performing specific duties according to a strict division of labor
2. official business is conducted with strict accordance to rules
3. every official's responsibilities and authority are part of a vertical hierarchy of authority, with respective rights of supervision and appeal
4. official business is conducted in the most efficient manner
5. official business is conducted in a deliberately impersonal manner
6. offices cannot be appropriated by their incumbents (inherited, sold, etc.); promotion is based on achievement
7. official business is conducted on the basis of written documents

Among Weber's other contributions to Sociology and to the social sciences, in general, are his definition of power, ideal types of legitimate domination, and a research methodology that provides further insight into the subject of study. Weber's definition of power, "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action,"[65] is still used by social scientists, today. Weber's research methodology included understanding the research subject's perspective. His predecessors did not take individual perspectives into account, but mostly considered how large social structures influenced individual behaviors.

Weber believed in value-free sociology. He believed that studying social phenomenon objectively, or in a value-free manner, is superior to subjective research that is vulnerable to an individual researcher's interpretation. Most sociologists today contend that it is not completely possible to keep sociological research value-free; however, it is a goal that most strive toward.

Charles Horton Cooley, 1864-1929

Cooley was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He participated in the formation of the American Sociological Society and later became president of the society in 1918. Cooley shared the desire of Durkheim, Weber, and Marx to learn more about society. However, he felt that a more effective methodology would be to use the sociological perspective to look first at smaller units—intimate, face-to-face groups such as families, gangs, and friendship networks. He saw these groups as the seedbeds of society in the sense that they shape people's ideals, beliefs, values, and social natures.

Cooley's work increased our understanding of groups of relatively small size. He sought to emphasize the interconnectedness of the dualism of society and the individual, and felt the two could only be understood in relation to each other. Despite his refusal to label himself as a sociologist (he merged history, social psychology, and philosophy), Cooley's concepts of the **looking-glass self** and the **primary** and **secondary group** have had lasting impressions on the field of Sociology.

Cooley believed we acted like mirrors to each other, reflecting back to one another an image of ourselves. The three components to Cooley's looking-glass self are: 1) imagining how we look to others, 2) imagining what others think of us, and 3) developing self-feeling, such as pride or shame, from our perceptions of judgments by others.[66]

Cooley theorized that the looking-glass self was responsible for the formation of our concept of the self. In other words, when we are able to experience the three parts of the looking-glass self, our conceptualization of the self will form. For Cooley, there could be no sense of self without society and social interaction because it is society that is providing us with our looking-glass self-image. The concept of the looking-glass self influenced George Herbert Mead's creation of a theory of self that has influenced the paradigm of Symbolic Interactionism.

W.E.B. DuBois, 1868-1963

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was the first Black sociologist and the first Black student to graduate from his high school. DuBois became the first African American to earn his Ph.D. from Harvard University.

DuBois plunged eagerly into research. He was certain that the race problem was one of ignorance, and he was determined to unearth as much knowledge as he could, thereby providing the "cure" for color prejudice. His relentless studies led into historical investigation, statistical and anthropological measurement, and sociological interpretation. Besides contributing to the understanding of Black communities, DuBois worked for civil rights. "DuBois was recognized by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who called him a gifted seeker of social truths and a scholar who aspired to fill the immense void that existed in the study of Black people."[67] One can imagine the importance DuBois gave to racial matters. He famously stated that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line".[68] DuBois became one of the most influential Black leaders in the early twentieth century. He was the only Black member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) when it was founded in 1910, and he was the editor of its journal for the next twenty-four years.

DuBois called the United States a country of "magnificent possibilities" but one that was "selling its birthright." He was grateful for the education he was able to achieve, and he continuously praised America for its noble and generous souls. However, he also pointed out its ongoing history of "injustices, crimes, and mistakes."[69] "DuBois used his academic knowledge to fight against inequality, exploitation, and discrimination."[70] Scholars continue to use DuBois' work and ideas in studies of inequality (racial, religious, sexual, etc.).

DuBois became disillusioned after a lifetime of groundbreaking research and social activism. He moved to Ghana, Africa, where he died at age 95 in 1963. It was less than one year after his death when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal to discriminate against people based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Robert K. Merton, 1910-2003

Robert Merton coined the term **self-fulfilling prophecy** and was one of the most important sociologists of the 20th century. He was born on the 4th of July, 1910 in Philadelphia. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University and was a professor at Columbia University for 38 years.[71] He won a National Medal of Science in 1994. Merton served as one of the presidents of the American Sociological Association

(ASA). He thought that sociologists should bring together the micro and macro approaches to the study of human interactions.

Merton was interested in deviance and based his explanation of crime on individual behavior influenced by society's approved goals and means. He focused on deviance as a consequence of structural disorganization—anomie. He refined Durkheim's conception of anomie, as both theorists wrote during a time of crisis and change. Merton saw deviance not in terms of personality types, but as role responses to different forms of dysfunction.[72] According to Merton, deviant roles are not created by willful intent or intimate experiences. They occur as patterned responses to a breakdown between universal expectations (to be successful) and the availability of approved methods to achieve those ends. In Merton's own words: "When a society professes that every office boy can become president, while the avenues to such aspirations are socially limited, the stage is set for deviance on a broad scale."[73]

"The theoretical sociology of Robert K. Merton is best conceptualized as a form of neofunctionalism, developed in response to the criticisms often leveled at is logical base. However, this effort leaves many substantive points untouched, while several of its reforms raise new questions. To begin, Merton's work may be an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. For example, the effort to accommodate change occurs in a theoretical matrix primarily concerned with adjustment and order. This means that such theory can conceive of change only in the limited sense of tempering or eliminating certain dysfunctional parts of the whole, a process that leaves the overall societal system intact. It is clear that Merton's revision of functionalism does not address change at the societal or institutional level. His focus was on adjustments that are consistent with the existing nature of the social system. Thus, the underlying dilemma of functionalist (as well as organist systems) theory remains untouched. In creating a portrait of order, societal and cultural patterns emerge as systems of mutually reinforcing elements. Substantive social change, specifically in the form of new institutions, is simply unexplained. It can only represent, as it did in Merton's early Sociology, a process pushed by those trapped in deviant roles." He died Feb. 23, 2003, in New York.[74]

Erving Goffman, 1922-1982

Goffman, a Canadian-U.S. sociologist, was born in Canada and died in Philadelphia, PA.

Goffman taught principally at the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Pennsylvania. "He studied primarily face-to-face communication and related rituals of social interaction; his *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) laid out the dramaturgical perspective he used in subsequent studies, such as *Asylums* (1961) and *Stigma* (1964). In *Frame Analysis* (1979) and *Forms of Talk* (1981), he focused on the ways people "frame" or define social reality in the communicative process."[75]

"Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, provides a detailed description and analysis of process and meaning in mundane interaction. Goffman, as a product of the Chicago School, writes from a symbolic interactionist perspective, emphasizing a qualitative analysis of the component parts of the interactive process. Through a microsociological analysis and focus on unconventional subject matter, Goffman explores the details of individual identity, group relations, the impact of environment,

and the movement and interactive meaning of information."[76] Goffman's analysis of the self provided new insights that challenges how we understand the notion of the stable self.

"Goffman employs a 'dramaturgical approach' (**Dramaturgy**) in his study, concerning himself with the mode of presentation employed by the actor and its meaning in the broader social context. Interaction is viewed as a "performance," shaped by environment and audience, constructed to provide others with "impressions" that are consonant with the desired goals of the actor. The performance exists regardless of the mental state of the individual, as persona is often imputed to the individual in spite of his or her lack of faith in—or even ignorance of—the performance. Goffman uses the example of the doctor who is forced to give a placebo to a patient, fully aware of its impotence, as a result of the desire of the patient for more extensive treatment. In this way, the individual develops identity or persona as a function of interaction with others, through an exchange of information that allows for more specific definitions of identity and behavior."[77]

"The process of establishing social identity, then, becomes closely allied to the concept of the "front," which is described as "that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance." The front acts as a vehicle of standardization, allowing for others to understand the individual on the basis of projected character traits that have normative meanings. As a "collective representation," the front establishes proper "setting," "appearance," and "manner" for the social role assumed by the actor, uniting interactive behavior with the personal front. The actor, in order to present a compelling front, is forced to both fill the duties of the social role and communicate the activities and characteristics of the role to other people in a consistent manner."[78]

"Goffman served as president of the American Sociological Association in 1981-1982. In the 70s, he served on the Committee for the Study of Incarceration based on his work *Asylums: Essays in the Social Situations of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* and prior to that he also served as a visiting scientist to the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda, Maryland, where he began his research that led to this book. *Asylums* is a penetrating analysis of the significance of social structure in producing conforming behavior, especially in environments that Goffman labeled "total institutions," such as mental asylums, prisons, and military establishments."[79]

Erving Goffman's primary methodology was ethnographic study, observation, and participation rather than statistical data gathering, and his theories provided an ironic insight into routine social actions. For example, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* uses the theatrical stage as a metaphor to explain how we "stage manage" the images we try to convey to those around us."[80] We attempt to project images of ourselves that conform to who we believe we are, or as we like to think of ourselves.

Now that you have a broad look at where sociology emerged and a glimpse into the lives of some of sociology's earliest thinkers, we can begin to think sociologically. As you've read in another chapter, the sociological imagination makes use of this information in the form of biography and history's intersection. Where does your own life story intersect with history? How do these intersections shape the person you are? These are some of the questions sociology ponders.

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[9] www.asanet.org

[10] http://www.lucidcafe.com/library/96jun/smith.html

[11] ibid

[12] ibid

[13] ibid

[14] ibid

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[17] http://www.6sociologists.20m.com/comte.html

[18] ibid

[3] ibid

[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Positivism

[21] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_of_three_stages

[22] ibid

[23] http://www.6sociologists.20m.com/martineau.html

[24] ibid

[25] ibid

[26] http://www.brycchancarey.com/abolition/martineau.htm

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[30] ibid

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[32] http://www.scn.org/cmp/modules/soc-marx.htm

[33] ibid

[34] http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Sociological_Theory/Karl_Marx

[35] http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/marx.html

[19] http://www.iep.utm.edu/spencer/

[20] Edles, L., & Appelrouth, S. (2010). *Sociological Theory in the Classical Era – Text and Readings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. (Original work published 2004)

[21] http://www.iep.utm.edu/spencer/

[22] Edles, L., & Appelrouth, S. (2010). *Sociological Theory in the Classical Era – Text and Readings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. (Original work published 2004)
[23] http://www.iep.utm.edu/spencer/
[24] ibid
[25] ibid
[26] ibid
[27] http://www.6sociologists.20m.com/spencer.html
[28] Calhoun, C., Gerteis, J., Moody, J., Pfaff, S., & Virk, I., (Eds.). (2011). *Classical Sociological Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.. (Original work published 2007)
[29] Hartmann, Heidi. (1976). "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex." *Signs 1(3), 137-169.*
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[33] http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1931/addams-bio.html
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[37] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/
[38] http://www.sociologyprofessor.com/socialtheorists/georgeherbertmead.php
[39] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/#H3
[40] ibid
[41] *Mind, Self, and Society*, 14
[42] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/#H3
[43] *Mind, self and society*, 42-43
[44] *Mind, self and society*, 47
[45] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/
[46] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bureaucracy#Max_Weber
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[48] ibid.
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[51] http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/w/w_e_b_du_bois.html
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[58] http://www.answers.com/topic/erving-goffman
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[61] http://www.suite101.com/content/goffmans-presentation-of-self-in-everyday-life-a94378

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[71] ibid, 49

[72] http://www.answers.com/topic/robert-merton

[73] ibid

[74] ibid

[75] ibid

[76] http://www.answers.com/topic/erving-goffman

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Social Theories

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Explain the major assumptions of each of the three major theoretical perspectives.
- Compare and contrast the three major theoretical perspectives. Apply the three major theoretical perspectives to everyday life.

Making Sense of Abstract Theories

Sociological theories are the core and underlying strength of the discipline. They guide researchers in their studies; they also guide practitioners in their intervention strategies. And they will provide you with a basic understanding of how to see the larger social picture in your own personal life. A sociological **theory** *is a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other*. Let's use binoculars as a metaphor to illustrate the usefulness of a theory. Binoculars serve to magnify, enlarge, clarify, and expand our view of the thing we are looking at. Unlike binoculars, you can't see or touch a theory, but it is a framework to help you "see" the world sociologically. Some things you want to look at need 20x80 strength binoculars while you might see other things better with 8x40 or 10x30 lenses. It's the same with society. Some things need the lens of Conflict Theory, while others need a Structural Functionalist or Symbolic Interactionist lenses. Some social phenomena can be viewed using each of the three frameworks, although each will give you a slightly different view of the topic under investigation.

Theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to magnify, enlarge, clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviors, and their societies. Without theories, science would be a futile exercise in statistics. In the diagram below, you can see the process by which a theory leads sociologists to perform a certain type of study with certain types of questions that can test the assumptions of the theory. Once the study is administered, the findings and generalizations can be considered to see if they support the theory. If they do, similar studies will be performed to repeat and fine-tune the process. If the findings and generalizations do not support the theory, the sociologist rethinks and revisits the assumptions they made.

Here's a real-life scientific example: In the 1960s, two researchers named Cumming and Henry studied the processes of aging. They devised a theory on aging that had assumptions built into it. These were, simply put, that all elderly people realize the inevitability of death and begin to systematically disengage from their previous youthful roles while at the same time society prepares to disengage from them.[1] Cumming and Henry tested their theory on a large number of elderly persons. Findings and generalization consistently yielded a "no" in terms of support for this theory. For all intents and purposes this theory was abandoned and is only used in references such as these. Theories have to be supported by research and they also provide a framework for how specific research should be conducted.

Theories can be used to study society—millions of people in a state, country, or even at the world level. When theories are used at this level they are referred to as **macro-level theories***, theories which best fit the study of massive numbers of people* (typically Conflict and Functional theories). When theories are used to study small groups or individuals, say a couple, family, or team, they are referred to as being **micro-level theories***, theories which best fit the study of small groups and their members* (typically Symbolic Interactionism). In many cases, any of the three main theories can be applied at either the macro or micro levels. We call these theoretical perspectives, as there are a number of theories that can be categorized into each perspective, and some theories overlap perspectives. Let's consider the three major theoretical perspectives one at a time.

Conflict Theory

The Conflict Theory is a macro-level theory designed to study the larger social, national, regional, or global levels of sociological phenomena. This theory was founded by Karl Marx. Marx was a witness to oppression perpetrated by society's elite members against the masses of poor. He had very little patience for the capitalistic ideals that undergirded these powerful acts of inhumane exploitation of the average person. To him, struggle was innate to all human societies. Later Max Weber further developed this sociological theory and refined it to a more moderate position. Weber studied capitalism further, but argued against Marx's outright rejection of it.

Conflict theory is especially useful in understanding a wide variety of social phenomena: war, wealth and poverty, the *haves* and the *have-nots*, revolutions, political strife, exploitation, divorce, ghettos, discrimination and prejudice, domestic violence, rape, child abuse, slavery, and other conflict-related social phenomena. **Conflict Theory** *claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources*. Marx and Weber, were they alive today, would likely use Conflict Theory to study the unprecedented bail outs by the U.S. government which have proven to be a poor-to-rich (because it is the average person's tax dollars that have gone to bail out banks) wealth transfer, and to help guide the explanation of private health care companies benefiting from illness and poverty.

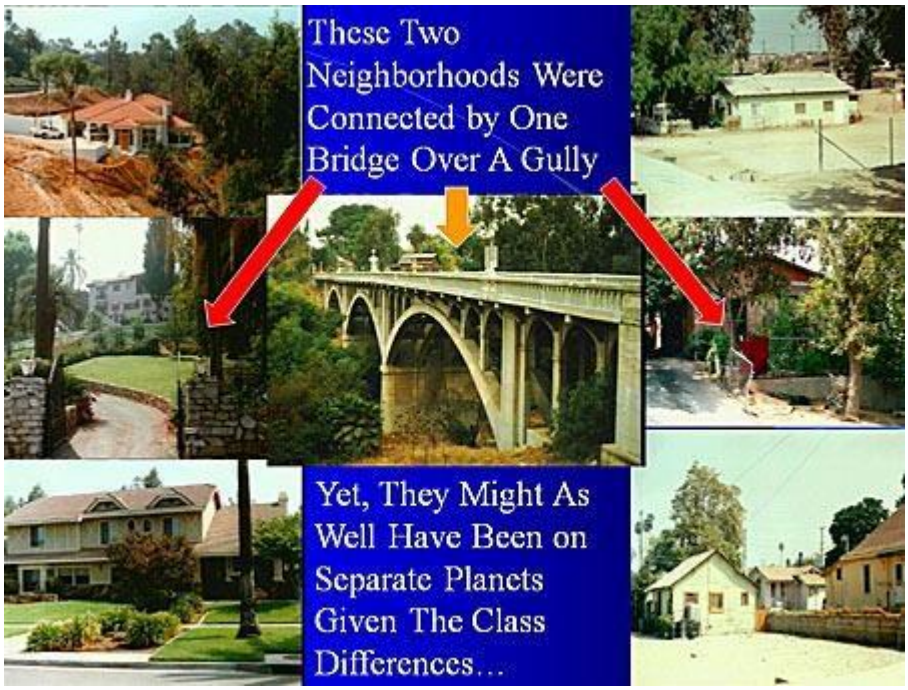
Conflict Theory assumes that those who "have" perpetually try to increase their wealth at the expense and suffering of those who "have-not." It is a power struggle that is most often won by the wealthy elite and lost by the common person of common means. The "haves" are those who possess power. What they health is wealth. **Power** *is the ability to get what one wants even in the presence of opposition.* When power is institutionalized, we call it authority. **Authority** *is institutionalized, legitimate power*. By **institutionalized** we mean *making something (for example a concept, a social role, particular values and norms, or modes of behavior) official by embedding it within an organization, social system, or society as an established custom or norm within that system*[2].

By far, the *haves*, in Marx's terms, the **bourgeoisie** *or wealthy elite (the royal, political, and corporate leaders)* have the most power. The bourgeoisie are the Goliaths in society who often bully their wishes into outcomes. They own and control the means of production. The *have-nots* or Marx's **proletariat** *are the common working class, lower class, and poor members of society*. They must sell their labor for a wage in order to survive. According to Marx (see diagram below) the bourgeoisie and proletariat cannot both have it their way. Furthermore, in order to offset the wealth and power of the bourgeoisie, the

proletariat rise up and revolt against their oppressors (The French, Bolshevik, United States, Mexican, and other revolutions are examples).

Marx and Weber realized that societies have different social classes and a similar pattern of relatively few rich persons in comparison to the majority who are poor. The rich "call the shots." Look below at the photographic montage in Figure 1 of homes in one U.S. neighborhood that were run down, poor, trashy, and worth very little. They were on the west side of a gully, frustrating those who lived on the east side who were forced to drive through these slums to reach their own mansions.

Figure 1. Photo Montage of *Haves* and *Have-Nots* in a U.S. Neighborhood[3]



The Conflict Theory has been repeatedly tested against scientifically derived data, and it repeatedly proves to have a wide application among many different levels of sociological study. That is not to say that all sociological phenomena are conflict-based. But, most Conflict theorists would argue that more often than not Conflict assumptions do apply. **Feminist theory** is a theoretical perspective that is couched primarily in Conflict Theory assumptions, but has added the dimension of sex or gender to the study of society. Feminist theorists are interested in the inequalities in opportunities between men and women.

Structural Functionalism Theory

The **Functionalist Theory** *perspectives claims that society is in a state of balance and kept that way through the function of society's component parts*. Society can be studied the same way that the human body can be studied: analyzing what specific systems are working or not working, diagnosing problems, and devising solutions to restore balance. Socialization, religious involvement, friendship, health care, economic recovery, peace, justice and injustice, population growth or decline, community, romantic relationships, marriage and divorce, and normal and abnormal family experiences are just a few of the evidences of functional processes in our society.

Functionalists would agree with Conflict Theorists that break-downs, or dysfunctions, occur in society and that unfair treatment of others is common. **Dysfunctions** *are breakdowns or disruptions in society and its parts that threaten social stability*. Enron's collapse, the ruination of 14,000 employees' retirement funds, the loss of millions in shareholder investments, and the serious doubt it left in the mind of U.S. investors about the stock market's credibility and reliability, which lasted for nearly a decade, are examples of dysfunctions in the economy. Functionalists also look at two types of functions, manifest and latent functions. **Manifest functions** *are the apparent and intended functions of institutions in society*, while **latent functions** are *the less apparent, unintended, and often unrecognized functions in social institutions and processes*.

Continuing with the Enron example, the government's manifest function includes regulation of investment rules and laws in the stock market to ensure credibility and reliability. After the Enron collapse, every company offering stocks for trade underwent a government supervised audit of its accounting processes in order to restore the public trust. For the most part, balance was restored in the stock market (to a certain degree at least). There are still many imbalances in the investment, mortgage, and banking sectors which have to be readjusted; but, that's the point: society readjusts and eventually recovers.

Does the government also provide latent or accidental functions to society? Yes. Take U.S. military bases for example. Of all the currently open U.S. military bases, all are economic boons for the local communities surrounding them. All provide jobs, taxes, tourism, retail, and government contract monies that would otherwise go somewhere else. When the discussion about closing military bases comes up in Washington DC, Senators and members of Congress go to work trying to keep their community's bases open.

As you can already tell, Functionalism is more positive and optimistic than Conflict Theory. Functionalists realize that just like the body, societies get "sick" or dysfunction. By studying society's parts and processes, Functionalists can better understand how society remains stable or adjusts to destabilizing forces when unwanted change is threatened. According to this theory, most societies find that healthy balance and maintain it. If they don't, then they collapse as many have in the history of the world. **Equilibrium** *is the state of balance maintained by social processes that help society adjust and compensate for forces that might tilt it onto a path of destruction*.

Getting back to the Conflict example of the gully separating extremely wealthy and poor neighborhoods, look at the Habitat for Humanity picture in Figure 2. Functional Theorists would say that component parts of society respond to dysfunctions in ways that help to resolve problems. In this house the foundation was dug, poured, and dried within a week. From the foundation to this point was three working days. This house is now finished and lived in, thanks mostly to the Habitat non-profit process and the work of

many volunteers. Lots of homeless people are a dysfunction for society. Think about what would happen if half of society was homeless, for example. Another part of society, the normative organization of Habitat for Humanity, steps in and makes adjustments; they buy lots, get donations and volunteers, and build homes helping to bring society back into equilibrium.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM THEORY

Symbolic Interactionism *claims that society is composed of ever-present interactions among individuals who share symbols and their meanings*. This is a very useful theory for understanding other people, improving communication, and in understanding crosscultural relations. Values, communication, witch hunting, crisis management, fear from crime, fads, love, evil and sin, what's hot and what's not, alien abduction beliefs, "who I am," litigation, mate selection, arbitration, dating joys and woes, and both personal and national.

Figure 2. Photo of a Habitat for Humanity Home[4]

Meanings and definitions can all be better understood using Symbolic Interactionism.

According to this theoretical perspective, meaning is created through social interaction.

Once you realize that individuals, by their social natures, communicate very symbolic with one another, then you begin to understand how to persuade your friends and family, how to understand others' points of view, and how to resolve misunderstandings. This theory is interested in meanings. Think about these three words: LOVE, LUST, and LARD. Each letter is a symbol. When combined in a specific order, each word can be defined. Because we memorize words and their meanings we know that there is a striking difference between LOVE and LUST. We also know that LARD has nothing to do with either of the other two terms. Contrast these word pairs: hate versus hope, help versus hurt, advise versus abuse, and connect versus corrupt. These words, like many others, carry immense meaning and when juxtaposed sound like the beginning of philosophical ideas.

Symbolic Interactionism makes it possible for you to be a college student. It makes it so you understand your professors' expectations and know how to step up to them. Our daily interactions are filled with symbols and an ongoing process of interactions with other people based on the meanings of these symbols. Ever had anyone you've greeted actually answer your question of "How's it going?" Most of us never have. It's a greeting, not a question in the U.S. culture. A Symbolic Interactionist would be interested in how it changed from a question to a greeting.

Symbolic Interactionism helps you to know what the expectations of your roles are, and if you perceive yourself as doing a good job or not in meeting those expectations. The **Thomas Theorem** is often called the "Definition of the Situation." It says that *if people perceive or define something as being real, then it becomes real in its consequences*. An example of this is a woman who was diagnosed as HIV positive. She made her funeral plans, made sure her children would be cared for then prepared to die. Two-years later she was retested. It turned out her first test results were a false positive, yet she acted as though she had AIDS and was certainly going to die soon from it. She changed how she saw her remaining days. In a hypothetical case, a famous athlete defines himself as invincible and too famous to be held legally

accountable for his criminal behavior. He is subsequently found guilty of a crime. A hypothetical politician believes that his/her constituents will tolerate anything, so he/she engages in morally reprehensible behavior. The point is that when we define our situation as being real, we act as though it is real, regardless of the objective facts in the matter.

One of the major realizations that comes with Symbolic Interactionism is that you begin to understand the other people in your life, and come to know that they are neither right nor wrong, but just have a different point of view. They define social symbols with varying meanings. To understand the other person's symbols and meanings is to approach a common ground.

Listen to this statement by Rosa Parks (1913-2005): "All I was doing was trying to get home from work." In 1955 when she refused to give up her seat on the bus to a White person, it proved to be a spark for the Civil Rights Movement that involved the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. and many other notable leaders. It was Rosa Parks' simple and honest statement that made her act of defiance so meaningful. The lion's share of the nation was collectively tired and sick of the mistreatment of Black people. Many White people joined the protests while others quietly sympathized. After all that was written in the history books about it, Rosa Parks simple yet symbolic gesture started the healing process for the United States.

Comparing the Three Major Sociological Theories [5]

Conflict	**Structural Functionalism**	**Symbolic Interactionism**
Macro	*Macro*	*Micro*
• Inequality lies at the core of society which leads to conflict • Resources are limited • Power is not evenly distributed • Competition is inevitable (winners & losers) • Negotiations based on influence, threats, promises, and consensus • Threats and coercion • Any resource can be used as tool of power or exploitation • War is natural • Haves and have-nots • Privileges are protected by haves • Order is challenged by have-nots	• Uses biological model (society is like a living organism) • Society has interrelated parts • What are functions or dysfunctions of parts • Society finds balance and is stable • Equilibrium • Society adjusts to maintain balance • How are parts integrated • Manifest functions • Latent functions and dysfunctions	• Society is an ongoing process of many social interactions • Interactions based on symbolic context in which they occur • Subjective perceptions are critical to how symbols are interpreted • Communications • Meanings • Roles • Self • Reality shaping in self and with others • Social construction of reality • Thomas Theorem • Definition of the Situation

[1] Maddox et al. 1987 The Encyclopedia of Aging, Springer Pub. NY. For a more scientifically supported theory on aging Google Activity Theory and or Continuity Theory. [2] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institutionalisation [3] © 2009 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D.
[4] © 2009 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D.
[5] Prepared by Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D. 2008

Sociologists Doing Research

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Explain the steps in the research process.
- Define and identify dependent and independent variables.
- Explain sampling.
- Calculate the mean, median, and mode of data.
- Identify levels of measurement of variables. Analyze
- ethical concerns in research.

One of the most remarkable traits that August Comte mandated for Sociology was a core of scientific rigor. He proposed the concept of **positivism** which is the *scientifically-based sociological research that uses scientific tools such as survey, sampling, objective measurement, and cultural and historical analysis to study and understand society*. Although the current definition of positivism expands far beyond Comte's original vision, sociological scientific methodology is used by government and industry researchers and across higher education and the private sector. Comte was originally interested in ***social statistics****, why societies remain the same,* and ***social dynamics****, why societies change*. Most sociological research today falls within these broad categories. Sociologists strive for **objectivity**, *which is the ability to study and observe without distortion or bias, especially personal bias*. Biasfree research is an ideal that, which if not present, could open the door to extreme misinterpretation of research findings.

Sociology is both different from and similar to other scientific principles. It differs from chemistry, biology, and physics in that sociology does not manipulate the physical environment using established natural science theories and principles. It is similar to chemistry, biology, and physics in that statistical principles guide the discovery and confirmation of data findings. Yet, sociology has no universally social laws that resemble gravity or the speed of light, as other scientific methods do. This is because chemistry, biology, and physics have the luxury of studying phenomena which are acted upon by laws of nature. Sociologists study people, groups, communities, and societies which are comprised of **agents***, people who use their agency to make choices based on their varied motivations*.[1]

The Research Process[2]

*Problem Recognition & Definition*Researchers start with a question such as "What do I want to know?"; "What is important for society to know?"; or "Why does this occur?" Unfortunately some questions cannot be answered, such as "How many angels can dance on the head of a pin?" Even though many would like to know the answer to this question, it cannot be empirically observed; that is it cannot be perceived through one of the five senses—sight, taste, touch, hearing or smell. After a researcher decides on what question they want to answer they must state their goals and objectives. Do they want to determine if religious service attendance causes couples to have happier marriages? Or do they want to describe the characteristics of happy marriages. The first one is a causal study (what causes what), and the second is a descriptive study.

The next step is to conduct a literature review to establish what is already known about the topic. Why reinvent the wheel? If social scientists have already done research on the characteristics of happy marriages, why do you need to do similar research as well? Well, perhaps the researcher before you only studied certain characteristics and you have thought of more that might be important. Much research in sociology builds on existing research.

The research question is usually stated as a hypothesis. A **hypothesis** is *the researcher's educated guess or prediction about what he/she will find*, such as "Those marriages that possess the most characteristics of happy marriages will be the happiest."

Creating the Research Design

There are many different types of studies that can be conducted. The most common type in sociology is survey research, but there are also interviews, observation, action research, polls, and experiments, as well as others.

One determinant of the research design is whether the researcher wants to describe some social phenomenon or determine if one phenomenon causes another phenomenon. **Descriptive studies** *answer the questions of who, what, where, and when*. **Causal studies** are undertaken to *determine how one variable affects another, and why*. Back to our marital happiness study, do we want to describe the characteristics of a happy marriage? Or do we want to determine if the presence of many of the characteristics causes a happier marriage? In other words, how does presence of such characteristics influence marital happiness?

Sampling

Sometimes the entire **population***, the group you are interested in researching,* can be studied; however, often it is too large to study everyone. Think of distributing a survey to all the students at College of the Canyons, that is over 20,000 people. Do we really need to survey all of them? Can we realistically survey all of them? If we carefully choose a **sample***, subset of the population*, it should reflect the characteristics of the population. Also, the way the sample answers the questions will be representative of everyone in the population.

Sampling methods are classified as either probability or nonprobability. In **probability samples***, each member of the population has a known chance of being selected*. Probability methods include random sampling, systematic sampling, and stratified sampling. In **nonprobability sampling** *members are selected from the population in some nonrandom manner*. These include convenience sampling, judgment sampling, quota sampling, and snowball sampling. You will learn about all of these sampling methods in your research methods class. We will discuss only random and convenience sampling in this chapter.

In **random sampling**, *each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected*. You need a list of everyone in your population to obtain a random sample. The easiest way to draw a random sample is to assign a number to each person in the population and then use a table of random numbers to select the subset or sample. (You will learn about this in your research methods class.)

Convenience sampling *is used when you do not have a list of everyone in your population so you choose participants because they are convenient to you*.

Data Collection and Analysis

The next step is to collect your data by administering your survey, interviewing your subjects, or making observations. If you collect **quantitative data**—*data that is, or can be converted to, numbers*—you can enter it into a computer program, typically SPSS (you will use this in your statistics class). If you collect **qualitative data**—*data that cannot be converted to numbers; data that is about the quality of something*-you look for themes in the results. This type of data is usually collected by conducting interviews or making observations.

Reporting the Results

The reason we do research is to expand the knowledge base; in order to do that we need to report our results. This is typically done by submitting articles to journals, and/or presenting them at conferences. Journal articles typically contain several sections: abstract, statement of the problem, literature review providing the theoretical framework, methods used, results, discussion of the results, and references.

The analysis is the process through which large and complicated collections of scientific data are organized so that comparisons can be made and conclusions drawn. For example, if you want to prove that marijuana use leads to heroin use, you have to prove that there are no other contributing factors such as peer pressure or emotional or mental dysfunctions. The study must show **validity**—*the study must actually test what you intended to test*. If you want to say one event is the cause of another, you will need to rule out other possibilities or explanations to show that your research is valid. The study must also demonstrate **reliability**—*the ability to repeat findings of a research study*. Our study passes the test of reliability when we have demonstrated that our research process can be replicated with similar results.

Sociologists Perform Survey Research

Since by far the most common form of research in sociology is survey research, we are going to discuss how and when it is most useful. Many sociologists may opt to study people who choose, decide, succeed, fail, harm or help others, harm or help themselves, and behave in rational and irrational ways. If you took an ounce of gasoline and dropped a burning match into it, the gas will burn. The gas has no choice just as the flame has no choice. But, if someone placed a burning match on your arm, or the arm of your classmate, you or they might respond in any number of ways. Most would find the experience to be painful. Some might enjoy it, others might retaliate with violence, and yet others might feel an emotional bond to the one who burned them. Sociologists must focus on the subjective definitions and perceptions that people place on their choices and motivations. In general, **surveys** are *research instruments designed to obtain information from individuals who belong to a larger group, organization, or society*. The information gathered is used to describe, explain, and at times predict attitudes, behaviors, aspirations, and intended behaviors. Surveys are easily used to collect information about political views, social and religious opinions, demographic information, past or expected future

behavior, and even marital happiness and characteristics such as communication style, level of commitment, and fidelity.

Polls are typically *surveys which collect opinions*, such as who one might vote for in an election, how one feels about the outcome of a controversial issue, or how one evaluates a public official or organization. Surveys can be administered **cross-sectionally**, *once*, or administered **longitudinally**, *two or more times*.

If you administer your survey and get a good **response rate**—*the percentage of people who complete your survey*—you can generalize your results to the entire population. **Generalizability** means that the *results from the sample can be assumed to apply to the population as though the population itself had been studied*.

Also important is the quality of the survey itself as a scientific instrument. **Valid survey questions** *are questions that are accurate and measure what they claim they will measure.* For example, if we wanted to know how students feel about the Lacrosse team at College of the Canyons. Which statement should we propose to find out their level of agreement? 1. "Every campus needs a Lacrosse team" or 2. "College of the Canyons would benefit from a Lacrosse team." The first asks about all campuses, not specifically this one. It is seeking an opinion about campuses and Lacrosse teams in general. The second asks specifically about this campus, and is a valid measure of what we want to know.

Reliable questions are *questions that are relatively free from bias errors which might taint the findings*. In other words, reliable survey questions are consistent. If I ask a similar group of people the same question I will get similar results.

Surveys

There are two types of survey questions. First, **open-ended questions** *are questions designed to get respondents to answer in their own words* (e.g., "What might be the benefits of having a Lacrosse team?"_____ .) Second, **closed-ended questions** *are questions designed to get respondents to choose from a list of responses you provide to them* (e.g., "Are you married?" Yes or No.) **Likert scale questions** *are statements which respondents are asked the degree to which they agree or disagree with a question or statement.* They are the most common types of questions used in surveys (e.g., "How much do you agree that the president is doing a good job of running the country?" Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree.)

Demographic questions *are questions which provide the basic categorical information about respondents such as age, sex, race, educational level, marital status, and other applicable information..*

Levels of Measurement

Nominal level data *is data with no standard numerical values.* **This is often referred to as categorical data (**e.g., What is your favorite type of pet? __Reptile __Canine __Feline __Bird __Other). There is no numerical value associated with reptile that makes it more or less valuable than a canine or other type of pet. Other examples include sex, favorite color, or town you grew up in.

Ordinal level data *is data with categories that have an order to them.* One category is more of something than another category. For example, height measured as short, medium, and tall is ordinal

because medium is more height than short and tall is more height than both short and medium. Likert scale responses are usually at the ordinal level.

Interval level data *is data with categories that have an order, but we add standard numerical values with regular intervals.* If we measure height in feet and inches we have interval data. A height of 5 feet, 3 inches is 8 inches away from 5 feet, 11 inches. Each of those 8 inches has the same value, the intervals are identical. Five feet, 3 inches is one of the categories, but in this case the categories are numbers. The Fahrenheit temperature scale is an example of an interval scale. The difference between 68 degrees and 72 degrees is the exact same four degrees as the difference between 101 degrees and 105 degrees.

Ratio level data *adds a real zero starting point for the numerical values*. We can create ratios with ratio level data. With ratio data we can say that someone who has two children has twice as many children as someone having only one child, and someone having four children has twice the children of someone who has just two children, and the person with four children has four times the number of children as the person with only one child. Also, it is feasible to have zero children, or a real zero pertaining to the numerical data of quantity of children. Unrelated to this particular example, it is important to note that when examining the variables of height and age, it is not possible to be completely void of either Ratio data is used to compare to other data. For example, the sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females in a society. In 2005, the sex ratio for Alaska, Rhode Island, and the US was Alaska 103.1; Rhode Island 93.1, and U.S. 96.[3] We can say that Alaska had more males than females (103.1 males per 100 females) while Rhode Island had more females than males (93.1 males per 100 females). The U.S. overall has more females than males (96 males per 100 females).

Number of males and females, opinions about a Lacrosse team, marital happiness, height, and sex are variables. **Variables** *vary by respondent* (one is male, the next is female, the next is female, etc.). Sex is the variable and male or female are the **attributes***, or the possible category choices*. Everyone in your class is human, so humanness is not a variable—it does not vary. But almost everything else you can observe is a variable.

Two types of variables are dependent and independent variables. **Dependent variables** *change in response to the influence of independent variables; they depend upon the independent variables*. **Independent variables** *are variables that when manipulated will stimulate a change upon the dependent variables*. If I know the independent variable, then can I predict what the dependent variable will be? If I know that you possess many of the characteristics of happy marriages, then can I predict your level of happiness? Yes. That does not mean that everyone with many of the characteristics will be the happiest, but more often than not, they will be. So possession of characteristics is the independent variable and happiness is the dependent variable. How happy you are depends on how many of the characteristics you possess.

Is this a causal relationship or merely an association or correlation? A **causal relationship** *is when one variable actually causes the other to occur*, such as eating lots of Krispy Kreme donuts causes you to gain weight. That is pretty clear, but in sociology most relationships are not that clear. Do I know for certain that possession of many of the characteristics that are found in happy marriages causes a marriage to be happy? No. What if there is something else that is causing both happiness and possession of characteristics? Maybe it is religion, or optimistic personality, or something else. If this is true, then this

is an association or correlation. They go hand in hand, but one does not cause the other. In social science research, it is important to know that correlation does not equal causation.

Quantitative Analysis

When basic statistics are performed on data, we call them measures of central tendency (mean, median, and mode). Consider this list of numbers which represents the number of movies that nine students have seen in the last two weeks: 0, 1, 1, 1, 3, 4, 4, 5, 8.

The **mean** is the arithmetic score of all the numbers divided by the total number of students (i.e., 27÷9=3). The **median** *is the exact mid-point value in the ordered list of scores* (e.g., 0, 1, 1, & 1 fall below and 4, 4, 5, & 8 fall above the number 3 thus 3 is the median). The **mode** *is the number which occurs most often* (e.g., 1 occurs the most, so the mode is 1). The **extreme values** or **outliers** are *the especially low or high numbers in the series* (e.g., 8). Notice that if you removed the 9th student's score and averaged only the remaining scores the mean would be 2.375. Extreme values can increase or decrease the mean. You will cover these basic and more interesting statistics in your statistics class.

Ethics of Research

Ethics *are standards of what is right and wrong*. They are a general agreement shared by researchers as to what is proper and improper in scientific research. Our culture and sociology have ethical standards that may be different from other disciplines or other cultures. Standards may arise from religious, political, or pragmatic sources. Standards differ over time; for example, long ago we did not have formal considerations about how to treat people who participate in scientific studies.

There are four major **ethical issues that protect research subjects**. First, voluntary participation means that subjects must participate voluntarily, they must understand the risks of participating, and they must be able to withdraw from the study at any time. Second, researchers can do no harm to participants. This includes anything from killing someone to causing them undue stress. Third, every study must be confidential which means that the researcher can never divulge the participants' identities. Some studies are anonymous which means the researcher does not know the participants' identities. Fourth, deception cannot be used to get people to participate in research they would not want to participate in.

To be sure that subjects know what they are getting into when they agree to participate in a study they sign an informed consent form which tells them the general purpose of the study, explains their right to withdraw, explains the confidentiality of the study, tells whether it is anonymous, explains the potential risks, and describes how to contact the researcher.

A university or research institution will have an **Institutional Review Board (IRB)**, which *oversees and makes sure all research meets ethical standards*. Often researchers will need to get written plans for their projects approved by the IRB before they begin official research.

Even with ethical standards, you can probably think of times when it would be necessary to deceive a subject or when you might need to cause just a little stress to investigate something. Of course there are exceptions, but we will leave that to your research methods class to clarify.

An Outline of the Process of Social Research

1. Develop a research question
2. Consult prior research (literature review)
3. Select a population and sample
4. Select a method of data collection
5. Select a method of data analysis (qualitative or quantitative)
6. Collect data
7. Analyze data
8. Report research findings

[1] Google Anthony Giddens-human agency, January 18, 1938 British Sociologist.

[2] http://www.statpac.com/research-papers/research-process.htm

[3] http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GRTTable?_bm=y&-_box_head_nbr=R0102&ds_name=ACS_2005_EST_G00_&-_lang=en&-format=US-30) 7 January, 2012

CULTURE

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Define terminology related to the study of culture.
- Classify types of norms.
- Classify sanctions.
- Identify subcultures and countercultures. Analyze how
- cultures blend together.

Culture is the *shared values, norms, symbols, language, objects, and way of life that is passed on from one generation to the next.* It is estimated by the Encyclopedia of World Cultures that there are about 500+ unique cultures on the earth in our modern world.[1] Different cultures share unique characteristics such as historical origins, location, language, folklore, religion, major holidays, rites of passage, interpersonal relations, living conditions, family, clothing, food, education, heritage, work, sports, entertainment, crafts and hobbies, and social problems. It is obvious that cultures are complex and require focused efforts to be properly understood.

WHAT PAINTS THE CULTURAL CANVAS OF OUR WORLD TODAY?

To better understand the diversity of the world we live in, summaries from the CIA World Factbook are presented in Tables 1-4. They show you a quick snapshot of the social structures that underlie our very populated world and the 500+ cultures in it. In Table 1, you can see that collectively Christians make up about one-third of the world's population. Muslims, at 22 percent, represent the second largest religion. The Muslim faith (Islam) grows rapidly because Muslims are encouraged to marry and have children.[23] This high fertility rate contributes to the higher growth in the Muslim population.[4] The portion of non-religious people has also been increasing.[5]

Table 2 presents the percentage of people who speak Chinese, Spanish, and English, the three most common languages in the world. Although 12.44% does not appear to be very high, keep in mind that it's 12.44% of over 6.9 billion.[6] China has 1.3 billion inhabitants and comprises roughly one out of five people on the planet. India has about 1.17 billion people. Many languages are not listed because there are thousands of dialects and local variations on these major languages. China with 1.3 billion has two forms of the Chinese language, Mandarin and Cantonese.

The world's population has exploded in the last century and continues to grow rapidly. Never in the history of this world have so many people lived at the same time with so many co-existing and equally valid cultural heritages. There are 19.5 births per year for every 1,000 people[7] on the earth (Monaco is the lowest at just under 7 per 1,000 and Niger the highest at over 50 per 1,000) and 8.12 deaths[8] which equals a natural yearly increase of about 11 people per 1,000 (net growth). The world's population grew from only one billion in 1820 to six billion in 2000. In eight years, the population increased another 677 million to a grand total of over six billion people. Many scientists have predicted the population growth to reach 9 billion worldwide by 2050.[9]

Religion	Percent
Christians all combined	33.35
Roman Catholics	16.83
Protestants	6.08
Orthodox	4.03
Anglicans	1.26
Muslims	22.43
Hindus	13.78
Buddhists	7.13
Sikhs	0.36
Jews	0.21
Baha'is	0.11
Other	11.17
Non-religious (incl. Atheists)	16[11]

Table 1. Religions of the World, 2009 (Estimated by CIA).[10]

Language	Percent
Mandarin Chinese	12.44
Spanish	4.85
English	4.83
Arabic	3.25
Hindi	2.68
Bengali	2.66
Portuguese	2.62
Russian	2.12
Japanese	1.80
Standard German	1.33

Table 2. Languages of the World, 2009 (Estimated by CIA).[12]

Table 3 shows that males and females are not equally distributed throughout the world's population. In the childhood years there are more males (about 60.7 million more). In the working years of 15 to 64 there are 47 million more males, but in the 65 and older age group there are far more females (almost 62 million more). In 2011, The median age was 27.7 years for males and 29 years for females.

Age	Percent of Total	Male	Female
0-14	26.3	944,987,919	884,268,378
15-64	65.9	2,234,860,865	2,187,838,153
65+	7.9	227,164,176	289,048,221

Table 3. The World by Age (Estimated by CIA, 2011).[13]

Table 4 shows more detail of gender differences in the world by showing the **sex ratio***, the number of males per 100 females*. The sex ratio is highest for newborns, children, and working ages. For example, there are 107 males born for every 100 females born and there are 79 men aged 65+ for every 100 women aged 65+. The older the age group, the lower the sex ratio.

Table 4. Sex Ratios (Estimated by CIA).[14]

Age Group	Sex Ratio
At Birth	107
Under 15 years	107
15-64	102
65+	79
All Ages	101

These tables present a global picture in terms of who lives in the world today and the cultures they represent. In order to truly understand these varying cultures, you must first understand the concept of one's **world-taken-for-granted**, which is *all of the assumptions about how we fit into our social and physical environment*. Each of us has a unique worldtaken-for-granted. Each has a myriad of interactions, experiences, and life course progressions that are too numerous to calculate; hence, our world-taken-for-granted is unique, even though we may grow up in a society with 313 million others.[15] The assumption is that our world-taken-for-granted works much the same way corrective lenses work on our vision, barely noticeable unless you are not wearing them, invisible unless your attention is focused on them, and since you've worn them for a while, hidden to your conscious mind.

Can We Learn To Appreciate Cultures?

What's the last thing a fish would ever notice? Most people would say the water they swim in. For humans the last thing we pay attention to is air. This is true for us and our worldtaken-for-granted. It is so subtle to us that it is often the last thing we notice until we travel and find ourselves in a foreign place where we encounter diverse cultures.

Cultures are part of the human social experience. Even though cultures tend to be universal and desirable, we often judge cultures as being good, bad, or evil, with our own culture typically being judged as good. We have to consider our perspective when engaging with people from different cultures. Are we ethnocentric or culturally relativistic?

Ethnocentrism *is the tendency to judge others based on our own experiences and cultural standards*. In this perspective our culture is right while cultures that differ from our own are wrong. Consider the instance where a traveler visited a beautiful Catholic cathedral in France. This man fell in love with this beautiful and historic monument and to the religious devotion of generations of builders. He learned that it took about 300 years to build, that England's King Henry the VIII married his Italian bride there, and a few families had nine generations of builders working on it. He left with such a deep sense of appreciation for it all. On the bus back to his hotel, he met some American tourists who were angry about their vacation in France, saying "These people will eat anything that crawls under the front porch, they never bathe, they dress funny, and they can't speak one *#&@ word of English!"

Our intrepid traveler tried to redirect the conversation back to the cathedral and the things he really enjoyed in France. The angry tourist was too frustrated to listen. If he had just arrived and was transitioning to the difference, we call it culture shock. **Culture shock** *is the disoriented feeling which occurs in the context of being in a new culture*. It tends to leave after a few days or weeks, and the greater the familiarity with the culture the less the shock. For example, when another traveler went to Turkey and was very excited to get off the long plane ride and get acquainted with the Turkish way of doing things. However, when she arrived, local Turks almost immediately began putting their arms around her and petting her hair. She was very uncomfortable—and somewhat frightened—as she was not used to such affection from strangers.

However, by the end of her stay in Turkey, she was quite comfortable with strangers wanting to talk to her and touch her simply because she was a visitor in their country. She came to understand and embrace Turkish customs—she was being a cultural relativist. **Cultural relativism** *is the tendency to look for the cultural context in which differences in cultures occur*. Cultural relativists respect and appreciate cultural differences even if only from the spectators' point of view. They tend to enjoy, or learn to enjoy, the many varieties of the human experience. In other words, instead of judging others' values, norms, beliefs, or attitudes based on some alleged universal standard, this perspective allows researchers to observe cultural variations existing within the cultural framework of a specific people. An ethnocentric person thinks on the level of carrot soup: peel carrots, add water, and boil. The cultural relativist tends to think on the level of a complex stew: peel and prepare carrots, potatoes, onions, mushrooms, broth, tofu, and 10 secret herbs and spices, and simmer for two hours. The diversity of the human experience is what makes it rich and flavorful. Therefore, studying human experience from only one perspective (our own in the case of ethnocentrism) can essentially rob us from fully understanding or appreciating others' cultures and experiences.

But, do cultural relativists have to accept all versions of morality, ethics, values, and traditions in order to be accepting of a new culture? No, of course not. Anyone who is planning a trip to another community, state, or country would be wise to do their cultural homework and prepare in advance how they will immerse themselves into the parts of the culture that fit their value system. There are a number of accessible travel guides available online and in print at public libraries. Always do your cultural homework before you travel.

Understanding the Nature of Culture

Before traveling consider your own values and stereotypes. A **stereotype** *is a broad generalization about individuals based solely on group affiliation*. Although it will be discussed more in the Race chapter, stereotypes have to be managed, especially among ethnocentric persons.

Culture is what we learn from our parents, family, friends, peers, schools, and media. It is shared rather than biologically determined. Humans have biological needs, which are the innate urges that require some action on our part if we are to survive. These include the need to urinate, breath, eat, drink, and sleep or else we eventually collapse and die. If we urinate in enclosed bathrooms, behind a tree, or in an open-air urinal depends as much on our cultural traditions as it does on our biology. Likewise, we may eat ground beef, snails, worms, fermented cabbage, fish eggs, or animal lard depending on our cultural assumptions.

Values *are defined standards of what is good, bad, desirable, or undesirable for ourselves and others.* Typical American values considered desirable for the entire nation are achievement and success, equality, individualism, group superiority, activity and work, education, efficiency and practicality, progress, romantic love and monogamy, science and technology, equal opportunity, material comfort, nationalism and patriotism, humanitarianism, external conformity, freedom and democracy, and free enterprise.[16] Do these collective values apply to your own personal values?

If the typical U.S. culture is more like your world-taken for-granted and you travel to an equatorial country where they behave in a different manner, then your enthusiastic hand shake, personal questioning, and space intrusions might land you in hot water (see Table 5). It is best not to assume that a polite American also makes a polite Costa Rican, and vice versa.

Table 5. A Comparison of Mainstream U.S. Cultural Traits vs. Equatorial Countries' Cultural Traits.[17]

Typical Mainstream U.S. Cultural traits	**Typical Equatorial Cultural Traits**
Shake hands	Bow, nod, or gesture
Ask personal questions about family, friends, and health	Ask only general questions about weather and business
Speak informally by first names	Speak formally by titles and last names
Stand close to the other person	Stand at a distance
Pat each other on back, shoulder, or arm	No touching at all
Men and or women may speak to anyone	Men speak to men and women to women

At a very personal level, you might better understand your own values if you knew that most younger college students today share very similar values to others their age. In fact, you may be a Generation Y or Millennial. This generation of today's U.S. and Canadian youth were born in the 1980s and 1990s. They are also called Screenagers as opposed to teenagers because they grew up with cell phones, TV's, computers, and video games. Collectively, Millennials are much better adapted to using computer-based technology than any generation that came before them. Odds are that your children will be much better than you at a technology that has not yet emerged onto the market.

Millennials hold somewhat unique values in comparison to older members of our society. They tend to seek a sense of purpose in what they have to do, desire a clear work-life balance, have a relatively short attention span, enjoy having fun, enjoy variety, respect others, have unlimited ambition, be more demanding and will question everything, not do something they're asked if they don't see a good reason for it, want to make a difference, quit what they committed to if some or all of their expectations are not met, and are very loyal to family, friends, and themselves.[18]

One recent survey of Millennials found that 97% own a computer; 94% own a cell phone; 76% can instant message; 15% are logged on to instant messaging 24/7; 75% who are college students have a Facebook account; and 60% have a portable music player.[19]

Interestingly, your parents or perhaps your grandparents are probably Baby Boomers (born between 1946 and 1964). They represent a huge segment of the U.S. population today. They are people 45 years and older who make up more than a third of the U.S. population. They own 80 percent of financial assets and dispose of 50 percent of discretionary income.[20] The 50+ population is going to double in the next 35 years. The American Association for Retired Persons (AARP) reports that the Baby Boomers love choice. They want information; the more sources the better. They are not afraid to make decisions, but only on their own terms. They want many things and they want them now. The

ideal for typical Baby Boomers is to have something delivered before they even knew they wanted it. They lean more to independence than blending in with the crowd. They are usually fairly sophisticated buyers of anything and everything. They love bells and whistles simply because they are bells and whistles.[21]

Components of Culture

In understanding cultures (ours and others) you must realize how crucial values are to the overall culture. Our values are the basis of norms, which in turn are the basis for folkways and morés, and eventually laws. It flows like this:

Values → Norms → Folkways/Morés → Laws

Norms *are shared expectations or rules of behavior*. Norms are what are normal in a given social circumstance; they are rules defining appropriate and inappropriate behaviors. For example, in France, the beaches were filled with completely naked swimmers (this is common in many places throughout the world). In France, nude beaches are normal. In the U.S, that would still be considered not normal. In the 1990s, a young University of California, Berkeley student attended about half of his 4-year degree program with not much more than a bandana around his waist.[22] Even at a very liberal university like Berkeley, a nude student was eventually ruled unacceptable because it was considered not normal.

Norms guide our countless interactions on a day-to-day basis. All the subtleties of everyday life, what we expect for ourselves and others, are found in our commonly shared norms. Georg Simmel claimed that outsiders appear remote to locals because they respond differently, having different norms.[23]

Some norms are the basis of a **folkway**, *which is a traditional or customary norm governing everyday social behaviors but lack moral overtones*. Folkways are the simple things in society such as how we eat our soup (with a spoon or sipped from the edge of the bowl). They also include our greetings, clothing, rules of politeness, and hand gestures. Norms are also the basis for **morés**, *which are deeply held, informal norms that are strictly enforced by a moral code*.

Morés are much more important to people than folkways. They might include a strongly held belief against sexual exploitation of women and children, respect for religious edifices, or abstaining from using street drugs. For example, in the cultures of millions of Muslims, clear boundaries must be maintained between males and females. This often prohibits average men from talking to women who are not their wives, or seeing the hands, feet, and face of women who are not their wives. Not following folkways may lead to ridicule or other informal sanctions while not following morés may lead to harsh punishments or formal sanctions.

From our values, norms, folkways, and morés we derive our laws. **Laws** *are codified norms or written and recorded norms from which the behavior of society's members can be judged.*[24] The U.S. Legal Code is quite extensive and includes information on all the laws in the United States. State laws are not as extensive, but are also on the Internet for you to study, if so desired. Laws are enforced by a legal system and come in two varieties. **Prescriptive laws** *are laws that state what must be done*, and **proscriptive laws** *are laws which state what is prohibited*. If you want to drive, set up a small business,

or not be in trouble with the IRS for failing to file taxes, then you must follow prescriptive laws. They tell you the rules of how things must be done.

Proscriptive laws tell us what we cannot do such as murder, rape, steal, etc. Violating these laws brings negative formal sanctions. A **negative sanction** *is a punishment or negative reaction toward breaking a norm (folkway, moré, or law)*. Jail time, criminal record, fines, and penalties are just a few of the formal sanctions available to law breakers. A teacher telling you to stop texting during class is an informal negative sanction. Positive sanctions, both formal (being awarded a gold medal at the Olympics) and informal (a pat on the back for a job well done) encourage people to continue their adherence to our social norms.

Why are city, state, and national laws so different? The answer is simply that values vary from city to city, state to state, and country to country. Because values change over time, laws change with them. Older laws prohibiting women from voting, driving, and owning businesses have been changed over the last century because our values today find such laws unreasonable, unacceptable, and oppressive. The values are socially agreed upon and are communicated via language.[25]

DOES LANGUAGE SHAPE OUR CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING?

One very powerful tool used by human beings is our capacity for language. **Language** *is a complex set of symbols which allow us to communicate verbally, nonverbally, and in written form*. The languages listed in Table 2 comprise about 40 percent of the spoken languages in the world. How you view the world around you, your social construction of reality, and your world-taken-for-granted all stem in part from the language you learn to speak. The **Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis** *claims that when we learn a language, we also learn a framework for understanding and interpreting our social reality and environment*. That means that your rules of conjugation, sentence structure, etc., shape your thought patterns. For example, in English (a language which descended from German) we describe our physical condition using the "to be" verb of "I am." We say I am cold, hot, hungry, tired, 22 years old, or fat. In many Latin-derived languages such as Spanish and French, they describe their physical condition using the "to have" verb. I have cold, hot, hunger, fatigue, 22 years, or extra weight. Given the enormous pressure felt by women to be thin and to conform to unrealistic beauty standards, the "to have" verb is much more palatable. Since the language is the vehicle that facilitates socialization of the culture, it becomes a crucial factor in either the survival or eventual death of a culture—if the language disappears, so does the culture.[26]

In Quebec, Canada the French language was suppressed after Napoleon agreed to the Louisiana Purchase. The British systematically deported the Arcadian French speakers to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where they later became known as the Cajuns. The French speakers who remained in Quebec found themselves oppressed by the dominant English-speaking rulers. For decades, the French struggled to keep their language alive, and thereby keep their cultural traditions alive. In the 1960s, social conditions led to the formation of a political terrorist group which used terror to advance the cause of the French language and culture in Quebec. The Quebec Sovereignty Movement engaged in efforts to formally create an independent nation-state in Quebec. A series of legislative pieces and referendum ballots on Quebec's secession (and therefore sovereignty of Quebec) ultimately led to a 1995 vote in

which only 50.56% voted No and a close 49.44% voted Yes out of 94% of the 5 million registered voters who voted.[27]
What was the big deal? The big deal was that if a political body wants to eliminate a subculture, it can effectively do so by eliminating the language spoken by members of the subculture. Likewise, members of the sub-culture can unite their efforts in preserving their heritage as the French speakers did in Quebec.

In each society you have the **mainstream culture**, *or the culture shared by the dominant groups, coinciding with the culture shared in the main social institutions (government, education, religion, family, technology, media, and the economy).* Then within a larger society there are always sub- and counter-cultures. A **subculture** is *when a subgroup has different folkways, morés, and norms from the larger society*. On the other hand, a **counterculture** *forms when a group's values, norms, and beliefs are in conflict or opposition to those of the larger society and mainstream culture.*

The Amish are an example of a sub-culture while the Branch Davidians are an example of a counterculture. The Amish are known for simple living, plain dress, and reluctance to adopt modern convenience.[28] The name Branch Davidian is most widely known for the 1993 siege on their property near Waco, Texas by the ATF and the FBI, which resulted in the deaths of 82 of the followers of David Koresh.[29] Countercultural groups often come into conflict with authority and typically one dominates the other, but sometimes authority is misused against subcultural groups. This was the case in Japan with the Ainu people. On the Japanese island of Hokkaido, a group of indigenous people named the Ainu once flourished in their traditional culture.[30] The Ainu are a historical component of the early history of Japan, but few live the traditional cultural, tribal, and religious traditions of this formally noble civilization. Japan forced all its citizens claiming to be Japanese to attend public schools. Tremendous pressure came to bear on the Ainu people and many continue to hide their ethnicity to this day because of fear of racism. Even though some Ainu lived in Russia, the average Japanese Ainu seeks invisibility among other Japanese citizens.[31]

It is very common for sub-cultural and mainstream cultural groups often from different countries to coexist. Often their cultural traits and traditions spread back and forth between one another. **Cultural diffusion** *is when certain aspects of one culture are spread to another culture*. An example in the U.S. is the consumption of salsa. Salsa was rarely consumed in the U.S. prior to the 1990s, but in the mid-1990s salsa consumption surpassed ketchup consumption and remains in the lead today with over $1 billion in annual sales.[32]
Salsa is a food traditional to the Spanish and Portuguese speaking nations of the Americas. Its move northward coincided with shifts in immigration patterns including more Mexican and Central and South American immigrants to the U.S.

Interestingly, ketchup is still consumed as much as it was in the past. Salsa was added to the American diet, rather than adopted as a replacement to ketchup. Food is only one area where cultural diffusion can be readily observed. Clothing, music, television shows, movies, cars, technologies, and many other aspects of cultures spread throughout the world today, diffusing cultures to a great extent. **Cultural leveling** *is the process in which cultures of the world become similar*. As yet, we do not have a world-wide mainstream culture, however, there are those who have argued that oil is one aspect of our daily lives that is leveled throughout much of the world.

CULTURE IN THE LARGER SOCIAL CONTEXT

What happens when people have grown into adulthood in their own cultures outside of the U.S. then later immigrate here? Can they hold onto the culture of their homeland? Before we answer this let's dispel one very entrenched myth that the U.S. is a melting pot of cultures. The **Melting Pot Theory** *is an ideology which suggests that all the diverse people coming to the U.S. as immigrants would blend biologically and culturally in order to form a new unique breed of Americans*. The U.S. has never been a melting pot. Those who've migrated here (numbering 10s of millions) have found themselves pressured to accept the Anglo-Saxon (British) version of the mainstream culture. **Acculturation** *is the process by which immigrant people adjust and adapt their way of life to the host culture*. Once in the U.S., they realize that they have to make some adjustments in order to experience success in their daily interactions with members of the mainstream society. **Assimilation** *is the process by which people from different cultures are acculturated and ultimately absorbed into the mainstream culture.* In much of the U.S. history of immigration throughout the 18th, 19th, and early 20th Centuries, assimilation was more or less forced toward the deeply British-influenced mainstream culture.

Forced assimilation *is where those in power in the mainstream refuse to allow immigrants to maintain their various cultures*. Since the U.S. immigration policy switched in favor of more non-European immigrants being allowed to immigrate here, much of the assimilation is voluntary and considered permissible. **Permissible assimilation** *permits newcomers to adapt to the mainstream culture naturally*.

It is fascinating to observe the assimilation and acculturation of adult immigrants to the U.S. who have children born here and who have children enrolled in the public school systems. Many adult immigrants hold dear their homeland cultures and adapt as little as possible to mainstream U.S. cultural norms, which commonly leads to marginalization. **Marginalization** *is the tendency for adult immigrants to be rendered powerless in comparison to native-born adults because they live as half citizens not fully capable of realizing the individual opportunities often found available to average native-born adults*. Their U.S. born children find themselves living in a culturally transitioning family structure. Their parents are more like permanent tourists here while they become fully Americanized (for better or for worse), because public schools are tremendous socialization agencies which effectively acculturate most children into the mainstream. These children often serve as cultural liaisons to their parents and the mainstream culture.

Regardless of which culture a person grows up in, there are cultural universals which are for the most part common to all cultures. **Cultural universals** *are certain aspects of cultures which are found among peoples of all cultures throughout the world*. All societies have universal social tasks which include the meeting of basic human needs such as breathing, eating, sleeping, drinking, having sex, and remaining safe. How cultural groups go about meeting these basic needs varies by their cultural norms.

In the history of sociology, there were early scientists who applied evolutionary thought to the evaluation of cultures. **Sociobiology** *claims that human behavior is the result of natural selection*. Recall Herbert Spencer's notion of survival of the fittest. Suffice it to say here that most studies do not support this approach—specifically, human agency proves to be much more potent than genetic

determinism. In addition, genes are not grouped neatly with the various cultures in such a way as to biologically distinguish one culture's members from another.

One final issue for discussion is the fact that technology moves and advances so quickly that often our values, norms, folkways, and morés evolve at a much slower pace. **Cultural lag** *is the process whereby one part of culture changes faster than another part to which it is related*. Thus, we find ourselves having scientifically-developed concepts such as euthanasia, congenital birth defect detection, and surrogate mothering with no accompanying guidelines or laws about them. As a society, our ethics and values have not kept up with technological advances.

What might happen if a small group of people lived isolated from the rest of the world? Seems impossible, huh? It's not. Today there are an estimated 100 uncontacted tribes of people living in various remote corners of the world.[33] They have no cell phones, TVs, Internet, cars, sinks, toilets, or beds as we know them, and they have no idea that such technologies even exist. An **uncontacted tribe** *is a native tribe, typically a small group of people, living in a remote and isolated place, who have not yet had contact with members of a technologically advanced society*.

On May 30th, 2008, CNN News reported that an uncontacted tribe of Brazilian Indians were photographed from a small airplane and the news story spread quickly around the world.[34] The Website, *Survival: The Movement of Tribal People* reported that these tribal people had to be photographed in order to deter illegal loggers from Peru and Brazil from coming into contact with them and chasing them away in armed conflict.[35]

Brazil constantly monitors its 200 tribal communities and keeps track of all their tribal people via their governmental agency FUNAI. The government has to make efforts to protect them from opportunists looking to obtain immense national resources located near their villages.[36] Previous encounters between tribal people and mainstream civilization has left vast numbers of tribal people dead or exploited from diseases, slave labor, prostitution, racism, and discrimination. They now have been exposed to contact with more civilized societies and therefore not technically an uncontacted tribe.

[1] Gall, T. L. 1997. Gale Publishers.
[2] http://godlas.myweb.uga.edu/sexuality.html
[3] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/xx.html
[4] http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2007/05/13/the_list_the_worlds_fastest_growing_religions
[5] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Claims_to_be_the_fastest-growing_religion
[6] http://geography.about.com/od/obtainpopulationdata/a/worldpopulation.htm
[7] http://www.globalhealthfacts.org/data/topic/map.aspx?ind=86
[8] http://www.globalhealthfacts.org/data/topic/map.aspx?ind=90
[9] See http://www.prb.org/pdf08/08WPDS_Eng.pdf
[10] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/xx.html
[11] From http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html
[12] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/xx.html
[13] ibid
[14] ibid. Retreived 10 January, 2012
[15] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html

[16] See Williams, R. M. (1970). American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, 3rd Ed. NY; Knopf [17] (C) 2008 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D.

[18] Hira, N. A. May 15, 2007 Fortune

[19] See Reynol Junco and Jeanna Mastrodicasa. Connecting to the Net.Generation: What higher education professionals need to know about today's students, NASPA; First edition, March 29, 2007.

[20] The American Association for Retired Persons (AARP)

[21] http://www.answer-my-health-question.info/characteristics-of-baby-boomers.html

[22] Google "Berkeley Naked Guy" for more information

[23] See Simmel, G. (1950). "The Stranger" in The Sociology of Georg Simmel, edited by Wolff, K. H.; NY Free Press.

[24] The U.S. Code is available on the Internet and can be downloaded free from http://uscode.house.gov/download/download.shtml

[25] Another interesting and indirect measure of cultural values, norms, folkways, and morés can be found on http://www.google.com/trends . Go there and search the phrase "family history." Type it then hit search trends. Now go to the first box on the bar and select United States as a region. As of 12 March 2009, Utah was the state with the highest search of this phrase with Salt Lake City being the highest city.

[26] Google search "Dalmatian language" for an example.

[27] See Wiki at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quebec_sovereignty_movement

[28] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amish

[29] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Branch_Davidian

[30] Ainu people called themselves "Utari" which means comrade since Ainu has negative connotations for them; see also Navajo and Diné for similar cultural rejection of dominant group imposed negative labels.

[31] See http://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2244.html or http://www.japanforum.com/

[32] See http://www.agecon.uga.edu/~caed/SalsaIndustry.pdf, Wolfe and Ferland (2000)

[33] See http://survival-international.org/home

[34] See http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/americas/05/30/brazil.tribes/index.html

[35] See http://www.survival-international.org/

[36] See http://www.brazilsf.org/culture_indian_eng.htm

SOCIALIZATION

Learning Outcomes
At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Define socialization.
- Compare nature and nurture as socialization influences.
- Identify agents and agencies of socialization.
- Evaluate the study of cases of feral children in terms of their importance to our knowledge of socialization.
- Recall and define the steps in determining a self-concept.
- Evaluate Dramaturgy for its application to every day life.

WHAT IS SOCIALIZATION?

Socialization *is the process by which people learn characteristics of their group's norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors.* Through socialization we learn the culture of the society into which we have been born. In the course of this process, a personality develops. A **personality** is comprised of *patterns of behavior and ways of thinking and feeling that are distinctive for each individual*.

Babies are not born with the social or emotional tools needed to contribute to society as properly functioning social actors. They have to learn all the nuances of proper behavior, how to meet expectations for what is expected of them, and everything else needed to become members of society. As newborns interact with family and friends they learn the expectations of their society (family, community, state, and nation).

From the first moments of life, children begin a process of socialization wherein parents, family, and friends establish an infant's **social construction of reality**, *or what people define as real because of their background assumptions and life experiences with others.* An average U.S. child's social construction of reality includes knowledge that he or she belongs, and can depend on others to meet his or her needs. It also includes the privileges and obligations that accompany membership in his or her family and community. In a typical set of social circumstances, children grow up through a predictable set of life stages: infancy, preschool, K-12 school years, young adulthood, adulthood, middle adulthood, and finally later-life adulthood. Most will leave home as young adults, find a spouse or life partner in their mid-to late 20s and work in a job for pay.

THREE LEVELS OF SOCIALIZATION

When discussing the average U.S. child, most agree that the most imperative socialization takes place early in life and in identifiable levels. Primary socialization typically begins at birth and moves forward until the beginning of the school years. **Primary socialization** *includes all the ways the newborn is molded into a social being capable of interacting in and meeting the expectations of society.* Most primary socialization is facilitated by the family, friends, day care, and to a certain degree various forms of media. Children watch about three hours of TV per day (by the time the average child attends kindergarten she has watched about 5,000 hours of TV). They also play video games, surf the Internet, play with friends, and read.

Children learn how to talk, interact with others, share, manage frustrations, follow the rules, and grow up to be like older family and friends they know. When they live up to expectations they are big boys and girls, when they don't they are naughty. In the early years, tremendous attention is required in the safety and nurturance of infants. As they begin to walk and talk they learn to communicate their needs and wants and also to feed and clothe themselves. Younger children do not have strong abstract reasoning skills until adolescence, so they rely heavily on the judgment of their caregivers. Most importantly, they form significant attachments to the older people who care for them.

Around age 4 to 5, pre-school and kindergarten are presented as expectations for children. Once they begin their schooling, they begin another different level of socialization. **Secondary socialization** *occurs in later childhood and adolescence when children go to school and come under the influence of non-family members.* This level runs concurrently with primary socialization. Children realize that at school that they are judged for their performance now and are no longer accepted unconditionally. In fact, to obtain approval from teachers and school employees a tremendous amount of conformity is required. Now, as students, children have to learn to belong and cooperate in large groups. They learn a new culture that extends beyond their narrow family culture. This new culture with its complexities and challenges requires effort on their part and that creates stressors for children. By the time of graduation from high school, the average U.S. child has attended 15,000 hours of school away from home; they've also probably watched 15,000 hours of TV, and spent 5-10,000 hours playing.

Friends, classmates, and peers become increasingly important in the lives of children in their secondary educational stage of socialization. Most 0-5 year olds yearn for their parents and family member's affection and approval. By the time of the pre-teen years, the desire for family diminishes and the yearning now becomes for friends and peers. Parents often lament the loss of influence over their children once the teen years arrive. Studies show that parents preserve at least some of their influence over their children by influencing their children's peers. Parents who host parties, excursions, and get-togethers find that their relationship with their children's friends keeps them better connected to their children.

The K-12 schooling years are brutal in terms of peer pressure. Often, people live much of their adult lives under the labels they were given in high school. Many new high school graduates face the strikingly harsh realities of adulthood shortly after graduation. Anomie often follows and it takes months and even years for young adults to discover new regulating norms which ground them back into expectable routines of life.

The third level of socialization includes college, work, marriage/significant relationships, and a variety of adult roles and adventures. **Adult socialization** *occurs as we assume adult roles such as wife, husband, parent, or employee*. We adapt to new roles which meet our needs and wants throughout the adult life course. Freshmen in college, new recruits in the military, volunteers for Peace Corps and Vista, employees, travellers, and others find themselves following the same game plan that leads to their success during their primary and secondary socialization years—find out what's expected and strive to reach those expectations.

Though most live an average life course, few life paths conform perfectly to it. People die of disease and accidents, marry and divorce, become parents, change careers, go bankrupt, win lotteries, or pay off their mortgages. In each change that comes into their lives, they find themselves adapting to new roles, new expectations, and new limitations. Socialization is an ongoing process for everyone starting at birth and ending at death.

Is It Nature or Nurture?

There has been much said and written about how important socialization is to our eventual human adult natures. Historically, there has also been much research into the biological influence of who we eventually become. Think about this question, "How much of our socialization is influenced by our genetics and biology, and how much is influenced by the social environment we are born into and in which we are raised?" Nature versus Nurture is the debate over the influence of biological versus social influences in socialization. **Heritability** *is the proportion of our personality, self, and biological traits which stem from genetic factors*.

In the history of social science the Blank Slate Theory was widely accepted. **Tabula Rasa** is Latin for Blank Slate. It was a theoretical claim that *humans are born with no mental or intellectual capacities and all that they learn is written upon them by those who provide their primary and secondary socialization* (this claim was for 100% nurture in how we become human). Most social scientists reject any notion of 100% nurture, simply because the research does not support the theory. Socialization alone does not explain adult outcomes.

Geneticists have conducted many studies of heritability which have yielded overriding conclusion that biological factors alone do not explain socialization outcomes. Biological and environmental factors are both influential, yet neither are deterministic. Steven Pinker argued that the brain is the core issue in understanding how biology and social environment interact in the process of how we become human. He argues that current scientific knowledge has articulated much of the biological factor and some of the sociological factor, but fails to consider the brain's influence in how a child becomes an adult wherever she grows up in this world. He states in his conclusion: "The human brain has been called the most complex object in the known universe."[1]

No doubt, hypotheses that pit nature against nurture as a dichotomy or that correlate genes or environment with behavior without looking at the intervening brain will turn out to be simplistic or wrong. But that complexity does not mean we should fuzz up the issues by saying that it's all just too complicated to think about, or that some hypotheses should be treated as obviously true, obviously false, or too dangerous to mention. As with inflation, cancer, and global warming, we have no choice but to try to disentangle the multiple causes.[2]

Musical talents, genius intelligence levels, athletic abilities, various forms of intelligence, homosexuality, heterosexuality, conformity, and other traits have been correlated with biological and environmental factors. Most scientists can conclude at this time that the biological factors are only correlated to, not causally deterministic of, any adult outcomes. From the sociological perspective, the focus is heavily on environmental factors which account for conflict, functional, and interactionist theoretical underpinnings of nature versus nurture studies.

As was mentioned, part of socialization is the development of self-concept. It begins at birth and continues through the school years, with slight modifications throughout the adult years. Your **self** *is at the core of your personality, representing your conscious experience of having a separate and unique identity*. Your **self-concept** *is the sum total of your perceptions and beliefs about yourself*. It is crucial to note that your self-concept is based heavily on your social construction of reality—that means others influence your perception of your self-worth and definition.

Wild Human Children and Animals

Feral children *are wild or untamed children who grow up without typical socialization influences*. They are rare because most human newborns will not typically survive if they are not cared for by an older individual. One of the earliest documented sociological studies of an isolated feral child was reported on by Kingsley Davis in 1940. He discussed two similar cases of Anna and Isabelle. Anna was five years old when she was discovered. She lived for years isolated in an attic and kept barely alive. Anna only learned a few basic life skills before she died at age 10. Isabelle was also isolated, but in her case she had the company of her deaf and mute mother. When Isabelle was discovered at age six she quickly learned the basic human social skills needed and was able to eventually attend school. Davis attributes the difference in outcome to nutrition and the fact that Isabelle had at least some social interaction with her mother.[3]

In rare cases, human feral children have survived. There are three categories of feral children 1) Children raised in isolation, 2) children raised in confinement, and 3) children raised by animals (much less common). To grow up feral is perhaps the cruelest version of child abuse because the crucial primary socialization does not occur. This means that feral children lack a sense of self-concept; a pattern of multiple attachments and significant others; an awareness of self, others, groups, and society; and ultimately a void where socialization and acculturation should be.

A few movies are available that portray the complications of being a feral child, especially when he or she tries to interact with socialized members of society. *Nell* is based on a true story about a girl who grew up alone in the Carolina back woods after her mother and sister died. *The Young Savage of*

Aveyron is a true story about a French boy discovered in the woods and taken into the care of a physician. Tarzan and The Jungle Book are believed to have been inspired by true accounts of feral children raised by animals. For example, Amala (8 years old) and Kamala (1½ years old) were discovered living with wolves in Mindapore, India in 1920. See the artist sketch in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Artist Caricature of Amala and Kamala.[4]

You already know that most humans can't co-exist with wolves and other carnivorous animals. It is rare to survive such an encounter, especially for an 18 month old child. Yet, cross-species nurturing has been documented from time to time (e.g., dogs nurturing kittens or pigs).

Another feral child was discovered in 1970 in a Los Angeles suburb. A neighbor reported that a child was locked in the back of a house. Police discovered a girl that was eventually nicknamed Genie. Genie was about 12. Nova created a documentary on her called "Secret of the Wild Child." In it you see what feral really means in the deprivation of acting, understanding, experiencing, and living without having been socialized. See Figure 2 for a sketch of Genie.

Genie's hair was cut short to keep her from eating it. Even though she was chained to a potty chair her entire life, she needed to wear diapers. She spat, clawed, rubbed, and selfgroomed more like an animal than a human. She had to be taught the basics of everything, and she did learn, but nowhere near at the capacity of an average child.

George Herbert Mead argued that the self emerged out of social interactions as a result of countless symbolic interactions with other human beings. To Mead, play and playful interactions laid the foundation of becoming human and gaining our sense of self. Knowing that, how troubling must it be for children kept in isolation to play, gain experiences through interaction, and come to know their self?

Figure 2. Artist Caricature of Genie.[5]

Theories of Development

Charles Horton Cooley believed that the self developed through the process of social interaction with others. He used the phrase **looking-glass self** to describe the *three-stage process through which each of us develops a sense of ourselves*. First, we imagine how our actions might appear to others. Second, we interpret how other people judge these actions. We do this regularly. If you act up as child your parent gives you *the look,* you stop what you're doing because you have internalized what that look means, your parent is not happy with your behaviour. Finally, we make some sort of self-judgement based on the presumed judgements of others. In other words, other people become our mirror, or looking-glass,

for ourselves.[7] For example, 1. You imagine you are a good child and then your parent smiles at you. 2. You interpret this smile as your parent being pleased with you because you are a good child, and so 3. You feel good about yourself, the good child.

George Herbert Mead argued that the self becomes the sum total of our beliefs and feelings about ourselves. The self is composed of two parts: the "I" and the "me." The "I" is the portion of the self which wishes to have free expression, to be active and spontaneous.

The "I" also wishes to be free from the control of others and to take the initiative in situations. It is also the part of the self that is unique and distinctive. The "me" portion of the self is made up of those things learned through socialization from family, friends, peers, and so on. The "me" regulates the "I's" behaviors.

Mead uses the term **significant others** to refer to *those other people whose evaluations of the individual are important and regularly considered during interactions*, such as parents and teachers. **Generalized others** are *the viewpoints, attitudes, and expectations of a society as a whole, or of a community of people whom we are aware of and who are important to us*.[8] Significant others affect our behaviors starting from a very early age, generalized others influence us as our world expands to school and broader society.

Erik Erikson stressed that development is a lifelong process, and that a person continues to pass through new stages even during adulthood. He also paid greater attention to the social and cultural forces operating on the individual at each step along the way. Human development is completed in eight stages (Table 1) with each stage amounting to a crisis of sorts brought on by two factors: the biological changes in the developing individual and the social expectations and stresses. In each stage, the individual is pulled into two opposite directions to resolve the crisis. A resolution in the positive direction positions a person well to enter the next stage. Stages that have been resolved in a negative direction can be revisited later in life.

Larger Social Issues

Let's shift the focus of attention away from the socialization of individuals and towards the larger socialization picture. In every society in the world today, there are both agents and agencies of socialization. In the U.S., our agents include parents, siblings, relatives, friends, teachers, religious leaders, bosses, and peers. Our agencies include the family, religion, schools, places of employment, and the media. The cultures vary dramatically between the U.S. and Darfur, but the structure of agents and agencies is very similar. In Darfur, agents are parents, other family, friends, farmers, military leaders, religious leaders, and tribal leaders. The agencies also include the family, religion, clan or tribe, military, and political structures. In general, **agents** *are people involved in our socialization* while **agencies** *represent the organizations involved in our socialization*.

Some members of society experience a total institution at some point in their lives and the intense socialization that comes with them. A **total institution** is *an institution that controls almost all aspects of its members' lives, and all aspects of the individual's life is controlled by those in authority in the institution*. Boarding schools, orphanages, the military, juvenile detention facilities, and prisons are examples of total institutions. To a certain degree sororities and fraternities mimic the nature of a total

institution in the strict rules and regulations required. A core difference among these total institutions is the fact that some are voluntary while others are mandated.

Table 1. Erikson's Eight Stages of Development.[9]

Stage	*Age Period*	*Achieved Characteristic*	*Possible Hazards*
Trust vs. mistrust	Birth to 1 year	Sense of trust or security	Neglect, abuse, or deprivation
Autonomy vs. shame and doubt	1 to 4 years	Sense of autonomy	Conditions making a child feel inadequate
Initiative vs. guilt	4 to 5 years	Sense of initiative	Guilt produced by overly strict discipline interfering with child's spontaneity
Industry vs. inferiority	6 to 12 years	Sense of duty and accomplishment	Feelings of inadequacy
Identity vs. role confusion	Adolescence	Sense of identity	Role confusion resulting from inferior role models
Intimacy vs. isolation	Young adulthood	Sense of intimacy	Difficulty getting close to others
Generativity vs. stagnation	30s to 50s	Sense of productivity and creativity	Sense of stagnation produced by feelings of inadequacy
Integrity vs. despair	Old age	Sense of ego integrity	Feelings of despair and dissatisfaction with one's role as a senior member of society

Erving Goffman was interested in total institutions and wrote *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*.[10] Goffman defines total institutions as places where "like-situated individuals are cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life…"[11] He also suggested that total institutions have a method of depriving individuals of their former life. "The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements. In the accurate language of some of our oldest total institutions, he begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations and profanations of self. His self systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified…."[12]

Do fraternity orientation rituals fit the definition of what Goffman described above? True enough, fraternities often strip down pledges emotionally, physically, and at times sexually to degrade and humiliate them. Many force pledges to eat and drink disgusting things, while all the time testing their loyalty to the fraternity. But, keep in mind that few if any fraternities incarcerate their pledges, have

total control of every aspect of their lives for extended periods of time (*rounds of life* as Goffman put it), and rarely attempt to deprive pledges of their former life. Yet, urban legends abound about how institutionalized fraternities and their rituals have become.

Goffman's other significant contribution to the understanding of socialization is called **Dramaturgy** which comes out of symbolic interactionism. His book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* outlines his *assumptions about how individuals manage others' impressions of themselves*. Individuals are described as actors, and much like actors on a stage their actions are governed by the time, the place, and the audience. The goal of a presentation of self is to be accepted by the audience and viewed as the actor intends.[13]

It "…is common in many social interactions [to have a]… division between front and back stages. The front stage is what confronts the audience—what they see. The back stage, by contrast, is a place where all the support activities necessary for maintaining the performance on the main stage will go on. In theater, the back stage is where actors who are not involved in the scene going on at the moment mill about; where props that will be used at other times are stored; and where the counterbalances, lights, and so on that make the scenery convincing to the audience are hidden."[14] Just as in the theater, individuals use props and costumes to help maintain their impressions. Would you feel more confident seeing a physician who wears a white coat or scrubs, or with one who wears torn jeans and a Grateful Dead t-shirt? How about an attorney with torn jeans and a AC/DC shirt? Most people would be more confident being represented by an attorney wearing a nice suit. Costumes are more important than most people think. Try shopping in a nice store in grungy jeans and worn out shirt, then the next day go to that same store in a nice outfit; see if you are treated differently. You may be ready to argue about how unfair that is, but sociology is not necessarily about fairness; it's more about how society is.

[1] http://www.psychology.iastate.edu/~dgentile/Psy101_notes/nature%20or%20nurture.htm [2] Why Nature and Nurture Won't Go Away. Dædalus, Fall 2004, 1-13.

[3] See Davis, K. 1940 Extreme Social Isolation of A Child. The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Jan., 1940), pp. 554-565 Published by: The University of Chicago Press and Davis, K. 1949 Human Society by McMillan Pub. New York; and Davis, K. 1993, "Final Note on a Case of extreme Isolation. Irvington Pub. CA.

[4] © 2009 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D.

[5] © 2009 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D. [7] "Social Organizations" by Charles Cooley [8] "Mind, Self, and Society" by George Herbert Mead

[9] See "Childhood and Society" by Erik Erikson

[10] 1961 NY Doubleday

[11] Page xiii

[12] Page 14

[13] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dramaturgy_(sociology)#cite_note-0

[14] http://www.pineforge.com/upm-data/16569_Chapter_10.pdf

SOCIAL GROUPS AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

Learning Outcomes
At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Differentiate between types of organizations.
- Surmise the functions of groups within a society.
- Define collective behavior.
- Differentiate between types of crowds.
- Define and classify social movements.
- Apply theories of collective behavior.

WHY DO SOCIETIES CHANGE OR REMAIN SAME?

Throughout Sociology's history, Sociologists have wanted to understand why societies changed or remained the same. Comte referred to **social statics***, or the study of social structure and how it influences social stability* and **social dynamics***, the study of social structure and how it influences social change*. A modern example of social statics might be the government bailout manipulation of the economy to establish economic security in volatile markets. On the other hand, an example of social dynamics might be the impact that social movements such as the Tea Party and Occupy are having on how average people think about the heavy influence of corporations in politics.

Émile Durkheim's concept of anomie focused on how daily norms (or the relative lack thereof) influenced the daily expectations and obligations of society's members. In the village with an agricultural society, most people knew what everyone else did for a living, and most shared in common similar daily life patterns. These villages illustrate Émile Durkheim's idea of mechanical solidarity.

Mechanical solidarity *is a shared consciousness among society's members who each have a similar form of livelihood*. As industrialization emerged it transformed rural communities, while developing urban areas into factory-based, highly populated cities, norms became much more ambiguous. Furthermore, populations became diverse as well as the social roles in which members engaged. As the different parts of society took charge of fulfilling the various roles for the community, the sectors became interdependent. Durkheim called this **organic solidarity***, which is a sense of interdependence on the specializations of occupations in modern society*. The sense of solidarity comes from fulfilling one's responsibilities, while benefitting from other's fulfilling theirs. Those in larger cities had less regulated and organized patterns and could no longer provide for the majority of their individual needs—they became much more dependent on each other's specializations. Like a living organism, such as the human body, the various body parts and organs play specific roles to keep the body happy. The organs depend on each other to fulfil the ultimate goal of keeping the human healthy. As Durkheim witnessed rapid social change that accompanied the Industrial Revolution, he attributed much of the personal challenge that came with it to anomie and the difficult and often fuzzy normative regulation of social life.

This brings us to an important and related issue—how a society functions and dysfunctions impacts the individual. Karl Marx argued the concept of **alienation**, *which is the resulting influence of industrialization on society's members where they feel disconnected and powerless in the final direction of their destinies*. To Marx, the social systems that powerful people created in turn controlled the pattern of everyone's social life, powerful and powerless.

A later German sociologist named **Ferdinand Tönnies** (1855-1936) wrote about two types of community experiences that were polar opposites. **Gemeinschaft** *(Guh-mine-shoft) means intimate community* and **Gesellschaft** *(Guh-zell-shoft) means impersonal associations.* His observations, like Durkheim's and Marx's, were based in the transition from rural to urban, agricultural to industrial, and small to large societies.

Gemeinschaft comes with a feeling of community togetherness and inter-relational mutual bonds where individuals and families are independent and for the most part self-sufficient. Gesellschaft, however, comes with a feeling of individuality in the context of large urban populations and a heavy dependence upon the specialties of others (mutual interdependence) to meet everyone's needs.

People living in both large and small cities have a social connection with others called **social cohesion** *which is the degree to which members of a group or a society feel united by shared values and other social bonds*. The study of social cohesion has become much more complex as societies have grown in number, diversity, and technological sophistication. **Social structure** *refers to the recurring patterns of behavior in society that people create through their interactions and relationships*. As explained above, social structure of course can be literally considered (like the anatomy of a human body specifically defines parts and how they are related to one another), or figuratively considered where social institutions, laws, processes, and cultures shape the actions of those who live in these societies.

A **status** *is a position within the social structure*. There are three types of status considerations: An **ascribed status** *is present at birth and is said to be unchangeable* (race or sex); **achieved status** *is attained through one's choices and efforts* (college student, movie star, teacher, or athlete); and **master status** *is a status which stands out above our other statuses and which distracts others from really seeing who we are*. Each status comes with attendant roles. **Roles** *are the rights and responsibilities attached to a status*. For your status of college student, you have to read the book, study, complete assignments, take exams, interact with other students, counselors, professors, and others, register for classes, and do many other things. This one status can place a rather heavy burden on you. **Role strain** *is the burden one feels within any given status*. When studying for your history exam takes up too much of your time that you don't get to do your best work on your essay for English you are experiencing role strain. *When the roles in one status come into conflict with the roles in other statuses,* **role conflict** occurs. If your boss tells you that you must work tomorrow from 11:00 AM until 7:30 PM, but you have Sociology class at 11:10 AM, Geology at 12:50 PM, and Theater at 2:20 PM, that's role conflict. To complicate matters you also have a dinner date for 6:00 PM.

WHAT ARE SOCIETY'S COMPONENT PARTS?

What are core parts of our social structure? The first and most important unit of measure in Sociology is the group. In Sociology, a **group** *is usually defined as a collection consisting of a number of people who share certain aspects, interact with one another, accept rights and obligations as members of the group, and share a common identity*. Using this definition, society can appear as a large group. While an

aggregate comprises a number of people in the same place at the same time, and a category is a group of people who share the same status, a group in Sociology exhibits cohesiveness to a larger degree. Aspects that members in the group share may include interests, values, or kinship. People in the same movie theater, people at the same bus stop, and even people at a football game are considered aggregates, not groups. Every time you are at the bus stop there is a different configuration of people there. College students, World of Warcraft game players, and people who like football are categories, not groups. You will probably never be in the physical presence of all of those who share your status.

Primary groups *consist of small groups with intimate face-to-face contact*, and they commonly last for years. **Secondary groups***,* in contrast to primary groups*, are larger groups whose relationships are formal and institutional*; some of them may last for years, but some may disband after a short time.[1] Your family is a primary group, but this class is a secondary group.

In the photo in Figure 1 the professor on the left, Dr. Bret Breton, posed for this photo with two of his undergraduate students. Twice a year the Utah Valley University holds a student research symposium where students present findings from their research studies. For six hours their posters are displayed and they answer questions and discuss their findings with any of the 26,000 students who attend Utah Valley University (a category of student). Throughout the day, clusters of students stand around tables (aggregates), while research team members (groups) talk about what they did and what they learned while doing it.

Figure 1. Photo of the Semi-Annual UVU Behavioral Science Poster Symposium.[2]

Why Are Groups Crucial to Society?

Groups come in varying sizes. **Dyads** *are a group of two people*, and **triads** *are a group of three people*. The number of people in a group plays an important structural role in the nature of the group's functioning. Dyads are the simplest groups because two people have only one relationship between them. Triads have three relationships. A group of four has six relationships; five has 10; six has 15; seven has 21. With each additional person, the group becomes more complicated. When triads form, it looks much like a triangle and these typically take much more energy than dyads. A newly married couple experiences great freedoms and opportunities to nurture their marital relationship. A triad forms when their first child is born. They experience a tremendous incursion upon their marital relationship from the child and the care demanded by the child. As Bill Cosby said in his book *Fatherhood*, "Children by their very nature are designed to ruin your marriage."[3]

You can begin to see how the functional approach to studying groups provides insight into how group structure, function, and dysfunction affect the everyday lives of group members. **Sociometry** *is the*

study of groups and their structures.[4] To solve problems you might be hired to come into an organization, examine the organization's groups and functions or dysfunctions, and then eventually create strategies for enhancing the quality of the groups' interactions or expanding the groups' social networks in a beneficial way.

Each group has a set of norms that governs its interactions. These norms are typically very similar to the norms of the broader social climate, but sometimes include specific rules for behavior that apply only to that group. Within groups there is a trust that operates that helps bond the members of the group. There are two types of trust experienced within groups: **calculative trust** *is trust based on performance and competence* (common in instrumental relationships), and **normative trust**, which *is trust based on a sense of belonging and feelings* (found typically in families and communities). Calculative is more common in modern societies while normative is more common in small, traditional societies.

With your friends, have you noticed that one or two tend to be informally in charge of the details? You might be the one who calls everyone and makes reservations or buys the tickets for the others. If so, you would have the informal status of "organizer." The organizer is the leader of the group. In primary groups, the leader is usually an **expressive leader**, *one who is concerned with who the people in the group are and making sure they are well tended*. Does your group's organizer try to be sure she picks the most convenient date for your activities? She wants everyone to be happy and to be able to attend that snowboarding trip. Secondary groups, which are more task-oriented, have **instrumental leaders** *who are concerned with accomplishing tasks*. They are concerned with what position the group's members hold. Think about your job, or a hypothetical job if you have never had a job, and who is responsible for what. The manager makes sure everyone fulfills his and her duties; she doesn't care too much about how you feel because she just wants to get the job done.

Formal Organizations

Society *is defined as a population of people who share the same geographic territory and culture*. In Sociology, this typically refers to an entire country or community. Average people tend to use the word society differently than do sociologists. You might be thinking about the difference in the American Humane Society,[5] the American Cancer Society,[6] or the Society of Plastics Engineers[7] and U.S. mainstream society.

In the sociological definition of society, the three organizations listed above are not societies. They are **organizations** *or formalized groups of individuals who work toward a common organizational (and often personal) set of goals*.

There are three types of organizations: **Normative organizations** *are organizations that people join because they perceive their goals as being socially or morally worthwhile* (e.g., the American Humane Society, Greenpeace, MADD-Mothers Against Drunk Driving). Much of the work in these types of organizations is done by volunteers. For example, Habitat for Humanity has some paid employees to keep the organization going, but most of the work is done by volunteers.[8] **Coercive organizations** *are organizations where people typically are forced to do the work against their will* (e.g., prison). **Utilitarian organizations** *are organizations where people do the work because of some tangible benefit that they expect to receive* (e.g., Barnes and Noble, an accounting firm). In other words, people are paid to do the work. This is probably the organization you are most familiar with.

All organizations exist within the structures of a broader society and are created and modified based on the changing needs of the society. These organizations are influenced by, and serve to support, the major social institutions in a society, such as political, economic, family, education, and religions.

WHAT ARE COLLECTIVE BEHAVIORS?

Imagine a football game where the teams never huddled before each play. That's the way things were in college football until a bright Gallaudet University (a university that serves the Deaf community) quarterback noticed that the other teams were trying to spy on their sign language signals. Thus, in the late 1800s the circular football huddle was born.[9] This is an example of how one person or one group can make a lasting change in a society.

In the case of Gallaudet, as with the Civil Rights Movement, Women's Suffrage Movement, and many other social movements, Sociology opens a world of understanding about why and how collective behaviors, such as social movements, accomplish their goals. **Collective behaviors** *are unusual or non-routine behaviors that large numbers of people participate in*. There are a variety of types of collective behaviors. When something catches on for a short season of intense interest, we call it a fad. A **fad** *is a novel form of behavior that catches on in popularity but quickly fades*. Feather-locks, where women weave feathers into their hair, is an example of a fad.[12] A **fashion** on the other hand is *something that is longer lived and often cycles throughout history* (bell bottoms, car styles, and sexual abstinence have all cycled throughout history).

A **mass** *is a large number of people oriented toward a set of shared symbols or social objects*. The Super Bowl draws an enormous mass of viewers in the U.S. and the world—over 130 million in the U.S. alone.[13] World Cup of Soccer tends to draw over one billion each year.[14] That's a tremendous number of people in a mass of fans and viewers worldwide.

Crowds *are a number of people in the same space at the same time*. They are not always groups who share a common identity, have roles, and meet together often, but they are typically gathered for the same thing (e.g., football game).

Social movements *are intentional efforts by groups in a society to bring about or resist social change*. Social movements are more organized and goal driven than crowd behaviors.

The Why and How of Crowd Behaviors

There have been a number of core research studies on how and why crowds behave as they do. Keep in mind that a crowd at a bus stop that gets on the bus does not necessarily qualify as having participated in collective behavior because of the brevity of their time together and the purpose in which they share the same public space. A group like this would likely be identified as a social aggregate. A social **aggregate** is made up of *people who temporarily happen to be in physical proximity, but share little else*.

Gustav Le Bon (1841-1931) was a French Social Psychologist who studied crowds in his work.[15] Le Bon believed that when a crowd came together their individual conscious merges into one large collective conscious. Le Bon's **Contagion Theory** *claimed that in a crowd people get caught up in the collective mind of the crowd and evade personal responsibility for their actions*. This helps to explain riots where individuals do things they wouldn't do under ordinary circumstances (e.g., set buildings and cars on fire).

Another argument, Convergence Theory, proved to be a better explanation of crowd behavior. The **Convergence Theory** *claims that motivations are not born in the crowd but develop in individuals who carry them to the crowd*. The crowd may provide an outlet for relieving their frustration. By themselves, it would be difficult to act out. Together in the group it becomes much easier with other like-minded people. In other words angry people who feel victimized by a racial injustice might come together (e.g., the KKK) and collectively their emotions would contribute to collective actions that probably would not occur if such people were by themselves.

Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian's **Emergent Norm Theory** *claims that as crowds form and people interact, new norms develop in the crowd and facilitate certain actions.*[16] In other words, events and emotions develop within the crowd while they are together. For example, in Bolivia a drunken man was discovered beating a woman on a neighborhood street. A few men came and stopped him and restrained him until the police arrived. Word spread to the adult son of the beating victim, and he and his friends came to defend her honor. They overpowered the original bystanders and began beating the drunken man. The drunken man's family heard about the new beating of the drunk, and an all out mobon-mob brawl ensued. The police arrived and rescued the drunk.

To understand crowds and how they function you need to think about them in terms of how they came to be a crowd, how they compare or contrast to other crowds, and fundamentally what the crowd did or did not do together. Consider a more normal circumstance of a crowd at Utah Valley University which started out as Utah Valley Community College. On July 1st, 2008, a huge crowd gathered for the formal dedication ceremony and ribbon cutting. Hundreds of people came to see state and national dignitaries and local personalities deliver speeches that would resonate throughout the campus (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Collective Behavior at Utah Valley University.

This crowd came together to celebrate a new era of campus and community connection. It was a **conventional crowd**, *a crowd that gathers for a typical event that is routine in nature* (e.g., a play). An **expressive crowd** *is a crowd gathered to express an emotion* (e.g., Woodstock, the Million Man March, or the 911 Memorial Services). **Solidaristic crowds** *are crowds that gather as an act of social unity* (e.g., Breast Cancer awareness events). All three of these types of crowds are safe, nonviolent, and mostly predictable in terms of what they accomplish.

Acting crowds *are crowds that are emotionally charged against an event or goal*. Some become mobs, but not all of them. This might happen when a large number of fans exit an arena after their team won or lost. For example, sometimes when they see police arresting another fan, their emotions become more anger-centered and they collectively move against the police. The fact that the other fan may have been robbing someone at knife point may or may not matter if the others perceive an injustice or overbearing police action. Generally speaking, acting crowds are more dangerous than other crowds.

Some crowds evolve into **riots**, *large numbers of people who act violently in protest against some authority or action of others* (typically governmental or corporate authority). Fans whose team won or lost, employees laid off from work, neighbors who are angry about a police action, and other scenarios are connected to typical riots. Very few riots are purely protestive in nature. Some would argue that the 1992 Los Angeles Riots became commodity riots, where the original issue is forgotten as locals loot businesses and stores for commodities. Others would argue that the verdict acquitting the police officers who had beaten Rodney King stirred anger against injustices that members of the rioting communities had kept suppressed for many years.[17]

On September 11, 2001 governmental, corporate, and private organizations closed their doors and put their very best security at protecting their people and property. **Panic** *occurs when crowds or masses react suddenly to perceived entrapment, exclusion, or danger*. Panics can impact masses and crowds. In the 9-11 attacks the panic may have saved lives and property had the terrorists' threats been broader than they really were.

The Why and How of Social Movements

On a larger scale and with more social impact, is the phenomenon of a social movement. Social movements often start as grassroots organizations, and sometimes are more radical when they start off. They seek to make more sweeping changes in a shorter period of time. However, movements that gain successes often become institutionalized, following a more formalized, instrumental-rational structure. This movement turns into an established organization with a hierarchical leadership structure. As an established organization, with a paid staff and volunteers, their goals often become influencing government policy on their orienting issue, and raising funds to stay afloat or expand. They tend to have the same intensity of organizational leadership that might be found in a government or business organization.

The Second Wave of the Feminist Movement that took place between the late 1960s to as late as the mid-1980s, serves as a good example. At the grassroots level, most of the women and men participating in this movement did not belong to formal organizations, but organized by meeting and talking to others who similarly felt oppressed by the lack of equality between the sexes. Dialoguing in consciousness-raising groups was their primary method of organizing and getting their message out.

Though many women participated, they had different goals in mind. Liberal Feminists settled for legislative equality with men, demanding access to equal opportunities in the workplace. Other activists, Radical and Socialist/Marxist Feminists, sought more fundamental change, such as men and women taking an equal share in raising the family, cooking and cleaning, and in being the family breadwinner. Furthermore, they sought cultural change, such as a change in sexual mores so that women were not vilified for having sex before marriage, while men were congratulated for their conquests. In 1966, the Liberal Feminists founded the National Organization for Women (NOW), while the Radical Feminists formed other organizations such as the Redstockings, the Feminists, New York Radical Feminists,[19] and Radical Women.[20]

Messianic movements *seek to bring about social change with the promise of miraculous intervention*. Almost always these movements are led by a rather charismatic leader and followed by people inclined to need or want to be a part of something exceptional in their lives. **Charisma** *means having an outstanding personality that magnetically attracts others to you*. There have been positive charismatic leaders, as well as very dangerous ones. Mohandas Gandhi is regarded as a positive charismatic leader. He led India through the successful, non-violent resistance movement against British colonial rule that led to India's independence.[21] In recent years there have been three very similar messianic movements whose charismatic leaders were born and raised in the U.S., but were not very successful in their individual lives and ended up leading large numbers of people to their mortal demise (See Figure 1 for a comparison of Messianic movements). Messianic leaders are often really leaders of cults. A **cult** is defined as *a newer religion with few followers whose teachings are perceived to be at odds with the dominant culture and religion*.

Although the details vary, these movements are very similar in terms of what gets accomplished and in terms of how their end was voluntarily self-destructive. Some people not well-integrated with mainstream society feel threatened by social change, especially when their definition of what keeps society together, of what makes a "good" society, or what they believe God would be happy or unhappy with, leads them to distrust the collective direction of mainstream society.

The messianic or cult leaders Jim Jones of the People's Temple, David Koresh of the Branch Davidians, and Marshal Applewhite of the Heaven's Gate groups all had similar social processes at play, even though there was no apparent connection between leaders of the groups.[22] Eventually the leaders, who have enough leadership skills to get the group together and manage them, but not enough leadership skills to negotiate their interactions with social organizations outside of their compounds, run out of options and are content with suicide and murder. It is important to note that suicide may be in conformity with their belief system.

Figure 1. A Comparison of Jones, Koresh, and Applewhite Messianic Movements.[24]

There are other types of movements that can be classified in terms of their function, similarities, or differences. A **revolutionary movement** *seeks to overthrow existing institutions and class systems while replacing them with new ones*. The American, French, Mexican, and other national revolutions fall under this category. A **reformist movement** *seeks partial changes in only a few institutions on behalf of interest groups*. In the U.S., the Liberal Feminist, children's rights, and some animal protection movements are indicative of this type movement. Most efforts work within existing political channels.

A **conservative movement** *seeks to uphold the values and institutions of society and generally resist attempts to alter them*. The conservative right movement in the U.S. falls under this category. A **reactionary movement** *seeks to return the institutions and values of the past by doing away with existing ones*. The Ku Klux Klan is an example of a reactionary movement. An **expressive movement** seeks to allow for expression of personal concerns and beliefs, often tied to a new form of artistic expression. Punks, Goths, and Emos are examples of this type.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The **Relative Deprivation Theory** *claims that people who feel relatively deprived in comparison to some other group or institution engage in social movements to equalize things*. Movements are more supported when members feel that compared to others they are worse off and a balance needs to be struck. The **Structural-Strain Theory** *claims that social problems/strains on the current social structure, combined with discontent, lead to movements*. Such is the case with the spread of American liberal values across the world via satellite TV, as well as political and economic intrusions that benefit Western nations. Many conservative cultures worldwide find the U.S. and other Western nations repulsive in their values on women's roles, sexuality, and crime. This unites many people in many diverse societies to become like-minded in their values. The **Resource Mobilization Theory** *maintains that a social movement succeeds or fails based on people's ability to gather and organize resources*. The environmental movement has made tremendous collective progress because of the vast numbers of key educational, governmental, and social leaders who bring resources to bear on social change.

[1] http://www.knowledgerush.com/kr/encyclopedia/Group_(socioy
) [2] © 2007 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D.

[3] 1987, Doubleday

[4] Google Jacob L. Moreno for its founder.

[5] http://www.humanesociety.org

[6] http://www.cancer.org/index

[7] http://www.4spe.org

[8] http://www.habitat.org/ [9] Gallaudet on Wikipedia, 2008

[12] http://today.msnbc.msn.com/id/43265020/ns/today-style/t/bait-switch-hair-extension-fad-angersanglers/#.TxJKGyNibEU

[13] www.NFL.com

[14] www.FIFA.com

[15] The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind.

[16] See Collective Behavior (1993) 4th edition. Prentice Hall

[17] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LA_Riots

[19] Tong, Rosemarie. 2009. *Feminist Thought – A More Comprehensive Introduction* 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Originally published in 1989.

[20] Radical Women. 2001. *The Radical Women Manifesto – Socialist Feminist Theory, Program and Institutional Structure.* Seattle, WA: Red Letter Press.

[21] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhi

[22] Google "Cults that end in suicide" to read about these cults all over the world

[24]
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POPULATIONS AND URBANIZATION

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Define demography.
- Calculate population change.
- Define the variety of rates used by demographers.
- Relate the Demographic Transition Theory to specific eras in history.
- Evaluate the usefulness of Pronatalist and Antinatalist theories.
- Define and list push and pull factors.
- Define urbanization.
- Define megalopolis and micropolis.
- Evaluate the attractiveness of cities to gang members.
- Contrast theories of urban development.
- Evaluate the pros and cons of gentrification.

WHAT IS DEMOGRAPHY?

Demography is *the scientific study of population growth and change*. Demography is mostly concerned with three factors: birth, death, and migration. Demographers might also study rates of change, such as divorce rates in the U.S. over a period of time. Size, distribution, composition, age structure, and change in population are all measured using demographic methods. Everything in society influences demography and demography conversely influences everything in society. For example, after World War II, the United States began to recover from the long-term negative effects of the war. Families had been separated, relatives died or were injured, and women who had gone to the factories returned home. It was an era of social and cultural upheaval.

The year 1946 reflected the impact of that change in its very atypical demographic statistics. Starting in 1946 people married younger, had more children per woman, divorced then remarried again, and had more than the previous average number of children. From 1946 to 1956 the birth rate rose and peaked, then began to decline again. By 1964 the national high birth rate was finally back to the level it was before 1946. The millions of children born between 1946 and 1964 were called the Baby Boom Generation (there are about 78 million of them alive today). The Baby Boomers affected

society in every conceivable way from schools to the workplace, and from the housing market to Social Security.

Demographic research can be divided into two subcategories: formal and social. **Formal demography** deals with *collecting, analyzing, and reporting population data*. **Social demography** is *the study of population patterns within a social context*.

The Formula

The core of demographic studies has three components: births, deaths, and migration.

(Births-Deaths) + ((In-Migration)-(Out-Migration)) = **Population Change**

The first part of the formula, (Births-Deaths) is called **natural increase**, or *all the births minus all the deaths in a given population over a given time period*. The other part of the formula, ((In-Migration)-(Out-Migration)) is called **net migration** which is *all the inmigration minus all the out-migration in a given population over a given time period*. In this formula, in-migration is the number of migrants moving into a territory, and out-migration is the number of migrants moving out. (However, the term in-migration may also be used to refer to movement within a geographic location.) Population change is then added to a previous year's population to yield a new population estimate. Most official population counts really are estimates. There are mistakes in counting that render results that are close, but never perfectly accurate.

Let's consider this formula by first looking at the US population in 1990. **Census enumeration** is the *formal counting of a population by its government*. Based on the U.S. Census, the U.S. population was 248,709,000 in 1990.[1] We can calculate the population change for 1990-1999 to come up with the population estimate for 1999 (see Table 1). Add the population change of 26,729,000 to the 1990 population of 248,709,000 to get a population estimate for 1999 of 275,438,000. This is very close to the actual July 1st, 1999 U.S. Census estimate.[2]

Table 1. Numbers of Births, Deaths, and Net Migration[3] for the United States between 19901999.[4]

Births	- Deaths	+In-Migration	-Out-Migration	= Population Change
39,860,000	22,711,000	9,800,000	220,000	+26,729,000

Table 2 shows that the U.S. ranks third among the ten most populated countries of the world in 2008. It is estimated to continue to rank third in 2050 (see Table 3). Interestingly, in 2050, it is projected that India and China will swap rankings and India will rank first and China second.

United States Population and Key Rates

Figure 1 shows the US population for selected years between 1790 (the first U.S. Census) and 2009 (estimated by the U.S. Census Bureau). At its first official Census, the U.S. had more than four million inhabitants, but it failed to count Native Americans, Blacks, and other racial groups. In the 219 years represented in Figure 1, you can see that the U.S. population has increased nearly 78 times since its 1790 count.

Let's look at the birth rates for the U.S. compared to the current highest birth rate state, Utah, and the current lowest birth rate state, Vermont, between the years 1991-2006. The **crude birth rate** is the *number of live births per 1,000 people living in the population*. It's called crude because it ignores age-specific risks of getting pregnant. Figure 2 shows these rates and clearly indicates the higher rates for Utah in comparison to the U.S. and Vermont. Before 1991, Alaska often competed with Utah for the highest state birth rate.

	Country	Estimated Population
1	China	1,324,700,000
2	India	1,149,300,000
3	United States	304,500,000
4	Indonesia	239,900,000
5	Brazil	195,100,000
6	Pakistan	172,800,000
7	Nigeria	148,100,000
8	Bangladesh	147,300,000
9	Russia	141,900,000
10	Japan	127,700,000

Table 2. The Ten Most Populated Countries in the World, 2008.[5]

	Country	Estimated Population
1	India	1,755,200,000
2	China	1,437,000,000
3	United States	438,200,000
4	Indonesia	343,100,000
5	Pakistan	295,200,000
6	Nigeria	282,200,000
7	Brazil	259,800,000
8	Bangladesh	215,100,000
9	Congo, De. Rep.	189,300,000
10	Philippines	150,100,000

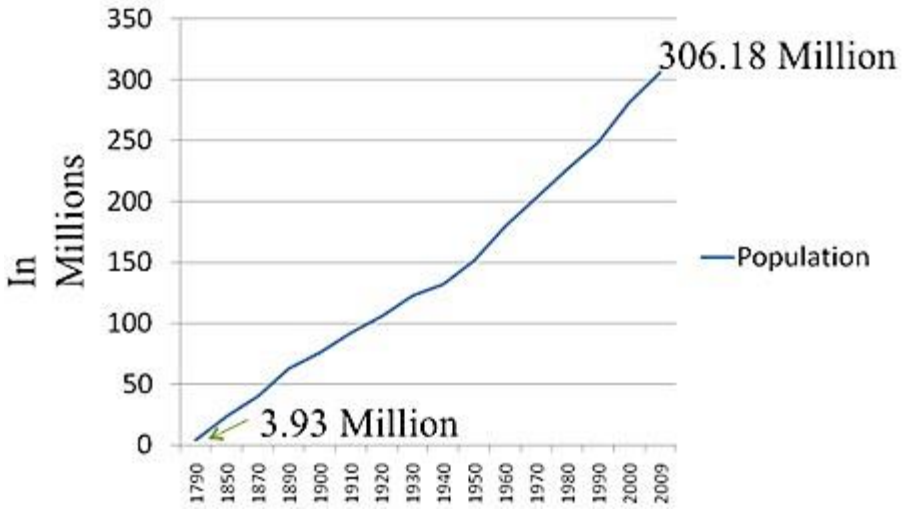
Table 3. The Ten Most Populated Countries in the World, 2050.[6]

The crude birth rate is not a true rate because it includes children, males, and the elderly in the denominator of 1,000 population. **True birth rate** is *the number of events/number at risk of the event*. **Fertility** is a measure of *the number of children born to a woman or to a population of women*.

Total fertility rate is *the total number of children ever born to a woman calculated both individually and at the societal level*. **Fecundity** is *the physiological ability to conceive or give birth to children*. In other words, it is the maximum rate at which women can potentially produce children. In Table 4 you can see some of the striking differences in crude birth and total fertility rates. To understand these data you need to understand the term **more developed nations** which are *nations with comparably higher wealth than most countries of the world.* These include Canada, The United States, Japan, New Zealand, and Australia as well as others. **Less developed nations** are *nations located near to or south of the equator which have less wealth and more of the world's population.* These include African nations, India, Central and South America nations, most island nations, and most of Asia (excluding China). China has the most strict fertility policy in the world and is often excluded from the rest of Asia in most official reports. In fact, Chinese government has placed a limit of one child per family in urban areas in an attempt to slow the population's rapid growth. This is known as the "One Child Policy", which has resulted in the

abortion and infanticide of numerous females. In order to encourage the birth of females, families with one female child are given subsidies and sometimes housing by the Chinese government.

Figure 1. Estimated Population of the United States for Selected Years 1790-2009.[7]



Parents living in rural areas are permitted to have two children provided that the first is a girl. Families are penalized for having additional children by being fined, having their taxes raised, and no longer being eligible for free health care.

Africa is the "birth hot-spot" of the world and has been since about 1950. It has a projected population change of an increase of 100% between the years 2008 and 2050. A few African nations are higher and some are a bit lower. Uganda, for example, should experience a 263% increase while Swaziland should experience a 33% decline. The 6.8 Total Fertility Rate (TFR) for Liberia means that the average woman is expected to bear 6.8 children there. In the U.S. it is only 2.1; this is an important indicator of population change because there is a principle which states that it requires a minimum TFR of 2.1 for the population to replace the man and woman who made the children and a TFR of 2.3 to begin to expand the population. Thus you can see from Table 4 that the less-developed regions of the world (especially Africa) are expected to grow, while the more developed (especially Japan) should not grow. Based on these projections, Japan's population should decrease by 25% between 2008 and 2050.

Figure 2. Estimated Crude Birth Rates per 1,000 Population of the United States, Utah, and Vermont, 1991-2006.[8]

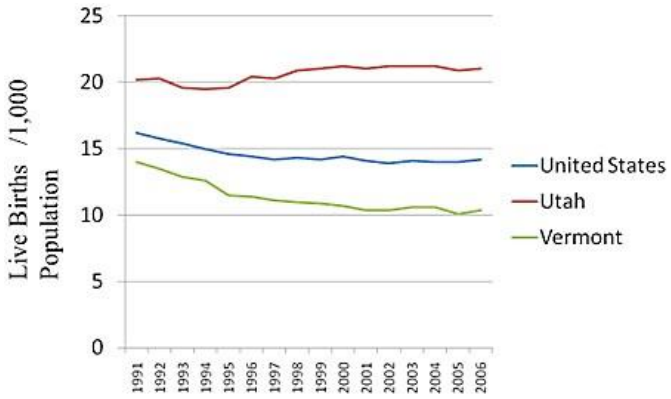


Table 4. Crude Birth Rates and Total Fertility Rates for Selected Regions and Countries.[9]

Country or Region	Crude Birth Rates (CBR)	Total Fertility Rates (TFR)
More developed	12	1.6
Less Developed	23	2.8
Africa	37	4.9
Latin America/Caribbean	21	2.5
Asia (excluding China)	23	2.4
China	12	1.6
Liberia	50	6.8
Canada	11	1.6
Mexico	20	2.3
United States	14	2.1
Italy	9	1.3
Japan	9	1.0
World	21	2.6

THEORIES AND PRINCIPLES

Doubling time is *the time required for a population to double if the current growth rate continues*. Table 5 shows the growth rates and estimated doubling times for selected countries based on 2008 estimates. The world's population should double in 58 years. Liberia, on the other hand, should double its population in only 23 years.

In fact, most of the world's population now lives in the less developed regions of the world and they will double in about 47 years. There are approximately 68% of the 6.7 billion peoples of this world who now live in less developed countries (roughly 4.56 billion people). In the year 2055 (the year 2008 + 47 years=2055) there should be 9.12 billion people living in the less developed regions of the world. The more developed regions of the world will not double in any of our lifetimes (it would be the year 2358 according to these data).

Zero population growth occurs *when a population neither shrinks nor expands from year to year*. To understand why some countries have higher or lower rates, you must first understand some theoretical backgrounds.

Table 5. Growth Rates and Doubling Times for Selected Countries 2008.[10]

Country or Region	Growth Rate	Doubling Time in Years
More developed	0.2	350
Less Developed	1.5	47
Africa	2.4	29
Latin America/Caribbean	1.5	47
Asia (excluding China)	1.5	47
China	0.5	140
Liberia	3.1	23
Canada	0.3	233
Mexico	1.6	44
United States	0.6	116
Italy	0.0	*can't calculate*
Japan	0.0	*can't calculate*
World totals	1.2	58

There are two distinct perspectives that relate to births in a population. **Antinatalist** is a perspective which *opposes childbearing* and **pronatalist** is a perspective which *promotes birth and increased population*. Antinatalists oppose birth and support contraception, abortions, and sterilization, along with the education of women. Educating a woman is the most effective way of lowering her fertility. Pronatalists support birth, large families, extended families, and governmental support of childbearing.

Malthusian Theory

The first Antinatalist was Thomas Malthus (1766-1834), an important demographer. He was a Reverend and English scholar who took a strong stance against the unprepared parents of his day. To him *prepared parents* had established their education and livelihood, their household, and their marriage before they considered getting pregnant. Keep in mind that there were very few effective methods of birth control at this time, so Malthus came across as a hardliner against parenting. He published half a dozen editions of his work, An Essay on the Principles of Population (1798-1830), which were extremely controversial, yet carefully read by many influential people of his day.

For **Malthusian Theory** the problem was that *populations grew more rapidly than the production of food*, which to him was the cause of many social ills in the new industrial societies of Europe. He declared that abstinence before marriage, forced sterilization, and criminal treatment of unprepared parents would be the new conservative norm.

Indeed history has shown that famines, wars, plagues, and other terrible conditions do occur. The antinatalists blame too many babies and people, destruction of the natural environment, the existence

of the traditional family, and capitalistic profit-seeking for the decline of global well-being. The pronatalists point out that there is plenty of food in the world and there always has been. They blame political and social mismanagement for the social ills, not the high birth rates. Look at Figure 3 to see the estimated world population from 10,000 BC to 2009 AD (these are only estimates since there were very few government statistics prior to the Industrial Revolution).

You can clearly see that there were millions of people on the earth throughout the history of the world. Pronatalists argue that for the most part, civilizations ate, lived, and thrived, and still do today. When they starved it was typically some political or natural disaster, not a Malthusian shortage, that explained it. Besides, they argue, Malthus underestimated the enormous gains in medical, agricultural, environmental, political, and other sciences that have given this world the highest standard of living it has ever known. The bottom line is that the World Health Organization, World Bank, United Nations, United States, and all of the other more developed nations of the world are Neo-Malthusian/Antinatalistic to some degree or another, while the people of the less developed regions of the world live a pronatalist's lifestyle and thereby are mainly responsible for the rapidly increasing growth of births into the world population.

Look at Table 6 to see how fast the U.S. and world are growing by seconds, minutes, hours, etc. In the U.S., every hour 432 babies are born, totaling up to about 3,784,320 in a year (please note that this estimate tends to be lower than the actual number reported by the U.S.'s Vital Statistics at 4.2 million births, because estimates are calculated based on previous years' rates, whereas the vital statistics are actual counts made two years after the actual data has been collected and tabulated). In the world, every hour 15,834 babies are born adding up to 138,715,000 per year. How do you suppose Anti- and Pronatalists might respond to these data?

Look at the deaths in table 6 and think about this. If you can hold your breath for 30 seconds, about two people will die in the U.S. and over 54 will die worldwide during that time. **Death** is *the termination of the body, its systems, and brain activity in an irreversible way*. Death is a part of life. All of us are at risk of dying, but not all of us share the same risks. To be born around or below the equator, female, tribal, and non-white represents risk factors not shared by those born in the U.S., female, suburban, and non-white. In fact, in many cases migrants to the U.S. raise their life expectancies.

Figure 3. World Population Estimates in Millions for 10,000 BC to 2009 AD.[11]

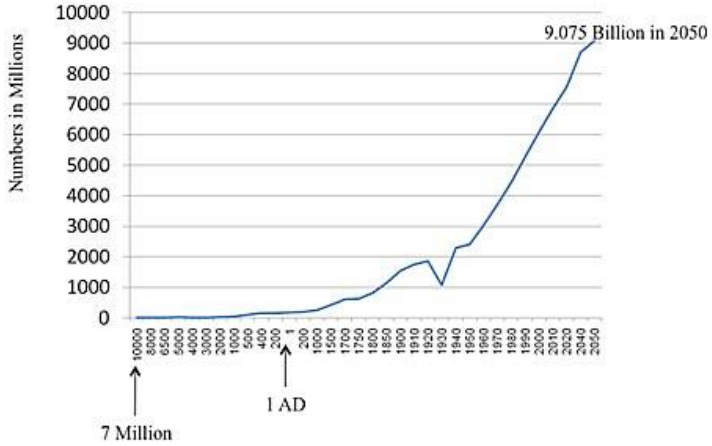


Table 6. United States and World Population Clocks 2009.[12]

Births		
	United States	World
Second	0.12	4.40
Minute	7.20	264.00
Hour	432.00	15,835.00
Day	10,368.00	380,041.00
Year	3,784,320.00	138,715,000.00

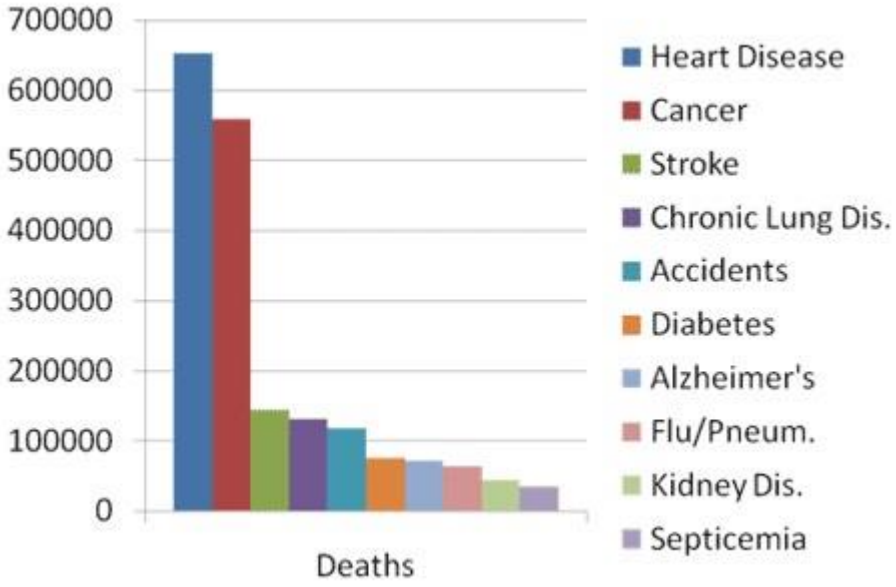
Deaths		
	United States	World
Second	0.08	1.80
Minute	4.80	108.00
Hour	288.00	6,481.00
Day	6,912.00	155,553.00
Year	2,522,880.00	56,777,000.00

Figure 4 shows the top 10 causes of death in the U.S. Heart disease has been the number one killer in the U.S. for decades. The top four causes are highly correlated with tobacco use, and since smoking is becoming much more common in less developed countries, cancer is predicted to become the number one cause of death worldwide by 2010, with over 40% of the world's smokers living in China and India.[13]

In less-developed nations there are other significant causes of death that we don't worry about in the U.S., such as Malaria, AIDS, maternal death, diarrhea, Measles, Mumps, Rubella, local exotic diseases, and other infectious and parasitic diseases. In fact, AIDS, or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, is much more common in Africa and parts of Asia than in any other region of the world. Today, heterosexuality or sex between a man and woman is the most common way of transmitting AIDS throughout the world.

Epidemiology is *the scientific study of diseases, their transmission, and their management*. The U.S. has the most advanced disease-tracking and epidemiological management system which is found at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, Georgia.[14] On this website you can click on "Traveler's Alerts" and choose a country to see if there are any disease concerns for tourists.[15] Go to the website, pick a country and read up about their current disease concerns and the immunizations you should get in preparation to visit another country. Because we have so many people visiting and migrating to and from the U.S., it is in the CDC's best interest to be globally concerned and involved. The CDC concerns itself with all diseases in every country.

Figure 4. Top 10 Major Causes of Death in the United States 2005.[16]



Demographers also concern themselves with death-related rates. The **crude death rate** (CDR) is *the number of deaths in a given population per 1,000 people living in that population*. Again, this is not a true rate because not all members of society have the same risks of dying (e.g., 30 year-olds not at the same risk of death as 80 year-olds). The **infant mortality rate** (IMR) is *the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births*. The CDR and IMR vary greatly between countries and regions (See Table 7).

The nation with the worst crude death rate is Sierra Leone at 23. The best CDR's are found in the Middle East (Qatar and the United Arab Emirates at 2). The nations with the worst IMR happen to be Afghanistan at 163 and Sierra Leone at 158. The best IMR is found in Iceland at 1.3. The U.S. does not have the best IMR. This is most likely a consequence of not having universal medical care. To summarize: 1) more babies are born in developing nations of the world than in the developed ones, 2) more infants and other people die sooner in the less developed regions of the world than in the developed ones, and 3) most of the world's future population growth will come from the less developed regions of the world.

Table 7. Crude Death Rates and Infant Mortality Rates for Selected Regions and Countries.[17]

Country or Region	Crude Death Rate (CDR)	Infant Mortality Rates (IMR)
More developed	10	6.0
Less Developed	8	54.0
Africa	14	82.0
Sierra Leone	22	155.0
Latin America/Caribbean	6	23.0
Asia (excluding China)	7	45.0
China	7	23.0
Liberia	18	133.0
Canada	7	5.5
Mexico	5	19.0
United States	14	2.1
Italy	10	4.2
Japan	9	2.8
World total	8	49

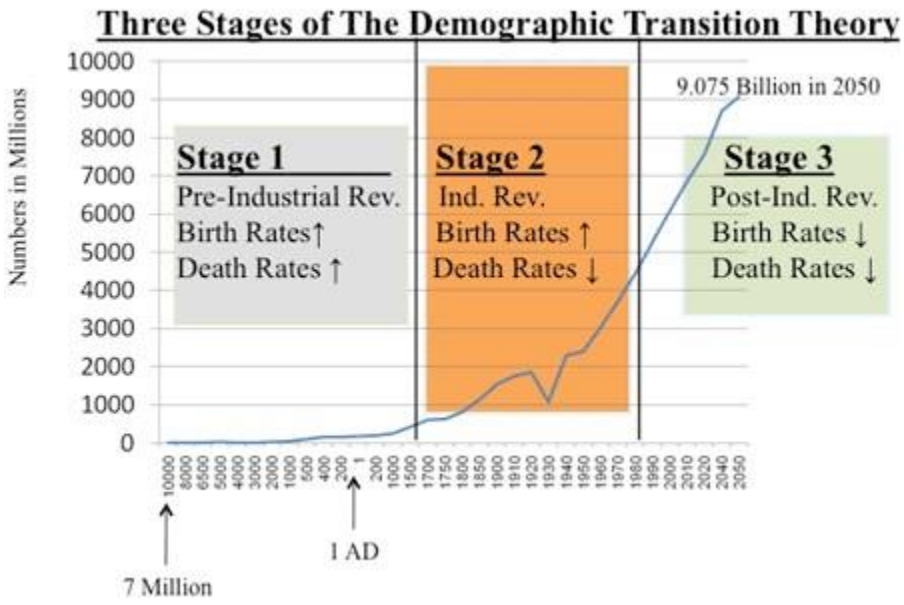
Demographic Transition Theory

Why is the world's population growing so rapidly in regions that have the fewest resources? Part of the answer to this question is found in the **Demographic Transition Theory** which *claims that populations go through three distinct stages that correspond to the onset of the Industrial Revolution with regard to changes in birth and death rates*. Look at Figure 5 to see the three stages of this theory. Stage 1, the Pre-Industrial Revolution Stage, encompassed the world's population up until about 1700 AD. Much of the world's population grew very slowly up to that point. That's all it could do because the high birth rates were offset by the high death rates (lots of people were born and they died soon).

Stage 2, the Industrial Revolution Stage, saw a decline in death rates while birth rates remained high. This is the perfect demographic storm for population growth and this coincides with the rapid growth of populations in Western Civilizations (lots of people were born and they died later in life). Stage 3, the Post-Industrial Revolution Stage, came with the technical and computer chip revolution that raised the standard of living so much that death rates remained low while birth rates dropped (fewer people being born and they die even later in life).

The Demographic Transition Theory describes what happened in the more developed nations but it does not fit so neatly in the less developed countries of the world. They never really had an Industrial Revolution, they only benefited from the European one. They never really moved fully into the technological and computer chip revolution. It just spills over to them gradually. Due to post World War II medical delivery systems and international aid, the less developed countries of the world have had their death rates decline and their lives have been extended. But their birth rates remain relatively high (as you've already read above). This is why so much of the world's future population growth will come from Africa, Latin America, Parts of Asia, and the island nations.

Figure 5. Diagram of the Demographic Transition Theory.[18]



Concerted Antinatalistic efforts have been implemented in the less developed countries of the world over the last 40 years and scientists can measure a gradual lowering of the birth rates as a direct result from it. But keep in mind that however they got there, the people of the less developed regions of the world are still in Stage 2 and have explosive population trends that will continue for the next 40-50 years.

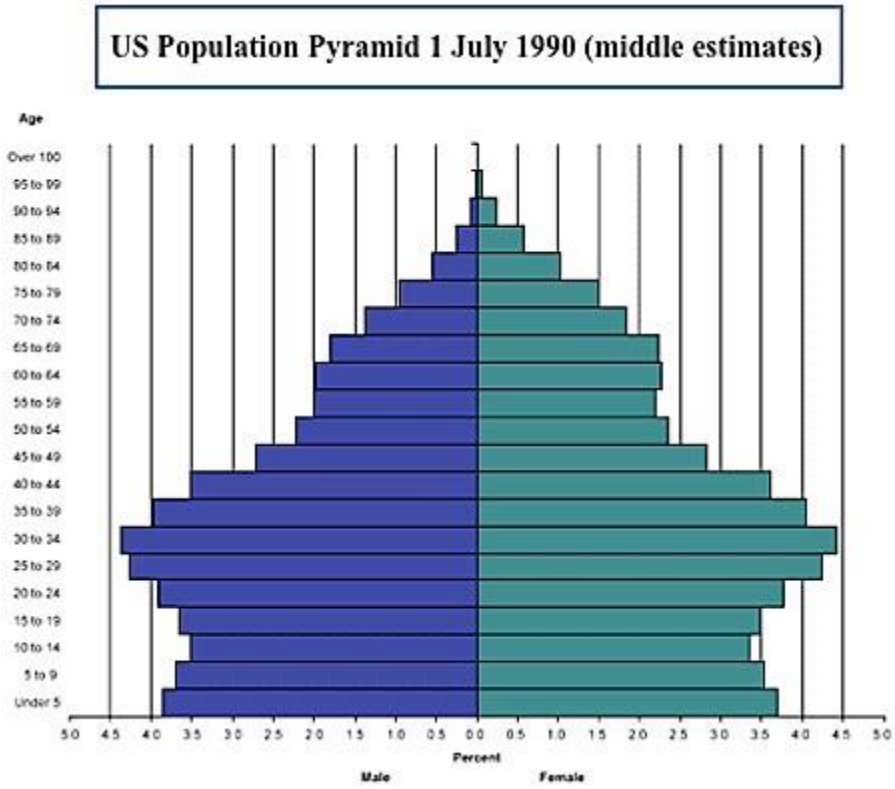
Population Structures

Before we discuss migration, let's talk about the population from an age-sex structural point of view. Every population/society can be compared by an age-sex structural approach called the **population pyramid**, or the *graphic representation of specified 5-year age groups within a population by sex*. Look at the 1990 US population pyramid in Figure 6.[19] Please notice that on this pyramid blue represents males (on the left side) and green represents females (on the right side). Up the left side are markers of five-year intervals. Across the bottom is percent of males or females.

A population pyramid for 1990 can tell you some interesting things about the age-sex structure of the U.S. at that time. For one thing, even though there are slightly more females than males, their relative

proportions appear about even here. It also shows you the bulge of the Baby Boomers. By 1990, the Baby Boomers would have been between ages 26-44. The high fertility rates of the years 1946-1964 are apparent in the bulge of the pyramid. Also there is an interesting sex difference among the older U.S. population; there are far more females than males in the later years.

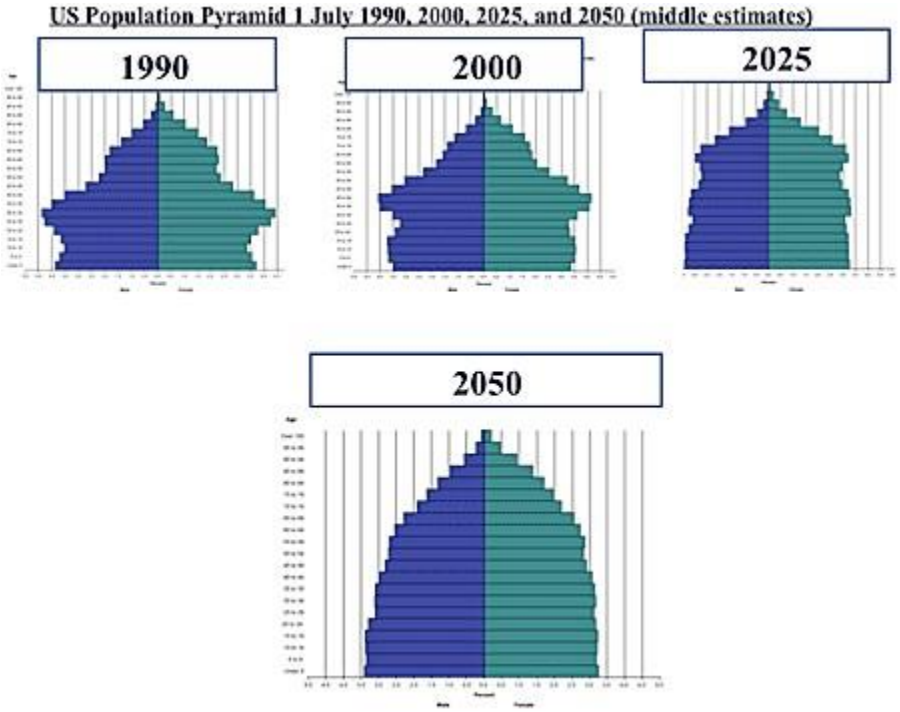
Figure 6. United State's Population Pyramid: 1990.[20]



Now look at Figure 7. It shows you smaller pyramids that let you watch the disappearance of the Baby Boomers gradually over the years 1990-2050. By the year 2050 the oldest Baby Boomer would have to be 104 years old to still be alive. The youngest Baby Boomer would be 86. These pyramids also show that there will be a similar proportion of males and females. Because birth rates are low and are remaining that way, you see a widening look as the pyramid portrays the population more as a column than a pyramid. Population pyramids can actually take on any number of shapes, but the true pyramid shape comes only when there are high birth rates (a wider pyramid in the younger ages) and people die soon (a narrower pyramid in the older years at the top of the pyramid) as in Stage 1 of the Demographic Transition Theory.

As this chapter draws to a close, we must discuss the last portion of the demographic formula, **migration** or *movement within geographic boundaries*. Moving from, or to, another geographic boundary is called emigration and immigration. **Emigration** *is the departure from a country of origin to reside in another*. Once there, they'd be considered to be an immigrant. **Immigration** is *the arrival of a foreigner into a country they will reside in*. The U.S. has far more immigrants (arrivals) than emigrants (departures) every year.

Figure 7. United State's Population Pyramid: 1990, 2000, 2025, and 2050.[21]



Why do people decide to move from one country to another? Demographers consider two very important factors in understanding migration: push and pull. **Push factors** are *negatives aspects of where you live which make you consider leaving*. **Pull factors** are *positive aspects of another place which draw you to migrate to it*. Push factors include wars, famines, political hostility, natural disasters, and other harsh circumstances that create an environment conducive to looking for another place to live. Pull factors include economic prosperity, jobs, food, safety, asylum, and the hope of survival that draws people to move to the desired location. About 1 in 6 people in the U.S. moves each year. College students, job seekers, transferees, divorcees, and most recently people needing to live with extended family because of tough economic times all contribute to the migration process within the United States. Think about your family; have they migrated/immigrated? What were the push and pull factors that influenced this migration?

Cities, Country Side, and Suburban

Urbanization is *the societal trend where the proportion of people living in cities increases while the proportion of people living in rural areas diminishes*. Urban refers to the geographic territory within or close to a city. The governments of the world define urban in different ways, but it is safe to assume that 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants in a city is the minimum required to call a geographic territory urban. Some urban areas such as Tokyo, New York, Mexico City, Shanghai, and Lima range from 35 million down to seven million people.[22]

A few factors have to be in place in order for urban growth to occur. Two theoretical approaches help in understanding urban development. **Agricultural Surplus Theory** claims that *as farming skills increased, a*

surplus of basic foodstuffs existed and the surplus freed certain people from having to produce their own food and let them develop other occupations. **Central Place Theory** claims that *farmers needed a central place to trade or sell their surplus and cities developed in those central places*. There must also be a transportation route (river, trail, valley, railroads, harbors, or oceans). Once settlers move in, the city will flourish or fail depending on its ability to continue to draw in people seeking opportunities. Lastly, because of the close proximity of people living together and a centralized area for trade, cities became attractive to both producers and consumers fueling the growth in population of cities.

Rural refers to *the geographic territory in the less populated regions of a society*. Mona, Utah; Hell, Michigan; and North Pole, Alaska are just a few of the less populated rural areas in the U.S. The Census Bureau provides a wealth of information about towns and cities in the U.S.[23] According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Hell, Michigan had 19,840 inhabitants and 59.89 miles of land area or 331.3 people per square mile. In 2007 New York City, New York had 8,274,527 people living there. It also indicated that some parts of the city are uninhabited while in its most densely populated areas there are over 200,000 people per square mile.[24]

Population density is *the number of people per square mile or square kilometer*. The Population Reference Bureau is free online and it provides details about every country of the world including the U.S.[25] See Table 1 for some 2000 population density estimates which show the variety of densities worldwide.

The United States Road System

The United States has become increasingly urban since its formal inception in 1776. In 2000, Washington D.C. was 100% urban while Vermont was only 38.2%.[26] In Figure 1 you can see the increasing urbanization in the U.S. (the blue line) and some of the factors that contributed so strongly to it after 1940. There were two key pieces of legislation that made the development of today's interstate and road system what it currently is. The 1925 and later 1956 Federal Highway Acts facilitated the federal control, organization, and funding of nation-wide road development. Prior to these acts many roads were impassable, or very poorly maintained.

A nationally coordinated numbering system was put into place after 1956 and billions of dollars were earmarked to fund the asphalt and concrete paving of a new highway system. Today we have over four million miles of roads that require billions per year in construction and maintenance costs. You can also see that car ownership increased dramatically once the roads were built. The number of cars owned tripled between 1960 and 2000 and these cars facilitated the trend of moving into the suburbs. The availability of the internet facilitated working from home and telecommuting.

By the 1980s, many empty warehouses and abandoned apartment buildings scarred certain sections of the city. Wealthy young couples began a trend called **gentrification**, or *the purchase of rundown buildings in the city center which were remodeled for upper class apartments and lofts*. Inevitably, gentrification forced poor inner city dwellers out of their neighborhoods because city officials were persuaded to rezone these gentrified neighborhoods to keep the "undesirable elements" away. Around 1990 another trend emerged called **exurbanization**, where *upper class city dwellers move out of the city to the rural areas beyond the suburbs.*

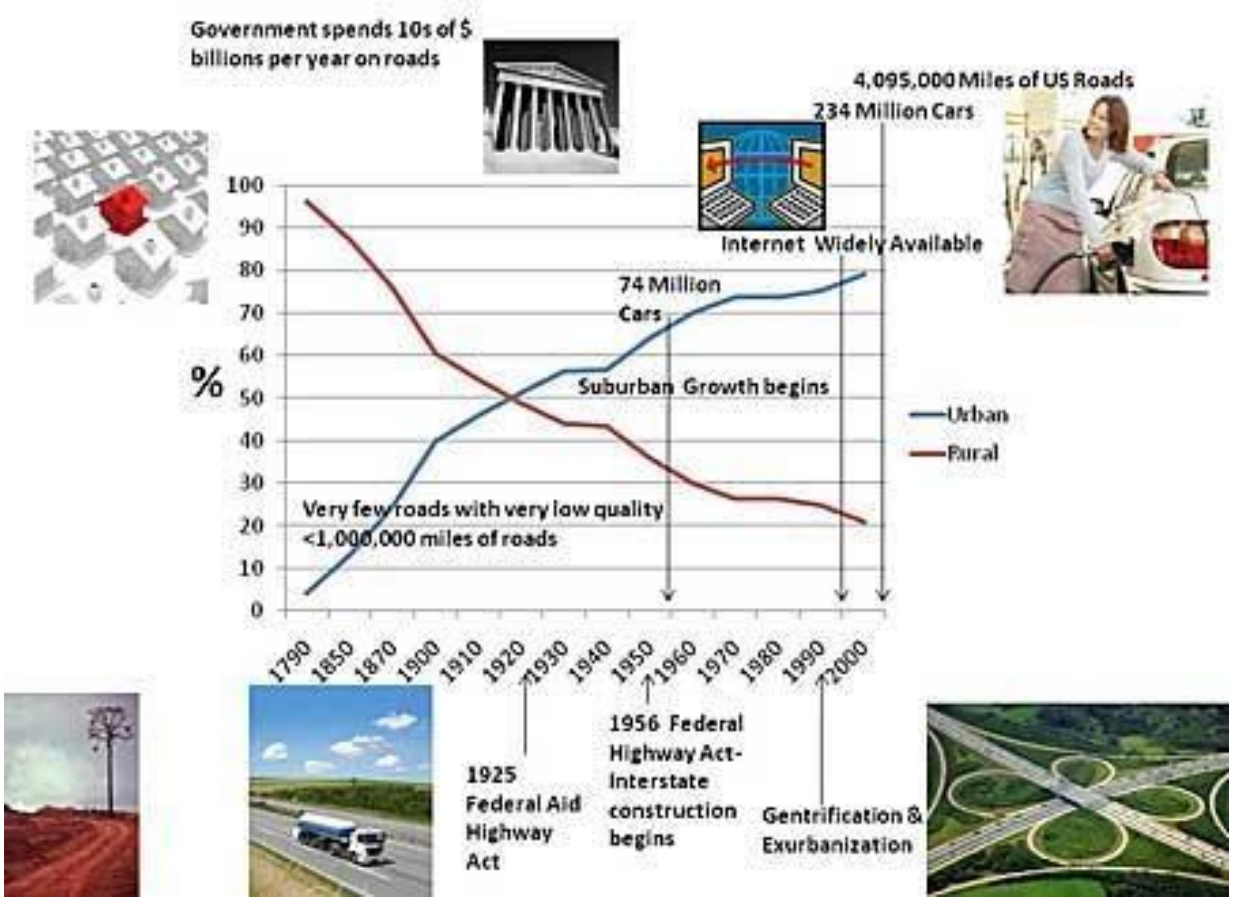
Table 1. Population Densities for Select Countries and Regions.[27]

Territory	Density/Square Mile
World	117
United States	74
More Developed	60
Less Developed	153
Africa	68
Latin America	65
Caribbean	401
Asia	300
Europe	82
Western Europe	429
Eastern Europe	42
Oceania	9

Migration to the City and Back

The modern U.S. urban experience has followed a semi-circular pattern in the last 150 years: Rural-Urban-Suburban-Gentrification-Exurbanization. Figure 1 summarizes some of the key historical factors that brought current U.S. urbanization to the point of over 7 out of 10 people in the U.S. living in urban areas. The pattern of the Industrial Revolution to World War II to the transportation expansion to the technological revolution brought about this phenomenon.

Figure 1. Percentage of United States Population Urban and Rural.[28]



Why live in a city in the first place? One explanation is push and pull factors. Push factors the country might include too many people and not enough jobs or food, too few opportunities, almost everyone is poor in rural areas, and there are often severe taxes in rural areas. Pull factors toward the city typically include hope of better jobs, opportunities, reunion with family members, and lifestyles. In general over the last 100 years the rural economy provided fewer and fewer opportunities, services, and culturally-desirable experiences in comparison to the urban one. People are literally pulled to the urban and suburban areas because the city offers more of these unmet needs. The Industrial Revolution brought many workers to live in and around the urban areas. Factories and inner-city concentrated housing units were very common up until World War II.

By the end of the war people wanted their own homes, independence, and a daily reprieve from the grind of the big city. They didn't want to move too far away, just far enough to allow them a less hectic daily life with a more affordable cost of living. The suburbs came at a perfect time.

Suburban refers to *smaller cities located on the edges of the larger city which often include residential neighborhoods for those working in the area*. The suburbs in the U.S. grew dramatically after World War II when the superhighways and freeways combined with the somewhat modest cost of automobiles.

Rural areas typically have high levels of **homogeneous** people (*they are very similar*), selfdependence, mechanical solidarity, and similarity in work. Urban areas have **heterogeneous** people (*very diverse people*), inter-dependence (the doctor needs the butcher, the butcher needs the accountant, the accountant needs the electrician, etc.), organic solidarity, diversity in work, higher cost of living, formalized rules, organizational complexity, numbers of people, and **anomie** (normlessness). Suburban areas have a relative mix of all of these traits, some more and some less depending on other structural, cultural, SES, and historical factors.

World Trends

The Population Reference Bureau states, "The world will pass a milestone in 2008: One-half of the world's residents will live in urban areas. This event is impressive when we consider that less than 30 percent lived in urban areas in 1950."[29] In Figure 3 you can see NASA's night time photograph of the Americas, Western Europe, and Western Africa. From this satellite photograph you can see the population concentrations throughout the U.S., South America, and Western Europe in contrast to the relatively sparsely lit Western Africa. This not only represents fewer numbers, but also less utilization of rather expensive electrical lights in the urban areas. You can barely distinguish Canada from the U.S. This is because most Canadians live in the lower portion of the country where the climate is more conducive to human existence.

Figure 3. NASA's Photograph of Americas, Western Europe, and Western Africa.

In Figure 4 you can see the NASA night photo of the rest of the world. On the left side of the photograph it becomes obvious that most of Africa is not as lit up as are the other regions of the world. There are nearly 800 million people currently living in Africa. Electricity and city lights are very expensive based on the standard of living there. Notice the lights of Europe, Russia, The Middle East, India, Eastern China, and Asia, the Island nations and the outer boundary of Australia. These light concentrations are in and near major cities and photographically distinguish the differences in socio-economic status between these regions of the world. They also identify the world's urban areas in a clear way.

Look again at the United States in Figure 3. You can see a massive cluster in the Northeastern region. The clusters represent what sociologists call a **megalopolis**, which is *an overspill of one urban area into another often where many small towns grow into one huge urban area connected by a major transportation corridor*. Some of the larger megalopolises today include Boston-Washington, Chicago-

Pittsburgh, and New York-New Jersey. A megalopolis often has 10 million or more people living there. They are found in Europe, Asia, India, Mexico, and Japan. A megalopolis is comprised of **metropolitan areas**, or *large population concentrations in cities which have influence of the city's various zones*. Each city has a number of zones of influence within its boundaries.

Figure 4. NASA's Photograph of Africa, Europe, Middle East, Russia, Asia, Australia, and Island Nations.[30]

Theories of Urban Development

Human Ecology *studies the form, structure, and development of the community in human populations*. Ernest W. Burgess developed the Concentric Zone Theory of city development.[31] Burgess was from a very influential sociological program called the Chicago School (from the University of Chicago), and he believed that a city grew much like the trunk of a tree, with concentric zones. The **Concentric Zone Theory** claims that *cities grow like the rings of a tree, starting in the center and growing outward*.

He identified the following zones: 1) central business district, 2) low, middle, and high class residential zones, 3) heavy and light manufacturing, and 4) commuter and suburbs. Each zone has its realm of influence on the daily lives of city dwellers. Although Burgess' approach has been highly modified, it proved to be a classic in studying the nature of cities. Another scientist named Homer Hoyt noticed that not all city patterns were concentric; he devised a theory to study the pie wedge-shaped zones he came to call "sectors." The **Sector Theory** claims that *cities grow in pie wedge shapes as the city develops*.[32]

Later work by Harris and Ullman[33] introduced the **Multiple Nuclei Theory** which claims that *cities have multiple centers (nuclei) that yield influence on the growth and nature of an urban area*. These scientists cleared up the issue that a city's growth and development can be universally predictable. Harris, Ullman, and others have established that some commonalities can be predicted, but each city has its own unique history, culture, geography, and resources.

More recently, Mulligan and Vias (2006) introduced the micropolitan.[34] A **micropolitan** is *an urban area with 10,000-49,000 inhabitants*. Mulligan and Vias reported about 581 micropolitans in the 1990 U.S. Census. Truckee, California (near Tahoe)[35] is a micropolitan with 13,864 inhabitants. There are many other official classifications used by government and scholars to study the urban, suburban, and rural experiences among society's members. A **metropolitan statistical area** *includes one or more adjacent counties that has at least one 50,000 populated urban center that influences the economic, transportation and social connection of the area*.

CITIES: GOOD OR BAD?

For centuries, philosophers and scientists have studied the value of cities in contrast to rural settings. Historians provided records of ancient cities dating back thousands of years. Scientists from other disciplines studied the historical documents to derive their structure and function. From these and contemporary studies they've drawn modern-day conclusions about how cities best work. In early U.S. history there was an intensive debate about the nature of the large city as being evil. Many felt that smaller, spread out cities supported better physical and mental health (although little science went into their claims). Others claimed that the mega city had the best to offer and architects laid out enormous city plans, some using mega-buildings, other using parks and grids to create the ideal city plan that attempted to balance urban and rural traits. Many of these plans were utilized in the development of suburbs.

Urbanites are drawn to the city for a number of reasons including the energy, diversity of people, dining and entertainment, and cultural and sporting events. Those not attracted by the city are repulsed by fear of crime, large numbers of people, expensive costs, congestion, and crowding.

Herbert Gans published an important work about the types of people who live in cities. In many ways his ideas still apply today.[36] Gans focused on the lifestyle of the city dweller as much as on the demographic background and described four types of city dwellers. **Cosmopolites** are *intellectuals, professionals, and artists who are attracted to the city because of opportunities and community that are found there*. **Unmarried singles** *in their 20s and 30s typically enjoy the singles scene and often move out of the city when they get older or marry*. **Ethnic villagers** are *city dwellers who group together with others of the same ethnic background and set up miniature enclaves*. The **deprived and trapped** are *the very poor, disabled, or emotionally disturbed who are often victims of other city dwellers*.

Certainly Gans' descriptions have merit in our day. We might add a few other categories because over 40 years have passed since his work was published: **opportunists** who *see the big city as providing their big break in life*; **business entrepreneurs** who *want to capitalize in the concentrated marketplace of the modern city*; and criminals. Since we have an entire chapter on crime we'll limit the discussion here to gangs.

GANG TROUBLES

Street gangs have been around in the U.S. in one form or another since the early 1800s. Today, street gangs represent a major threat to personal safety and national security. In some communities they account for 80 percent of all crime.[37] The FBI indicates that

> Gang members are migrating from urban to suburban and rural areas, expanding the gangs' influence in most regions. They are doing so for a variety of reasons, including expanding drug distribution territories, increasing illicit revenue, recruiting new members, hiding from law enforcement, and escaping from other gangs. Many suburban and rural communities are experiencing increasing gang-related crime and violence because of expanding gang influence. Typical gang-related crimes include alien smuggling, armed robbery, assault, auto theft, drug trafficking, extortion, fraud, home invasions, identity theft, murder, and weapons trafficking. Gang members are the primary retaillevel distributors of most illicit drugs. They also are increasingly distributing wholesale-level quantities of marijuana and cocaine in most urban and suburban communities…Many gangs actively use the Internet to recruit new members and to communicate with members in other areas of the U.S. and in foreign countries.[38]

In another recent FBI report, the FBI also reported that modern gangs tend to be local and community-based. There are approximately 20,000-30,000 gangs today with about 800,000-1 million members which negatively impact 2,500 communities. Approximately 58% of all U.S. law enforcement officers report active gangs in their jurisdiction. It is estimated that there are 11 national-level street gangs, five regional-level gangs, and most of the 20,000-30,000 US gangs are local.[39]

Use caution in drawing hasty conclusions about cities causing gangs. Cities don't cause or breed gangs. They just facilitate a high concentration of people so that gangs can flourish. Besides, many of today's worst gangs originated in prisons, not the city streets. Other gangs came in with migrants. Still, some have been around long enough to move from the urban to rural areas. For the most part, gang membership is an urban lifestyle of young men, although female gang membership at a lower level of participation is common.

The burden of managing gangs falls mainly on law enforcement officials who curb or eliminate gang problems in the community; these curbing efforts become more complicated when local elected officials deem it unprofitable to acknowledge a gang presence in their community. Gang members recruit and migrate to other communities. Fundamentally, gang activities are related to illegal money-making activities. The same is true for organized and white-collar crime, but gangs and white-collar crime differ in their sophistication of methods and use of violence.

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POPULAR CULTURE AND MEDIA

Learning Outcomes
At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Define popular culture.
- Identify the three major theoretical views on popular culture: Functionalist, Critical and Interpretation.
- Define Interpretive Communities.
- Define Class distinction.
- Evaluate claims for Authenticity. Define the 'Sleeper Curve.' Define mass media.
- Apply theories of media to US society.
- Describe how perpetual discontent is used by advertisers.
- Describe editorial strategies used by the media.

WHAT IS POPULAR CULTURE?

The idea of popular culture is one that is undoubtedly very familiar to you. You probably consume lots of media content in the form of music, tv, movies and the internet. The sociologically fascinating part about this is the ubiquity (that is, it is everywhere) of the mass media and our popular culture. Everywhere you turn you will find ads, billboards, clothing, screens of various sizes to rest your eyes on. But how often have you critically analyzed this omnipresent socializing force in your life? What meanings do people attribute to popular culture? What are the patterns to these interpretations? What effect does this powerful institution serve? These are some of the topics we'll discuss below. But as we do, think about your favorite artist or TV show or movie and see how the concepts we'll go over help explain its appeal to you.

So, to start, we'll need a working definition of popular culture. **Popular culture** refers to *the aesthetic products created and sold by profit-seeking firms operating in the global entertainment market.*[1] You'll notice from this definition that culture itself is designed to be sold and consumed for profit globally. This is why summer blockbusters like Battleship or the latest Transformers movie follow predictable formats that often involve clearly defined enemies (good versus evil; human versus alien, etc.), minimal dialogue (for instance Arnold Schwarzenegger as the terminator only utters 147 words in Terminator), and lots of explosions, fights and car chases. Movies designed this way will attract the largest audiences possible because the content has been simplified and translates easier to any language for the overseas markets. One thing to remember when thinking about popular culture: it is ultimately (despite how we as audiences might perceive and consume it) designed to make money. To make the most money possible means to make the sure-fire hit, the blockbuster film with uncontroversial content. The end result of which is a predictable and standardized formulaic product (this by the way is true of most popular culture content, not just movies).

How we Make Sense of Popular Culture: Theories

There are usually two components to the study of any popular culture: the perspective of the culture creators (for profit mass media companies, individual auteurs, filmmakers and artists) and the perspective of the consumers (you and me and other audiences). Sociologists look at this issue from both perspectives and somewhere in between. Do musical notes, lighting schemes and articles of clothing carry meaning embedded within them? Or do we interpret them symbolically and derive meaning from our own experiences, backgrounds and selves? The **Critical Theorists** (who take their cue from Marx and conflict theory) say that *the mass media is an industry and designed to indoctrinate and subordinate the masses (audiences) into passivity and acceptance of the capitalist mode of consumption through our popular culture consumption*[2]. Why challenge the normative order when you've got an Iphone to pacify your discontent? Sure unemployment rate is high and those in the middle and lower social classes are still reeling from the great recession but at least we have Youtube and the like. The critical theorists maintain that we literally buy into our own domination through popular culture which ultimately supports the status quo and capitalism itself.

According to the **Functionalists** however, the purpose (or, function) of culture is not so sinister and self-serving after all. Instead, they argue that popular culture serves the same purpose culture has always served in societies; *it is the social glue that binds together members of that social group and creates feeling of solidarity and group cohesion*[3]. In societies characterized by what Durkheim called mechanical solidarity this was easy; the numbers were low, the division of labor was less complex and the focus culturally was already on the society[4]. Where the functionalist's explanation is useful, is in using this same idea to explain the way large, diverse and heterogeneous societies like ours are held together. Think about the way contemporary collective rituals—high school football games, parades, pep rallies—serve to forge emotional bonds of recognition, identity, and trust within communities and social groups[5]. It is through these events that we (re)establish our connections to one another. Sharing the same popular culture allows strangers to communicate in public with one another. Have you ever struck up a conversation with a stranger simply because they were wearing your favorite team's jersey? Or you favorite band's logo on a t-shirt? Knowing the same logos and sharing the same norms allows us to feel connected to strangers and creating a unifying feeling amongst those who know.

This feeling of emotional connectedness to others manifests in what sociologists call emotional energy[6]. **Emotional energy** *is that warm and fuzzy feeling you get when hanging out with good friends or engaging in stimulating conversation with classmates or professors.* This is one of the reasons we maintain relationships with others, including imagined others who also enjoy the same popular culture we do. Have you ever been to a Dodger, Lakers, or Kings game (any home team sporting event) and felt oddly connected to the total strangers around you? Maybe after the game-winning home run or three point at the buzzer to win the game you stood up, simultaneously with the tens of thousands of others attendees and cheered, high-fived and hugged those you (even the complete strangers)? Or have you been there, singing or chanting

along with hundreds of other concert attendees to your favorite artist's favorite song? This intense form of emotional energy can only come from large groups of people with a shared focus (the athletes participating, the singer singing, etc.) and it is what Durkheim called Collective Effervescence[7]. Collective effervescence is the reason why we pay money to hear music we already have or attend the game we can watch for free on tv. Like all popular culture, it is inherently social and its meaning comes from others, not embedded magically in the celluloid of movies or the ones and zeroes of an mp3.

Finally, the **interactionists** *focus on the way that we use popular culture to make sense of ourselves but also emphasize how others shape our tastes, values and ultimately identity.* Have you ever noticed that your friends tend to like similar music, sports and tv shows as you do? Is this simply a coincidence? Interactionists would argue that it is not and that this is indeed evidence of the interaction between our individual tastes and our peers'. Depending on the popularity of your name when you born you may find many others with your name or very few. But what influenced your parents when they named you? Chances are those around your parents shaped your parents' attitudes towards particular names and away from others. We call these groups of people that tend to interpret, understand and enjoy popular culture in similar ways as interpretive communities. Therefore, **interpretive communities** *are consumers whose common social identities and cultural backgrounds (whether organized on the basis of nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, or age) inform their shared understandings of culture in patterned and predictable ways*[8].

One of the most important ways interpretive communities play out in everyday life is in determining taste and consumption. **Taste** can be defined *as a preference for particular fashion, movies, music etc.* Though we think taste, and therefore 'good taste' is universal, it is far from it. There are varied beliefs about what 'good music' is or isn't, what is fashionable and what is not depending on which interpretive community we come from (you'll notice all black clothing in the goth subculture is desirable but not so much in any other interpretive community). What we prefer then determines at least in part, our **consumption**, *how we receive and make sense of popular culture.* Do you suppose that what we prefer to consume has anything to do with what is available to us and also what those around us consume? Think about your favorite foods. It is likely that you grew up eating them or your friends eat them. We are heavily influenced by those around us.

Several decades ago the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu analyzed French culture in terms of how important distinction from other social classes was[9]. Since then sociologists have used this analysis to understand social class and popular culture in America. In the early days of the United States there wasn't much distinction between people in terms of their social class. Indeed, since the U.S. was so new there wasn't yet an entrenched upper class and there was certainly no aristocracy like in Europe. No, these Americans mostly immigrated with little to their names. But it wasn't long before entrepreneurs and robber barons began to accumulate wealth they also sought ways to distinguish themselves from the lower social classes. This process is called boundary maintenance and it serves as a method to keep lower classes out and maintain the exclusivity of the upper classes. As would come to define the U.S. in the twentieth

century and beyond, the main course this took was purchasing goods and services that those without money could simply not afford. Buying things to show that you can afford to spend money came to be known as **conspicuous consumption** (*status displays that show off one's wealth through the flagrant consumption of goods and services, particularly those considered wasteful or otherwise lacking in obvious utility*)[10]. Sometimes this meant purchasing a large mansion with a large guest house for the servants even though you had a family of four. Whatever form it took, its purpose was not utilitarian but rather status oriented.

Over time, these habits, tastes and values of a certain social class become entrenched as cultural capital. **Cultural capital** is *one's store of knowledge and proficiency with artistic and cultural styles that are valued by society, and confer prestige and honor upon those associated with them*. This knowledge is passed down generational and learned through socialization. Each social class develops skills and values that help their members survive in society. But, not all cultural capital is created equal. Are these the droids you're looking for? If not, you may not share that bit of cultural capital! So, the 'correct' social capital is important because it can literally be transmitted into social advantages and even financial wealth.

The interesting part about conspicuous consumption was that the upper classes took great pains to dissociate themselves from the lower classes while the lower classes tried desperately to emulate the wealthy through their buying patterns. For a brief time, average Americans came close to having similar standards of living as the upper classes. Fueled by television commercials extolling the virtues of consumption of commodity items to indicate status this could only last so long. The upper classes with their considerably larger bank accounts were able to afford things the middle and working classes could not.

The financial sector had the answer to this newfound dilemma in the form of consumer credit and credit cards. Consumerism became our way of life during the twentieth century fueled by easy access to credit so much so that by 2011, consumer debt had ballooned to $2.43 trillion and the average household carried an average credit card debt of $15,799.[11]

The Search for an Authentic Identity

By the 1960s the consumer lifestyle was in full swing. For the first time in the nation's history there was material comfort and infrastructure for popular culture to flourish. It came to the point however, for America's youth that middle class life and consumer goods seemed boring and bland and the desire for something new was growing stronger. Since middle class suburban existence seemed vanilla, subcultures offered an alternative; they offered a promise of the real deal. This drive for authenticity paradoxically helped to further fuel consumerism. For those who didn't like the youth culture on tv or the radio could turn to alternative sources for youth culture that prided themselves on being authentic by their opposition to mainstream banality. So buying the right goods could distinguish one and foster a 'unique' identity. How unique can your store-bought identity ever be?

The other notable paradox inherent in the search for authenticity is its elusiveness. Authenticity can refer to a variety of desirable traits: credibility, originality, sincerity, naturalness, genuineness, innateness, purity, or realness[12]. The thing about authenticity is that it can never be truly authentic, instead must always be performed, staged, fabricated, crafted or otherwise imagined. The performance of authenticity always requires a close conformity to the expectations set by the cultural context in which it is situated. Once again we see others' perceptions as a crucial element in popular culture.

Popular Culture is Good for You?

You've probably heard popular culture disparaged. Maybe you yourself have disparaged it. But is it all bad for us? Clearly popular culture comes in many varieties and flavors and some perhaps more so than others promote values some might find objectionable, but to what degree, if at all, is the popular culture of today making us smarter? According to Steven Johnson, author of The **Sleeper Curve**, popular culture is doing just that[13]. *Through increased storyline complexity (more multithreading, several storylines at once that pick up and subside for a time but always return later), decline of flashing arrows (obvious references designed to clue the viewer in to what's about to happen) and video games that provide a mental workout (not unlike a good math problem), the popular culture of today is forcing us to become more intelligent*. Of course, this says nothing about the coarse and sometimes off-putting content of popular culture (which again, is more a matter of taste and which interpretive community you belong to than some objective indicator of goodness), but as sociologists we're not trying to ascertain the essence or 'true meaning' of popular culture but instead how people interpret, understand and make sense of popular culture.

Mass Media

In other chapters we have discussed the main agents of socialization. As you recall we discussed family, peers, schools and mass media. It is this last agent of socialization that we'll turn our attention to in this chapter. Traditionally the mass media has referred to television, newspapers, magazines, films, and now the internet and mobile devices. Unlike other agents of socialization, mass media's disseminators have a different motivation for influencing and socializing people. This of course is referring to the fact that commercial media, like all other business and corporations, seek to make profit. This is different than how we usually think of our favorite film studio or television channel or web site and what's more, is that this motive affects their operation and consequently our reception and consumption. Today, the mass media is heavily concentrated in the hands of a few multinational corporations[14]. Let's start with an example of someone you may know (or Jill's equivalent in your social network).

JILL, A TYPICAL COLLEGE STUDENT?

Jill's clock radio goes off at 6:15am. She listens carefully to the traffic and weather while she brushes her teeth. She unplugs her cell phone from the charger and text messages an alert to Leigh who drives her carpool. Sometimes Leigh sleeps in, so Jill sends a regular wake up text. Jill turns on the desktop computer and takes a quick shower. Once dressed she gets about five minutes to check her e-mails and instant messages from last night.

When Leigh honks the horn Jill grabs her heavy backpack and forwards all her personal unanswered e-mails to her university e-mail. She'll get to these during class. During the 15 minute commute she navigates with the GPS system in the car and pays close attention to the radio traffic and weather, letting Leigh know if there are any problems with breakdowns or accidents.

Jill gets out of Leigh's car on the corner and walks into the coffee shop where she works 5 days a week. Her first duty is to turn on the morning news on both of the shop's big screen TV's. She waves to the manager who's ordering supplies online while he sets up the Latte machine. Jill puts in her earphones, checks her cell phone for any critical texts, turns off her phone and starts stocking the supplies for the big rush of caffeine and carbdeprived customers that flows in and out of the coffee shop for the next 2-3 hours. Once the stocking is finished, Jill removes one ear piece and listens to a lecture from 2 days ago which was posted to the Web by her professor. During the last hour, while she waits on customers, she jams to her music. When her shift ends, she puts the music away and answers text messages while she walks the 7 blocks to campus.

In her first class Jill sits in the very back row, then she silences her phone and turns on her notebook computer, capturing the campus-wide wireless Internet. She logs in. While the professor lectures she types actively on her computer, stopping occasionally to text on her cell phone. Her professor thinks she's taking copious notes. She's actually chatting live with her friends. The professor mentions a Website he heard about but can't remember the name of it, so Jill Googles it and raises her hand to share the URL with him. He thanks her. She smiles and watches the professor clumsily locate and then display the Website for the entire class to see.

There are 15 notebook computers in this classroom. Only one of the students in front of her is actually taking notes. Two have an ear piece in and are watching YouTube. The rest basically do what Jill is doing. Jill attends her two other classes then heads back to the coffee shop to clean up and get set up for the after work rush.

Leigh eventually picks her up later on the same corner and she finds herself at home at about 6:15 pm. Jill turns on the TV, plugs in her cell phone, glances at the campus newspaper headlines then reads the personals. During dinner she texts, watches her shows, does an Internet assignment, and shops online for a half-priced textbook she needs for class. She opens

her notebook computer because it has a built in web cam and gets Leigh online to ask her to see if her iPod fell out in the car during their commute home. Leigh already found it.

Jill e-mails her mother. She'd rather text but her mother prefers e-mail. She finishes her homework while watching reality TV. At 9:00 pm, Leigh honks the horn and Jill takes a small purse for her phone and heads out to the car. Leigh and two other friends are going dancing. Jill gets her iPod back and then texts their guy friends who said they were going to the same club, but who knows if they'll show up or not. Jill, Leigh, and their friends make a short video at the club and post it to their Facebook the next morning.

Does any of this sound familiar to you and your daily routine? Jill's day and use of technology and media are very common among college students. Junco and Mastrodicasa (2007) found that in a survey of over 7,000 college and university students 9 out of 10 owned a computer and cell phone; three out of four instant message and already have a Facebook account; six out of ten have a portable music player; 44% read blogs; and 34% use the Internet as their primary source for news.[15]

Never in the world's history has there been such a vast availability of media than today. Online newspapers, satellite TV, cell phones, e-books, satellite radio, Blue Rays, and e-zines are some newer media that people of all ages use to access news and information. We are surrounded by and figuratively swim in mass media every day of our lives.

Mass media are *technological modes of communication in society*, especially electronic and print media. Media can be found in artifacts from lost civilizations thousands of years ago. Paintings on cave walls, pottery, or even field sculptures of stones all represent some of these ancient forms. Etchings on metal plates or writings on skin or paper scrolls were made at great expense in the past. They were rare then and only a few are still available today.

The Birth of Mass Media

In the early 1400s Johannes Gutenberg, who was a goldsmith, invented the world's first mechanical press. The Gutenberg Bible was the first ever mass produced book and its introduction into society marked the beginning of printed media. Gutenberg not only invented a printing press, he facilitated the ability of the masses to learn how to read. He also created a logical cultural process in Western Civilization wherein most of us learned how to read, think, store, and process information. Top to bottom, left to right, punctuation, spelling, and grammar considerations all became part of the mainstream culture.

Many cultures have different rules about how to read and write, yet all follow a logical and linear pattern of reading and writing. This pattern remained in place, unchallenged until the Internet came onto the scene. Over the last 30 years, technology that lead up to the Internet as we know it today changed the rules of reading and gathering information through the media. The Internet currently connects over a billion online users worldwide. Whereas the paper form of media is bound by its physical mass, the Internet form of media is limitless because it is based on light and electricity, both of which travel very fast and facilitate information sharing in nearly limitless volumes and rates of speed.

In the 20th century, students had to ask a teacher or other authority figure for answers to questions they had. We had to pay for encyclopaedias and books that could teach and inform us. Today, one only needs to turn on the computer or handheld device and connect to the Internet. All the information in the world that is on the Internet can be obtained free, instantly, non-linearly, and without the direct involvement of an authority figure. It is fascinating how information for the masses has transformed in such a short amount of time.

The media fulfills a function for society. First, it disseminates information. Not all of that information is created equally. Some media is the focus of tremendous protest and outcry while other forms of media are less conspicuous and controversial. The media also mold and shape public opinion while reporting current events. Because media corporations have rather strict control over the stories they tell, we in the U.S. often don't even find out about many salient international issues. These issues may be crucial to non-U.S. citizens, but are not reported by U.S. media outlets. Often the U.S. is criticized for its narrow world view.

When the news media select a story, they monitor the opinions of those who watched it and the indicators which show public interest in it. If it proves to be of enough interest then they will provide more coverage. If not they let it go. Competition between news shows and outlets makes the coverage of specific news stories relevant from a business rather than an information dissemination point of view.

TELEVISION VIEWING

We in the U.S. love media in all its forms. Nielsen Media Research regularly reports on how much TV people in the U.S. typically watch. The average U.S. person in 2006 watched about four and a half hours per day of TV, including nearly two hours during prime time.[16] These 2006 data represent a 26 minute increase over 19951996 hours of TV viewed. Nielsen based its estimates on a very carefully selected sample of 10,000 viewers.

If they are pretty close on their estimate and each of us watches about four hours per day, then that's a great deal of TV in a lifetime. Multiply four hours by seven days then 52 weeks, you'll find that we watch an estimated 1,456 hours of TV per year. If we maintained that every year from Kindergarten through 12th grade we'd end up having watched about 17-19,000 hours of TV by the time we graduated high school (give or take a few hours per week). Interestingly, K-12 typically equals about 16-17,000 hours of at school learning by the time of graduation.[17] Not only do we watch TV shows but we also watch TV commercials-perhaps a quarter million by the time we graduate high school. Estimates vary but we also use the Internet, radio, cell phone, video games, and big screen movies as forms of daily media consumption.
Television viewing is not completely without affect upon the viewer. George

Gerbner (1919-2005) was a professor of communications who founded the **Cultivation Theory** which claims that *the types of TV viewing we watch accumulate within us and impact our world view*. In other words, if we only watched crime, detective, and forensic shows we would have the additive effect of these shows on our perception of how the world really is. The types of TV we watch passively, yet persistently shape our world view.

The **Mean World Syndrome** is *the tendency to view society as being meaner and more violent than it really is because of the violent and harsh TV shows one has watched over the years*.[18] If someone limited his daily TV viewing to soap operas then Gerbner would say that person would have a world focus that overemphasized soap opera-melodramatic themes. The same could be said of anyone who watches mostly police shows, pornography, sports, news, or reality TV. Keep in mind that TV is not produced by people who simply want to entertain us. So, what is the main purpose of media in our day? Money, Entertainment, access to information, advertising, and or attitude shifting is at the core of most media-based ventures. Companies pay money for the commercial time or product placement. What they really want is for you to watch the shows and see the advertisements and buy a product or service because you were watching. The online Television Advertising Bureau (TAB)[19] reported that US TV stations sold more than $1 billion in interactive sales in 2008.[20] This report also noted the continuing gain of TV and website ads over printed newspaper ads as part of the explanation for the death of the local and national newspaper that is being witnessed in today's mass media marketplace.

The TAB report also noted that most people pay for television, but non-cable providers had as much as 32% of that market in 2008.[21] Most importantly as we focus on the for-profit advertising issue, in 1970, over $3.59 billion was spent on US television advertising alone. In 2007 that was up to $70.84 billion. In total, between 1970 and 2007 there was $1.1 trillion spent on all forms of TV advertising.[22]

Advertisings' Negative Effects

One has to focus on the impact media can have with that level of revenue at stake. **Perpetual discontent** is *a two-pronged advertising theme which emphasizes 1. how broken and flawed we are and 2. how we can buy hope in the form of a product being sold*. Women in the U.S. are bombarded daily with advertising images that point out their flaws. They are constantly having it brought to their attention how they are too: thin, fat, short, tall, round, wrinkled, blond, brunette, red, dark, light, pale, freckled, etc. This trend is exceptionally cruel for teen and young adult women, but men are not exempt from the abuse of perpetual discontent. In fact, most argue the media has created an unrealistic feminine ideal resulting in the desire to fulfill this impossible standard. This media-created ideal has commonly been blamed for the skyrocketing numbers of eating disorders as well as the rising numbers of cosmetic surgical procedures in the U.S. (especially among young women).

Many argue that this has lead not only to discontent with our body images, but also discontent with every aspect of our spending life (products, houses, cars, computers, clothes, etc.). One ironic note is the fact that many millions of people don't get enough food to eat every day while we in the United States have become so conscious of the self we portray to others that we self-

limit our food intake and resort to drastic measures in diet, exercise, and surgery. Every year millions pay vast sums of money to acquire surgical beauty enhancements.

Figure 1 shows data from the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS) for the 11 years between 1997 and 2007. There were nearly 12 million clients of aesthetic plastic surgery in the U.S. in 2004 and only slightly less for 2005 through 2007. Figure 2 shows that nearly 13 billion dollars were spent for the six years between 2002 and 2007. The ASAPS also reported that their most common client is a White female between the ages of 20 and 50.

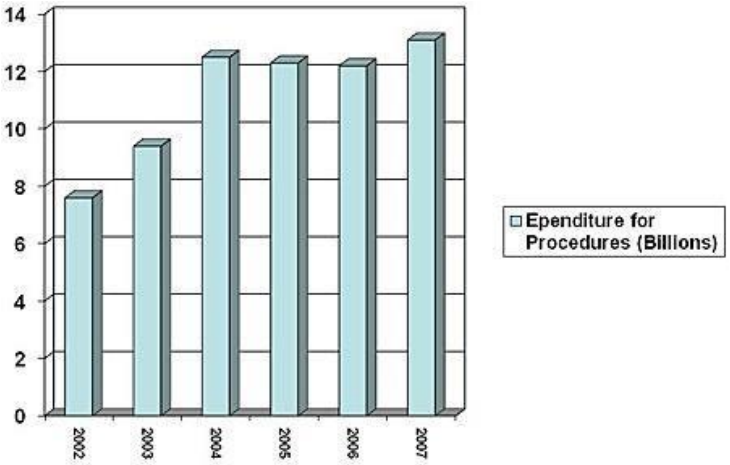

Figure 1. Numbers in Millions of Plastic Surgery Procedures between 1997-2007.[23]

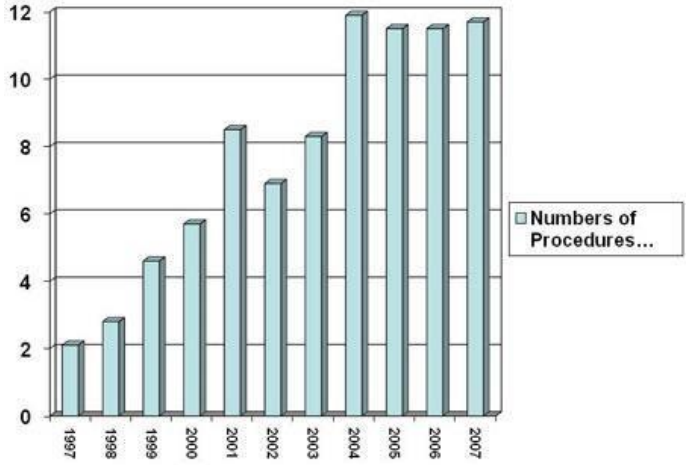

Figure 2. Expenditures in Billions for Plastic Surgery Procedures between 2002 and 2007.[24]

The media is perhaps one of the most underestimated elements of society. At the personal level people think of it in terms of convenience and entertainment rather than political influence, power, and control. The media is mostly controlled by wealthy people and at the national and world level is tightly controlled in terms of the political ideologies of those who decide what we get to watch, hear, and read. The owners and managers seek profits while promoting their own political agenda, selecting and shaping advertisement, and providing exposure to political and special interest groups they favor. This means we (the masses) are exposed to not only *what* the owners want us to see, but also *how* we see it.

The Power Elite in the Media

Do you personally know someone who owns a TV station, radio station, newspaper, or magazine? Most of us don't unless we happen to fall into a wealthy income category. C. Wright Mills recognized that wealth and power are unevenly distributed in society and that it is the relatively wealthy privileged few (the **power elite**) that control the power. The other argument (contrary to Mills' power elite) is called **pluralism**, which claims that *power is diffused among many diverse interest groups and that not all wealthy elite people unite on the same side of most issues*. The accurate description of today's society-level power structures is that there is a large, unconnected category of powerful people, each exerting their own wills upon others, either against or in cooperation with other powerful people. In Figure 3 you can see that the top ten percent of society's members are the wealthy elite and own or control the corporations, military, and political offices. The next 20% are also relatively wealthy and connected to the power elite. This class runs the government, political scene, and interest groups. They often are given coverage in the media and are considered among our "famous" members of society.

Then there's us. We are among the 70% of the common people who comprise the masses. Most of us enjoy politics and other newsworthy topics but rarely understand the reality of their day-to-day functioning and influence on our lives. We are uneducated about the power elite's actions that often harm us in the long-run (take the recent mortgage and financial market schemes that have made the top two classes very wealthy at the expense of the bottom 70% for an example). Mills also described **false consciousness**, which is *when members of groups which are relatively powerless in society accept beliefs that work against their self-interests*. Typically our ignorance is played upon and erroneous information is provided in a calculated manner by the power elite for the further gain of their goals.

You can learn a great deal about the power of media by studying societies outside of the United States. A **totalitarian government** is *a political system where a small power elite controls virtually every aspect of the personal and larger social levels of society*. Some examples include Nazi Germany, North Korea, Russia in Stalin's era, and a few eastern European countries that were once part of the former Soviet union. In these systems the media was strictly controlled and some systems failed once media control was lost.

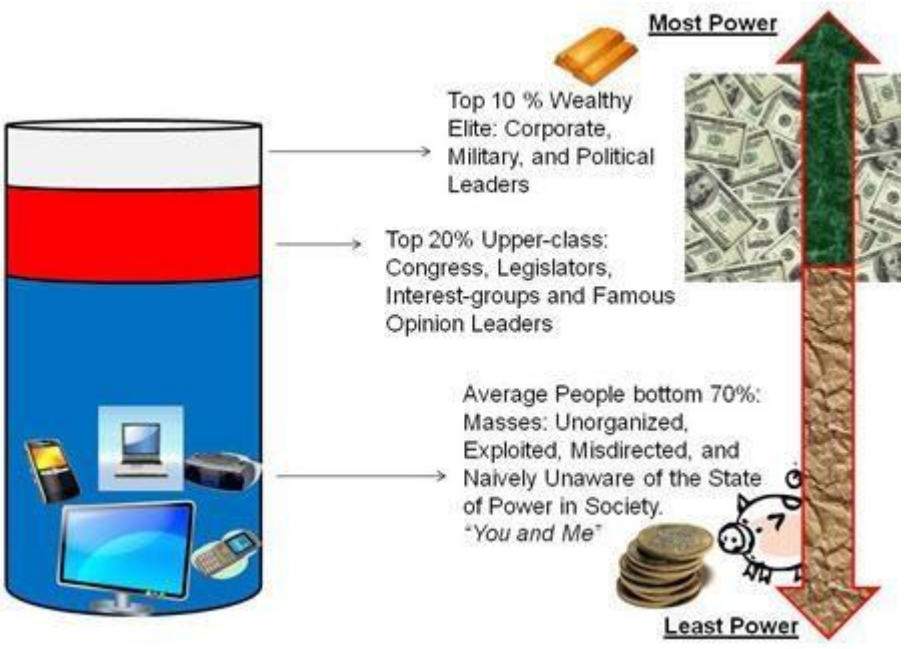

Figure 3. C. Wright Mills' Power Elite Model.[25]

The media have tremendous political power, especially in the national election coverage they provide. The journalists who provide our media have distinct goals and values which motivate them to typically take a more negative position towards a candidate than the candidate would prefer. Many sources officially give or withhold their support for a candidate while other news and media sources continue to work in a more objective manner. In the 2008 Presidential campaign, literally hundreds of polls were taken and reported on via TV, radio, Internet, and printed news. The very presence of poll results can actually influence the choices made by voters who are undecided and others who have made their choice, but might be influenced to change their minds. Many feel that their candidates were treated with bias by the media.

The media have editorial strategies which easily coincide with the goals of the power elite. **Framing** involves *placing the news story into a pre-existing frame of reference for the public so that they understand it as journalists would have it be understood*. The protestors were freedom fighters, martyrs, or courageous. Even though two people died, the frame changes them from terrorists to saints. **Formatting** is *the design and construction of the news story*. One might see a story that includes an introduction about the sacrifices made by the protesters which runs for 45 seconds. This story might end with a 15 second summary of their protest actions as being martyr-like.

Sequencing is *ordering news stories in such a way as to present a thematic message*. An example of this would be to run the story about the protesters right after the story about the military occupants who were allegedly guilty of raping and torturing inmates. **Agenda setting** is *the process of selecting and screening topics which will be presented to the general public*. An example of this might be the omission of successes on the battlefield and the inclusion of crimes by soldiers, losses by civilians, and outcry by the country's political enemies.

The Coffee Filter, Power Elite Metaphor

Figure 4 shows the coffee filter metaphor of the power elite as it has broken into two semi-oppositional schools of thought often referred to as the left and right. If you consider the power elite model over the pluralism model of power in society, you can see how the elite who control media, military, and corporations shape politics and laws. Mill's model fits just as well now as it did in his day, but there is a twist on the polarized culture between left and right wing influences in society. Figure 4 shows how the elite form a type of filter that shapes the flow of political and legal outcomes in the form of laws, treaties, and legal precedence. Although not formally unified into one centralized political social movement, the left and right shakers and movers each influence this filtering process for their own interests and goals.

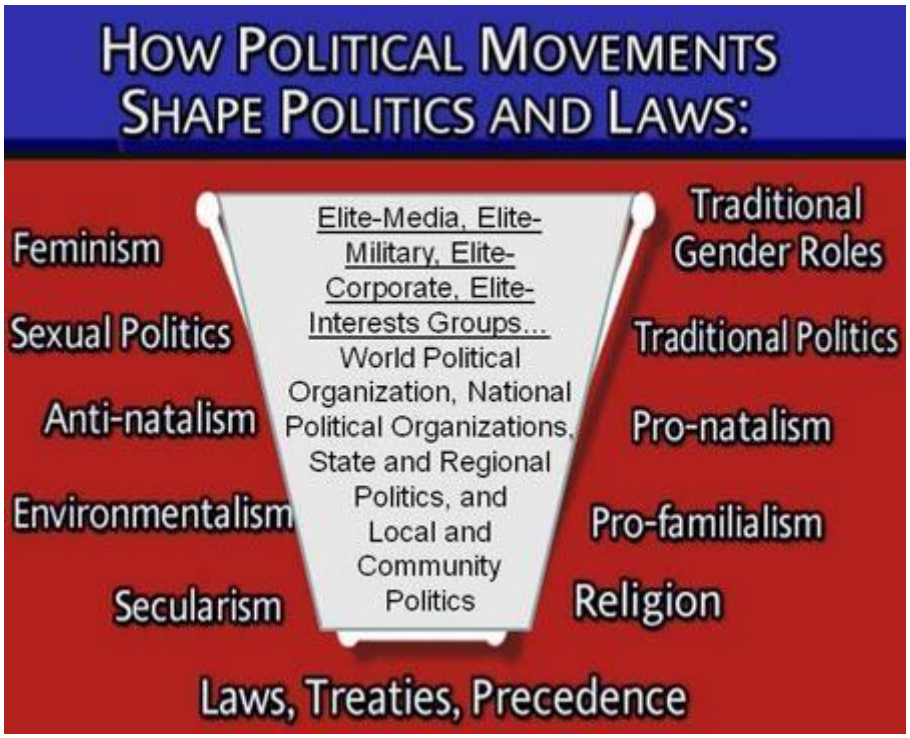

Figure 4. The Coffee Filter Metaphor of the Power Elite's Influence over Politics and Laws.[26]

On the left side of the spectrum, feminism, sexual politics (same-sex, transgendered, and bisexual), anti-natalism, environmental protection, and general secularism share many overlapping values that prove to be mutually beneficial if mutual support is given. For example, a protest at the United Nations building in New York City against a less-developed country's refusal to let their girls and women receive formal education could also be supported by **antinatalists** (the more education a woman gets the fewer the babies she has), environmentalists (the fewer the babies the less pressure on the physical environment), and secularists (the more education a woman gets the less religious she tends to be).

On the right hand side of the cultural continuum lobbying for a continuation of tax breaks for parents and marrieds would serve all interest groups in multiple ways. One of the premier social movements to illustrate this has been the battle over the legalization of same-sex or gay marriage. It's been on the referendum ballots of a number of states. It's been considered for discussion at the federal legislation level, but returned to the state-level since states have the right to legally sanction marriages and divorces. It's been considered in a few state supreme courts with preemptive strikes by states which went ahead and codified marriage as being exclusively between a man and a woman. Other state supreme courts have preemptively ruled in favor of same-sex marriages. Billions of dollars, millions of volunteer hours, and countless and immeasurable levels of personal frustration are involved in this social issue. What both the left and right have understood and utilized for decades is to use their elite contacts to accomplish their goal-driven political and legal changes. The media will continue to play a central role in this and other heated political issues.

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[23] Data courtesy of American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery www.surgery.org Taken 1 May, 2008
[24] Data courtesy of American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery www.surgery.org Taken 1 May, 2008
[25] See C. Wright Mills (1956). The Power Elite. Oxford Press, NY.
[26] © 2009 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D

DEVIANCE

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Define deviance and identify deviant acts.
- Apply theories of deviance to social phenomena. Evaluate
- Robert Merton's ideas of deviance.

WHAT IS DEVIANCE?

As was mentioned in the Culture chapter, a **norm** is *a set of expected behaviors for a given social status*. In most societies, the majority of people conform to the most important norms most of the time. For example, wearing casual clothes to class is normal on many campuses.
Attending class in your bikini might not be normal at most US colleges or universities. Deviance is not as easily defined and established as some might think, especially if you are sensitive to cultural relativism and ethnocentrism. **Deviance** is *a violation of norms that typically elicits a response from someone*. It is also important to note that deviance is not always a bad or negative act. For example, Rosa Parks refusing to get up from her seat on a bus eventually sparked an entire social movement. Her single act was a deviant one.

A typical dictionary definition of deviant might be "One who does not conform to the norm;" "One who behaves in sharply different ways from customs;" or "One who ignores the common and behaves in unique ways." For deviance, a thesaurus might list: "abnormal, aberration, anomaly, weird, irregular, and even unnatural" as similarly related words. Most references attest to the nature of deviance as being something that violates normal behaviors, thoughts, or actions. But, is deviance weird/cool, positive/negative, desirable/undesirable, or good/bad?

For sociologists the answer is found by considering exactly who has the power and authority to define the behavior as being normal or deviant. Throughout history, the United States government, religions, education, media, and family types have influenced and shaped what is considered "normal" or "deviant" on subjects as insignificant as swimsuits on beaches and as significant as women having the same rights that men have. Deviance is considered at both of C. Wright Mills' larger social and personal levels.

A personal level example might be considered with someone wearing a swimsuit on campus. Other students do not need to look at university, government, or media for approval on how they dress for class. They typically consider a source much more valuable to teenagers and young adults—their peers. If your friends wear swimsuits to class you may define the swimsuit issue as being normal among students who were your friends, yet deviant among students who run in different crowds. Since we typically value our own peer evaluations the most, we often defer to peer-based norms.

But, would it be acceptable to wear nothing at all to class? On Wikipedia there is an interesting article about Andrew Martinez who attended school at Berkeley, naked. Berkeley is considered to be a very liberal campus in comparison to most US campuses. A controversy developed. Eventually his nakedness came before the university and the city of Berkeley leaders (he often walked about town naked, too). He

was eventually asked to leave Berkeley, and both the city and University of California, Berkeley passed anti-nudity laws and policies.[1]

This example illustrates how deviance is relative. Whether an act is labeled deviant or not depends on many factors including the nature of the act: who commits the act, who is affected by or witnesses the act, and when and where the act is committed. Regularly drinking to excess was considered deviant in the past, but today it is considered a disease: alcoholism. The place, or location where the act occurs, also plays a part in whether it is considered deviant or not. In Berkeley, a liberal town, a naked guy is not that deviant, but if he tried that at UCLA, he probably wouldn't make it through one hour naked without being arrested. The audience is the third factor to take into account when determining if an act is deviant. Who is observing this act? Maybe the naked guy would get by in a group of students, but not if the audience was a group of people working in businesses surrounding the campus. The individual committing the act is the last element when determining the deviance of an act. For example, let's consider cross-dressing. A woman can typically get away with wearing men's clothes without sever social sanctions, but a man is less likely to walk around in women's clothes without eliciting at least some stares (and possibly more serious responses from others).

Functions and Dysfunctions of Deviance

Let's consider Émile Durkheim's observations about deviance. Durkheim argued that deviance, especially extreme forms, are functional in that they challenge and offend the established norms in the larger collective conscience.[2] In other words, extreme deviance pushes things enough to make members of society reconsider why they even consider some behaviors as being deviant. Building on this idea, functionalists often argue that deviance: reaffirms norms when the deviants are punished; promotes solidarity among those who support and those who oppose the deviance; provides a clear contrasting point of comparison for society's members; and often stimulates social change. When there is no deviance present, people tend to take their social independence and interdependence for granted. On the other hand, when a deviant act is committed, people are re-awakened and begin fighting to protect their moral order and social attachments.

In Martinez's naked-guy case, both Berkeley City and the University had to take a serious look at why and how they defined public nudity, and which formal norms they would develop to support their position. Similar formal evaluations of deviance occurred after Dr. "Death" Kevorkian assisted severely ill persons in taking their own lives; after September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. (Twin Towers, Pentagon, and flight crash in Pennsylvania) killed about 3,000 people; and more recently after major U.S. corporations which have been mismanaged and have deeply shaken markets, investments, and economic stability. Extreme deviance does make us consider "normal" behavior on the personal and larger social level.

There are, of course, also dysfunctions caused by deviant behavior. First, deviance provides a threat to social order because it makes social life difficult and unpredictable. Further, it causes confusion about morals and values in society. Let's consider Dr. Kevorkian's assisted suicides. Before Dr. Kevorkian medically assisted people with their suicides, usually to relieve themselves from an excruciating death, suicide was generally thought of as always being a deviant and selfish act. However, Dr. Kevorkian's act forced society as a whole to reconsider suicide as a possible legal medical procedure. The morals

pertaining to suicide were suddenly blurred. His deviant behaviour was a dysfunction that caused society to re-evaluate its ideas about suicide and suffering.

Another dysfunction of deviance is the diversion of valuable resources that usually occurs when the act needs to be controlled. In other words, to control deviant behavior, resources must be called on and shifted from other social needs. For example, California happens to be #1 in the country in prison spending and only #38 in school funding. Monies that could be funnelled into the public schools have been diverted into funding for prisons.

Sociology and Deviance

As a sociologist, you should strive for an objective stance when studying deviance. It takes practice but is truly rewarding because of the clarity it brings to your evaluation. Let's consider a sensitive and sometimes controversial issue—**homosexuality**, or *a sexual orientation toward persons of the same sex*. Consider this simple question, "Is homosexuality deviant or normal?" National studies indicate that less than five percent of the United States population considers itself to be exclusively homosexual. Does that make it more or less common and therefore more or less deviant? At five percent it's less common. Yet, every society in the history of the world has typically had homosexuality among its members. That includes almost all societies with recorded histories and almost every society in the world today. So it is less common, but is it deviant or normal? The answer is found in the complexity of modern societies. Not all members of society agree on the same issue in the same way. We rarely have total agreement on what's normal. In the U.S. we have over 300 million people, hundreds of religions, and thousands of voluntary organizations, political interest groups, and personal interest groups, many of which are in striking opposition to other groups. However, as a sociologist, studying homosexuality would need to include an objective stance. Despite personal morals, values, or religious considerations, the topic of sexuality from a sociological perspective would need to be explored through a completely unbiased lens.

Many sociologists have argued that it is normal to have deviance in a healthy society. If you regard homosexuality as being normal or deviant, as a sociologist you can step into a more objective role and understand the larger social level of consideration. It allows you to become more of an analyst and less of an advocate when understanding deviance. To build upon this idea, let's consider how sociologists strive for objectivity when considering crosscultural issues of deviance. Remember that **ethnocentrism** (*the tendency to judge others based on our own experiences*) tends to burn cross-cultural bridges while **cultural relativism** (*the tendency to look for the cultural context in which differences in cultures occur*) tends to build them.

Sociologists not being objective would consider homosexuality deviant behavior. Scientific "research shows that homosexuality is an example of *normal* variation in human sexuality and not a source of negative psychological effects" (emphasis added).[3] Remember the term "cultural lag" from the chapter on Culture? This happens when one part of culture changes faster than related parts. Certain members of U.S. society deny this scientific evidence, so they are lagging behind the more objective members of society who accept scientific findings.

Deviance tends to vary on three major levels: across time, cultures, and from group to group. When considering deviance we must realize that collectively people experience social levels of shifting values. In one example, contrast the *I Love Lucy* show, which aired in the 1950's, to the *Sex and The City* show,

which aired 1998-2004. How was Little Ricky conceived given that Lucy and her (real-life and TV-life) husband, Ricky, slept in different beds on the TV show? Even their kisses were controversial to some at the time.

Today, *Sex and the City* is an in-depth story line that follows the lives of four New York City women with active sex lives. As you read in the Culture chapter, values shape norms, which in turn shape morés and folkways, which in turn shape laws. As values shift and change over time, so eventually do laws.

How Does Culture Influence Deviance?

Deviance varies between cultures because values vary between cultures. In Washington DC, there is a non-profit research organization that performs international studies.[4] On their website, they discuss their mission statement and organizational purpose. "The project provides to journalists, academics, policymakers and the public a unique, comprehensive, internationally comparable series of surveys. Since its inception in 2001, the Pew Global Attitudes Project has released 21 major reports, as well as numerous commentaries and other releases, on topics including attitudes toward the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democratization."

This project is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys that encompasses a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. More than 175,000 interviews in 54 countries have been conducted as part of the project.

Based on 91,000 of these surveys from 50 different countries, Kohut and Stokes (2007) wrote an insightful book comparing the U.S. to other cultures, explaining how we are perceived.[5] In this book, American values, culture, economic influence, and military activities have led to a singular notion about what America does to the world. Some may have misguided ideas from TV and news reports, though many have suffered at the U.S.' imperialistic actions around the world. Most see the need for another superpower to keep the U.S. in check. In sum, the average non-American views Americans much differently from how those of us who are ill-informed of U.S. global actions view ourselves.

How might social cohesiveness compare between countries of the world? Pew also studied the concept of trust between countries and found that people in Eastern Europe have lower levels of trust than did the U.S. when asked if they agreed with the statement "Most people in society are trustworthy" (see Table 1). Among the 47 countries included in this survey, wars, famine, economic downturns, street and organized crime, and other local social influences have contributed to higher or lower levels of trust over time.

Country	%	Country	%
China	79	Russia	50
Sweden	78	Poland	48
Canada	71	Ukraine	47
Britain	65	Mexico	46
United States	58	Kuwait	27
Germany	56	Kenya	25

Table 1. Pew Study: Percent who Agreed with the Statement "Most people in society are trustworthy."[6]

Values also vary from group to group. When Ron Hammond was a research professor at Case Western Reserve University, he arranged for a former gang member to come and speak to his Social Problems class. He was a large man, 6 foot 3, about 275 pounds, and also a black belt in martial arts. He explained that when he was much younger he had to go through an initiation ritual called a "beat-down" in order to be admitted to the gang. He eventually converted to Christianity and chose to leave the gang. He qualified his comments by saying, "No one ever really leaves the gang." Typically to go on an inactive status with the gang there is a beat down. Because of his stature and fighting skills, they decided to forego his beat-down for the overall benefit of everyone involved. The point of this story is that in most social groups a beat-down would be considered deviant. In a gang it's very much normal. Yet, in this situation, not beating him down was deviant within his gang, yet a wise choice.

Not only do values vary over time, between cultures, and between groups, they also vary a great deal between individuals. If you interviewed 11 people you personally know and asked them when abortion should be available to American women, you'd probably find some very strong opinions that change from person to person. If you polled the entire country, as did CBS and the New York Times in 2003, you would begin to see patterns that gave you a global understanding of U.S. attitudes about abortion. In the CBS and NYT survey, only one in four felt that abortion should not be permitted under any circumstances.[7] These trends are very similar across political parties and gender. But how does one person feel about abortion? It can be best understood by looking at one of three perspectives that typically frame an individual's perspective on an issue.

Perspectives on Deviance

The **absolutist perspective** claims that *deviance resides in the very nature of an act and is wrong at all times and in all places*. The **normative perspective** claims that *deviance is only a violation of a specific group's or society's rules at a specific point in time*. The **reactive perspective** claims that *behavior does not become deviant unless it is disapproved of by those in authority* (laws).[8]

An absolutist would probably fall among the one in four people who feels that abortion is always wrong. For some absolutists, perhaps abortion is an unacceptable act because they believe that life begins at conception, not birth. Since abortion precedes birth, taking that life away is the same as committing murder and playing god. A normative individual would consider the circumstances (rape, incest, diagnoses, or health of mother, parent's economic stability), while a reactive would consider the legality of abortion.

In every society, when deviance is considered it is most often controlled. **Social control** consists of the *formal and informal attempts at enforcing norms*. There are a few basic concepts that help to understand social control. First the **Pluralistic Theory of Social Control** claims that *society is made up of many competing groups whose diverse interests are continuously balanced*, and second **social order** is the *customary and typical social arrangements that society's members use to base their daily lives on*.

Society's members use informal and formal sanctions to reinforce control efforts. **Informal sanctions** might be *remarks from family or peers about a behavior,* while **formal sanctions** are *more strongly enforced,* and might come from a police officer, teacher, or judge. **Negative sanctions** are *punishments or negative reactions toward deviance*. **Positive sanctions** are *rewards for conforming behavior*. Your family might apply informal sanctions such as spanking (negative) or praise for a job well done (positive).

A religious order would apply both formal and informal sanctions, such as a priest giving penance to a parishioner (informal, negative), excommunication (formal, negative), or a promotion to bishop (formal, positive).

Sociological Theories of Deviance

The first theory we are going to explore is Robert K. Merton's **Strain Theory**. Merton was a functionalist theorist who studied why people conform or deviate.[9] Using Durkheim's concept of **anomie**, Merton devised a theory of deviance that brings in the concept of materialism. The average American sees the American Dream as a goal of monetary and social success. Most desire this dream, which is the culturally-approved goal, but some realize that they lack the culturally-approved means to attain it. Therefore, Merton theorized that society pushed individuals toward deviant behaviors because it overemphasizes the importance of making money, while failing to emphasize the importance of using legitimate means to reach that monetary success. Thus the goal of financial success combined with the unequal access to important resources creates deviant behavior. Merton claimed that deviant individuals respond to this in one of five ways (see Table 2). They either conform or are deviant by becoming innovators, ritualists, retreatists, or rebels.

Conflict theories of deviance focus on issues of power and powerlessness. It's about who has the power, and how they attempt to force their values and rules upon those who don't. The wealthier, more educated elite of society typically have the most power. The **power elite** are *the political, corporate, and military leaders of a society who are uniquely positioned to commit elite crimes, or crimes of an insider nature that typically are difficult to punish and have broad social consequences upon the masses*. A few recent examples of this might include corporate mismanagement, embezzlement, and fraud, which led to massive federal bailouts and prosecutions.

Table 2. Robert Merton's **Modes of Adaptation**.

1. Conformity
   These people are not deviants; they live with what they have, and get by; they accept and pursue their goals within the socially accepted means; some will attain the American Dream. *Average US Citizens.*
2. Innovation
   People accept and pursue the goals by replacing legitimate with deviant/criminal means to attain them. *Criminals.*
3. Ritualism
   People lower their goals; they appear to pursue the goals by going along with the socially accepted means. Example: *Someone who focuses on following rules, fitting in, or conforming instead of attaining the dream*.
4. Retreatism
   People reject the goals and the means; they withdraw. Example: *Street people, bag ladies, and hoboes*.
5. Rebellion
   People reject the goals and the means but replace them with their own goals and means. Example: *Terrorists and freedom fighters*.

Among Symbolic Interactionists who study crime and deviance, a few core theoretical approaches are used. The **labeling theory** claims that *the labels people are given affect their perceptions and channel their behaviors into deviance or conformity*. The focus shifts from the individual to the social process by which a person comes to be labeled as a deviant, and the consequences of such labeling for the individual. Although we break the rules from time to time, we generally do not see ourselves as deviants, nor are we labeled as such by others. However, some are, actually bringing out more deviant behavior. Three factors seem to determine whether an individual will be labeled as a deviant or not:

1) The importance of the violated norm. The more strongly held the norms and morés are, the more likely the violator will be labeled as deviant. For example, the sexual abuse of a minor is always seen as more deviant than jay-walking—even though both acts are crimes and punishable, both do not hold the same consequences.
2) The social identity of the person. There are those with wealth and power, which enables them to ward off being labeled as deviant despite their violation of certain norms and values. For example, Keith Richards, guitarist for the band The Rolling Stones, is infamous for drug abuse. Since he is a rock musician, especially from a band that formed in the 1960s, his drug-abuse habits strike no one as odd, even though he has been arrested a number of times, and has served time in prison.[10]
3) The social context in which the act occurs. In certain situations, acts might be considered deviant, whereas in another it will not. For example, women lifting their tops in public and exposing their bare breasts is usually considered a deviant act. At Mardi Gras, however, women are typically rewarded for this behavior with bead necklaces.

Edward Lemert studied deviant identity formation and identified **primary deviance** *when an individual violates a norm but is not caught or labeled as a deviant*. He maintains a selfdefinition of being a conformist. **Secondary deviance** is *when the individual internalizes the deviant identity others have placed upon her and it becomes part of her lifestyle*. In the Movie *Boyz n the Hood,*[11] Cuba Gooding Jr.'s character, Tre is faced with a tremendous amount of pressure. His best friend is gunned down by street gang members and he has a profound urge to retaliate. Tre is deeply supported by his father who helps him to reject both the opportunity and label of street thug and to remember his own potential.

One final consideration is when someone is given a **master status**, or a *social position that is so intense it becomes the primary characteristic of the individual* (ex-con, gang banger, etc.). Understanding how powerful a master status can be as a labeling influence helps to understand why so many criminals reoffend and end up incarcerated again. **Recidivism** is *the act of a person repeating an undesirable behavior after they have experienced negative consequences of that behavior*. In a study of recidivism rates among American prisoners, the U.S. Department of Justice tracked the rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration of former inmates for three years after their initial release from prison. It is estimated that 67.5% of released prisoners will be rearrested within three years; among these, 46% were reconvicted.[12] This information has provoked many studies on why those labeled criminals continue to commit acts that lead to their rearrests. The majority of these researchers have implemented labeling theory in order to facilitate their research.

Social learning is *an approach that studies how people learn behaviors through interactions with others*. In studying crime, Edwin Sutherland taught the concept of **differential association**, or the process of

learning deviance from others in your close relationships who serve as role models and provide opportunities for deviance.

We can use this theory to understand a couple who started a methamphetamine lab in a neighborhood home. They were young high school drop-outs who had a sports boat, jet skis, new truck and car, and new furniture. The only catch is that the man's brother's best friend had them employed in the meth business. When caught, both men served time in prison, but the wife who was expecting their next child was not charged. Their family and friends saw criminal behavior as being worth the risks and acceptable given the tough economy. In other words, they associated with others who taught them how to be deviant (how to make meth), and modeled the appropriate behavior for a successful meth business.

[1] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrew_Martinez 15 September, 2008. Martinez would often find himself being labeled "deviant" throughout the remainder of his life and perhaps suffered from mental illness. He died in jail May 18, 2006 from an apparent suicide.

[2] The Division of Labour in Society, 1893.

[3] en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality#cite_ref-2. Accessed on 15 January, 2012.

[4] See http://pewglobal.org/about/. Accessed on 15 January, 2012.

[5] America Against the World: How We are Different and Why We Are Disliked. Holt Publishing, 2007 [6] "Since Communism's Fall, Social Trust Has Fallen in Eastern Europe", originally released 15 April, 2008. http://pewresearch.org/pubs/799/global-social-trust-crime-corruption. Accessed on 15 January, 2012. [7] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abortion_in_the_United_States#Public_Opinion Taken 17 September, 2008 from "Abortion in the United States" [8] For more, Google Moral Relativism.

[9] See Merton, R. K. (1938) Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review*, *3*(5).

[10] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keith_Richards#Public_image_and_private_life

[11] 1991 film directed by John Singleton [12] Langan, P., D. Levin, 2002. "Recidivism Report of Prisoners Released in 1994." US Department of Justice:
Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved August 3, 2008.

CRIME AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Recall definitions of sanctions.
- Define crime.
- Define social control.
- Classify crimes.
- Apply theories of crime and social control to social phenomena.

Sanctions (formal, informal, positive, and negative) are applied to control deviance and also crime. The death penalty is a formal negative sanction applied to those who commit murder in certain ways in specific states. One of the harshest forms of control comes when intense labels are given to a person because of their actions. A **stigma** is *an attribute which is deeply discrediting, reducing the person from a whole, regular person to a tainted or discredited one*. There have been stories of people who have been falsely incarcerated for child molestation. When they have been exonerated, the stigma as child molester is not erased, following them throughout life. Stigmas that are visible are even more damaging to a person. Physical disabilities are examples of visual stigmas. Some people view those with physical disabilities as not as smart as others, but what about Stephen Hawking? He is one of the most renowned theoretical physicists of all time, though he can't speak without the aid of a computer.[1] [2]

ROBERT MERTON ON DEVIANCE AND CRIME

In sum, deviance is a violation of a norm. Simply not behaving in expected ways given the social circumstances, one is seen as a deviant. But what is the difference in conformity, crime, deviance, and both deviance and crime combined? In Table 1 Robert Merton's matrix combining group norms and legal code behaviors illustrates how deviant and criminal behaviors differ.

Table 1. Robert Merton's Deviant and Criminal Behaviors.

	Actor complies with legal code	**Actor violates legal code**
Actor complies with group norms	Conforming behaviors	Criminal behaviors
Actor violates group norms	Deviant behaviors	Deviant and criminal behaviors

When an actor complies with group norms and the law it's called **conformity**, or an *adherence to the normative and legal standards of a group in society*. An example might be the clothes you wore to class or work today are legal and normal. When an actor violates group norms but complies with the law, it is

deviance. An example might be if you wore your Halloween costume to class in July. If an actor complies with group norms yet breaks the law, it's called crime. **Crime** is *behavior which violates laws and to which governments can apply negative sanctions*. An example of this might be when one drives 10 miles over the speed limit on the freeway. In this case, while speeding is a criminal behavior, if everybody is speeding and you do too, it's normal crime. Over–reporting deductions and under-reporting income on your income tax return is also normal crime.

Like deviance, crime is often found in every society. Why? Functionalists point out that crime exists because members of society find it very difficult to reach total agreement on rules of behavior; no society can force total conformity to its rules or laws. People are normative: we continuously categorize behaviors into "right" or "wrong". Crime/deviance function as a warning light indicating an area that needs attention or consideration. Furthermore, crime/deviance often brings about solidarity or togetherness in society; there is a vital relationship between crime/deviance and societal progress. As mentioned, deviants and criminals make us reassess our values and make new rules and laws.[3]

Laws are designed and passed to ensure that the state has the power to enforce certain behaviors when morés and folkways are not enough. In other words, laws are a formal system of social control. A **legal code** *consists of formal rules (laws) adopted by a society's political authority*. The rules (laws) are enforced through negative formal sanctions when violated. In sum, when you are caught breaking the law, there are usually consequences. Ideally, laws are passed to promote conformity to those rules of conduct that authorities feel are necessary for the functionality of society. However, it is important to note that some feel that laws are passed to protect special interest groups with political power rather than society at large. Also, laws are constructed for their perspective on how society should function.

Theories of Crime and Social Control

Instead of asking, "What causes deviant behavior?" Control Theory asks, "What causes conformity?" **Control Theory** states that *social control is easier to achieve and maintain if social bonds are stronger*. Control theorists believe that what causes deviance is the absence of what causes conformity. They view conformity as being a direct result of control over the individual. Therefore, absence of social control causes deviance.

Travis Hirschi (1969) identified four elements of social bonds. **Attachments** are strong, mutual social bonds that encourage society's members to conform. Close attachments to others and to society prevent individuals from committing a crime, and being deviant in general. Without these intimate attachments and acceptance of conventional norms, the opinions of others do not matter and the individual is free to violate norms without fear of social disapproval. The stronger a person's **commitment**, *loyalty to legitimate opportunity*, the greater the chance of conforming. The more a person *participates in legitimate activities*, her **involvement**, the greater the inhibition towards deviance. Lastly, a strong **belief** or *understanding in values of conventional morality* promotes conformity. In sum, control theory explains that the fear of the disapproval of others plays a major role in preventing deviant behavior.

Biological Theories of Criminality

In the 1800s, an Italian criminologist, Cesare Lombroso, thought that criminals were atavistic beings, or people who were less developed as humans. While examining the skulls of criminals, he noticed a series of features that were common. For example, Lombroso found that they had large jaws and ears, small chins, and asymmetrical faces. Lombroso referred to criminals as "evolutionary throwbacks" whose behaviors were more apelike than human. In addition, Lombroso argued these lesser beings weren't responsible for their deviant behavior since they were born this way. Lombroso's criminal anthropology presumed you could identify a member of the criminal race by certain visual signs or stigmas. Much research has been done on this idea as well as on body type as a determinant of criminal behavior with mixed results. Today, the majority of the sociological world has discounted Lombroso's findings, as Lombroso's imputed inferiority of the criminal permits treating him or her without moral or ethical considerations. Remember, sociologists do not assign value to social statuses such as "criminals", rather we report, explain, or predict current social trends and phenomena. In sum, Lombroso's biological theory of criminality was full of biased ideology and has since been largely dismissed by most of the scientific community.[4]

Cultural Deviance Theory

In the early 20th century Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay investigated the migration of southern African Americans and eastern European Americans to Chicago and other cities. Most of these immigrants were poorly educated and many did not speak English. Then cities expanded to accommodate this influx of people and many of the more affluent citizens moved out to the suburbs. The poor citizens were left in the run down cities. Shaw and McKay thought that *social conditions in neighborhoods caused delinquency* (**Cultural Deviance Theory**). They found that in Chicago crime was at its worst in the center of the city and the area immediately surrounding it. It decreased as they looked further away from the city center. Thirty years later, the same findings occurred even though most of the residents from 30 years ago had moved, but the poverty stayed.

Based on their findings, Shaw and McKay made four assumptions: 1) Run down areas create social disorganization. The diversity of cultures and languages fosters frictions based on these differences; 2) Social disorganization fosters cultural conflict. Rapid social change creates normative ambiguity (**anomie**); 3) Cultural conflict allows delinquency to flourish; children observe both conventional and criminal values. Criminals who are successful pass their knowledge on to their children, who then pass it along to others; 4) Allowed to flourish, delinquency becomes a career. Children as young as five engage in minor acts of deviance, progressing to more serious offenses as they age.[5]

Differential Association Theory

Differential Association Theory looks at the process of *learning deviance from others with whom they have close relationships, who provide role models of and opportunities for deviance*. Edwin Sutherland conducted his work during the 1930s to the 1970s. His assumptions are: 1) Delinquent behavior is learned, and biology has no role in this behavior; 2) Delinquent behavior is learned through verbal and non-verbal communication

(watching your dad steal a TV, your peers congratulating you on stealing a bicycle); 3) Children learn these behaviors in small groups (primary social groups); 4) Learning involves techniques to commit crime, as well as attitudes about crime; 5) Learning also involves attitudes about the targets of crime; 6) If definitions that favor criminal behavior outnumber definitions that favor conforming to laws, children will learn to be deviant; 7) The frequency, duration, and intensity of the learning experiences determines the learning. Children who are exposed frequently, at a young age, and by someone they respect, are more likely to learn delinquent behavior; 8) Learning criminal behavior occurs in the same way as learning other behaviors; 9) The goals of criminals and non-criminals are the same; the means to achieving those goals are what is different.

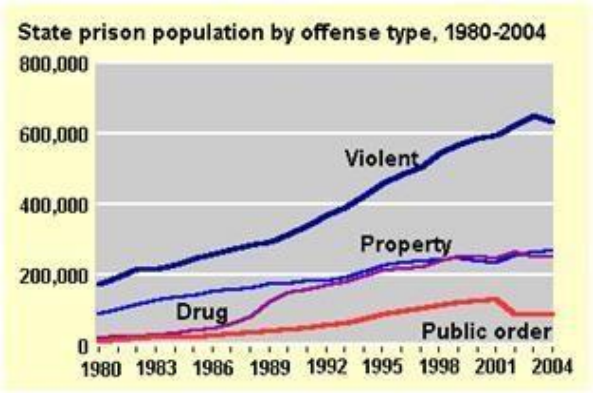
Using this theory, Mark Warr contends that peer associations are the best predictor of delinquency. Nancy Piquero adds that it is an even better predictor for boys' behavior than for girls'. Dana Haynie extended this research and looked at romantic relationships and found they had a greater affect on girls' behavior than on boys'.[6]

Classifying Crime

Corporate crime, or **white-collar crime**, is *crime committed by persons of respectable and high social status committed in the course of their occupations*. These types of crime are rampant and increasing; they are the underlying cause of the recent economic crises. In white-collar crime, crimes are committed in the elite suites of corporate offices. These could include insider trading, safety violations where employees are injured or killed, environmental destruction, deception and fraud, and inappropriate use of corporate funds, as well as others. When caught, laws (which were created by society's elite), rarely punish the elite criminal with the same type of justice street criminals face, though their actions negatively impact far more people than the latter.

Street crime, or **blue-collar crime**, is *crime committed by average persons against other average persons, groups, and organizations*. Street crimes typically fall into two subcategories: misdemeanors and felonies. Misdemeanors tend to be less severe and have less severe punishments associated with them. Felonies, on the other hand, tend to be very serious and often change a citizen's standing, permanently denying rights such as voting, owning a gun, and having social interactions with other felons.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) classifies two types of crimes, violent and property. **Violent crimes**, or **crimes against a person**, are when *force or threat of force is used in the act*. These include rape, murder, robbery, and assault. In 2007, there were 1,408,377 violent crimes reported to police or 467 crimes/100,000 population. **Nonviolent crimes**, or **property crimes**, are *unlawful acts committed with the intent of gaining property, but does not involve the use or threat of force against an individual*. These include burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, arson, shoplifting, and vandalism. Figure 1 illustrates the increasing trend in violent crimes in comparison to property crimes.



Hate crimes are *acts of racial, religious, anti-immigration, sexual orientation, gender, and disability motivated violence*. Hate crimes have become much more of a concern in the U.S. over the last decade. The numbers give the impression that not many occur each year, but the FBI emphasizes that not all hate crimes are reported to police. Race, religion, and sexual orientation continue to dominate the reported hate crime categories (see Table 2). Figure 1. U.S. Department of Justice Crime Trend Data 1980-2004.[7]

What about Victimless Crime?

Victimless crime is *something that is against the law but has no unwilling victim,* such as illegal gambling, illegal drug use, or prostitution. Activists who want to decriminalize these acts claim that the laws against them are attempts to legislate a moral code. Even though they are called victimless crimes, opponents to decriminalization argue that there are victims. Take the case of illegal gambling, the compulsive gambler may steal to support the habit or might miss mortgage payments and lose the family home. He also might miss work because he needs to be at the track. Many people declare that prostitution reinforces the idea that women are to be treated as objects and their sole purpose is for men's pleasure[8], however, some others feel that prostitution is an expression of women's agency, and a source of empowerment.

Social Control

How does society discourage criminal behavior? It does so through **social control** or *mechanisms that regulate behavior*. Social control's first line of defense is **socialization**, that *internalization of society's norms and values* (**internal means of social control**). Some theorists contend that this doesn't always work. That's when **external means of social control**, *other people's responses to a person's behaviors, rewards and punishments*, take over. This can be as informal as a professor walking around the room as the class takes an exam to the more formal criminal justice system. The **criminal justice system** *enforces a legal code* that is made up of three parts: the police, the courts, and the prison system. The police can be federal, state, or local. There is no national police system in the U.S., however congress enacts laws at the national level that are enforced by the FBI. State police enforce some state laws and regulate traffic on the highways. Local police only have **authority** (*institutionalized legitimate power*) in the town where they have been sworn in.

Table 2. Incidents, Offenses, Victims, and Known Offenders by Bias Motivation.[9]

Bias Motivation	Incidents	Offenses	Victims[10]	Known offenders[11]
Total	**7,722**	**9,080**	**9,652**	**7,330**
Single-Bias Incidents	**7,720**	**9,076**	**9,642**	**7,324**
Race	**4,000**	**4,737**	**5,020**	**3,957**
Anti-White	890	1,008	1,054	1,074
Anti-Black	2,640	3,136	3,332	2,437
Anti-American Indian/Alaskan Native	60	72	75	72
Anti-Asian/Pacific Islander	181	230	239	181
Anti-Multiple Races, Group	229	291	320	193
Religion	**1,462**	**1,597**	**1,750**	**705**
Anti-Jewish	967	1,027	1,144	362
Anti-Catholic	76	81	86	44
Anti-Protestant	59	62	65	35
Anti-Islamic	156	191	208	147
Anti-Other Religion	124	140	147	63
Anti-Multiple Religions, Group	73	88	92	49
Anti-Atheism/Agnosticism/etc.	7	8	8	5
Sexual Orientation	**1,195**	**1,415**	**1,472**	**1,380**
Anti-Male Homosexual	747	881	913	914
Anti-Female Homosexual	163	192	202	154
Anti-Homosexual	238	293	307	268
Anti-Heterosexual	26	28	29	26
Anti-Bisexual	21	21	21	18
Ethnicity/National Origin	**984**	**1,233**	**1,305**	**1,209**
Anti-Hispanic	576	770	819	802
Anti-Other Ethnicity/National Origin	408	463	486	407
Disability	**79**	**94**	**95**	**73**
Anti-Physical	17	20	21	17
Anti-Mental	63	74	74	56
Multiple-Bias Incidents[12]	**2**	**4**	**10**	**6**

The courts consist of state and federal courts; most cases take place at the state level. The prison system has four goals: 1) To separate criminals from society to keep others safe; 2) To punish criminal behavior; 3) To deter criminal behavior; and 4) To rehabilitate criminals. However, looking at the statistics of recidivism in the deviance chapter, we can conclude that the "rehabilitative process" needs to be re-evaluated, at best.

Some claim that the U.S. does not do a very good job of punishing criminals. They claim that prison is not so bad for some, especially for white-collar criminals. Deterrence of criminal behavior is also a shortcoming of the prison system; hence the large number of prisoners. Rehabilitation is also not a strength, as evidenced by high rates of **recidivism**.

The criminal justice system has a high degree of partiality at each stage. Police officers get to decide who to arrest; the district attorney gets to decide who to try and for what crime; the judge and or jury decide who to convict; the prison system gets to decide what type of facility for incarceration, and how to reward or punish prisoners; and the parole authorities decide if parole will be granted and under what conditions.[13]

Alternatives to Prisons as Social Control

Some argue that the U.S., specifically California, is suffering from a shortage of prisons, as evidenced by overcrowding. Further, some argue it is cheaper to keep people in prisons than to release them when we factor in how much crime costs the public. It is important to note that, in reality, the average annual operating cost per state inmate in 2001 was $31,025/year, or $85/day.[14] On the other hand, others argue that the overcrowding is due to criminalization of victimless crimes, primarily drug-related offenses, and, in California, the Three-Strikes Law.[15] [16] Remember from the previous chapter that California was found to be #1 is prison-spending and #38 on education spending in a national tally? Many feel that spending more on education would offer impoverished communities better opportunities to pursue the American dream through legitimate means, thereby deterring crime.[17] For these reasons, some have proposed alternatives to prison that would be beneficial in solving the issue of overcrowding:

1) The decriminalization of certain behaviors. Today, 51.8% of inmates are locked up for non-violent drug offenses. The development of a constellation of free, community-based programs accessible to all people who wish to tackle their drug problems would decrease this number.
2) Instead of having juvenile delinquent centers (youth prisons) for criminally-labeled, non-violent offenders, schools can be used as a powerful alternative. Transforming juvenile detention centers into schools as vehicles for decarceration would allow youth offenders to benefit from a strictly structured educational environment rather than endure an environment which breeds violence and hate.
3) There are currently more people with mental health disorders in prisons than in mental health institutions. Some argue that this is because we don't monetarily benefit from mental health institutions because there is no free labor system in these places.

4) Dismantle the current campaigns that call for the criminalization of undocumented citizens. Right now an estimated 20,000 people are sitting in detention centers for violating no law other than being undocumented.

[1] http://www.hawking.org.uk/index.php/about-stephen

[2] Photo retrieved at http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://i.telegraph.co.uk/telegraph/multimedia/archive/00441/news-graphics2007-_441537a.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/science-news/3350289/Stephen-Hawking-plansto-see-space.html&h=353&w=380&sz=23&tbnid=DNpXalH42PupM:&tbnh=114&tbnw=123&prev=/images%3Fq%3Dstephen%2Bhawking&usg=__4wVbS0FUcYlEHih8zsmFv0B5irw=&ei=84Y6S4WEBYnuswP03Lm_BA&sa=X&oi=image_result&resnum=9&ct=image&ved=0CC IQ9QEwCA

[3] Google Émile Durkheim or Robert K. Merton with functionality of deviance

[4] Regoli, R. M., Hewitt, J. D., & Delisi, M. (2010). *Delinquency in society* (8th ed.), Boston: Jones and Bartlett.

[5] Regoli, R. M., Hewitt, J. D., & Delisi, M. (2010). *Delinquency in society* (8th ed.), Boston: Jones and Bartlett. [6] Regoli, R. M., Hewitt, J. D., & Delisi, M. (2010). *Delinquency in society* (8th ed.), Boston: Jones and Bartlett.

[7] Taken from http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/corrtyp.htm on 17 September, 2008, US Department of Justice

[8] Regoli, R. M., Hewitt, J. D., & Delisi, M. (2010). *Delinquency in society* (8th ed.), Boston: Jones and Bartlett.

[9] Taken 17 Sept 2008 http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hc2006/table1.html [10] The term victim may refer to a person, business, institution, or society as a whole.

[11] The term known offender does not imply that the identity of the suspect is known, but only that an attribute of the suspect has been identified, which distinguishes him/her from an unknown offender.

[12] In a multiple-bias incident, two conditions must be met: (a) more than one offense type must occur in the incident and (b) at least two offense types must be motivated by different biases.

[13] Regoli, R. M., Hewitt, J. D., & Delisi, M. (2010). *Delinquency in society* (8th ed.), Boston: Jones and Bartlett. [14] Gordon, Avery. 2006, October. "The Prisoner." Presented at UC, Santa Barbara, October 1-November 18, Santa Barbara, CA.

[15] http://reason.com/blog/2011/05/24/drug-offenders-in-californias. Accessed on 15 January, 2012.

[16] http://newsone.com/nation/newsonestaff4/california-prisons-overcrowded-three-strikes-law/. Accessed on 15 January, 2012.

[17] http://articles.cnn.com/2011-04-07/opinion/jealous.prison.reform_1_prison-populations-prison-spendingoffenders-from-state-prisons?_s=PM:OPINION. Accessed on 15 January 2012.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Define social stratification.
- Compare GNI PPP for various countries.
- Examine poverty.
- Compare life chances for specific groups.
- Contrast class and caste systems.
- Examine mobility.

STRATIFICATION

Take a look at this photo of the Grand Canyon.[1] Notice the layer of rock. When layers occur in nature it is called stratification. Layers occur almost everywhere in nature in tissues of the human body, rock formations in the ground, atmospheres around the earth, and in societies of every nation on the earth. We call these layers strata and the process of layering, stratification.

Social stratification is *the socio-economic layering of society's members according to wealth, power, and prestige*. **Wealth** is *all income, property, investments, and other assets*. **Power** is *the ability to get one's way even in the face of opposition to one's goals*. **Prestige** is *the degree of social honor attached to your position in society*. As things go, those with lots of property tend to also have lots of power and social prestige. Those with less property tend to have less power and prestige.

The key concept of this chapter is that there are layers of social stratification in every society, and, even at the global level, there are the "haves" (Marx's bourgeoisie) who own most of the wealth, and along with it comes much of the prestige and power. The masses of people are the "have-nots" (Marx's proletariat). Marx and Weber focused heavily on wealth and poverty in the complex social systems of their day. In our current social world there are a very few who are extremely wealthy.

Forbes.com reported that even the richest in the world got poorer between 2008-2009, just like the classes below them.[2] The richest billionaires lost 23% of their wealth but they are still billionaires! In fact, in 2008 there were 1,125 billionaires worldwide, some slipped down into the millionaire's category (we can feel sad for them in our spare time). In March 2009 there were only 793 billionaires who had an average wealth of three billion U.S. dollars with Bill Gates III leading the list.[3]

Global Stratification

In spite of the rare and isolated wealth of these 793 people, billions of other people still experience hunger, poverty, preventable illness, early deaths, and famines and wars. In a reference we use often in this textbook, you will find the Population Reference Bureau's World Population Data Sheet can be very enlightening in this discussion.[4] The PRB uses a measure of relative economic well being called the GNI PPP. The **GNI PPP** is the *gross national income of a country converted to international dollars using a factor called the purchasing power parity*. In other words, this lets you understand how much a person could buy in the U.S. with a given amount of money, regardless of the country's currency. It lets the United Nations and Population Reference Bureau have a common value to compare countries with when they look at international stratification issues. The 2008 estimates include key information from the World Bank.

The higher the GNI PPP the better off the average person in that country. Look at Table 1 to see GNI PPP values for selected countries and regions of the world. Luxembourg ranks highest at $64,400 per capita (per person) while the U.S. is only 71% of that at $45,840 per capita. The U.S. is the sixth wealthiest behind Luxembourg, Norway, Kuwait, Brunei, and Singapore (see Figure 1). Contrast that to Liberia's score of just $290 per year. The only other nation as poor as Liberia is the Democratic Republic of the Congo, also at $290. You can already see that there is clear evidence of stratification at a global level. The average cell phone owner in the U.S. spends more on their annual bill than the average Liberian makes in a year. The developed world is over six times wealthier than the less developed world. **More developed nations** are *nations with comparably higher wealth than most countries of the world* including Western Europe, Canada, United States, Japan, and Australia-these are also called now rich countries. **Less developed nations** are *nations located near to or south of the Equator which have less wealth and more of the world's population of inhabitants* including Africa, India, Central and South America, most island nations, and most of Asia (excluding China)-these are also called now poor countries. Africa is the poorest region with the average person earning less than 1/10th of what the average U.S. person earns.

Table 1. Selected GNI PPPs in Dollars for Countries and Regions of the World, 2008.[5]

Country or Region	GNI PPP
World	9,600
More developed	31,200
Less Developed	4,760
Luxembourg	64,400
United States	45,840
Japan	34,600
Canada	34,310
Italy	29,900
Mexico	12,580
Latin America/Caribbean	9,080
Asia (Excluding China)	5,780
China	5,370
Africa	2,430
Liberia	290

Figure 1 shows the top five GNI PPP countries of the world. Again, Luxembourg at $64,400 has a score over 20 times higher than Africa's; 11 times higher than Asia (excluding China); and seven times higher than Latin America. The other top four countries' scores are Norway-$53,690, Kuwait-$49,970, Brunei-$49,900, and Singapore-$48,520. Figure 2 shows a comparison of the bottom five lowest scoring nations in the world. Their respective incomes are Liberia-$290, Dem. Rep. of Congo-$290, Burundi-$330, Djibouti-$400, and Guinea-Bissau-$470. The average GNI PPP score for the top five was $53,296 and for the bottom five it was $356. That means the stratification difference between the world's top five countries is over 149 times higher than the bottom five countries.

UNITED STATES STRATIFICATION

There is similar stratification in the United States. Look at Figure 3 to see two line charts comparing the following All Races-red line, Whites-yellow line, Blacks-green line, Asiansblue line, and Hispanics-purple line. The chart on the left is of U.S. males and the one on the right is of U.S. females. The first thing you notice is visual stratification in both charts. Females earned much less income than males in all categories. The Hispanic category is lowest for males and females. Among males, Hispanics and Blacks are similarly low and are far below the White and even further below the Asian categories. Asians had the highest personal income for both sexes.[6] Also notice that among females the income levels are grouped closer together (i.e., males had more disparity between categories while females were collectively more similar).[7]

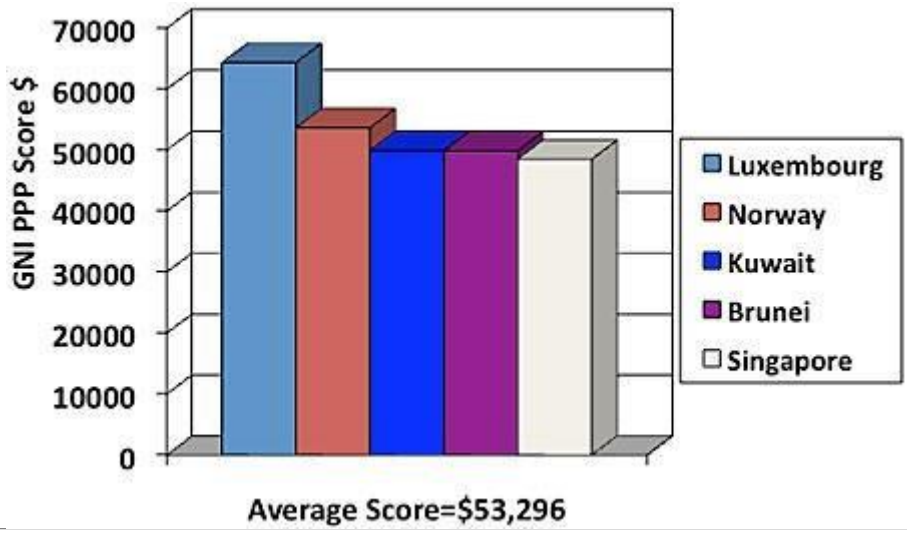


Figure 1. A Comparison of the Top Five GNI PPP Country's Scores in 2008.[8]

Figure 2. A Comparison of the Bottom Five GNI PPP Country's Scores in 2008.[9]

Table 2 shows income level by race/ethnicity, comparing 1990 and 2008. Whites and Asians showed an increase of 57% between 1990 and 2008. Blacks' median income only increased by 54%. Surprisingly, Hispanics' median income increased by 58% over this same time period. Figure 3 compares median income by race/ethnicity for males and for females. Males earn more than females for every racial/ethnic group.

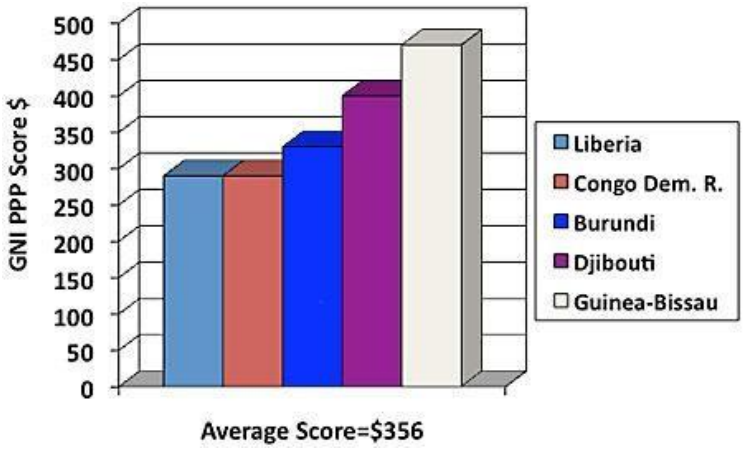


Table 2. Comparison of U.S. Personal Income by Race, 1990-2008.[10]

Race	Mean Income 1990	Mean Income 2008
All	35,353	61,521
White	36,915	65,000
Black	21,423	39,879
Asian	42,246	73,578
Hispanic	23,431	40,466

Figure 3. A Comparison of U.S. Personal Income by Race and Between Males and Females 2006.[11]

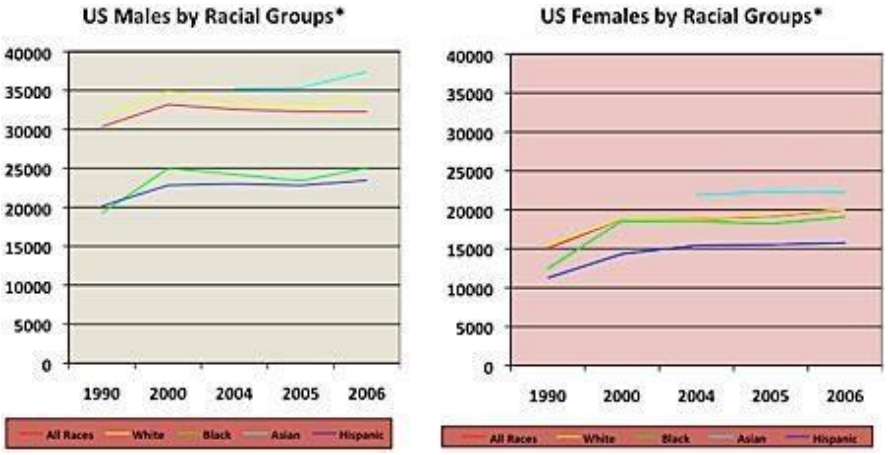


Figure 4 shows stratification by marital status. The data are presented in constant 2006 U.S. dollars which simply means they are adjusted for cost of living changes for each year. The first thing you see is that dual-earner marrieds (both husband and wife work in labor force) by far have the highest income levels between 1990 and 2006. Sole-earner married (husband only in labor force) comes in next followed closely by single males. Single females reported the lowest income. In sum, the females with the highest income are married.

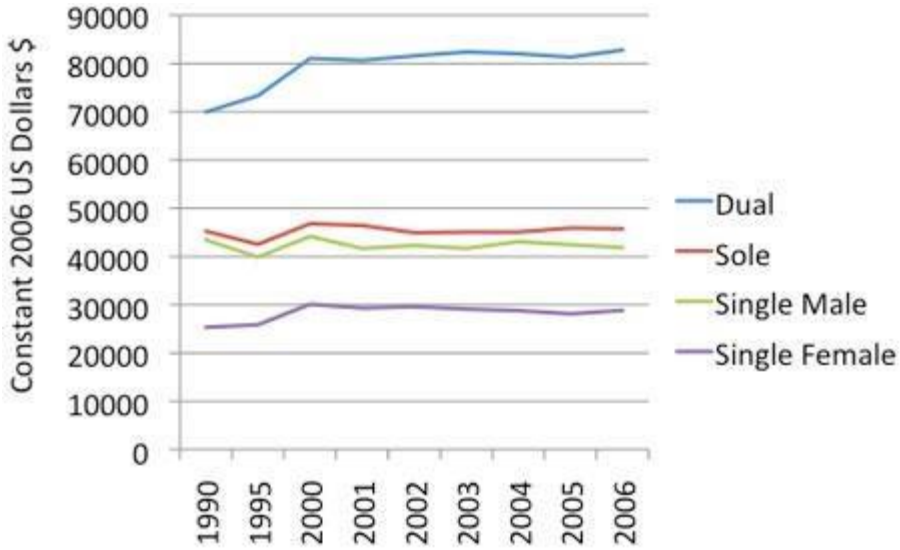


Figure 4. Comparison of U.S. Personal Income by Marital Status (includes duel versus sole breadwinner homes) in Constant 2006 U.S. Dollars.[12]

Figure 5 shows the stratification in our U.S. society by educational level. Basically, the higher the education, the higher the annual income in 2007. This is typically true every year. The income levels are again higher for Whites and Asians followed by Blacks and Hispanics; however, the layers are clearly visible by education level.

Figure 5. Comparison of U.S. Personal Income of Full-Time Workers by Education Level 2007.[13]

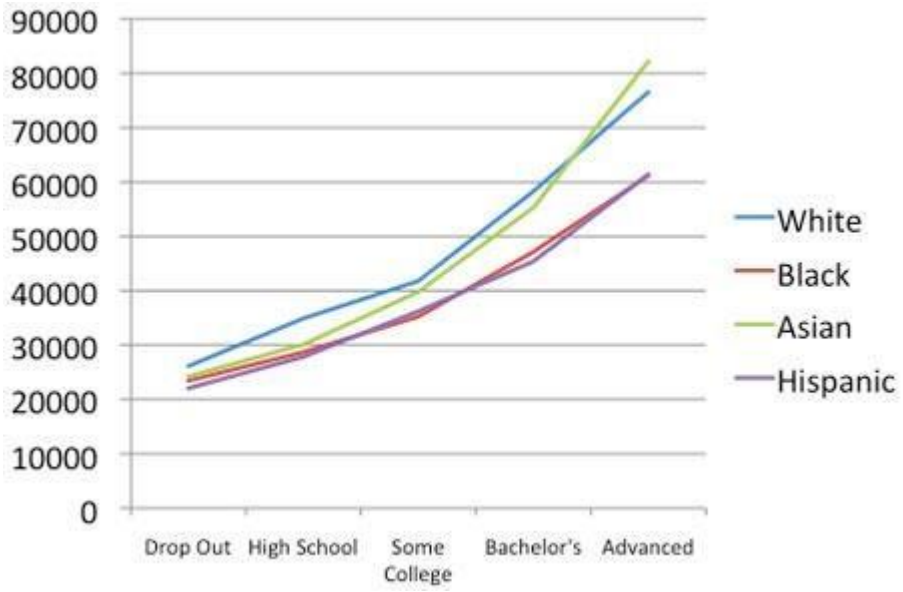


Figure 6 begins to show you why the layers look the way they do in society. Dropping out of high school hurts your income and overall socio-economic well-being. Asians had the lowest dropout rates followed closely by Whites. Over 40% of Hispanics, African Americans, and Native Americans dropped out. Dropping out is a personal income buster that hurts the individual, community, and society at large. Dropping out is a very bad

economic choice. However, not all economic disadvantage results from our choices. In the U.S., non-Whites, non-Asians, and non-males are more likely to be found in the lower layers. If the U.S. population were divided into three groups, the top 10% would be the extremely wealthy, the next 20% wealthy, and the remaining 70% middle and lower classes. The top 10% of our country owns the lion's share of all the wealth available to be owned. In fact, they own as much as 100 times the average U.S. person's wealth. For a relative few they earn more in a year than most will earn in a lifetime. The next 20% wealthy, holds the high ranking jobs, they run for elected office, and they hold the CEO-level positions in the major corporations. These types of jobs pay more, require more education, require more abstract thought, and allow for more self-directed autonomy in their daily activities.

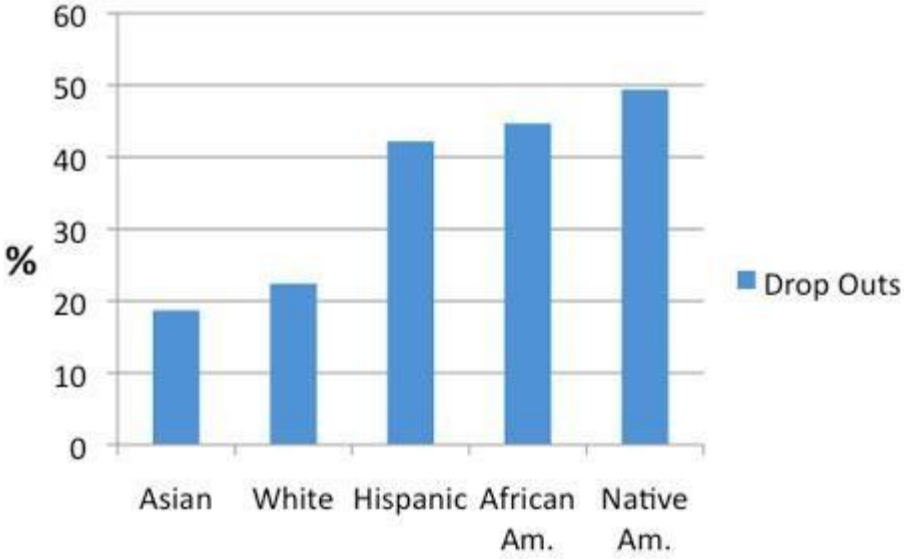


Figure 6. Percentage of United States High School Dropouts by Race for 2007.[14]

Understanding Poverty and Near Poverty

The U.S. has an official definition of being poor or in poverty. The **poverty line** is *the official measure of those whose incomes are less than three times what it takes to provide an "adequate" food budget*. This definition has been the U.S.'s official poverty definition since the 1930s with only a few adjustments. **Near poverty** is *up to 25% above the poverty line*.

The U.S. Health and Human Services 2009 poverty guidelines with estimates of near poverty levels are presented in Table 3. Most who qualify as living below poverty also qualify for state and federal welfare which typically includes health care benefits, food assistance, housing and utility assistance, and some cash aid. Those near poverty may or may not qualify depending upon current state and federal regulations.

Forbes.com reported that the world's 793 billionaires lost about 23% of their wealth (they also were worth about $3 billion each).[15] If they suffered that same 23% loss today they'd still be worth $2,310,000,000. Take the highest poverty income ($37,010 for a family of 10) and take a 23% loss on that you see real economic hurting with now only $28,478 to provide for a family of ten. We all lose during economic downturns and we all gain something in the upswings; but, the losses hurt the lower layers of the economic strata sometimes to the point that they fall below the ability to sustain their families. **Absolute poverty** is *the level of poverty where individuals and families cannot sustain food,*

shelter, and safety needs. Those below poverty are already in a bind. For example, the average home in Santa Clarita costs much more than the average poor family of ten could afford, and a family that big could not find a comfortable apartment to rent. They might find a mobile home or might even find some government subsidized housing assistance. Not being able to find suitable housing is correlated with many other social challenges for families.

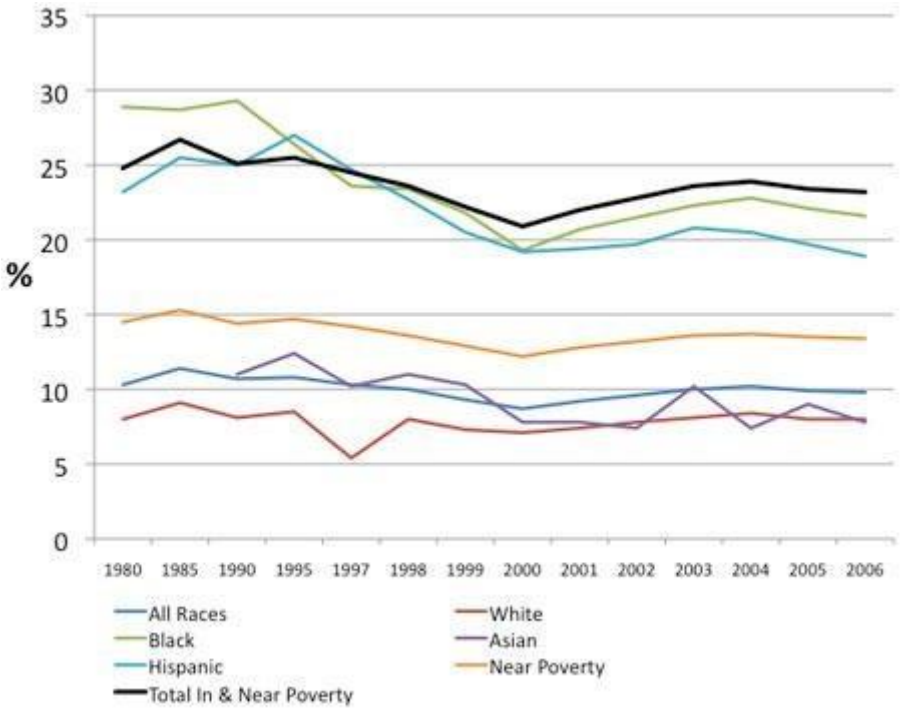
Number of People in Family	Poverty Line	Near Poverty Estimates <125% of Poverty Line
1	10,830	13,536
2	14,570	18,211
3	18,310	22,886
4	22,050	27,561
5	25,790	32,236
6	29,530	36,911
7	33,270	41,586
8	37,010	46,261

Table 3. U.S. Annual Incomes indicating Poverty Line and Near Poverty, 2009.[16]

Figure 8 shows the poverty and near poverty rates for various racial groups in the United States, 1980 to 2006. The thick black line represents the sum of the percent in poverty and below 125% of the poverty line (near poverty) for each year. The line is consistently at about 25% or just below one in four being in or near poverty for the United States. Whites (the redline) have the lowest *rate* of persons in poverty but make up the largest *number* of persons in poverty because Whites represent about 75% of the U.S. population. Asians are slightly higher than Whites. The blue line represents the percent in poverty for all races. It's much lower than the high rates of poverty for Blacks and Hispanics because Whites are a larger portion of the population, so it pulls the overall average downward for all races. The near poverty line is tan. Hispanic is second worst and Black is the worst for percent in poverty. We see that the layers in the strata have racial factors for both poverty and near poverty levels.

With such a high GNI PPP score, the U.S. has a relatively high level of a standard of living. Outside the U.S. in the poorer regions of the world a GNI PPP income of $1.25 or less per day is considered below poverty.[17] There are differences among economic systems in which people live and have opportunities. This brings up a very important concept from Max Weber. **Life chances** are *an individual's access to basic opportunities and resources in the marketplace*. Not everyone has the same life chances. For example, think about students you know who live in housing larger than yours, drive more expensive cars, or who have more state-of-the-art mobile devices. Now think of those students who live in housing smaller than yours, take the bus, and use basic cell phones. Is life easier or more difficult for those who are economically better or worse off than you? What universities will these students have access to? How much in student loans will these students have when they are done with their educations? What kinds of resources do their parents and parents' friends offer in helping them find jobs once they are done with school?

Figure 8. Poverty and Near Poverty (<125% of Poverty Line) for U.S. by Race and Hispanic for 1980 to 2006.[18]



Even those who have less in the U.S. have far greater life chances than most people in the world today. We have K-12 education, access to college, and the possibility of a career of our choosing. In many less developed countries low to no formal education is common. The United Nations has started the 2015 Millennium Development Goal and the Education for All initiative.[19] It is simply that all children of the world will have access to a primary education by the year 2015.

This goal equates to them receiving K-6 education. In 2006, the world average was 83.4% of children getting some K-6 education with an expected number of 10.6 years for males and 11.1 years for females worldwide. In Africa, many children get no formal education and in 2006, only 72.6% got K-6 with an expected 9.1 years for males 7.6 for females. As you can see, life chances vary from house to house, state to state, region to region, and nation to nation.

Measuring Economic Systems: Class and Caste

The United States has an open class system of life chances and opportunities in the market place. An **open class system** is *an economic system that has upward mobility, is achievement-based, and allows social relations between the levels*. A **closed caste system** is *an economic system that is ascribed-based, allows no mobility between levels, and does not allow social relations between the levels.* A person is born into the caste you stay in your entire life, and you can't have social relations between the castes. India has a highly structured caste system which has five distinct caste layers: Brahman (Priests or scholars), Kshatriya (Nobles and warriors), Vaishva (Merchants and skilled artisans), Shudra (Common laborers), and Harijan (Outcasts/dirty workers).

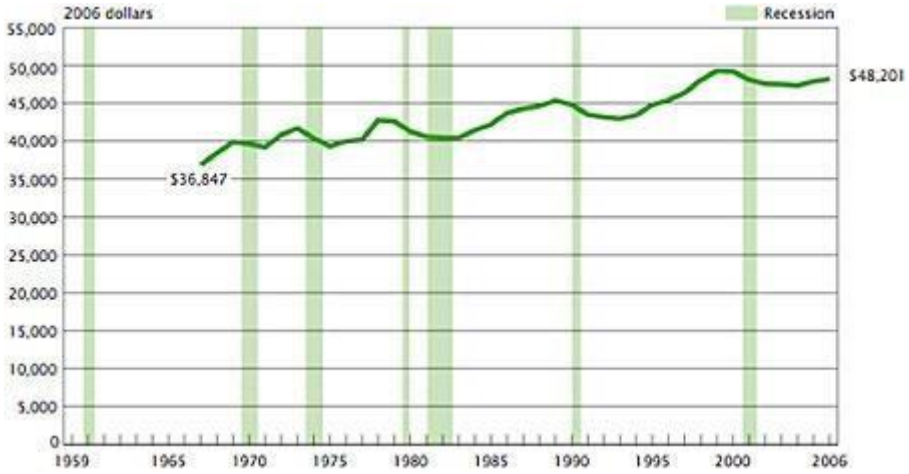
In India, you typically are born into a caste and that is your destiny for life. This was basically true up until the 1980s when multi-national corporations began to set up various types of business enterprises in India. Western corporations hired thousands based upon their personal skills and achievements (a class trait in the West). The Indians have experienced cultural disruptions because talented individuals have worked their way above higher caste members in the organizational structure. We find similar violations of caste rules here in the U.S. where Indians who migrate here find themselves with many

opportunities. Their life chances increase by virtue of their being able to shift residence from a caste to a class society.

Sociologists like to study how people improve or diminish their economic status. We call this **social mobility**, *the movement between economic strata in a society's system*. There are a few key types of mobility. **Upward mobility** is *moving from a lower to higher class*. **Downward mobility** is *moving from a higher to a lower class*. **Horizontal Mobility** is *remaining in the same class*. We can compare mobility between or within generations of family members. **Inter-generational mobility** is the *mobility between generations* (e.g., grandparents to parents to grandchildren to great-grandchildren). When most people list the occupation their grandparents, parents, and they have and rank them by wealth, power, and prestige. This is a measure of inter-generational mobility at the personal level. **Intragenerational mobility** is the *mobility within a generation*. When the wealth, power, and prestige between a person and her siblings or cousins differ.

Structural mobility is *mobility in social class which is attributable to changes in social structure of a society at the larger social, not personal level*. The United States has experienced collective upward social mobility for the entire nation over the last 40 plus years. Figure 9 shows the median household income in 2006 dollars from 1967 to 2006.

It is clear that there has been upward structural social mobility. In other words, the median household income has gone up nation-wide from 1967 to 2006. Remember these are inflation adjusted 2006 constant dollars so they can be compared between years. Notice that most of the declines were seasonal and came soon after a recessionary time in the economy. Overall, this represents one measure of upward structural mobility in the U.S. Figure 9. United States Median Household Income in 2006 Dollars from 1967 to 2006.[20]



Another measure of economic well-being is health care coverage. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in 2007 about 15.3% or over 45 million in the U.S. had no health care coverage.[21] Health care coverage is a major economic resource. Again, White and Asian categories are in the higher strata on this resource. They have the lowest uninsured rates (see Table 4). Hispanics have the highest level of uninsured by racial group and it's over twice as high as for Whites. Since nearly 60% of insurance is provided by employers, it makes sense that the young adult 18-34 year olds would be less likely to be insured because they are still getting their formal education and establishing their careers. But, what about the nearly 11% of children without insurance or the nearly 18% of children in poverty?

This is difficult to justify in today's modern society. Every country that the U.S. compares itself to as being a similarly more developed nation offers health insurance as a right to all, not just a privilege to the wealthier people in the higher strata. The less income one has per year, the higher the uninsured rates. About 1 in 4 who worked part-time or did not work at all have no insurance, while only 17% of full-time workers went without.

Yes, there are layers in society. Through sociology's theories and statistical style you can begin to better understand how they develop and how they are perpetuated in various forms both within and between countries.

Table 4. U.S. Percent of Uninsured by Selected Characteristics 2007.[22]

Category	% Uninsured
White	14.3
Black	19.5
Asian	16.8
Hispanic	32.1
< 6 years old	10.5
6-11 years old	10.3
12-17 years old	12.0
<18 years old	11.0
18-24 years old	28.1
25-34 years old	25.7
35-44 years old	18.3
45-64 years old	14.0
65+ years old	1.9
Children in Poverty	17.6
<$25,000 per year income	24.5
$25-49,999 per year income	21.1
$50-74,999 per year income	14.5
$75,000+ per year income	7.8
Worked Full-time	17.0

Worked Part-time	23.4
Did Not Work	25.

[1] http://www.journeyidea.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/grand-canyon-skywalk1.jpg

[2] www.Forbes.com

[3] retrieved 21 April, 2009 from http://www.forbes.com/2009/03/11/worlds-richest-people-billionaires-2009-billionaires_land.html

[4] www.PRB.org

[5] From 2008 World Population Data Sheet: Demographic Data and Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World

[6] Data for Asians was not reported prior to 2004 [7] Data were not available for Native Americans.

[8] From 2008 World Population Data Sheet: Demographic Data and Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World

[9] From 2008 World Population Data Sheet: Demographic Data and Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World

[10] http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2011/tables/11s0696.pdf

[11] Asian data not available before 2004. Retrieved 21 April 2009 from www.census.gov Table 679. Median Income of people with Income in Constant 2006 Dollars by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 2006

[12] Retrieved 21 April 2009 from www.census.gov Table 677. Median Income of Families by Type of Family in Current and Constant (2006) Dollars: 1990 to 2006

[13] Retrieved 21 April 2009 from Educational Attainment in the United States: 2007 from http://www.census.gov/prod/2009pubs/p20-560.pdf

[14] Extracted from Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation

[15] www.Forbes.com

[16] Retrieved 22 April 2009 The 2009 HHS Poverty Guidelines from http://aspe.hhs.gov/POVERTY/09poverty.shtml

[17] Retrieved 22 April, 2009 from http://www.unescap.org/stat/data/syb2008/17-poverty-and-inequality.asp Statistical Yearbook 17. Poverty-and-inequality).

[18] Asian data not available until 1990Retrieved 22 April, 2009 from Table 693. Families Below poverty Level and Below 125 Percent of Poverty Level by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1980 to 2006 from http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/tables/09s0693.pdf

[19] See Table 12.1 from http://www.unescap.org/stat/data/syb2008/12-Participation-in-education.asp

[20] Source: US Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 1968 to 2007 Annual Social and Economic Supplements. Note: Median household incomes were not calculated for the US before 1967. Retrieved 22 April, 2009 from http://www.census.gov/population/www/pop-profile/files/dynamic/MoneyIncome.pdf

[21] retrieved 22 April, 2009 from http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/p60-235.pdf

[22] Retrieved 22 April, 2009 from Table 6. People Without Health Insurance Coverage by Selected Characteristics: 2006 and 2007& Figure 8. Uninsured Children by Poverty Status, Age, and Race and Hispanic Origin: 2007 from http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/p60-235.pdf

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

Distinguish between race and ethnicity.

Define and give examples of minority and majority groups.

Differentiate prejudice and discrimination.

Relate how people come to be prejudiced.

WHY DO WE DEFINE RACE THE WAY WE DO?

Race is socially important yet biologically insignificant in the United States. A **racial group** is *a group of people with perceived unique biological and physical characteristics*. Race is and has been assumed for centuries as being biologically-based and even biologically distinguishable between various groups (Africans, Whites, Asians, and Natives). Science has proven this to be a myth—racial groups are not in fact biologically different in significant ways. Current conceptions of race originated long before genetics as a scientific discipline came to be. Here's the simple scientifically-based truth about biological differences between the races—there are very few.

In their article about the existence of race, two geneticists, Bamshad and Olson, have worked on mapping the human genome and their answer was, no, race does not exist.[1] Genetic studies yield more support for geographic ancestral origin than for a claim that our social definitions of race are somehow correlated to our social definitions of being White, Black, Asian, Native American, or any other race. There has been a great deal of intermarriage and cross-cultural unions- so much so that Bamshad and Olson reported that among the billions of genetic markers,

> The outward signs on which most definitions of race are based—such as skin color and hair texture—are dictated by a handful of genes. But the other genes of two people of the same "race" can be very different. Conversely, two people of different "races" can share more genetic similarity than two individuals of the same race.[2]

By far the significance of race and biology is social, meaning that we are culturally socialized to define race in biological terms. In fact, throughout the history of the world, most cultures define race in cultural rather than biological terms. Members of Egyptian royalty were in the sacred race by birthright (even though some were Mediterranean and others African in origin). Scottish kinships were birth, not biologically, based. In the Old Testament, Qur'an, and Torah, Abrahamic descendants were identified by birth and by religion.

In Europe (where most of the early immigrants to the United States originated), various cultures had strong beliefs that Europeans were biologically superior to other peoples of the world. This

made it very easy to conquer and colonize other groups. These are often called racial supremist ideologies, and European immigrants brought those ideologies with them to the U.S. **Ideological racism** is *an ideology that considers a group's physical characteristics to be causally related to inferiority or superiority*. Slavery, genocide, and cultural destruction by the British were very common between 1400 and 1800.

The U.S.'s version of ideological racism left its mark on mainstream culture, which is to this day strikingly British. British and other European founders created social constructs of non-White groups. Native Americans were either noble savages or barbarians, Blacks were amoral or caustically wild, Asians were either perilous or conniving, and Mexicans were either extremely lazy or intrusive. In the history of the U.S., such ideas led to extreme mistreatment of non-Whites. Oppression in various forms went unanswered by any legal attempts at justice, which at times even lead to unlawful and immoral massacres of people in these categories.

The first U.S. Census, in 1790, was taken by federal mandate. Data extrapolated from it indicate the presence of mostly Whites, while it ignored slaves, Native Americans, and others. Historical studies have shown that Whites were the ones believed to be important enough to count at this time. Every 10 years another Census is taken, yielding 22 U.S. Census collections to date. The 2000 Census was the very first to allow citizens to self-report more than one race. That was about 2.4% of the population (see Table 1). Previous Census enumerations (counts) forced U.S. citizens to claim how Black they were, using complicated formulas and unfamiliar terms such as Mulatto or ½ Black; Quadroon or ¼ Black; and Octoroon or 1/8 Black. Each was a result of misguided thinking that suggested that having a Black ancestor contaminated a White person's blood lines**.** The **One Drop Rule** or Code Noir claims that *one drop of minority blood forces you to identify as non-White.* This theory was mainly directed towards people of African American descent.

Table 1. Major Racial Groups in the U.S.[3]

Racial Group	%
Caucasian	75.1
Hispanic/Latino	12.5
African American	12.3
Asian	3.6
Native American	0.9
Native Hawaiian	0.2
Two or More Races	2.4
Other	5.5

Decades ago, marrying across racial groups was considered a tainting and rendered the child non-White by default. This was true even if the child looked White with red hair, blue eyes, and fair skin. Children of mixed racial couples confound our ability to perpetuate the myth that race can be biologically discerned. Could you identify the racial heritage of Tiger Woods or Mariah Carey if you didn't know?

Today we realize that we are all biologically more or less the same, and marriage is legal among two people of different races. The 2000 U.S. Census in Table 1 shows a 12.5% portion of the U.S. population self-identifying as being Hispanic. The Census Bureau produced a report showing that there were 37 plus million Hispanics in the U.S. with 67% of those claiming Mexican heritage.[4] The U.S. Census Bureau also runs complex population projection analyses to estimate future population trends in our country. In Figure 1, you can see a diagram portraying 2002 and then projections for 2050. The non-Hispanic White population is projected to increase from 195.7 million to 210.3 million, which is about 50% of the total population. About 67 million people of Hispanic origin of any race are projected to be added to the U.S. population by 2050. Hispanics are expected to grow from 35.6 million to 102.6 million (+188%). This is a change in percent of total population from 12.6% to 24.4%.[5]

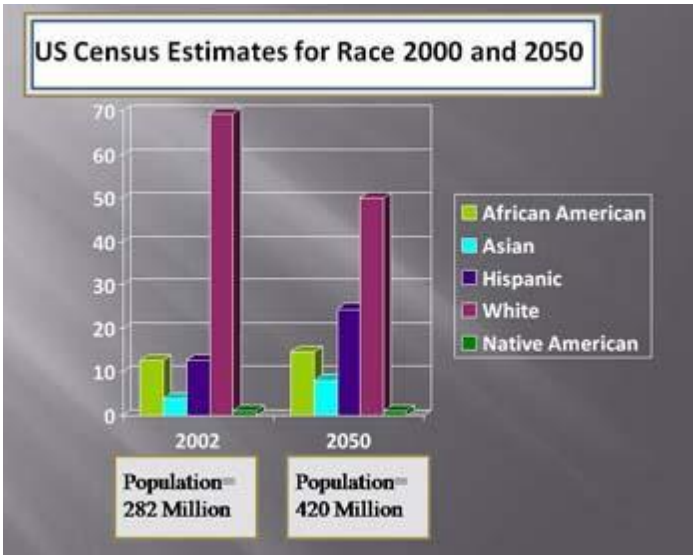


Figure 1. U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates By Race for 2000 and 2050.6

Why So Much Racism?

You may have already noticed that even though science has established that race is not biologically based, the U.S. Census Bureau continues to use the racial categories. Why? Most scientists will tell you that if people perceive something as being real then it becomes real in its consequences (Thomas Theorem). Race being based on biology is so intricately connected to all the subtle nuances of everyday life that the average person makes no distinction or effort at understanding—much like gender inequality. Most people simply believe it to be "real". The constitutional mandate to take a census of the U.S. population so that the people are represented by Congress requires a count of people and their self-reported racial classification.

In the U.S. we make the race-biology claim a big deal because it is part of our culture and our socialization to do so. We tend to look at four categories of racial traits in order to distinguish ourselves from people of other races: skin color, facial features, hair color and texture, and body shape and size (body morphology). Four simple features have been used as the categorical basis of "Us and Them" thinking patterns throughout U.S. history. Most don't realize that there is much more variety within a given racial category than between them. For example, look around your classroom and pick a few students who might fall into just one of the four basic racial groupings: Black, White, Asian, and Native American. Observe their variations in skin tone and hair texture, color, thickness, or curl. It becomes very obvious that not all racial grouping of people look alike when compared to people considered to be of the same race. Why don't we care about variation in physical features within our own racial groups? It comes back to our culture and socialization. We are socialized to see differences between rather than within racial categories.

What's the difference between a racial and ethnic group? Race is biology-based and ethnicity is culture-based. Ethnicity is conceptually different from race.[7] An **ethnic group** consists of *people who*

share a common orientation toward the world, who develop a sense of people-hood, and who are perceived by others as having distinctive cultural elements such as religion, language, traditions, and heritage. One very important U.S. ethnic classification is Hispanic, a category that was developed by the U.S. Census Bureau to describe people of Latin origin and their descendents.[8] Hispanic, as a categorical classification, is at best an ambiguous one because there are 19 countries between Mexico and South America (including a few Spanish-speaking island nations) and one country in Europe (Spain) that could be a nation of origin for Hispanic persons and their ancestors. By the way, Brazilians are South Americans, but their national language is Portuguese and their most common ancestral heritage is African. Are they or are they not Hispanic? According to the U.S. Census, they are. *Hispanic* as a Census Bureau concept often leads to ambiguous conclusions. In other words, the U.S. Census seems to be less concerned with the ethnic background of individuals and more concerned with the assumed color of their skin. To assume **homogeneity**, or *very similar cultural traits*, among all U.S. Hispanics is a mistake. The same mistake is made when people classify all U.S. Whites as being homogeneous. But, there is a reason that Hispanic is an important concept. Basically, it identifies a category of sub-cultures within the mainstream U.S. population of Spanish-speaking members (albeit a very diverse collective).

Minorities and Dominant Members of Society

In U.S. history, there have been two basic groupings of citizens: minorities and majorities. A **minority group** is *one that is disadvantaged in terms of political, economic, and cultural power.* U.S. minority groups were originally Native Americans and Blacks, but included Irish, Catholics, and many other non-Protestant and Non-White groups. A **majority group** is *the group that is politically, economically, and culturally dominant.* The dominant group does not always have to be the most populous group in society.

In the last century in South Africa, Blacks were by far the most numerous, yet Whites ruled cruelly with racial supremacist ideologies that led to international outcry and eventual collapse of Apartheid rule there. **Apartheid** was *when South Africa formalized separateness between Blacks and Whites, mandating White supremacy and privileged treatment between 1948 and 1990*. Apartheid was broken apart by the combined international efforts of other countries that put economic and political pressure on the South African Government.

There are a number of ways the dominant group can treat its minority group members. Legislative controls include anti-miscegenation laws (no interracial marriages), forced or reinforced segregation (keeping dominant and minority group communities separate), legal oppression (slavery, denial of right to vote, no public education), expulsion (the Trail of Tears), unjust incarceration (WWII Japanese internment camps, Native American pre-reservation incarceration, and Guantanamo Bay-GITMO), and finally, outright annihilation (conquering Native Americans).

Another slightly more subtle treatment is called **marginalization**, *the purposeful mistreatment of minority group members that yields them geographically part of society while simultaneously being functionally left out of most of its opportunities*. Marginalization often results in material deprivation and exclusion. Most non-Anglo Saxon groups have experienced some level of marginalization in US history.

After years, decades, and generations of living under dominant group oppression, minority group members often reach a point of standing up against the dominant group. This happened among the pro-French minority group members in Quebec, Canada; among the Blacks in South Africa; and among the Blacks in the Southern United States (like Rosa Parks). Sometimes minority group members rise up in defiance and become agents of social change. This was the case with the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968).

Dr. Martin Luther King's life and accomplishments were remarkable even before he became the most influential civil rights change agent in the United States. He graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Sociology in 1948. He earned another Bachelor's degree in Divinity in 1951, then his Ph.D. in Systematic Theology in 1955. He became a pastor in 1954 at the age of 25.[9] He had a unique ability to ignite a passion for unity among all people, even the White dominant group. He took a Functionalist approach (as opposed to the more common Conflict approach) and preached non-violent resistance.

1. We should all be active in using non violent resistance to evil (racism)
2. We should not seek to defeat our enemy but to win his friendship and understanding
3. We should focus on attacking evil rather than those doing the evil
4. We should be willing to accept suffering as part of the social change process and not retaliate for it
5. We should refuse to hate our opponents
6. We should act with a firm hope that justice will prevail

One of the mighty principles taught by Martin Luther King Jr. was hope for a positive and mutually beneficial outcome. He urged those who followed his example to see evil for what it was, yet hope for things to end on the side of good**.**

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice is *a prejudgement of someone based on specific characteristics. It is attitudinal.* **Discrimination** *is behavioral. It is treating someone or some group differently based on membership in a certain group*. Gordon W. Allport (1897-1967) classifies prejudice into three broad levels. The **cognitive level of prejudice** refers to *our perceptions and beliefs and is based on logical and rational thoughts*. The **emotional level of prejudice** refers to *prejudiced feelings which are aroused by expression or thoughts*. The **action-orientation level of prejudice** is *a predisposition to act in favor of or against certain groups*.[10] At the cognitive level prejudice, thoughts are the vehicle for carrying the prejudice. Stereotypes go hand in hand with this level. **Stereotypes** are *broad generalizations about a category of people who are assumed to have positive or negative traits common to every member of that group.*

The concept of relative deprivation applies and often underlies emotional based prejudices. **Relative deprivation** is *the perception of not being the rightful beneficiary of something a person feels entitled to receive*. Once a person feels relative deprivation, then chooses to become the victim, he makes those who are the focus of the deprivation (the perceived cause) into perpetrators. This in turn justifies the prejudice and discrimination against others. In contrast, **absolute deprivation** is *the denial of basic necessities that one needs to survive, such as food and water*. In general, emotional prejudice can be very dangerous because when we are emotional, we

are typically feeling rather than using our complex rational thinking processes. Sometimes individuals, mobs, and hostile groups act dangerously when they perceive emotional prejudice.

Allport's action-orientation level simply means that people are predisposed to prejudice and may not know it until circumstances present themselves in such a way that their prejudices emerge.

How Can We Overcome Prejudice?

You may have already wondered, what's the difference between prejudice, stereotyping, and your own personal preferences? If you don't like Chinese food, does that make you prejudiced? Of course not, that's a personal preference. The best way to understand prejudiced thinking is to understand the concept of categorical thinking. **Categorical thinking** is *the human cognitive process of storing and retrieving information in sections of our memory that are highly associated with one another*. For example, read this list: awake, dream, snore, bed, eat, slumber, sound, wake, and night.

Now pick the single best word that categorically fits into this list. Computer, wheel, or sleep? The answer would be sleep because it highly related to the original list of concepts. The point is that we think in associations and categories. That's why, if you get wheeled into an emergency room with a fever, side ache, perspiration, and nausea that suddenly hit, doctors suspect Appendicitis. Among other things, categorical thinking saves lives and helps you to pass tests. It is true that categorical thinking makes it so we can function, but it also is the thinking process which underlies prejudice and stereotypes in our relationships. The key is to control categorical thinking, prejudices, and stereotypes.

First, you have to do some self-analysis and discover where you might have learned your prejudices. Many people are taught prejudice from family, friends, teachers, religious leaders, television, the internet, and other agents of socialization. It feels strange to think that family might teach other family members to be prejudiced, but this may be one of the more common sources. In the 1949 musical, *South Pacific*, Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, wrote a gutsy song called "You've Got To Be Carefully Taught…to hate and fear, to be afraid..and to hate all the people your relatives hate."[11]

For the year 1949, this was in truth a very gutsy song that proved to be way ahead of its time. Yet, it impacted a great many people who watched the movie. Without knowing that science would someday prove these lyrics to be true as a far as how children do come to be prejudiced, Rodgers and Hammerstein were years in front of the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. **Socialization of prejudice** is *learning prejudice from people we associate with* (family, relatives, teachers). We often learn prejudice from people we look up to.

Another source of our prejudices is the social structural source. **Social structure origin of prejudice** occurs *when prejudice is built into the group, community, and social institutional components of society*. This was the case when Blacks and Whites were segregated in their churches, schools,

workplaces, and other social environments. Few questioned it because it appeared to be part of the world-taken-for-granted.

There is also **competition origin of prejudice** which occurs *when members of one group feel threatened and or deprived by members of another group for limited resources*. This ties in well with the concept of relative deprivation. When groups of people feel that they are losing at the expense of other groups' gains, it breeds and fuels competitive hostility at numerous levels.

Interdependence is the *dependence on others for support in order to be able to succeed*. This principle works just the opposite of competition.[12] One can create a non-prejudiced environment by creating mutual dependence among individuals who are vested in the success of themselves and their group—if the individual's success depends upon the group's success. Prejudices can also originate from negative interactions with members of a certain group that are distorted over time and become applied to the category of all group members.

Once you get an idea of where your own prejudices came from you can employ proven strategies for managing them. First and foremost, you are the only one who can manage your personal prejudices. The safest and most proven way to interact with another at the personal level is to share trusted feelings and thoughts with others while simultaneously having similar thoughts and feelings being shared back with you. You might replace "the, they, theirs," or the labels we use such as Black, White, etc. with you, me, I, my, or the name of the individual. The personal level quiets the categorical thinking process. You can't use stereotypes if you are genuinely getting to know and trust another person.

Second, find the common ground shared between you and others. Ask questions, share information and look for the experiences, exact or similar, that connect you both on common shared backgrounds. Third, if you say or do something offensive to another, talk about it and apologize. Learn from your mistakes. One prejudiced thought or feeling does not make a person a bigot. Fourth, find someone you can relate to who has managed her prejudices successfully, then let her be a role model.

We discussed discrimination above, but it needs to be revisited here. Discrimination includes behaviors which result in the unfair or unequal treatment of others. Discrimination is an action (not just a feeling or thought) that typically has two forms- **de jure discrimination** is *legalized discrimination which is typically built into the social structure* and **de facto discrimination** is *the actual experience of members of society with discrimination.*

Even though discrimination is illegal, it still occurs in the U.S. People, at times, still aren't served in restaurants, allowed to lodge in motels, or are refused employment. Not all discrimination can be detected, much less punished. In the U.S. history of race relations, tremendous injustices have been meted out against minority group members by dominant group members and organizations. Most of these will never see justice for their losses.

ROBERT K. MERTON ON PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Figure 2 depicts how Merton crossed the attitude *prejudice* with the behavior *discrimination.* He identified four types of people. It's easy to see why he called those who are not prejudiced and do not discriminate, **friends**. These people tend to be educated, non-traditional, and open-minded individuals. It's also easy to see that **bigots** are *those who are prejudiced and do discriminate*. These people tend to be extremely disconnected to mainstream values and harbor a profound sense of entitlement in regards to acting as they desire regardless of the laws, norms, and morals of society. The **timid bigots** *are prejudiced but don't discriminate*. These people tend to be afraid of acting on their prejudices, not wanting to be caught or punished. Perhaps the most perplexing group is that of the **institutional discriminators**. They are *not prejudiced but do discriminate*. Why? These people tend to be those who go along with the crowd or obey orders. The discrimination has been **institutionalized**; it is *part of the system and accepted by society's members.*

		Prejudiced	
		Yes	No
Discriminates	Yes	Bigots	Institutionalized Discriminators
	No	Timed Bigots	Friends

Figure 2. Robert Merton's Prejudice and Discrimination Typology.[13]

One extreme form of discrimination is the hate crime. **Hate crimes** are *perpetrated by individuals who attack others based on their own intense feelings of bias and bigotry*. The FBI estimates that fewer than 10,000 Hate Crimes occur each year in the U.S. But this is highly deceptive because most hate crimes are not reported, and are not required to be reported, in contrast to all other crimes in the FBI Uniform Crime Report.[14]

Two FBI researchers, John R. Schafer and Joe Navarro, conducted research on understanding hate and those who criminally perpetrate it.[15] They referenced three types of hate crime perpetrators: **thrill seekers** tend to *commit hate crimes with peer group members but do not belong to a hate group*; **hard-core offenders** are *extremely violent and aggressive* (typically hate group members); and **reactive offenders** *ground their attack on a perceived transgression, such as an insult, interracial dating, or a neighborhood integration*.

Many hate crime perpetrators are not members of hate groups. They tend to be young, White, from poorer families, and have very weak self-concepts. Their hate crimes are the result of compensating for their insecurities by making victims out of others. [16]

Also, many of these perpetrators utilize secondary justification where they try before, during, and after the assault to prove to themselves and others that they were the victims and not the perpetrators. They lie to police, they react to negative coverage in the media as being an act of aggression, and they self-deceive in terms of what the offense is. For example, they feel that they have been violated when they have to see an interracial or same sex couple in public. Many look for potential victims in places they are likely to hang out.[17]

[1] Scientific American, Does Race Exist? December, 2003; pages 78-85
[2] Scientific American, Does Race Exist? December, 2003; pages 80
[3] US Census, 2000, see http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html
[4] See http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p20-545.pdf
[5] See Press Release taken from Internet 11 June, 2008 from http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/population/001720.html
[6] Retrieved from www.census.gov 3 April 2009. Notice that the Native American category is 1 percent and tends to be very constant at 1 percent of the population. It was not mentioned in this specific Census Bureau report but tends to hover at about 1 percent.
[7] See Max Weber's 1922 work, reprinted in 1978, Economy and Society in Roth, G. and Wittich, C. U of Cal Press
[8] See description in U.S. Census Bureau Guidance on the Presentation and Comparison of Race and Hispanic Origin Data. http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/compraceho.html
[9] See http://www.thekingcenter.org
[10] The Nature of Prejudice. 1979, Perseus Books
[11] Retrieved 12 June, 2008 from http://www.lyrics007.com/print.php?id=TkRRNE1USTM
[12] See the "Jigsaw Method" at http://olc.spsd.sk.ca/DE/PD/coop/page4.html
[13] See Merton, R. K. 1949, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in Discrimination and National Welfare, edited by Maclver, R. M. Harper Pub. NY, pages 77-145
[14] See Beirich 2007 Taken form Internet 10 June 2008 from http://www.splcenter.org/blog/2007/11/19/fbi-releases-hate-crime-statistics/
[15] See from http://www.fbi.gov/publications/leb/2003/mar2003/mar03leb.htm
[16] See "Why Do Young Men Commit Hate Crimes?" NPR News and Notes 23 June 2006 from http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5506152

[18] See table at FBI.gov retrieved from Internet 10 June 2008 from http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hc2006/table1.html

[19]

SEX AND GENDER

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Differentiate between sex and gender.
- Define gender roles, gender role socialization, and gender role identify.
- Compare females' life experiences to that of males.' Examine the Men's
- Movement.

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SEX AND GENDER?

By far, sex and gender have been two of the most socially significant factors in the history of the world and the United States. **Sex** is *one's biological classification as male or female,* which is biologically determined at the moment the sperm fertilizes the egg. Sex can be precisely defined at the genetic level with XX being female and XY being male. The main difference between sexes is the reproductive body parts assigned to each (including their functions and corresponding hormones).

Males and females have much more in common than they have differences. Every major system of the human body functions in very similar ways to the point that health guidelines, disease prevention and maintenance, and even organ transplants are very similar and guided under a large umbrella of shared guidelines. True, there are medical specialists in treating men and women, but again the similarities outweigh the differences. Today you probably ate breakfast, took a shower (hopefully), walked in the sunlight, sweated, slept, used the bathroom, was exposed to germs and pathogens, grew more hair and finger nails, exerted your muscles to the point that they became stronger, and felt and managed stress. So did every man and woman you know and in very similar ways.

So, why the big debate of the battle of the sexes? Perhaps it's because of the impact of **gender,** the *cultural definition of what it means to be a man or a woman*. In other words, gender is socialized behaviors prescribed for society's members based on their sex. Therefore, sex=male, female and gender=masculine, feminine. Gender is culturally-based and varies in a thousand subtle ways across the many diverse cultures of the world. Gender has been shaped by political, religious, philosophical, linguistic, traditional, and other cultural forces for many years. To this day, in most countries of the world women and girls are still oppressed and denied access to opportunities more often than men and boys. This can be seen through many diverse historical documents. When reading these documents, the most common theme of how women were historically oppressed in the world's societies is the omission of women as being legally, biologically, economically, and even spiritually on par with men. The second most common theme is the assumption that women were somehow broken versions of men or lesser beings than men.[1]

Biology has disproven the belief that women are broken versions of men. In fact, the 23rd chromosome looks like XX in females and XY in males and the Y looks more like an X with a missing leg than a Y. Ironically, science has shown that males are broken or variant versions of females and the more X traits males have the better their health and longevity.

Debunking Myths about Women

Myth #1: Women's reproductive cycles impair their abilities.

Since history assumed that women were impaired because of their reproductive roles, societies have defined much of these reproductive traits as hindrances to activities. In an old home health guide from the late 19th century (Patton, 1898), the country's best physicians had very inaccurate information and knowledge about the human body and how it worked.[2]

Interestingly, pregnancy was considered normal within most circumstances while menstruation was seen as a type of disease process that had to be treated (back then most physicians were men and still are today). It refers to menstrual problems as being natural and normal only if painless.[3] Indeed from a male scientific perspective in 1898, females and their natural reproductive cycles were problematic.

But, to the author, females were more fragile and vulnerable and should be treated more carefully than males especially during puberty. Patton states, "The fact is that the girl has a much greater physical and a more intense mental development to accomplish than the boy…" As for public education, he states, "The boy can do it; the girl can—sometimes…" He attributes most of the female sexual and reproductive problems to public school which is a byproduct of "women's rights, so called."

He'd probably be stunned to see modern medicine's discoveries today. In our day, women are not defined as being inferior in comparison to men. But, in 1898, a physician (the source of authority in scientific knowledge) had no reservations about stating the cultural norm in print, that women were considered broken in contrast to men.

Myth #2: "My hormones made me do it."

Males and females produce the same hormones, they just produce them in different amounts depending on sex. Males secrete more testosterone and females produce more estrogen. Experiments done on testosterone in the human body have been linked to edginess, competitiveness, and anger—in both males and females. However, hormone levels fluctuate throughout the day based on environment, activities, and other outside factors that may affect moods or feelings (e.g., stress, happiness, anger, elation). Therefore, biology (hormones) is affected by social factors and the socialization process. Thus,

the myth that hormones dictate behavior has been debunked. Levels of both estrogen and testosterone depend on activities and interactions throughout the day. Hormones may affect behavior, but they do not control it.

Further, testosterone is one of many chemicals interacting in the body that affect human behavioral response. Therefore, human behavior is highly governed not by hormones, but by the situation or context in which it occurs. For example, women can be just as aggressive as men when they are either rewarded for that behavior (athletes) or when they think no one is watching (to avoid social consequences). Research has also shown that women are, in fact, as aggressive as men, but they have been socialized to act out their aggression in different ways.[4]

The notion that women's behaviors are dictated by their hormones is an old one. However, women's hormone levels (especially testosterone) do not fluctuate as much as men's throughout the day in response to environmental stimuli. Rather, female hormone production is influenced by the monthly reproductive cycles as well as the cessation of the reproductive capacity (menopause) during the life course. Interestingly, in studies in which both men and women participated, men were equally as likely to express mood swings, problems at work, and physical discomfort. This is because men are subject to a daily hormone cycle in which testosterone levels peak at about 4 am and are at their lowest at 8 pm.[5]

"When people say women can't be trusted because they cycle every month, my response to that is that men cycle every day, so they should only be allowed to negotiate peace treaties in the evening."--Gorman[6]

Gender Roles as a Social Force

Gender socialization is *the shaping of individual behavior and perceptions in such a way that the individual conforms to socially prescribed expectations for males and females*. One has to wonder what might have been different if all women were born into societies that valued their uniqueness and similarities in comparison to men. How much further might civilizations have progressed?

One can better understand the historical oppression of women by considering three social factors throughout the world's history: religion, tradition, and labor-based economic supply and demand. In almost all of the world's major religions (Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, and many others) very clear distinctions have been made about **gender roles**, or *socialized expectations of what is normal, desirable, acceptable, and conforming for males and females in specific jobs or positions in groups and organizations over the life course*. These gender roles have very specific meanings for the daily lives and activities of males and females who live under the religious cultures in nations throughout history and even in our day. The *Book of Leviticus* in the Judeao-Christian Old Testament has many biological rituals based specifically on Women's hygiene. There is no modern-day scientific support for these religious rituals on females' health nor on their reproduction. These were religious codes of conduct, not biologically-based scientifically beneficial codes.

Many ancient writings in religions refer to the flaws of females, their reproductive disadvantages, their temperament, and the rules that should govern them in the religious community. While many current religious doctrines have transformed as society's values of gender equality have emerged, religion

continues to serve as a patriarchal justification for sex inequality. Throughout history, religions were a dominant social force in many nations and the religious doctrines, like the cultural values, often placed women in a subjugated role to men at a number of different levels.

For example, "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make a help mate for him. . . . And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man." (Gen. 2:18, 22)

This passage presents Eve as an afterthought. Meaning that man (Adam) was the ideal, and woman (Eve) was created as a "help mate" from the ideal (his rib).

"Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." (Gen. 3:16).

This passage relates to, how after God made the world a perfect place (Eden), Eve disobeyed God and helped make the world the imperfect place we know. War, pestilence, famine, and every sin were the prices humanity had to pay for Eve's disobedience. The biblical story of creation presents a God-ordained gender-role hierarchy, with man created in the image of God and woman as a subsequent and secondary act of creation.

The second social force is tradition. Traditions can be and have been very harsh toward women. Table 1 shows the outcomes of oppression toward women that have and currently do exist somewhere in the world. It is remarkable that even though the average woman outlives the average man by three years worldwide and seven years in developed countries, there are still a few countries where cultural and social oppression literally translates into shorter life expectancies for women.

Although pregnancy is not a disease, it carries with it many health risks when governments fail to provide resources to expectant mothers before, during, and after delivery of their baby. **Maternal death** is *the death of a pregnant woman resulting from pregnancy, delivery, or recovery complications*. Maternal deaths number in the hundreds of thousands and are estimated by the United Nations to be around ½ million per year worldwide.[7] Typically, very little medical attention is required to prevent infection, mediate complications, and assist in complications to mothers. To answer this problem one must approach it at the larger social level with government, health care systems, economy, family, and other institutional efforts. The Population Reference Bureau puts a woman's risk of dying from maternal causes at one in 92 worldwide with it being as low as 1 in 6,000 in developed countries and as high as one in 22 for the least developed regions of the world.[8] The Population Reference Bureau (PRB) reports "little improvement in maternal mortality in developing countries."[9]

Table 1. Outcomes of the 10 Worse Forms of Oppression of Women-Worst to Least.[10]

10-Death from cultural and social oppression (Various Countries)
9-Sexual and other forms of slavery (Western Africa and Thailand)
8-Maternal deaths (Sub-Sahara Africa and developing nations)
7-Female Genital Mutilation (Mid-Africa about 120 million victims)
6-Rape and sexual abuse (South Africa and United States are worst countries) 5-Wage disparity (worldwide)
4-No/low education for females (various degrees in most countries of the world)

3-Denial of access to jobs and careers (many developing nations)
2-Mandatory covering of females' bodies head to toe (Traditional countries, Muslim) 1-Public demeaning of women (still practiced, public and private)

Female genital mutilation is *the traditional cutting, circumcision, and removal of most or all external genitalia of women for the end result of closing off some or part of the vagina until such time that the woman is married and cut open*. In some traditions, there are religious underpinnings. In others, there are customs and rituals that have been passed down. In no way does the main body of any world religion condone or mandate this practice—many countries where this takes place are predominantly Muslim—yet local traditions have corrupted the purer form of the religion and its beliefs and female genital mutilation predates Islam.[11]

There are no medical therapeutic benefits from female genital mutilation. Quite the contrary, there are many adverse medical consequences that result from it, ranging from pain, difficulty in childbirth, illness, and even death. Many human rights groups, the United Nations, scientists, advocates, the United States, the World Health Organization, and other organizations have made aggressive efforts to influence the cessation of this practice worldwide, but progress has come very slowly. Part of the problem is that women often perform the ritual and carry on the tradition as it was perpetrated upon them. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is often performed in order to preserve the purity of females before marriage—a cultural ideal in some societies.

Rape is another act of oppression toward women. Rape is not the same as sex. Rape is violence, motivated by men for power. Rape is dangerous and destructive and more likely to happen in the United States than in most other countries of the world. There are 195 countries in the world today. The U.S. typically is among the worst five percent in terms of rape. Consecutive studies performed by the United Nations Surveys on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems confirm that South Africa is the most dangerous, crime-ridden nation on the planet in all crimes including rape.[12]

The United Nations reported that, according to World Bank data, women aged 15 to 44 are more at risk from rape and domestic violence than from cancer, motor accidents, war, and malaria.[13]

OPPORTUNITIES

Wage disparities between males and females are both traditional and labor-based economic supply and demand. Statistics show past and current discrepancies in lower pay for women. Diane White, during a 1997 presentation to the United Nations General Assembly, stated that "Today the wage disparity gap cost American women $250,000 over the course of their lives."[14]

Indeed evidence supports her claim that women are paid less in comparison to men and their cumulative losses add up to staggering figures. The U.S. Census Bureau reported in 2008 that U.S. women earn 77 cents for every U.S. man's $1.[15] They also reported that in some places (Washington D.C.) and in certain fields (computer science and mathematical) women earn as much as 98 cents per a man's $1. At the worldwide level, "as employees, women are still seeking equal pay with men. Closing the gap between women's and men's pay continues to be a major challenge in most parts of the world."[16]

The report also discussed the fact that about 60 countries have begun to keep statistics on informal (unpaid) work by women. Needless to say, even though measuring paid and unpaid work of women is not as accurate as needed for world considerations, "Women contribute to development not only through remunerated work but also through a great deal of non-remunerated work."[17]

Why the lower wages for women? The traditional definition of the reproductive roles of women as being "broken, diseased, or flawed" is part of the answer of wage disparity. The idea that reproductive roles interfere with the continuity of the workplace and the idea that women cannot be depended on plays heavily into the maltreatment of women. The argument can be made that traditional and economic factors have led to the existing patterns of paying women less for their same education, experience, and efforts compared to men.

Efforts to provide formal education to females worldwide have escalated over the last few decades. The 2002 Kids Count International Data Sheet estimated rates as low as 11% of females in primary school in Somalia. A 1993 World Bank report made it very clear that females throughout the world were being neglected in receiving their formal educations when compared to males.[18]
In 1998, another example was found in efforts specific to Africa via the Forum of African Women Educationalists which focuses on governmental policies and practices for female education across the continent.[19] Literally hundreds of studies have since focused on other regions around and below the equator where education levels for females are much lower.

In 1999, it was reported by UNICEF that one billion people would never learn to read as children and 130 million school-aged children (73 million girls) are without access to basic education.[20] Another UNICEF report clearly identifies the importance of educating girls who grow up to be mothers because of the tremendous odds that those educated mothers will ensure that their children are also formally educated.[21] Somalia is now up to 22% for boys and girls in primary schools, yet in most countries females are still less likely to be educated.[22] The main point from UNICEF and many other formal reports is that higher formal education for females is associated with life, health, protection from crime and sexual exploitation, and countless other benefits, especially to females in the poorer regions of the world.

In the United States most females and males attend some form of formal education. After high school, many go to college. Even though the U.S. numbers of 18 to 24 year old men are higher than women,[23] women are more likely to attend college based on percentages (57%).[24]

A projection from the National Center for Education Statistics projects a continuing trend up and through the year 2016 where about 58% of U.S. college students will be female.[25] By 2016, about 60% of graduated students will be females.[26] These numbers reflect a strong and concerted push toward equality of opportunity for females in formal education that dates back over a century. The challenge is to avoid defining progress for U.S. females in public and private education as having been made at the expense of males--that's much too simplistic. They also reflect a change in the culture of bread winning and the adult roles of males. Males and/or females who don't pursue a college degree will make less money than those who do. To make sense of this trend, many males have been identified as having a prolonged adolescence (even into their 30's), video game playing mentality, and a "Live-with-your-parents-indefinitely" strategy until their shot at the

labor force has passed them by. Others have pointed out the higher rates of learning disabilities in K-12, the relatively low percentage of K-5 teachers who are males, and the higher rate of male dropouts. Still others blame attention deficit and hyperactivity as part of the problem.

Here is a truism about education in the U.S.: higher education=higher pay=higher social prestige=higher quality of life. Many countries of the world have neutralized the traditional, religious, and labor-force based biases against women and have moved to a merit-based system. Even in the U.S., there have been *men* wages, and *women's* and *children's* wages (1/10th to 2/3rd of a man's). In a sense, any hard working, talented person can pursue and obtain a high-end job, including women. Communism broke some of these barriers early on in the 20th century, but the relatively low wages afforded those pursuing these careers somewhat offset the advances women could have made. Progress in the U.S. has come more slowly. Physicians are some of the brightest and best paid specialists in the world. Salaries tend to begin in the $100,000 range and can easily reach $500,000 depending on the specialty.[27] Prior to 1970, most physicians were white and male, but things are slowly changing. See Table 2 for trends between 1970 and 2006.

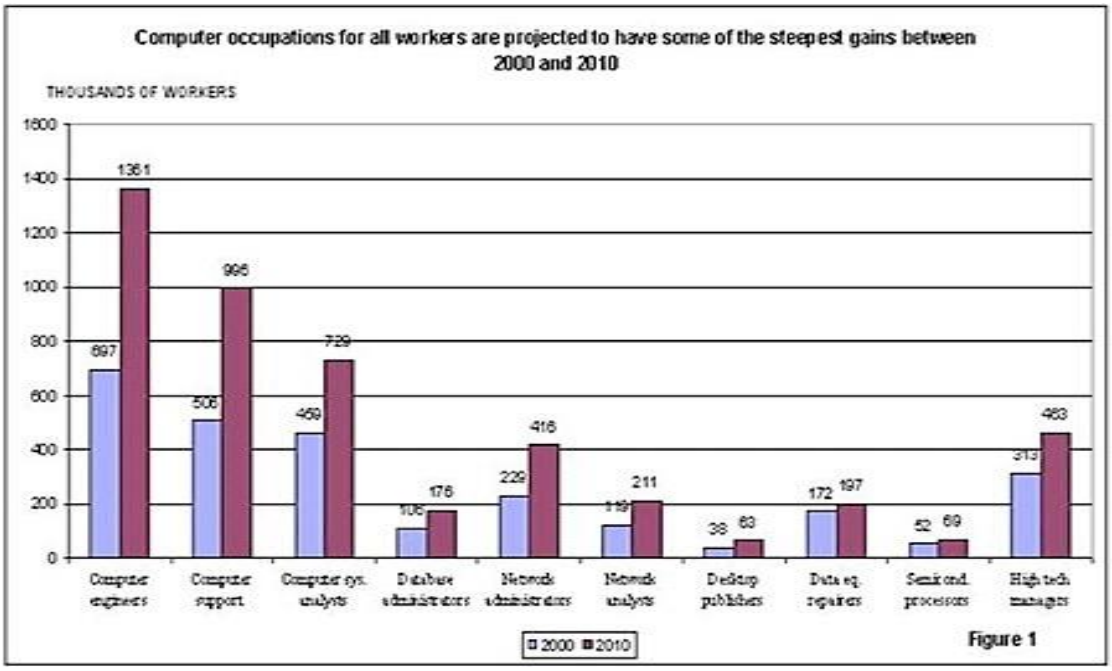
The upward trend shows a concerted effort to provide equal opportunity for females and males. Engineers have also seen a concerted effort to increase the number of females in the profession. The Society of Women Engineers is a non-profit organization which helps support and recognize women as engineers.[28] Figure 1 shows gains in computer-based careers for women. The same cannot be said for doctoral level employment in the more prestigious fields. Figure 2 presents 2005 estimates from the U.S. National Science Foundation. The first 6 fields are the highest paying fields to work in while social and psychological sciences are among the least paying. Women clearly dominate psychology and nearly tie in social sciences and biology. True, at the doctoral level pay is higher than at the masters and bachelors levels, but the difference in engineering and psychology is remarkable at every level of education.[29]

Table 2. The Percentage of Physicians who are Male and Female.[30]

Year	%Male	%Female
1970	92.4	7.6
1980	88.4	11.6
1990	83.1	16.9
2000	76.3	24.0
2002	74.8	25.2
2003	74.2	25.8
2006	72.2	27.8

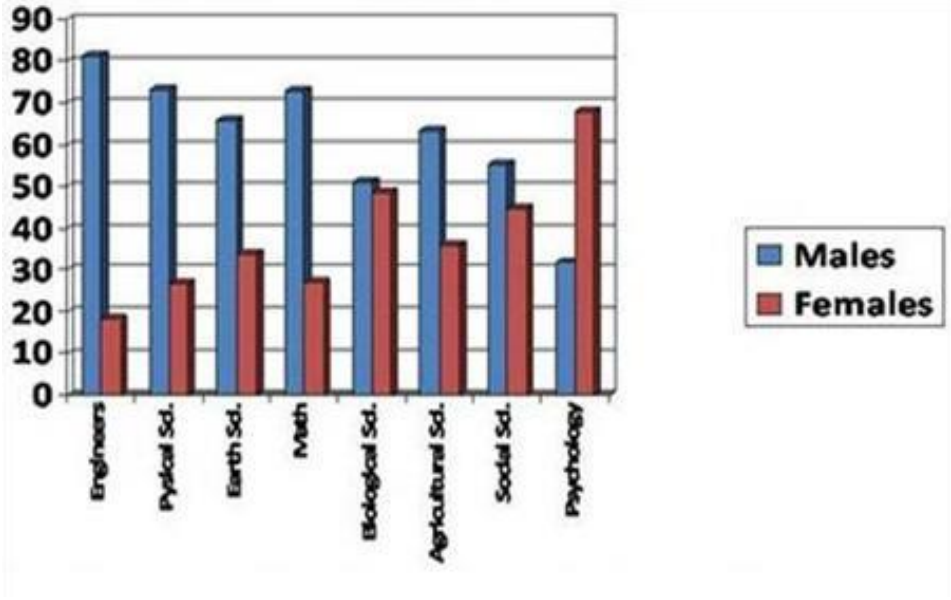
The mandatory covering of females' bodies head to toe has been opposed by some and applauded by others. Christians, Hindus, and many other religious groups have the practice of covering or veiling in their histories. Yet, over the last 30 years, as fundamentalist Muslim nations and cultures have returned to their much more traditional way of life, Hijab which is the Arabic word that means to cover or veil has become more common (ħijāb or حجاب,). Often Hijab means modest and private in the day-to-day interpretations of the practice. For some countries it is a personal choice, while for others it becomes a crime not to comply. The former Taliban punished such a crime with death (they also punished formal schooling of females and the use of makeup by death). Many women's rights groups have brought public attention to this trend, not so much because the mandated covering of females is that oppressive, but because the veiling and covering is symbolic of the religious, traditional, and labor-forced patterns of oppression that have caused so many problems for women and continue to do so today.

Figure 1. Women in High Tech Jobs.[31]



The public demeaning of women has been acceptable throughout various cultures because publicly demeaning members of society who are privately devalued and or considered flawed fits the reality of most day-to-day interactions. **Misogyny** is *the hatred of women often manifested as physical or verbal abuse and oppressive mistreatment of women*. Verbal misogyny is unacceptable in public in most Western Nations today. With the ever present technology found in cell phones, video cameras, and security devices a person's private and public misogynistic language could be easily recorded and posted for millions to see on any number of Websites. Perhaps, this fear of being found out as a woman-hater is not the ideal motivation for creating cultural values of respect and even admiration of women and men. As was mentioned above, most of the world historical leaders assumed that women were not as valuable as men. Women were treated as the totality of their reproductive role, as breeders of the species, rather than valued human beings they are throughout the world today.

Figure 2. United Doctorates States Conferred By Characteristics of Recipients, 2005.[32]



RESEARCH ON GENDER

Margaret Mead's (1901-1978) work became a major seminal work in the women's liberation movement and thereby in the redefinition of women in many Western Societies.[33] Her observations of gender in three tribes: Arapesh, Mundugamor, and Tchambuli created a national discussion which lead many to reconsider the established sex-gender assumption. In these tribes she found the following:

> Arapesh: both men and women displayed what we typically call the feminine traits of sensitivity, cooperation, and low levels of aggression.
> Mundugamor: both men and women were insensitive, uncooperative, and very aggressive. These were typical masculine traits at the time.
> Tchambuli: women were aggressive, rational, and capable and were also socially dominant. Men were passive, assuming artistic and leisure roles.

Why then, Mead argued, if our reproductive roles determined our cultural and social opportunities, were the gender definitions varied and unique among less civilized peoples? Were we less civilized ourselves at one point in history and have we not progressed on a similar path the tribal people take? Could it be that tradition (culture) was the stronger social force rather than biology? Mead's work and her public influence helped to establish the belief that biology is only a part of the sex and gender question (albeit an important part). Mead established that sex≠gender. But, even with the harshest criticism launched against her works, her critics supported and even inadvertently reinforced the idea that biology shapes but culture is more salient in how women and men are treated by those with power.

Language

Professional and volunteer organizations have made concerted efforts to raise awareness of the English language and its demeaning vocabulary toward females. English as a derivative of German has many linguistic biases against women, non-whites, the poor, and non-royalty. Raising awareness and discussing the assumptions within English or any other language has been part of the social transformation toward cultural and biological fairness and equality. If we understand how the words we

use influence the culture we live in and how the value of that culture influences the way we treat one another, then we begin to see the importance of language on the quality of life. Examples: unequal connotations: master—mistress, bachelor—spinster, patron—matron. Generic he/man: policeman, fireman, mankind, workman's compensation, etc.

The Global Gender Gap Index was developed to measure the quality of life for women. It measures the gap between males and females in objective statistics that focus on equality. There are four pillars in the index: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, political empowerment, and health and survival using 14 indicators from each country's national statistics. From 1998 to 2006, there was a reported net improvement for all countries.[34]

When one considers the day-to-day lives of women in these international statistics, and perhaps more importantly in their personal lives, the concept of what women do as their contribution to the function of society becomes important. **Instrumental tasks** are *goal directed activities which link the family to the surrounding society, geared toward obtaining resources*. This includes economic work, bread winning, and other resource-based efforts. **Expressive tasks** are *those that pertain to the creation and maintenance of a set of positive, supportive, emotional relationships within the family unit*. This includes relationships, nurturing, and social connections needed in the family and society. Today, women do both and typically do them well.

Prior to the **Industrial Revolution,** both males and females combined their local economic efforts in homemaking. Most of these efforts were cottage industry-type where families used their children's labor to make products they needed, such as soap, thread, fabric, butter, and many other products. When the factory model of production emerged in Western Civilizations, the breadwinner and homemaker became more distinct. A **breadwinner** is *a parent or spouse who earns wages outside of the home and uses them to support the family*. A **homemaker** is *typically a woman who occupies her life with mothering, housekeeping, and being a wife while depending heavily on the breadwinner*.

What about Men?

In the past two decades a social movement referred to as The Men's Movement has emerged. The Men's Movement is a broad effort across societies and the world to improve the quality of life and family-related rights of men.

Since the Industrial Revolution, men have been emotionally exiled from their families and close relationships. They have become the human piece of the factory machinery (or computer technology in our day) that forced them to disconnect from their most intimate relationships and to become money-acquisition units rather than emotionally powerful pillars of their families.

Many in this line of thought attribute higher suicide rates, death rates, accident rates, substance abuse problems, and other challenges in the

lives of modern men directly to the broad social process of post-industrial breadwinning. Not only did the Industrial Revolution's changes hurt men, but the current masculine role is viewed by many as being oppressive to men, women, and children. Today a man is more likely to kill or be killed, to abuse, and to oppress others. Table 3 lists some of the issues of concern for those in the Men's Movement.

Table 3. Concerns in the Men's Movement.

1. Life and health challenges
2. Emotional isolation
3. Sexual research and rights
4. Post-divorce/separation father's rights
5. False sex or physical abuse allegations
6. Early education challenges for boys
7. Declining college attendance
8. Protection from domestic abuse 9. Man-hating or bashing
10. Lack of support for fatherhood
11. Paternal rights and abortion
12. Affirmative action-sex and race

The list of concerns displays quality of life issues mixed in with specific legal and civil rights concerns. Men's Movement sympathizers would most likely promote or support equality of rights for men and women. They are aware of the **male supremacy model** where *males erroneously believe that men are superior in all aspects of life and that they should excel in everything they do*. They also concern themselves with the **sexual objectification of women** which is *when men learn to view women as objects of sexual consumption rather than as a whole person*. Men as victims of abuse is also an important issue. **Male bashing** is the *verbal abuse and use of pejorative and derogatory language about men*. These and other concerns are not being aggressively supported throughout the world as are the women's rights and suffrage efforts discussed above. Most of the Men's Movement efforts are in Western Societies, India, and a handful of others.

Complete the Gender/Androgyny Role Attitude Assessment to help you better understand your views and experiences with gender.

Gender/Androgyny Role Attitude Assessment.[35]

Answer T=True or F=False on each of the items below. If you are married or otherwise committed then have your partner take the assessment. Compare and discuss only after each has completed it. If you are single have your parents or close friend take the assessment and discuss it.

1. T/F Women with school or preschool aged children should stay home if at all possible
2. T/F Cleaning dishes, laundry, cooking, etc. are really a woman's responsibility
3. T/F Men should be the only breadwinners in the home
4. T/F Women are less capable of making important decisions than are men
5. T/F Women are naturally dependent on men
6. T/F When a woman pursues a career, it's because she has problems with relationships

7. T/F When a woman flatters a man to get what she wants, it's O.K.
8. T/F It would be difficult for me to work for a woman
9. T/F You can tell a great deal about a woman by her appearance and sex appeal
10. T/F Most women admire the qualities of men and would like to be more like them
11. T/F Husbands should really make all the tough decisions in the home
12. T/F Women are not as dependable in terms of job stability and commitment
13. T/F Women should pursue an education that would directly benefit their homemaking role
14. T/F Women are simply not as rational/logical as men
15. T/F Women are more social than men
16. T/F If she were qualified, I'd vote for a woman for president of the U.S.
17. T/F Lawmakers should support gender equality issues in the legislation they pass
18. T/F Women are no more emotional than men tend to be
19. T/F Careers provide women with opportunities for self-fulfillment and growth
20. T/F Sexuality is enjoyed just as much by women as men
21. T/F Men are as capable of loving children as women
22. T/F Overall, genetics have little to do with the way men and women behave
23. T/F Men and women are equally as capable of dominance in society
24. T/F Pay should be based on performance, not gender
25. T/F Men tend to welcome their wife's earnings in today's tough market
26. T/F Neither men nor women are superior to one another
27. T/F Both fathers and mothers are essential to the child's upbringing
28. T/F The way men and women communicate depends more on their individuality than gender
29. T/F Couples should negotiate housework, yard work, and child care duties
30. T/F The birth of the child is cause enough to celebrate, not its sex

Scoring your gender role attitudes:
Give yourself 1 point for each True answer in questions 1-15
Give yourself 1 point for each False answer in questions 16-30
The closer your score is to 30 points the more *traditional* your attitudes tend to be.

Couples and family members enhance the quality of their relationships as they sit down and discuss their gender values and negotiate on those issues which are most significant to those involved. Do these findings accurately reflect you, your expectations, and life experience? Why or Why not?

[1] Google: Aristotle's The Generation of Animals, Sigmund Freud's Penis Envy, or John Grey's Mars and Venus work
[2] See The Book of Health A Practical Family Physician, 1898, by Robert W. Patton
[3] Pages 892-909
[4] Renzetti, C. 1999. Women, Men, and Society, 4th ed. Allyn & Bacon: MA.
[5] Ibid [6] Gorman, C. 1992. "Sizing Up the Sexes". *Time Magazine* [7] See www.UN.org
[8] See www.prb.org World Population Data Sheet 2008
[9] See www.prb.org World Population Data Sheet 2008, page 3

[10] www.prb.org World Population Data Sheet2008; pages 7-15. http://www.prb.org/pdf08/08WPDS_Eng.pdf (Niger, Zambia, Botswana and Namibia have lower death rates for women while Kenya, Zimbabwe, Afghanistan, and Micronesia have a tie between men and women's life expectancy—this even though in developing nations the average woman outlives the average man by 3 years)

[11] See Obermeyer, C.M. March 1999, Female Genital Surgeries: The Known and the Unknowable. Medical Anthropology Quaterly13, pages 79-106;p retrieved 5 December from http://www.anthrosource.net/doi/abs/10.1525/maq.1999.13.1.79

[12] See http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/United-Nations-Surveys-on-Crime-Trends-andthe-Operations-of-Criminal-Justice-Systems.html.

[13] Retrieved 5 December, 2008 from http://www.un.org/women/endviolence/docs/VAW.pdf, Unite To End Violence Against Women, Feb. 2008

[14] Retrieved 5 December from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/statements/Diane%20White.pdf [15] See American Community Survey

[16] Retrieved 5 Dec., 2008 from the UNstats.org from The World's Women 2005: Progress and Statistics http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/ww2005_pub/English/WW2005_chpt_4_Work_BW.pdf ; page 54

[17] Retrieved 5 Dec., 2008 from the UNstats.org from The World's Women 2005: Progress and Statistics http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/ww2005_pub/English/WW2005_chpt_4_Work_BW.pdf; page 47

[18] See Subbarro, K. and Raney, L. 1993, "Social Gains from Female Education: A Cross-National Study". World Bank Discussion Papers 194; retried from Eric ED 363542 on 8 December, 2008

[19] Retrieved 8 Dec 2008 from http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/subjindx/114sped3.htm

[20] Retrieved, 8 Dec 2008 from http://www.unicef.org/sowc99/

[21] See http://www.unicef.org/sowc08/docs/sowc08.pdf

[22] See http://www.unicef.org/sowc08/docs/sowc08_table_1.pdf

[23] www.USCensus.gov

[24] USA Today 19 October, 2005, College Gender Gap Widens: 57% are Women, retrieved 8 December 2008 from http://www.usatoday.com/news/education/2005-10-19-male-college-cover_xhtm [25] Retrieved 8 December, 2008 from "Projections of Education Statistics to 2016" http://nces.ed.gov/programs/projections/projections2016/sec2c.asp [26] See http://nces.ed.gov/programs/projections/projections2016/sec4b.asp

[27] See http://www.allied-physicians.com/salary_surveys/physician-salaries.htm

[28] See http://societyofwomenengineers.swe.org/index.php

[29] See http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_nat.htm#b00-0000

[30] Retrieved from the American Medical Association 8 December, 2008 from Table 1- Physicians By Gender (Excludes Students) http://www.ama-assn.org/ama/pub/category/12912.html

[31] Retrieved 8 December, 2008 from http://www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/hitech02.htm

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[33] Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (1935)

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[35] 81998 Barbara Bearnson, M.S. & Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D

AGING

Learning Outcomes
At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Define gerontology, life expectancy, and life course.
- Compare theories of aging for their usefulness today.
- Recall the stages of grief.
- Analyze inequalities related to aging.

WHAT IS THE STUDY OF AGING?

The United States of America is inhabited by many diverse people, including distinguishable generations of society's members based on age. **Gerontology** is *the scientific study of the processes and phenomena of aging and growing old*. Gerontologists investigate age, aging, and the aged. Examples of questions that would interest a gerontologist include the following: What does it mean to be a particular age in a society? What does the age 21 signify in America? What is this process we call aging and how does it affect us and society? What does it mean to be old in the U.S.?

Definitions of being elderly vary. For example, the government typically sets 65 to be the elderly years, the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) finds 50 to be the eligible age of membership, and many define their 70s or 80s as the time they begin to feel elderly. Gerontology is multi-disciplinary, involving medical and biological scientists, social scientists, and even financial and economic scientists all studying the processes of aging from their discipline's point of view.

Social Gerontology is *the sociological subfield of gerontology which focuses on the social aspects of aging*. Sociology focuses on the broad understanding of the experiences of people at specific ages, such as their health, their emotional and social wellness, and their quality of life, just to mention a few.

The future growth of the U.S. elderly population is immense in comparison to previous census tabulations and growth rates. Table 1 shows the number and percent of people in the U.S. by age category. Those 15 to 64 years old make up the majority of the U.S. population, 67.1% while the 65 and older age group only accounts for 12.7% in 2008. In Figure 1 you can see tremendous growth in the proportion of the elderly group. In 2000, they were only one in eight members of U.S. society, but in 2050 they are projected to be one in five. In Figure 2 you can see that the oldest old, 85 years and older, is also growing rapidly. This means that in general more people are living longer. In fact there are more centenarians than ever before. A **centenarian** is *a person who has had his 100th birthday*. U.S. census counts indicated about 37,000 centenarians in 1990 and about 50,000 in 2000.[1]
Table 1. Number and Percent of United States Population by Age Category, 2008.[2]

	65+	15-64	Less than 14	United States Total
Number	38,690,169	203,987,724	61,146,753	303,824,646
Percent	12.7	67.1	20.1	100

Figure 1. Estimated Percentage of U.S. Population that will be Elderly and Non-Elderly, 2000-2050.[3]

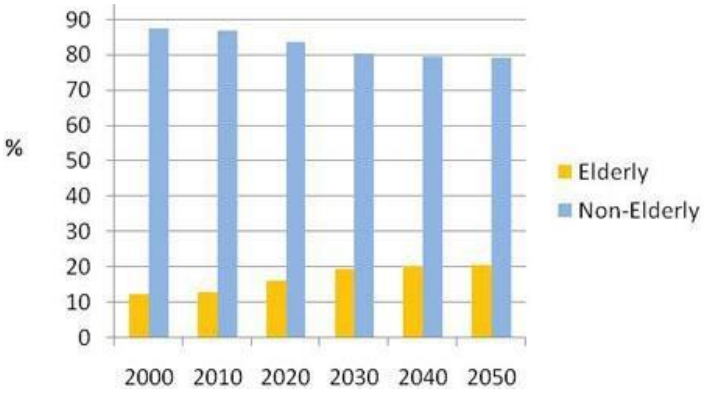
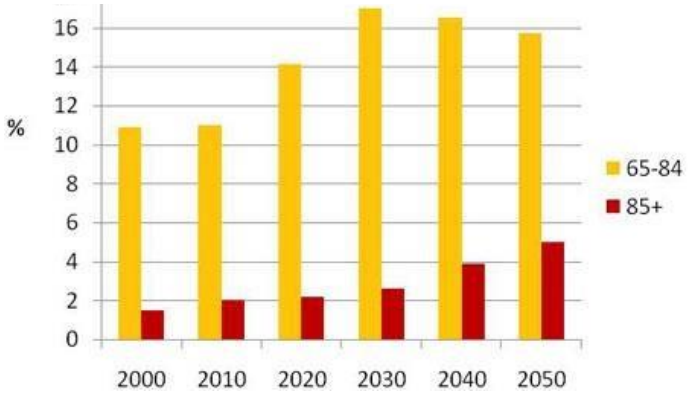


Figure 2. Estimated Percentage of U.S. Population that will be 65-84 and over 85, 20002050.[4]



In many societies the elderly are revered (especially Asian societies). **Filial piety** is *the value, respect, and reverence of one's elderly which is often accompanied by care giving and support of the elderly*. In Western countries, the elderly and their extended families are considered co-equals and mutually independent until circumstances necessitate assistance from children and other family members.

Understanding the Generations of Life

A **life course** is *an ideal sequence of events and positions the average person is expected to experience as he/she matures and moves through life*. Dependence and independence levels change over the life course. In Table 2, you can see that from birth to the teen years, children's levels of dependence are relatively high. Newborns have little ability to nurture others, but as they are socialized and grow into their later-teen roles things change. By young adulthood, independence is a prime value which leads many to move out on their own and gain their own experiences. A young adult's ability to nurture is moderate, but often dormant since most pursue avenues of preparation for their adult lives rather than immediately beginning their own families. Married and cohabiting couples are much more independent and capable of nurturing and remain so throughout the grand-parenting years. As the life course progresses into later life, the oldest elderly begin to lose their independence as their health declines to the point that their resources lag behind the daily demands placed upon them.

STAGE	DEPENDENCEINDEPENDENCE LEVEL	OWN ABILITY TO NURTURE
Birth to Preschool	Totally dependent	Low
Preschool	Mostly dependent	Low
School to Preteen	Somewhat dependent	Low
Teen to Young Adult	Increasingly independent	Moderate
Young Adult	Moderately independent	Moderate
Young Married	Mostly independent	Somewhat high
Young Parents	Independent	High
Parents	Independent	High
Grandparents	Independent	High
Great-Grandparents	Somewhat independent	Moderate

Table 2. Diagram of Dependence and Independence over the Life Course.[5]

The loss of independence is a part of the process of senescence. **Senescence** is *the social, emotional, biological, intellectual, and spiritual processes associated with aging*. In U.S. society there are different meanings to being in a specific age group. The ages 18, 21, and 50 for example hold specific meaning. At 18 one can vote, enter into contracts, and join the military. At 21 drinking is added to the list. At 50 a person can join AARP and some businesses offer senior discounts, such as Holiday Inn, Banana Republic, and Dollar Rent A Car. These privileges are not the same in other countries. U.S. society has attached social importance to these age markers. Think of movies you have seen lately, are the stars old?

Are there love scenes between older men and women? Youth is associated with beauty and sexuality and old is associated with loss of beauty and lack of sexuality. In other countries the markers vary, for example drinking in European countries is socially acceptable at a much younger age than in the U.S. In some countries, the old are revered and valued and still seen as sexual beings.

For many people in modern societies, aging is feared, vilified, and surgically and cosmetically repaired. We do not like being "off our game." Yet many elderly find their lives very satisfying and they tend to report higher levels of self-esteem than do younger members of society. Because we tend to value youth and youthful appearance, entertainment biases appear in the U.S. Many people hold biases and prejudices against the elderly. **Ageism** is *prejudice against a person based on chronological age*. But ageism is a unique form of bias. One may be prejudiced against another racial group, cultural or ethnic group, or religious group while never being at risk of becoming a member of that group. Ironically, ageist people are aging right now and will be until the day they die; they are essentially biased against their own future status.

Social Gerontology Theories

Disengagement Theory claims that *elderly people realize the inevitability of death and begin to systematically disengage from their previous roles while society simultaneously disengages from the elderly person*. This was the first formal aging theory but it fell short because the scientific data did not support its assumptions. Most older people do not disengage from their society. There is quite a bit of support for Continuity and Activity Theories.[6]

For those who seek understanding of the elderly, there are three social theories that might help to understand later-life experiences. **Continuity Theory** claims that *older adults maintain patterns in their later years which they had in their younger years*. The elderly adapt to the many changes which accompany aging using a variety of effective personal strategies they developed earlier in their life. For example, those who participated in outdoor activities in their younger years tend to continue to do so as older adults, although they tend to accommodate their health and fitness limitations as they deem appropriate.

Activity Theory claims that *the elderly benefit from high levels of activities, especially meaningful activities that help to replace lost life roles after retirement*. The key to success in later-life is staying active and, by doing so, resist the social pressures that limit an older person's world.[7]

To really understand the elderly today you have to understand the larger social changes that have transpired over the last century.

Around 1900, U.S. elderly held a more cherished place in the hearts of younger family members. Most homes were intergenerational with grandparents, parents, and children all living together.[8]

In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that there were 105.5 million households in the country with only 3.7% or nearly four million households multigenerational.[9] Today, not having older relatives live with their children and grandchildren is the norm; however, in years past elderly family members were considered a valuable asset with their wisdom and support of their children and grandchildren.

Modernization Theory claims that *industrialization and modernization have lowered the power and influence which the elderly once had and that this has lead to much exclusion of the elderly from community roles*. Even though this theory is not as well established and is somewhat controversial, it has made a place in science for understanding how large-scale social forces have impacted the individual and collective lives of the elderly. In modern societies, the economy has grown to a state that has created new levels of prosperity for most, new technologies have outpaced the ability of the elderly to understand and use them, and the elderly are living much longer and are not essential to the economic survival of the family as was the case in the past. Modernization Theory can help us to understand why the elderly have become stigmatized and devalued over the last century.

The Life Course Perspective is prominent in the field of gerontology. It is *a lens with which to view the age-related transitions that are socially created and are recognized and shared by members of a society*. It aids in our understanding of change among individuals and populations over time by looking at the interrelation between individual biography and historical social structures.[10]

The life course perspective is a theoretical framework that focuses on the timing of events that occur in an individual's lifetime. A life course view of marriage is of an ongoing career that occurs within the context of other life course events.[11] The essential elements of the life course perspective include five themes: 1.) multiple time clocks, 2.) social context of development, 3.) dynamic view of process and change, 4.) heterogeneity in structures and processes, and 5.) a multidisciplinary view.

The first element is a focus on multiple time clocks or events that impact the individual. These multiple time clocks include ontogenetic, or individual, time which is comprised of personal events, generational time which consists of family transitions or events, and historical time which refers to social events. It is crucial to recognize the importance of the interactions of these time frames, since for instance historical events will impact individual's life trajectories, such as the events of war or economic depression.

Changes over historical time, such as the advent of no-fault divorce interact with generational time to increase the number of children whose parents divorce, which in turn interacts with individual time and may bring about a personal choice to divorce.

Second, the social context of development is also a focus of this perspective. One's location within the broader social structure, the social creation of meanings, cultural context and change, and the interplay of macro- and micro-levels of development play an important role in the life course perspective.

Third, the life course perspective has a dynamic view of process and change. It focuses on the dialectic of continuity and change in human development. Age, period, and cohort effects are linked by their interaction with one another link microlevel and macrolevel phenomena. This perspective allows the researcher to disentangle the effects of age, period, and cohort to obtain a more accurate picture of family dynamics. Age effects are an artifact of maturation of individuals while period effects influence the life courses of individuals across birth cohorts. Cohort effects cause a differentiation in life patterns of consecutive birth cohorts.[12]

The fourth theme of the life course perspective looks at heterogeneity in structures and processes. It acknowledges diversity across the range of patterns–increasing diversity over time with age at the cohort and individual level, and diversity over time with social change. The fifth theme emphasizes the utility of multidisciplinary perspectives on development. Development is biological, psychological, and social and all of these perspectives must be considered when studying human development.[13]

The life course perspective is not merely a variation of developmental theories since the latter emphasizes a normative sequence of stages in one's life. The life course perspective acknowledges the variance in the possible sequence of events, as well as, the omission of some events, such as not having children. This perspective also acknowledges the effect of social and historical events on the individual's life course (e.g., war). Life course scholars also are aware of the intra-cohort differences that are influenced by these social and historical events. The life course perspective views marriage as the uniting of two separate life histories which have been influenced by social events of the past and will be influenced by social events of the future.[14]

WHO MAKES UP THE GENERATIONS?

Figure 3 shows birth rates and generation labels for the United States. The lower line represents the **crude birth rate** (CBR), a measure of *the number of live births per 1,000 people living in the population*. The upper line represents the **general fertility rate** (GFR), *a measure of the number of live births per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44*. Both CBR and GFR show a pattern of birth rates that were relatively high when the World-At-War Generation was born. Birth rates declined with the Great Depression until 1946 (the commencement of the Baby Boom). The **Baby Boomers** represented a *surge in birth rates from 1946 to 1964* and declined to pre-Boom rates in 1965. **Generation X** or "Gen X" represents *the children of the Baby Boomers born about 1964 to 1981* which spilled into **Generation Y** or the "Millennials" which were *born about 1981 to present*.

The World-at-War Generation is slowly disappearing from the U.S. population landscape.

On the 18th of June, 2008, the last living Veteran of World War I was honored by the White House and Congress. Frank W. Buckles fought in WWI and was held prisoner in Manila during World War II.[15] Also the U.S. Veterans' Bureau reported that there were 2,911,900 WWII veterans as of the 30th of September 2007, with about 900 WWII veterans passing away each day. They also reported that 39.1% of all U.S. veterans were aged 65 and older.[16]

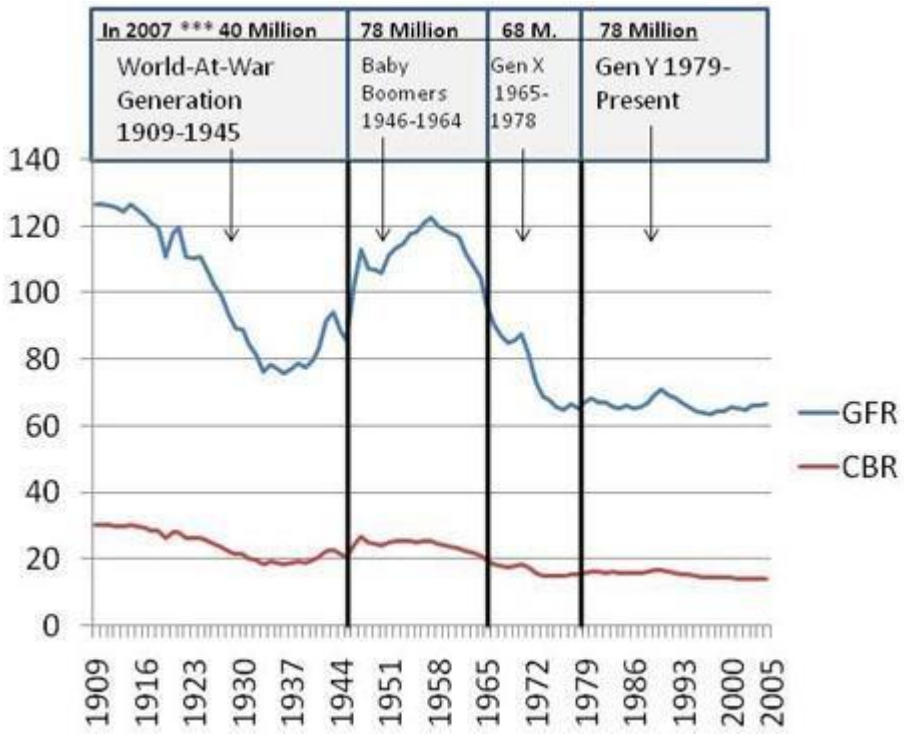


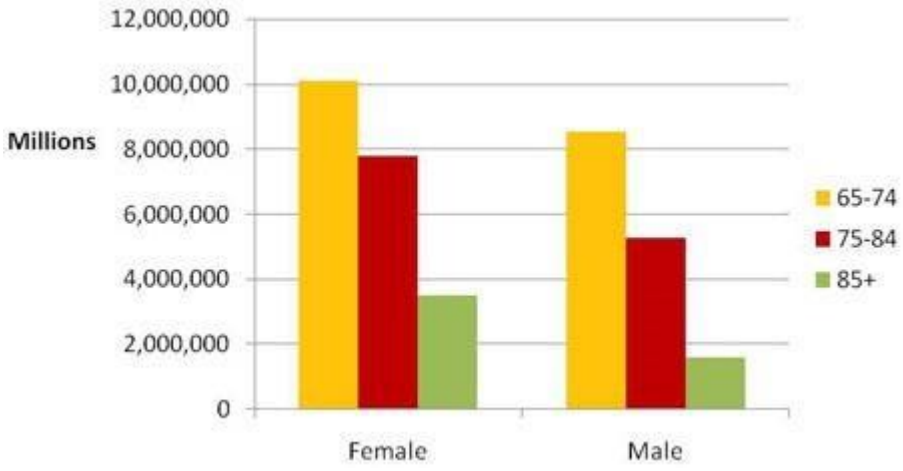
Figure 3. Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and General Fertility Rate (GFR) in the U.S., 1909-2005.[17]

The majority of the elderly today are women. The elderly are divided into three life stages: the **young-old**=*65-74* years; the **middle-old**=*75-84* years; and the **old-old**=*85+ years*. In 2005, there were more females in all three age categories because women, in most countries of the world, have a longer life expectancy than men (see Figure 4). **Life expectancy** is *the average number of years a person born today may expect to live*. The U.S. Life expectancy today is about 80 for females and 75 for males (worldwide it is 70 for females and 66 for males).[18] Life expectancies have increased dramatically over the last 50 years in Canada, the United States, Australia, Japan, and Western Europe. Overall, both men and women can expect to live longer today than they did in the 20th century.

"The **sex ratio** [*the number of males per 100 females in a given population*] in the United States was 44 for persons 85 to 89 years old, and only 26 for persons 95 to 99 years old. In comparison, the sex ratio was 82 for persons 65 to 69 years old."[19]

The Baby Boomers represent 78.2 million U.S. citizens as of July, 2005.[20] This large cohort is moving en masse into the ranks of the elderly. A **cohort** is *a group of people who share a statistical or demographic trait* such as the Baby Boomers born between 1946 and 1964. Nearly 8,000 Baby Boomers turned 60 each day in 2006. The U.S. Census estimates that
57.8 million Baby Boomers will be around in 2030 after they've all retired. One issue for gerontologists is the financial strain the Baby Boomers will place on the rest of society once they are retired. Most speculate that Baby Boomers will not receive the same Social Security benefits that their parents and grandparents enjoyed.

Figure 4. U.S. Elderly Population Ages 65-74, 75-84, and 85+, by Sex.[21]



The children of the Baby Boomers are called Generation X or the "Baby Bust" because they were born in post-boom low fertility rate years. They were different from their parents. They grew up with the computer age and came to computer technology much like an immigrant comes to a new country. This cohort grew up in an economic state of greater posterity than did previous generations. Generation Y, or Millennials, are also called the "Internet Generation" or "Screenagers" because they grew up with TV, video games, cell phones, PDAs, and movie screens. Each generation is culturally distinct compared to the previous ones even though much still remains in common. There is a good chance that children of Generation Y parents will be better skilled than their parents with a technology that has not yet been invented.

Tables 3 and 4 present life expectancies in the U.S. and the world. The elderly of the future will be expected to live longer than any elderly in history. Being born in the U.S. affords the average member of society a longer life. In Table 4 you can see that North American children are born with higher life expectancies than other children around the world. By far, being born in Japan and Hong Kong would provide the absolute highest life expectancy at birth (82 years).

Population Aging Is Occurring Worldwide

Over the past half-century, both the worldwide drop in fertility and the concurrent rise in life expectancy have led to the gradual aging of the world's population (see Table 5). Since 1950, the share of persons aged 65 and older has risen from five percent to seven percent worldwide. Europe and Japan have led the way with North America, Australia, and New Zealand close behind.

Table 3. United States Life Expectancies in Years.[22]

Year	Total	Male	Female
1970	70.8	67.1	74.7
1980	73.7	70.0	77.4
1990	75.4	71.8	78.8
2000	77.0	74.3	79.7
2010	78.5	75.6	81.4
2015	79.2	76.2	82.2

Region	Total	Male	Female
World	68	66	70
Africa	53	52	54
N. America	78	70	81
L. America	73	70	76
Asia	68	67	70
Europe	75	71	79
Oceania	75	73	78

Table 4, 2007 World and Regional Life Expectancies in Years.[23]

Death and Dying

As a young college student you probably don't worry about **widowhood** (*when one's spouse dies).* **Widows** are *surviving wives* and **widowers** are *surviving husbands*. Justifiably, you shouldn't have to worry about becoming labeled as either based on statistical probabilities. If you are female and marry a man two years older, and he typically dies 5-6 years younger than you, then you will be a widow at some time in your life and may live 7-8 years as such. One sub-discipline of gerontology is thanatology. **Thanatology** is *the scientific study of death and dying*. Thanatology informs those who provide support and counsel to the dying.

How we define death, both our own and the death of others, is very much influenced by the cultural definition of death we incorporated into our own values while growing up. It's very common for college students about your age to have lost a great aunt/uncle, great grandparent, and perhaps even a grandparent. It's not so common for you to have lost your own parent or a sibling. **Grief** is *the feeling of loss we experience after a death, disappointment, or tragedy*. When you experience grief you are said to be in bereavement. **Bereavement** is a name for *the circumstances and conditions that accompany grief*.

Table 5. Worldwide Percent of Persons Ages 65 and Older.[24]

Dr. **Elisabeth Kübler-Ross** researched the **stages of grief**.[25]

	2007	2025	2050
World Total	7	10	16
Industrialized Countries	16	21	26
Developing Countries	6	9	15
Europe	16	21	28
North America	12	18	21
Oceania	10	15	19
Latin Am. & Caribbean	6	10	9
Asia	6	10	18
Africa	3	4	7

These include:

1. Denial - "All is fine." or "It didn't happen."
2. Anger - "Why me?" or "I hate God for this."
3. Bargaining - "I'll be a better person if you (God) will just let him live."
4. Depression - "All is lost." or "Why try?"
5. Acceptance - "I'll be okay." or "I can get through this."

We all grieve when things disappoint us, when someone dies, or even when we break up with someone. We all grieve in our own way. Some studies show that most people experience denial, anger, bargaining, depression, or acceptance, but there exists some disagreement on the part about cycling through Kübler-Ross' stages in any order. Some people even revisit stages later on and some people do not experience all of her stages.
The study of aging, the study of generations, the study of life course, and the study of death and dying are all part of the study of social gerontology.

[1] See Kestenbaum and Reneé, 2006 Retrieved from the Internet 19 July, 2008 from http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa4030/is_200607/ai_n17183322

[2] Retrieved 17 June 2008 from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/us.html [3] Retrieved 18 June 2008 from http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/usinterimproj/natprojtab02a.pdf Table 2a. Projected Population of the United States, by Age and Sex, 2000 to 2050

[4] Retrieved 18 June 2008 from http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/usinterimproj/natprojtab02a.pdf Table 2a. Projected Population of the United States, by Age and Sex, 2000 to 2050 [5] © 2009 Ron J. Hammond, Ph.D.

[6] See The Encyclopedia of Aging

[7] Google Robert Havighurst and Aging

[8] See Dorian Apple Sweetser, 1984 "Love and Work: Intergenerational Household Composition in the U. S. in 1900" Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 46, No. 2 (May, 1984), pp. 289-293 retrieved on 18 June 2008 from http://www.jstor.org/stable/352460?seq=1 [9] report C2KBR/01-8 retrieved on 18 June 2008, Table 2

[10] Elder & O'Rand. (1995); Hagestad & Neugarten (1985)

[11] Esterberg et al. (1994)

[12] Elder & O'Rand. (1995) [13] Bengtson & Allen. (1993) [14] Liker & Elder. (1983).

[15] See CNN, retrieved on 19 June, 2008 from http://www.cnn.com/2008/US/03/07/war.veteran/

[16] See data sheet retrieved 19 June 2008 from http://www1.va.gov/vetdata/docs/4X6_spring08_sharepoint.pdf

[17] Retrieved 19 June, 2008 from Table 77: Live Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces 1960-2006 http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/tables/08s0077.pdf and Table 1: Live births, birth rates, and Fertility Rates by Race: United States Specified Years, 1940-1955 and Each year 1960-2005

[18] See www.prb.org, 2007 Population Data Sheet , retrieved 19 June 2008

[19] Retrieved 19 June 2008 from www.census.gov

[20] See www.census.gov

[21] Data retrieved 19 June 2008 from Table 1: Resident population, by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin: United States, selected years 1950–2005 from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/hus07.pdf#001

[22] Retrieved 19 June 2008 Table 98: Expectations of Life at Birth, 1970-2004, and Projections, 2010 and 2015; http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/tables/08s0098.pdf [23] www.prb.org, 2007 Population Data Sheet , retrieved 19 June 2008

[24] Retrieved 19 June 2008 from WWW.PRB.org Population Data Sheet 2007: Sources: C. Haub, 2007 World Population Data Sheet, and United Nations Population Division

[25] On Death and Dying, 1973, Routledge Press

POLITICS AND THE ECONOMY

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Define politics.
- Discuss the different types of government.
- Define the power elite.
- Define the economy.
- Define Capitalism.

WHAT IS POLITICS?

The study of politics goes long before sociology's existence. It has a long history in philosophy, economics and later political science. Our focus will be on the sociological understanding of politics. According to sociologists, **politics** includes *the exercise of power by those in government and by those intending to influence the use of government resources.* Another way to think about politics is that it is how a society decides how to allocate its scarce resources. Politics often takes place within government. **Government** is *the decision making part of the state*. According to Weber, **the state** is that entity which possesses a "monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force."[1] Ultimately, what all of these terms have in common is how society wields power. Also according to Weber, **power** is *the ability to get things done even when others resist.*[2]

The organization of power within the state allows several functions to be fulfilled. 1. The state establishes laws and norms. The norms of a society are codified by the formal recording of laws. In addition, sanctions for breaking these laws are also recorded. 2. The state provides for social control. This means that the state has the power to enforce its laws. Police, courts, and the prison system are given the power to arrest, convict, and imprison those who break the laws. 3. Ensuring economic stability. An infrastructure must be in place for a large, complex society to exist. Money has to be created, roads have to be built, goods and resources must be distributed, and people have to be educated, among other things, for society to thrive. 4. Setting goals. The state decides what it values and what to work for. If a society values freedom from tyranny it may place an emphasis on its military force. If it values children it may provide good quality child care at a reasonable cost. If it values the physical environment it may place restrictions on use of natural resources. 5. Protecting against outside threats. Most societies have been threatened at some point by another society. The state is responsible for creating policies and for maintaining an armed force to protect against intrusion by outsiders.[3]

GOVERNMENTAL TYPES

There are numerous types of government in the world today. The most common ones take the form of dictatorship, monarchy, and democracy. **Dictatorships** *are when one person is charge of the government and rules with an iron fist in an effort to maintain complete control over citizens' lives*. Examples of dictatorships include the late Kim Jong Il of North Korea, Augusto Pinochet of Chile and Charles Taylor of

Liberia. **Autocracies** are *when the ultimate authority lies in the hands of one person* who controls all aspects of the society. Recent events known as the Arab Spring in the Middle East and Northern Africa have seen the overthrow of violent dictators such as Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt in favor of democratic reforms. **Totalitarian governments** are *a political system where a small power elite controls virtually every aspect of the personal and larger social levels of society.* **Monarchies** are less common than in the past (example, Ming Dynasty in China) but *are governments ruled by a king or queen and their lineage*. Lastly, **democracies** *are political systems in which every citizen is capable of participating in the political process* ('demos' means people and 'cracy' means 'rule by').[4]

Democracies are marked by a representative government where officials are elected by the people of the nation. The power and authority of those elected officials is legitimized, in other words the citizens give them power to enact and enforce policies and laws.[5] Many citizens of the United States take voting for granted and students tend to vote in very low numbers when compared with older citizens.

If the United States is a democracy how does it fare with participation in the political process? One measure of this is called voter turnout. Table 1 tracks voter turnout in presidential election years from 1960 to 2008. In 1960, 63% of those of voting age actually turned out to vote. This has dropped to just under 57% in 2008. Voter turnout is typically lower in non-presidential election years. The lowest since 1960 was in 1998 with 36.4% voter turnout.[6]

If citizens play such a minimal role in elections who fills in the void to shape the democratic process? C. Wright Mills proposed that the power elite actually rule America. For Mills, the **power elite** were *political, corporate, and military leaders of a society who are uniquely positioned to commit elite crime, or crimes of insider nature that typically are difficult to punish and have broad social consequences upon the masses.*[7] The rest of us are merely influenced by and dominated by, the power elite.

Table 1. National Voter Turnout in Federal Elections: 1960-1996.[8]

Year	Voting Age Population	Registration	Turnout	% T/O of VAP*
2008	231,229,580	NA	132,618,580	56.8
2004	221,256,931	174,800,000	122,294,978	55.3
2000	205,815,000	156,421,311	105,586,274	51.3
1996	196,511,000	146,211,960	96,456,345	49.1
1992	189,529,000	133,821,178	104,405,155	55.1
1988	182,778,000	126,379,628	91,594,693	50.1
1984	174,466,000	124,150,614	92,652,680	53.1
1980	164,597,000	113,043,734	86,515,221	52.6
1976	152,309,190	105,037,986	81,555,789	53.6
1972	140,776,000	97,328,541	77,718,554	55.2
1968	120,328,186	81,658,180	73,211,875	60.8
1964	114,090,000	73,715,818	70,644,592	61.9
1960	109,159,000	64,833,096	68,838,204	63.1

*% T/O of VAP=Percent Turnout of Voting Age Population

THE ECONOMY

The **economy** is *a system of producing and distributing goods and services* and can be local, state, national, international, and global. There are various types of economic systems in today's global marketplace. **Capitalism** is *an economic and social system in which capital, the non-labor factors of production (also known as the means of production), is privately owned*.[9] **Socialism** is *an economy based on governmental management and control of goods and services*.

Communism is *an extreme socialistic economy with extreme governmental management of goods and services along with management of public and private ideologies*. Cuba, Venezuela, North Korea, and China are a few remaining national level communistic economies. There are communist parties in many countries today, but few have national control as do the four listed above or the many that existed during the Cold War.

Recently, many have criticized the U.S. as having forfeited its capitalistic ideals in favor of a form of **democratic socialism**, *an economic system based on the merger of capitalism and socialism that often is accompanied by vague boundaries between governmental management of goods and services and diminished "hands-off" governmental involvement in the individual pursuit of economic stability*.[10]

Adam Smith (1723-1790) was an eccentric professor who is regarded as the father of modern capitalism.[11] He wrote in *The Wealth of Nations* that an invisible hand emerged when people pursued their own business interest and collectively benefitted society at large. The full impact of Adam Smith's work is hard to estimate. He is considered to be one of the most intellectually potent thinkers of the last four centuries. His ideas have been taught and have guided national economic policy for decades.

According to Smith, capitalism has four features. 1. Private property. Smith thought that when citizens were able to own property it prompted them to be thrifty and instilled in then the respect for their own and others' property. 2. Freedom of choice. When one has the right to own property, he also has the right to choose what to do with it. A person can sell, trade, rent, or give away her own property. 3. Free competition. Smith thought that demand would regulate the supply of goods and services—a competitive marketplace benefits society. 4. Freedom from government interference. Smith thought that government should not regulate the marketplace.[12] He promoted a **laissez-faire government** (*non-interference of government in businesses*).[13] If you think about the United States, you will quickly realize that it is not an example of pure capitalism. Think of all the social welfare programs funded by the state and all the regulations the state imposes on industries such as the pharmaceutical industry. Therefore the U.S. is referred to a **mixed economy** *which combines free enterprise and governmental regulation of social welfare and some industries*.[14]

Today's economy is far different from that of Smith's time. In his day, much work was located in the primary sector of the economy. The **primary economic sector** is *the part of economic production involving agriculture, mining, fishing, and materials acquisition*. Smith's day also was laden with work in the **secondary economic sector**, *the part of the economic production involving manufacturing (factories and home-based)*. Today, the majority of our work involves the **tertiary economic sector**, or *work which involves providing a service to others such as food, retail, computer processing, or information*

management. The tertiary sector emerged along with telecommunications and the computer chip technologies.[15]

In Adam Smith's day, probably about two percent of all work was in the tertiary sector with the rest being in primary and secondary sectors. In 2007, less than one percent of Americans were employed in the primary sector, 17% in the secondary sector, and 82% in the tertiary sector. About eight out of ten jobs are in the service sector.[16] Where exactly is the primary and secondary work taking place for us in the U.S. if not here? Look at the label on your shoes, clothes, computers, cell phones, cars, TV's, and even groceries. The U.S. is a nation populated widely by consumers with most of its production being service-related.

Part of the explanation of why jobs shifted to service-related classifications has to do with supply and demand. **Supply** is *the availability of goods and services in the marketplace*. **Demand** is *the desire in the marketplace for goods and services*. Typically, with higher supply and lower demand you'd see lower prices. With higher demand and lower supply you'd see higher prices. This is true in many markets, but does not appear to apply to the very unstable US cost of gasoline per gallon which changes without traditional regard to supply and demand.

As the supply of labor-ready employees increased in the U.S. factories in the past and other labor-based industries, the demand for these employees appeared to never end. But, as the computer chip transformed technology to the point that less demand for labor became the norm and then workers from all over the world were willing to do the U.S.'s primary and secondary labor for a fraction of the cost, the U.S. literally became an import nation for its primary and secondary goods. Much of the current job market pays and rewards education because education is still in high demand in a service economy. Without it a worker has to compete with cheaper foreign labor or get lucky with the very few labor-related jobs that are in the U.S. economy today.

Theories that Help us Understand the Political Process and the Economy

How would each of our major perspectives explain the political and economic systems of the U.S.? Remember that Functionalists look how structures of a society help that society function and thrive. See Table 2 for a brief summary of the three major perspectives. When applying the Functionalist Perspective one might investigate how the voting process helps to stabilize the economy. Remember the fact that students do not tend to vote in large numbers. What does this do to U.S. society? Older people do vote in large numbers, they see it as their duty, and they vote for policies that benefit them. If students also voted in large numbers we might see a change toward providing more government funds to higher education and less to older adults. If both voted in the same proportion there may be a tug of war for government money every election and money would be diverted to higher education one year and then to older adult programs the next. A constant change back and forth does not lead to stability.

Table 2. The Three Major Perspectives on Politics and the Economy.

Perspective	Explanation of Politics and the Economy
Structural Functionalists	Institutions such as the government provide necessary functions for the smooth operation and maintenance of society. They provide stability and harmony.
Conflict Theory	Institutions such as the government protect and maintain the interests of society's elites at the expense of everyone else. The elite has access to the economic aspects of society.
Symbolic Interactionism	Institutions such as the government are made up of micro level, individual interactions which cumulatively make up the institution and our individual identities.

Conflict theorists might look at how and why people of certain groups are more likely to be elected. Antonio Villaraigosa is the first Hispanic mayor of Los Angeles (a city with a Spanish origin and name) in over 10 years.[17] Over 48% of the citizens of Los Angeles are Hispanic.[18] Why are Whites elected more often than Hispanics, Blacks, Asians, or Native Americans? It often comes down to who has the money and the power? It takes money to get elected. In the 2007 presidential election, Mitt

Romney spent nearly $110 million; $44 million of that was from his own personal fortune.[19] Those who have money and power know others with money and power and it takes these associates to help raise that other $66 million he spent (and he didn't get elected).

Functionalists and Conflict Theorists differ in that Functionalists view the state as necessary in order to accomplish the goals of a complex society. Those with specialized talents need to be compensated so that they will provide their talents for the benefit of society. On the other hand, Conflict Theorists would argue that the state is a vehicle for the power elite to maintain their position of privilege.[20]

A Symbolic Interactionist may look at what it means to be an elected official. For some it may it mean power and that is the sole reason to pursue the office. For most, at least in the beginning, it may mean a way to give back to the community or a way to right the wrongs of society. What do you think of when you hear someone is a politician? What meanings does that word have to you? Do you view all politicians as evil self-serving power mongers? Or do you view them as public servants who strive for the good of society?

No one perspective is more correct or better than the others. It just depends on what you are interested in understanding as to which you could apply. As you think about aspects of the U.S. political system think about which perspective would help you understand them.

[1] Daniel Warner. 1991. *An ethic of responsibility in international relations*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. [2] Weber, M. 1978. Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

[3] Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

[4] Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

[5] Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

[6] http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0781453.html

[7] Mills, C. Wright. 2000. The Power Elite. Oxford, England. Oxford University Press.

[8] http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0781453.html

[9] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism

[10] http://www.dsausa.org/pdf/widemsoc.pdf

[11] Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

[12] http://adamsmithslostlegacy.blogspot.com/2009/06/adam-smith-on-state-intervention.html. & Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

[13] http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/laissez+faire

[14] Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.
& http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed_economy

[15] The Three–Sector Theory originated with research by Colin Clark and Jean Fourastié

[16] Taken from Bureau of Labor Statistics 24 March 2009 from
http://www.bls.gov/news.release/ocwage.t02.htm Table 2. Employment by Industry and Occupational Group, 2007

[17] http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/18/national/18cnd-angeles.html

[18] 2000 United States Census

[19] http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/03/26/how-much-does-it-cost-to-run-for-president/ [20] Tischler, H. L. (2011). Introduction to Sociology. Belmont, CA: Cengage.

Religion

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

Define terms relevant to the study of religion.

Recall the world's major religions.

Recall the U.S.'s major religions.

Apply the theoretical perspectives to the study of religion.

Religion is *a unified system of beliefs, rituals, and practices that typically involve a broader community of believers who share common definitions of the sacred and the profane.* **Sacred** *is the supernatural, divine, awe inspiring, and spiritually significant aspects of our existence*. For you, religion might be a personal definition of how you feel about your place in the universe. It may also reflect how you understand categories of people who share a common system of beliefs that differ from your own (Jews, Muslims, Christians, etc.). **Profane** is *that which is part of the everyday life experience.* So while you may wear a cross as a symbol of your faith (sacred) others may wear them as fashion statements (profane). **Religiosity** is *the measurable importance of religion to a person's life*. Religiosity can be measured by considering things such as how often someone attends formal services; how attached they feel to their religion; how often they privately worship in their home; and other factors.

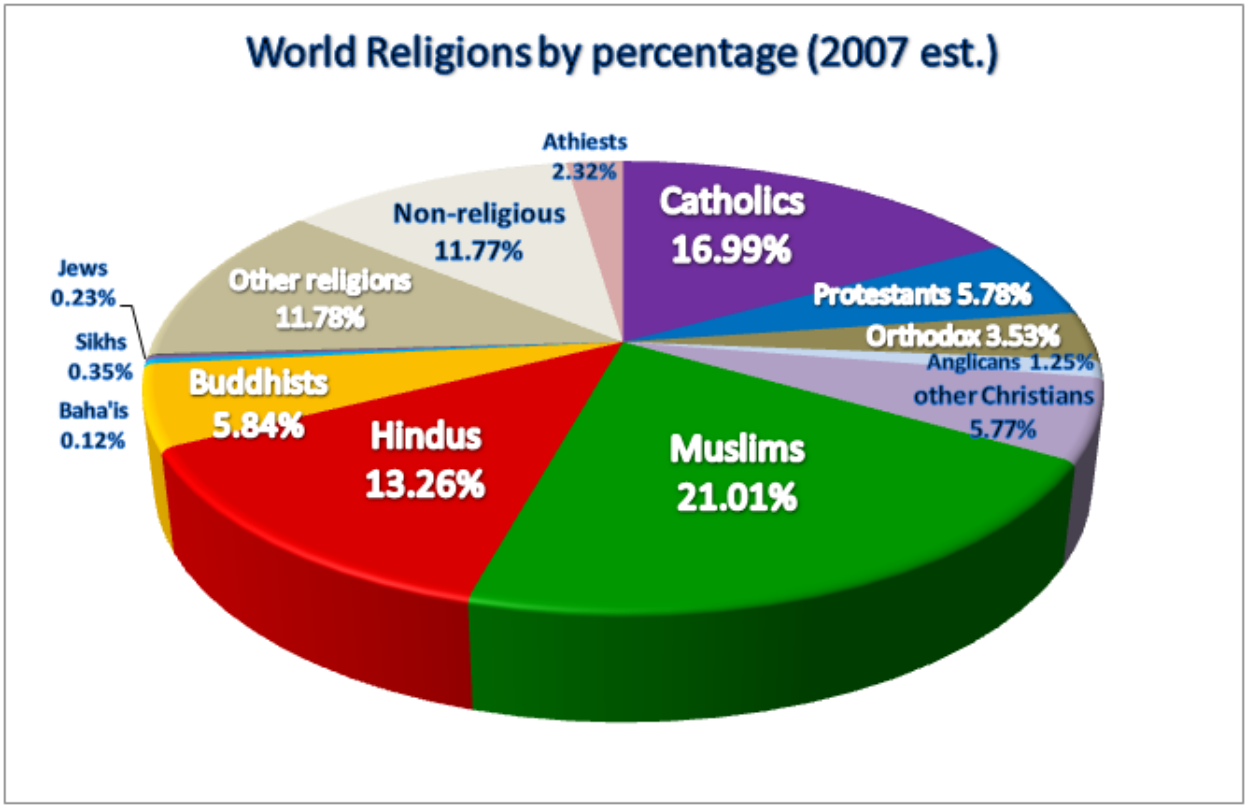
For sociologists, religion is typically studied in two approaches: 1) a cultural approach that evaluates the religious aspects of the culture shared by followers of a certain religion; and 2) a theoretical approach to religion including its symbols, functions, exchange-based interactions, and power issues. Religion has always been an important issue at both levels of society: personal and larger social. Figure 1 shows a pie chart of the 2007 estimate of the world's composition of religious followers. Muslims collectively comprise the largest single religious belief system in the world in 2007. Over the last century birthrates among Muslims have remained high. By sheer numbers alone, a high birthrate among an estimated 1,300,000,000 people makes birth become a significant factor in the Muslim world growth rate. A less common factor is that in many Muslim nations polygamy continues to be the norm with 1 to 4 wives being acceptable.

Following Muslims, Roman Catholics made up about 17% of the world's population. Catholicism has strong membership in Western Europe, Latin America, the United States, as well as other countries and regions. Hindus, who are primarily located in India, come in a close third (13.26%).

The United State's Religions

Figure 2 shows the CIA's estimated U.S. religions for 2007. The collective category of U.S. Protestants is the largest collection of religious belief systems. Protestantism includes Baptists, Lutherans, Anglicans, and various non-Catholic and non-Orthodox Christian denominations. Second in percentage is the Roman Catholic Church. In contrast to the Protestant classification which is comprised of many diverse denominations, the Roman Catholic Christian Church is comprised of only one denomination headquartered in Rome, Italy.

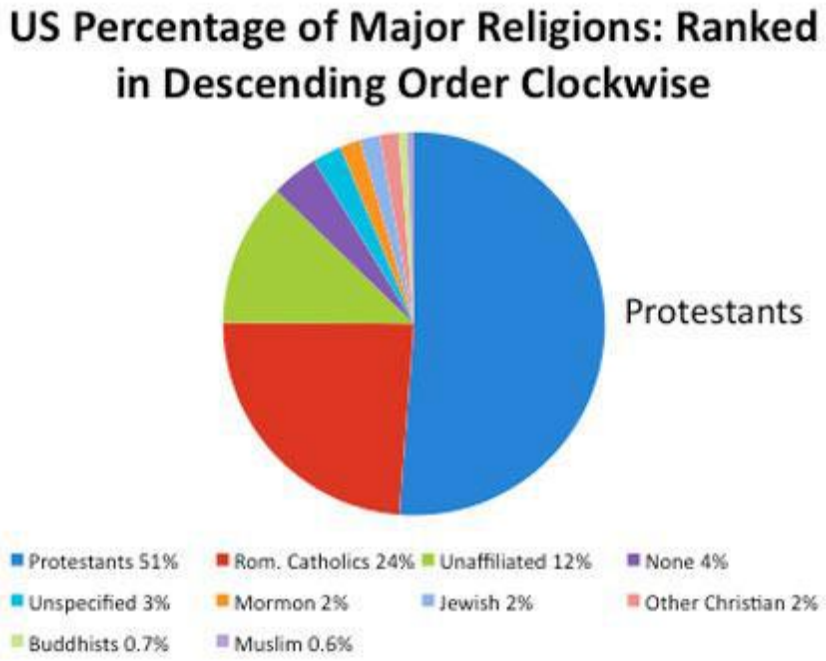
Figure 1. 2007 Estimation of Percentage of World Religions, 2007.[1]



The Roman Catholic population in the U.S. has grown for two primary reasons. First, Roman Catholics continue to have higher birthrates than others (yet about the same for Mormons). Second, since the 1980s many U.S. immigrants come from Mexico and bring their Catholicism with them to the U.S. About 12% of the population claim to be unaffiliated, four percent reported none, and three percent chose not to specify their religion. After that, Mormons were next with nearly two percent. Mormons have a very high birthrate and a strong force of proselytizing missionaries throughout the U.S. and the world.

Given the peaceful nature of most of the major religions, it is paradoxical to have so many religious-based wars, genocides, population transfers, conquest, and other forms of large-scale aggression which have transpired throughout history. In the Race and Minority chapter, we learned about prejudice and the goal of finding common ground in building bridges and overcoming prejudices. With religions this is particularly difficult to apply.

Figure 2. 2007 Estimation of Percentage of United States Religions, 2007.2



Many of us believe very deeply in our religious convictions. We change and alter our lifestyles and desires because we believe that our hope, salvation, or existence will be made better because of our sacrifices. It is understandable that we are deeply devoted and passionate, but we also tend to believe that we belong to the exclusively right or correct faith and that all others are mistaken and perhaps going to hell. Some religious fanatics believe so strongly in the damnation of non-believers that they feel justified in killing others as an act of so called, "saving other people from themselves." This explains in part the rationale of the religiously-based conflicts in our current and historical experiences.

Religious Tolerance

In his work, Jeffrey Moses describes common beliefs and values, which are articulated in the core doctrines and scriptures of many of the world and U.S. religions. “Honor thy father and mother,” “Be good to those around you,” “It is better to give than receive,” and “Respect the elderly in your life” are just a few examples of teachings common to many diverse religions. To take such an open-minded stance requires a concerted effort on our part. To be able to feel secure enough in our own beliefs to find acceptance in the beliefs of others takes devotion to our own faith and deep caring about the quality of the human experience in our many relationships. We sometimes mistakenly believe that we have strength in commonality when often there is just as much strength found in mutually respected tolerance of different people who respect and honor one another.[3]

Sociology of Religion

Sociologists classify religions to distinguish them based on beliefs and rituals. **Supernaturalism** is a *belief system with no gods, but focuses on human and non-human supernatural forces that can influence human events*. **Animism** is also *a belief system that has no gods, but focuses personalized spirits or ghosts of ancestors that take an interest in, and actively work to influence, human affairs*. Theistic religions **(theism)** include *the belief in divine beings which are gods that actively influence human affairs*. **Monotheism** *refers to the belief in only one god*. The three main monotheistic

religions include: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. **Polytheism** refers to *religions with multiple gods* such as Hinduism. **Abstract ideals** refers to *religions that focus on sacred principles and thoughts which guide our lives and typically have no divine beings in charge of the world and universe*. Buddhism is an example of an abstract idealistic religion.[4]

Sociologists study the relationships between society and religion from a scientific perspective. For example, to Christians, Jesus was the Messiah, to Muslims, Jesus was a prophet, to sociologists, Jesus is a religious symbol. Religious symbols acquire their attached meanings through the religious belief system of which they are a part.

One final concept should be discussed. **Secularization** is *the trend toward worldly concerns and away from concerns for the religiously sacred in the lives of society's members*. A study of U.S. religiosity was conducted over three years (1990, 2001, and 2008) and the data indicated an increase in the percentage of those in the U.S. claiming no religion, from 8.2% in 1990, to 14.2% in 2001, and finally 15% in 2008.[5] This trend indicated that the U.S. is becoming more secularized. Typically, the more modern a society becomes the more secular it becomes. There exists an inverse (opposite) correlation between science, modernization, and rationality and religious traditions and adherences.[6]

There are some distinctions to be made about religious groups. A **cult** is *a newer religion with few followers whose teachings are perceived to be at odds with the dominant culture and religion*. Most religions begin as cults. Even Islam and Christianity began with only a few followers. A cult could be compared to a group of friends who form a soccer team, then add members and grow to several soccer teams, and eventually they have their own league. Most new cults rarely get past their small foundation nor do they typically endure for extended periods of time.

A **sect** is *a group larger than a cult and is seen as having heretical beliefs or practices that deviate from those of groups considered orthodox and is often treated with hostility by non-sect members*. A sect is relatively small by comparison to an established church. A **church** is *a sect that has gained numerous followers and has become highly bureaucratized*. Today's trend in U.S. Christian worship involves megachurches, or modern churches attended by thousands of followers in person and even many thousands more via television or the internet.[7] An **ecclesia** is *a large assembly of people, a congregation, or a church*.

The Functionalist Perspective

For decades, sociologists have studied the functional aspects of religion as a social institution. Functionalists have examined the functions that religion plays in social life. It is safe to conclude that religions are functional (and sometimes dysfunctional) at both the personal and larger social level. There are four functional aspects of religion. 1. Religion satisfies individual needs. Religion offers individual ways to reduce anxiety and to promote emotional integration. 2. Religion promotes social cohesion. Durkheim recognized the ability of religion to bring about group unity. The stability of society is strengthened when people are tied to one another through religion. 3. Religion provides a worldview. According to Max Weber, religion responds to the basic human need to understand the purpose of life. This means religion creates a worldview that can have social, political, and economic consequences. 4. Religion helps adaptation to society. Durkheim studied the

presence of religion in societies, the nature and meaning of rituals and rites of passage, the way in which religion supports or undermines political authority, and how religions satisfy personal needs.8

In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim explained that religion divides society into two categories, the profane and the sacred. The **profane** *consists of all empirically observable things, things that are knowable through everyday experiences*. The **sacred** *consists of things that are awe-inspiring and knowable only through extraordinary experiences*. Durkheim believed the sacred had the capacity to represent norms, values, power, and beliefs. However, the profane had little to do with public relevance, even though it may have been shared by more than one person.9

Further, Durkheim noted that all societies have a constant need to reaffirm and uphold their basic sentiments and values. This is accomplished when people gather and proclaim their acceptance and support of the dominant belief system. Durkheim believed he could best understand the social role of religion by studying the totemism of the aboriginal Australian—mainly because totemism is one of the simplest forms of religion. A **totem** is *an ordinary object, such as a plant or animal that has become a sacred symbol to and of a particular group or clan, who also identify with the totem*.10

Religious symbols such as totems, as well as religion in general, arise from society itself. In other words, individuals and groups create religion, rather than religion creating individuals and groups, and the symbols attached to religious beliefs. Religion, according to Durkheim, did not rise from somewhere outside of society. Therefore, when people recognize or worship supernatural entities they are really worshipping their own society; they are worshipping their own creation (religion). They do not realize their religious feelings are actually a result of their intense emotions aroused when people gather together at meetings to celebrate their religious creations. Therefore, society is the origin of a religion's beliefs.11

The Conflict Perspective

Max Weber also studied religion and focused on how religion gave the individual a context for understanding life and the purpose of it. He claimed that Protestant ideals of self-discipline, self-control, and hard work lead to the financial success of many who felt "righteous in God's eyes" as they lived Protestant work ethics and simultaneously built the collective foundation for capitalism's success in Western Civilization.12

Karl Marx asserted that the dominant ideas of each age have always been the ideas of the ruling class and from this Marx surmised that the dominant religion of a society is that of the ruling class. Marxist scholars still emphasize the importance of religion's roles in "justifying the political status quo by cloaking political authority with sacred legitimacy and thereby making opposition to it seems immoral".13

Marx also defined **alienation** as *the process by which people lose control over the social institutions that they themselves created*. According to Marx, people begin to feel like strangers in their own world. He further believed that religion is one of the most alienating influences in human society. Marx said, "Man makes religion, religion does not make man." The function of God was to serve man by being an example of an ideal human being. People soon lost sight of the fact that God was a

socially created entity and began to worship and fear the ideal they had created as if it were a separate powerful entity. Thus religion, because of the God they worship and fear, that they themselves created, serves to alienate people from the real world.

Further, Marx saw religion as a tool that the upper class used to maintain control of society and to dominate the lower classes. He called religion *the opiate of the masses*, believing that through religion, the dominated masses were kept from actions that might change their relationship with those in power. The lower classes were distracted from taking steps toward equality and social change by the promise of happiness through religion.[14]

[1] http://www.age-of-the-sage.org/mysticism/world_religions_populations.html
[2] Taken from Internet on 26 March 2007 from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html
[3] Jeffrey Moses, Oneness: Great Principles Shared By All Religions
[4] Tischler, Introduction to Sociology; 9th Edition
[5] The American Religious Identification Survey was taken from the Internet on 9 March 2009 http://www.americanreligionsurvey-aris.org/
[6] See http://www.adherents.com/
[7] 27, March 2009 from http://hirr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/database.html
[8] See Durkheim's The Elementary Forms of Religious Life; New York, Collier Books, 1961
[9] Ibid
[10] Ibid
[11] Ibid
[12] See The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism; translated by Talcott Parsons; Scribner Pub. NY
[13] Tischler, Introduction to Sociology, 9th Edition
[14] If you find the scientific study of religion to be interesting you might consider some of the WebPages below:

- The Association of Religion Data Archives at http://www.thearda.com/
- SSSR Society for the Scientific Study of Religion at http://www.sssrweb.org/
- ASR Association for the Sociology of Religion at http://www.sociologyofreligion.com/
- Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America at http://www.goarch.org/
- The Website of The Bah‡'' Faith http://www.bahai.org/
- American Atheists at http://www.atheists.org/
- Rastafarian.net at http://www.rastafarian.net/
- Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies at http://www.asarb.org/
- The Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches at http://www.electronicchurch.org/
- The National Council of Churches at http://www.ncccusa.org/
- Beliefnet.com http://www.beliefnet.com/
- American Buddhist at http://www.americanbuddhist.net/
- American and World Sikhs at http://www.worldsikhcouncil.org/
- American Hindu net at http://www.hindunet.org/anti_defamation/
- American Jewish History at http://www.350th.org/ or http://www.ajhs.org/
- Black American Jews at http://www.blackandjewish.com/bajpages/bajindex.html
- The Anglican Communion at http://www.anglicancommunion.org/
- The Southern Poverty Law Center teaching Tolerance at http://www.splcenter.org/center/tt/teach.jsp
- The American Muslim at http://www.theamericanmuslim.org/
- Muslim American Society at http://www.masnet.org/
- The American Catholic Church in the United States at http://www.accus.us/
- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) at http://www.lds.org/ldsorg/v/index.jsp?vgnextoid=e419fb40e21cef00VgnVCM1000001f5e340aRCRD
- The Southern Baptist Convention at http://www.sbc.net/
- The American Association of Lutheran Churches at http://www.taalc.org/
- The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church at http://www.amez.org/news/index.php
- National Baptist Convention of America Inc. at http://www.nbca-inc.com/

THE FAMILY

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.

- Define terms related to the sociology of the family.
- List the functions of families.
- Define polygamy and its two forms.
- Define monogamy.
- Apply theories to the study of families and intimate relationships. Analyze
- predictors of divorce.

In all societies, the family is the premier institution for socialization of children, adult intimate relationships, life-long economic support and cooperation, and continuity of relationships over the life-course.

WHAT IS THE FAMILY?

A **family** is *a group where the adults cooperate for the well-being of the group*, it can include those related by blood, marriage, or adoption, and also those who live together in an intimate relationship. The family structures that were very common a century ago are not nearly as common today. A **family of orientation** is *the family into which an individual is born.* Most people grow up and start their own families. The **family of procreation** is *the family an individual forms by marriage and or having children*. In the U.S. around the year 1900, most families had three generations living in one home (e.g., children, parents, and uncles, aunts, or grandparents) and most participated in the manual labor that maintained the household. Today, most families fall into one of two types: the first is a **nuclear family** or *a family group consisting of a mother and or a father, or both, and their children*; the second most common family form is the **blended family**, or the *family created by a marriage of two adults where one or both of them has one or more children from a prior relationship*. Very few families are multiple generational beyond parents and their children. *All the family relations past the nuclear or blended family* we call **extended family** (e.g., cousins, aunts and uncles, and grand and great-grandparents).

The U.S. Census Bureau conducts annual surveys of the U.S. population and publishes them as the Current Population Surveys. Table 1 represents U.S. family types as of October 1, 2008. You will notice that marrieds were the largest proportion of family types in 2008. Never married singles were the second largest type followed by divorced, widowed, and separated.[1]

WHAT ARE TYPICAL MARRIAGE STRUCTURES?

The culturally and socially preferred marriage type in the U.S. is monogamous. **Monogamy** is *having only one partner at a time*. The U.S. has sanctioned monogamous marriage since the original colonies in the 1600s. Monogamy implies a one-to-one relationship and is typically desired by most couples.

Polygamy, *the practice of having multiple spouses at the same time,* has been preferred by certain groups not common in the U.S. People often, mistakenly, think that Mormons are a polygamous group, however they ceased polygamy as a practice in 1890. There are Mormon-splinter groups who practice polygamy today; however, it is illegal in every state in the U.S.

Table 1. Number and Percent of U.S. Family Types, 2008.[2]

Types	Number	Percent
Married	123,671,000	52
Never Married Single	71,479,000	30
Divorced	23,346,000	10
Widowed	14,314,000	6
Separated	5,183,000	2
Total	237,993,000	100

Polygyny is *a marriage form permitting more than one wife* at the same time and is the most common form of polygamy in the world's history. Polygyny is still common and legal in many African, Middle-Eastern, and Indian nations. It was a deep part of China's history and prior to World War II it was common for a Chinese man to have multiple wives and many children.

Polyandry is *a marriage form permitting more than one husband* at the same time. This is historically and currently rare and, if practiced, often included the marriage of one wife to a set of brothers with all having sexual access to the wife. **Serial monogamy** is *the process of establishing an intimate marriage or cohabiting relationship that eventually dissolves and is followed by another intimate marriage or cohabiting relationship that eventually dissolves, etc. in a series*. So polygamists have simultaneous multiple spouses at the same time while serial monogamists have multiple spouses in a sequence of relationships. **Cohabiting** means to *live together in a marital-like relationship.*

Traditional roles of men and women play into how the family functions in society. Typically and throughout history, families have been **patriarchal** where *males have more power and authority than females and where rights and inheritances typically pass from fathers to sons*. **Matriarchal** families are families where *females have more power and authority than males and rights and inheritances pass from mothers to daughter*. Many families in the U.S. lean toward **egalitarian** relationships with *power and authority more fairly distributed between husband and wife*.

What Are The Functions of Families?

In studying the family, Functional Theorists have identified some common and nearly universal family functions. That means almost all families in all countries around the world have at least some of these functions in common. Table 2 shows many of the global functions of the family.

Function	What it provides
Economic support	food, clothing, shelter
Emotional support	intimacy, companionship, belonging
Socialization of children	raising children, parenting
Control of sexuality	defines and controls when and with whom (e.g., marriage)
Control of reproduction	the types of relationships where children should be born
Ascribed status	contexts of race, socioeconomic status, religion, kinship

Table 2. Global Functions of the Family.

By far, economic support is the most common function of today's families. When your parents let you raid their pantry, wash clothes in their laundry, or replenish your checking account, that's economic support. For another young adult, say in New Guinea, if she captures a wild animal which is cooked on an open fire on the family's land, that's also economic support in a different cultural context. Some families cooperate in business-like relationships. In Quebec, Montreal there is an established pattern of Italian immigrants who help family and friends emigrate from Italy to Canada. They subsidize each others' travel costs, help each other find employment once in Canada, and even privately fund some mortgages for one another. Each participant is expected to support others in the same manner. To partake in this form of economic cooperation is to assume a very business-like relationship.

Emotional relationships are also very common, but you must understand there is a tremendous amount of cultural diversity in how intimacy is experienced in various families around the world. **Intimacy** is *the social, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and physical trust that is mutually shared between family members*. Family members share confidences, advice, trust, secrets, and ongoing mutual concern. Many family scientists believe that intimacy in family relationships functions as a strong buffer to the ongoing stresses experienced by family members outside of the home. Christopher Lasch called the family a haven in a heartless world.[3]

Socialization of children is important so that they grow up to be fully functioning members of society. Children are born with the potential to be raised as humans. They will realize this potential if older family members or friends take the time to protect and nurture them into their cultural and societal roles. Today the family is the core of primary socialization, but many other societal institutions contribute to the socialization process as well.

Controlling sexuality and reproduction has traditionally been sanctioned within the context of a family. In some cultures, the father and mother selected the spouse of their children in many countries although it has never been that common in the U.S. Older family members tend to encourage pregnancy and childbirth within marriage or long-term relationships.

Year	Births to Unwed Teens	Births to Unwed Mothers of All Ages
2000	11.8	33.2

Unwed mothers are *mothers who are not legally married at the time of the child's birth*. Being unwed brings up concerns of economic, emotional, social, and other forms of support. When an unwed mother delivers a baby, it is often the older female family members who end up providing the functions of support for that child. Table 3 shows unwed mother births for the U.S. in 2000 and 2006. Most of the 4,266,000 live U.S. births in 2006 were to married mothers. But, about one in ten births was to teen unwed mothers and 35.8% of all mothers were unwed.

2006	10.4	35.8

Table 3. Percentage of All Births that were to Unwed Teens and Mothers of All Ages, 2000 and 2006.[4]

The last function, that of **ascribed status** is *present at birth*. You were born into your racial/ethnic, religious, and economic status. That shaped to some degree the way you grew up and were socialized. By far, in modern U.S. society, **achieved status**, or *status that comes as a result of your own efforts* is more important than ascribed status for most members of society. The degree of achievement an individual attains often depends heavily on the level of support her family provides to her.

Since marriage is very common in the U.S., it would be wise for this chapter to cover the process of pairing off and forming marriages as well as the process of divorcing and dissolving marriages that often occurs. Pairing off can be better understood by incorporating a few principles that tend to describe, explain, and help us predict how two people move from strangers to intimate partners during the pairing process.

How Do We Pair Off?

Numerous studies have established that homogamy is the most important predictor of how couples pair off. **Homogamy** is *the tendency to pair off with another person who is similar to us*. Most people are attracted to people of about the same beauty, about the same economic status, about the same value system, and often about the same cultural and religious background. It is not true, at least based on most research studies, that opposites attract. Typically, like-persons attract. We seek out and associate with people at the same clubs, the same workplaces, and the same universities and colleges. Individuals introduce their homogamous friends to others who are also like them. Similar people end up in similar places and organizations. **Heterogamy** is *the tendency to pair off with another person who is different in some ways from us*. Divorce research finds that the more heterogamous a couple is, the higher their risk of divorce. Risk does not mean 100% certain. There are many couples who are diverse on most of their characteristics and they are very happy and don't divorce. Homogamous or heterogamous, a good marriage takes a lot of work.

Theories of Mate Selection

Another explanation for pairing off is the **Social Exchange Theory**, which claims that *society is composed of ever present interactions among individuals who attempt to maximize rewards while minimizing costs*. It focuses on how rational decisions are made considering the fact that most of us want to maximize our rewards, minimize our losses, and make our final choices economically.

Try this: Go to the cafeteria and pick the person you find to be the least attractive. Ask him/her on a date and pay for everything. At the end of the date give him/her a kiss. Why do this you ask? Why

would anyone in his right mind make such an effort to suffer in this way? We typically won't do these things because it would reverse the social exchange approach of maximizing rewards while minimizing costs. In the real world, we want more physical attraction, fun, affection, status, economic support, friendship, social belonging, and even popularity from our dating experiences. If you are really fortunate, you might have a date every so often that ranks high on all of these rewards, but we never truly get the perfect catch in a partner. Mostly because we are not perfect ourselves, we tend to pair homogenously with those much like ourselves (average people attract to other average people).

Another major principle that influences who you might pair off with is called **propinquity**, or *the geographic proximity of two potential mates to one another*. Ask most couples you know where they met and you'll probably hear something like "We met at school, work, or church." Still others are introduced by friends. You can't meet someone if he/she is not near you. Of course the Internet makes it possible and increasingly common for people who live far away from each other to meet.

What about online match-making sites? These are relatively new but they actually reduce the influence of propinquity in the acquaintance process. Eventually couples typically spend time together before they make any long-term commitments. Finally, **filtering** is *the process of eliminating potential mates from the pool of eligibles in the market place*.

How many students attend your college or university? If you are looking for a female mate take that number and multiply it times 0.6 (in the U.S. about six out of ten college or university students are female). This equals the likely number of females in your market place. If you are looking for a male mate multiple by 0.4. Knock another 20% off the estimate because some will be married or already in relationships and that's the estimated market place total.

Now, how many people do you come into contact with each day? If you don't know then count the number of potential mates you see for two days. Don't forget to add in those you interact with at work or in other places, your roommate's friends and families, and club members). This is your pool of eligibles. Were there some you passed or have in the same class that you didn't count because you know it wouldn't work? If yes, this is what filtering is about—you filter out based on your best judgment and on Social Exchange principles.

Another factor in the pairing process is the **sex ratio**, or *the number of males per 100 females in a given population*. The U.S. sex ratio for young adults is out of balance— meaning that there are more males per females in the 18-29 age group. In 2000 the U.S. Census Bureau estimates that there are about 105 to 114 males per 100 females in this age group which means 5-14 extra males per 100 females.[5]

In 1970 Murstein developed a theory of marital selection which has been very useful in understanding how people move from being strangers to the point where they choose to marry or cohabit. The **Stimulus-Value-Role Theory of Marital Choice** states that *as people find someone they are attracted to, they initiate contact, spend time together comparing values and establishing compatibility, and eventually either break things off or make commitments toward marriage or cohabitation*.[6]

For example, a young man might see a young woman at a party and ask his friend if she's single. Eventually he moves over to her side of the room and introduces himself. If, after the forces of homogamy, propinquity, filtering, and social exchange support their interaction, they might go out together in the near future. After enough quality interactions in groups with friends and alone by themselves where they feel compatible and similar, they might eventually decide to date exclusively or

"steady." Over time this may lead to a proposal or a decision to cohabit. The original and continuing stimulus helps to establish similar values and eventually leads to semi-permanent or permanent roles.

What Predicts Divorce in the U.S.?

In the U.S., states have the power to allow for marriages and divorces. The state you reside in regulates when and how you must apply for and be allowed to marry. Your marriage license is proof of your compliance to the state's laws. If a couple who has been married decides to end their legal status as a married couple, the state laws allow for **divorce**, or *the legal dissolution of a marriage*. The U.S. historically had low divorce rates which spiked briefly after World War II, declined until the late 1960s, rose sharply until the mid-1980s, and finally declined gradually and continue to do so today. Figure 1 shows divorce rates for each of the five year segments between 1960 and 2005.

The power held by states to legalize the economic, social, spiritual, emotional, and physical union or disunion of a couple is not only traditional, but also enduring in U.S. history. Centuries ago fathers, clan or kinship leaders, religious leaders, and community members had the right to marry couples; these rights are now afforded to the state. States don't get involved in the spiritual or physical union, they just license it or legalize it the same way they license drivers or certify the legal sale of property. The most common **divorce rate** used by the U.S. Census Bureau is *the number of divorces/1,000 population***.** Another **divorce rate** is *the number of divorces/1,000 married women*. The divorce rate that we hear most about is the **predictive divorce rate** which is *the percent of people who had married in a given year who will divorce at some point before death*. The National Center for Health Statistics reported that in 2001, 43% of marriages break up within the first 15 years of marriage.[7] That was the highest official scientifically-based divorce risks estimate ever reported. So for example of those who married in the year 2001, about 43% are predicted to divorce at some point before their 15th anniversary. It is estimated that close to half of them will divorce before one of them dies.

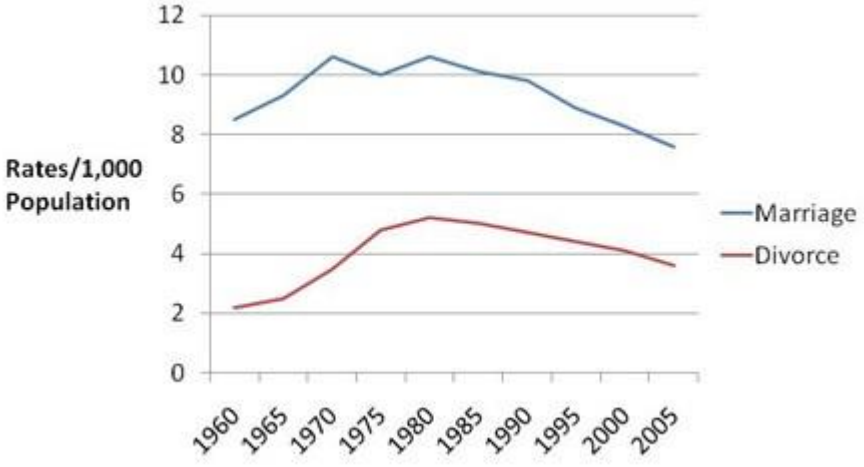


Figure 1. United States Marriage and Divorce Rates per 1,000 Population, 1960-2005.[8]

Years of research on divorce yields a few common themes of what puts a couple at more or less risk of divorce. Everyone is at risk of dying as long as they are alive; likewise, everyone is at risk of divorcing as long as they are married. Just as there are some things that can be done to minimize the risk of death, there are things individuals can do to minimize the risk of divorce (Table 4 lists some of these actions).

Some researchers find that early age at marriage is the single biggest predictor of divorce.

They argue that this might be because individuals continue to change up until their late 20s. Try to remember who you thought was attractive your senior year in high school. Would you still find that person attractive today? Often those who marry in their teens outgrow one another because of their changed tastes. When marital data are collected by the U.S. Census Bureau, it often shows that those marrying in their teen years have the highest rates of divorce.

Most unwed mothers end up marrying the biological father of their babies. These marriages end in divorce more than marriages for non-pregnant newlyweds because the existence of children at the time of the wedding is often associated with higher divorce rates. These couples don't have a partner-only phase in which they can get to know each other. They have the additional strain of becoming parents at the same time as becoming partners.

Table 4. Actions Individuals Can Take to Minimize the Odds of Divorce.

Wait until at least age 21 to marry. Avoid marrying as a teenager because this raises your risk of divorce by 2 to 3 times.
Don't marry out of duty to a child. Those who become pregnant before marrying have a greater risk of divorce.
Become proactive by maintaining your marriage with preventative efforts designed to avoid break downs. Find books, seminars, and a therapist to help you both work out the tough issues.
Never cohabit if you think you might marry. Decades of studies show that cohabitation contributes to higher divorce risks among those who eventually marry.
Remain committed to your marriage. It takes hard work to make a lasting happy marriage.
Do your homework when selecting a mate. Take your time and realize that if you marry at age 25, you might be with this person for another 70 years.

Family scientists have borrowed from the physics literature a concept called entropy which is roughly defined as the principle that matter tends to decay and reduce toward its simplest parts. For example, a new car, if parked in a field and ignored, would eventually rust and decay. A planted garden if left unmaintained would be overrun with weeds, pests, and yield low, if any, crops. **Marital entropy** is the principle that *if a marriage does not receive preventative maintenance and upgrades it will move towards decay and break down*. Couples who take ownership of their marriage and who realize that marriage requires much work experience more stability and strength when they nurture their marriage. They treat their marriage like a nice car and become committed to preventing breakdowns rather than waiting to repair them after they occur. These couples read about and study research on happy marriages, they discuss their relationship with each other, and they are committed to the hard work it takes to make a good marriage.

Is Cohabitation the Same as Marriage?

Cohabitation has been studied extensively for the last two decades, especially the contrast between cohabiting and married couples. Clear findings consistently show that cohabiting and marriage are two different creatures.[9] Those who cohabit tend to establish patterns of relationships that later inhibit

marital duration. In other words, people who cohabit then later marry are much more likely to divorce than those who never cohabited. Some researchers claim this is due to the idea that those who cohabit are low-committers and even when they marry the commitment level is less than for those who do not consider cohabitation.

Many individuals struggle with completely surrendering their single status. They mentally remain on the marriage market in case someone better comes along. Norval Glenn (1991) argued that many individuals see marriage as a temporary state while they keep an eye open for someone better. [10]

Robert and Jeanette Lauer studied commitment and endurance of married couples and identified 29 factors among couples who had been together for 15 years or more. [11] They found that both husbands and wives reported as their number one and two factors that "My spouse is my best friend" and "I like my spouse as a person."[12] The Lauers also studied the levels of commitment couples had to their marriage. The couples reported that they were in fact committed to, and supportive of, not only their own marriage but marriage as an institution.

Positive Outlook on Marriage

Keeping a positive outlook on your marriage is essential. As was mentioned above, as long as a couple is married they are technically at risk of divorce, but not all divorce risks are created equally. Newly married couples have a great deal of adjustment to work through, especially during the first 36 months. They have new boundaries and relationships to establish. They have to get to know one another and negotiate agreements about the who, what, why, and how of their day-to-day lives together. The longer they stay together the lower their risk of divorce.

In Figure 2 you can see the median duration of marriage for divorced people 15 years old and older by sex and race/ethnicity. These data are exclusively for those who ended up divorcing. Those who do divorce can expect a median of about eight years of marriage.

A positive outlook for your marriage as a rewarding and enjoyable relationship is a *realistic* outlook. Some couples worry about being labeled naïve if they express the joys and rewards their marriage brings to their lives. Being realistic means understanding there will be challenges and being proactive in meeting those challenges.

"Doomed, soaring divorce rates, spousal violence, husbands killing wives, decline of marriage," and other gloomy headlines are seen in electronic and print news stories. The media functions to disseminate information and its primary goal is to make money by selling advertising. The media never have claimed to be random or scientific in their stories. They don't really try to represent the entire society with every story. In fact, the media is more likely to be biased by the extremes, based on the nature of stories that are presented to viewers. Many media critics have made the argument for years that the news and other media use fear as a theme for most stories so that we will consume them.

Doing your homework cannot be emphasized enough in the mate selection process. The old adage, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, truly does apply to mate selection. Taking your time, understanding yourself, waiting until you are 20 something or older, and finding a good friend in your spouse can make all the difference in the marital experience you have. There is a current trend of delaying age at first marriage. In 2005, the U.S. median age at marriage was about 27 years for men

(Washington, DC was 29.9 years and Utah was 24.6) and 25.5 for women (Washington, DC was 29.8 years and 22.1 for Utah).[14]

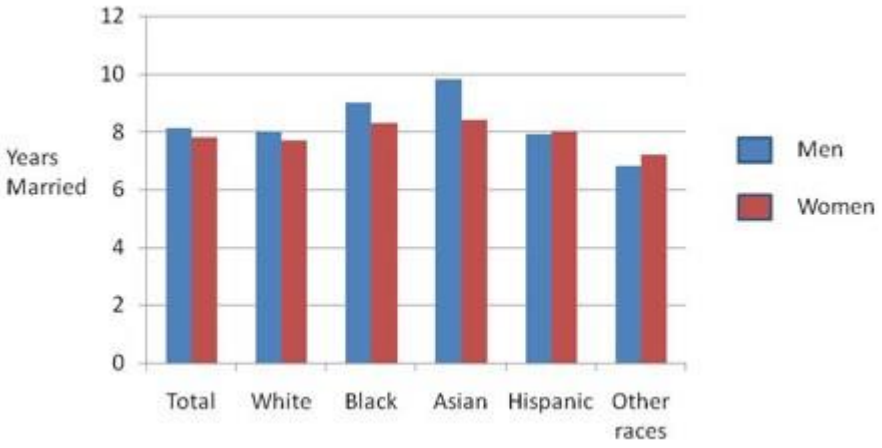


Figure 2. United States Median Duration of Marriage for Divorced People 15 Years and Over by Sex, Race/Ethnicity, 2004.[13]

Marriage is very popular among U.S. adults, in part because it does offer many rewards that unmarried people don't enjoy. Marriage has become socially controversial in part because of the intense political efforts to legalize marriage for same-sex couples. Regardless of your moral position on the issue of same-sex marriage, you can see the political quest for it as an indicator of just how rewarding it is to legally be a married couple. There are numerous studies and books on the benefits of marriage to married individuals. Table 5 lists 10 categories of these known benefits.

Keep in mind as you think about this that a toxic marriage has never been shown to be better than being unmarried or never married. It would be unwise to marry carelessly or to stay in a detrimental relationship. It would also be unwise to think that once you marry you are at the end of your problems. A newlywed once told her mother that "Now that I'm married I'm at the end of all my problems." Her mother wisely replied, "Which end, dear?" Marriage requires preventative, proactive, consistent, and timely maintenance to be rewarding and satisfying. The bottom line is that the burden of your marital quality falls to you and your spouse.

Table 5. Ten Benefits of Being Married in Contrast to Being Single.[15]

Better physical and emotional health
More wealth and income
Positive social status
More and safer sex
Life-long continuity of intimate relationships
Safer circumstances for children
Longer life expectancy

Lower odds of being crime victims
Enhanced legal and insurance rights and benefits (tax, medical, and inheritance)
Higher self-reported happiness

[1] See Table UC1. Opposite Sex Unmarried Couples by Labor Force Status of Both Partners: 2008 retrieved 30 March 2009 from http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hh-fam/cps2008.html

[2] Taken from Internet on 30 March 2009 from Table A1. Marital Status of People 15 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Personal Earnings, Race, and Hispanic Origin/1, 2008 http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hh-fam/cps2008.html [3]
Lasch, C. (1977) Haven in a heartless world. Basic Books.

[4] Taken from Statistical Abstracts of the US on 30 March 2009 from Table 87. Births to Teenage Mothers and Unmarried Women and Births With Low Birth Weight—States and Island Areas: 2000 to 2006 http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/tables/09s0087.pdf

[5] Taken from Internet 31 March 2009 from A.C.E. Revision II: Adjustment for Correlation Bias http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/pdf/pp-53r.pdf

[6] See Murstein, B.I. (1970) Stimulus-value-role: A theory of marital choice, Journal of Marriage and the Family 32, 465-81

[7] http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/01news/firstmarr.htm

[8] Taken from Statistical Abstracts of the United States on 27 March 2009 from http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2008/2008edition.html, Table 77, Section 2

[9] See studies by Lawrence Ganong and Marilyn Coleman

[10] See "The Recent Trend in Marital Success in the United States" by Norval D. Glenn. Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 53, No. 2, May, 1991, page 268

[11] Marriage and Family: The Quest for Intimacy, 2009, Cengage

[12] See 'Til Death Do Us Part: How Couples Stay Together 1986 by Robert Lauer and also Google: Lauer and Lauer and Kerr various years

[13] http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/marriage/data/sipp/us-remarriage-poster.pdf

[14] Taken from the Internet on 2 April, 2009 from R1204. Median Age at First Marriage for Men: 2005 and R1205. Median Age at First Marriage for Women: 2005 http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GRTTable?_bm=y&-_box_head_nbr=R1204&ds_name=ACS_2005_EST_G00_&-_lang=en&-format=US-30 and http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GRTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&-_box_head_nbr=R1205&ds_name=ACS_2005_EST_G00_&-_lang=en&-redoLog=false&-mt_name=ACS_2005_EST_G00_R1204_US30&format=US-30 [15] © Paul Cheney 2009

EDUCATION

Learning Outcomes

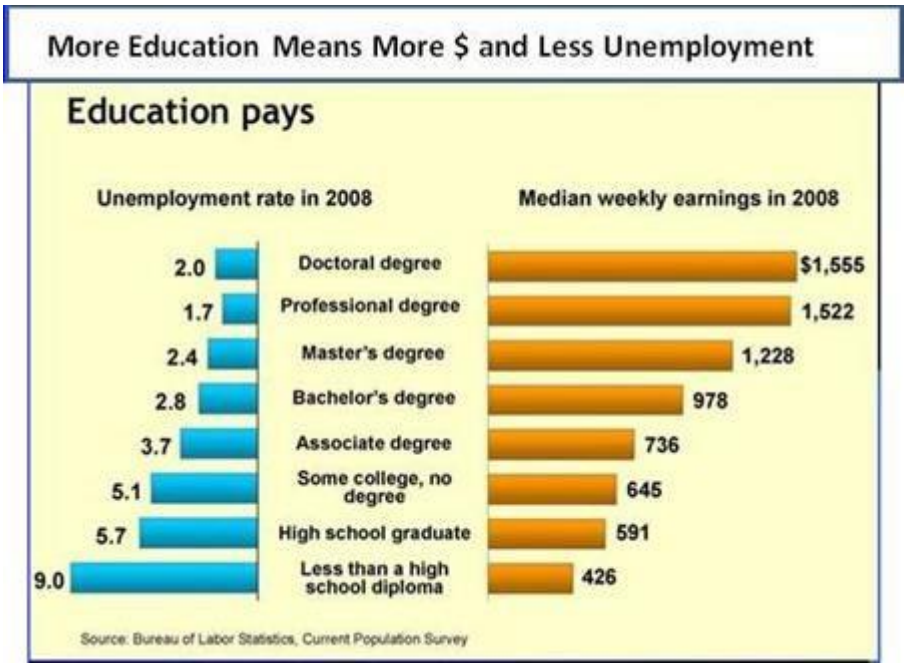
At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following:

- Define credentialed society.
- Apply Weber's idea of life chances to education.

EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND MONEY

Here's the fact, pure and simple: More education means more money and opportunity in the United States. Typically, the higher your education, the higher your wealth, power, and prestige. **Socio-Economic Status** (SES) is *a combination of one's education, occupation, and income.* Higher SES has been found to be highly correlated with a better quality of life. There is more job stability (less unemployment and more pay) for those with higher educational levels. Figure 1 shows U.S. Census data for 2008. High school dropouts are more than four times more likely to be unemployed than those with professional or doctorial degrees. Individuals with Bachelor's degrees earn $387 more per week than high school graduates; that's $1,548 per month or $18,576 per year more. A similar pattern holds true among racial/ethnic groups and by sex.

Figure 1. Unemployment and Earnings by Education, 2008.[1]



Baum and Ma pointed out that the higher your education the better your medical insurance, health, lifestyle (for your family and the next generation), and contribution to society. Education, especially earning advanced degrees, is a doorway to many life-long payoffs.[2] Education is important because we live in a credentialed society. **Credentialed societies** are *societies which use diplomas or degrees to determine who is eligible for a job*. A person who earns a degree, even an advanced degree, may not have all of the skills needed to do a specific job, but she has the credentials that get her into the job where she can learn the specifics.

Education is the great equalizer. Students who grew up in impoverished households can go to college in the U.S. and come out after they graduate in the middle class. Unfortunately many students don't know that there is aid available to them to help pay for tuition, books, and living expenses, so they don't even

apply to college. Furthermore, millions in the U.S. do not have health care coverage. Most of them have lower educational levels. The extremely poor and disabled may have limited government coverage, but most poor and near poor have no medical insurance. Most middle class jobs provide for medical insurance which helps the individual provide in a better way for their children.

The top 10-25% of individuals in the U.S. are born into privilege. They are offered the educational levels, social networking, marriage market, and overall better life chances that only money can buy, including exclusive educations at prep-schools, admittance into competitive programs, and Ivy League degrees.

Remember Max Weber's concept of life chances? **Life chances** are *an individual's access to basic opportunities and resources in the marketplace*. The very few in our society born into extreme wealth have enormous life chances when compared to the rest of us. A person can't run for political office without the proper social connections among the country's power elite. Most don't become famous or extremely successful without access to extremely well-educated friends and associates who are connected to corporate owners and board members. Most cannot call a friend and get a huge favor for their children with the understanding that someday they will reciprocate with a huge favor for the friend's children.

Measuring Education

In Sociology we measure two distinct types of educational accomplishments. **Educational attainment** is *the number of years of school completed* and **educational achievement** refers to *how much the student has learned in terms of reading, writing, and arithmetic*. Look at Table 2 to see how educational attainment typically correlates with degrees.

Years	Typical Degree
<12	Drop out
12	High School
13	Vocational Certificate
14	Associates
16	Bachelor's
18	Master's
20	Doctorate (Ph.D., Ed.D., JD, or MD)
21+	Specialization or Post-doctoral education

Table 2. Years of Schooling and Typical Degrees Associated with Them.[3]

Table 3 shows the levels of income typically associated with these degrees. The difference between high school dropouts and high school graduates is about $8,100 per year more for graduates. During a 35-year career in the labor force, that's at least $283,500 more money earned by graduates. What would a 4-year Bachelor's degree add per year? $19,400 per year for Bachelor's grads compared to high school grads or $679,000 in 35 years of career work. A 4-year degree is financially well worth it.

Table 3. Degrees and Median Incomes Associated with Them.[4]

Degrees	Median Yearly Income
Drop out	23,400
High School	31,500
Vocational Certificate	37,100
Associates	40,000
Bachelor's	50,900
Master's	61,300
Doctorate (Ph.D., Ed.D., JD, or MD)	79,400
Specialization or Post-doctoral education	100,000+

If you are wondering if taking out student loans is worth it, think about this: If you choose to go to college and forfeit full-time wages to become a full-time student you will lose about $126,000 of lost wages while in college. Add the cost of about $25,000 in student loans or expenses. You could conclude that it cost you about $151,000 to earn a 4-year degree. Subtract that $151,000 from the extra $697,000 and you end up with a $546,000 net increase in career earnings even accounting for missed wages and student loan expenses. So going to college really pays off, but how does dropping out of high school affect individuals and society?

The worst possible scenario in terms of work and lifestyle is to drop out of high school and yet millions drop out each year in the U.S. Table 4 shows the dropout rates by race/ethnicity for the U.S. By far, Asian Americans dropout the least at only 18.7%, followed closely by Whites at 22.4%. Hispanics, African Americans, and Native Americans each have over 40% dropout rates—all that income lost, all that lifestyle forfeited, and all those other benefits of higher education missed.

Table 4. Dropout Rates in the United States by Race/Ethnicity, 2007.[5]

Racial Classification	Percent Dropping Out of High School
Native American	49.4
African American	44.7
Hispanic	42.2
White	22.4
Asian American	18.7

Jason Amos in his study of U.S. dropouts also stated that:

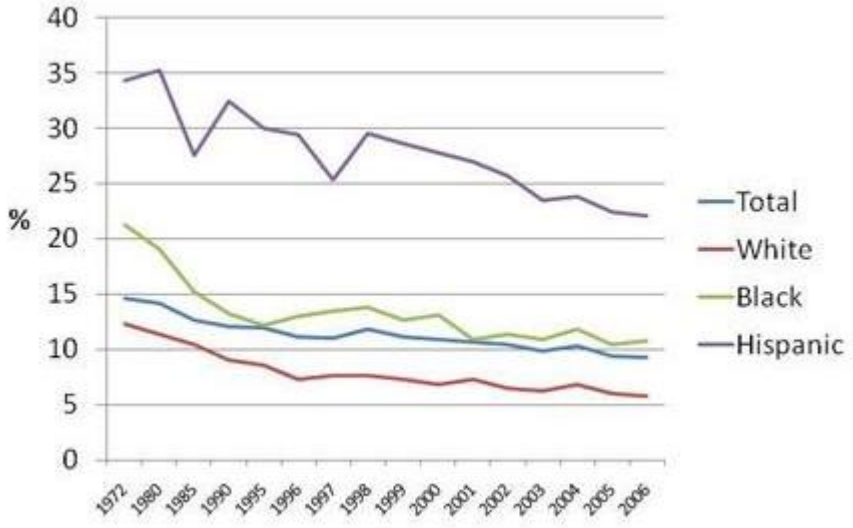
> Individuals who fail to earn a high school diploma are at a great disadvantage, and not only when it comes to finding good-paying jobs. They are also generally less healthy and die earlier, are more likely to become parents when very young, are more at risk of tangling with the criminal justice system, and are more likely to need social welfare assistance. Even more tragic, their children are more likely to become high school dropouts themselves, as are their children's children, and so on, in a possibly endless cycle of poverty.[6]

Truly this is an accurate statement. The U.S. has some of the best educational opportunities for average children to acquire a good public education, but it lacks cultural motivations that translate across racial and ethnic lines in such a way that education becomes valued and pursued by average children as a way of opening doors and improving life chances for themselves and their families. It is a paradox in the context of Weber's life chances because so many life chances are readily available to average people, yet they are refused or ignored by millions.

Amos also pointed out that high school dropouts from the class of 2008 will lose $318 billion in lifetime earnings. They will be more likely to be arrested and use welfare for another combined cost of $25 billion to local and state agencies.[7] The billions of lost earnings and judicial and welfare costs translate to a lower collective standard of living that could be corrected and improved upon if dropouts would graduate or even go back to earn their high school equivalency diploma (GED).

Figure 2 shows U.S. dropout rates by race for selected years from 1972 to 2006. Overall, the dropout rate has been slightly declining for years, but remains disproportionately high for non-Whites. This confirms that it has been an ongoing problem, especially when non-White schools and districts have been historically underfunded at the basic level of need.

Figure 2. Percentage of United States High School Dropouts by Race, Selected Years, 19722006.[8]



There appears to be a geographic trend in highest and lowest dropout rates by states. Look at Table 5 to see dropout rates for the states with the ten lowest rates. Please note that all of the ten states with the lowest dropout rates are located in the Northern states, except one Western state, Utah.

Now look at Table 6 to see the ten states with highest dropout rates. Seven of the ten are in the Southern states with Washington, DC in the North and New Mexico and Nevada in the west. Over half of Nevada's students don't graduate from high school.

For those who stay in school, there becomes an issue of quality of education. I know it is relatively difficult to define what "quality of education" even means, much less which states or schools get the best quality. It's a real challenge given that the U.S. spent about $290,700,000,000 on public education in 2007 which is designed to serve nearly 50,000,000 public education students.[9]

Table 7 shows per pupil spending by state for the ten lowest spending states. Please note that Utah, the state with the lowest per pupil spending in 2007 also had the eighth lowest dropout rate in 2005. Mississippi and Nevada, numbers six and seven here, are also among the highest dropout states.

Table 5. 2005 States with Lowest Dropout Rates.[10]

State	Percent Dropout
1. New Jersey	16.7
2. Iowa	17.2
3. Wisconsin	19.5
4. Pennsylvania	19.6
5. Vermont	19.8
6. Nebraska	20.4
7. North Dakota	20.8
8. Utah	21.4
9. Connecticut	21.9
10. Minnesota	21.9

Table 6. 2005 States with Highest Dropout Rates.[11]

State	Percent Dropout
1. Mississippi	38.2
2. Alabama	38.7
3. Florida	39.2
4. Delaware	39.9
5. Georgia	41.9
6. District of Columbia	42.4
7. South Carolina	44.4
8. Louisiana	45.3
9. New Mexico	45.9
10. Nevada	54.6

Compared to other countries the U.S. does not hold up in math, reading, and problem solving. An analysis of 2003 comparative data between the U.S. and a dozen other countries yielded some discouraging results, given the billions of dollars spent for U.S. public education each year. For mathematics, the U.S. scored worse than 12 other countries with Korea, Canada, Hong Kong, The Netherlands, and Japan coming in the top five. The U.S. scored worse in reading than ten other countries with Korea, Canada, Hong Kong, Ireland, and Sweden coming in the top five. In problem solving, the U.S. scored worse than 12 other countries with Korea, Hong Kong, Canada, Japan, and Denmark coming in the top five. The U.S. did beat Italy and Mexico in math, reading, and problem solving and also beat Spain and Germany in reading.[12]

Table 7. States with Lowest Spending per Pupil, 2007.[13]

State	# of Students	$ Per Pupil Expenditures
1. Utah	523,586	5,706
2. Idaho	267,380	6,648
3. Tennessee	978,368	7,129
4. Arizona	1,065,082	7,338
5. Oklahoma	639,391	7,430
6. Mississippi	495,026	7,459
7. Nevada	424,240	7,806
8. Texas	4,599,509	7,850
9. North Carolina	1,427,880	7,878
10. Kentucky	683,173	7,940
11. South Dakota	121, 158	8,064

[1] Retrieved from Bureau of Labor Statistics Internet 23 March 2009 from http://www.bls.gov/emp/emptab.htm

[2] See "Education Pays: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society" by Sandy Baum and Jennifer Ma; in Trends in Higher Education Series 2007 Taken form Internet on 23 March 2009 from http://www.collegeboard.com/prod_downloads/about/news_info/trends/ed_pays_2007.pdf

[3] Extracted from Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Malinda gates Foundation

[4] Extracted from Baum and May (2007) Figure 1.1 Median Earnings and Tax Payments of Full-time Year-Round Workers Ages 25 and Older by education Level, 2005

[5] Extracted from Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Malinda gates Foundation

[6] Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Malinda gates Foundation, page 7

[7] Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Malinda gates Foundation, page 8

[8] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2008). The Condition of Education 2008 (NCES 2008-031), Indicator 23

[9] Taken 24 March 2009 from http://nces.ed.gov/ and http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/expenditures/tables/table_03.asp

[10] Extracted from Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Malinda gates Foundation

[11] Extracted from Jason Amos, (August 2008) Dropouts, Diplomas, and Dollars: US High Schools and the Nation's Economy taken from Internet on 24 March 2009 from http://www.all4ed.org/files/Econ2008.pdf All4edu funded by Bill and Malinda gates Foundation

[12] See Baum and Ma, 2007

[13] Taken 24 March 2009 from ttp://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/expenditures/tables/table_03.asp Table 3. Student membership and current expenditures per pupil for public elementary and secondary education, by function, subfunction, and state or jurisdiction: Fiscal year 2007

[14]

GLOSSARY

The term is listed with its definition(s) and title of chapter(s).

TERM	DEFINITION(S)	CHAPTER(S)
ABSOLUTE DEPRIVATION	the denial of basic necessities that one needs to survive, such as food and water	*Race and Ethnicity*
ABSOLUTE POVERTY	the level of poverty where individuals and families cannot sustain food, shelter, and safety needs	*Social Stratification*
ABSOLUTIST PERSPECTIVE	deviance resides in the very nature of an act and is wrong at all times and in all places	*Deviance and Social Control*
ABSTRACT IDEALS	religions that focus on sacred principles and thoughts which guide our lives and typically have no divine beings in charge of the world and universe. Buddhism is an example of an abstract ideal religion.	*Religion*
ACCULTURATION	the process by which immigrant people adjust and adapt their way of life to the host culture.	*Culture*
ACHIEVED STATUS	attained through one's choices and efforts; status that comes as a result of your own efforts	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior; The Family*
ACTION-ORIENTATION LEVEL OF PREJUDICE	a predisposition to act in favor of or against certain groups	*Race and Ethnicity*
ACTING CROWDS	crowds which are emotionally charged against an event or goal	*Social Groups and Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
ACTIVITY THEORY	the elderly benefit from high levels of activities, especially meaningful activities that help to replace lost life roles after retirement	*Aging*
ADDAMS, JANE	1860-1935 social reformer and Nobel Peace Prize winner, founded the Hull House	*Sociological Beginnings*
ADULT SOCIALIZATION	occurs as we assume adult roles such as wife, husband, employee, etc.	*Socialization*
AGEISM	prejudice against a person based on her chronological age	*Aging*
AGENCIES	the organizations involved in our socialization	*Socialization*
AGENDA SETTING	the process of selecting and screening topics which will be presented to the general public	*Popular Culture and The Media*
AGENTS	people who use their agency to make choices based on their varied motivations	*Research; Socialization*
AGGREGATE	a number of people in the same place at the same time; people who temporarily happen to be in physical proximity, but share little else	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES	utilize advanced technologies to support crops and livestock	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*

AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS THEORY	as farming skills increased, a surplus of basic foodstuffs existed and the surplus freed certain people from having to produce their own food and let them develop other occupations	*Populations and Urbanization*
ALIENATION	the resulting influence of industrialization on society's members where they feel disconnected and powerless in the final direction of their destinies	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
ALTRUISTIC SUICIDE	Suicide when people are over-involved and overcommitted to a group or society as a whole	*Sociological Beginnings*
ANIMISM	no gods, focuses on good or evil spirits which inhabit animals, rocks and /or people and animals	*Religion*
ANOMIC SUICIDE	suicide when people are under-regulated by familiar norms that serve as anchors to their social reality	*Sociological Beginnings*
ANOMIE	a state of social normlessness which occurs when our lives or society has vague norms; common when we go through sudden changes in our lives or when our society goes through sudden changes	*Sociological Beginnings; Deviance and Social Control; Crime; Populations and Urbanization*
ANTINATALIST	a perspective which opposes childbearing	*Populations and Urbanization*
APARTHEID	when South African formalized separateness between Blacks and Whites, mandating White supremacy and privileged treatment between 1948 and 1990	*Race and Ethnicity*
ASCRIBED STATUS	is present at birth and is said to be unchangeable	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior; The Family*
ASSIMILATION	the process by which people from different cultures are acculturated and ultimately absorbed into the mainstream culture	*Culture*
ATTACHMENTS	strong social mutual bonds that encourage society's members to conform	*Crime*
AUTHORITY	institutionalized legitimate power	*Social Theories; Crime*
AUTOCRACY	when the ultimate authority lies in the hands of one person	*Politics and the Economy*
BABY BOOMERS	surge in birth rates from 1946-1964	*Aging*
BELIEF	understanding in values of conventional morality	*Crime*
BEREAVEMENT	the circumstances and conditions that accompany grief	*Aging*
BIGOTS	those who are prejudiced and do discriminate	*Race and Ethnicity*
BLENDED FAMILY	family created by a marriage of two adults where one or both of them has one or more children from a prior relationship	*The Family*
BLUE COLLAR CRIME	crime committed by average persons against members, groups, and organizations; see also Street Crime	*Crime*
BOURGEOISIE	wealthy elite (royalty, political, and corporate leaders)	*Social Theories; Social Stratification*
BREADWINNER	a parent or spouse who earns wages outside of the home and uses them to support the family	*Sex and Gender*

BUSINESS ENTREPRENEURS	people who want to capitalize in the concentrated marketplace of the modern city	*Populations and Urbanization*
CALCULATIVE TRUST	trust based on performance and competence	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CAPITALISM	an economic and social system in which capital, the non-labor factors of production (also known as the means of production), is privately owned	*Politics and the Economy*
CATEGORICAL THINKING	the human cognitive process of storing and retrieving information in sections of our memory that are highly associated with one another	*Race and Ethnicity*
CATEGORY	a group of people who share the same status	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CENSUS ENUMERATION	the formal counting of a population by its government	*Populations and Urbanization*
CENTENARIAN	a person who has had his 100th birthday	*Aging*
CENTRAL PLACE THEORY	farmers needed a central place to trade or sell their surplus and cities developed in those central places	*Urbanization*
CHARISMA	having a personality which magnetically attracts others to you	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CHURCH	a sect that has gained numerous followers and has become highly bureaucratized.	*Religion*
CLOSED CASTE SYSTEM	an economic system that is ascribed-based, allows no mobility between levels, and does not allow social relations between the levels.	*Social Stratification*
CLOSED ENDED QUESTIONS	questions designed to get respondents to choose from a list of responses you provide to them	*Research*
COERCIVE ORGANIZATIONS	people typically are forced into these against their will	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
COGNITIVE LEVEL OF PREJUDICE	refers to our perceptions and beliefs and is based on logical and rational thoughts	*Race and Ethnicity*
COHABITING	live together in a marital-like relationship	*The Family*
COHORT	a group of people who share a statistical or demographic trait	*Aging*
SOCIAL GROUPS AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR	unusual or non-routine behaviors that large numbers of people participate in	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
COMMITMENT	loyalty to legitimate opportunity	*Crime*
COMMUNISM	an extreme socialistic economy with extreme governmental management of goods and services along with management of public and private ideologies	*Politics and the Economy*
COMPETITION ORIGIN OF PREJUDICE	occurs when members of one group feel threatened and or deprived by members of another group for limited resources	*Race and Ethnicity*
COMTE, AUGUSTE	1798-1857 coined the term Sociology, recognized as the "Father of Sociology"	*Sociological Beginnings; Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CONCENTRIC ZONE THEORY	cities grow like the rings of a tree, starting in the center and growing outward	*Populations and Urbanization*

CONFLICT THEORY	society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources	*Social Theories*
CONFORMITY	adherence to the normative and legal standards of a group society; people live with what they have and get by and they accept and pursue their goals with socially accepted means	*Deviance and Social Control; Crime*
CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT	seeks to uphold the values and institutions of society and generally resist attempts to alter them	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION	status displays that show off one's wealth through the flagrant consumption of goods and services, particularly those considered wasteful or otherwise lacking in obvious utility	*Popular Culture and the Mass Media*
CONSUMPTION	how we receive and make sense of popular culture	*Popular Culture and the Mass Media*
CONTAGION THEORY	people get caught up in the collective mind of the crowd and evade personal responsibility for their actions	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CONTENT ANALYSIS	systematic description of the contents of some form of media	*Research*
CONTINUITY THEORY	older adults maintain patterns in their later years which they had in their younger years	*Aging*
CONTROL THEORY	social control is easier if social bonds are stronger	*Crime*
CONVENIENCE SAMPLE	a portion of the population that is NOT scientifically drawn, but is collected because they are easy to access	*Research*
CONVENTIONAL CROWD	a crowd which gathers for a typical event that is routine in nature	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CONVERGENCE THEORY	motivations are not born in the crowd but develop in individuals who carry them to the crowd	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
COOLEY, CHARLES HORTON	1864-1929 developed concepts of the looking-glass self and the primary and secondary group	*Sociological Beginnings; Socialization*
CO-OPTATION	the absorption of new (threatening) ideas and people into the policy making structure	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CORPORATE CRIME	crime committed by persons of respectable and high social status committed in the course of their occupations; see also White Collar Crime	*Crime*
COSMOPOLITES	intellectuals, professional, and artists who are attracted to the city because of opportunities and community that are found there	*Populations and Urbanization*
COUNTERCULTURE	when a group's values, norm, and beliefs are in conflict or opposition to those of the larger society and mainstream culture	*Culture*
CREDENTIALED SOCIETIES	societies which use diplomas or degrees to determine who is eligible for a job	*Education*
CRIME	behavior which violates laws and to which governments can apply negative sanctions	*Crime*
CRIMES AGAINST A PERSON	Force or threat of force is used; see also Violent Crimes	*Crime*
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM	enforces a legal code	*Crime*

CRITICAL THEORISTS	Theorists who take their cue from Marx and conflict theory who say that the mass media is an industry and designed to indoctrinate and subordinate the masses (audiences) into passivity and acceptance of the capitalist mode of consumption through our popular culture consumption	*Popular Culture and the Media*
CROSS-SECTIONAL SURVEY	a survey given once to a group of people	*Research*
CROWDS	large numbers of people in the same space at the same time	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
CRUDE BIRTH RATE	the number of live births per 1,000 people living in the population	*Populations and Urbanization; Aging*
CRUDE DEATH RATE	the number of deaths in a given population per 1,000 people living in that population	*Populations and Urbanization*
CULT	a newer religion with few followers whose teachings are perceived to be at odds with the dominant culture and religion	*Religion*
CULTIVATION THEORY	the types of TV viewing we watch accumulate within us and impact our world view	*Popular Culture and The Media*
CULTURAL CAPITAL	is one's store of knowledge and proficiency with artistic and cultural styles that are valued by society, and confer prestige and honor upon those associated with them.	*Popular Culture and The Media*
CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORY	social conditions in neighborhoods cause delinquency	*Crime*
CULTURAL DIFFUSION	when certain aspects of one culture are spread to another culture	*Culture*
CULTURAL LAG	the process whereby one part of culture changes faster than another part to which it is related	*Culture*
CULTURAL LEVELING	the process in which cultures of the world become similar	*Culture*
CULTURAL RELATIVISM	the tendency to look for the cultural context in which differences in cultures occur	*Culture; Deviance and Social Control*
CULTURAL UNIVERSALS	certain aspects of cultures which are found among peoples of all cultures throughout the world	*Culture*
CULTURE	the shared values, norms, symbols, language, objects, and way of life that is passed on from one generation to the next	*Culture*
CULTURE SHOCK	the disoriented feeling which occurs in the context of being in a new culture	*Culture*
DE FACTO DISCRIMINATION	the actual experience of members of society with discrimination	*Race and Ethnicity*
DE JURE DISCRIMINATION	legalized discrimination which is typically built into the social structure	*Race and Ethnicity*
DEATH	the termination of the body, its systems, and brain activity in an irreversible way	*Populations and Urbanization*
DEMAND	the desire in the marketplace for goods and services	*Politics and the Economy*
DEMOCRACY	A political system in which every citizen is capable of participating in the political process	*Politics and the Economy*

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM	an economic system based on the merger of capitalism and socialism that often is accompanied by vague boundaries between governmental management of goods and services and diminished "hands-off" governmental involvement in the individual pursuit of economic stability	*Politics and the Economy*
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS	questions which provide the basic categorical information about respondents	*Research*
DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION THEORY	populations go through three distinct stages that correspond to the onset of the Industrial Revolution with regard to changes in birth and death rates	*Populations and Urbanization*
DEMOGRAPHY	the scientific study of population growth and change	*Populations and Urbanization*
DEPENDENT VARIABLES	variables that change in response to the influence of independent variables	*Research*
DEPRIVED AND TRAPPED	the very poor, disabled, or emotionally disturbed who are often victims of other city dwellers	*Populations and Urbanization*
DEVIANCE	a violation of norms that typically elicits a response from someone	*Deviance and Social Control*
DICTATORSHIPS	are when one person is charge of the government and rules with an iron fist in an effort to maintain complete control over citizens' lives.	*Politics and the Economy*
DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION THEORY	the process of learning deviance from others in your close relationships who provide role models of and opportunities for deviance	*Deviance and Social Control*
DISCRIMINATION	is behavioral, it is treating someone or some group differently based on membership in that group	*Race and Ethnicity*
DISENGAGEMENT THEORY	elderly people realize the inevitability of death and begin to systematically disengage from their previous roles while society simultaneously disengages from the elderly person	*Aging*
DIVISION OF LABOR	the differentiation of tasks necessary for the functioning of society.	*Sociological Beginnings*
DIVORCE	the legal dissolution of a marriage	*The Family*
DOUBLING TIME	the time required for a population to double if the current growth rate continues	*Populations and Urbanization*
DOWNWARD MOBILITY	moving from a higher to a lower class	*Social Stratification*
DRAMATURGY	assumptions about how individuals manage others' impressions of themselves	*Socialization*
DUBOIS, WEB	1868-1963 the first black sociologist, studied race relations and served on the board of the NAACP	*Sociological Beginnings*
DURKHEIM, EMILE	1858-1917 French sociologist and founder of social science, studied social integration/cohesion	*Sociological Beginnings; Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
DYAD	a group of two people	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
DYSFUNCTIONS	breakdowns or disruptions in society and its parts which threaten social stability	*Social Theories*

ECCLESIA	are religious organizations which have grown to be large and are integrated with government and other social institutions.	*Religion*
ECONOMY	a system of producing and distributing goods and services	*Politics and the Economy*
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT	how much the student has learned in terms of reading, writing, and arithmetic	*Education*
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	the number of years of school completed	*Education*
EGALITARIAN	power and authority more fairly distributed between husband and wife	*The Family*
EGOISTIC SUICIDE	suicide when people are under-involved or undercommitted to groups	*Sociological Beginnings*
EMERGENT NORM THEORY	as crowds form and people interact, new norms develop in the crowd and facilitate certain actions	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
EMIGRATION	the departure from a country of origin to reside in another	*Populations and Urbanization*
EMOTIONAL LEVEL OF PREJUDICE	prejudiced feelings which are aroused by expression or thoughts	*Race and Ethnicity*
EMOTIONAL ENERGY	the warm and fuzzy feeling you get when hanging out with good friends or engaging in stimulating conversation with classmates or professors	*Popular Culture and the Media*
EMPIRICAL	Perceived through one of the five senses	*Research*
EPIDEMIOLOGY	the scientific study of diseases, their transmission, and their management	*Populations and Urbanization*
EQUILIBRIUM	the state of balance maintained by social processes that help society adjust to, and compensate for, forces that might tilt it onto a path of destruction	*Social Theories*
ETHICAL ISSUES THAT PROTECT RESEARCH SUBJECTS	1. Voluntary participation, 2. Do no harm, 3. Confidential and or anonymous, 4. Deception	*Research*
ETHICS	standards of what is right and wrong	*Research*

ETHNIC GROUP	people who share a common orientation toward the world, who develop a sense of peoplehood, and who are perceived by others as having a distinctive cultural elements	*Race and Ethnicity*
ETHNIC VILLAGERS	city dwellers who group together with others of the same ethnic background and set up miniature enclaves	*Populations and Urbanization*
ETHNOCENTRISM	the tendency to judge others based on our own experiences	*Culture; Deviance and Social Control*
EXPRESSIVE CROWD	a crowd gathered to express an emotion	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
EXPRESSIVE MOVEMENT	allows for expression of personal concerns and belief	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
EXPRESSIVE LEADER	are concerned with achieving tasks	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
EXPRESSIVE TASKS	Those tasks that pertain to the creation and maintenance of a set of positive, supportive, emotional relationships within the family unit	*Sex and Gender*

EXTENDED FAMILY	all the family relations past the nuclear or blended family	*The Family*
EXTREME VALUE	especially low or high number in the series	*Research*
EXURBANIZATION	upper class city dwellers move out of the city to the rural areas beyond the suburbs	*Populations and Urbanization*
GOVERNMENT	is the decision making part of the state	*Politics and the Economy*
FAD	a novel form of behavior that catches on in popularity but quickly fades	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS	when members of groups which are relatively powerless in society accept beliefs that work against their self-interests; an ignorance of social facts and the larger social picture;	*Sociological Imagination; Popular Culture and The Media*
FAMILY	a group where the adults cooperate for the well-being of the group	*The Family*
FAMILY OF ORIENTATION	the family into which an individual is born	*The Family*
FAMILY OF PROCREATION	the family an individual forms by marriage and or having children	*The Family*
FASHION	something that is longer lived and often cycles throughout history	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
FATALISTIC SUICIDE	suicide which occurs when people are over regulated or over-constrained	*Sociological Beginnings*
FECUNDITY	the physiological ability to conceive or give birth to children	*Populations and Urbanization*
FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION	the traditional cutting, circumcision, and removal of most or all external genitalia of women for the end result of closing off some or part of the vagina until such time that the woman is married and cut open	*Sex and Gender*
FEMINIST THEORY	added sex or gender to the Conflict Theory, looks at inequalities between men and women	*Social Theories*
FERAL CHILDREN	wild or untamed children who grow up without typical adult socialization influences	*Socialization*
FERTILITY	the number of children born to a woman	*Populations and Urbanization*
FILIAL PIETY	the value, respect, and reverence of one's elderly which is often accompanied by caregiving and support of the elderly	*Aging*
FILTERING	the process of eliminating potential mates from the pool of eligibles in the market place	*The Family*
FIRST STANDARD DEVIATION	the area in the distribution where about 68% of the scores fall	*Deviance and Social Control*
FOLKWAY	a traditional or customary norm governing everyday social behaviors	*Culture*
FORCED ASSIMILATION	when those in power in the mainstream society refuse to allow immigrants to maintain their various cultures	*Culture*
FORMAL DEMOGRAPHY	collecting, analyzing, and reporting population data	*Populations and Urbanization*
FORMAL SANCTIONS	More strongly enforced repercussions for behaviors	*Deviance and Social Control*

FORMATTING	the design and construction of the news story	*Popular Culture and The Media*
FRAMING	placing the news story into a preexisting frame of reference for the public so that they understand it as journalists would have it be understood	*Popular Culture and The Media*
FRIENDS	in Merton's typology, people who are not prejudiced and do not discriminate	*Race and Ethnicity*
FUNCTIONALISTS	Pop culture is the social glue that binds together members of that social group and creates feeling of solidarity and group cohesion	*Popular Culture and the Media*
FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY	economic support, emotional support, socialization of children, control of sexuality, control of reproduction, ascribed status	*The Family*
GEMEINSCHAFT (GUH-MINE-SHOFT)	intimate community	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
GENDER	the cultural definition of what it means to be a man or a woman	*Sex and Gender*
GENDER ROLES	socialized expectations of what is normal, desirable, acceptable, and conforming for males and females in specific jobs or positions in groups and organizations over the life course	*Sex and Gender*
GENDER SOCIALIZATION	the shaping of individual behavior and perceptions in such a way that the individual conforms to socially prescribed expectations for males and females	*Sex and Gender*
GENERAL FERTILITY RATE	a measure of the numbers of live births per 1,000 women aged 15-44	*Aging*
GENERALIZABILITY	the results from the sample can be assumed to apply to the population with confidence	*Research*
GENERALIZED OTHER	classes of people with whom a person interacts on the basis of generalized roles rather than individualized characteristics	*Socialization*
GENERATION X	the children of the Baby Boomers born about 1964 to 1981	*Aging*
GENERATION Y	born about 1981 to present	*Aging*
GENTRIFICATION	the purchase of rundown buildings in the city center which were remodeled for upper class apartments and lofts	*Populations and Urbanization*
GERONTOLOGY	the scientific study of the processes and phenomena of aging and growing old	*Aging*
GESELLSCHAFT (GUH-ZELLSHOFT)	Means "impersonal associations"	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
GNI PPP	gross national income of a country converted to international dollars using a factor called the purchasing power parity	*Social Stratification*
GOFFMAN, ERVING	1922-1982 a Canadian-US sociologist, wrote *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*	*Sociological Beginnings; Socialization*
GOVERNMENT	the decision making part of the state	*Politics and the Economy*

GRIEF	the feeling of loss we experience after a death, disappointment, or tragedy	*Aging*
GROUP	a collection consisting of a number of people who share certain aspects, interact with one another, accept rights and obligations as members of the group, and share a common identity	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
HARD-CORE OFFENDERS	extremely violent and aggressive hate crime perpetrators	*Race and Ethnicity*
HATE CRIMES	perpetrated by individuals who attack others based on their own intense feelings of bias and bigotry	*Race and Ethnicity*
HERITABILITY	the proportion of our personality, self, and biological traits which stem from our genetic factors	*Socialization*
HETEROGAMY/HETEROGAMOUS/ HETEROGENEITY/ HETEROGENEOUS	heterogamous societies tend to be large and the citizenry is diverse; the tendency to pair off with another person who is different in some ways from us; diverse people	*Sociological Beginnings; The Family; Populations and Urbanization*
HOMEMAKER	typically a woman who occupies her life with mothering, housekeeping, and being a wife while depending heavily on the breadwinner	*Sex and Gender*
HOMOGAMY/HOMOGAMOUS/ HOMOGENEITY/ HOMOGENEOUS	homogamous societies tend to be small and the citizenry is similar; the tendency to pair off with another person who is similar to us; similar people; very similar cultural traits	*Sociological Beginnings; The Family; Populations and Urbanization; Race and Ethnicity*
HOMOSEXUALITY	sexual orientation toward persons of same sex	*Deviance and Social Control*
HORIZONTAL MOBILITY	remaining in the same class	*Social Stratification*
HORTICULTURAL AND PASTORAL SOCIETIES	characterized by domestication of animals and the use of hand tools to cultivate plants developed and have also endured for centuries	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
HUMAN ECOLOGY	studies the form, structure, and development of the community in human populations	*Populations and Urbanization*
HUNTING AND GATHERING SOCIETIES	those whose economies which are based on hunting animals and gathering vegetation were very common throughout the history of the world	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
IDEAL TYPE	the abstract description of social phenomena by which actual social phenomena may be compared	*Sociological Beginnings*
IDEOLOGICAL RACISM	an ideology that considers a group's physical characteristics to be causally related to inferiority or superiority	*Race and Ethnicity*
IMMIGRATION	the arrival of a foreigner into a new country in which he/she will reside	*Populations and Urbanization*
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	variables that when manipulated will stimulate a change upon the dependent variables	*Research*
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION	a technological development of knowledge and manufacturing that began in the late 1600s and continued until the early 1900s	*Sociological Beginnings; Sex and Gender*
INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES	utilize machinery and energy sources rather than humans and animals for production	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*

INFANT MORTALITY RATE	the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births	*Populations and Urbanization*
INFORMAL SANCTIONS	remarks from family or peers about a behavior	*Deviance and Social Control*
INSTITUTIONALIZED	part of the system, accepted by society's members	*Race and Ethnicity*
INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATORS	not prejudiced but do discriminate	*Race and Ethnicity*
INSTRUMENTAL LEADER	one who is concerned with who the people in the group are and making sure they are well tended	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
INSTRUMENTAL TASKS	goal directed activities which link the family to the surrounding society, geared toward obtaining resources	*Sex and Gender*
INTERACTIONISTS	Theorists who focus on the way that we use popular culture to make sense of ourselves but also emphasize how others shape our tastes, values and ultimately identity	*Popular Culture and the Media*
INTERDEPENDENCE	the dependence on others for support in order to be able to succeed	*Race and Ethnicity*
INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY	mobility between generations	*Social Stratification*
INTERNAL MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL	internalization of society's norms and values; see also Socialization	*Crime*
INTERPRETIVE COMMUNITIES	consumers whose common social identities and cultural backgrounds (whether organized on the basis of nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, or age) inform their shared understandings of culture in patterned and predictable ways	*Popular Culture and the Media*
INTERVAL DATA	data with standard intervals such as height measured as 5'3", 5'9", 6'4" or IQ measured as 93, 102, or 121	*Research*
INTIMACY	the social, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and physical trust that is mutually shared between family members	*The Family*
INTRA-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY	mobility within a generation	*Social Stratification*
INVOLVEMENT	participates in legitimate activities	*Crime*
KUBLER-ROSS, ELISABETH	stages of grief	*Aging*
LABELING THEORY	the labels people are given affect their perceptions and channel their behaviors into deviance or conformity	*Deviance and Social Control*
LAISSEZ-FAIRE GOVERNMENT	non-interference of government in businesses	*Politics and the Economy*
LANGUAGE	is a complex set of symbols which allow us to communicate verbally, nonverbally, and in written form	*Culture*
LATENT FUNCTIONS	the less apparent, unintended, and often unrecognized functions in social institutions and processes	*Social Theories*
LAWS	are codified norms or norms written and recorded from which the behavior of society's members can be judged	*Crime and Social Control; Culture*
LEBON, GUSTAV	1841-1931 French sociologist, studied race and crowd behavior	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
LEGAL CODE	consists of formal rules (laws) adopted by a society's political authority	*Crime and Social Control*

LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS	nations located near to or south of the equator which have less wealth and more of the world's population	*Populations and Urbanization; Social Stratification*
LIFE CHANCES	an individual's access to basic opportunities and resources in the marketplace	*Social Stratification; Education*
LIFE COURSE	an ideal sequence of events and positions the average person is expected to experience as he/she matures and moves through life	*Aging*
LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE	a lens with which to view the age-related transitions that are socially created and are recognized and shared by members of a society	*Aging*
LIFE EXPECTANCY	the average number of years a person born today may expect to live	*Aging*
LIKERT SCALE QUESTIONS	the most common response scale used in surveys and questionnaires; statements which respondents are asked to agree or disagree with	*Research*
LONGITUDINAL SURVEY	a survey given to the same people more than once and typically over a set of years or decades	*Research*
LOOKING-GLASS SELF	the reflection of who we think we see by observing the treatment and behaviors of others towards us	*Socialization*
MACRO THEORY	theory designed to study the larger social, global, and societal level of sociological phenomena	*Social Theories*
MAINSTREAM CULTURE	culture shared by the dominant group	*Culture*
MAJORITY GROUP	the group that is politically, economically, and culturally dominant	*Race and Ethnicity*
MALE BASHING	the verbal abuse and use of pejorative and derogatory language about men	*Sex and Gender*
MALE SUPREMACY MODEL	males erroneously believe that men are superior in all aspects of life and that should excel in everything they do	*Sex and Gender*
MALTHUSIAN THEORY	populations grow more rapidly than the production of food	*Populations and Urbanization*
MANIFEST FUNCTIONS	the apparent and intended functions of institutions in society	*Social Theories*
MARGINALIZATION	the tendency for adult immigrants to be rendered powerless in comparison to native-born adults because they live as a half citizen not fully capable of realizing the individual opportunities often found available to average native-born adults; the purposeful mistreatment of minority group members that yields them geographically part of the society while simultaneously being functionally left out of most of its opportunities	*Culture; Race and Ethnicity*
MARITAL	vast intermarriage between mainstream members and newcomers;	*The Family*
MARITAL ENTROPY	if a marriage does not receive preventative maintenance and upgrades it will move towards decay and break down	*The Family*

MARTINEAU, HARRIET	1802-1876 avid writer and anti-slavery activist	*Sociological Beginnings*
MARX, KARL	founder of Conflict theory	*Sociological Beginnings; Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
MASS	a large number of people oriented toward a set of shared symbols or social objects	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
MASS MEDIA	technological modes of communication in society	*Popular Culture and The Media*
MASTER STATUS	a status which stands out above our other statuses and which distracts others from really seeing who we are; a social position that is so intense it becomes the primary characteristic of the individual	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior; Deviance*
MASTER STATUS	a status which stands out above our other statuses and which distracts others from really seeing who we are.	*Deviance; Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
MATERNAL DEATH	the death of a pregnant woman resulting from pregnancy, delivery, or recovery complications	*Sex and Gender*
MATRIARCHAL	females have more power and authority than males and rights and inheritances pass from mothers to daughter	*The Family*
MEAD, GEORGE HERBERT	1863-1931 symbolic interactionist who wrote *Mind, Self and Society*	*Sociological Beginnings; Socialization*
MEAN	the arithmetic score of all the numbers divided by the total number of subjects	*Research*
MEAN WORLD SYNDROME	the tendency to view society as being meaner and more violent than it really is because of the violent and harsh TV shows one has watched over the years	*Popular Culture and The Media*
MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY	a shared conscious among society's members who each has a similar form of livelihood	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
MEDIAN	the exact mid-point value in the ranked list of scores	*Research*
MEGACHURCHES	modern churches attended by thousands of followers in person and even many thousands more via television or the Internet	*Religion*
MEGALOPOLIS	an overspill of one urban area into another often where many small towns grow into one huge urban area connected by a major transportation corridor	*Populations and Urbanization*
MELTING POT THEORY	an ideology which suggested that all the diverse people coming to the U.S. as immigrants would blend biologically and culturally in order to form a new unique breed of "Americans."	*Culture*
MERTON, ROBERT	1910-2003 coined the term self-fulfilling prophecy	*Sociological Beginnings*
MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS	seek to bring about social change with the promise of miraculous intervention.	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
METROPOLITAN AREAS	large population concentration in a city which has the influence of the city's various zones	*Populations and Urbanization*

METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA	includes one or more adjacent counties that has at least one 50,000 populated urban center that influences the economic, transportation and social connection of the area	*Populations and Urbanization*
MICRO THEORY	theories which best fit the study of small groups and their members	*Social Theories*
MICROPOLITAN	an urban area with 10,000-49,000 inhabitants	*Populations and Urbanization*
MIDDLE-OLD	75-84 years	*Aging*
MIGRATION	movement within geographic boundaries	*Populations and Urbanization*
MILLS, C. WRIGHT	1916- 1962 American sociologist, wrote *The Sociological Imagination*	*Popular Culture and The Media*
MINORITY GROUP	one that is disadvantaged in terms of political, economic, and cultural power	*Race and Ethnicity*
MISOGYNY	the hatred of women often manifested as physical or verbal abuse and oppressive mistreatment of women	*Sex and Gender*
MIXED ECONOMY	combines free enterprise and governmental regulation of social welfare and some industries.	
MODE	the number which occurs the most often	*Research*
MODERNIZATION THEORY	industrialization and modernization have lowered the power and influence which the elderly once had and that this has lead to much exclusion of the elderly from community roles	*Aging*
MONARCHY	A type of government ruled by a king or queen and their lineage.	*Politics and the Economy*
MONOGAMY	having only one partner at a time	*The Family*
MORE DEVELOPED NATIONS	nations with comparably higher wealth than most countries of the world	*Populations and Urbanization; Social Stratification*
MORÉS	deeply held, informal norms that are enforced by a moral code	*Culture*
MULTIPLE NUCLEI THEORY	cities have multiple centers (nuclei) that yield influence on the growth and nature of an urban area	*Populations and Urbanization*
NATURAL INCREASE	all the births minus all the deaths in a given population over a given time period (Births-Deaths)	*Populations and Urbanization*
NEAR POVERTY	up to 25% above the poverty line	*Social Stratification*
NEGATIVE SANCTIONS	a punishment or negative reaction toward deviance; a punishment or negative reaction toward breaking laws	*Culture; Deviance and Social Control*
NET MIGRATION	all the in-migration minus all the out-migration in a given population over a given time period ((InMigration)-(Out Migration))	*Populations and Urbanization*
NOMINAL DATA	data which have no standard numerical value	*Research*
NON-VIOLENT CRIMES	do not use force or cause physical harm to someone; see also Property Crimes	*Crime*
NORMATIVE ORGANIZATIONS	people join these because they perceive their goals as being socially or morally worth while	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
NORMATIVE PERSPECTIVE	deviance is only a violation of a specific group's or society's rules at a specific point in time	*Deviance and Social Control*

NORMATIVE TRUST	based on a sense of belonging and feelings	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
NORM(S)	set of expected behaviors for a given social status; shared expectations or rules of behavior	*Culture; Deviance and Social Control*
NUCLEAR FAMILY	family group consisting of a mother and or a father, or both, and their children	*The Family*
OLD-OLD	85+ years	*Aging*
ONE DROP RULE	if there is one drop of another race's blood (mostly targeted toward African Americans) then you are tainted by it, forces mixed-race individuals to identify as non-White	*Race and Ethnicity*
OPEN CLASS SYSTEM	an economic system that has upward mobility, is achievement-based, and allows social relations between the levels	*Social Stratification*
OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS	questions designed to get respondents to answer in their own words	*Research*
OPPORTUNISTS	people who see the big city as providing their big break in life	*Populations and Urbanization*
ORDINAL DATA	data which has standard numerical values and an order to it	*Research*
ORGANIC SOLIDARITY	a sense of interdependence on the specializations of occupations in modern society	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
ORGANIZATIONS	formalized groups of individuals who work toward a common organizational (and often personal) set of goals	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
OUTLIER	especially low or high number in the series	*Research*
OUTRIGHT BIGOTS	are both prejudiced and they discriminate	*Race and Ethnicity*
PANIC	when crowds or masses react suddenly to perceived entrapment, exclusion, or danger	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
PATRIARCHAL	males have more power and authority than females and where rights and inheritances typically pass from fathers to sons	*The Family*
PERMISSIBLE ASSIMILATION	permits newcomers to adapt to the mainstream culture naturally	*Culture*
PERPETUAL DISCONTENT	a two-pronged advertising theme which emphasizes 1) how broken and flawed we are and 2) how we can buy hope in the form of a product being sold	*Popular Culture and The Media*
PERSONAL TROUBLES	private problems experienced within the character of the individual and the range of their immediate relation to others	*Sociological Imagination*
PERSONALITY	patterns of behavior and ways of thinking and feeling that are distinctive for each individual	*Socialization*
PHRENOLOGY	outdated scientific approach of studying the shape and characteristics of the skull	*Crime*
PLURALISM	power is diffused among many diverse interest groups and that not all wealthy elite people unite on the same side of most issues	*Popular Culture and The Media*
PLURALISTIC THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTROL	society is made up of many competing groups whose diverse interests are continuously balanced	*Deviance and Social Control*

POLITICS	the exercise of power by those in government and by those intending to influence the use of government resources	*Politics and the Economy*
POLLS	are typically surveys which collect opinions	*Research*
POLYANDRY	a marriage form permitting more than one husband	*The Family*
POLYGAMY	the practice of having multiple spouses at the same time	*The Family*
POLYGYNY	a marriage form permitting more than one wife	*The Family*
POLYTHEISTIC	religions with multiple Gods such as Hinduism	
POPULAR CULTURE	the aesthetic products created and sold by profitseeking firms operating in the global entertainment market	*Popular Culture and Mass Media*
POPULATION	the entre membership of a country, organization, group, or category of people to be surveyed	*Research*
POPULATION CHANGE	natural increase plus net migration (Births-Deaths) +/- ((In-Migration)-(Out Migration))	*Populations and Urbanization*
POPULATION DENSITY	the number of people per square mile or square kilometer	*Populations and Urbanization*
POPULATION PYRAMID	graphic representation of specified 5-year age groups within a population by sex.	*Populations and Urbanization*
POSITIVE SANCTIONS	rewards for conforming behavior	*Deviance and Social Control*
POSITIVISM	the objective and value-free observation, comparison, and experimentation applied to scientific inquiry; the scientific-based sociological research that uses scientific tools such as survey, sampling, objective measurement, and cultural and historical analysis to study and understand society	*Sociological Beginnings; Research*
POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES	societal production based on creating, processing, and storing information	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
POVERTY LINE	the official measure of those whose incomes are less than three times what it takes to provide an "adequate" food budget	*Social Stratification*
POWER	the ability to get what one wants even in the presence of opposition	*Social Theories; Social Stratification; Politics and the Economy*
POWER ELITE	political, corporate, and military leaders of a society who are uniquely positioned to commit elite crime, or crimes of insider nature that typically are difficult to punish and have broad social consequences upon the masses	*Deviance and Social Control; Popular Culture and The Media; Politics and the Economy*
PREDESTINATION	the idea that God has preordained who can enter heaven	*Sociological BeginningsTheorists*
PREJUDICE	a prejudgement of someone based on specific characteristics, it is attitudinal	*Race and Ethnicity*
PRESCRIPTIVE LAWS	laws that state what must be done	*Culture*

PRESTIGE	the degree of social honor attached to your position in society	*Social Stratification*
PRIMARY DEVIANCE	when an individual violates a norm but is not caught or is not labeled as a deviant of being a conformist	*Deviance and Social Control*
PRIMARY GROUPS	small groups with intimate face-to-face contact	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
PRIMARY ECONOMIC SECTOR	part of economic production involving agriculture, mining, fishing, and materials acquisition	*Politics and the Economy*
PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION	all the ways the newborn is molded into a social being capable of interacting in and meeting the expectations of society	*Socialization*
PROFANE	that which is part of the regular everyday life experience.	*Religion*
PROLETARIAT	the common working class, lower class, and poor members of society	*Social Theories: Social Stratification*
PRONATALIST	a perspective which promotes birth and increased population	*Populations and Urbanization*
PROPINQUITY	the geographic proximity of two potential mates to one another	*The Family*
PROPERTY CRIMES	unlawful acts committed with the intent of gaining property but does not involve the use or threat of force against an individual	*Crime*
PROSCRIPTIVE LAWS	laws which state what is prohibited	*Culture*
PROTESTANT ETHIC	self-denial and a belief in the calling and morality of work	*Sociological BeginningsTheorists*
PULL FACTORS	positive aspects of another place which draw you to migrate to it	*Populations and Urbanization*
PUSH FACTORS	negatives aspects of where you live which make you consider leaving	*Populations and Urbanization*
QUALITATIVE DATA	data that can't be converted to numbers; data that is about the quality of something	*Research*
QUANTITATIVE DATA	data that is, or can be converted to, numbers	*Research*
RACIAL GROUP	a group of people with perceived unique biological and physical characteristics	*Race and Ethnicity*
RANDOM SAMPLE	a portion of the population that is drawn in such a way that every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected for the research	*Research*
RATIO DATA	data with standard intervals and a real zero starting point, such as number of marriages or number of children	*Research*
REACTIONARY MOVEMENT	seeks to return the institutions and values of the past by doing away with existing ones	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
REACTIVE OFFENDERS	ground their attack on a perceived transgression, such as an insult, interracial dating, or a neighborhood integration	*Race and Ethnicity*
REACTIVE PERSPECTIVE	behavior does not become deviant unless it is disapproved of by those in authority	*Deviance and Social Control*

REBELLION	people reject both the goals and the means to attain them (They reject socially approved goals and replace with deviant goals-Terrorists and freedom fighters) Methods typically include: experiments, participant observations, non-participant observations, surveys, and secondary analysis.	*Deviance*
RECIDIVISM	the act of a person repeating an undesirable behavior after they have experienced negative consequences of that behavior	*Deviance and Social Control; Crime*
REFORMIST MOVEMENT	seeks partial changes in only a few institutions on behalf of interest groups	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
RELATIVE DEPRIVATION	the perception of not being the rightful beneficiary of something a person feels entitled to receive	*Race and Ethnicity*
RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY	people feel relatively deprived in comparison to some other group or institution and use the social movement to equalize things	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
RELIABILITY	relatively free from bias errors which might taint the findings of a study; reliable survey questions are consistent	*Research*
RELIGION	a unified system of beliefs, rituals, and practices that typically involve a broader community of believers who share common definitions of the sacred and the profane.	*Religion*
RELIGIOSITY	the measurable importance of religion to a person's life.	*Religion*
REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE	a sample drawn from the population, the composition of which very much resembles that of the population	*Research*
RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY	a social movement succeeds or fails based on people's ability to gather and organize resources	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
RESPONSE RATE	the percentage of the original sample who successfully completed the study	*Research*
RETREATISM	people withdraw and reject most of the goals (they reject and don't pursue their goals-Street people, bag ladies, and hoboes)	*Deviance*
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT	seeks to overthrow existing institutions and class systems while replacing them with new ones	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
RIOTS	a collection of large numbers of people who act violently in protest against some authority or action of others	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
RITUALISM	people try but fail and lower their goals (they appear to pursue goals but confuse means and goal-Someone who focuses on following rules, fitting in, or conforming instead of attaining the dream)	*Deviance; Education*
ROLE CONFLICT	When the roles in one status come into conflict with the roles in another status	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
ROLES	the rights and responsibilities attached to a status	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
ROLE STRAIN	the burden one feels within any given status	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*

RURAL	the geographic territory in the less populated regions of a society	*Populations and Urbanization*
SACRED	supernatural, divine, awe inspiring, and spiritually significant aspects of our existence.	*Religion*
SAMPLE	A subset of the population	*Research*
SANCTIONS	see formal/informal, positive/negative	*Crime*
SAPIR-WHORF HYPOTHESIS	when we learn a language, we also learn a framework for understanding and interpreting our social reality and environment	*Culture*
SECOND STANDARD DEVIATION	has the next 27.2% of the scores (13.6% above and 13.6% below)	*Deviance and Social Control*
SECONDARY DEVIANCE	when the individual internalizes the deviant identity others have placed upon her and it becomes part of her lifestyle	*Deviance and Social Control*
SECONDARY ECONOMIC SECTOR	the part of the economic production involving manufacturing (factories and home-based)	*Politics and the Economy*
SECONDARY GROUPS	larger groups whose relationships are formal and institutional	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SECONDARY SOCIALIZATION	occurs in later childhood and adolescence when children go to school and come under the influence of non-family members	*Socialization*
SECT	a group larger than a cult but still perceived as being weird and is often treated with hostility by non-sect members; a sect is relatively small by comparison to an established church	*Religion*
SECTOR THEORY	cities grow in pie wedge shapes as the city develops	*Populations and Urbanization*
SECULARIZATION	the trend toward worldly concerns and away from concerns for the religiously sacred in the lives of society's members	*Religion*
SELF	the core of your personality, representing your conscious experience of having a separate and unique identity	*Socialization*
SELF-CONCEPT	the sum total of your perceptions and beliefs about yourself	*Socialization*
SENESCENCE	the social, emotional, biological, intellectual, and spiritual processes associated with aging	*Aging*
SEQUENCING	ordering news stories in such a way as to present a thematic message	*Popular Culture and The Media*
SERIAL MONOGAMY	the process of establishing a intimate marriage or cohabiting relationship that eventually dissolves and is followed by another intimate marriage or cohabiting relationship that eventually dissolves, etc. in a series	*The Family*
SEX	one's biological classification as male or female	*Sex and Gender*
SEX RATIO	the number of males per 100 females in a given population	*Culture; Aging; The Family*

SEXUAL OBJECTIFICATION OF WOMEN	men learn to view women as objects of sexual consumption rather than as a whole person	*Sex and Gender*
SIGNIFICANT OTHERS	those other people whose evaluations of the individual are important and regularly considered during interactions	*Socialization*
THE SLEEPER CURVE	Steven Johnson's term for popular cultures effect on us; through increased storyline complexity (more multithreading, several storylines at once that pick up and subside for a time but always return later), decline of flashing arrows (obvious references designed to clue the viewer in to what's about to happen) and video games that provide a mental workout (not unlike a good math problem), the popular culture of today is forcing us to become more intelligent.	*Popular Culture and the Media*
SMITH, ADAM	1723-1790 economic sociologist, wrote *The Wealth of Nations*	*Sociological Beginnings*
SOCIAL COHESION	the degree to which members of a group or a society feel united by shared values and other social bonds	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY	what people define as real because of their background assumptions and life experiences with others	*Socialization*
SOCIAL CONTROL	formal and informal attempts at enforcing norms; mechanisms that regulate behavior	*Deviance and Social Control; Crime*
SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY	the study of population patterns within a social context	*Populations and Urbanization*
SOCIAL DYNAMICS	study of social structure and how it influences social change	*Research; Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY	society is composed of ever present interactions among individuals who attempt to maximize rewards while minimizing costs	*The Family*
SOCIAL FACTS	phenomena within society that typically exists independent of individual choices and actions	*Sociological Beginnings; Sociological Imagination*
SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY	the sociological subfield of gerontology which focuses on the social aspects of aging	*Aging*
SOCIAL INTEGRATION	the degree to which people are connected to their social groups	*Sociological Beginnings*
SOCIAL ISSUES	lie beyond one's personal control and the range of one's inner life; they pertain to society's organization and processes	*Sociological Imagination*
SOCIAL LEARNING	an approach that studies how people learn behaviors through interactions with others	*Deviance and Social Control*
SOCIAL MOBILITY	the movement between economic strata in a society's system	*Social Stratification*
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	intentional efforts by groups in a society to bring about or resist social change	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOCIAL ORDER	customary and typical social arrangements which society's members use to base their daily lives on	*Deviance and Social Control*

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY	unity in society	*Sociological Beginnings*
SOCIAL STATICS	study of social structure and how it influences social stability	*Research; Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION	the socio-economic layering of society's members according to wealth, power, and prestige.	*Social Stratification*
SOCIAL STRUCTURE	the recurring patterns of behavior in society which people create through their interactions and relationships	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOCIAL STRUCTURE ORIGIN OF PREJUDICE	when prejudice is built into the group, community, and social institutional components of society	*Race and Ethnicity*
SOCIALISM	an economy based on governmental management and control of goods and services	*Politics and the Economy*
SOCIALIZATION	the process by which people learn characteristics of their group's norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors	*Socialization; Crime; The Family*
SOCIALIZATION OF PREJUDICE	learning prejudice from people we associate with and look up to	*Race and Ethnicity*
SOCIETY	a population of people who share the same geographic territory and culture	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOCIOBIOLOGY	claims that human behavior is the result of natural selection	*Culture*
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES)	a combination of one's education, occupation, and income	*Education*
SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION	making the connection between personal challenges and larger social issues	*Sociological Imagination*
SOCIOLOGY	the science of society	*Sociological Beginnings*
SOCIOMETRY	the study of groups and their structures	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SOLIDARISTIC CROWDS	crowds which gather as an act of social unity	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SPENCER, HERBERT	1820-1903 studied social Darwinism	*Sociological Beginnings*
SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM	an attitude which seeks profit rationally and systematically	*Sociological Beginnings*
STAGES OF GRIEF	denial, anger, bargaining, depression, acceptance	*Aging*
STATE	is that entity which possesses a "monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force ."	*Politics and the Economy*
STATUS	a position within the social structure	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
STEREOTYPE	broad generalizations about a category of people who are assumed to have positive or negative traits common to every member of that group	*Culture; Race and Ethnicity*
STIGMA	an attribute which is deeply discrediting and that reduces the person from a whole and usual person to a tainted or discredited one	*Crime*

STIMULUS-VALUE-ROLE THEORY OF MARITAL CHOICE	as people find someone they are attracted to, they initiate contact, spend time together comparing values and establishing compatibility, and eventually either break things off or make commitments toward marriage or cohabitation	*The Family*
STREET CRIME	crimes committed by average persons against members, groups, and organizations; see also Blue Collar Crime	*Crime*
STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM	society is in a state of balance and kept that way through the function of society's component parts	*Social Theories*
STRUCTURAL MOBILITY	mobility in social class which is attributable to changes in social structure of a society at the larger social, not personal level	*Social Stratification*
STRUCTURAL-STRAIN THEORY	social problems/strains on the current social structure combined with discontent lead to movements	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
SUBCULTURE	a group which has different folkways, morés, and norms, but is still a part of the larger society	*Culture*
SUBURBAN	smaller cities located on the edges of the larger city which often include residential neighborhoods for those working in the area	*Populations and Urbanization*
SUICIDE	the purposeful ending of one's own life	*Sociological Beginnings*
SUICIDE RATE	number of suicides per 100,000 people in a population	*Sociological Beginnings*
SUPPLY	the availability of goods and services in the market place	*Politics and the Economy*
SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST	applies to classes within society; wealthy aristocrats were the fittest and so they survived and prospered in society	*Sociological Beginnings*
SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM	claims that society is composed of ever present interactions among individuals who share symbols and their meanings.	*Social Theories*
TABULA RASA	humans are born with no mental or intellectual capacities and all that they learn is written upon them by those who provide their primary and secondary socialization	*Socialization*
TASTE	a preference for particular fashion, movies, music etc.	*Popular Culture and the Media*
TERTIARY ECONOMIC SECTOR	work which involves providing a service to others such as food, retail, computer processing, or information management	*Politics and the Economy*
THANATOLOGY	the scientific study of death and dying	*Aging*
THEISTIC RELIGIONS	have divine beings which are Gods. There are three Monotheistic Religions that have one single all powerful God: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.	*Religion*
THEORY	a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other	*Social Theories*
THIRD STANDARD DEVIATION	the next four percent (2.1% above and below)	*Deviance and Social Control*

THOMAS THEOREM	also called the "Definition of the situation." If people perceive or define something as being real, then it is real in its consequences	*Social Theories*
THRILL SEEKERS	commit hate crimes with peer group members but do not belong to a hate group	*Race and Ethnicity*
TIMID BIGOTS	are prejudiced but don't discriminate	*Race and Ethnicity*
TÖNNIES, FERDINAND	Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
TOTAL FERTILITY RATE	the total number of children ever born to a woman calculated both individually and at the societal level	*Populations and Urbanization*
TOTAL INSTITUTION	an institution that controls almost all aspects of its member's lives and all aspects of the individual life is controlled by those in authority in the institution	*Socialization*
TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT	a political system where a small power elite controls virtually every aspect of the personal and larger social levels of society	*Popular Culture and the Media; Politics and the Economy*
TRIAD	a group of three people	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
TRUE BIRTH RATE	the number of events/number at risk of the event	*Populations and Urbanization*
UNCONTACTED TRIBE	a native tribe, typically a small group of people, living in a remote and isolated place who have not yet had contact with technologically advanced society	*Culture*
UNMARRIED SINGLES	people in their 20s and 30s who typically enjoy the singles scene and often move out of the city when they get older or marry	*Populations and Urbanization*
UNWED MOTHERS	mothers who are not legally married at the time of the child's birth	*The Family*
UPWARD MOBILITY	moving from a lower to higher class	*Social Stratification*
URBAN	the geographic territory within or close to a city	*Urbanization*
URBANIZATION	the societal trend where the proportion of people living in cities is increasing while the proportion living in rural areas diminishes	*Urbanization*
UTILITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS	organizations where people do the work because of some tangible benefit which they expect to receive	*Social Groups and Collective Behavior*
VALID	questions that are accurate and measure what they claim they'll measure	*Research*
VALUES	standards of what is good, bad, desirable, or undesirable for ourselves and others	*Culture*
VARIABLES	any characteristic that varies from one person to another	*Research*
VICTIMLESS CRIME	something that is against the law but has no unwilling victim	*Crime*
VIOLENT CRIMES	force or threat of force is used; see also Crimes Against a Person	*Crime*
WEALTH	all income, property, investments, and other assets	*Social Stratification*

WEBER, MAX	1864-1920 German economic and religious theorist, studied bureaucratic structure	*Sociological Beginnings; Education*
WHITE COLLAR CRIME	crime committed by persons of respectable and high social status committed in the course of their occupations; see also Corporate Crime	*Crime*
WIDOWERS	surviving husbands	*Aging*
WIDOWHOOD	when one's spouse dies	*Aging*
WIDOWS	surviving wives	*Aging*
WORLD-TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED	all of the assumptions about how we fit into our social and physical environment	*Culture*
YOUNG-OLD	65-74 years	*Aging*
ZERO POPULATION GROWTH	when a population neither shrinks nor expands from year to year	*Populations and Urbanization*