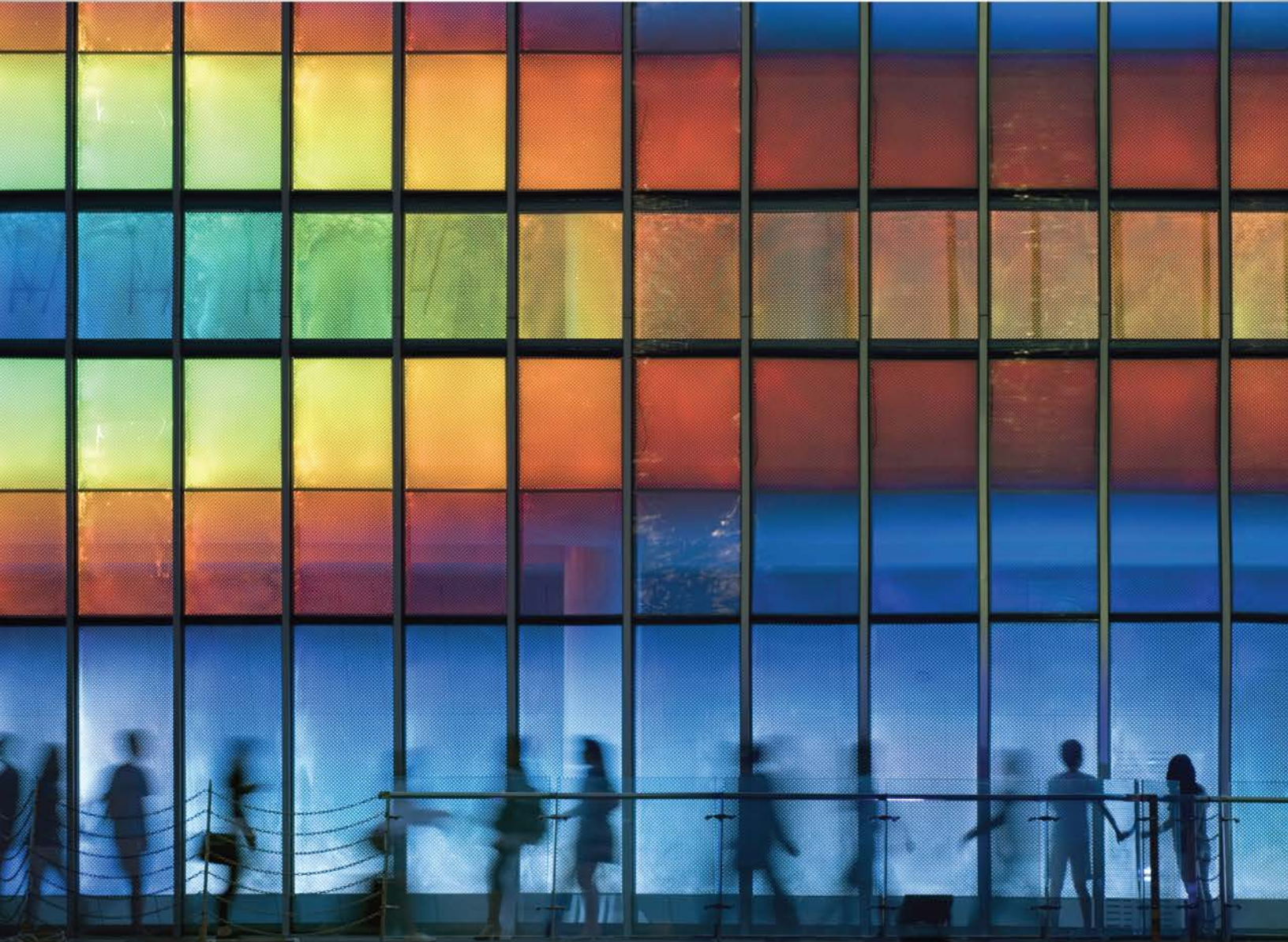


# SOCIOLOGY THE ESSENTIALS



MARGARET L. ANDERSEN  
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WITH KIM A. LOGIO



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# Sociology

## the essentials

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# Preface

*Sociology: The Essentials* is a book that teaches students the basic concepts, theories, and insights of the sociological perspective. With each new edition come new challenges—challenges that stem from new generations of students with different learning styles; challenges that stem from the diversity among students who will study this book; and challenges that stem from the changes that are taking place in society. One of the most important changes taking place today is how students learn and how they are engaged with their course material, often in the form of online learning resources. With that in mind, *Sociology: The Essentials*, ninth edition, takes full advantage of this revolutionary change by having a fully electronic version of the book available, which allows for personalized, fully online digital learning—a platform of content, assignments, and learning resources that will engage students in an interactive mode, while also offering instructors the opportunity to make individualized configurations of course work. Some will want to continue using the printed version of the book, still enhanced with various pedagogical features. Those who want to enhance their curriculum through online resources will be able to utilize the new MindTap Sociology in the way that best suits their course.

However the book is used, we have updated it to reflect the latest social changes and developments in sociological scholarship. We are somewhat amazed, even as sociologists, to see how much change occurs, even in the relatively short period of time between editions. Our book adapts to new research that appears at an amazing pace, as well as addresses the significant changes that occur in society between editions.

In this edition, we have maintained the themes that have been the book's hallmark from the start: a focus on diversity in society, attention to society as both enduring and changing, the significance of social context in explaining human behavior, the increasing impact of globalization on all aspects of society, and a focus on critical thinking and an analysis of society fostered through sociological research and theory. We know that studying sociology opens new ways of looking at the world. As we teach our students, sociology is grounded in careful observation of social facts, as well as analyses of how society operates. For students and faculty alike, studying sociology can be exciting, interesting, and downright fun, even though it also deals with sobering social issues, such as the growing inequality that marks our time, as one example.

In this book, we try to capture the excitement of the sociological perspective, while introducing students to how sociologists do research and how they theoretically approach their subject matter. We know that most students in an introductory course will not become sociology majors, although we hope, of course, that our book and their teacher encourage them to do so. We want to give students, no matter their area of study, a way of thinking about the world that is not immediately apparent. We especially want students to understand how sociology differs from the individualistic and commonsense thinking that tends to predominate. This is showcased in the box feature in every chapter entitled, “What Would a Sociologist Say?” Here, we take a common topic and, with informal writing, briefly discuss how a sociological perspective would approach understanding on that particular issue. We think this feature helps students see the unique ways that sociologists view everyday topics—things as commonplace as the funeral of a superstar, finding a job, or sports in popular culture.

We want our book to be engaging and accessible to undergraduate readers, while also preserving the integrity of sociological research and theory. Our experience in teaching introductory students shows us that students can appreciate the revelations of sociological research and theory if they are presented in an engaging way that connects to their lives. We have kept this in mind throughout this revision and have focused on material that students can understand and apply to their own social worlds.

## Critical Thinking and Debunking

We use the theme of *debunking* in the manner first developed by Peter Berger (1963) to look behind the facades of everyday life, challenging the ready-made assumptions that permeate commonsense thinking. Debunking is a way for students to develop their critical thinking, and we use the debunking theme to help students understand how society is constructed and sustained. This theme is highlighted in the **Debunking Society's Myths** feature found throughout each chapter.

We want students to understand the rigor that is involved with sociological research, whether quantitative research or qualitative. The box feature **Doing Sociological Research** presents a diverse array of research studies, presented to students so they can

see the question being asked, the method of investigation, the research results, and the study's conclusions. This feature also includes critical thinking questions (“Questions to Consider”) to help students think further about the implications of the research presented.

We also include a feature to help students see the relevance of sociology in their everyday lives. The box feature **See for Yourself** allows students to apply a sociological concept to observations from their own lives, thus helping them develop their critical abilities and understand the importance of the sociological perspective.

*Critical thinking* is a term widely used but often vaguely defined. We use it to describe the process by which students learn to apply sociological concepts to observable events in society. Throughout the book, we ask students to use sociological concepts to analyze and interpret the world they inhabit. This is reflected in the **Thinking Sociologically** feature that is also present in most chapters.

Because contemporary students are so strongly influenced by the media, we also encourage their critical thinking through the box feature called **A Sociological Eye on the Media**. These boxes examine sociological research that challenges some of the ideas and images portrayed in the media. This not only improves students' critical thinking skills but also shows them how research can debunk these ideas and images.

## A Focus on Diversity

When we first wrote this book, we did so because we wanted to integrate the then new scholarship on race, gender, and class into the core of the sociological field. We continue to see race, class, and gender—or, more broadly, the study of inequality—as one of the core insights of sociological research and theory. With that in mind, diversity, and the inequality that sometimes results, is a central theme throughout this book. A boxed theme, **Understanding Diversity**, highlights this feature, but you will find that analysis of inequality, especially by race, gender, and class, is woven throughout the book.

## Social Change

The sociological perspective helps students see society as characterized both by constant change and social stability. Throughout this book, we analyze how society changes and how events, both dramatic and subtle, influence change. We have added new material throughout the text that shows students how sociological research can help them understand that social changes are influencing their lives, even if students think of these changes as individual problems.

## Global Perspective

One of the main things we hope students learn in an introductory course is how broad-scale conditions influence their everyday lives. Understanding this idea is a cornerstone of the sociological perspective. We use a global perspective to examine how global changes are affecting all parts of life within the United States, as well as other parts of the world. This means more than including cross-cultural examples. It means, for example, examining phenomena such as migration and immigration or helping students understand that their own consumption habits are profoundly shaped by global interconnections. The availability of jobs, too, is another way students can learn about the impact of an international division of labor on work within the United States. Our global perspective is found in the research and examples cited throughout the book, as well as in various chapters that directly focus on the influence of globalization on particular topics, such as work, culture, and crime. The map feature **Viewing Society in Global Perspective** also brings a global perspective to the subject matter.

## New to the Ninth Edition

We have made various changes to the ninth edition to reflect new developments in sociological research and current social issues. These revisions should make the ninth edition easier for instructors to teach and even more accessible and interesting for students.

*Sociology: The Essentials* is organized into five major parts: “Introducing the Sociological Imagination” (Chapter 1); “Studying Society and Social Structure” (Chapters 2 through 7); “Social Inequalities” (Chapters 8 through 12); “Social Institutions” (Chapters 13 through 15); and “Social Change” (Chapter 16).

**Part I, “Introducing the Sociological Imagination,”** introduces students to the unique perspective of sociology, differentiating it from other ways of studying society, particularly the individualistic framework students tend to assume. Within this section, **Chapter 1, “The Sociological Perspective,”** introduces students to the sociological perspective. The theme of debunking is introduced, as is the sociological imagination, as developed by C. Wright Mills. This chapter briefly reviews the development of sociology as a discipline, with a focus on the classical frameworks of sociological theory, as well as contemporary theories, including an expanded discussion of feminist theory. There is a stronger discussion of how sociology differs from psychology. The ninth edition adds examples from current events to capture student interest, including new research on growing inequality, the high rate of suicide among veterans, the influence of social media, and new research on how friendship patterns influence the likelihood of pregnancy.

In **Part II, “Studying Society and Social Structure,”** students learn some of the core concepts of sociology. It begins with the study of culture in **Chapter 2, “Culture”** that includes much discussion of social media as a force shaping contemporary culture. This includes research on social media usage both by young and older people. There is new material on the vast growth of digital viewing, but also new work on body images and some of the popular titles that influence young people. Some of the material on ethnocentrism, cultural relativism, and culture shock was reorganized to integrate it better with other chapter material. **Chapter 3, “Doing Sociological Research,”** contains a discussion of the research process and the tools of sociological research—the survey, participant observation, controlled experiments, content analysis, historical research, and evaluation research. The chapter was somewhat reorganized to give better attention to the different types and tools of sociological research. As in the previous edition, we place the chapter on research methods after the chapter on culture as a way of capturing student interest early. **Chapter 4, “Socialization and the Life Course,”** contains material on socialization theory and research, including agents of socialization such as the media, family, and peers. There is new material on military identities, especially in transition to civilian life. More material on child-rearing practices is included, as well as more discussion of the socialization of college students.

**Chapter 5, “Social Structure and Social Interaction,”** emphasizes how changes in the macrostructure of society influence the micro level of social interaction. We do this by focusing on technological changes that are now part of students’ everyday lives and making the connection between changes at the societal level in the everyday realities of people’s lives. New material on social media usage is included, including how people create identities online and use social media websites to interact with others. The discussion of social interaction includes contemporary examples of romantic relationships, police interviews, and group interactions, such as Comic-Con.

In **Chapter 6, “Groups and Organizations,”** we study social groups and bureaucratic organizations, using sociology to understand the complex processes of group influence, organizational dynamics, and the bureaucratization of society. The chapter includes a discussion of organizational culture, McDonaldization, and the significance of social networks.

**Chapter 7, “Deviance and Crime,”** includes the study of sociological theories and research on deviance and crime. The core material is illustrated with contemporary events, such as police shootings of young, Black men, as well as school rampages. There is new material on gender-based violence, identity theft, human trafficking, and terrorism. The chapter also maintains a focus on race, class, and gender inequality in the criminal justice system, including mass incarceration of Black Americans and Hispanics.

In **Part III, “Social Inequalities,”** each chapter explores a particular dimension of stratification in society. Beginning with the significance of class, **Chapter 8, “Social Class and Social Stratification,”** provides an overview of basic concepts central to the study of class and social stratification. The chapter has a substantial emphasis on growing inequality. New research on extreme poverty and on the connection between poverty and immigration is included. There is updated data throughout and new data on the likelihood of social mobility in the United States compared to other nations.

**Chapter 9, “Global Stratification,”** follows with a particular emphasis on understanding the significance of global stratification, the inequality that has developed among, as well as within, various nations. There is new material on world poverty and the Ebola outbreak, as well as new examples to show students how the clothing they wear is linked to global stratification. Data and examples are updated throughout. **Chapter 10, “Race and Ethnicity,”** is a comprehensive review of the significance of race and ethnicity in society. We have added new material on colorblind racism and the significance of implicit bias, as well as updating examples in this important and growing field of sociological research.

**Chapter 11, “Gender,”** focuses on gender as a central concept in sociology closely linked to systems of stratification in society. This edition was reorganized to better present material on nature–nurture and biological sex differences. There is a more thorough and new discussion of research on transgender people, as well as new work on Black and Latino men’s gender identities. More material is included on Title IX and the national concern with sexual assault on college campuses. There is new material on immigrant women, as well. **Chapter 12, “Sexuality,”** treats sexuality as a social construction and a dimension of social stratification and inequality. We have emphasized the influence of feminist theory on the study of sexuality. The chapter also includes new research on pornography and violence against women, as well as the link between rape myths and the sexual double standard. There is new data throughout on topics such as abortion rates, teen pregnancy, and contraception usage.

**Part IV, “Social Institutions,”** includes three chapters, each focusing on basic institutions within society. **Chapter 13, “Families and Religion,”** maintains its inclusion of important topics in the study of families, such as interracial dating, same-sex marriage, fatherhood, gender roles within families, and family violence. We have added new material on women’s employment and divorce rates, gender and housework sharing, as well as the impact of economic stress on families. **Chapter 14, “Education and Health Care,”** has been substantially reorganized to emphasize inequality. There is updated information on school segregation, including the impact of choice and charter schools on

segregation. In the section on health, details about the Affordable Care Act have been included, including the increased usage. Data on both education and health care is updated throughout. **Chapter 15, “Economy and Politics,”** analyzes the state, power, authority, and bureaucratic government. It also contains a detailed discussion of theories of power in addition to coverage of the economy seen globally and characteristics of the labor force. The new edition includes more information on Native American unemployment, as well as new research on LGBT experiences in the workplace. The section on politics was substantially revised to show the influence of super-PACs and the Citizens United court case on political elections, as well as more emphasis on the influence of power elites in politics.

**Part V, “Social Change,”** includes **Chapter 16, “Environment, Population, and Social Change.”** This chapter has been substantially revised for this edition so that a sociological analysis of environmental issues frames the chapters. The chapter focuses on sustainability and climate change. There is an updated discussion of population growth as well as recent examples from disasters such as Hurricane Sandy. The social movements section includes an illustration from the “Black Lives Matter” movement that followed the police shootings in Ferguson, Missouri, and other places.

## Features and Pedagogical Aids

The special features of this book flow from its major themes: diversity, current theory and research, debunking and critical thinking, social change, and a global perspective. The features are also designed to help students develop critical thinking skills so that they can apply abstract concepts to observed experiences in their everyday life and learn how to interpret different theoretical paradigms and approaches to sociological research questions.

### Critical Thinking Features

The feature **Thinking Sociologically** takes concepts from each chapter and asks students to think about these concepts in relationship to something they can easily observe in an exercise or class discussion. The feature **Debunking Society’s Myths** takes certain common assumptions and shows students how the sociological perspective would inform such assumptions and beliefs.

### See for Yourself

The feature **See for Yourself** provides students with the chance to apply sociological concepts and ideas to their own observations. This feature can also be used as the basis for writing exercises, helping students improve both their analytic skills and their writing skills.

## An Extensive and Content-Rich Map Feature

We use the map feature that appears throughout the book to help students visualize some of the ideas presented, as well as to learn more about regional and international diversity. One map theme is **Mapping America’s Diversity** and the other is **Viewing Society in Global Perspective**. These maps have multiple uses for instructional value, beyond instructing students about world and national geography. The maps have been designed primarily to show the differentiation by county, state, and/or country on key social facts.

## High-Interest Theme Boxes

We use high-interest themes for the box features that embellish our focus on diversity and sociological research throughout the text. **Understanding Diversity** boxes further explore the approach to diversity taken throughout the book. In most cases, these box features provide personal narratives or other information designed to teach students about the experiences of different groups in society.

Because many are written as first-person narratives, they can invoke students’ empathy toward groups other than those to which they belong—something we think is critical to teaching about diversity. We hope to show students the connections between race, class, and other social groups that they otherwise find difficult to grasp.

The box feature **Doing Sociological Research** is intended to show students the diversity of research questions that form the basis of sociological knowledge and, equally important, how the questions researchers ask influence the methods used to investigate the questions.

We see this as an important part of sociological research—that how one investigates a question is determined as much by the nature of the question as by allegiance to a particular research method. Some questions require a more qualitative approach; others, a more quantitative approach. In developing these box features, we ask: What is the central question sociologists are asking? How did they explore this question using sociological research methods? What did they find? What are the implications of this research? We deliberately selected questions that show the full and diverse range of sociological theories and research methods, as well as the diversity of sociologists. Each box feature ends with **Questions to Consider** to encourage students to think further about the implications and applications of the research.

**What Would a Sociologist Say?** boxes take a topic of interest and examine how a sociologist would likely interpret this subject. The topics are selected to capture student interest, such as a discussion of veteran suicides, hip-hop culture, and sex and popular culture. We think this box brings a sociological perspective to commonplace events.

The feature **A Sociological Eye on the Media**, found in several chapters, examines some aspect of how the media influence public understanding of some of the subjects in this book. We think this is important because sociological research often debunks taken-for-granted points of view presented in the media, and we want students to be able to look at the media with a more critical eye. Because of the enormous influence of the media, we think this is increasingly important in educating students about sociology. In addition to the features just described, we offer an entire set of learning aids within each chapter that promotes student mastery of the sociological concepts.

## In-Text Learning Aids

**Learning Objectives.** We have added learning objectives to this edition, which appear near the beginning of every chapter. Matched to the major chapter headings, these objectives identify what we expect students to learn from the chapter. Faculty may choose to use these learning objectives to assess how well students comprehend the material. We tried to develop the learning objectives based on different levels of understanding and analysis, recognizing the various paths that students take in how they learn material.

**Chapter Outlines.** A concise chapter outline at the beginning of each chapter provides students with an overview of the major topics to be covered.

**Key Terms.** Key terms and major concepts appear in bold when first introduced in the chapter. A list of the key terms is found at the end of the chapter, which makes study more effective. Definitions for the key terms are found in the glossary.

**Theory Tables.** Each chapter includes a table that summarizes different theoretical perspectives by comparing and contrasting how these theories illuminate different aspects of different subjects.

**Chapter Summary in Question-and-Answer Format.** Questions and answers highlight the major points in each chapter and provide a quick review of major concepts and themes covered in the chapter.

A **Glossary** and complete **References** for the whole text are found at the back of the book.

## MindTap Sociology: The Personal Learning Experience

MindTap Sociology for *Sociology: The Essentials*, ninth edition, powered by Knewton from Cengage Learning represents a new approach to a highly personalized, online learning platform. A fully online learning solution, MindTap Sociology combines all of a student's

learning tools—readings, multimedia, activities, and assessments—into a singular learning path that guides students through an introduction to sociology course. Instructors personalize the experience by customizing the presentation of these learning tools for their students, even seamlessly introducing their own content into the learning path via “apps” that integrate into the MindTap platform. Learn more at [www.cengage.com/mindtap](http://www.cengage.com/mindtap).

MindTap Sociology for *Sociology: The Essentials*, ninth edition, powered by Knewton, is easy to use and saves instructors' time by allowing them to:

- Seamlessly deliver appropriate content and technology assets from a number of providers to students, as they need them.
- Break course content down into movable objects to promote personalization, encourage interactivity, and ensure student engagement.
- Customize the course—from tools to text—and make adjustments “on the fly,” making it possible to intertwine breaking news into their lessons and incorporate today's teachable moments.
- Bring interactivity into learning through the integration of multimedia assets (apps from Cengage Learning and other providers) and numerous in-context exercises and supplements; student engagement will increase, leading to better student outcomes.
- Track students' use, activities, and comprehension in real time, which provides opportunities for early intervention to influence progress and outcomes. Grades are visible and archived so students and instructors always have access to current standings in the class.
- Assess knowledge throughout each section: after readings, in activities, homework, and quizzes.
- Automatically grade all homework and quizzes.
- MindTap Sociology for *Sociology: The Essentials*, ninth edition, features Aplia assignments, which help students learn to use their sociological imagination through compelling content and thought-provoking questions. Students complete interactive activities that encourage them to think critically in order to practice and apply course concepts. These valuable critical thinking skills help students become thoughtful and engaged members of society.

## Instructor Resources

*Sociology: The Essentials*, ninth edition, is accompanied by a wide array of supplements prepared to create the best learning environment inside as well as outside the classroom for both instructors and students. All the continuing supplements for *Sociology: The Essentials*, ninth edition, have been thoroughly revised and updated. We invite you to take full advantage of the teaching and learning tools available to you.

**Instructor's Resource Manual.** This supplement offers instructors brief chapter outlines, student learning objectives, American Sociological Association recommendations, key terms and people, detailed chapter lecture outlines, lecture/discussion suggestions, student activities, chapter worksheets, video suggestions, video activities, and Internet exercises. The ninth edition also includes a syllabus to help instructors easily organize learning tools and create lesson plans.

**Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero.** This flexible, online system allows teachers to author, edit, and manage test bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions, create multiple test versions in an instant, and deliver tests from your LMs, your classroom, or wherever you want.

**PowerPoint Slides.** Preassembled Microsoft® PowerPoint® lecture slides with graphics from the text make it easy for you to assemble, edit, publish, and present custom lectures for your course.

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Courtesy of Margaret Andersen

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Courtesy of Howard Taylor

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Courtesy of Kim A. Logio

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Charles Cook/Getty Images



# The Sociological Perspective

Imagine you had been switched with another infant at birth. How different would your life be? What if your accidental family was very poor ... or very rich? How might this have affected the schools you attended, the health care you received, and the possibilities for your future career? If you had been raised in a different religion, would this have affected your beliefs, values, and attitudes? Taking a greater leap, what if you had been born another sex or a different race? What would you be like now?

We are talking about changing the basic facts of your life—your family, social class, education, religion, sex, and race. Each has major consequences for who you are and how you will fare in life. These factors play a major part in writing your life script. Your social location (meaning a person's place in society) establishes the limits and possibilities of a life.

## Consider this:

- The people least likely to attend college are those most likely to benefit from it (Brand and Xie 2010).
- In the past, marriages in which wives had more education than their husbands were more likely than other marriages to end in divorce. This is no longer true (Schwartz and Han 2014).
- Fourteen percent of households in the United States (18 million households) are considered “food insecure,” meaning that they do not have the money for an adequate amount of food (Piontak and Schulman 2014).
- Gender and racial diversity in for-profit business organizations is associated with increased sales revenues, more customers, and higher profits (Herring 2009).

These conclusions, drawn from current sociological research, describe some consequences of particular social locations in society. Although we may take our place in society for granted, our social location has a profound effect on our chances in life. The power of sociology is that it teaches us to see how society influences our lives and the lives of

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## in this chapter, you will learn to:

- Illustrate what is meant by saying that human behavior is shaped by social structure
- Question individualistic explanations of human behavior
- Describe the significance of studying diversity in contemporary society
- Explain the origins of sociological thought
- Compare and contrast the major frameworks of sociological theory

others, and it helps us explain the consequences of different social arrangements.

Sociology also has the power to help us understand the influence of major changes on people. Currently, rapidly developing technologies, increasing globalization, a more diverse population in the United States, and changes in women's roles are affecting everyone, although in different ways. How are these changes affecting your life? Perhaps you rely on social media to keep in touch with friends. Maybe your community is witnessing an increase in immigrants from other places. Perhaps you see women and men trying hard to manage the demands of both work and family life. All of these are issues that guide sociological questions. Sociology explains some of the causes and consequences of these changes.

Although society is always changing, it is also remarkably stable. People generally follow established patterns of human behavior, and you can often anticipate how people will behave in certain situations. You can even anticipate how different social conditions will affect different groups of people in society. This is what sociologists find so interesting: Society is marked by both change and stability. Societies continually evolve, creating the need for people to adapt to change while still following generally established patterns of behavior.



“Actually, Lou, I think it was more than just my being in the right place at the right time. I think it was my being the right race, the right religion, the right sex, the right socioeconomic group, having the right accent, the right clothes, going to the right schools...”

Warren Miller/The New Yorker Collection/Cartoonbank.com

## What Is Sociology?

**Sociology** is the study of human behavior in society. Sociologists are interested in the study of people and have learned a fundamental lesson: Human behavior, even when seemingly “natural” or taken for granted, is shaped by social structures—structures that have their origins beyond the immediately visible behaviors of everyday life. In other words, *all human behavior occurs in a social context*. That context—the institutions and culture that surround us—shapes what people do and think. In this book, we will examine the dimensions of society and analyze the elements of social context that influence human behavior.

Sociology is a scientific way of thinking about society and its influence on human groups. Observation, reasoning, and logical analysis are the tools of sociologists. Sociology is inspired by the fascination people have for observing people, but it goes far beyond casual observations. It builds from objective analyses that others can validate as reliable.

Every day, the media in their various forms (television, film, video, digital, and print) bombard us with social commentary. Media commentators provide endless



David Grossman/Alamy

Sociology is the study of human behavior. What social behaviors do you see here?

## Key Sociological Concepts

As you build your sociological perspective, you must learn certain key concepts to begin understanding how sociologists view human behavior. Social structure, social institutions, social change, and social interaction are not the only sociological concepts, but they are fundamental to grasping the sociological perspective.

**Social Interaction.** Sociologists see **social interaction** as behavior between two or more people that is given meaning. Through social interaction, people react and change, depending on the actions and reactions of others. Because society changes as new forms of human behavior emerge, change is always in the works.

**Social Structure.** We define **social structure** as the organized pattern of social relationships and social institutions that together constitute society. Social structure is not a “thing,” but refers to the fact that social forces not always visible to the human eye guide and shape human behavior. Acknowledging that social structure exists does not mean that humans have no choice in how they behave,

only that those choices are largely conditioned by one’s location in society.

**Social Institutions.** In this book, you will also learn about the significance of **social institutions**, defined as established and organized systems of social behavior with a particular and recognized purpose. Family, religion, marriage, government, and the economy are examples of major social institutions. Social institutions confront individuals at birth and transcend individual experience, but they still influence individual behavior.

**Social Change.** As you can tell, sociologists are also interested in the process of **social change**, the alteration of society over time. As much as sociologists see society as producing certain outcomes, they do not see society as fixed, nor do they see humans as passive recipients of social expectations. Sociologists view society as stable but constantly changing.

As you read this book, you will see that these key concepts—social interaction, social structure, social institutions, and social change—are central to the sociological imagination.

opinion about the various and sometimes bizarre forms of behavior in society. Sociology is different. Sociologists often appear in the media, and they study some of the same subjects that the media examine, such as crime, violence, or income inequality, but sociologists use specific research techniques and well-tested theories to explain social issues. Indeed, sociology can provide the tools for testing whether the things we hear about society are actually true. Much of what we hear in the media and elsewhere about society, although delivered with perfect earnestness, is misstated and sometimes completely wrong, as you will see in some of the “Debunking Society’s Myths” examples featured throughout this book.

### ➤ THINKING Sociologically

**Q:** What do the following people have in common?

First Lady Michelle Obama  
Robin Williams (actor, comedian)  
Ronald Reagan (former president)  
Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Regis Philbin (TV personality)  
Reverend Jesse Jackson  
Saul Bellow (novelist; Nobel Prize recipient)  
Joe Theismann (former football player  
and TV personality)  
Congresswoman Maxine Waters (from California)  
Senator Barbara Mikulski (from Maryland)

**A:** They were all sociology majors!

Source: Compiled by Peter Dreier, Occidental College.

The subject matter of sociology is everywhere. This is why people sometimes wrongly believe that sociology just explains the obvious. Sociologists bring a unique perspective to understanding social behavior and social change. Even though sociologists often do research on familiar topics, such as youth cultures or racial inequality, they do so using particular research tools and specific frames of analysis (known as sociological theory). Psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, economists, social workers, and others also study social behavior, although each has a different perspective or “angle” on people in society.

Students often wonder what makes sociology different from psychology. After all, both study people and both identify some of the social forces that shape our lives. There is, however, a difference. Psychologists study groups. Research in psychology can inform some sociological analyses, but the focus in psychology is more on individuals—what makes individuals do what they do and how individual minds and emotions work. Increasingly, psychology is also influenced by the studies of the brain that are emerging from the techniques of neuroscience. Sociology, on the other hand, though it can learn from psychological research, is more interested in the broader social forces that shape society as a whole and the people within it. (See the box “What Would a Sociologist Say?” for an example.) Together, these various social sciences provide compelling, though different, views of human behavior.

# what would a sociologist say?

## Getting Pregnant: A Very Social Act

When does a woman get pregnant? Simple, you might think—it's biological. Of course, you can think of pregnancy from a biological perspective, explaining the process of fertilization. Or, you might think of pregnancy from a psychological perspective, analyzing the desire to have a child as deeply rooted in emotion and individual decision-making processes. You might even think about pregnancy from a cross-cultural or historical perspective,

analyzing childbirth in different cultural contexts or analyzing historical changes in how pregnancy is managed by the medical profession. But, what would a sociologist say about getting pregnant?

From a sociological perspective, pregnancy is deeply social behavior. There would be many sociological angles for studying pregnancy. An example from recent research reveals the power of sociological thinking. Sociological

researchers have found that the likelihood of becoming pregnant increases significantly in the two years following a friend's having had a child. As the researchers conclude, even such personal decisions as the decision to have a child result from the *web of social relationships in which people are embedded* (Balbo and Barban 2014). Pregnancy may seem like a very personal decision, but it is fertile ground for sociological study. What other social forces do you think might influence the likelihood of getting pregnant?

## The Sociological Perspective

Think back to the chapter opening where we asked you to imagine yourself growing up under different circumstances. Our goal in that passage was to make you feel the stirring of the *sociological perspective*—the ability to see societal patterns that influence individual and group life. The beginnings of the sociological perspective can be as simple as the pleasures of watching people or wondering how society influences people's lives. Indeed, many students begin their study of sociology because they are “interested in people.” Sociologists convert this curiosity into the systematic study of how society influences different people's experiences within it.

**C. Wright Mills** (1916–1962) was one of the first to write about the sociological perspective in his classic book, *The Sociological Imagination* (1959). He wrote that the task of sociology was to understand the relationship between individuals and the society in which they live. He defined the **sociological imagination** as the ability to see the societal patterns that influence the individual as well as groups of individuals. Sociology should be used, Mills argued, to reveal how the context of society shapes our lives. He thought that to understand the experience of a given person or group of people, one had to have knowledge of the social and historical context in which people lived.

Think, for example, about the time and effort that many people put into their appearance. You might ordinarily think of this as merely personal grooming or an individual attempt to “look good,” but this behavior has significant social origins. When you stand in front of a mirror, you are probably not thinking about how society is present in your reflection. As you look in the mirror, though, you are seeing how others see you and are

very likely adjusting your appearance with that in mind, even if not consciously.

This seemingly individual behavior is actually a very social act. If you are trying to achieve a particular look, you are likely doing so because of social forces that establish particular ideals. These ideals are produced by industries that profit enormously from the products and services that people buy, even when people do so believing they are making an individual choice. Some industries suggest that you should be thinner or curvier, your pants should be baggy or straight, your breasts should be minimized or maximized—either way, you need more products. Maybe you should have a complete makeover! Many people go to great lengths to try to achieve a constantly changing beauty ideal, one that is probably not even attainable (such as flawless skin, hair always in place, perfectly proportioned body parts). Sometimes trying to meet these ideals can even be hazardous to your physical and mental health.

The point is that the alleged standards of beauty are produced by social forces that extend far beyond an individual's concern with personal appearance. Beauty ideals, like other socially established beliefs and practices, are produced in particular social and historical contexts. People may come up with all kinds of personal strategies for achieving these ideals: They may buy more products, try to lose more weight, get a Botox treatment, or even become extremely depressed and anxious if they think their efforts are failing. These personal behaviors may seem to be only individual issues, but they have basic social causes. The sociological imagination permits us to see that something as seemingly personal as how you look arises from a social context, not just individual behavior.

Sociologists are certainly concerned about individuals, but they are attuned to the social and historical



Spencer Platt/Getty Images News/Getty Images

Personal troubles are felt by individuals who are experiencing problems; social issues arise when large numbers of people experience problems that are rooted in the social structure of society.

context that shapes individual and group experiences. The sociological imagination distinguishes between *troubles* and *issues*. **Troubles** are privately felt problems that spring from events or feelings in a person's life. **Issues** affect large numbers of people and have their origins in the institutional arrangements and history of a society (Mills 1959). This distinction is the crux of the difference between individual experience and **social structure**, defined as the organized pattern of social relationships and social institutions that together constitute society. Issues shape the context within which troubles arise. Sociologists employ the sociological perspective to understand how issues are shaped by social structures.

Mills used the example of unemployment to explain the meaning of troubles versus issues—an example that still has resonance given people's concerns about finding work. When an individual person becomes unemployed—or cannot find work—he or she has a personal trouble, such as the worry that many college graduates have experienced in trying to find work following graduation. The personal trouble unemployment brings may include financial problems as well as the person feeling a loss of identity, becoming depressed, or having to uproot a family and move. College students may have to move back home with parents after graduation.

The problem of unemployment, however, is deeper than the experience of any one person. Unemployment is rooted in the structure of society; this is what interests sociologists. What societal forces cause unemployment? Who is most likely to become unemployed at different times? How does unemployment affect an entire community (for instance, when a large plant shuts down) or an entire nation (such as when recessions hit)?

Sociologists know that unemployment causes personal troubles, but understanding unemployment is more than understanding one person's experience. It requires understanding the social structural conditions that influence people's lives.

## ➔ THINKING Sociologically

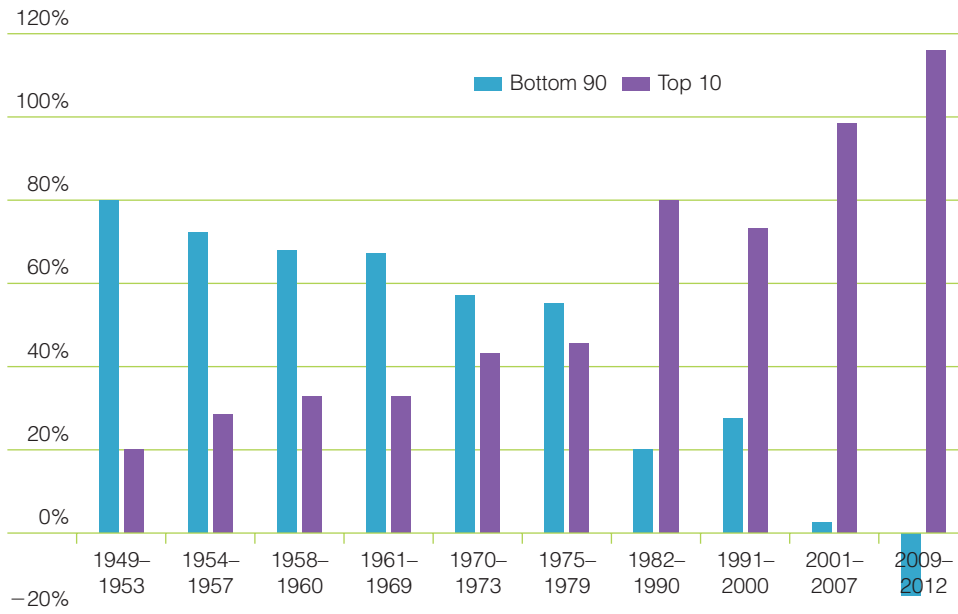
### Troubles and Issues

Personal troubles are everywhere around us: alcohol abuse or worries about money or even being upset about how you look. At an individual level, these things can be deeply troubling, and people sometimes need personal help to deal with them. But most personal troubles, as C. Wright Mills would say, also have their origins in societal arrangements. Take the example of alcohol abuse.

What are some of the things about society—not just individuals—that might influence this personal trouble? Is there a culture of drinking on your campus that generates peer pressure to drink? Do people drink more when they are unemployed? Is drinking more common among particular groups or at different times in history? Who profits from people's drinking? Thinking about these questions can help you understand the distinction that Mills makes between *personal troubles* and *social issues*.

The specific task of sociology, according to Mills, is to comprehend the whole of human society—its personal and public dimensions, historical and contemporary—and its influence on the lives of human beings. Mills had an important point: People often feel that things are beyond their control, meaning that people are shaped by social forces larger than their individual lives. Social forces influence our lives in profound ways, even though we may not always know how. Consider this: Sociologists have noted a current trend, popularly labeled “the boomerang generation” or “accordion families” (Newman 2012). These terms refer to the pattern whereby many young people, after having left their family home to attend college, are returning home after graduation. Although this may seem like an individual decision to save money on housing or live “free” while paying off student loans, when a whole generation experiences this living arrangement, there are social forces at work that extend beyond individual decisions. In other words, people feel the impact of social forces in their personal lives, even though they may not always know the full dimensions of those forces. This is where sociology comes into play—revealing the *social structures* that shape the different dimensions of our day-to-day lives. Social structure is a lot like air: You cannot directly “see” it, but it is essential to living our lives.

Sociologists see social structures through careful and systematic observation. This makes sociology an **empirical** discipline. Empirical refers to careful observation, not just conjecture or opinion. In this way, sociology



**▲ Figure 1.1**  
**Distribution of Average Income Growth during Economic Expansions**

This figure shows how the bottom 90 percent and top 10 percent of the population experience change in their income during periods of economic expansion. What trends do you see here and how might they be affecting people’s personal troubles and social issues?

Source: Tcherneva, Pavlina R. 2014. *Growth for Whom?* Levy Economics Institute of Bard College. Retrieved April 1, 2015. [www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/op\\_47.pdf](http://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/op_47.pdf)

is very different from common sense. For empirical observations to be useful to others, they must be gathered and recorded rigorously. Sociologists are also obliged to reexamine their assumptions and conclusions constantly. Although the specific methods that sociologists use to examine different problems vary, as we will see in Chapter 3 on sociological research methods, the empirical basis of sociology is what distinguishes it from mere opinion or other forms of social commentary.

## Discovering Unsettling Facts

In studying sociology, it is crucial to examine the most controversial topics and to do so with an open mind, even when you see the most disquieting facts. The facts we learn through sociological research can be “inconvenient” because the data can challenge familiar ways of thinking. Consider the following:

- Many think of the Internet as promoting more impersonal social interaction. Sociological research, however, finds that people with Internet access are actually *more likely* to have romantic partners because of the ease of meeting people online (Rosenfeld and Thomas 2012).
- Despite the widespread idea promoted in the media that well-educated women are opting out of professional careers to become “stay-at-home moms,” the proportion of college-educated White women who stay home with children has actually declined; those who opt out of work do so more typically because of frustration with how they are treated at work (Stone 2007).
- The number of women prisoners has increased at almost twice the rate of increase for men; two-thirds of women and half of men in prison are parents (Glaze and Maruschak 2008; Sabol and Couture 2008).

These facts provide unsettling evidence of persistent problems in the United States, *problems that are embedded in society, not just in individual behavior*. Sociologists try to reveal the social factors that shape society and determine the chances of success for different groups. Some never get the chance to go to college; others are unlikely to ever go to jail. These divisions persist because of people’s placement within society.

▲ Figure 1.1 provides graphic evidence of how changes in society might determine the opportunities for success of different groups. This image shows what percentage of income growth went to the top 10 percent and the bottom 90 percent of the U.S. population since World War II. This was a period of great economic expansion in the United States. How was income growth distributed over this time period and who benefitted? As you can see in this image, since 2000, the bottom 90 percent of the population has actually experienced a rather dramatic decline in income growth. How does this affect opportunity for people like you? How might it help explain the growing concern with class inequality? We will discuss these changes more in Chapter 8, but for now, perhaps you can begin to understand how sociologists study the broad social forces that shape people’s life chances. Something as simple as being born in a particular generation can shape the course of your lifetime.

## DEBUNKING Society’s Myths ←

**Myth:** Anyone who works hard enough in the United States can get ahead.

**Sociological Research:** There are periods in society when some groups are able to move ahead. As examples, the Black middle class expanded following changes in civil rights laws in the 1960s; the White middle class also grew

in the post-World War II period as the result of such things as GI benefits for returning vets and government support for home ownership. However, although there are exceptions, most people do not change their social class position from that in which they were born. As Figure 1.1 shows you, at times groups may even fall further behind as the result of conditions in society (Piketty 2014; Noah 2013).

Sociologists study not just the disquieting side of society. Sociologists may also study questions that affect everyday life, such as how young boys and men are affected by changing gender roles (Kimmel 2008), worker-customer dynamics in nail salons (Kang 2010), or the expectations that young women and men have for combining work and family life (Gerson 2010). There are also many intriguing studies of unusual groups, such as cyberspace users (Kendall 2002), strip clubs and dancers (Price-Glynn 2010; Barton 2006), or competitive eaters (Ferguson 2014). The subject matter of sociology is vast. Some research illuminates odd corners of society; other studies address urgent problems of society that may affect the lives of millions.

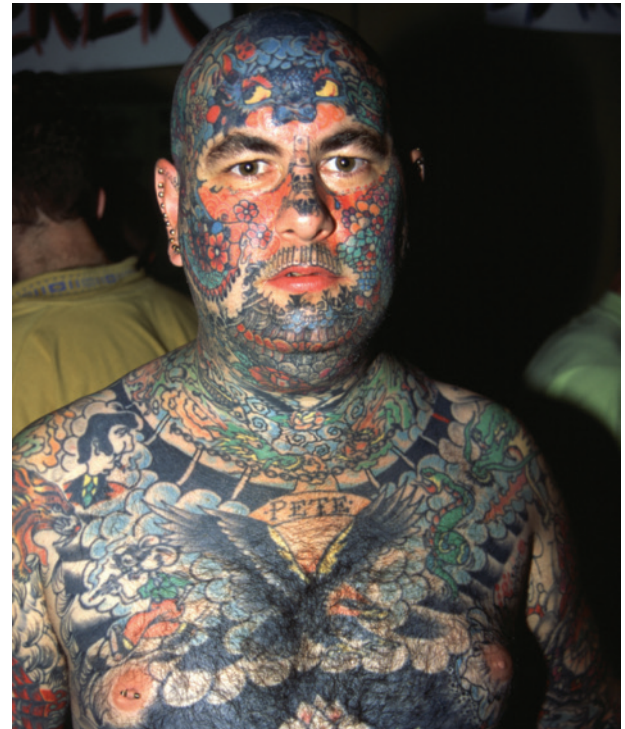
## Debunking in Sociology

The power of sociological thinking is that it helps us see everyday life in new ways. Sociologists question actions and ideas that are usually taken for granted. Peter Berger (1963) calls this process “debunking.” **Debunking** refers to looking behind the facades of everyday life—what Berger called the “unmasking tendency” of sociology (1963: 38). In other words, sociologists look at the behind-the-scenes patterns and processes that shape the behavior they observe in the social world.

Take schooling, for example: We can see how the sociological perspective debunks common assumptions about education. Most people think that education is primarily a way to learn and get ahead. Although this is true, a sociological perspective on education reveals something more. Sociologists have concluded that more than learning takes place in schools; other social processes are at work. Social cliques are formed where some students are “insiders” and others are excluded “outsiders.” Young schoolchildren acquire not just formal knowledge but also the expectations of society and people’s place within it. Race and class conflicts are often played out in schools (Lewis 2003). Poor children seldom have the same resources in schools as middle-class or elite children, and they are often assumed to be incapable of doing schoolwork and are treated accordingly. The somber reality is that schools may actually stifle the opportunities of some children rather than launch all children toward success (Kozol 2006).

Debunking is sometimes easier to do when looking at a culture or society different from one’s own. Consider how behaviors that are unquestioned in one society may seem positively bizarre to an outsider. For a thousand years in China, it was usual for the elite classes to

bind the feet of young girls to keep the feet from growing bigger—a practice allegedly derived from a mistress of the emperor. Bound feet were a sign of delicacy and vulnerability. A woman with large feet (defined as more than 4 inches long!) was thought to bring shame to her husband’s household. The practice was supported by the belief that men were highly aroused by small feet, even though men never actually saw the naked foot. If they had, they might have been repulsed, because a woman’s actual foot was U-shaped and often rotten and covered with dead skin (Blake 1994). Outside the social, cultural, and historical context in which it was practiced,



Martin Norris Studio Photography/Alamy



Lindsay Hebbert/Encyclopædia/Corbis

Cultural practices that seem bizarre to outsiders may be taken for granted or defined as appropriate by insiders.