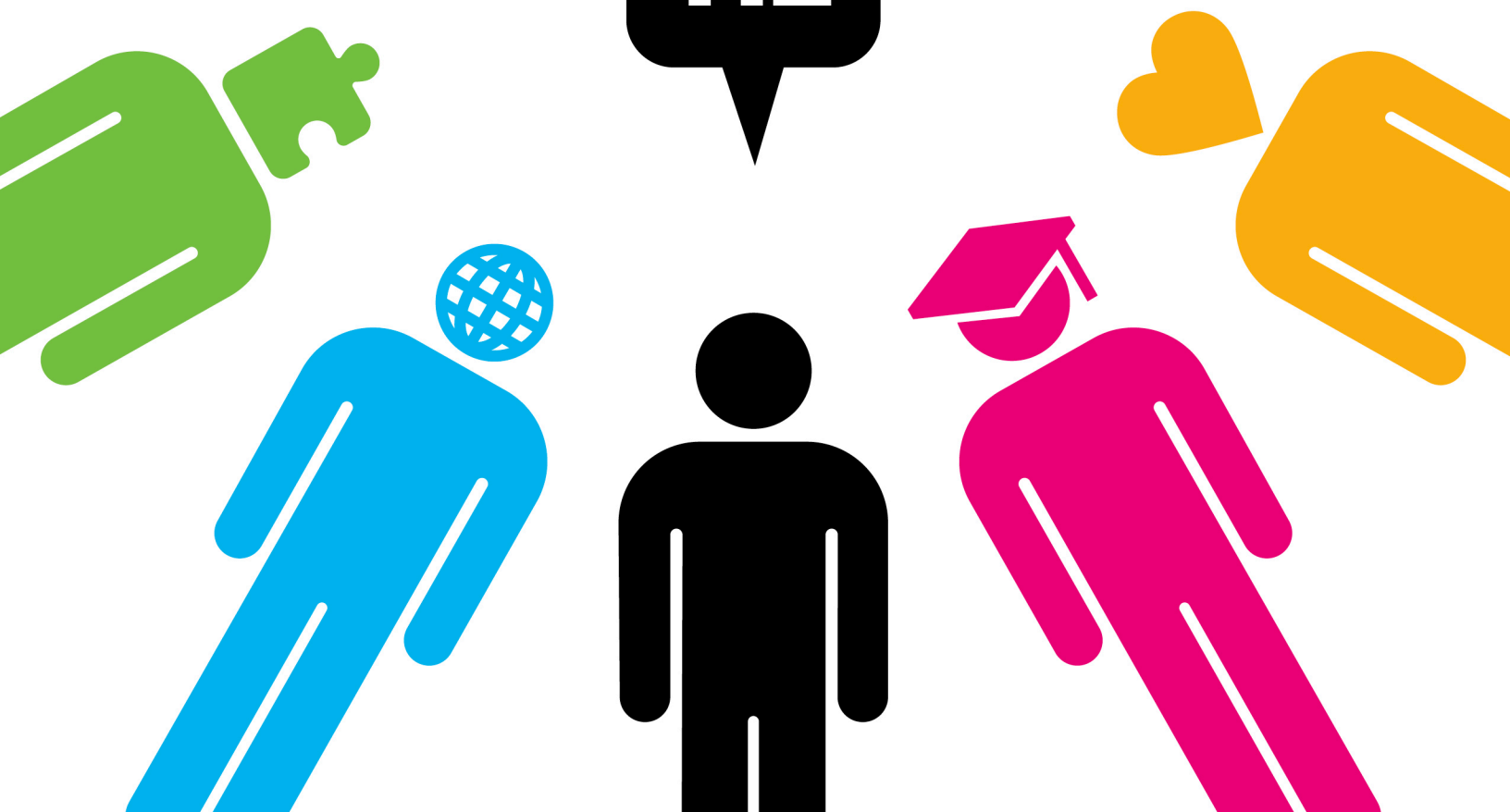


Introduction to Sociology

**Anthony Giddens
Mitchell Duneier**

**Richard P. Appelbaum
Deborah Carr**

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INTRODUCTION TO
SOCIOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION TO
SOCIOLOGY

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Preface

We wrote this book with the belief that sociology plays a key role in modern intellectual culture and occupies a central place within the social sciences. We have aimed to write a book that combines classic theories of sociology with empirically grounded studies and examples from real life that reveal the basic issues of interest to sociologists today. The book does not bring in overly sophisticated notions; nevertheless, ideas and findings drawn from the cutting edge of the discipline are incorporated throughout. We hope it is a fair and nonpartisan treatment; we endeavored to cover the major perspectives in sociology and the major findings of contemporary American research in an evenhanded, although not indiscriminate, way.

MAJOR THEMES

The book is constructed around eight basic themes, each of which helps give the work a distinctive character. One of the central themes is the **micro and macro link**. At many points in the book, we show that interaction in micro-level contexts affects larger, or macro-level, social processes, and that these macro-level processes influence our day-to-day lives. We emphasize that one can better understand a social situation by analyzing it at both the micro and macro levels.

A second theme is that of the **world in change**. Sociology was born out of the transformations that wrenched the industrializing social order of the West away from the ways of life that characterized earlier societies. The world created by these changes is the primary object of sociological analysis. The pace of social change has continued to accelerate, and it is possible that we stand on the threshold of transitions as significant as those that occurred in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Sociology has prime responsibility for charting the transformations of the past and grasping the major lines of development taking place today.

Another fundamental theme is the **globalization of social life**. For far too long, sociology has been dominated by the view that societies can be studied as independent and distinctive entities. But even in the past, societies never really existed in isolation. In current times, we can see a clear acceleration in processes of global integration. This is obvious, for example, in the expansion of international trade across the world, or the use of social media, which played a key role in recent popular uprisings against repressive governments throughout the Middle East. The emphasis on globalization also connects closely with the weight given to the interdependence of the industrialized and developing worlds today.

The book also focuses on the importance of **comparative study**. Sociology cannot be taught solely by understanding the institutions of any one particular society. Although we have focused our discussion primarily on the United States, we have balanced it with a rich variety of materials drawn from other cultures. These include research carried out in other Western countries and in Russia and eastern European societies, which are currently undergoing substantial changes. The book also includes much more material on developing countries than has been usual in introductory texts. In addition, we strongly emphasize the relationship between sociology and anthropology, whose concerns often overlap. Given the close connections that now mesh societies across the world and the virtual disappearance of traditional social systems, sociology and anthropology have increasingly become indistinguishable.

A fifth theme is the necessity of taking a **historical approach** to sociology. This involves more than just filling in the historical context within which events occur. One of the most important developments in sociology over the past few years has been an increasing emphasis on historical analysis. This should be understood not solely as applying a sociological outlook to the past but as a way of contributing to our understanding of institutions in the present. Recent work in historical sociology is discussed throughout the text and provides a framework for the interpretations offered in the chapters.

Throughout the text, particular attention is given to a sixth theme—issues of **social class, gender, and race**. The study of social differentiation is ordinarily regarded as a series of specific fields within sociology as a whole—and this volume contains chapters that specifically explore thinking and research on each subject (Chapters 8, 10, and 11, respectively). However, questions about gender, race, and class relations are so fundamental to sociological analysis that they cannot simply be considered a subdivision. Thus many chapters contain sections concerned with the ways that multiple sources of social stratification shape the human experience.

A seventh theme is that a strong grasp of **sociological research methods** is crucial for understanding the world around us. A strong understanding of how social science research is conducted is crucial for interpreting and making sense of the many social “facts” that the media trumpet.

The final major theme is the relation between the **social and the personal**. Sociological thinking is a vital help to self-understanding, which in turn can be focused back on an improved understanding of the social world. Studying sociology should be a liberating experience: The field enlarges our sympathies and imagination, opens up new perspectives on the sources of our own behavior, and creates an awareness of cultural settings different from our own. Insofar as sociological ideas challenge dogma, teach appreciation of cultural variety, and allow us insight into the working of social institutions, the practice of sociology enhances the possibilities of human freedom.

ORGANIZATION

Every chapter in the Eleventh Edition follows the same structure, making it easier for students to study. Each chapter opens with an attention-grabbing question that challenges students’ misconceptions about the topic.

Each chapter is broken down into four sections:

1. Basic concepts
2. Important theories
3. Current research
4. Unanswered questions

At the end of each section, students have the opportunity to test themselves with integrated “Concept Check” quizzes. “Globalization by the Numbers” infographics transform raw numbers into visually interesting full-page displays that put the United States in a global context, illustrating for readers how the United States compares to other countries on key metrics. Furthermore, the Eleventh Edition features “Big Picture” concept maps that integrate the learning objectives, key terms, “Concept Checks,” and “Thinking Sociologically” activities into a handy one-stop review tool at the end of each chapter.

The chapters follow a sequence designed to help students achieve a progressive mastery of the different fields of sociology, but we have taken care to ensure that the book can be used flexibly and will be easy to adapt to the needs of individual courses. Chapters can be deleted or studied in a different order without much loss. Each has been written as a fairly autonomous unit, with cross-referencing to other chapters at relevant points.

WHAT’S NEW IN THE ELEVENTH EDITION

Chapter 1 (What Is Sociology?): In the “Theories and Theoretical Approaches” section, a new discussion of the life and work of Herbert Spencer has been added. The discussion of W. E. B. DuBois references Aldon Morris’s new book, *The Scholar Denied*, and includes a new discussion of double consciousness and DuBois’s later life. The discussion of conflict theories in sociology has been expanded, now with dedicated subsections on Marxism and feminist theories. The discussion of Jean Baudrillard and postmodernity now references the phenomenon of reality TV.

Chapter 2 (Asking and Answering Sociological Questions): *Quantitative methods* and *qualitative methods* have been added as new key terms. The discussion of ethnography now touches on issues related to generalizability. The section on sampling has been expanded and *representative sample* has been added as a key term. The section on experiments now includes a discussion of causality. A new full-page Globalization by the Numbers infographic, titled “Opinion of the United States,” captures the considerable differences among nations in the proportion of the population that holds favorable attitudes toward the United States—and shows how these attitudes have changed over time, including since the election of Donald Trump. This data is also presented in a new table. The discussion of divorce rates has been updated with more recent data.

Chapter 3 (Culture and Society): The chapter opener has been updated with more recent data on social media usage. The “Basic Concepts” section has been completely reorganized to ensure a better flow and now includes a dedicated section on nonmaterial culture, which has been added as a key term. The “Values and Norms” section now includes a new discussion of the characteristics of “American” culture. Data on smoking

among U.S. adults have been updated to highlight changing norms. The section on the cultural turn in sociology now includes a new discussion of Wendy Griswold's "cultural diamond." The discussion of industrial societies now highlights the shift toward a postindustrial society. Part 3 includes a new discussion of how power relations are culturally embedded. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* is introduced and the three forms of cultural capital explained. In the section on the global south, data on poverty have been updated. A new section on cultural appropriation has been added, with research by George Lipsitz. *Counter-cultures* has been added as a key term, along with a discussion of gays and lesbians in the twentieth century. In Part 4, the discussion of the nature/nurture debate has been expanded and now highlights research by Peter Bearman, Molly Martin, Andrew Penner, and Bernice Pescosolido. The discussion of the Internet and whether it is hastening the spread of a global culture now highlights recent developments in the Middle East, including the fact that Apple had to remove the built-in Facetime app in order to sell the iPhone there. A new Globalization by the Numbers infographic explores how countries around the world view national identity and determine whether a person is a "true" American, German, or Swede, including the importance of birthplace, language, and national customs and traditions. In the discussion of how easily cultures change, William F. Ogburn's concept of *cultural lag* is introduced and gene editing proposed as an example of a technology that could cause cultural lag.

Chapter 4 (Socialization and the Life Course): The discussion of agents of socialization has been expanded and now touches on both resocialization and anticipatory resocialization, which have been added as key terms. The section on families as agents of socialization now discusses Annette Lareau's study of the differing child-rearing strategies employed by upper-middle-class and working-class parents. The section on schools and education has been expanded and now introduces the topic of the hidden curriculum. The discussion of the mass media as an agent of socialization has been thoroughly revised and now considers studies of violent media, including violent video games. This section also includes recent data on Internet and social media use. The section on work now touches on Arlie Hochschild's (1983) in-depth interview study of emotion work. The discussion of identity now introduces and explains the concept of a "master status," which has been added as a key term. In the "Socialization through the Life Course" section, data on child abuse have been updated. The debate about today's children growing up too fast is now balanced with a counterargument. Within the section on young adulthood, a new graph looks at how the transition to adulthood is being delayed today by comparing the proportion of young adults who had hit certain benchmarks in 1975 versus 2015. A section on midlife, a new life course stage recognized in the twentieth century, has been added. The discussion of later life has been updated with the most recent data on the size of the older population. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic, "Life Course Transitions," has been updated with the most current data, and a new data point on life expectancy has been added. In Part 2 on theories of socialization, a discussion of Charles Horton Cooley's "looking-glass self" has been added. Part 3 now centers on recent research on race socialization, highlighting the recent string of police shootings of unarmed black men. The discussion of gender learning has been thoroughly reworked, citing more research, including a recent study of the way boys and girls are portrayed in children's programming. It also points out how stores like Target are eliminating gender divisions in their toy sections. A new "Unanswered Question" has been added: "How do children learn to bully? Can they unlearn?" This new section explores the origins of bullying and also highlights the findings of a recent social network analysis study of anti-bullying initiatives.

Chapter 5 (Social Interaction and Everyday Life in the Age of the Internet): Parts 2 and 3 of this chapter have been reorganized to ensure a better flow. A new Globalization by the Numbers infographic, "Who owns a smartphone?" illustrates how rates of smartphone ownership in developing countries have skyrocketed in recent years and yet a significant digital divide remains; the infographic also breaks down smartphone ownership in the United States by age, educational attainment, and income. Trolling is highlighted as a new online form of interactional vandalism. Part 3 now includes a discussion of Jeffrey Lane's recent ethnographic study of interaction on the "digital street," specifically how social media is reshaping street interactions between teenagers in low-income urban areas. In Part 4, the discussion of impression management in the Internet age now references the April 2017 incident in which Harvard rescinded admissions offers to at least 10 students for their participation in a controversial Facebook chat group. A new "Unanswered Question" has been added: "What happens when dating moves online?" This discussion of online dating includes data on usage and also highlights a recent social network analysis study of 126,000 dating site users that found strong evidence of homogamy and hypergamy.

Chapter 6 (Groups, Networks, and Organizations): The learning objective for Part 4 has been reworked. Data on obesity in America have been updated. In the section on the Internet as social network, data on Internet usage and disparities in access have been updated. In Part 4, data on telecommuting have been updated. The data in the "Globalization by the Numbers" infographic on Internet connectivity have been updated.

Chapter 7 (Conformity, Deviance, and Crime): The Globalization by the Numbers infographic has been updated with the most recent data on global incarceration rates. Data on the state and federal prison population have been updated. The discussion of public opinion on capital punishment has been updated and now includes a new figure charting public opinion. The section on crime statistics now introduces the Uniform Crime Reports. Data on crime reporting, violent and property crime rates, arrests by gender, and hate crimes

have all been updated. A new figure, titled “Rate of Violent Victimization,” compares victimization rates by gender, race, and residence.

Chapter 8 (Stratification, Class, and Inequality): The chapter opener has been updated with student loan debt figures from the class of 2016. In the discussion of systems of stratification, Max Weber’s concept of life chances is introduced and defined. The discussion of income distribution in the United States has been updated and now considers average income growth between 2009 and 2015. Data on wealth inequality, including racial disparities in wealth, have been updated. In the section on education, a new figure compares the median earnings of young adults by educational attainment in 2015. The discussion of the richest Americans has been updated and now highlights cofounder and CEO of Snapchat as a recent addition. In the section on the working class, the unemployment rate as well as median weekly earnings by educational attainment have been updated. *Cultural capital* has been made a key term in this chapter. The discussion of social mobility in the United States has been updated based on a 2016 report on equity in higher education as well as updated data from the National Center for Education Statistics. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic, which compares levels of income inequality in different countries, now highlights both the income share held by the top 10 percent of the population as well as the bottom 10 percent of the population in order to give a fuller picture of income inequality; the distribution of income in the United States has been updated with 2015 data. The discussion of poverty in the United States, including number and percentage in poverty and the federal poverty line, has been updated with 2015 data. The discussion of the working poor has been updated based on a 2017 report by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Data on poverty rates by race/ethnicity have been updated. A new figure shows poverty rates by race and age. Data on the elderly poverty rate as well as data on Social Security have been updated. The discussion of homelessness in the United States has been updated. In Part 4, the unanswered question about how current economic patterns will affect our lives now discusses an important 2016 study by Stanford economist Raj Chetty about intergenerational income mobility that found that only 50 percent of today’s young adults are likely to outearn their parents.

Chapter 9 (Global Inequality): The chapter opener has been substantially revised based on the most recent rankings of the richest people in the world, now highlighting Zara founder Amancio Ortega. Data on the number of global billionaires as well as global wealth inequality overall have been updated. The learning objectives for the chapter have been reworked to reflect content changes. In the basic concepts section, GDP data and the related World Bank income classifications have been updated, along with Global Map 9.1. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic has been updated with the most current data from the World Bank on GNI, population, population growth, life expectancy, fertility rate and infant mortality rate. Throughout the sections comparing high-income, middle-income, and low-income countries, data have been updated. In the discussion of global commodity chains, the statistics on global exports have been updated and the ranking of the world’s most valuable brands updated. In Part 3, data on world population growth and urbanization rate have been updated. In the section on health, the discussion of immunization rates has been expanded and now references recent measles outbreaks among unvaccinated populations; the discussion of the 2014 Ebola outbreak has also been updated. The section on hunger and malnutrition now includes a discussion of hunger in war-torn countries such as Syria as well as the future impact of global climate change on agricultural production. Data related to the HIV/AIDS epidemic have been updated. In the section on education and literacy, data on literacy rates in low-income and high-income countries have been updated. In Part 4, “Unanswered Questions,” the discussion of whether global poverty is increasing has been expanded and now looks at who makes up the global poor; it also reflects the World Bank’s revised definition of poverty. A new question, “What about inequality *within* countries?” has been added, including a new figure that shows the share of total income going to the top 1 percent from 1900–2013 in two different sets of countries. The question related to globalization now includes a discussion of Brexit.

Chapter 10 (Gender Inequality): The chapter-opening discussion of female CEOs at Fortune 500 companies has been revised to reflect 2017 data as well as recent gender-discrimination lawsuits at Fox News and Google. The concept of *hegemonic masculinity* is now introduced. A discussion of Sandra Lipsitz Bem’s classic *The Lenses of Gender* has been added, along with the key term *biological essentialism*. A new discussion of a national study by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration illustrates how as gender roles change, girls may become more physically aggressive. The discussion of baby Storm, whose parents kept the baby’s sex a secret, has been updated. The section on the social construction of gender has been expanded to include the example of Nikki Jones’s study of young inner-city African American women. In the section on cross-cultural research, a discussion of Margaret Mead’s New Guinea study, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, has been added. The discussion of transgender individuals has been expanded and *transgender* has been made a key term. In Part 2, a new section on socialist feminism has been added. Transnational feminism is also discussed. In the section on gendered inequalities in education, a new study by the Department of Education illustrates how black boys are more likely than white boys to be disciplined harshly. Data throughout the section on gendered inequalities in the workplace, including women’s labor force participation and occupational segregation, have been updated. A discussion of men’s declining labor force participation has been added. Recent initiatives that encourage more women to pursue high-tech professions are highlighted. The discussion of the gender pay gap, along with the accompanying figure, have been updated with 2016 data. A new section on gender inequalities in entrepreneurship provides statistics on women-owned business firms and discusses Sarah Th  baud’s 2015 experimental research on perceptions

of female business owners. In the section on sexual harassment, the 2017 incident at Fox News is now discussed. The discussion of global gendered inequalities has been substantially revised based on a 2016 report by the International Labour Organization, highlighting recent initiatives adopted by Japan to promote gender equity. Data on female participation in senior management positions across the globe have been updated. The discussion of the division of household labor now highlights data from the 2016 American Time Use Survey. New research on the “flexibility stigma” faced by working fathers is discussed. The discussion of gender inequality in politics has been updated. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic on gender inequality shows countries’ most up-to-date ratings on the Gender Inequality Index as well as current statistics on women’s labor force participation, representation in government, and participation in secondary school. In Part 4, a new section presents Sweden as an example of a country with progressive family-leave policies. A new unanswered question, “How does gender inequality affect men?” highlights recent research into how traditional gender role beliefs and practices exert a profound toll on men. The section on sexual assault now discusses the Stanford rape case; data on the sexual assault of men have been added.

Chapter 11 (Race, Ethnicity, and Racism): A new chapter-opening quiz and accompanying discussion highlights predictions by the U.S. Census that the United States will soon be a “majority-minority” nation, tracing the history of racial categorization in the United States in order to present race as a social construction. The learning objectives have been revised to reflect the significant changes to the chapter. In the basic concepts section, the discussion of race has been expanded and reconceived and its accompanying definition has been significantly revised. The discussion of ethnicity has also been expanded. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic has been updated to reflect the most up-to-date racial and ethnic populations in a number of countries. An overhauled Part 2 (“Thinking about Racism”) now includes new discussions of Eduardo Bonilla-Silva’s concept of color blindness as well as the concept of white privilege. The discussion of institutional racism has been expanded and now takes an in-depth look at the Department of Justice report produced in 2015 in response to a grand jury’s exoneration of a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, in the shooting death of Michael Brown. A new section, titled “Overt Racism: Racism with Racists,” tackles the 2016 presidential election as well as recent events in Charlottesville, Virginia. A new discussion of racial microaggressions has been added. Data throughout Part 3, including the sizes of the main racial/ethnic groups in the United States and the migrant population, have been updated. The discussion of Puerto Ricans now references the 2017 referendum. In Part 4, the discussion of immigration has been thoroughly updated with more recent data, including the size of the foreign-born population in the United States, the demographic makeup of the immigrant population, and the number of unauthorized immigrants. Data on the educational attainment of racial minorities have been updated, along with the accompanying figures. Data in the section on employment and income, including unemployment rates and earnings by racial group, have been updated. The section on health now documents how the racial gap in infant mortality and life expectancy has actually decreased in recent years. The discussion of residential segregation now highlights a recent report on segregation 60 years after the landmark passage of *Brown*. The section on political power has been updated to reflect the recent election.

Chapter 12 (Aging): In the opener, data on the size of the older population in the United States have been updated. In the discussion of the graying of society, data on life expectancy have been updated. The figures showing the median age of the U.S. population as well as average life expectancy have both been updated. The discussion of Alzheimer’s disease has been updated based on a 2017 report by the Alzheimer’s Association. Data in the section on poverty, including percentage of older adults who receive Social Security and median income of older households, have been updated. Elderly poverty rates by race and gender have been updated, along with the accompanying figure. Data on the percentage of older Americans using social media have been updated. The discussion of elder abuse has been updated, including new estimates of the prevalence of elder abuse. The discussion of health problems among older adults has been updated, including data on out-of-pocket health care expenditures and costs related to nursing homes. In Part 4, the discussion of the political impact of population aging now considers voter turnout in the 2016 presidential election. The section on government support has been updated with a recent poll on the state of Social Security. The discussion of Medicare and Social Security has been updated with 2017 data. A new Globalization by the Numbers infographic shows the predicted growth of the elderly population in eleven different countries as well as the age and race breakdown of the older population in the United States. The discussion of global aging has been updated based on a 2017 report by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs on world population projections.

Chapter 13 (Government, Political Power, and Social Movements): The chapter opener has been updated, including the percentage of the world population that lives in countries considered “free” by Freedom House. In Part 1, a new section dedicated to “populist authoritarianism” has been added; *populism* and *authoritarianism* have been added as key terms. The discussion of citizenship rights has been expanded and now considers recent anti-immigration policies. The section on the power elite now explains the concept of the “deep state” and includes a discussion of the Trump cabinet and its net worth. Figure 13.1 on military budgets has been updated with data for 2016. In Part 3, the discussion of democracy in the United States now considers the rise of populist movements. The section on elections now highlights Trump’s 2016 Electoral College win as well as the rise of populist authoritarianism in Europe. A discussion of voting patterns in the 2016 presidential election, including voter preferences by income, age, race, and education, has been added.

The discussion of why support for Democrats has eroded has been revised and highlights the results of a 2017 poll of 18- to 29-year-olds. The discussion of party identification has been updated. A new discussion of the 2016 elections, specifically the role of the alt-right movement, has been added. The section on interest groups has been expanded and now includes a detailed discussion of spending in the 2016 election. A new figure shows totals spent on congressional and presidential elections from 1998 to 2016. The section dedicated to the political participation of women includes a new discussion of the strong gender gap in the 2016 election as well as the United States' current global ranking based on percentage of women in a country's lower legislative house. A discussion of the role of the Internet and social media in the 2016 presidential election, specifically Trump's use of Twitter to mobilize his supporters, has been added to the section on political participation. The discussion of social movements includes a reference to the 2017 Women's March on Washington. The section on technology and social movements has been updated and now considers the rise of anti-immigration political movements throughout Europe, including the role of social media in Brexit. The discussion of nationalism now considers the work of Benedict Anderson on how national identities are socially constructed. A new section considers states without nations, including Sudan; a new map of Africa compares colonial boundaries with tribal and ethnic groups. In Part 4, the discussion of why voter turnout is so low in the United States has been substantially revised to reflect turnout in the 2016 presidential election as well as new research on the impact of voter ID laws on low-income and minority voters. A new question asks, "Did the Internet shape the outcome of the 2016 presidential election?" The discussion of whether democracy is in trouble highlights a recent Pew survey on size of government as well as a recent ranking of OECD countries based on government spending.

Chapter 14 (Work and Economic Life): The chapter-opening discussion of Pou Chen has been updated and now references the shoes worn by Usain Bolt at the Rio Olympics. In the basic concepts section, the discussion of the value of housework has been updated based on a more recent report by Bridgman et al. Data on volunteering have been updated. In the section on the different types of capitalism, the discussion of media conglomerates has been updated. Data on the informal economy have been updated. The discussion of corporate mergers and acquisitions considers recent moves by Chinese firms. In the section on transnational corporations, the revenues of the world's 500 largest firms have been updated as well as the accompanying table showing the largest 50 economies. Data in the section on strikes, including the figure showing work stoppages involving 1,000 workers or more, have been updated. In the section on unemployment, the discussion of unemployment since the recession has been updated. The figure showing unemployment in the United States has been updated through 2016. Data in the section on labor unions, including union membership and median weekly earnings of unionized vs. nonunionized workers, have been updated. In Part 4, the unanswered question about automation has been significantly revised and now considers how rapid advances in software hold the promise of automating occupations that currently require college degrees. The unanswered question about the permanency of future jobs has been updated based on a 2016 report on the rise and nature of alternative work arrangements that found that the proportion of the U.S. workforce engaged in alternative work arrangements has increased more than 50 percent in the last decade.

Chapter 15 (Families and Intimate Relationships): The chapter-opening question has been reworked and is now presented as a multiple-choice question about the proportion of children who live in a typical family made up of a mother, father, and their children. In the opener, data on U.S. families and households have been updated and the media examples have been swapped out, highlighting recent ads for Google Home and Honey Maid. The discussion of polygamy has been revised. In the section on functionalism, the discussion of critiques of Parsons's view of families has been expanded. A new section on symbolic interactionist approaches to families has been added. In the section on feminist approaches, the discussion of housework has been updated with data from the 2015 Time Use Survey as well as new research on same-sex couples. In the section on historical perspectives on families, data on average household size have been updated. In Part 3, five additional trends in family change are highlighted. In the section on marriage and families in the United States, data on median age at first marriage, cohabitation, and average age at first birth have all been updated. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic on maternity leave benefits has been refreshed with a handful of new countries as well as more current data from the International Labour Organization. The discussion of social class now references the opioid epidemic. Data in the section on nonmarital childbearing, along with the accompanying figure, have been updated. The discussion of divorce has been updated with more recent data on the economic toll of divorce on men. Data in the sections on remarriage and single-parent families have been updated. A new section on child-free families has been added. The discussion of same-sex marriage has been updated and now highlights a 2017 ruling in Taiwan that has paved the way for gay marriage in that country.

Chapter 16 (Education): The chapter-opening question and accompanying discussion of high school graduation rates has been updated with the most recent data. The discussion of education inequality by neighborhood highlights new statistics on school funding. The discussion of school discipline now draws on a recent report by the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, which found that black students are disproportionately referred to law enforcement. Racial gaps in SAT scores are now highlighted. The statistics reflecting the gender gap in education have been updated. The percentage of women pursuing degrees in STEM fields has been added. In the section on educational reform, a new discussion of functional literacy has been added. Data on global literacy, including the adult literacy rates map, have been updated. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic has been refreshed with a new selection of countries. In Part 4, the discussion of international education has been updated with data from the 2015–2016 academic year.

Chapter 17 (Religion in Modern Society): The chapter-opening discussion of the world's fastest-growing religions has been significantly revised based on the 2017 report by the Pew Research Center on the changing global religious landscape. The discussion of secularization has been updated with more recent data on the percentage of Americans who report attending church on a weekly basis as well as the percentage of the population in countries across the globe who say that religion is very important in their lives. The discussion of the growing number of Muslims in the world now reflects more recent data. The Globalization by the Numbers infographic has been updated with more recent data on global religious affiliation as well as religious affiliation in the United States. Global Map 17.1 on major religions of the world has been simplified. The discussion of trends in religious affiliation in the United States, specifically the "rise of the nones," has been updated. The declining membership of Catholicism is examined. Views on same-sex marriage are compared among the major religious groups in the United States. In the section on Islamic revivalism, the discussion of ISIS has been updated to reflect recent developments, including recent territory losses. The discussion of the growth in evangelicalism has been updated with more recent data. In the section on religious violence, a discussion of public opinion regarding ISIS among Muslim-majority countries has been added.

Chapter 18 (The Sociology of the Body: Health, Illness, and Sexuality): In the opener, data on obesity in the United States have been updated and a new map added. A new Globalization by the Numbers infographic compares obesity rates worldwide. In the section on symbolic interactionist approaches, a new study of attitudes toward people with schizophrenia is discussed and *stigma* has been added as a new key term. New research is highlighted in the section on social class-based inequalities in mental health. In the discussion of race-based inequalities in health, data on life expectancy, infant mortality, median wealth, cigarette smoking, and rates of hypertension have all been updated. The discussion of the gender gap in health has been updated with more recent data as well as new research on the widening education gap in mortality among U.S. white women. In the section on global health inequalities, data on malaria and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have been updated. The section on sexual behavior over the life course highlights 2015 data on the percentage of high school students who report having had intercourse. The discussion of homophobia now references the results of a 2015 survey of LGBT youth and their experiences with bullying. The discussion of same-sex marriage has been updated to reflect recent developments, including an updated list of countries where same-sex marriage is legal. The unanswered question about whether income inequality threatens health has been updated with 2015 data on income distribution in the United States. The section on complementary and alternative medicine has been updated with more current statistics on usage. The discussion of medical marijuana has been updated to reflect recent legislation.

Chapter 19 (Population, Urbanization and the Environment): The chapter-opening discussion of world population growth has been updated based on the 2017 revision of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs' World Population Prospects report. In the section on basic concepts, data on birthrates, death rates, and infant mortality have all been updated. The discussion of demographic transition has been expanded and now includes a new figure of the four stages; *dependency ratio* has been added as a key term. Part 3 has been reorganized and now begins with premodern cities, moves to the rise of the megalopolis and then considers urbanization in the global south. Data on urbanization have been updated and a new figure shows the proportion urban by income group. In the section on the environmental challenges of urbanization, a new discussion of heat-related deaths in India and water woes in Pakistan has been added. The section on the social challenges of urbanization now highlights specific examples of countries with youthful populations. The discussion of rural America now touches on the current opioid epidemic and rising suicide. Data in the section on suburbanization on the growing diversity of suburbs have been updated. The section on urban problems now includes a new discussion of Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*, which shows how racial segregation today is largely due to governmental housing policies. This section also highlights recent research by Princeton sociologist Matthew Desmond on eviction and the destructive impact of housing insecurity on relations among the poor. The discussion of the environment has been expanded, with new information on China; data on per-person national income have been updated. The discussion of energy use now mentions Bill Freudenbergs' disproportionality thesis; energy use projections have been updated. The discussion of global warming and climate change has been thoroughly updated, highlighting the Paris climate accord. In Part 4, a new question asks, "Is there a new ecological paradigm?" The accompanying discussion introduces the terms *human exceptionalism paradigm*, *new ecological paradigm*, and *Anthropocene*.

Chapter 20 (Globalization in a Changing World): In the chapter opener, data on film production have been updated based on 2015 data from UNESCO. The section on political changes driving globalization now explores the recent challenges the United Nations and European Union have faced, including new discussions of the refugee crisis and Brexit. New examples of IGOs have been added. A discussion of the emergence of a form of nationalism based on ethnicity, religion, or culture has been added. New research on transnational corporations has been added; data on transnational corporations and the revenue of the top 500 corporations have been updated. The discussion of genetically modified foods has been updated with more recent data. Data on global poverty and global trade have also been updated. The section on the campaign for global justice now considers recent criticism against free trade agreements levied by Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump. Data on farm subsidies in the United States have been updated. A new Globalization by the Numbers infographic paints a picture of wealth inequality around the world.

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RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS

For Students

InQuizitive

InQuizitive—Norton's adaptive learning platform—personalizes quiz questions and provides answer-specific feedback in an engaging, game-like environment. The Eleventh Edition InQuizitive course includes a new “How to Read Charts and Graphs” activity.

Everyday Sociology Blog

everydaysociologyblog.com

Designed for a general audience, the Everyday Sociology blog is an exciting and unique online forum that encourages visitors to actively explore sociology's relevance to popular culture, mass media, and everyday life. Moderated by Karen Sternheimer (University of Southern California), the blog features postings on topical subjects, video interviews with well-known sociologists, and contributions from special guests during the academic year.

Ebooks

Norton Ebooks give students and instructors an enhanced reading experience at a fraction of the cost of a print textbook. The ebook for *Introduction to Sociology* can be viewed on—and synced among—all computers and mobile devices and allows you to take notes, bookmark, search, highlight, and even read offline.

For Instructors

Coursepack

A free customizable coursepack for *Introduction to Sociology*, Eleventh Edition, enables instructors to incorporate student activities and assessment materials into Blackboard or other learning management systems. Instructors who assign InQuizitive can opt to link students to the activities from within the coursepack, providing students with even more integrated learning tools. The coursepack for *Introduction to Sociology*, Eleventh Edition, includes:

- Multiple-choice chapter-review quizzes
- Key-term flashcards and matching quizzes
- Streaming clips from the *Sociology in Practice* DVD series, including the new “Thinking about Gender” DVD
- Discussion questions and multiple-choice quizzes for select *Sociology in Practice* DVD clips
- Census activities (select chapters)
- Exercises based on the “Unanswered Questions” in Part 4 of every chapter

Sociology in Practice DVDs

These DVDs contain several hours of video clips drawn from documentaries by independent filmmakers. The *Sociology in Practice* DVD series has been expanded to include a new DVD of documentary clips on gender. The DVDs are ideal for initiating classroom discussion and encouraging students to apply sociological concepts to popular and real-world issues. The clips are offered in streaming versions in the Coursepacks, and select clips are accompanied by a quiz, exercise, or activity. All the clips are closed-captioned for the hearing impaired.

Interactive Instructor's Guide

The easy-to-navigate Interactive Instructor's Guide makes lecture development easy with an array of teaching resources that can be searched and browsed according to a number of criteria. Resources include chapter outlines, discussion questions, activities and exercises based on the Globalization by the Numbers infographics, suggested readings, and class activities.

Lecture PowerPoints

Lecture PowerPoint slides with bulleted classroom lecture notes in the notes field are particularly helpful to first-time teachers. All PowerPoints include captions and alt-text so that they are accessible to all students.

Art PowerPoints and JPEGs

All the art from the book is available in JPEG and PPT format, sized for classroom display.

Test Bank

The Test Bank for the Eleventh Edition includes approximately 55–65 multiple-choice and 10–15 essay questions per chapter. In addition to Bloom's taxonomy, each question is tagged with difficulty level and metadata that places it in the context of the chapter, making it easy to construct tests. It is available online as a PDF or RTF and in ExamView.

Part I



THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY

We live in a world today that is increasingly complex. What makes this possible? Why are the conditions of our lives so different from those of earlier times? How will our lives change in the future? To what extent are things that seem natural actually socially constructed? Does the individual matter? These types of questions led to the study of sociology. As you read this text, you will encounter examples from different people's lives that will help answer these important questions.

In Chapter 1, we explore the scope of sociology and learn what insights the field can bring, such as the development of a global perspective and an understanding of social change. Sociology is not a body of theories everyone agrees on. As in any complex field, the questions we raise allow for different answers. In this chapter, we compare and contrast differing theoretical traditions.

Chapter 2 explores the tools of the trade and considers how sociologists do research. A number of basic methods of investigation are available to explore the social world. We must be sure that the information underlying sociological reasoning is as reliable and accurate as possible. The chapter examines the problems encountered when gathering such information and indicates how best to deal with them.



What Is Sociology?

1

The admissions process at major American universities has:

- a** always favored prettier or more handsome people.
- b** always favored minorities.
- c** always favored athletes.
- d** undergone serious revision over time.

The correct answer is *d*, because the criteria for admission to universities have changed over time. In the early twentieth century, college admissions began to undergo a series of major transformations, for reasons that were kept discreetly out of the public eye (Karabel, 2005; Gladwell, 2005). In 1905, the SAT was instituted, and for the first time, people started getting into college on the basis of standardized tests. Within a few years, the Harvard class had become 15 percent Jewish, as Jews (not unlike Asians today) excelled at the standardized test in disproportionate numbers. Sociologists to this day disagree about whether this success can be explained by cultural characteristics or economic advantages that even relatively poor ethnic and religious minorities experience in comparison with other minority groups that don't do as well.

Nevertheless, reflecting the wider anti-Semitism of the era, the people who were running Harvard looked at this outcome as a very undesirable turn of events. The administrators drew an analogy between the university and hotels in upstate New York—first the Jews will arrive, then the Gentiles will leave, and then the Jews will leave and nobody will be here or want to come here anymore (Zimmerman, 2010). So Harvard determined that it needed to find another way of conducting admissions. Rather than putting quotas on Jews, they decided to change to a system of admissions very much like the one we know today. They would start to look at “the whole person,” rather than give advantages to people simply because they'd done well on a standardized test. In recent years, these institutions have generally transitioned to looking for “best gradu-

ates” rather than “best students”; that is, not students who will excel academically in college, but instead, those who will become successful after college (Gladwell, 2005). Excellent high school students compete for a limited number of spots at elite American colleges, with many able candidates being rejected in favor of athletes or student leaders in lower academic standing.

Today, it seems natural that a college would want to get to know a student as a whole person. In your college application, you had to write an essay that helped define you as a total human being. You may have tried to show what an interesting person you are by discussing the clubs you were a part of and the sports you participated in. While answer *c* is not entirely correct, athletes do experience a growing advantage in admissions over their peers, despite on average lower GPAs and SAT scores. Part of the reason for this advantage may be that athletes are still able (and more likely) to pursue careers in high-paying professions (Bowen and Shulman, 2001). When Ivy League schools switched to the new system, they would also send representatives to various schools around the country to interview prospective students. They didn't want too many “nerds.” They wanted well-rounded, good-looking people—future leaders who would have an impact on the country and who would make these schools look good in return. And so they would conduct interviews and keep notes on whether an applicant was tall, handsome, or pretty (by whatever standard that was determined).

There were things the admissions office simply didn't like: people with big ears, for example. Short people were also

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1 BASIC CONCEPTS

Learn what sociology covers as a field and how everyday topics are shaped by social and historical forces. Recognize that sociology involves not only acquiring knowledge but also developing a sociological imagination.

2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL THINKING

Learn how sociology originated and understand the significance of the intellectual contributions of early sociologists.

3 MODERN THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Be able to identify some of the leading theorists and the concepts they contributed to sociology. Learn the different theoretical approaches modern sociologists bring to the field.

4 HOW CAN SOCIOLOGY HELP US?

Understand how adopting a sociological perspective allows us to develop a richer understanding of ourselves and the world.



Colleges today consider the whole person when making admissions decisions, but that wasn't always the case.

undesirable, as recommendation files from that time indicate. In the mid-1950s, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale were actually keeping records on the number of men who entered the freshman class who were over six feet tall. Today, all schools release records about their incoming freshman classes, but they are more likely to keep track of race, class, and gender variables than height or ear size. Thus, answer choice *a* is incorrect if we are considering the present day; though physical appearance was at one time a salient aspect of college admissions criteria, it is generally no longer a consideration. Indeed, when people hear statistics about incoming college freshman classes, they more frequently ask about affirmative action. Some whites might wonder, "Is it true that I can't get into some competitive schools because so many of the spaces now go to minorities?"

It's interesting how frequently this question is asked. The average person who wants to know is actually using what C. Wright Mills called the **sociological imagination**, a phrase he coined in 1959 in a now-classic book (Mills, 2000; orig. 1959). Mills tried to understand how the average person in the United States understood his or her everyday life. According to Mills, each of us lives in a very small orbit, and our worldview is limited by the social situations we encounter on a daily basis. These include the family and the small groups we are a part of, the school we attend, and even the

sociological imagination • The application of imaginative thought to the asking and answering of sociological questions. Someone using the sociological imagination "thinks himself away" from the familiar routines of daily life.

social structure • The underlying regularities or patterns in how people behave in their relationships with one another.

dorm in which we live. All these things give rise to a certain limited perspective and point of view.

The average person, according to Mills, doesn't really understand his or her personal problems as part of any kind of larger framework or series of goings-on. Mills argued that we all need to overcome our limited perspective. What is necessary is a certain quality of mind that makes it possible to understand the larger meaning of our experiences. This quality of mind is the sociological imagination.

When some white college applicants wonder if they are not getting into competitive schools because so many of the spaces go to minorities, they are connecting their individual experience to a conception of the larger **social structure**. This conception about college admissions is perpetuated as a valid idea by cable-television news; certain newspapers, magazines, and websites; and everyday conversation.

But is it true? One thing that Mills did not mention is that having a sociological imagination requires more than making connections between individual lives and ideas about social structure. Since Mills's time, sociologists have come to focus more strongly than ever on the careful assessment of evidence. When you look at the data, you will realize that it is absolutely impossible for most college rejections to be due to affirmative action. In a current entering class at an Ivy League school, for example, out of 1,000 students, there may be 100 blacks and 75 Latinos. The 1,000 students were selected from about 20,000 applicants. A significant portion of the 19,000 who were rejected may think that they didn't get in because a black or a Latino applicant got in instead of them. But we know from the data that this is impossible: There is no way that 175 people could be keeping 19,000 people out of any school. For this reason, answer choice *b* is also incorrect.

As you can see, it's not enough to have a sociological imagination in the way that Mills intended it. We want you to learn how to sort through the evidence in a way that begins with imagination but insists on the kind of methods that can give us firmer and better answers to important sociological questions. How to do this in a rigorous way will be the subject of Chapter 2.

THE ANSWER IS D.

1 BASIC CONCEPTS

The scope of sociological study is extremely wide, but in general, sociologists ask themselves certain questions that help to focus the sociological imagination and provide them with the concepts that motivate research. These questions that orient the discipline include, how are the things that we take to be natural actually socially constructed? How is social order possible? Does the individual matter? How are the times in which we are living different from the times that came before?

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

There is a basic flaw in human reasoning that goes something like this: The things that we see before us are inevitable. They are natural and cannot be changed. What sociology teaches us is that, in many ways, we are freer than we think—that the things we think are natural are actually created by human beings. We might consider the question we started this chapter with as an example: The college admissions system is a **social construction** located in a specific place and time. Criteria for admission to American colleges have shifted according to historical and demographic trends and changes in university leadership (Gladwell, 2005).

Another example comes from everyday experiences with sex and gender. A baby is usually born with either a penis or a vagina. By way of that characteristic, the baby begins a process of being assigned to the category of “boy” or “girl.” This distinction is extremely important because the baby’s sex is almost always the first thing you want to know before you interact with him or her. If you can’t figure it out, you may ask the parents.

Is this true of any other characteristic? You usually don’t need to know the race of a baby before interacting with him or her. You don’t need to know the economic class of a baby. Most babies today, regardless of their economic standing, are dressed in mass-produced clothes from stores such as Baby Gap or Target. In general, most parents do not try to signal the class of their baby with his or her garments. The same principle applies to race and ethnicity. Some parents will dress their baby to affiliate with a certain race or ethnic group, but—except on holidays—this practice is less commonplace. Not as many people feel they need to know the race of a baby to interact with the infant.

social construction • An idea or practice that a group of people agree exists. It is maintained over time by people taking its existence for granted.



People interact differently with babies based on the baby’s gender. How do sociologists analyze these interactions?

Sex is different. If you are a parent, you do not want someone coming up to your baby boy and asking, “Is it a boy or a girl?” So what do you do to avoid this scenario? You dress your baby in blue if he is a boy or in pink if she is a girl. Some parents do not do this at the beginning—until they start getting asked that question. Then they start dressing their baby in a certain way so that people will stop asking. Of course, even if you do dress your baby in the traditional blue or pink, there may still be people who come up and ask, “Is it a boy or a girl?” But it is not something that will happen often, because most people are pretty good at reading social cues—such as a blue or pink cap.

Now, the fact that many people need to know the sex of a baby suggests that we interact differently depending on whether we think the baby is a boy or a girl. If a baby is a boy, a person might walk up and say something in a traditional masculine style, such as “Hey, bud! How you doin’?” If it’s a girl, the person might say something that is more appropriate for a little girl or more in keeping with the norms of traditional femininity. Eventually, we get to the point where these interactions start to mold the kind of person the baby becomes. Children come to see themselves as being either a boy or a girl. They start to move their bodies like a little boy or a little girl. They know that this is how others see them, and they know that when they go out onto the street, they occupy the role of boy or girl. This happens through a process of interaction.

Even though it is not simply a natural occurrence that a person starts to behave as a boy or a girl, many of us are raised to believe that the differences between men and women are purely biological. Sociologists disagree. Does this mean that sociologists want to dismiss the role of biology? No. The goal of sociology is not to try to teach you that the biological realm is a residual category with a minor role in explaining human

behavior. One purpose of sociology is to disentangle what is biological from what is socially constructed. It is in part to try to determine how social phenomena relate to biological phenomena. Most sociologists admit that there is a place for the biological. However, many studies show that the things that the average human being thinks are biological, and thus natural, are actually socially constructed.

The more you start to think about disentangling what is natural from what is socially constructed, the more rigorously you will begin to think like a sociologist.

SOCIAL ORDER

A professor looks out onto a lecture hall and sees a roomful of silent students taking notes and exhibiting self-control and discipline. There must be somebody in the room who wishes that he or she were doing yoga instead, or who would like to turn around and say something to a friend in the back. But the fact of the matter is that almost everyone appears to be doing the same thing: sitting quietly, listening, taking notes (or at least pretending to). How can we explain this orderly behavior? How can we explain the existence of social order in a lecture hall or in a society? We certainly need social order to get through the day, but how can we understand it?

Sociologists have offered up many different explanations to try to answer such questions. One explanation is that it is rational for individuals to act this way. Students know it is in their self-interest to sit quietly and pay, or pretend to pay, attention. Perhaps a student hopes to apply to graduate school and wants to get a letter of recommendation from the professor. This goal motivates the student to respond to the classroom environment: The professor's willingness to write a letter is an incentive for good behavior. The recommendation acts as an incentive, stimulating the response of the student who wants it. The student tries to make a good impression, all the while keeping in mind that if he or she turns around and talks to the friend week after week instead of listening, the professor might write an unflattering letter or refuse to write one at all. This explanation based on self-interest and incentives is what economists would use to explain most things. While some sociologists adopt such theories, most find such explanations to be based on an all-too-narrow conception of human nature. They appeal to a different set of theories.

Thus, another explanation for social order is the existence of norms. It is a norm of social life that when students come into a classroom, they sit and take notes and pay attention. We learn and internalize norms as young people through a process called **socialization**. Once we have internalized a norm, we tend to follow through with the expectations of the norm in most of our interactions. Norms are important to sociologists because they explain some of the ways in which we are inside society and, simultaneously, society is inside us.

socialization • The social processes through which children develop an awareness of social norms and values and achieve a distinct sense of self. Although socialization processes are particularly significant in infancy and childhood, they continue to some degree throughout life. No individuals are immune from the reactions of others around them, which influence and modify their behavior at all phases of the life course.

Yet another explanation for social order focuses on beliefs and values. Perhaps students place a value on the classroom, on the university, or on higher education. If this is the case, then the social order upheld in classrooms is more than a norm. The lecture hall is a symbol of a greater whole, a sacred place that is part of a larger moral universe. Students sit quietly because they believe professors in this ceremonial order deserve respect, maybe even deference.

It is important to keep in mind that we do not need to choose among these theories. Multiple factors can operate together. All these explanations address the question of social order from a sociological perspective. As such, the existence of social order is not taken for granted. For the average person, the question of social order arises in response to disruptions or breaks in that order. The average person who sees an event such as the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, or the Sandy Hook school shooting, may ask, "How could this event have happened?" The sociologist reverses that question and instead asks, "How is it that disruptions in the social order do not happen more frequently?"

How do sociologists explain the typical orderly behavior in a lecture hall?



AGENCY AND STRUCTURE

A long-standing debate in the social sciences revolves around questions of free will and determinism. For example, a deterministic framework would predict that where an individual ends up in life is significantly, if not entirely, influenced by the position into which he or she is born. The sociological imagination can be quite deterministic in that it pushes us to see that, in many ways, the lives of individuals are quite determined by their social roles, gender, race, and class. Yet we would not want you to take away the lesson that individuals are trapped, or controlled like puppets.

Let us return to our example of college admissions. It is true that Ivy League graduates have a significantly higher average income than graduates of state-level schools. This difference in income would suggest that the place at which one attends college is a crucial determinant of one's success in later life. However, conventional studies looked only at students who had the same SAT scores and grades; they did not factor in other, personal characteristics that may have had an effect on later success in life.

In 2002, Alan Krueger and Stacy Dale published a study comparing the average yearly incomes of students who had attended an Ivy League college with those who had been admitted to an Ivy League school but chose to attend a state-level college instead. Despite an apparent disparity in opportunities for students who attended Ivy League versus non-Ivy League universities, Krueger and Dale discovered that the average salaries of the two groups of students were essentially the same. Contrary to the popular conception that attending elite institutions guarantees future success,

Tocqueville described nineteenth-century Americans as a nation of joiners. Is that still true?



it appears that highly motivated students, rather than institutional structures, prove more a determinant of this success; in other words, the individual *does* matter (2002; Gladwell, 2005).

Sociologists tend to think in probabilities. They look at the probabilities that people will end up in certain living situations on the basis of characteristics, de-emphasizing to some extent the power of the individual. However, the sociological imagination does leave room for the person to have an impact, even as we acknowledge that he or she is constrained.

Think about a girl from a working-class family whose parents have active sociological imaginations and a very deterministic understanding of their child's life chances. The parents did not go to college. Instead, they entered the workforce after high school, and they expect that their daughter will do the same. When the teenager tells her parents that she would like to go to college and be a lawyer, the parents might think of the probability of an individual from their class position achieving such a goal—how unlikely it is. They might tell their child to consider the odds against her, and encourage her to pursue a different goal so that she will not be disappointed. What if she took this advice with a grain of salt and applied to college anyway? She would be no different from many of your classmates—and possibly even you. Many of you can think of people who started out just like this, with similar constraints, but who ended up in college due to their refusal to accept the odds as their fate.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Another question sociologists ask is how people live in light of the social transformations of their time.

In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville, a French aristocrat and one of the first great social theorists, visited the United States from France. He wanted to understand how the conditions of democracy and equality were possible. Ever since the publication of his resulting study, *Democracy in America* (1969; orig. 1835), the United States has been viewed through the lens of sociology as a nation of joiners in which, more so than in Europe, people are involved in many groups and activities. Yet sociologists constantly revisit questions about whether the way we live today is different from how we lived in earlier times, and one of the enduring questions is whether Americans are less involved today in public-spirited activities than in the past.

Another great theorist, Max Weber (1947; orig. 1922), looked at the way the world had been changing due to the influence of massive large-scale organizations, and how the emergence of an organizational society and large bureaucratic organizations had changed and transformed social life. Karl Marx, in *Capital* (1977; orig. 1867), examined how industrialization had changed the structure of an entire society, transforming the relationships of individuals to their work and to one another from feudalism to

capitalism. Émile Durkheim, in *The Division of Labor in Society* (1964; orig. 1893), discussed how the historical changes wrought by industrialization and urbanization had led to the increasing specificity of the roles individuals filled, and how this specialization functioned to benefit society as a whole. These sound like abstract topics, but they were central to understanding how the world was changing at particular times.

CONCEPT CHECKS ✓

1. What is the sociological imagination, according to C. Wright Mills?
2. How does sociology help us disentangle what is biological from what is socially constructed?
3. How does the concept of social structure help sociologists better understand social phenomena?

2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL THINKING

When students start studying sociology, many are puzzled by the diversity of approaches they encounter. Indeed, sociologists often disagree about how to study human behavior and how best to interpret research results. Why is this? Why can't sociologists agree more consistently, as natural scientists seem to do? The answer is bound up with the very nature of the field. Sociology is about our lives and our behavior, and studying ourselves is the most complex endeavor we can undertake. To understand this complexity, sociologists are guided by the four questions we've discussed: How are the things we take to be natural actually socially constructed? How is social order possible? Does the individual matter? How are the times in which we live different from those that came before?

THEORIES AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

AUGUSTE COMTE

The French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857) invented the word *sociology* to describe the discipline he wished to establish. Comte believed that the scientific method could be applied to the study of human behavior and society, and that this new field could produce knowledge of society based on scientific evidence. Comte believed that sociology, as the scientific study of social life, should model itself after physics; he initially called the subject *social physics*, a term that many

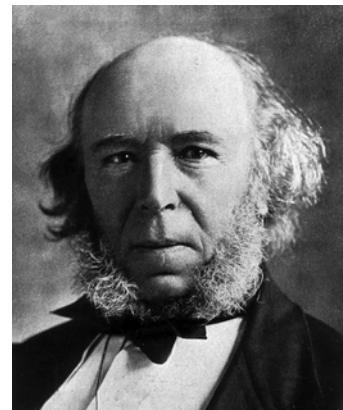
of his contemporaries used. Comte also felt that sociology should contribute to the welfare of humanity by using science to predict and control human behavior. His ideas about social planning were predicated on an understanding that society and the social order are not natural or preordained by a divine power, but rather are constructed by individuals. Later in his career, Comte drew up ambitious plans for the reconstruction of French society in particular, and for human societies in general, based on scientific knowledge. The question of whether sociologists should seek to serve humanity with their work is one that sociologists still ask.



Auguste Comte (1798–1857)

HERBERT SPENCER

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903)—a British philosopher, biologist, anthropologist, and political theorist—was both highly influenced by, and highly critical of, Comte's writing. Spencer held that development is a natural outcome of individual achievement. In *The Study of Sociology* (1873), he argued that society can change and improve the quality of life for all people only when everyone changes their behavior to maximize their individual potential. In other words, he believed privileged members of society enjoyed a high quality of life because they had earned this status. He further argued that the state should not assist in improving the life chances of individuals, because to do so would interfere with the natural order: The best persons succeed, and the rest fall behind due to their own lack of effort or ability.



Herbert Spencer (1820–1903)

While Spencer's writings are considered an important influence on functionalist perspectives, which we will learn about later in this chapter, his ideas have fallen out of favor with many contemporary sociologists. His ideas were roundly attacked by Lester Frank Ward, the first president of the American Sociological Association (Carneiro and