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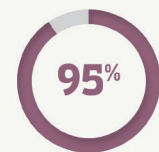
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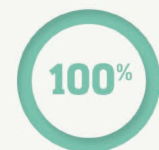
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EXPERIENCE SOCIOLOGY, THIRD EDITION

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DEDICATION

To all the dedicated instructors of introductory sociology courses and to the students who inspire them.

—DAVID CROTEAU

To Ben and Nick Hoynes, who have taught me more about sociology than they know.

—WILLIAM HOYNES

About the AUTHORS



DAVID R. CROTEAU

earned a BA in sociology from Brandeis University and a PhD in sociology from Boston College. Over the years he has taught a diverse range of students at Boston College, Clark University,

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In addition to various journal articles and book chapters, David Croteau is the author of *Politics and the Class Divide*, a finalist for both the C. Wright Mills Award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the Transformational Politics Book Award from the American Political Science Association.



WILLIAM HOYNES

earned a BA in history and political science from Tufts University and a PhD in sociology from Boston College. He is Professor of Sociology at Vassar College, where he teaches

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In addition to various journal articles and book chapters on public broadcasting in the United States, Professor Hoynes is the author of *Public Television for Sale: Media, the Market, and the Public Sphere*, which was awarded the Goldsmith Book Prize from the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

CROTEAU and HOYNES are coauthors of *Media/Society: Images, Industries, and Audiences*, which was published in a revised fifth edition in 2014; *The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest*, which won the Robert Picard Award for best new book in media economics by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication; and *By Invitation Only: How the Media Limit Political Debate*. They are also coeditors, with Charlotte Ryan, of *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship*.

Dear Colleagues

Like all of us who teach sociology, we want to help a diverse range of students grasp the basic concepts of the discipline, see the relevance of those concepts to their everyday lives, and apply what they learn to the world around them. We want students to experience that aha! moment when they see the familiar in a new way and realize that sociology's tools can help them better understand their rapidly changing social world. In other words, we want students to see the world from a sociological perspective and to actively use their sociological imagination. We want them to experience sociology.

What's unique about *Experience Sociology*?

CULTURE. STRUCTURE. POWER. *Experience Sociology* engages students with a clear framework for understanding their world based on three familiar terms at the heart of sociology: culture, structure, and power. Through the lenses of these three concepts, students learn from their first class to see the world from a sociological perspective and to grasp the significance of sociology for their own lives. For every topic in the book—from the family to the economy to the environment—they learn to recognize the effects of the culture they have been taught, see the structures that constrain or empower them, and notice how power operates at every level of society.

How is theory covered?

Theory has a role in every chapter in *Experience Sociology*. We know how important it is for students not only to be able to apply concepts to their lives, but also to understand and be able to apply sociological theory. With its innovative organization around primary sociological concepts, *Experience Sociology* emphasizes the common ground that informs a basic sociological perspective. But every chapter also addresses the way differing theoretical perspectives illuminate various facets of these key sociological concepts, letting instructors and students go beyond conventional theoretical boundaries and the either-or framing of theoretical perspectives to see how each can contribute to our understanding of the social world.

What's the full Experience?

The third edition of *Experience Sociology* is much more than this text alone. Incorporating the work of many sociology instructors, it is instead a comprehensive instructional program that combines digital and print resources to promote student learning. Integrated with McGraw-Hill's Connect Sociology, including SmartBook's adaptive technology and learning resources, *Experience Sociology* helps you manage assignments and makes learning and studying more engaging and efficient for your students.

We wrote *Experience Sociology* because we want students to be able to experience their world differently through the insights of sociology. We hope these resources will help you in introducing your students to the excitement of sociology.

Sincerely,

The image shows two handwritten signatures in black ink. The signature on the left is 'David Croteau' and the signature on the right is 'William Hoynes'. Both are written in a cursive, flowing style.

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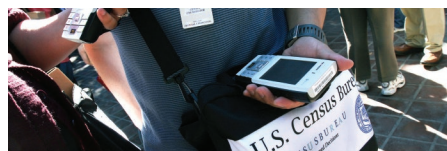
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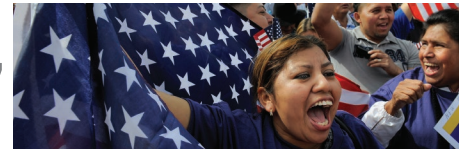
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Give your students a clearer picture of their world

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How do agents of socialization reproduce social **structure**?

How does **power** shape your daily life and your sense of self?

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IN-TEXT LEARNING AIDS



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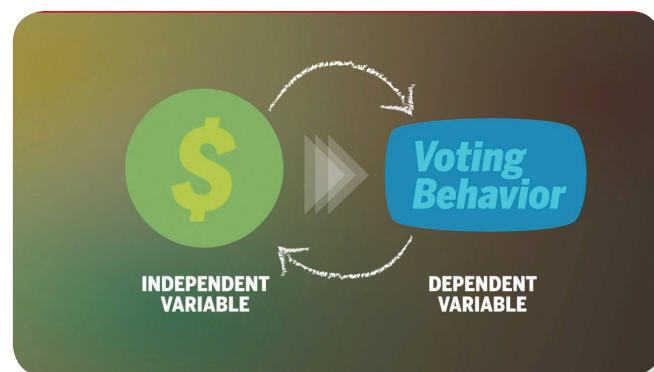
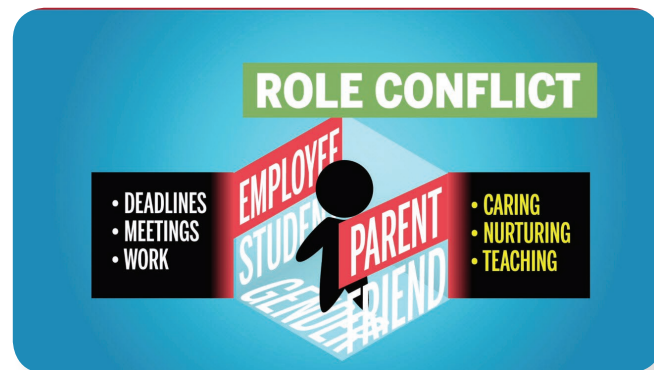


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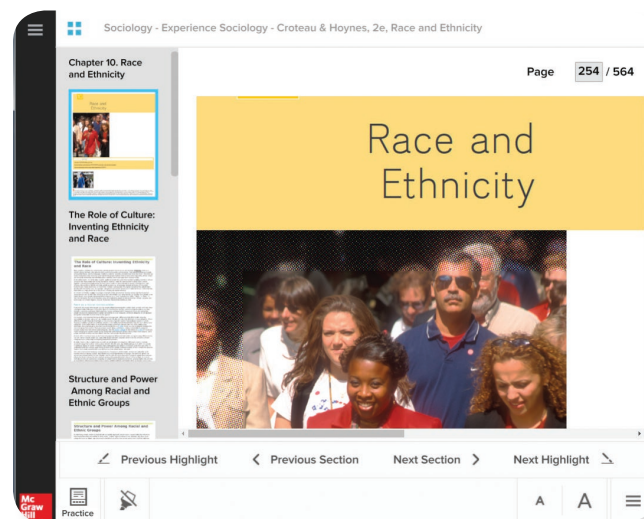


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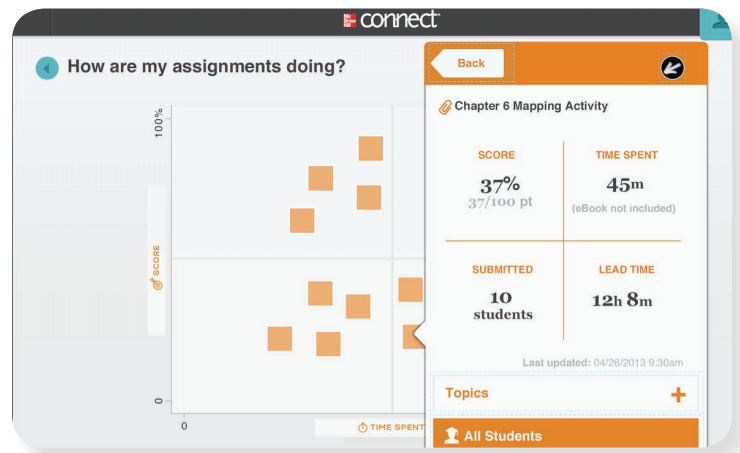
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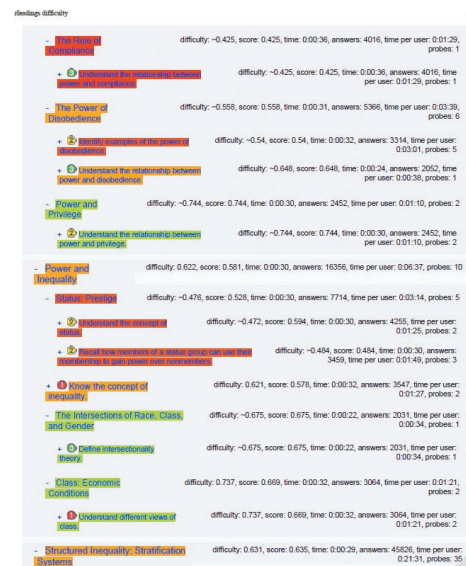


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A Revision Informed by Student Data

Ever since students began using it, Connect Sociology's LearnSmart for *Experience Sociology, Second Edition*, has been collecting anonymous data on students' performance on specific learning objectives. This aggregated data, displayed in the form of **heat maps**, graphically identifies challenging "hot spots" in the text, helping guide the revision of both core content and assessment activities for the third edition.



Highlights of the third edition

The text has been refreshed throughout with references to recent scholarship, and figures, maps, and tables have been updated throughout with the most recent available data. Revisions in response to heat-map data are indicated by ✓.

CHAPTER 1

- New chapter-opening vignette on paying for college
- Discussion of Comte revised and condensed for clarity ✓
- New extended example to help explain the concept of “theory”
- Definition of structural-functionalism and discussion of structural-functionalist theories revised for clarity ✓
- New Sociology in Action box, “Studying Homelessness”

CHAPTER 2

- Streamlined and clarified discussion of the theory-research dynamic and research methods
- Revised and clarified sections on validity, reliability, and loaded language
- New Sociology Works box, “Sydney Hessel and User Experience Research”
- New Sociology in Action box on the U.S. Census Bureau
- New material on gender in video games added to the section on content analysis
- New Fast-Forward feature on research and change

CHAPTER 3

- Rewritten discussion of values ✓
- Replaced Figure 3.1 with a new figure on support for taxing the rich to assist the poor and revised associated discussion on values and policy
- Updated Figure 3.2 and associated discussion on religiosity and wealth
- Revised discussion of cultural diversity and dominant culture
- New examples in discussion of subcultures (survivalists) and product placement (Beyoncé and Lady Gaga)
- New Super Bowl 2016 example for the multiculturalism section

CHAPTER 4

- Updated Through a Sociological Lens box on organizational structure and school violence
- Revised section “Globalization and the Structure of Work” for clarity ✓

- New Sociology in Action box featuring Ruth Milkman
- Updated discussion of mobile phones in Africa
- New section, “A Changing World: The Changing Structure of Friendship” ✓

CHAPTER 5

- Through a Sociological Lens box on Foucault and power rewritten for clarity
- New Black Lives Matter example in discussion of the power of noncompliance
- Revised discussion of same-sex marriage in light of Supreme Court ruling
- Revised discussion of the double meaning of status ✓
- Revised discussion of social closure ✓
- Revised discussion of socialism ✓

CHAPTER 6

- New Through a Sociological Lens box, “Learning Politics”
- Revised discussion of cross-cultural differences in parenting styles and updated section on “media” as an agent of socialization
- Revised section on childhood in the discussion of socialization through the life course ✓
- Revised and reorganized discussion of epigenetics ✓
- Revised Sociology in Action box on biological explanations of social life
- New “A Changing World” section on identity formation in a digital world

CHAPTER 7

- New chapter-opening vignette about organizational structure at Zappos.com
- Revised section on the Thomas Theorem ✓
- Discussion of social construction of reality revised for clarity ✓
- Example of refugee crisis in Europe added to the section “The Nature of Networks and Ties,” and examples on terrorism and other threats to personal safety added to the discussion of conformist behavior
- Revised section on social network analysis ✓
- Revised and updated discussion of networks and groups in the digital age
- New “A Changing World” section on privacy and social media

CHAPTER 8

- New material on the differing impact of contact with the police for African American vs. white youth in the section “The Effects of Deviant Labels”
- New Through a Sociological Lens box, “Experiencing and Challenging the Stigma of Obesity”
- New Sociology Works box, “Nate Mandel and Parolee Outreach to Reduce Recidivism”
- “Body Weight” section revised and updated, including new material on body weight and income disparities
- Thoroughly revised and updated text discussion in the section “Surveillance and Social Control in the Digital Age,” detailing the latest digital tracking practices and their growing impact on personal privacy
- Thoroughly updated “Crime and Punishment” section with data and analysis on trends in prison population numbers, racial/ethnic composition of inmates, and male-female differences in incarceration and recidivism rates

CHAPTER 9

- Revised and clarified explanation of socialism in section on Marx’s analysis of class ✓
- Revised and clarified discussion of the rising importance of the middle class over time and its implications for Marx’s theory ✓
- New opening and illustrative example for the “Class Inequality in the United States” section ✓
- Extensively revised Through a Sociological Lens box on growing inequality among African Americans
- Comprehensively revised and updated discussion of the effects of class on education.
- New Figure 9.4, “College Attendance Rate and College Quality by Parents’ Income”
- Thoroughly updated treatment of poverty, poverty rates, and misconceptions about poverty, the poverty rate, and the poverty line ✓
- Clarified discussion of cultural capital ✓
- Revised and updated discussion of wages, labor laws, and labor union decline ✓
- Expanded coverage of the mortgage interest tax deduction program within the treatment of public assistance ✓
- New Figure 9.10, “Global Wealth Distribution”

CHAPTER 10

- New opening vignette on Trump, politics, and race
- New section with reworked content on ethnicity as a social construction
- Revised discussion of “withdrawal” as a minority-group strategy for response to discrimination ✓
- Revised and expanded section on Arab Americans

- Revised discussion of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act ✓
- New Sociology in Action box, “Black Lives Matter”

CHAPTER 11

- Clarified the concept of “doing gender” ✓ and the difference in meaning between *transgender* and *transsexual* ✓
- Extensively revised “Media and Gender” section with reference to new studies and data
- Revised discussion of the pervasiveness of patriarchy in the section “Sex and the Origins of Patriarchy” ✓
- Thoroughly revised treatment of the male-female pay gap and its sources, featuring new material on education, majors, and occupations; contemporary trends in women’s participation in the paid workforce; and men’s and women’s differing work patterns
- Completely overhauled the section “Discrimination and the Glass Ceiling” probing ongoing bias and discrimination against women in the workplace, with a new figure on women in S&P 500 companies
- Thoroughly revised discussion in the section “Home and Family”
- Extensively revised discussion of intimate partner violence in the “Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault” section, adding LGBT critique of “violence against women” frame
- Extensively revised “Sexual Identities” section, highlighting data and other findings from a range of recent research and clarifying the distinction between sexual behavior and sexual identity ✓
- Thoroughly revised “Sexual Identities and Inequalities” section taking into account court decisions and policy changes

CHAPTER 12

- Comprehensive revision and updating of the major section “The Social History of Family Life in the United States” incorporating new analysis of the myth of the “traditional” family
- Revised and updated Through a Sociological Lens box, “Delaying Adulthood,” with insights from recent scholarship
- Extensive revision, reorganization, and new analysis in the major section “Trends in U.S. Family Life”
- Expanded discussion of unmarried and single parents; new material on couples who are childfree by choice; a thoroughly revised, updated account of same-sex families
- Revised discussion of divorce patterns ✓
- Revised and updated “Fundamentalism and Democracy” section

CHAPTER 13

- New chapter-opening vignette on family-work conflicts for a low-wage worker
- New Table 13.1 on primary-school instruction days per year for select nations
- New Table 13.4 on occupational prestige
- Substantially revised “A Changing World” section with new material on the sharing economy

CHAPTER 14

- Updates and new examples added to the “Trends in the Media Industries” section
- Added material on UNESCO’s promotion of cultural diversity to the “Global Media and Cultural Imperialism” section
- New figure on the size of the middle class globally

CHAPTER 15

- Clarifying revisions made to the human ecology section, including revision of Figure 15.2 ✓
- Clarifying revisions made to the “Urbanization in a Global Economy” section ✓ and to the “Structure and Culture of the Suburbs” section ✓
- Expanded discussions of environmental threats and environmental justice
- New Through a Sociological Lens box on climate change
- Section on solutions to climate change updated and revised for clarity, including coverage of the Paris Accord and the 2014 People’s Climate Change March ✓
- New section “The Social Determinants of Health,” with new figure, “What Improves Health Outcomes Today?”
- New material on the Affordable Care Act and on race, ethnicity, and health care inequality, and new map on global disparities in life expectancy

CHAPTER 16

- The “Structure of Politics” section and the discussion of the distinction between power and authority revised for clarity
- New material on state voter ID laws
- New material on campaign contributions, including coverage of small-donor fundraising on the Internet and the impact of PACs and super PACs
- Major new section summarizing sociological insights on terrorism
- New material on types of welfare states

CHAPTER 17

- Headings and subheadings of chapter’s first major section changed for clarity and to more clearly flag the theories they introduce
- New material on evolutionary theory as an explanation for social change in the “Theories of Social Change” section
- New Sociology in Action box, “Sociological Research in the International Arena”
- Revised and updated discussion of digitization and cultural exports in the “Impact of Globalization” section
- The “Limits of Globalization” section revised and updated with reference to globalization’s negative impacts in both developing and developed economies
- Discussion of the turmoil that followed the global economic crisis of the late 2000s, emerging economies’ resulting pushback against Western-dominated world financial organizations, and the rise of a global justice movement
- New Fast-Forward on social movement communications
- New table with accompanying discussion on types of social movements

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 Gianna Durso-Finley, Mercer County Community College
 Shelly Dutchin, Western Tech College
 Isaac W. Eberstein, Florida State University
 Samuel Echevarria-Cruz, Austin Community College—Riverside
 Martin Edelstein, Baruch College
 Sherwood Edwards, College of Dupage
 John Ehle, Jr., NOVA Community College—Annandale
 Susan Eichenberger, Seton Hill University
 Richard Ellefritz, Oklahoma State University—Oklahoma City
 Jim Elliott, University of Oregon
 David Embrick, Loyola University—Chicago
 Graves Enck, University of Memphis
 Kevin Ervin, Northern Illinois University
 Kathryn Feltey, University of Akron
 Catherine Felton, Central Piedmont Community College
 Leticia Fernandez, University of Texas at El Paso
 Richard Fey, Arizona State University
 Lauralee Finley, Florida Atlantic University
 Kevin Fitzpatrick, University of Alabama at Birmingham
 Dona Fletcher, Sinclair Community College
 Martha Flores, El Paso Community College—Valle Verde
 Tammie Foltz, Des Moines Area Community College—Boone
 Murray Fortner, Tarrant County College Northeast
 Tony Foster, Lone Star College—Kingwood
 John Gannon, College of Southern Nevada—North Las Vegas
 Beverly Gartland, Youngstown State University
 David Gay, University of Central Florida
 Marie L. Germain, City College—Miami
 Steve Glennon, Iowa Western Community College—Council Bluffs
 Sergio Gomez, Chaffey College
 Natasha Gouge, Cape Fear Community College
 Kyra Greene, San Diego State University
 Mike Greenhouse, Middlesex County College
 Sara Grineski, University of Texas at El Paso
 Elke Grogg, Ivy Tech Community College of Indiana
 Heather Guevara, Portland Community College—Sylvania
 Jeffrey Hall, University of Alabama at Birmingham
 Bram Hamovitch, Lakeland Community College
 Carl Hand, Valdosta State University
 Sara Hanna, Oakland Community College—Highland Lakes
 Peggy Hargis, Georgia Southern University
 Kalynn Heald, Northwest Arkansas Community College
 Nina Heckler, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa
 Garrison Henderson, Tarrant County College Southeast
 Kimberly Hennessee, Ball State University
 Marta T. Henriksen, Central New Mexico Community College
 Pablo Hernandez, Lansing Community College
 Teresa Hibbert, University of Texas at El Paso
 Carmon Weaver Hicks, Ivy Tech Community College of Indiana
 Tonya Hilligoss, Sacramento City College
 Candace Hinson, Tallahassee Community College
 Carol Hodgson, Rowan-Cabarrus Community College
 Donna Holland, Indiana University—Purdue University
 Kathleen Holmes, Darton College
 Mark Horowitz, University of Texas at Brownsville
 Nils Hovik, Lehigh Carbon Community College
 Erica Hunter, State University of New York at Albany
 Ronald Huskin, Del Mar College
 Creed Hyatt, Lehigh Carbon Community College
 Peter Iadicola, Indiana University—Purdue University Fort Wayne
 Denise Ingram, Mercer County Community College
 Michael Itagaki, Fullerton College
 Jennifer Jackson, Cincinnati State Technical & Community College
 Ron Jacobs, State University of New York at Albany
 Timothy Jacobs, Naugatuck Valley Community College
 Jennifer Jacobson, Yavapai College
 Laura Jamison, Parkland College
 Randy Jarvis, South Texas College
 J. Craig Jenkins, Ohio State University—Columbus
 Mark Jepson, University of California—Los Angeles
 Dennis Johnson, Craven Community College
 Jim Jones, Mississippi State University
 Ali Kamali, Missouri Western State University
 Irwin Kantor, Middlesex County College
 Michael Kaune, Saint Francis College
 Henry Keith, Delaware Technical Community College
 Margaret Kelly, University of Minnesota—Minneapolis
 Paul Ketchum, University of Oklahoma—Norman
 Steve Keto, Kent State University
 William Kimberlin, Laini County Community College
 Brian Klocke, State University of New York at Plattsburgh
 James Knapp, Southeastern Oklahoma State University
 Michelle Knoles, Cowley County Community College
 Jamee Kristen, University of Nebraska—Lincoln
 Lorien Lake, University of Arizona
 Judy Lasker, Lehigh University
 Terina Lathe, Central Piedmont Community College
 Jodie Lawston, Depaul University
 Rebecca Leichtfuss, Moraine Park Tech College
 Jason Leiker, Utah State University
 Joe Lengermann, University of Maryland—College Park
 Troy Lepper, Colorado State University

David Liu, Harrisburg Area Community College

David Locher, Missouri Southern State University

William Lockhart, McLennan Community College

Nicole Loftus, Saddleback College

Royal Loresco, South Texas College

Joleen Loucks, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

Michael Loukinen, Northern Michigan University

Gregory Lukasik, Florida Atlantic University—Boca Raton

Bradford Lyman, Baltimore City Community College

Jean Lynch-Brandon, Lansing Community College

Joanna Maata, Pennsylvania State University

Anne MacLellan, Community College of Baltimore County—Catonsville

I. Ross Macmillan, University of Minnesota—Minneapolis

Sherry Mader, Western Technical College

M. Wilbrod Madzura, Normandale Community College

Cheryl Maes, University of Nevada—Reno

Lori Maida, Westchester Community College

Farshad Makek-Ahmadi, Naugatuck Valley Community College

Susan Mann, University of New Orleans

Nick Maroules, Illinois State University

Ronald Matson, Wichita State University

Deborah McCarthy, College of Charleston

Dorothy McCawley, University of Florida

Karen McCue, Central New Mexico Community College

Victor McCullum, Triton College

Marian McWhorter, Houston Community College—Central College

Ronald Meneses, University of Florida

Chadwick L. Menning, Ball State University

Melinda Messineo, Ball State University

Janet Michello, LaGuardia Community College

Harvest Moon, University of Texas at Arlington

Mel Moore, University of Northern Colorado

Marcillino Morales, East Los Angeles College

John Morra, Quinnipiac University

Edward Morris, University of Kentucky—Lexington

Kelly Mosel-Talavera, Texas State University—San Marcos

Brian Moss, Oakland Community College—Highland Lakes

Sepandar Mossadeghi, Palm Beach State College—Eissey Campus

Dan Muhwezi, Bulter Community College

Lynn Newhart, Rockford College

Bruce Nicometo, Northwest Arkansas Community College

Claire Nivens-Blower, Cape Cod Community College

Nelda Nix, Community College of Baltimore County—Essex

Cheryl North, Tarrant County College Northeast

Kwaku Obosue-Mensah, Lorain County Community College

Patricia O'Brien, Elgin Community College

Bob O'Neil, Louisiana State University—Baton Rouge

Jacob Oni, Cape Cod Community College

Robert Orrange, Eastern Michigan University

Diane Owsley, Elizabethtown Community College

Bruce Pabian, Delaware Technical Community College—Stanton

Frank Page, University of Utah—Salt Lake City

Chris Papaleonardos, Ohio State University—Columbus

Elizabeth Pare, Oakland University

Caroline Parham, Craven Community College

Kathrin Parks, Loras College

Kevin Payne, Park University—Parkville

Douglas Peck, Stark State

Lisa Pellerin, Ball State University

Jane Penney, Eastfield College

Narayan Persaud, Florida A&M University

Nancy Pietroforte, Rockland Community College

Peggy Preble, Thomas Nelson Community College

Paul C. Price, Pasadena City College

William Price, North Country Community College

Ariane Prohaska, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa

Adrian Rapp, Lone Star College—North Harris

Todd Rasner, Hudson Valley Community College

Kent Redding, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

Nancy Reeves, Gloucester County College

John Rice, University of North Carolina—Wilmington

Ray Rich, College of Southern Nevada—West Charles

Cecelia Rivers, Northwest Florida State College

Gregg Robinson, Grossmont College

Christine Rodriguez, East Los Angeles College

Fatima Rodriguez, Rutgers University

Robyn Rodriguez, Reedley College

Luis Rodriguez-Abad, University of Texas at Brownsville

Richard Rosell, Westchester Community College

Olga Rowe, Oregon State University

Alan Rudy, Central Michigan University

Amy Ruedisueli, Tidewater Community College

Igor Ryabov, Ohio University—Athens

Charlotte Ryan, University of Massachusetts—Lowell

Christina Ryder, Missouri State University

Ivanka Sabolich, Kent State University

George Saunders, Ball State University

Peter Sawyer, Hudson Valley Community College

David Schall, Milwaukee Area Technical College

Jon Schlenker, University of Maine—Augusta

Rachel Schneider, University of Akron

Andreas Schneider, Texas Tech University

David Schjott, Northwest Florida State College

Sarah Bill Schott, North Central College—Naperville

Terri Schrantz, Tarrant County College

Ron Schultz, Gateway Technical College

Jeff Schulz, Central Community College—Grand Island

Megan Seely, Sierra College

Lystra Seenath, Palm Beach State College—Lake Worth

Barbara Seiter, Raritan Valley Community College

Patricia Seitz, Central New Mexico Community College

Charles Selengut, County College of Morris

Monissa Shackelford, Pensacola Junior College

Robert Shelly, Ohio University—Athens

Marie Sheneman, Marshalltown Community College

Anson Shupe, Indiana University—Purdue University Fort Wayne

Denise Shuster, Owens Community College

Edward Silva, El Paso Community College—Valle Verde

Toni Sims, University of Southwestern Louisiana

Amy Slater, MCC—Blue River Community College

Steven Sloan, Gateway Technical College

Michael Smith, Lakeland Community College

Michelle Smith, Southwestern Illinois College

Karrie Snyder, Northwestern University

Tomecia Sobers, Fayetteville Technical Community College

Stephanie Southworth, Clemson University
 Ryan Spohn, Kansas State University
 Johnnie Spraggins, University of Texas at San Antonio
 Dan Stalder, University of Wisconsin–Whitewater
 Barbara Stauffer, Lehigh Carbon Community College
 Rachael Stehle, Cuyahoga Community College Western–Parma
 Lawrence Stern, Collin County Community College–Plano
 Terrence Stewart, Mott College
 Michelle Stewart Thomas, Mt. San Antonio College
 Jill Stiemsma, Moraine Park Tech College
 Beverly Stiles, Midwestern State University
 Randolph Ston, Oakland Community College–Auburn Hills
 Michael Stupak, Milwaukee Area Technical College
 Holly Suarez, University of North Carolina–Charlotte
 Rose Suggett, Southeast Community College
 Deborah Sullivan, Arizona State University–Tempe
 Richard Sweeny, Modesto Junior College
 John Szivos, Mount Wachusett Community College
 Margaret Taylor, Greenville Technical College
 Sara Thompson, Laredo Community College

Ruth Thompson-Miller, Texas A&M University
 Gary Titchener, Des Moines Area Community College
 Bob Transon, Milwaukee Area Technical College
 Timothy Tuinstra, Kalamazoo Valley Community College
 Toby Vance, El Paso Community College–Valle Verde
 Melinda Vandervis, Orange Coast College
 Steven Vassar, Minnesota State University–Mankato
 Ray Von Robertson, Lamar University
 Vu-Duc Vuong, De Anza College
 Sally Vyain, Ivy Tech Community College of Indiana
 Florence Wakoko, Columbus State University
 Glenda D. Walden, University of Colorado–Boulder
 Marie L. Wallace, Pima Community College–West
 Suzan Waller, Franklin University
 Gina Walls, Parkland College
 Sheryl Walz, Citrus College
 Martha Warburton, University of Texas at Brownsville
 Elizabeth Watts Warren, Gordon College
 Sandra Way, New Mexico State University–Las Cruces
 Sharon Wettengel, Tarrant County College Southeast
 Shonda Whetstone, Blinn College

Amanda White, St. Louis Community College–Meramec
 Debbie White, Citrus College
 Gailynn White, Citrus College
 Gordon Whitman, Tidewater Community College–Norfolk
 Cindy Whitney, Kansas State University, College of Technology & Aviation
 Linda Wicks, Stony Brook University
 Cleon Wiggins, Kansas City Kansas Community College
 Marion Willetts, Illinois State University
 L. Sue Williams, Kansas State University
 Gerald Williams, Camden County College
 Bryan Williamson, Lorain County Community College
 Beate Wilson, Western Illinois University
 Charles Wilson, Kansas City Kansas Community College
 Rowan Wolf, Portland Community College–Sylvania
 Amy Wong, San Diego State University
 Robert E. Wood, Rutgers University
 Peter Wood, Eastern Michigan University
 Timothy Woods, Manchester Community College
 Diane Wysocki, University of Nebraska–Kearney
 Marik Xavier-Brier, Houston Community College
 Pat Yeager, Ivy Tech Community College of Indiana–Evansville
 Andrew Ziner, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania
 John F. Zipp, University of Akron



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1

Sociology in a Changing World

Looking AHEAD

How can sociology and the sociological perspective help us understand society and our place in it?

How can three of sociology's core concepts—culture, structure, and power—and its diverse theories help us understand ourselves and our world?

How can sociology, which emerged in a period of revolutionary change, help us understand our own rapidly changing world?



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When Jennifer DeCarolis graduated from New Hampshire's Keene State College in 2005, she took a job as a preschool teacher and moved in with her grandparents. With the very modest pay from her job, living with her grandparents to save money was the only way she could start paying down the nearly \$40,000 in student debt she had accumulated. "If I didn't have them, I don't know where I'd be," she said. Jennifer later returned to school for a graduate certificate, and a decade after her

undergraduate graduation, she was finally paying down the last of her debt (Eisenstadter 2015).

Louis Moe Christoffersen is a college student who doesn't worry about debt (Noack 2015). That's because he is Danish and lives in a society with a very different approach to paying for college. Denmark has much higher income taxes than those in the United States. In return, Danish citizens get a wide range of free or low-cost social services, including free higher education. Notes Christoffersen, "Danish citizens don't have to pay any tuition fees. Housing is really cheap as well. In fact, we're all being paid by our government if we're enrolled in a university. It's like somebody is paying you a salary for going to your college classes" (Noack 2015).

Jennifer and Louis have had decidedly different personal experiences with higher education because of broader differences in their countries. Public policy relating to education and cultural values regarding taxes are among the differences between U.S. and Danish society. Those differences have helped shape the experience of college students in both countries. Louis's understanding of government's role in providing social services, along with his future responsibility to pay higher taxes, is something he shares with a majority of his fellow citizens. Jennifer's struggle with debt is shared to varying degrees by millions of U.S. college students. Her personal experience is part of a larger public issue being debated in recent years.

That Jennifer and Louis had very different experiences paying for college illustrates one of the basic insights of sociology: to understand the lives of individuals, we need to understand the broader social contexts in which they live. Jennifer and Louis had very different experiences not because of the choices they made, but because of the different societies into which they were born. The society in which we live helps shape the options we have while, in turn, our actions help maintain or change our society.

Perhaps in the coming years people in Denmark or the United States will change the policies that determine how students pay for college, resulting in different experiences for students.

Changes like that—and their effects on people's lives—have long been one of sociology's major concerns. Indeed, sociology was born during a period of breathtaking change—the late 1800s—when Europe and the United States were shifting from a rural agricultural economy to an urban industrial economy. Early sociologists grappled with the impact of those changes on people's families, their living conditions, and the way they supported themselves.

Sociologists today are grappling with a similar period of rapid change arising from many sources, including a global economy, the expansion of media and technology, a fast-changing population, and enduring cultural conflicts, to name just a few.

Experience Sociology introduces you to sociology’s insights into this shifting social landscape. This chapter introduces you to sociology itself, its unique perspective, and its early development as a discipline. It examines some of sociology’s diverse theories and the core concepts that unite the field, along with a number of key concerns of sociology—indeed, of all of us today. We will see how sociology offers insight into the forces that are shaping our lives and, at the same time, how it helps us recognize our own capacity to bring about change.

What Is Sociology?

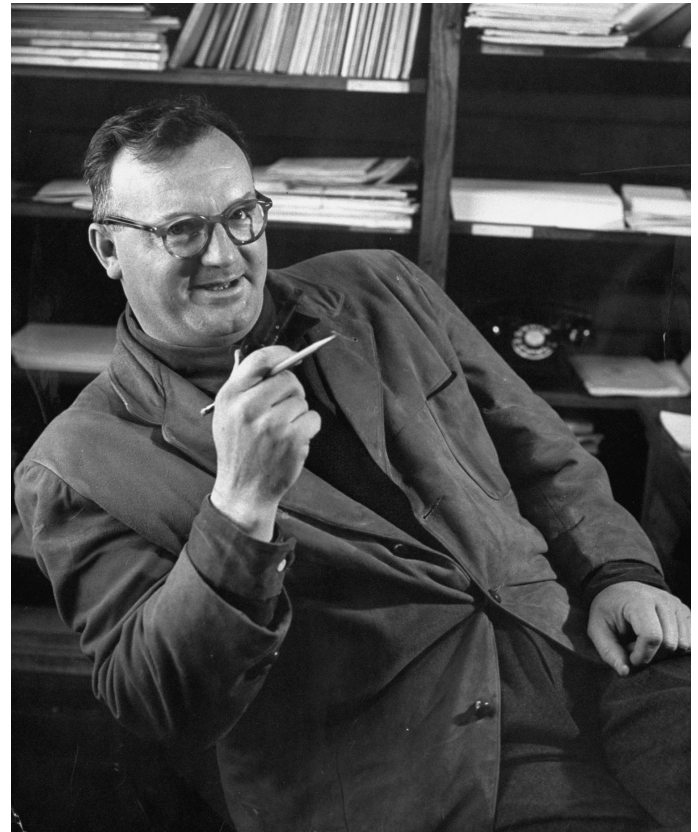
Sociology is the systematic study of the relationship between individuals and society. The approach used in sociology can be thought of as a perspective, a way of looking at the world. To take a **sociological perspective** is to see and understand the connections between individuals and the broader social contexts in which they live. You can understand your own life—including the forces that have shaped your current daily routines and the options you have in your future—only by considering the broader social contexts within which you live. Your identity (including your race, ethnicity, class, gender, and nationality) as well as the social environment in which you live (including your family, neighborhood, country, culture, and historical period) influence who you are and who you can be. Understanding those connections is at the heart of a sociological perspective.

The Sociological Perspective

Writing in 1959, U.S. sociologist C. Wright Mills provided the best-known description of the sociological perspective (or, as he called it, the *sociological imagination*). According to Mills, “The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within a society” (p. 6). In other words, our individual condition (what Mills calls “biography”) depends, in part, upon larger forces in society (“history”).

Do you live in a prosperous, peaceful society with democratic freedoms or in one where survival is a challenge, violence is a constant threat, and people’s basic civil rights are suppressed? Is your mother or father a retail clerk, an auto worker, a schoolteacher, an engineer, in the military, a business executive, or unemployed? Are you African American, Latino, Asian, white? Are you male, female, or transgender? Are you gay or straight? Are you from a rural community, the suburbs, or a major city? Were you raised as a Christian, a Jew, a Muslim, a Hindu, or a nonbeliever? Although we often like to think of ourselves as rugged individuals responsible for our own lives, characteristics and circumstances like these influence who we are and the options we have. And as Mills (1959) points out (using “man” instead of “person” in the convention of his day), as social conditions change, so do the lives of individuals:

When a society is industrialized, a peasant becomes a worker; a feudal lord is liquidated or becomes a businessman. When classes rise or fall a man is employed or unemployed; when the rate of investment goes up or down, a man takes new heart or



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C. Wright Mills wrote a classic description of the sociological perspective called *The Sociological Imagination* (1959) and a series of books focused on social class and power in the United States (1948, 1952, 1956). He taught at Columbia University from 1946 until 1962, when he died of a heart attack at age 45. Mills’s critique of the concentration of power in the United States inspired a generation of activists in the 1960s to promote a more inclusive and democratic society, themes that continue to resonate today.

goes broke. When wars happen, an insurance salesman becomes a rocket launcher; a store clerk, a radar man; a wife lives alone; a child grows up without a father. Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both. (p. 3)

We need only consider the economic recession of recent years, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the rapid growth of technology, and accompanying social developments to see that Mills’s observations are as relevant today as they were more than half a century ago.

However, Mills and other sociologists do not argue that people are simply the passive victims of their social circumstances. Rather, as the sociological perspective reveals, interaction exists between the social conditions that shape our lives and the actions we take as individuals. We don’t get to choose the conditions under which we live, the opportunities we enjoy, or the barriers we face, but we do have choices about how we respond to those circumstances, both individually and collectively. Deciding to join the military, have children, attend college, or move to another city are among the many individual decisions a



Fred W. Baker/U.S. Department of Defense

Personal choices—especially deciding to volunteer for the armed forces—contributed to this Iraq war veteran’s current situation. But those decisions were made in the context of broader social conditions, including economic pressures to earn a living, a culture of popular patriotism, key decisions made by those with political power, and events that transformed international relations. The connections between individual lives and larger social processes are rarely so explicit or so poignant.

person can make that have a major impact on his or her future. Mills himself was a strong advocate for collective action to strengthen democracy and help change the difficult and often unequal conditions that face people in society. That idea, too, is as relevant today as ever.

Sociology and Common Sense

You do not have to be a professional sociologist to look at the world from a sociological perspective. Indeed, many popular expressions reflect a kind of commonsense folk wisdom that assumes a sociological perspective. You have probably heard some version of the expression “You’ve got to play the cards you’re dealt in life.” The card game metaphor makes the point that from the beginning, our options in life have been shaped by social conditions that we did not get to pick ourselves. Such factors can heavily influence the opportunity people have for good health, education, material comfort, and overall well-being.

You don’t get to choose the cards you are dealt, but you do get to decide how you will play them. For example, you no doubt decided to go to college with the hope that doing so could positively influence your future. Others may have had the option of attending college but chose not to exercise it. Many more people, of course, never had the option of attending college in the first place; they were dealt a very different hand in life.

The idea that people must play the cards they are dealt in life is consistent with a sociological perspective. But the problem

with relying on commonsense folk wisdom to understand the world is that, however insightful it may sometimes be, it can produce a bewildering array of contradictory claims. One popular saying, “Life is what you make of it,” suggests that individuals have total control over their fate. In contrast, “The apple doesn’t fall far from the tree” suggests that our social origins largely predetermine our character and fate. Without some way of gauging their accuracy, such wildly contradictory claims provide no insight at all.

In addition, an understanding of the world based only on our own individual experience may not be helpful in unfamiliar circumstances. This is especially true in a world in which communications, media, immigration, and international travel are bringing together people of vastly different backgrounds as never before. To operate in such a diverse society we need to understand not only how *we* make sense of the world, but how other people do so as well.

If we are to understand our connection to the social world beyond our own limited experience and be able to sort through competing claims about that world, we need a more systematic way to comprehend the patterns of behavior and the processes that make up social life. We need the discipline of sociology.

Sociology as a Discipline

Sociologists combine the sociological perspective with a variety of research methods (discussed in Chapter 2) to study in a systematic way how our actions shape, and are shaped by, broader social forces. Because the sociological perspective can apply to any aspect of people’s lives and any social issue, the discipline of sociology addresses an especially broad array of topics, as we will see throughout this book.

Sociology is one of the *social sciences*, a group of research-based disciplines that gather and evaluate evidence in order to study human society. This focus on human society distinguishes the social sciences from the *natural sciences*, which focus on the physical aspects of nature.

In addition to sociology, the social sciences include political science, economics, psychology, and anthropology. Each of these disciplines highlights different aspects of social life. Take crime, for example.

- *Political scientists* might study how politicians use the issue of crime in their campaigns.
- *Economists* might examine the financial impact of crime on society.
- *Psychologists* might look at the individual features of criminals, perhaps suggesting personality traits associated with certain types of criminal behavior.
- *Anthropologists* might compare how different societies define crime and respond to it.



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These children's life chances—their opportunities for good health, education, material comfort, and overall well-being—are significantly influenced by the social environment into which they were born. What differences are evident from these photographs? What elements of your social environment influenced your development?

Sociologists, in contrast, emphasize the interrelationship between individuals and larger social forces, as well as the interactions between various social institutions such as government, economy, media, schools, and family. The result is a broad range of research interests. Sociologists, for example, might

- explore why crime rates vary over time and are often linked to social trends such as changes in the age of the population (since younger people commit crimes at a higher rate than older ones).
- examine the role of media in helping shape people's perception of crime and the criminal justice system through both news coverage and entertainment dramas.
- examine the effectiveness of government efforts to reduce crime.

Sociologists have many interests, and the discipline as a whole has many areas of specialization, including medical sociology, sociology of the family, sociology of religion, political sociology, the sociology of race and ethnicity, the sociology of work, the sociology of gender, the sociology of media, and the sociology of social movements. As a result, sociology courses can

provide a foundation for further study in any of these fields. As the Sociology Works box suggests, the study of sociology can also provide valuable skills for many careers, including some that may seem completely unrelated to sociology itself.

Sociology's Historical and Social Context

Imagine a time in which scientific discoveries alter our understanding of the world, political unrest sparks calls for social change, and economic crises and new technologies transform daily life. You might suspect this was a description of the world today, but similar upheavals disturbed Europe leading up to the 1800s, which is where and when the formal discipline of sociology first emerged. To better understand the origins of the discipline, we need to consider that historical and social context.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European society entered a new historical era marked by revolutionary cultural,

SOCIOLOGY WORKS

The Sociology Major and the Job Market

People, culture, social problems, social change—these fascinating topics help explain why students often enjoy sociology. However, practical concern about the future might lead some to ask, “What can I *do* with a degree in sociology?”

The answer is, “Plenty.” By majoring in sociology you not only learn to better understand yourself and your world, but you also develop important skills that can prepare you for entry-level positions in a variety of employment settings, including business, education, social services, health care, government, media, and criminal justice. Sociology can also be an excellent choice for students who plan to go on to graduate school.

Here are four key advantages of majoring in sociology:

1. *A sociology degree is flexible.* Because sociology can be applied to virtually any aspect of social life, you can major in sociology with an eye toward your own particular interests. For example, if you are interested in health and medicine, you can take a course in medical sociology; if you are interested in social work, you can take courses related to the social problems you wish to address or the populations you wish to serve. Sociology can help you understand the issues related to your field of interest.
2. *Sociology focuses on the critical use of information.* As part of a liberal arts education, a sociology degree prepares you to find, understand, analyze, use, and communicate information. These fundamental critical-thinking skills apply to an array of work settings and will not become obsolete; they are highly valuable in today’s rapidly changing, information-based job market. Since most people change jobs—and even careers—during their lives, mastering such information-based skills is crucial for success. The ability to work with social science data found in

Majoring in sociology allows you to study a subject area that interests you *and* helps you prepare for your future.

government reports, marketing surveys, and other information sources is particularly important.

3. *Sociology provides insights into diversity.* Success in many fields of employment requires understanding people from different backgrounds. Sociology majors have an advantage in understanding diversity. As a result, they are more likely to work effectively in multicultural workplaces such as schools, hospitals, and businesses as well as in any field in which the players may be from diverse social backgrounds.
4. *Sociology explores the source of social problems.* Are you interested in a field that addresses social problems, such as social work, criminal justice, or health care? Do you plan to work with community organizations, international aid agencies, or social movements to bring about social change? If so, studying sociology can be particularly relevant. By focusing on the relationship between individuals and their social context, sociology helps you understand the roots of social problems.

The Sociology Works boxes throughout this book highlight how former sociology students are using the insights of sociology in a variety of fields. If you are considering majoring in sociology, talk with your instructor, who can tell you about the programs available at your school.

think about it

1. *Do you have any tentative ideas about the kind of work you’d like to do when you complete school? What kinds of classes do you think will help you prepare for the future? Why?*
2. *Take a look at your school’s course listings. Do you see any sociology courses that you think you may want to take? What interests you about the topics covered in these courses?*



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Sociology majors in many occupations have made contributions to their professional fields. A few well-known majors have had an impact across society. Pictured here, from left to right, are former U.S. president Ronald Reagan, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., former First Lady Michelle Obama, television journalist Suzanne Malveaux, and actor Kal Penn.

TABLE 1.1 SOCIOLOGY AND REVOLUTION

SOCIOLOGY AROSE IN THE CONTEXT OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

Cultural Revolution	Political Revolution	Economic and Social Revolution
The declining influence of religion	Declining power of monarchies; American and French revolutions	Decline of agricultural life; industrialization and rise of consumer society
The rise of scientific thought	Uprisings of 1848	Capitalism
The Age of Enlightenment	Growth in democracy and individual rights	Urbanization

political, economic, and social change (Table 1.1). This period, known as **modernity**, was characterized by the growth of democracy and personal freedom, increased reliance on reason and science to explain the natural and social worlds, and a shift toward an urban industrial economy. Early sociologists sought to understand these dramatic changes and to suggest what might be done to deal with the social problems that resulted from them.

Cultural Revolution: Science and the Enlightenment

During the Middle Ages the Church and its clergy dominated European intellectual life, controlling the era’s limited number of books, libraries, and schools. Because religious doctrine formed the basis for acceptable social thought, heretics—those who held beliefs contrary to Church teaching—were often persecuted and even killed for questioning the accepted order. This intellectual climate was not hospitable to the open and free inquiry required for **science**, which uses logic and the systematic collection of evidence to support its claims about the world.

The Church slowly lost its dominance, however, as scientific research exposed the shortcomings of religious explanations of the natural world. For example, proof that the earth orbited the sun contradicted Church doctrine that the earth was at the center

of the universe. Writers and philosophers seized on these advances in the natural sciences to promote the *Enlightenment*, an eighteenth-century intellectual movement that combined a belief in individual freedom and respect for individual rights with the logic of the natural sciences. These Enlightenment thinkers, who were among the first intellectuals independent of the Church, argued that neither the physical nor the social world should be taken on faith. Instead, both should be open to questioning and examined through reason; claims to knowledge should be subject to testing through the collection of evidence, and explanations should be based in natural causes and events. German philosopher Immanuel Kant summed up this revolutionary way of thinking in the motto “Dare to know” ([1784] 1999). This new emphasis on reason and science created the cultural conditions needed for the emergence of sociology.

Political Revolution: The Rise of Democracy

Enlightenment thinkers believed that the open debate of ideas and the application of reason and science to questions of social significance would promote tolerance, freedom, individual rights, equality, and democracy. Enlightenment ideas provided the intellectual basis for both the American (1775–1783) and



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The rise of modernity introduced rapid social change. Work life shifted from fields to factories. Home and community life was transformed as people moved from small rural villages to rapidly expanding urban centers. What effect do you think the shift from rural village life based on farming to urban life based on wage labor had on family life?

French (1789–1799) revolutions, as well as for a series of uprisings that swept through Europe in 1848, challenging traditional rulers and promoting democratic ideals. These revolutions stimulated much interest in achieving a more equal society and improved living conditions, but they provoked condemnation from conservatives who saw them as a threat to stability, traditional values, and social order. Thus controversies about the nature and desirability of social order versus social change were among the first topics addressed by early sociologists.

Economic and Social Revolution: Industrial Capitalism and Urbanization

The term *Industrial Revolution* refers to a collection of major developments that transformed rural agricultural societies into urban industrial societies. This process began in Great Britain and spread through Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century.

The practical application of scientific developments, such as the creation of the steam engine, paved the way for **industrialization**, *the use of large-scale machinery for the mass manufacture of consumer goods*. Industrialization required a major investment in factories and mills with complex machinery—such as mechanized looms—at a cost that was often beyond the reach of a single owner. Thus industrialization became linked to the rise of *capitalists*, people who pursued profits by investing in and owning businesses. Mass manufacturing relied on a new type of relationship between workers and owners in which the workers sold their labor for a wage. They used their wages to buy food, clothing, and shelter, unlike rural peasants who produced many of their own material goods and met their basic needs by farming. The result was the birth of both wage labor and *consumerism*, a way of life that depends on the purchase and use of commercial goods and services. These developments fueled the rapid expansion of *capitalism*, an economic system in which the machinery used for production is owned privately, workers are paid a wage, and markets facilitate the exchange of goods and services.

Economic changes fueled changes in social life. In the agricultural economy of the Middle Ages, peasants worked the fields and were spread out in tiny rural villages among people mostly like themselves. Children could expect to grow up and live in the village they were born in and to do the same sort of work their parents and grandparents did.

In contrast, an industrial economy requires many workers to live close to each other near large factories and mills. As the Industrial Revolution took hold, many people left their rural homes and traveled to newly emerging cities for entirely new types of jobs they hoped would mean a better life.

This migration contributed to **urbanization**, *the growth of cities*. Before 1800, more than 90 percent of Europeans lived in rural areas; by the 1890s, more than half lived in cities. These bustling cities featured considerable diversity and rapid social change, some of which contributed to growing social problems.

Early industrial capitalism was highly productive, but it also created great inequalities, generating tremendous profits for a few wealthy owners from the labor of many overworked and underpaid

workers. Disease (linked to poor sanitation), overcrowded and unsafe housing, inadequate transportation, and crime plagued the rapidly growing cities. Staggering inequality and growing social problems caused great concern among political and social thinkers, inspiring calls for reform and igniting revolutionary movements.

The rise of modernity produced rapid and immediately visible changes that showed traditional ways of life were not inevitable; the fate of individuals was tied to broader social changes beyond their control; and human action could transform the world through new ideas, political reform, and technological innovation. Faced with the challenge of understanding these dramatic transformations, social thinkers began applying reason and scientific techniques to study social life systematically and to suggest ways that society might be improved. The resulting ideas became the foundation of sociology.

Foundations of Sociological Thought

Sociology today has its roots in the ideas developed by early sociologists more than a century ago. Some of these thinkers asked profound questions of enduring relevance and are still widely read (Calhoun 2012; Ritzer and Stepnisky 2013). Their work on the rapidly changing world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries continues to provide insight into our own social world today.

Defining the Terrain of Sociology: Comte and Spencer

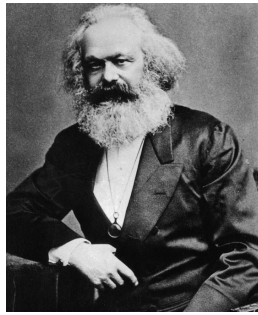
Auguste Comte (1798–1857) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) helped establish the idea that the social world could be the subject of systematic, scientific investigation.

Auguste Comte: Stability and Change

Auguste Comte, a French intellectual with wide-ranging interests, coined the term *sociology* in the early nineteenth century. Comte sought to establish sociology as a rigorous science of society—modeled on the natural sciences—that would identify the laws that govern human behavior.

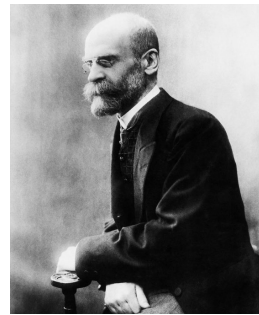
At the core of Comte’s new field of study were two fundamental questions about social life: “How and why do societies change?” (social dynamics) and “What is the basis of social stability at a specific historical moment?” (social statics). Comte was interested in how society had developed from humanity’s earliest small-scale bands of hunters and gatherers to his own nineteenth-century European society. He theorized that throughout history societies progressed through several stages: the theological (ruled by religion), the metaphysical (ruled by philosophy), and the positivist (ruled by science). For Comte, **positivism**, *a belief that accurate knowledge must be based on the scientific method*, enabled a deeper understanding of human life and was the key to solving persistent social problems.

EARLY SOCIOLOGICAL THINKERS



©Popperfoto/Getty Images

Karl Marx



©Bettmann/Corbis

Emile Durkheim



©AKG Images/Newscom

Max Weber

Biography

1818–1883

German

Writer and activist

1858–1917

French

Academic

1864–1920

German

Academic

Key issues and key work

The nature of capitalism

Conflict and inequality

Capital

The nature of social solidarity

Shared values and morals

Suicide

Decline of tradition

Rationalization of society

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

Herbert Spencer: Society as a Social Organism

The British intellectual Herbert Spencer was another early adopter of the term *sociology*. Taking a cue from the biological sciences, Spencer argued that society is a “social organism,” much like a human organism. He theorized that, like its biological equivalent, society is made up of separate parts, each with a unique function, that work together to sustain the entire organism. Thus Spencer’s theory emphasized the overall structure of society, the functions served by the various elements of society, and the interactions among these elements. Spencer also theorized that when societies evolve, their component parts—and the functions they serve—change as well.

Spencer believed that society progresses as it evolves. Therefore, evolution should be allowed to take place without interference from government. Rather than intervene with reforms in the face of the growing inequality created by unregulated industrial capitalism, Spencer believed in the “survival of the fittest,” a phrase he devised before Charles Darwin’s work on natural selection and the theory of evolution was published. Spencer’s application of the survival of the fittest to human society is today known as *social Darwinism*. Spencer later recanted some of his more extreme views, but in recent years, those who wish to minimize the role of government in social and economic affairs have revived some of Spencer’s ideas.

The Key Founders: Marx, Durkheim, and Weber

Spencer and Comte helped define the terrain of sociology in its earliest years. But the thinkers who are widely seen as the founders of sociology and who set the agenda for the next century of sociological theory were Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber.

Karl Marx: The Effects of Capitalism

The German-born Karl Marx (1818–1883) is best known as a revolutionary thinker who advocated radical change to advance the interests of workers. Marx combined writing with political activism, and much of his life was spent escaping political repression. Because of his writings, Marx was expelled from France (twice!) and Belgium. In Germany he was arrested, tried, acquitted, and also expelled. Finally, in 1849 he went to London, where he spent the rest of his life in exile. He lived in poverty while he wrote his greatest works, including *Capital*, his comprehensive analysis of the history and dynamics of capitalism.

Marx recognized that industrial capitalism was remarkably productive and thus capable of doing away with hunger and poverty for all. But instead, industrial capitalism was used to produce huge fortunes for a few owners, while leaving workers to labor in dangerous conditions and often live in poverty. In much of his work, Marx sought to explain how and why so much wealth and productivity could coexist with such widespread poverty and misery.

For Marx, the answer could be found in the relationship between capitalists, who owned the means of production, and workers (the proletariat), who sold their labor to the capitalists. The dynamics of capitalism, said Marx, encouraged owners to pay the lowest wages possible because lower labor costs mean higher profits. This dynamic explained the simultaneous creation of enormous fortunes and devastating poverty. Capitalists accumulated great wealth precisely because they were able to exploit the workers who toiled in their factories. This wealth gave owners great power, which they used to control governments and cultural institutions (Marx [1867] 1976).