## SOCIAL PROBLEMS

SEVENTH EDITION





JOHN J. MACIONIS

### **Social Problems**



Most of the readers of this book are among the world's privileged people—those who have enough to eat, a comfortable place to sleep, and who have the special opportunity to study the human condition. I offer this book in the hope that it will stimulate thinking about those who are in need and the state of our world and spark action toward making our world a better place.

Jan J. Macionis

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#### **SEVENTH EDITION**

**John J. Macionis** *Kenyon College* 



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Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic

Page Makeup: Integra-Chicago

Cover Designer: Ort Design

Cover Illustration/Photo: freshidea/Fotolia Manufacturing Buyer: Mary Ann Gloriande

Printer/Binder: LSC/Menasha

Cover Printer: Phoenix Color/Hagerstown

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#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Macionis, John J.

Social Problems / John J. Macionis. — Seventh edition.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-0-13-463252-0 — ISBN 0-13-463252-4

1. Social problems. 2. Social problems—United States. I. Title.

HN16.M24 2016 306.0973—dc23

2016037460





#### **Student Edition**

ISBN-10: 0-13-463252-4 ISBN-13: 978-0-13-463252-0

#### A la Carte Edition

ISBN-10: 0-13-391249-3 ISBN-13: 978-0-13-391249-4

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**Total updating of all data.** There are more than one thousand statistics in Social Problems. In the Seventh Edition, each one is new and the latest available.

**Total updating of research.** More than four hundred new research citations support descriptions and analysis in this revision.

The latest examples and illustrations. The issues discussed in the revised edition are recent and engaging, from the Flint, Michigan, water crisis to #BlackLivesMatter, from the Zika virus to the 2016 presidential election, from the expanding transgender movement to increasing economic inequality.

**Important new topics.** New discussions in this revised edition include microaggression, white privilege, sexuality issues on campus, and the expanding heroin epidemic.

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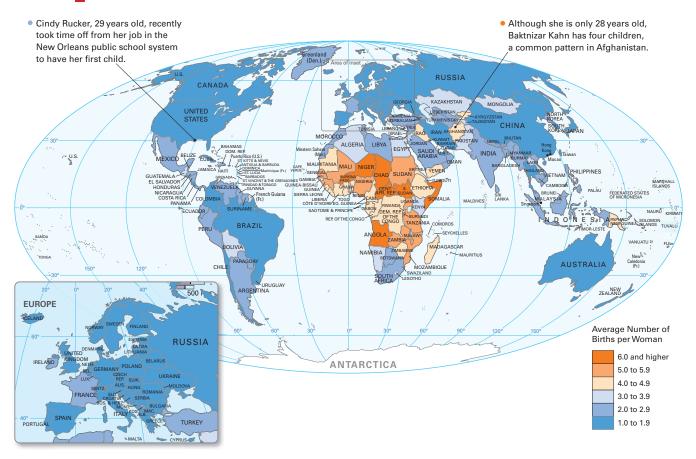
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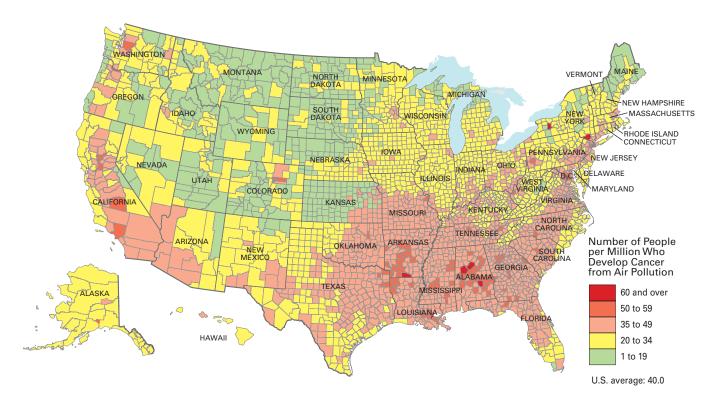
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#### **Preface**

ur nation's Pledge of Allegiance ends with the words "...with liberty and justice for all." This statement reflects our collective hope, but does it describe our reality? Certainly, some categories of the population (the rich, men, white people, heterosexual people) have greater freedom than others (the poor, women, people of color, homosexual and transsexual people). Then, too, a large share of this country's people has serious questions about the extent of social justice. This is an era of political division and widespread frustration. Twothirds of U.S. adults say that the country is "on the wrong track." Globally, armed conflict and terrorism threaten the planet's peace, and there is increasing concern about the state of the natural environment and the consequences of global warming. Clearly, this is a time when we need to understand more about social problems.

#### Facts, Theory, and Politics

Sociology offers a path to understanding the problems that we face in today's world. Our discipline also extends an invitation to action—to become involved in the political debates and movements that are reshaping society. As the leading text for this course, *Social Problems, Seventh Edition,* offers a broad investigation of social problems, both domestic and global. This title provides all the *facts,* highlighting historical trends and pointing out what is going on today. In addition, this text uses *sociological theory* to tie facts together to create meaning and understanding.

Just as important, this title stands alone by providing *political analysis*. As a source of both understanding and action, *politics matters*. In the 2016 presidential election, the candidates represented a wide range of political positions, including far left (Sanders), liberal (Clinton), conservative (Cruz), and libertarian (Paul), and whatever label you want to place on Mr. Trump. Each of these positions seeks a distinctive type of society. As citizens, it is our responsibility to learn enough about politics and the issues to decide which visions are worth supporting and then to become involved in the political process.

Social Problems, Seventh Edition, not only urges people to become involved, it explains what politics is all about. From the first chapter to the last, this title explains the attitudes and values that define various positions on the political spectrum. Social Problems then applies these political points of view to dozens of issues—from increasing economic inequality to terrorism—so that students

understand today's debates and gain the ability to analyze new issues on their own.

A guiding principle of this text is that politics involves various points of view. Social Problems presents diverse political viewpoints for four reasons. First, all of them are part of the political debate that goes on across the United States. Second, no one can develop personal political beliefs with any conviction without understanding the arguments of those who disagree. In other words, to be, say, a good liberal, one needs to understand not just progressive politics but also conservative and radical-left positions as well. Third, while anyone is likely to favor one political position over others, all positions offer some element of truth. In politics, reasonable people can and do disagree. Understanding all positions is a major step toward promoting civil and respectful discourse. Fourth, and finally, by being inclusive, Social Problems invites all students to share their ideas, which encourages more lively class discussion.

### The Social-Constructionist Approach

The most important reason to "put the politics in" when teaching a social problems course is to understand how politics guides the process of defining and responding to social problems. This title differs from all others in that is does not adopt one (implicit or explicit) political point of view by presenting a series of "problems" and identifying a sequence of "solutions" as if everyone agreed about what these are. Rather, all chapters highlight the importance of political attitudes in the selection of some issues and not others issues as "problems," as well as in the favoring of certain polices as "solutions." With this fact in mind, we can understand why people disagree about what the problems and their solutions are. Indeed, one person's "problem" may well be another's "solution." From this insight, true conversation begins.

Another benefit of using a social-constructionist approach is recognizing how our society came to define problems at certain points in time, often as a result of claims made by social movements. For example, the behaviors we now call "child abuse," "sexual harassment," and "environmental racism" may always have been with us, but our society did not always define these as problems. On the contrary, laws were enacted against them only after courageous individuals sparked successful social movements for change.

#### A Fully Involved Author

John Macionis is personally involved in every element of *Social Problems*. In addition to keeping the manuscript up to date, he selects all the photos and other images, writes all the captions, develops all the testing material, prepares the instructor's manual, and creates all the interactive content in the Revel electronic version. John corresponds regularly with colleagues and students, which makes *Social Problems* an always-evolving project. For the latest in the Macionis texts, visit his personal website: www.TheSociologyPage. com or www.macionis.com. Among other things, you will find there a series of new PowerPoint presentations, based on current research and free for downloading. A full suite of instructor resources is available from Pearson at www. pearsonhighereducation.com.

#### What's New in the Seventh Edition

Here is a brief listing of what's new in this revision:

Social Problems, Seventh Edition, is a thorough revision that provides the latest available data and includes the most recent events and trends. Here are some examples of new material for each chapter:

Chapter 1: Studying Social Problems New discussions include the controversy surrounding concussions and football and the national debate over high levels of immigration. The chapter contains expanded coverage of gun violence. The latest survey data identify the public's view of the most serious social problems. Find expanded discussion of Black Lives Matter, recent terror attacks in the United States and abroad, the spread of the Zika virus, the Flint, Michigan, water crisis, and increasing national attention to economic inequality.

Chapter 2: Economic Inequality For this key chapter, all income and wealth data are new. There is new discussion of how much (or how little) our system of taxation reduces economic inequality; new data point to a longevity gap between rich and poor; the chapter explores earnings of the highest-paid people in business, athletics, and entertainment; and the chapter now includes discussion of the significance of Bernie Sanders's political campaign as well as the importance of the economic inequality issue in the 2016 presidential election. This chapter is supported by fifty new research citations.

**Chapter 3: Racial and Ethnic Inequality** New to the seventh edition are discussions of white privilege and microaggression. There is new coverage of Filipino Americans, illustrating the variable ways in which people establish a racial and ethnic identity. Eighteen new research citations inform the revised chapter.

Chapter 4: Gender Inequality New discussions focus on gender in the media messages of political campaigns and also the proposed policy of a universal minimum wage to recognize the economic value of housework. Updates include the increasing number of women political leaders holding state and national office, the small share of films that pass the Bechdel test for gender bias, the narrowing gender gap in pay, the trend toward equal pay for women and men in television, and the extent of sexual violence. The revised chapter is informed by twenty-nine new research citations.

**Chapter 5: Aging and Inequality** The discussion of elder care has been rewritten to reflect the latest research and statistics; the discussion of euthanasia includes recent legal changes. Updates include the latest in life expectancy, the changing living arrangements for the elderly, changes in poverty rates over the life course, and how the gender gap in pay varies at different stages of life. There are nineteen new research citations in this revised chapter.

Chapter 6: Crime, Violence, and Criminal Justice New discussions in this chapter focus on the problem of "missing black men," mass incarceration, and also trend toward the decriminalization of marijuana. Updates reflect the non-gendered definition of rape and the expanded definition of statutory rape now used by the Department of Justice, the narrowing gender gap in arrests, the low level of prosecution for white-collar crime, the increasing number of hate crimes, the high human toll linked to gang-related violence, and the declining use of capital punishment across the country. Forty new research citations inform the revised chapter.

Chapter 7: Sexuality There are new and expanded discussions of sexuality issues on campus, the transgender movement, and the effects of pornography on the individual. Updates include new data on how people identify themselves in terms of sexual orientation, recent changes to marriage laws, changing age at first intercourse, increasing public acceptance of homosexuality, the high level of antigay violence, the scope of national and global AIDS, and recent efforts to restrict access to legal abortion. Thirty-two new research citations support this revised chapter.

Chapter 8: Alcohol and Other Drugs The revised chapter has new and expanded discussions of the movement to decriminalize marijuana and of our nation's expanding heroin epidemic. Updates highlight the use of various categories of legal and illegal drugs, patterns of alcohol use on campus, the extent of cigarette smoking in the United States and in nations around the world, and the increasing medication of U.S. children. Forty-two new research citations inform this revised chapter.

**Chapter 9: Physical and Mental Health** New and expanded discussions focus on the latest assessments of the Affordable Care Act and also the contrasts between rural and urban patterns of health. Updates include the status of AIDS, our nation's ranking in global comparisons of health, and rates of mental illness by gender, race, and ethnicity. Thirty-one new research citations inform the revised chapter.

**Chapter 10: Economy and Politics** New discussions involve the 2016 presidential campaign, including the increasing importance of "outsider" candidates, the latest patterns involving campaign financing, and the personal wealth of all the candidates. Updates include the latest on public trust of government, some causes of Congressional "gridlock," changing patterns of party affiliation, and rising wages at Walmart. Twenty-six new research citations support the revised chapter.

Chapter 11: Work and the Workplace New and expanded discussions highlight the widespread presence of toxic substances in the workplace, work-related policies advanced during the 2016 presidential campaign, and changing patterns of unemployment. Updates focus on the extent of workplace injuries, the problem of workplace violence, the increasing reliance on part-time and temporary teaching staff in colleges and universities, and the state of labor unions in the United States. Eighteen new research citations support the revised chapter.

**Chapter 12: Family Life** The 2015 Supreme Court ruling legalizing same-sex marriage is integrated throughout the chapter. The latest statistical data support updated discussion of the extent of marriage, the increasing rate of cohabitation, rising incidence of single-parenting, and the changing rate of divorce. Twenty new research citations inform this revised chapter.

Chapter 13: Education There is expanded discussion of educational achievement according to race, class, and gender, as well as greater coverage of the challenges facing U.S. public education. New discussion highlights the underrepresentation of minority students in the nation's "gifted and talented" programs. Updates highlight the extent of schooling both in the United States and the world as a whole, the problem of school violence, and how gender shapes the teaching profession. Twenty-two new research citations inform the revised chapter.

**Chapter 14: Urban Life** There is new and expanded discussion of the fiscal crisis in Detroit and other U.S. cities. Updates track urbanization in the United States and the world as a whole, rates of unemployment and poverty for various parts of urban and rural America, the increasing minority population of U.S. cities, and the extent of

homelessness across the country. There are eleven new research citations in this chapter.

Chapter 15: Population and Global Inequality There is new and expanded discussion of economic inequality around the world, including the changing numbers of low-, middle-, and high-income nations. The chapter includes extensive updating of global patterns of fertility, mortality, migration, and longevity, and presents the latest data on the extent of slavery, women's access to contraception, the declining level of severe poverty in the world, and increasing debt carried by low-income nations. Twenty new research citations ensure the revised chapter's currency.

Chapter 16: Technology and Environment The revised chapter has expanded coverage of climate change and includes new discussion of the water quality crisis in Flint, Michigan, that illustrates how race and class shape environmental risks. Updates highlight growing levels of carbon emissions, increasing global population, rising energy consumption, and disappearing rain forests. Fourteen new research citations support the revised chapter.

Chapter 17: War and Terrorism The revised chapter has expanded discussion of ISIS and highlights other recent cases of global conflict. New discussion highlights the "new arms race" involving hypersonic missile warheads and also the disturbing levels of poverty and homelessness among U.S. veterans. Updates provides the latest data on the number of armed conflicts in the world, levels of military spending, the pace of arms control, the number of children engaged in militarism, and the increasing role of women in today's military. Recent cases of terrorism around the world are documented, including their toll in human terms. Eighteen new research citations inform the revised chapter.

#### Supplements

Instructor's Manual and Test Bank Each chapter in the Instructor's Manual includes the following resources: Chapter Update; Author's Note; Chapter Outline; Learning Objectives; Detailed Teaching Objectives;, John's Chapter Close-Up; John's Personal Video Selection; Research for a Cutting-Edge Classroom; Teaching Suggestions, Exercises, and Projects; Web Links; Essay Questions; and Film List. Designed to make your lectures more effective and to save preparation time, this extensive resource gathers together useful activities and strategies for teaching your Social Problems course. Also included in this manual is a test bank of more than 900 multiple-choice and essay questions. The Instructor's Manual and Test Bank is available to adopters for download from the Pearson Instructors Resource Center at www.pearsonhighered.com.

**MyTest** This computerized software allows instructors to create their own personalized exams, to edit any or all of the existing test questions, and to add new questions. Other special features of this program include random generation of test questions, creation of alternate versions of the same test, scrambling question sequence, and test preview before printing. For easy access, this software is available for download from the Pearson Instructors Resource Center at www.pearsonhighered.com.

**PowerPoint Presentations** The Lecture PowerPoint slides follow the chapter outline and feature images from the textbook integrated with the text. Additionally, all of the PowerPoints are uniquely designed to present concepts

in a clear and succinct way. They are available to adopters for download from the Pearson Instructors Resource Center at www.pearsonhighered.com.

I dedicate this edition of Social Problems to Dr. Donald Ferrell and Dr. Charlotte Brauchle, two very good friends in the process of making change.

As always, please feel free to contact me by email:

Macionis@kenyon.edu

With my best wishes to my colleagues,

John J. Macionis

#### **About the Author**

JOHN J. MACIONIS [pronounced ma-SHOW-nis] has been in the classroom teaching sociology for more than forty years. Born and raised in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, John earned a bachelor's degree from Cornell University and a doctorate in sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

His publications are wide-ranging, focusing on community life in the United States, interpersonal intimacy in families, effective teaching, humor, new information technology, and the importance of global education.

In addition to authoring this best-seller, Macionis has also written *Society: The Basics*, the most popular paperback text in the field, now in its fourteenth edition. The full-length Macionis introductory text is *Sociology*, which is now in its sixteenth edition. He collaborates on international editions of the texts: *Society: The Basics: Canadian Edition, Sociology: Canadian Edition*, and *Sociology: A Global Introduction*. All the Macionis texts are available for high school students and in various foreign-language editions.

All the texts are also offered in low-cost electronic editions in the Revel program. These exciting learning materials provide an interactive learning experience. Unlike other authors, John takes personal responsibility for writing all electronic content, just as he authors all the assessment and supplemental materials. John proudly resists the trend toward "outsourcing" such material to non-sociologists.

In addition, Macionis edited the best-selling anthology Seeing Ourselves: Classic, Contemporary, and Cross-Cultural Readings in Sociology, also available in a Canadian edition. Macionis and Vincent Parrillo have written the leading urban studies text, Cities and Urban Life, currently in a sixth edition.

Follow John on his Facebook author page: John J. Macionis and find the latest information on all the books. You can also access downloadable teaching material at his website: www.macionis.com or www.TheSociologyPage. com. A full suite of instructor resources is found at the Pearson site: www.pearsonhighered.com

John Macionis recently retired from full-time teaching at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, where he was Professor and Distinguished Scholar of Sociology. During his long career as Kenyon, he chaired the Sociology Department, directed the college's multidisciplinary program in humane studies, presided over the campus senate, was president of the college's faculty, and taught sociology to thousands of students. Kenyon recognized his decades of



service by awarding him an honorary doctorate of humane letters in 2013.

In 2002, the American Sociological Association presented Macionis with the Award for Distinguished Contributions to Teaching, citing his innovative use of global material as well as the introduction of new teaching technology in his textbooks.

Professor Macionis has been active in academic programs in other countries, having traveled to some fifty nations. He writes, "I am an ambitious traveler, eager to learn and, through the texts, to share much of what I discover with students, many of whom know little about the rest of the world. For me, traveling and writing are all dimensions of teaching. First, and foremost, I am a teacher—a passion for teaching animates everything I do."

At Kenyon, Macionis taught a number of courses, but his favorite classes were always Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems. He continues to enjoy contact with students across the United States and around the world.

John now lives near New York City. In his free time, he enjoys tennis, swimming, hiking, and playing oldies rock-and-roll. Macionis is an environmental activist in the Lake George region of New York's Adirondack Mountains, working with a number of organizations, including the Lake George Land Conservancy, where he serves as president of the board of trustees.

#### Chapter 1

# Sociology: Studying Social Problems



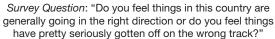
#### **Learning Objectives**

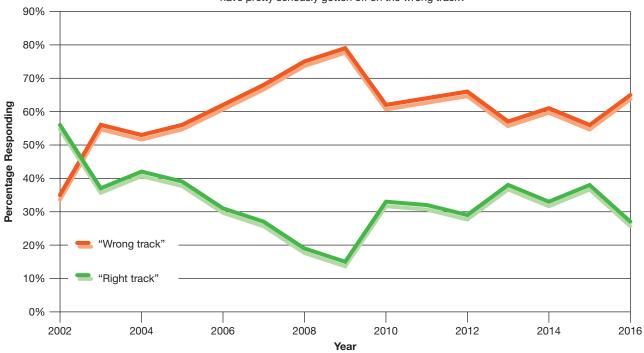
- 1.1 Explain the benefits of learning about sociology and using the sociological imagination.
- **1.2** Define the concept "social problem" and explain how societies come to define some issues—and not others—as social problems.
- **1.3** Apply sociological theory to the study of social problems.

- **1.4** Discuss the methods sociologists use to study social problems.
- **1.5** Identify factors that shape how societies devise policy to respond to social problems.
- **1.6** Analyze how political attitudes shape how people define social problems and solutions.



#### **Tracking the Trends**





SOURCE: CBS News/New York Times (2016).

Researchers try to gauge the public's confidence in the country by asking general questions such as this one:

"Do you think the country is on the right track or the wrong track?"

In early 2016, 65 percent of U.S. adults said they thought that the country was "on the wrong track," more than twice the share who thought the country was "going in the right direction." Back in 2002, just 35 percent of U.S. adults said the country was on the wrong track. In recent years, dissatisfaction with government emerged as the most commonly cited social problem in the United States. Do you think the country can continue without the confidence of a majority of the people?

#### **Constructing the Problem**



#### What turns an issue into a social problem?

Social problems come into being as people define an issue as harmful and in need of change.



Aren't we always dealing with the same problems?

Most of today's problems differ from those that concerned the public several generations ago.



Isn't a social problem any condition that is harmful?

Many conditions harmful to thousands of people are never defined as social problems.

#### **Chapter Overview**

This chapter introduces the study of social problems by defining the sociological imagination, explaining sociology's theoretical approaches, and describing sociological methods of research. You will learn how people's political attitudes define the issues they are likely to view as social problems and what policies they are likely to favor as solutions. You will gain the ability to describe the political spectrum and to apply various positions on the political spectrum to social issues.

Marcos Jorman was already late as he rushed out the door of his apartment. He ran down the stairs, briefcase in hand, and crashed through the old wooden door of the



apartment building. He looked north up Chestnut Street. What luck! The bus was right there, just half a block away! Catching his breath, Marcos climbed aboard as the bus pulled out into the heavy traffic. He saw Jan, a co-worker, standing in the rear of the bus.

"I just got a text from Sandra," Jan blurted out, looking a little desperate. "She says everyone is getting laid off. We're all out. The company is shutting down the whole division and moving operations out of the country." Her head dropped along with her spirit. "What am I going to do? How am I going to manage with my kids?"

Marcos checked his own phone. He, too, had messages—several from co-workers who had already arrived at work and confirmed the bad news. "Oh, man, it's true," he said softly. The two stood without speaking for the rest of the ride.

The day turned out to be one of the toughest in Marcos's entire life. He knew the start-up company was struggling with rising costs and heavy competition. Only two months earlier, new management had come in to "reorganize" and to cut costs. The decision to close operations was the result.

As he entered his workstation, he was handed a short letter spelling out the dismissal. He joined dozens of others at a short meeting with a human relations officer and then went back to pack up his things. He was home again by early afternoon. Marcos sat in his apartment with a cup of tea looking out the window at nothing in particular. He felt weak, almost ill. He kept telling himself that times are tough. He knew the company was in trouble. But, somehow, he could not shake the idea that the job loss was his own fault, his own personal failure.

This story could be told millions of times because millions of people—including those who worked in construction, sales, communications, management, and teaching—have lost their jobs in recent years.

### Seeing Patterns: The Sociological Imagination

1.1 Explain the benefits of learning about sociology and using the sociological imagination.

Living in a society that teaches us to feel personally responsible for whatever happens to us—good or bad—we easily understand Marcos's reaction to being laid off. We imagine Marcos second-guessing himself: Should he have majored in something else? If only he had taken that other job in Atlanta! If only he had listened to his father and stayed in school. We all tend to personalize our lives and blame ourselves for our troubles.

However, when we apply the **sociological imagination**, a point of view that highlights how society affects the experiences we have and the choices we make, the picture changes. Using the sociological imagination, we see that the operation of U.S. society—in this case, a serious national recession—caused the loss of millions of jobs. This event, which changed the lives of people all over the country, can hardly be said to be simply a matter of bad personal choices.

**Sociology** is the systematic study of human societies. **Society** refers to people who live within some territory and share many patterns of behavior. As sociologists study society, they pay attention to **culture**, a way of life including widespread values (about what is good and bad), beliefs (about what is true), and behavior (what people do every day).

Cultural patterns in the United States are diverse, but one widely shared value is the importance of individualism, the idea that, for better or worse, people are responsible for their own lives. In the case of Marcos Jorman, it is easy to say, "Well, he lost his job because he decided to take a job with a start-up company in the first place. He really brought this on himself." In other words, our common sense often defines personal problems—even when the problems affect millions of people—as the result of *personal choice*. Without denying that individuals do make choices, sociologists point to ways in which society

#### **SOCIAL POLICY**

#### C. Wright Mills: Turning Personal Troubles into Social Issues

All of us struggle with our own problems, which might include unemployment, falling into debt, falling out of love, drug or alcohol abuse, poor health, or suffering from violence. We experience these problems; we feel them, sometimes on a gut-wrenching level. Our problems are personal. But C. Wright Mills (1959) claimed that the roots of such "personal" problems lie in society itself, often involving the ways our economic and political systems work. After all, the normal operation of our society favors some categories of people over others: the rich over the poor, white people over people of color, middle-aged people over the very young and the very old. When people see their problems as personal, all they can do is try to deal with their troubles as one individual. Isolating one life in this way keeps people from seeing the bigger picture of how society operates. In the end, as Mills explained, people feel that "their lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles" (1959:3). Because we live in an individualistic culture, we are quick to conclude that the troubles we experience are simply our own fault.

A more accurate and more effective approach is to understand that it is society that shapes our lives. Using the sociological imagination transforms personal troubles into social issues by showing that these issues affect not only us but also countless people *like* us. This knowledge gives us power because, joining with others, we can improve our lives—and break free of our traps—as we set out to change society.

#### What Do You Think?

- Provide three examples of personal problems that Mills would define as social issues.
- 2. To what extent do you think people in the United States believe that problems such as unemployment result from bad personal choices or even bad luck? Did this change during the recent recession? Explain.
- 3. Have you ever taken part in a movement seeking change? What was the movement trying to do? What were your reasons for joining?

shapes all our lives. Thinking sociologically, we see that widespread unemployment may be a personal problem (especially to people who lose their jobs), but it is also a *social issue*.

Sociology's key insight is that many of the personal troubles people face are really social issues with their roots in the operation of the larger society. As the U.S. sociologist C. Wright Mills (1916–1963) explained, using the sociological imagination helps us "kick it up a level" and see how society shapes our personal lives. The Social Policy box takes a closer look at how sociology can help you do this for yourself.

By helping us to see the world in a new way, the sociological imagination gives us power to bring about change. But a sociological viewpoint can also be disturbing. A course in social problems asks us to face the fact that many people in our communities lose their jobs, become victims of crime, and go to bed hungry through no fault of their own. When the economy turns bad, as it did in 2008, millions of people suddenly find that they are unemployed and many of them still are out of work years later. In this richest of nations, even during "good times," tens of millions of people (especially women and children) are poor. The study of social problems helps us see these truths more clearly. It also encourages us to play a part in shaping the future of our nation and the world.

#### Social Problems: The Basics

1.2 Define the concept "social problem" and explain how societies come to define some issues—and not others—as social problems.

A **social problem** is a condition that undermines the wellbeing of some or all members of a society and is usually a matter of public controversy. In this definition, the term "condition" refers to any situation that at least some people define as

Table 1-1 Serious Social Problems, 1935 and 2016

1935	2016
Unemployment and a poor economy	1. Dissatisfaction with government
2. Inefficient government	2. The economy
3. Danger of war	3. Terrorism
4. High taxes	4. Immigration
5. Government overinvolvement	5. Guns/gun control
6. Labor conflict	6. Race relations/racism
7. Poor farm conditions	7. Unemployment
8. Inadequate pensions for the elderly	8. Federal budget deficit
9. High concentration of wealth	9. Poverty/hunger/homelessness
10. Drinking alcohol	10. Gap between the rich and poor

**SOURCE:** Gallup (1935, 2016).

troublesome, such as not having a job, having huge college loans, living in fear of crime, being overweight or living in poor health, or worrying about the effects of toxic chemicals in our drinking water.

A condition that "undermines the well-being" hurts people, either by causing them immediate harm or, perhaps, by limiting their choices. For example, poverty not only deprives people of nutritious food and safe housing, but it also takes away their dignity, leaving them passive and powerless.

Because any issue affects various segments of our population differently, a particular social problem is rarely harmful to *everyone*. During the recent recession, some executives earned huge salaries and bonuses, just as some corporations (such as Walmart, which sells at very low prices) actually did pretty well. Even war that brings injury and death to young soldiers brings wealth to the companies that make and sell weapons and confers greater power on the military leaders who head our country's armed forces. As a result, the full consequences of any particular social problem are rarely simple or easy to understand.

Social problems spark public controversy. Sometimes a social problem (such as the Nice terrorist attack in 2016) rocks the whole world. In other cases (such as the spread of the Zika virus in 2016), a small number of government leaders and public health officials take action at the local level, perhaps by stockpiling vaccine and restricting travel to areas where infections have been reported (Tavernise, 2016).

#### Social Problems over Time

What are our country's most serious social problems? The answer depends on when you ask the question. As shown in Table 1–1, the public's view of problems changes over time. Back in 1935, a survey of U.S. adults identified the ten biggest problems facing the country, which we can compare to a similar survey completed in early 2016 (Gallup, 2016). In the mid-1930s, the Great Depression was the major concern because as much as 25 percent of U.S. adults were out of work. Not surprisingly, unemployment topped the list of problems that year. After years of gridlock in Washington, D.C., dissatisfaction with government topped the list in 2016, but several of the issues cited as serious social problems also reflected our country's struggling economy.

Comparing the two lists in the table, we find three issues on both: the economy, unemployment, and dissatisfaction with government. But the other issues are different, showing that the public's view of social problems changes over time. Sometimes, public opinion can change dramatically even over short periods. In the months after the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri,

the share of the people concerned about police violence directed against African Americans spiked. Similarly, in the wake of the killings in San Bernardino, California, at the end of 2015 and the shootings in Orlando, Florida, in 2016, an increasing share of the public identified terrorism and gun control as among the nation's most serious social problems (Gallup, 2016).

#### The Social-Constructionist Approach

The fact that people at different times define different issues as social problems points to the importance of the **social-constructionist approach**, the assertion that social problems arise as people define conditions as undesirable and in need of change. This approach states that social problems have a subjective foundation, reflecting people's judgments about their world. For example, the public has yet to include obesity on the list of serious social problems, even though health officials say that most adults in the United States are overweight. This is true despite the objective fact that illness brought on by obesity costs the lives of hundreds of thousands of people in our country each year, which is many times the number of people who die as a result of terrorist attacks or the number of soldiers who were killed in Iraq or Afghanistan.

Figure 1-1 explains the subjective and objective foundations of social problems. Box A includes issues—such as homicide—that are objectively very harmful (more than 14,000 people are murdered each year in the United States) and cause widespread concern (polls show that a majority of U.S. adults worry about gun violence and want the government to reduce crime) (Pew Research Center, 2016). Box B includes issues—such as the use of automobiles—that, objectively speaking, cause even greater harm (more than 32,000 people in the United States die each year in auto accidents), and yet hardly anyone sees these issues as social problems. Of course, one reason people overlook the high death toll on our highways is that we think of automobiles as necessary to our way of life. Box C represents issues such as school shootings—that, objectively speaking, cause relatively limited harm (only a few dozen people have died from such incidents, which is actually fewer than the number of people who die each year from bee stings), but these issues are widely viewed as serious problems all the same (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014; National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2015). Finally, Box D includes the use of cell phones, football, and a host of other activities that are not thought to be harmful and also are not considered a problem.

Issues may move over time from one box to another. In the years after the invention of cell phones in the 1980s, for example, few people worried about their use even by those operating motor vehicles. With little evidence that this practice posed a threat, cell phones fell in Box D. More

recently, however, studies have reported that the use of cell phones by people driving automobiles plays some part in more than 1.5 million accidents a year, claiming several hundred lives. As the number of deaths linked to cell phone use increases, this issue will move toward Box B. By 2016, as a result of increasing public concern, fourteen states (California, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia) plus the District of Columbia banned talking on handheld phones while driving; thirty-eight states have outlawed cell phone use by new drivers, and forty-six states have prohibited texting by anyone behind the wheel. Before long public opinion could define cell phone use in cars as a serious problem, moving the issue from Box B to Box A (National Safety Council, 2015; Governors Highway Safety Association, 2016).

Any issue that is not considered a problem now may be viewed quite differently at some point in the future. For example, there are few things as American as football, a game that has gained popularity over recent decades and is now the most popular sport in the country. In recent years, however, an increasing number of players and ex-players have spoken out about possible concussion-related brain injury called chronic traumatic encephalophy (CTE). The National Football League has acknowledged that a problem exists and that efforts are being made to more carefully monitor players' well-being. Exactly how widespread CTE is among players remains

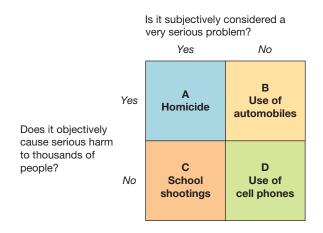


Figure 1–1 The Objective and Subjective Assessment of Social Issues

This figure shows that some issues (such as homicide) are both objectively harmful and widely seen as problems. But many issues that are objectively harmful (the use of automobiles results in more than 32,000 deaths each year) are not perceived as serious social problems. Likewise, some issues that are viewed as serious social problems (school shootings, for example) actually harm very few people. Many other issues (such as using cell phones or playing football) are not viewed by most people as harmful, although this may change at some point in the future.

an open question. The 2015 film *Concussion* starring Will Smith raised concern about CTE among the general public (Siegel, 2015; Kindelan, 2016). Should this concern over potential injuries increase, football might well move from Box D to Box C or Box B, depending on how many people are found to be harmed.

Another change in public opinion involves government efforts to track people's movement, telephone calls, and internet activity. In the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, most people in the United States did not know much about efforts by the National Security Administration and other government agencies to identify suspicious activity on the part of potential terrorists. When asked about government tracking of individuals, most people offered the opinion that this was good and necessary. There was little public awareness of how government can use computer technology to threaten personal privacy (Scherer, 2013). As a result, the government's use of computer technology fell in Box D. In recent years, revelations about the extent of government monitoring of people's movement and communication have convinced an increasing share of the public that this issue poses a real danger to the personal freedom of everyone. For this reason, this issue appears to be moving to Box B. Perhaps, at some point in the future, most people will consider government monitoring of the public to be a serious social problem, placing the issue in Box A.

Recognizing that the subjective and objective importance of social issues may differ opens the door for a deeper understanding of social change. Consider this curious pattern: A century ago, it was objectively true that the social standing of women was far below that of men. In 1900, nine out of ten adult men worked for income, and nine out of ten adult women remained in the home doing housework and raising children. Women didn't even have the right to vote.

Although some people condemned what they saw as blatant inequality, most people did not define this situation as a problem. Why not? Most people believed that because women and men have some obvious biological differences, the two sexes must have different abilities. Thinking this way, it seemed natural for men to go out to earn a living while women—who were thought back then to be the "weaker sex"—stayed behind to manage the home. Objectively, gender inequality was huge; subjectively, however, it was rarely defined as a social problem.

Today, women and men are far closer to being socially equal than they were in 1900. Yet awareness of a "gender problem" in the United States has actually become greater. Why? Our cultural standards have changed, to the point that people now see the two sexes as mostly the same, and so we *expect* women and men to be socially equal. As a result, we view even small instances of gender inequality as a problem.

When we investigate social issues, it is important to consider both objective facts and subjective perceptions. Both factors play a part in the social construction of social problems.

What powerful people say about issues can have big consequences for public opinion. In 2016, for the first time, immigration showed up on the public's list of the most serious social problems. To some extent, this concern reflects the fact that thousands of people cross the southern U.S. border illegally each year. But much of the concern reflects fear of immigrants from the Middle East who might engage in terror. During the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump called for barring all Muslims from entering the country until the government could ensure that no would-be jihadists were admitted.

Does this subjective fear square with the objective facts? The truth is that, since the 9/11 attacks in 2001, some 330 people have been charged with crimes relating to jihadist terrorism, but virtually all of these people have been U.S. citizens or people who have permanent legal residency (green cards). An isolated case of a recent immigrant engaging in deadly jihadist terrorism is Tashfeen Malik (a legal U.S. resident) who, along with her husband Syed Rizwan Farook (a natural-born U.S. citizen), killed fourteen people in a 2015 terror attack in San Bernardino, California.

Almost all terrorism that takes place in the United States is "home grown" and is not the work of immigrants. In addition, the number of people killed by right-wing extremists (who strike out against the power of the U.S. government) is also high. But while fears of jihadist terrorism have figured into national political debate (especially on the part of Republicans), right-wing terrorism is not widely viewed as a social problem.

A far greater threat to the public than any terrorism is gun violence. For years, more than 30,000 deaths due to gun violence (including murder, suicide, and accidents) have occurred annually, which is about 100 deaths *every day*. And for years, few people defined gun violence as a social problem. Only in 2016 was gun violence listed among the most serious social problems for the first time.

The point is that much public concern is directed against immigrants, the vast majority of whom pose very little danger to anyone; far less public concern is directed against right-wing extremists who pose far greater danger. Even more significant, gun violence involving tens of thousands of deaths each year has long been ignored and is only now gaining widespread public attention. Put another way, someone in the United States is 5,000 times more likely to be killed by gun violence than by a jihadist terrorist. Subjective fear does not necessarily reflect objective facts (Kristof, 2015; Bergen, 2016).

#### Claims Making

One major reason for more attention being directed at gun violence is that President Obama made this a high-priority issue, using his office to rally public support for greater gun control.

Claims making refers to efforts by individuals, officials, and organizations to convince others that a particular issue or situation should be defined as a social problem. This process begins by rejecting the status quo (Latin words meaning "the situation as it is") and calling for change. Put another way, claims making creates controversy by defining the existing situation as unacceptable. The process continues as people explain exactly what changes are needed and why they are needed.

Claims making is illustrated in the history of another issue that has been with us for some thirty-five years. Back in 1981, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention first received reports of a strange disease that was killing people. The victims were mostly homosexual men. The disease came to be known as "acquired immune deficiency syndrome" (AIDS). For several years, even as the numbers of cases in the United States climbed into the thousands, AIDS received limited media coverage and there was little public outcry. By 1985, however, the public as a whole had become concerned about the danger of AIDS, and this disease was defined as a serious social problem.

What made this happen? For any condition to be defined as a social problem, people—usually a small number at first—make claims that the situation is unacceptable and that change is needed. In the case of AIDS, medical officials sounded the alarm, and the gay communities in large cities (notably San Francisco and New York) mobilized to spread information about the dangers posed by this deadly disease.

Of course, public officials and powerful individuals often engage in the "loudest" claims making. But ordinary people can make claims more powerful by joining their voices. In 2016, people in the city of Flint, Michigan, began to come together and speak out about the dirty-looking and unsafe tap water that was coming into their homes from the city water supply. Scientists at a university laboratory were engaged and confirmed the presence of high levels of lead in the city's water (Smith, 2016).

Social media have greatly increased the potential impact of claims making. Television, radio, newspapers, and computer devices that use the internet all quickly spread information to tens of millions of people and can mobilize individuals to join together in groups actively seeking change. Stories in the mass media about the dangers of tap water in Flint, Michigan, as well as the use of social media, not only elevated this situation into a major problem with criminal charges filed against public officials but alerted people in other cities where similar levels of water contamination may exist. In general, the greater the mass media coverage of a topic and the more media stories argue for change, the more likely the issue in question is to develop into a social problem. In an age when social media connect people as never before, success in claims making can occur quickly. In 2013, shortly after a Florida jury acquitted George Zimmerman in the shooting death of seventeen-year-old Trayvon Martin, an activist in California posted a statement that "black lives matter." Another activist transformed these words into the hashtag #blacklivesmatter, and this claim was suddenly spreading across the country, sparking a social movement. In 2015, in response to the deaths of African Americans at the hands of police, the phrase "black lives matter" was tweeted some 9 million times.

Claims making is the process of defining certain issues as social problems. Economic inequality has existed in the United States throughout this country's entire history. Yet only in the past five years has this issue gained widespread public attention. In 2011, the Occupy Wall Street movement advanced the claim that just "1 percent" of the people dominate U.S. society. In the 2016 presidential election, Bernie Sanders built his campaign around the claim that our nation's level of economic inequality is unjust and should be reduced by government policy.

