SOC 002
SOCIAL ISSUES AND PROBLEMS



Solano Community College

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Solano Community College:

Social Issues and Problems

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Licensing

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: Sociology

1.1: The Sociological Perspective
1.2: The History of Sociology
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1.1: The Sociological Perspective

Studying Sociology

Sociological studies range from the analysis of conversations and behaviors to the development of theories in order to understand how the world works.

Learning Objectives

Identify ways in which sociology is applied in the real world

Key Points

- Sociology uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to study both face-to-face human social interactions and large scale social trends.
- Sociology uses empirical and critical analysis methods to study human social interaction.
- Sociology includes both macrosociology and microsociology; microsociology examines the study of people in face-to-face interactions, and macrosociology involves the study of widespread social processes.
- Sociology is a branch of the social sciences that uses systematic methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop and refine a body of knowledge about human social structure and activity.

Key Terms

- **sociology**: The study of society, human social interaction, and the rules and processes that bind and separate people, not only as individuals, but as members of associations, groups, and institutions
- **quantitative**: Of a measurement based on some quantity or number rather than on some quality.
- **qualitative**: Of descriptions or distinctions based on some quality rather than on some quantity.

Sociology is the study of human social life. Sociology has many sub-sections of study, ranging from the analysis of conversations to the development of theories to try to understand how the entire world works. This chapter will introduce you to sociology and explain why it is important and how it can change your perspective of the world around you, and give a brief history of the discipline.

Sociology is a branch of the social sciences that uses systematic methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop and refine a body of knowledge about human social structure and activity. Sometimes the goal of sociology is to apply such knowledge to the pursuit of government policies designed to benefit the general social welfare. Its subject matter ranges from the micro level to the macro level. Microsociology involves the study of people in face-to-face interactions. Macrosociology involves the study of widespread social processes. Sociology is a broad discipline in terms of both methodology and subject matter. The traditional focuses of sociology have included social relations, social stratification, social interaction, culture, and deviance, and the approaches of sociology have included both qualitative and quantitative research techniques.

Much of what human activity falls under the category of social structure or social activity; because of this, sociology has gradually expanded its focus to such far-flung subjects as the study of economic activity, health disparities, and even the role of social activity in the creation of scientific knowledge. The range of social scientific methods has also been broadly expanded. For example, the “cultural turn” of the 1970s and 1980s brought more humanistic interpretive approaches to the study of culture in sociology. Conversely, the same decades saw the rise of new mathematically rigorous approaches, such as social network analysis.

The Sociological Imagination

The sociological imagination is the ability to situate personal troubles within an informed framework of larger social processes.

Learning Objectives

Discuss C. Wright Mills’ claim concerning the importance of the “sociological imagination” for individuals

Key Points

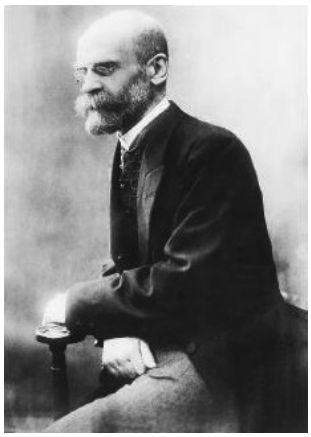
- Because they tried to understand the larger processes that were affecting their own personal experience of the world, it might be said that the founders of sociology, like Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, exercised what C. Wright Mills later called the sociological imagination.
- C. Wright Mills, a prominent mid-20th century American sociologist, described the sociological imagination as the ability to situate personal troubles and life trajectories within an informed framework of larger social processes.
- Other scholars after Mills have employed the phrase more generally, as the type of insight offered by sociology and its relevance in daily life. Another way of describing sociological imagination is the understanding that social outcomes are shaped by social context, actors, and social actions.

Key Terms

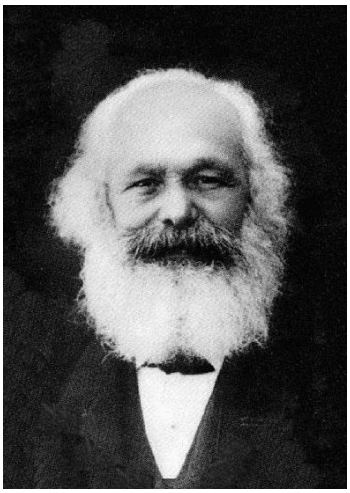
- **the sociological imagination**: Coined by C. Wright Mills, the sociological imagination is the ability to situate personal troubles and life trajectories within an informed framework of larger social processes.

The Sociological Imagination

Early sociological theorists, like Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, were concerned with the phenomena they believed to be driving social change in their time. Naturally, in pursuing answers to these large questions, they received intellectual stimulation. These founders of sociology were some of the earliest individuals to employ what C. Wright Mills (a prominent mid-20th century American sociologist) would later call the sociological imagination: the ability to situate personal troubles and life trajectories within an informed framework of larger social processes. The term sociological imagination describes the type of insight offered by the discipline of sociology. While scholars have quarreled over interpretations of the phrase, it is also sometimes used to emphasize sociology's relevance in daily life.



Émile Durkheim: Durkheim formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.



Karl Marx: Karl Marx, another one of the founders of sociology, used his sociological imagination to understand and critique industrial society.

C. Wright Mills

In describing the sociological imagination, Mills asserted the following. "What people need… is a quality of mind that will help them to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves. The sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. " Mills believed in the power of the sociological imagination to connect "personal troubles to public issues. "

As Mills saw it, the sociological imagination helped individuals cope with the social world by enabling them to step outside their own, personal, self-centered view of the world. By employing the sociological imagination, individual people are forced to perceive, from an objective position, events and social structures that influence behavior, attitudes, and culture.

In the decades after Mills, other scholars have employed the term to describe the sociological approach in a more general way. Another way of defining the sociological imagination is the understanding that social outcomes are shaped by social context, actors, and actions.

Sociology and Science

Early sociological studies were thought to be similar to the natural sciences due to their use of empiricism and the scientific method.

Learning Objectives

Contrast positivist sociology with "verstehen"-oriented sociological approaches

Key Points

- Early sociological approaches were primarily positivist—they treated sensory data as the sole source of authentic knowledge, and they tried to predict human behavior.
- Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced the idea of *verstehen*, which is an attempt to understand and interpret meanings behind social behavior.
- The difference between positivism and verstehen has often been understood as the difference between quantitative and qualitative sociology.
- Quantitative sociology seeks to answer a question using numerical analysis of patterns, while qualitative sociology seeks to arrive at deeper a understanding based on how people talk about and interpret their actions.

Key Terms

- **positivism**: A doctrine that states that the only authentic knowledge is scientific knowledge, and that such knowledge can only come from positive affirmation of theories through strict scientific method, refusing every form of metaphysics.
- **Verstehen**: A systematic interpretive process of understanding the meaning of action from the actor's point of view; in the context of German philosophy and social sciences in general, the special sense of "interpretive or participatory examination" of social phenomena.
- **empirical**: Pertaining to, derived from, or testable by observations made using the physical senses or using instruments which extend the senses.

Early sociological studies considered the field of sociology to be similar to the natural sciences, like physics or biology. As a result, many researchers argued that the methodology used in the natural sciences was perfectly suited for use in the social sciences. The effect of employing the scientific method and stressing empiricism was the distinction of sociology from theology, philosophy, and metaphysics. This also resulted in sociology being recognized as an empirical science.

Positivism and *Verstehen*

This early sociological approach, supported by August Comte, led to positivism, an idea that data derived from sensory experience and that logical and mathematical treatments of such data are together the exclusive source of all authentic knowledge. The goal of positivism, like the natural sciences, is prediction. But in the case of sociology, positivism's goal is prediction of human behavior, which is a complicated proposition.

The goal of predicting human behavior was quickly realized to be a bit lofty. Scientists like Wilhelm Dilthey and Heinrich Rickert argued that the natural world differs from the social world; human society has culture, unlike the societies of most other animals. The behavior of ants and wolves, for example, is primarily based on genetic instructions and is not passed from generation to generation through socialization. As a result, an additional goal was proposed for sociology. Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced the concept of *verstehen*. The goal of *verstehen* is less to predict behavior than it is to understand behavior. Weber said that he was after meaningful social action, not simply statistical or mathematical knowledge about society. Arriving at a *verstehen*-like understanding of society thus involves not only quantitative approaches, but more interpretive, qualitative approaches.

The inability of sociology and other social sciences to perfectly predict the behavior of humans or to fully comprehend a different culture has led to the social sciences being labeled "soft sciences. " While some might consider this label derogatory, in a sense it can be seen as an admission of the remarkable complexity of humans as social animals. Any animal as complex as humans is bound to be difficult to fully comprehend. Humans, human society, and human culture are all constantly changing, which means the social sciences will constantly be works in progress.

Quantitative and Qualitative Sociology

The contrast between positivist sociology and the *verstehen* approach has been reformulated in modern sociology as a distinction between quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches, respectively. Quantitative sociology is generally a numerical approach to understanding human behavior. Surveys with large numbers of participants are aggregated into data sets and analyzed using statistics, allowing researchers to discern patterns in human behavior. Qualitative sociology generally opts for depth over breadth. The qualitative approach uses in-depth interviews, focus groups, or the analysis of content sources (books, magazines, journals, TV shows, etc.) as data sources. These sources are then analyzed systematically to discern patterns and to arrive at a better understanding of human behavior.

Drawing a hard and fast distinction between quantitative and qualitative sociology is a bit misleading, however. Both share a similar approach in that the first step in all sciences is the development of a theory and the generation of testable hypotheses. While there are some individuals who begin analyzing data without a theoretical orientation to guide their analysis, most begin with a theoretical idea or question and gather data to test that theory. The second step is the collection of data, and this is really where the two approaches differ. Quantitative sociology focuses on numerical representations of the research subjects, while qualitative sociology focuses on the

ideas found within the discourse and rhetoric of the research subjects.



Max Weber: Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced verstehen—understanding behaviors—as goal of sociology.

Sociology and the Social Sciences

As a social science, sociology explores the application of scientific methods to the study of the human aspects of the world.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the similarities and differences between the social sciences

Key Points

- In the 17th century, scholars began to define the natural world as a reality separate from human or spiritual reality. As such, they thought the natural world should be studied using scientific and empirical methods.
- The pressure to discover mathematical relationships between objects of study carried into the study of human behavior, thus distinguishing social sciences from the humanities.
- By the 19th century, scholars began studying human behavior from a scientific perspective in an attempt to discover law-like properties of human interaction.
- In the attempt to study human behavior using scientific and empirical principles, sociologists always encounter dilemmas, as humans do not always operate predictably according to natural laws.
- Even as Durkheim and Marx formulated law-like models of the transition from pre-industrial to industrial societies, Weber was interested in the seemingly "irrational" ideas and values, which, in his view, also contributed to the transition.

Key Terms

- **humanities**: The humanities are academic disciplines that study the human condition, using methods that are primarily analytical, critical, or speculative, as distinguished from the mainly empirical approaches of the natural sciences.
- **science**: A particular discipline or branch of learning, especially one dealing with measurable or systematic principles rather than intuition or natural ability.
- **social science**: A branch of science that studies society and the human behavior in it, including anthropology, communication studies, criminology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, social studies, and sociology.

As a social science, sociology involves the application of scientific methods to the study of the human aspects of the world. The social science disciplines also include psychology, political science, and economics, among other fields. As a generalization, psychology is the study of the human mind and micro-level (or individual) behavior; sociology examines human society; psychology focuses on mental and thought processes (internal), whereas sociology focuses on human behavior (external). Political science studies the governing of groups and countries; and economics concerns itself with the production and allocation of wealth in society. The use of scientific methods differentiates the social sciences from the humanities.

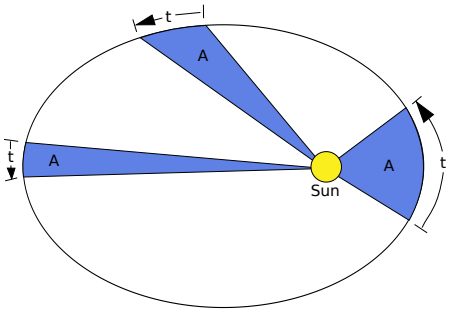
The Development of Social Science

In ancient philosophy, there was no difference between science and humanities. Only with the development of mathematical proof did there gradually arise a perceived difference between scientific disciplines and the humanities or liberal arts. Thus, Aristotle studied planetary motion and poetry with the same methods; Plato mixed geometrical proofs with his demonstration on the state of intrinsic knowledge.

During the 17th century, a revolution took place in what constituted science, particularly with the work of Isaac Newton in physics. Newton made a sharp distinction between the natural world, which he asserted was an independent reality that operated by its own laws, and the human or spiritual world. Newton's ideas differed from other philosophers of the same period (such as Blaise Pascal, Gottfried Leibniz, and Johannes Kepler) for whom mathematical expressions of philosophical ideals were taken to be symbolic of natural human relationships as well; the same laws moved physical and spiritual reality. Newton, along with others, changed the basic framework by which individuals understood what was scientific.



Isaac Newton, 1689: Isaac Newton was a key figure in the process which split the natural sciences from the humanities.



Natural laws: Kepler's law, which describes planet orbit, is an example of the sort of laws Newton believed science should seek. But social life is rarely predictable enough to be described by such laws.

In the realm of other disciplines, this reformulation of the scientific method created a pressure to express ideas in the form of mathematical relationships, that is, unchanging and abstract laws. In the late 19th century, attempts to discover laws regarding human behavior became increasingly common. The rise of statistics and probability theory in the 20th century also contributed to the attempt to mathematically model human behavior in the social sciences.

In the attempt to study human behavior using scientific and empirical principles, sociologists always encounter dilemmas, as humans do not always operate predictably according to natural laws. Hence, even as Durkheim and Marx formulated law-like models of the transition from pre-industrial to industrial societies, Weber was interested in the seemingly "irrational" ideas and values, which, in his view, also contributed to the transition. The social sciences occupy a middle position between the "hard" natural sciences and the interpretive bent of the humanities.

The Sociological Approach

The sociological approach goes beyond everyday common sense by using systematic methods of empirical observation and theorization.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the sociological approach differs from a "common sense" understanding of the social world

Key Points

- Sociology is more rigorous than common sense because sociologists test and modify their understanding of how the world works through scientific analysis.
- Sociologists gather data on the ground and formulate theories about what they find. These theories are then tested by using the scientific method to assess the theory's validity.
- Sociology, unlike common sense, utilizes methods of induction and deduction.

Key Terms

- **scientific method**: A method of discovering knowledge about the natural world based in making falsifiable predictions (hypotheses), testing them empirically, and developing peer-reviewed theories that best explain the known data.
- **deduction**: The process of reasoning in which a conclusion follows necessarily from the stated premises; inference by reasoning from the general to the specific.
- **induction**: the derivation of general principles from specific instances

The sociological approach goes beyond everyday common sense. Many people believe they understand the world and the events taking place within it, often justifying their understandings by calling it "common sense. " However, they have not actually engaged in a systematic attempt to understand the social world.

Sociology, is an attempt to understand the social world by situating social events in their corresponding environment (i.e., social structure, culture, history) and trying to understand social phenomena by collecting and analyzing empirical data. This scientific approach is what differentiates sociological knowledge from common sense.

For example, Peter Berger, a well-known sociologist, argued, that what distinguishes sociology from common sense is that sociologists:

> *"[try] to see what is there. [They] may have hopes or fears concerning what [they] may find. But [they] will try to see, regardless of [their] hopes*

> *or fears. It is thus an act of pure perception…"*

Thus, to obtain sociological knowledge, sociologists must study their world methodically and systematically. They do this through induction and deduction. With induction, sociologists gather data on the ground and formulate theories about what they find. These theories are then tested by using the scientific method in order to assess the theory's validity. In order to test a theory's validity, they utilize deduction. Deduction is the act of evaluating their theories in light of new data. Thus, sociological knowledge is produced through a constant back and forth between empirical observation and theorization. In this way, sociology is more rigorous than common sense, because sociologists test and modify their understanding of how the world works through scientific analysis.



Light Bulb: Obtaining sociological knowledge is not just a process of a light-bulb going off in someone's head; it requires thorough empirical research and analysis.

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1.2: The History of Sociology

Tradition vs. Science

Social scientists began to adopt the scientific method to make sense of the rapid changes accompanying modernization and industrialization.

Learning Objectives

Distinguish positivist from interpretive sociological approaches

Key Points

- Beginning in the 17th century, observation-based natural philosophy was replaced by natural science, which attempted to define and test scientific laws.
- Social science continued this trend, attempting to find laws to explain social behavior, which had become problematic with the decline of tradition and the rise of modernity and industrialization.
- Sociology is not a homogeneous field; it involves tensions between quantitative and qualitative sociology, positivist and interpretive sociology, and objective and critical sociology.
- The first thinkers to attempt to combine scientific inquiry with the exploration of human relationships were Emile Durkheim in France and William James in the United States.
- Social science adopted quantitative measurement and statistical methods from natural science to find laws of social behavior, as demonstrated in Emile Durkheim's book Suicide. But sociology may also use qualitative methods.
- Positivist sociology (also known as empiricist) attempts to predict outcomes based on observed variables. Interpretive sociology (which Max Weber called verstehen, German for "understanding") attempts to understand a culture or phenomenon on its own terms.
- Sociology embodies several tensions, such as those between quantitative and qualitative methods, between positivist and interpretive orientations, and between objective and critical approaches.
- Social science adopted quantitative measurement and statistical methods from natural science to find laws of social behavior, as demonstrated in Emile Durkheim's book Suicide. But sociology may also use qualitative methods.
- Positivist sociology (also known as empiricist) attempts to predict outcomes based on observed variables. Interpretive sociology (which Max Weber called Verstehen, German for "understanding") attempts to understand a culture or phenomenon on its own terms.
- Objective sociology tries to explain the world; critical sociology tries to change it.

Key Terms

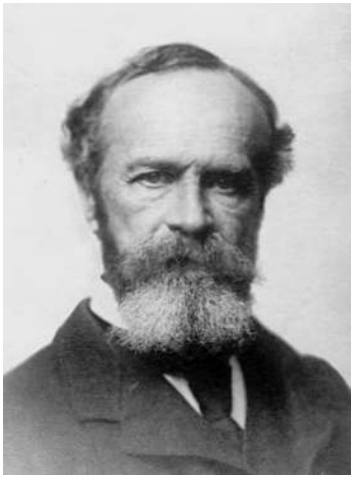
- **Critical sociology**: Critical theory is a school of thought that stresses the examination and critique of society and culture, drawing from knowledge across the social sciences and humanities.
- **scientific method**: A method of discovering knowledge about the natural world based in making falsifiable predictions (hypotheses), testing them empirically, and developing peer-reviewed theories that best explain the known data.
- **Positivist sociology**: The overarching methodological principle of positivism is to conduct sociology in broadly the same manner as natural science. An emphasis on empiricism and the scientific method is sought to provide a tested foundation for sociological research based on the assumption that the only authentic knowledge is scientific knowledge, and that such knowledge can only arrive by positive affirmation through scientific methodology.

In ancient philosophy, there was no difference between the liberal arts of mathematics and the study of history, poetry, or politics; only with the development of mathematical proofs did there gradually arise a perceived difference between scientific disciplines and the humanities or liberal arts. Thus, Aristotle studied planetary motion and poetry with the same methods, and Plato mixed geometrical proofs with his demonstration on the state of intrinsic knowledge.

However, by the end of the 17th century, a new scientific paradigm was emerging, particularly with the work of Isaac Newton in physics. Newton, by revolutionizing what was then called natural philosophy, changed the basic framework by which individuals understood what was scientific. While Newton was merely the archetype of an accelerating trend, his work highlights an important distinction. For Newton, mathematical truth was objective and absolute: it flowed from a reality independent of the observer and it worked by its own rules. Mathematics was the gold standard of knowledge. In the realm of other disciplines, this created a pressure to express ideas in the form of mathematical relationships, or laws. Such laws became the model that other disciplines would emulate.

In the late 19th century, scholars increasingly tried to apply mathematical laws to explain human behavior. Among the first efforts were the laws of philology, which attempted to map the change over time of sounds in a language. At first, scientists sought mathematical truth through logical proofs. But in the early 20th century, statistics and probability theory offered a new way to divine mathematical laws underlying all sorts of phenomena. As statistics and probability theory developed, they

were applied to empirical sciences, such as biology, and to the social sciences. The first thinkers to attempt to combine scientific inquiry with the exploration of human relationships were Emile Durkheim in France and William James in the United States. Durkheim's sociological theories and James's work on experimental psychology had an enormous impact on those who followed.



William James: William James was one of the first Americans to explore human relations scientifically.

Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

Sociology embodies several tensions, such as those between quantitative and qualitative methods, between positivist and interpretive orientations, and between objective and critical approaches. Positivist sociology (also known as empiricist) attempts to predict outcomes based on observed variables. Interpretive sociology attempts to understand a culture or phenomenon on its own terms.

Early sociological studies considered the field to be analogous to the natural sciences, like physics or biology. Many researchers argued that the methodology used in the natural sciences was perfectly suited for use in the social sciences. By employing the scientific method and emphasizing empiricism, sociology established itself as an empirical science and distinguished itself from other disciplines that tried to explain the human condition, such as theology, philosophy, or metaphysics.

Early sociologists hoped to use the scientific method to explain and predict human behavior, just as natural scientists used it to explain and predict natural phenomena. Still today, sociologists often are interested in predicting outcomes given knowledge of the variables and relationships involved. This approach to doing science is often termed positivism or empiricism. The positivist approach to social science seeks to explain and predict social phenomena, often employing a quantitative approach.

Understanding Culture and Behavior Instead of Predicting

But human society soon showed itself to be less predictable than the natural world. Scientists like Wilhelm Dilthey and Heinrich Rickert began to catalog ways in which the social world differs from the natural world. For example, human society has culture, unlike the societies of most other animals, which are based on instincts and genetic instructions that are passed between generations biologically, not through social processes. As a result, some sociologists proposed a new goal for sociology: not predicting human behavior, but understanding it. Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced the concept of verstehen, or understanding. The goal of verstehen is less to predict behavior than it is to understand behavior. It aims to understand a culture or phenomenon on its own terms rather than trying to develop a theory that allows for prediction.

Sociology's inability to perfectly predict the behavior of humans has led some to label it a "soft science. " While some might consider this label derogatory, in a sense it can be seen as an admission of the remarkable complexity of humans as social animals. And, while arriving at a verstehen-like understanding of a culture adopts a more subjective approach, it nevertheless employs systematic methodologies like the scientific method. Both positivist and verstehen approaches employ a scientific method as they make observations and gather data, propose hypotheses, and test their hypotheses in the formulation of theories.

Early Thinkers and Comte

One of the most influential early figures in sociology was Auguste Comte who proposed a positivist sociology with a scientific base.

Learning Objectives

Recall Auguste Comte's most important accomplishments

Key Points

- Auguste Comte was one of the founders of sociology and coined the term sociology.
- Comte believed sociology could unite all sciences and improve society.
- Comte was a positivist who argued that sociology must have a scientific base and be objective.
- Comte theorized a three-stage development of society.
- In sociology, scientific methods may include quantitative surveys or qualitative cultural and historical analysis.
- One common scientific method in sociology is the survey.

Key Terms

- **Law of Three Stages**: The Law of Three Stages is an idea developed by Auguste Comte. It states that society as a whole, and each particular science, develops through three mentally conceived stages: (1) the theological stage, (2) the metaphysical stage, and (3) the positive stage.
- **positivism**: A doctrine that states that the only authentic knowledge is scientific knowledge, and that such knowledge can only come from positive affirmation of theories through strict scientific method, refusing every form of metaphysics.
- **Auguste Comte**: Isidore Auguste Marie François Xavier Comte (19 January 1798 – 5 September 1857), better known as Auguste Comte was a French philosopher. He was a founder of the discipline of sociology and of the doctrine of positivism.

Auguste Comte is considered one of the founders of sociology. He coined the term "sociology" in 1838 by combining the Latin term socius (companion, associate) and the Greek term logia (study of, speech). Comte hoped to unify all the sciences under sociology. He believed sociology held the potential to improve society and direct human activity, including the other sciences.

His ambition to unify the sciences was not unique. Other thinkers of the nineteenth century (for example, Herbert Spencer) held similar goals. This period was a key turning point in defining disciplinary boundaries. In sociology's early days, disciplinary boundaries were less well defined than today. Many classical theorists of sociology (including Karl Marx, Ferdinand Toennies, Emile Durkheim, Vilfredo Pareto, and Max Weber) were trained in other academic disciplines, including history, philosophy, and economics. The diversity of their trainings is reflected in the topics they researched and in the occasional impulse to unify the sciences in a universal explanation of human life.

One of Comte's central questions was how societies evolve and change, which is known as social dynamics. He also studied the trends in society which do not change, which is known as social statics. Sociology today draws on these categories, though few sociologists have continued on Comte's theoretical work in this line.

While his theory is no longer employed in sociology, Comte, like other Enlightenment thinkers, believed society developed in stages. He argued for an understanding of society he labeled "The Law of Three Stages. " The first was the theological stage where people took a religious view of society. The second was the metaphysical stage where people understood society as natural rather than supernatural. Comte's final stage was the scientific or positivist stage, which he believed to be the pinnacle of social development. In the scientific stage, society would be governed by reliable knowledge and would be understood in light of the knowledge produced by science, primarily sociology. While Comte's approach is today considered a highly simplified and ill-founded way to understand social development, it nevertheless reveals important insights into his thinking about the way in which sociology, as part of the third stage, would unite the sciences and improve society.



Auguste Comte: Auguste Comte was one of the founding figures of sociology.

Neither his vision of a unified science nor his three-stage model have stood the test of time. Instead, today, Comte is remembered for imparting to sociology a positivist orientation and a demand for scientific rigor. As explained in the previous section, early sociological studies drew an analogy from sociology to the natural sciences, such as physics or biology. Many researchers argued that sociology should adopt the scientific methodology used in the natural sciences. This scientific approach, supported by Auguste Comte, is at the heart of positivism, a methodological orientation with a goal that is rigorous, objective scientific investigation and prediction.

Since the nineteenth century, the idea of positivism has been extensively elaborated. Though positivism now has wider range of meanings than Comte intended, belief in a scientifically rigorous sociology has, in its essence, been carried on. The scientific method has been applied to sociological research across all facets of society, including government, education, and in the economy.

Today, sociologists following Comte's positivist orientation employ a variety of scientific research methods. Unlike natural scientists, sociologists rarely conduct experiments, since limited research resources and ethical guidelines prevent large-scale experimental manipulation of social groups. Still, sometimes sociologists are able to conduct field experiments. Though

quantitative methods, such as surveys, are most commonly associated with positivism, any method, quantitative or qualitative, may be employed scientifically.

Early Social Research and Martineau

Harriet Martineau was an English social theorist and Whig writer, often cited as the first female sociologist.

Learning Objectives

Recall Harriet Martineau's most important accomplishments

Key Points

- Although today Martineau is rarely mentioned, she was critical to the early growth of sociology.
- Martineau is notable for her progressive politics. She introduced feminist sociological perspectives in her writing and addressed overlooked issues such as marriage, children, domestic life, religious life, and race relations.
- In 1852, Martineau translated the works of Auguste Comte, who had coined the term sociology. Through this process, she both clarified his work and made it accessible to English readers.
- Martineau's reflections on Society in America, published in 1837, are prime examples of her approach to what would later be known as sociological methods.

Key Terms

- **Harriet Martineau**: Harriet Martineau (12 June 1802 – 27 June 1876) was an English social theorist and Whig writer, often cited as the first female sociologist.
- **laissez-faire**: a policy of governmental non-interference in economic or competitive affairs; pertaining to free-market capitalism
- **Whig**: a member of a 19th-century US political party opposed to the Democratic Party

Harriet Martineau

Harriet Martineau (12 June 1802 – 27 June 1876) was an English social theorist and Whig writer, often cited as the first female sociologist. Although today Martineau is rarely mentioned, she was critical to the early growth of the sociological discipline. Martineau wrote 35 books and a multitude of essays from a sociological, holistic, religious, domestic, and, perhaps most significantly, feminine perspective. She earned enough to be supported entirely by her writing, a challenging feat for a woman in the Victorian era. As a theorist, she believed that a thorough societal analysis was necessary to understand the status of women. She is notable for her progressive politics. Martineau introduced feminist sociological perspectives in her writing and addressed overlooked issues such as marriage, children, domestic life, religious life, and race relations.



Harriet Martineau, 1802-1876: Harriet Martineau introduced Comte to the English-speaking world by translating his works.

Translating Comte

Although Auguste Comte is credited with launching the science of sociology, he might have been forgotten were it not for Martineau, who translated Comte's 1839 text, *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, from French into English. As she translated this piece, she also condensed Comte's work into clearer, more accessible terms. In 1853, her translation was published in two volumes as *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*. Her translation so dramatically improved the work that Comte himself suggested his students read her translations rather than his original work. Most significantly, her translation brought Comte's works to the English-speaking world.

Martineau's Writing

As early as 1831, Martineau wrote on the subject of "Political Economy" (as the field of economics was then known). Her goal was to popularize and illustrate the principles of laissez faire capitalism, though she made no claim to original theorizing.

Martineau's reflective writing, published in *Society in America* in 1837, are prime examples of her approach to what would eventually be known as sociological methods. Her ideas in this field were set out in her 1838 book, *How to Observe Morals and Manners.* She believed that some very general social laws influenced the life of any society, including the principle of progress, the emergence of science as the most advanced product of human intellectual endeavors, and the significance of population dynamics and the natural physical environment.

Spencer and Social Darwinism

Herbert Spencer created what he called "sociology," a synthetic philosophy that tried to find a set of rules explaining social behavior.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the concept of "progress" in Herbert Spencer's synthetic philosophy

Key Points

- According to Spencer's synthetic philosophy, the laws of nature applied without exception to the organic realm as much as the inorganic, and to the human mind as much as the rest of creation.
- Spencer conceptualized society as a "social organism" that evolved from a simpler state to a more complex one, according to the universal law of evolution.
- Spencer is perhaps best known for coining the term "survival of the fittest," later commonly termed "social Darwinism."

Key Terms

- **survival of the fittest**: Natural selection.
- **Social Darwinism**: a theory that the laws of evolution by natural selection also apply to social structures.
- **positivism**: A doctrine that states that the only authentic knowledge is scientific knowledge, and that such knowledge can only come from positive affirmation of theories through strict scientific method, refusing every form of metaphysics.

Though Auguste Comte coined the term " sociology," the first book with the term sociology in its title was written in the mid-19th century by the English philosopher Herbert Spencer. Following Comte, Spencer created a synthetic philosophy that attempted to find a set of rules to explain everything in the universe, including social behavior.

Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy

Like Comte, Spencer saw in sociology the potential to unify the sciences, or to develop what he called a "synthetic philosophy. " He believed that the natural laws discovered by natural scientists were not limited to natural phenomena; these laws revealed an underlying order to the universe that could explain natural and social phenomena alike. According to Spencer's synthetic philosophy, the laws of nature applied to the organic realm as much as to the inorganic, and to the human mind as much as to the rest of creation. Even in his writings on ethics, he held that it was possible to discover laws of morality that had the same authority as laws of nature. This assumption led Spencer, like Comte, to adopt positivism as an approach to sociological investigation; the scientific method was best suited to uncover the laws he believed explained social life.

Spencer and Progress

But Spencer went beyond Comte, claiming that not only the scientific method, but scientific knowledge itself was universal. He believed that all natural laws could be reduced to one fundamental law, the law of evolution. Spencer posited that all structures in the universe developed from a simple, undifferentiated homogeneity to a complex, differentiated heterogeneity, while being accompanied by a process of greater integration of the differentiated parts. This evolutionary process could be found at work, Spencer believed, throughout the cosmos. It was a universal law, applying to the stars and the galaxies as much as to biological organisms, and to human social organization as much as to the human mind. Thus, Spencer's synthetic philosophy aimed to show that natural laws led inexorably to progress. He claimed all things—the physical world, the biological realm, and human society—underwent progressive development.

In a sense, Spencer's belief in progressive development echoed Comte's own theory of the three-stage development of society. However, writing after important developments in the field of biology, Spencer rejected the ideological assumptions of Comte's three-stage model and attempted to reformulate the theory of social progress in terms of evolutionary biology. Following this evolutionary logic, Spencer conceptualized society as a "social organism" that evolved from a simpler state to a more complex one, according to the universal law of evolution. This social evolution, he argued, exemplifed the universal evolutionary process from simple, undifferentiated homogeneity to complex, differentiated heterogeneity.

As he elaborated the theory, he proposed two types of society: militant and industrial. Militant society, structured around relationships of hierarchy and obedience, was simple and undifferentiated. Industrial society, based on voluntary behavior and contractually assumed social obligations, was complex and differentiated. Spencer questioned whether the evolution of society would result in peaceful anarchism (as he had first believed) or whether it pointed to a continued role for the state, albeit one reduced to minimal functions—the enforcement of contracts and external defense. Spenser believed, as society evolved, the hierarchical and authoritarian institutions of militant society would become obsolete.

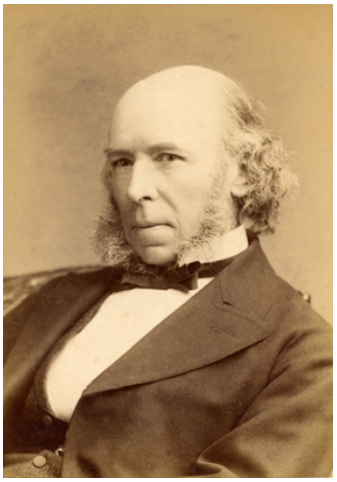
Social Darwinism

Spencer is perhaps best known for coining the term "survival of the fittest," later commonly termed "social Darwinism." But, popular belief to the contrary, Spencer did not merely

appropriate and generalize Darwin's work on natural selection; Spencer only grudgingly incorporated Darwin's theory of natural selection into his preexisting synthetic philosophical system. Spencer's evolutionary ideas were based more directly on the evolutionary theory of Lamarck, who posited that organs are developed or diminished by use or disuse and that the resulting changes may be transmitted to future generations. Spencer believed that this evolutionary mechanism was necessary to explain 'higher' evolution, especially the social development of humanity. Moreover, in contrast to Darwin, Spencer held that evolution had a direction and an endpoint—the attainment of a final state of equilibrium. Evolution meant progress, improvement, and eventually perfection of the social organism.

Criticism

Though Spencer is rightly credited with making a significant contribution to early sociology, his attempt to introduce evolutionary ideas into the realm of social science was ultimately unsuccessful. It was considered by many to be actively dangerous. Critics of Spencer's positivist synthetic philosophy argued that the social sciences were essentially different from the natural sciences and that the methods of the natural sciences—the search for universal laws was inappropriate for the study of human society.



Herbert Spencer: Herbert Spencer built on Darwin's framework of evolution, extrapolating it to the spheres of ethics and society. This is why Spencer's theories are often called "social Darwinism."

Class Conflict and Marx

Marx focuses on explaining class conflict due to the means of production, which he posited was the driving force behind social evolution.

Learning Objectives

Relate Marx's concept of class to his view of historical change

Key Points

- Marx sees society evolving through stages. He focuses on dialectical class conflict to control the means of production as the driving force behind social evolution.
- According to Marx, society evolves through different modes of production in which the upper class controls the means of production and the lower class is forced to provide labor.
- In Marx's dialectic, the class conflict in each stage necessarily leads to the development of the next stage (for example, feudalism leads to capitalism).
- Marx was especially critical of capitalism and foresaw a communist revolution.
- Marx predicted that class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat would lead to capitalism's downfall.
- According to Marx, under capitalism, workers (the proletariat) must alienate their labor.
- The bourgeoisie try to preserve capitalism by promoting ideologies and false consciousness that keep workers from revolting.
- Marx's understanding of history is called historical materialism because it focuses on history and material (versus ideas).

Key Terms

- **bourgeoisie**: The capitalist class.
- **proletariat**: the working class or lower class
- **false consciousness**: A faulty understanding of the true character of social processes due to ideology.
- **dialectical**: Of, relating to, or of the nature of logical argumentation.

Marx, one of the principle architects of modern social science, believed that history was made of up stages driven by class conflict. Famously, Marx wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. " Class struggle pushed society from one stage to the next, in a dialectical process. In each stage, an ownership class controls the means of production while a lower class provides labor for production. The two classes come into conflict and that conflict leads to social change. For example, in the feudal stage, feudal lords owned the land used to produce agricultural goods, while serfs provided the labor to plant, raise, and harvest crops. When the serfs rose up and overthrew the feudal lords, the feudal stage ended and ushered in a new stage: capitalism.

Means of Production, Relations of Production

According to Marx, the way society is organized depends on the current means of production and who owns them. The means of production include things that are necessary to produce material goods, such as land and natural resources. They also include technology, such as tools or machines, that people use to produce things. The means of production in any given society may change as technology advances. In feudal society, means of production might have included simple tools like a shovel and hoe. Today, the means of production include advanced technology, such as microchips and robots.

At different stages in history, different groups have controlled the means of production. In feudal times, feudal lords owned the land and tools used for production. Today, large corporations own many of the means of production. Different stages have different relations of production, or different forms of social relationships that people must enter into as they acquire and use the means of production. Throughout history, the relations of production have taken a variety of forms—slavery, feudalism, capitalism—in which employees enter into a contract with an employer to provide labor in exchange for a wage.

Modes of Production

Together, the means of production and the relations of production compose a particular period's mode of production. Marx distinguished different historical eras in terms of their different modes of production. He believed that the mode of production was the defining element of any period in history, and he called this economic structure the base of that society. By contrast, he believed that the ideas and culture of a given stage were derived from the mode of production. He referred to ideas and culture as the "superstructure," which grew up from the more fundamental economic "base. " Because of his focus on the economic base over culture and ideas, Marx is often referred to as an economic determinist.

In Marx's dialectic, the class conflict in each stage necessarily leads to the development of the next stage.

Marx was less interested in explaining the stable organization of any given historical stage than in explaining how society changed from one stage to the next. Marx believed that the class conflict present in any stage would necessarily lead to class struggle and, eventually, to the end of that stage and the beginning of the next. Feudalism ended with class struggle between serfs and lords, and gave rise to a new stage, capitalism.

Instabilities in Capitalism

Marx's work focused largely on explaining the inherent instabilities present in capitalism and predicting its eventual fall and transition to socialism. Marx argued that capitalism was unstable and prone to periodic crises. Marx believed that economic growth would be punctuated by increasingly severe crises as capitalism went through cycles of growth, collapse, and more growth. Moreover, he believed that in the long-term this process would necessarily enrich and empower the capitalist class, while at the same time it would impoverish the poorer laboring class, which he referred to as the proletariat.

Eventually, the proletariat would become class conscious—aware that their seemingly individual problems were created by an economic system that disadvantaged all those who did not own the means of production. Once the proletariat developed a class consciousness, Marx believed, they would rise up and seize the means of production, overthrowing the capitalist mode of production, and bringing about a socialist society. Marx believed that the socialist system established after the proletariat revolution would encourage social relations that would benefit everyone equally, abolish the exploitative capitalist, ending their exclusive ownership of the means of production, and introduce a system of production less vulnerable to cyclical crises. For Marx, this eventual uprising was inevitable, given the inherent structural contradictions in capitalism and the inevitability of class conflict.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Marx's Communist Manifesto Illustrated by Cartoons: The Communist Manifesto gives an overview of Marx's theory of class conflict and embraces his position that sociologists should also be publicly active social critics. In this video, the test of the manifesto is illustrated with cartoon clips that demonstrate the deep and enduring legacy of Marx's philosophy for modern culture.

Durkheim and Social Integration

Emile Durkheim studied how societies maintained social integration after traditional bonds were replaced by modern

economic relations.

Learning Objectives

Contrast the different modes of social integration according to Durkheim

Key Points

- Durkheim believed that society exerted a powerful force on individuals. According to Durkheim, people's norms, beliefs, and values make up a collective consciousness, or a shared way of understanding and behaving in the world.
- The collective consciousness binds individuals together and creates social integration.
- Durkheim saw increasing population density as a key factor in the advent of modernity. As the number of people in a given area increase, so does the number of interactions, and the society becomes more complex.
- As people engage in more economic activity with neighbors or distant traders, they begin to loosen the traditional bonds of family, religion, and moral solidarity that had previously ensured social integration. Durkheim worried that modernity might herald the disintegration of society.
- Simpler societies are based on mechanical solidarity, in which self-sufficient people are connected to others by close personal ties and traditions. Modern societies are based on organic solidarity, in which people are connected by their reliance on others in the division of labor.
- Although modern society may undermine the traditional bonds of mechanical solidarity, it replaces them with the bonds of organic solidarity.
- In the Elementary Forms of Religious Life, Durkheim presented a theory of the function of religion in aboriginal and modern societies and described the phenomenon of collective effervescence and collective consciousness.
- Durkheim has been called a structural functionalist because his theories focus on the function certain institutions (e.g., religion) play in maintaining social solidarity or social structure.

Key Terms

- **organic solidarity**: It is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies.
- **mechanical solidarity**: It normally operates in "traditional" and small scale societies. In simpler societies (e.g., tribal), solidarity is usually based on kinship ties of familial networks.

Along with Marx and Weber, French sociologist Emile Durkheim is considered one of the founders of sociology. One of Durkheim's primary goals was to analyze how how modern societies could maintain social integration after the traditional bonds of family and church were replaced by modern economic relations.

Durkheim believed that society exerted a powerful force on individuals. People's norms, beliefs, and values make up a collective consciousness, or a shared way of understanding and behaving in the world. The collective consciousness binds individuals together and creates social integration. For Durkheim, the collective consciousness was crucial in explaining the existence of society: it produces society and holds it together. At the same time, the collective consciousness is produced by individuals through their actions and interactions. Society is a social product created by the actions of individuals that then exerts a coercive social force back on those individuals. Through their collective consciousness, Durkheim argued, human beings become aware of one another as social beings, not just animals.

Formation of Collective Consciousness

According to Durkheim, the collective consciousness is formed through social interactions. In particular, Durkheim thought of the close-knit interactions between families and small communities, groups of people who share a common religion, who may eat together, work together, and spend leisure time together. Yet all around him, Durkheim observed evidence of rapid social change and the withering away of these groups. He saw increasing population density and population growth as key factors in the evolution of society and the advent of modernity. As the number of people in a given area increase, he posited, so does the number of interactions, and the society becomes more complex. Population growth creates competition and incentives to trade and further the division of labor. But as people engage in more economic activity with neighbors or distant traders, they begin to loosen the traditional bonds of family, religion, and moral solidarity that had previously ensured social integration. Durkheim worried that modernity might herald the disintegration of society.

Durkheim and Modernity

Following a socioevolutionary approach reminiscent of Comte, Durkheim described the evolution of society from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. Simpler societies, he argued, are based on mechanical solidarity, in which self-sufficient people are connected to others by close personal ties and traditions (e.g., family and religion). Also, in such societies, people have far fewer options in life. Modern societies, on the other hand, are based on organic solidarity, in which people are connected by their reliance on others in the division of labor. Modernization, Durkheim argued, is based first on population growth and increasing population density, second on increasing

"moral density" (that is, the development of more complex social interactions), and third, on the increasing specialization in work (i.e., the division of labor). Because modern society is complex, and because the work that individuals do is so specialized, individuals can no longer be self-sufficient and must rely on others to survive. Thus, although modern society may undermine the traditional bonds of mechanical solidarity, it replaces them with the bonds of organic solidarity.

Organic versus Mechanical Solidarity

Further, Durkheim argued, the organic solidarity of modern societies might have advantages over traditional mechanical solidarity. In traditional societies, people are self-sufficient, and therefore society has little need for cooperation and interdependence. Institutions that require cooperation and agreement must often resort to force and repression to keep society together. Traditional mechanical solidarity may tend, therefore, to be authoritarian and coercive. In modern societies, under organic solidarity, people are necessarily much more interdependent. Specialization and the division of labor require cooperation. Thus, solidarity and social integration are necessary for survival and do not require the same sort of coercion as under mechanical solidarity.

In organic solidarity, the individual is considered vitally important, even sacred. In organic solidarity, the individual, rather than the collective, becomes the focus of rights and responsibilities, the center of public and private rituals holding the society together—a function once performed by the religion. To stress the importance of this concept, Durkheim talked of the " cult of the individual. " However, he made clear that the cult of the individual is itself a social fact, socially produced; reverence for the individual is not an inherent human trait, but a social fact that arises in certain societies at certain times.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Sociological Theory: Emile Durkheim and Social Solidarity: Professor Dan Krier, of Iowa State University, explains Durkheim's theories of social solidarity and modernity.

Protestant Work Ethic and Weber

Weber departed from positivist sociology, instead emphasizing *Verstehen*, or understanding, as the goal of sociology.

Learning Objectives

Summarize Weber's view on the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism

Key Points

- Max Weber was a German sociologist and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.
- In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, his most enduring text, Weber proposed that ascetic Protestantism was one of the major "elective affinities " associated with the rise of capitalism, bureaucracy, and the rational-legal nation- state in the Western world.
- Weber argued that Protestantism, and especially the ascetic Protestant or Calvinist denominations, had redefined the connection between work and piety.
- Weber tried to explain social action in modern society by focusing on rationalization and secularization.
- Weber also developed a theory of political authority and the modern state, defining three types of authority: traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal.

Key Terms

- **predestination**: The doctrine that everything has been foreordained by a God, especially that certain people have been elected for salvation, and sometimes also that others are destined for reprobation.
- **Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**: A book written by Max Weber, arguing that the rise in ascetic Protestantism, particularly denominations like Calvinism, was associated with the rise of modern capitalism in the West.
- **secularization**: The transformation of a society from close identification with religious values and institutions toward non-religious (or "irreligious") values and secular institutions.
- **rationalization**: the process, or result of rationalizing

Max Weber

Max Weber was a German sociologist and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself. In 1919, he established a

sociology department at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich.

Along with Marx and Durkheim, Weber is considered one of the three principal forefathers of modern social science. That being said, Weber developed a unique methodological position that set him apart from these other sociologists. As opposed to positivists like Comte and Durkheim, Weber was a key proponent of methodological antipositivism. He presented sociology as a non-empiricist field whose goal was not to gather data and predict outcomes, but instead to understand the meanings and purposes that individuals attach to their own actions.

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, his most famous text, Weber proposed that ascetic Protestantism was one of the major "elective affinities" associated with the rise of capitalism, bureaucracy, and the rational-legal nation-state in the Western world. Although some consider Weber's argument to be a study of religion, it can also be interpreted as an introduction to his later works, especially his studies of the interaction between various religious ideas and economic behavior. In contrast to Marx's "historical materialism," Weber emphasized how the cultural influences embedded in religion could be a means for understanding the genesis of capitalism. Weber viewed religion as one of the core forces in society.

Weber proposed that ascetic Protestantism had an elective affinity with capitalism, bureaucracy, and the rational-legal nation-state in the Western world. By elective affinity, Weber meant something less direct than causality, but something more direct than correlation. In other words, although he did not argue that religion caused economic change, Weber did find that ascetic Protestantism and modern capitalism often appeared alongside one another in societies. Additionally, Weber observed that both ascetic Protestantism and capitalism encouraged cultural practices that reinforced one another. He never claimed that religion was the complete, simple, isolated cause of the rise of capitalism in the West. Instead, he viewed it was part of a cultural complex that included the following:

- rationalism of scientific pursuit
- the merging of observation with mathematics
- an increasingly scientific method of scholarship and jurisprudence
- the rational systemization of government administration and economic enterprise
- increasing bureaucratization

In the end, the study of the sociology of religion, according to Weber, focused on one distinguishing fact about Western culture, the decline of beliefs in magic. He referred to this phenomena as the "disenchantment of the world. "

Weber's Evidence and Argument

As evidence for his study, Weber noted that ascetic Protestantism and advanced capitalism tended to coincide with one another. Weber observed that, after the Reformation, Protestant countries such as the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and Germany gained economic prominence over Catholic countries such as France, Spain, and Italy. Furthermore, in societies with different religions, the most successful business leaders tended to be Protestant.



John Calvin, the first capitalist?: Weber saw an elective affinity between capitalism and Protestantism, especially Calvinism.

To explain these observations, Weber argued that Protestantism, and especially the ascetic Protestant or Calvinist denominations, had redefined the connection between work and piety. Historically, Christian religious devotion had been accompanied by a rejection of mundane affairs, including economic pursuits. In contrast, Weber showed that certain types of Protestantism, notably Calvinism, supported worldly activities and the rational pursuit of economic gain. Because of the particularly Calvinist view of the world, these activities became endowed with moral and spiritual significance. In these religions, believers expressed their piety towards God through hard work and achievement in a secular vocation, or calling. Because of this religious orientation, human effort was shifted away from the contemplation of the divine and towards rational efforts aimed at achieving economic gain. Furthermore, the Protestant ethic, while promoting the pursuit of economic gain, eschewed hedonistic pleasure. Thus, believers were encouraged to make money, but not to spend it. This motivated believers to work hard, to be successful in business, and to reinvest their profits rather than spend them on frivolous pleasures. The Calvinist notion of predestination also meant that material wealth could be taken as a sign of salvation in the afterlife. Predestination is

the belief that God has chosen who will be saved and who will not.

Protestant believers thus reconciled, even encouraged, the pursuit of profit with religion. Instead of being viewed as morally suspect, greedy, or ambitious, financially successful believers were viewed as being motivated by a highly moral and respectable philosophy, the "spirit of capitalism. " Eventually, the rational roots of this doctrine outgrew their religious origins and became autonomous cultural traits of capitalist society. Thus, Weber explained the rise of capitalism by looking at systems of culture and ideas. This theory is often viewed as a reversal of Marx's thesis that the economic "base" of society determines all other aspects of it.

The Development of Sociology in the U.S.

Lester Ward, the first president of the American Sociological Association, is generally thought of as the founder of American sociological study.

Learning Objectives

Discuss Lester Ward's views on sociology's role in society

Key Points

- Ward was a positivist who saw sociology as a scientific tool to improve life.
- He criticized laissez-faire theories and Spencer's survival of the fittest theory and developed his own theory of social liberalism.
- Ward believed that in large, complex, and rapidly growing societies, human freedom could only be achieved with the assistance of a strong, democratic government acting in the interest of the individual.
- Ward had a strong influence on a rising generation of progressive political leaders, including on the administrations of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt and on the modern Democratic Party.

Key Terms

- **American Sociological Association**: The American Sociological Association (ASA), founded in 1905 as the American Sociological Society, is a non-profit organization dedicated to advancing the discipline and profession of sociology.
- **laissez-faire**: a policy of governmental non-interference in economic or competitive affairs; pertaining to free-market capitalism
- **Social liberalism**: The belief that the legitimate role of the state includes addressing economic and social issues, such as unemployment, health care, and education while simultaneously expanding civil rights; this belief supports capitalism but rejects unchecked laissez-faire economics.

Lester Ward is generally thought of as the founder of American sociological study. He served as the first president of the American Sociological Society, which was founded in 1905 (and which later changed its name to its current form, the American Sociological Association), and was appointed Chair of Sociology at Brown University in 1906.

Works and ideas

Like Comte and the positivist founders of sociology, Ward embraced the scientific ethos. In 1883, Ward published his two-volume,1,200 page *Dynamic Sociology, Or Applied Social Scienceas Based Upon Statistical Sociology and the Less Complex Sciences*, with which he hoped to establish the central importance of experimentation and the scientific method to the field of sociology.

But for Ward, science was not objective and removed, but human-centered and results-oriented. As he put it in the preface to *Dynamic Sociology*:

> *"The real object of science is to benefit man. A science which fails to do this, however agreeable its study, is lifeless. Sociology, which of all sciences should benefit man most, is in danger of falling into the class of polite amusements, or dead sciences. It is the object of this work to point out a method by which the breath of life may be breathed into its nostrils. "*

Thus, Ward embodied what would become a distinctive characteristic of American sociology. Though devoted to developing sociology as a rigorous science, he also believed sociology had unique potential as a tool to better society. He believed that the scientific methodology of sociology should be deployed in the interest of resolving practical, real-world problems, such as poverty, which he theorized could be minimized or eliminated by systematic intervention in society.

Criticism of laissez-faire

Ward is most often remembered for his criticism of the laissez-faire theories advanced by Herbert Spencer and popular among

his contemporaries. Spencer had argued that society would naturally evolve and progress while allowing the survival of the fittest and weeding out the socially unfit. Thus, social ills such as poverty would be naturally alleviated as the unfit poor were selected against; no intervention was necessary. Though originated by Spencer, these ideas were advanced in the United States by William Graham Sumner, an economist and sociologist at Yale. Ward disagreed with Spencer and Sumner and, in contrast to their laissez-faire approach, promoted active intervention.

As a political approach, Ward's system became known as "social liberalism," as distinguished from the classical liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries. While classical liberalism (featuring such thinkers as Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill) had sought prosperity and progress through laissez-faire policies, Ward's "American social liberalism" sought to enhance social progress through direct government intervention. Ward believed that in large, complex, and rapidly growing societies, human freedom could only be achieved with the assistance of a strong democratic government acting in the interest of the individual. The characteristic element of Ward's thinking was his faith that government, acting on the empirical and scientifically based findings of the science of sociology, could be harnessed to create a near Utopian social order.

Ward had a strong influence on a rising generation of progressive political leaders, including on the administrations of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt and on the modern Democratic Party. He has, in fact, been called "the father of the modern welfare state. " The liberalism of the Democrats today is not that of Smith and Mill, which stressed non-interference from the government in economic issues, but of Ward, which stressed the unique position of government to effect positive change. While Roosevelt's experiments in social engineering were popular and effective, the full effect of the forces Ward set in motion came to bear half a century after his death, in the Great Society programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Vietnam war.

Influence on academic sociology

Despite Ward's impressive political legacy, he has been largely written out of the history of sociology. The thing that made Ward most attractive in the 19th century, his criticism of laissez faire, made him seem dangerously radical to the ever-cautious academic community in early 20th century America. This perception was strengthened by the growing socialist movement in the United States, led by the Marxist Russian Revolution and the rise of Nazism in Europe. Ward was basically replaced by Durkheim in the history books, which was easily accomplished because Durkheim's views were similar to Ward's but without the relentless criticism of lassiez faire and without Ward's calls for a strong, central government and "social engineering". In 1937, Talcott Parsons, the Harvard sociologist and functionalist who almost single-handedly set American sociology's academic curriculum in the mid-20th century, wrote that "Spencer is dead," thereby dismissing not only Spencer but also Spencer's most powerful critic.



Lester Ward: Lester Ward, the first president of the American Sociological Association, is generally thought of as the founder of American sociological study.

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1.3: Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology

Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology

Social theories draw the connections between seemingly disparate concepts in order to help us understand the world around us.

Learning Objectives

Analyze why theory is important for sociological research

Key Points

- Theories have two components: data, and and the explanation of relationships between concepts that are measured by the data.
- A theory is a proposed relationship between two or more concepts, often cause and effect.
- Sociologists develop theories to explain social phenomena.
- Sociological theory is developed at multiple levels, ranging from grand theory to highly contextualized and specific micro-range theories.

Key Terms

- **cause and effect**: Cause and effect (also written as cause-effect or cause/effect) refers to the philosophical concept of causality, in which an action or event will produce a certain response to the action in the form of another event.
- **anomie**: Alienation or social instability caused by erosion of standards and values.
- **sociological theory**: A theory is a statement as to how and why particular facts are related. In sociology, sociological perspectives, theories, or paradigms are complex theoretical and methodological frameworks, used to analyze and explain objects of social study, and facilitate organizing sociological knowledge.

Sociologists develop theories to explain social phenomena. A theory is a proposed relationship between two or more concepts. In other words, a theory is an explanation for why a phenomenon occurs.

Sociological theory is developed at multiple levels, ranging from grand theory to highly contextualized and specific micro-range theories. There are many middle-range and micro-range theories in sociology. Because such theories are dependent on context and specific to certain situations, it is beyond the scope of this text to explore each of those theories.

Sociological Theories at Work

An example of a sociological theory comes from the work of Robert Putnam. Putman's work focused on the decline of civic engagement. Putnam found that Americans involvement in civic life (e.g., community organizations, clubs, voting, religious participation, etc.) has declined over the last 40 to 60 years. While a number of factors that contribute to this decline, one of the prominent factors is the increased consumption of television as a form of entertainment. Putnam's theory proposes:

The more television people watch, the lower their involvement in civic life will be.

This element of Putnam's theory clearly illustrates the basic purpose of sociological theory. Putnam's theory proposes a relationship between two or more concepts. In this case, the concepts are civic engagement and television watching. This is an inverse relationship – as one goes up, the other goes down; it is also an explanation of one phenomenon with another: part of the reason for the decline in civic engagement over the last several decades is because people are watching more television. In short, Putnam's theory clearly encapsulates the key ideas of a sociological theory.

Importance of Theory

Theory is the connective tissue that bridges the connection between raw data and critical thought. In the theory above, the data showed that that civic engagement has declined and TV watching has increased. Data alone are not particularly informative. If Putnam had not proposed a relationship between the two elements of social life, we may not have realized that television viewing does, in fact, reduce people's desire to, and time for participating in civic life. In order to understand the social world around us, it is necessary to employ theory to draw the connections between seemingly disparate concepts.

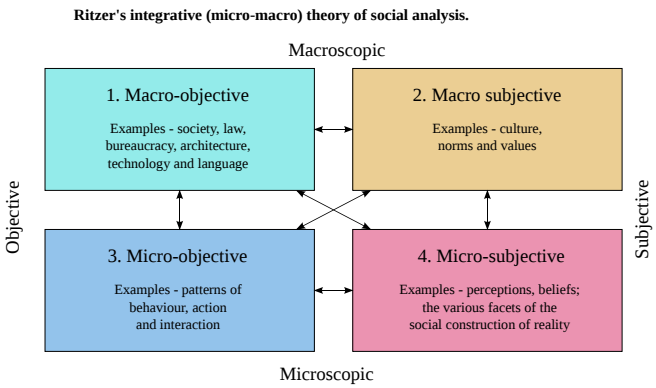
Another example of sociological theorizing illustrates this point. In his now classic work, *Suicide*, Emile Durkheim was interested in explaining a social phenomenon, suicide, and employed both data and theory to offer an explanation. By aggregating data for large groups of people in Europe, Durkheim was able to discern patterns in suicide rates and connect those patterns with another concept (or variable), religious affiliation. Durkheim found that Protestants were more likely than Catholics to commit suicide. At this point, Durkheim's analysis was still in the data stage; he had not proposed an explanation for the different suicide rates of the two groups. When Durkheim introduced the ideas of anomie and social solidarity, he began to explain the difference in suicide rates. Durkheim argued that the looser social ties found in Protestant religions lead to weaker social cohesion and reduced social solidarity. The higher suicide rates were the result of weakening social bonds among Protestants.

While Durkheim's findings have since been criticized, his study is a classic example of the use of theory to explain the relationship between two concepts. Durkheim's work also illustrates the importance of theory: without theories to explain the relationship between concepts, we would not be able to understand cause and effect relationships in social life. The discovery of the cause and effect relationship is the major component of the sociological theory.

Theories: Are Some Better than Others?

There are many theories in sociology, but there are several broad theoretical perspectives that are prominent in the field. These theories are prominent because they are quite good at explaining social life. They are not without their problems, but these theories remain widely used and cited precisely because they have withstood a great deal of criticism.

You might be inclined to ask, "Which theories are the best? " As is often the case in sociology, just because things are different doesn't mean one is better than another. In fact, it is probably more useful and informative to view theories as complementary. One theory may explain one element of society better than another. Or, both may be useful for explaining social life. In short, all of the theories are correct in the sense that they offer compelling explanations for social phenomena.



Ritzer's Integrative Micro-Macro Theory of Social Analysis: The theoretical perspectives in sociology use both micro- and macro-perspectives to understand sociological and cultural phenomenon.

The Functionalist Perspective

The functionalist perspective attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet individual and social needs.

Learning Objectives

Apply the functionalist perspective to issues in the contemporary world

Key Points

- In the functionalist perspective, societies are thought to function like organisms, with various social institutions working together like organs to maintain and reproduce societies.
- According to functionalist theories, institutions come about and persist because they play a function in society, promoting stability and integration.
- Functionalism has been criticized for its failure to account for social change and individual agency; some consider it conservatively biased.
- Functionalism has been criticized for attributing human-like needs to society.
- Emile Durkheim 's work is considered the foundation of functionalist theory in sociology.
- Merton observed that institutions could have both manifest and latent functions.

Key Terms

- **functionalism**: Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.
- **manifest function**: the element of a behavior that is conscious and deliberate
- **social institutions**: In the social sciences, institutions are the structures and mechanisms of social order and cooperation governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given human collectivity. Institutions include the family, religion, peer group, economic systems, legal systems, penal systems, language, and the media.
- **latent function**: the element of a behavior that is not explicitly stated, recognized, or intended, and is thereby hidden

Functionalism

The functionalist perspective attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet individual and social needs. It is sometimes called structural-functionalism because it often focuses on the ways social structures (e.g., social institutions) meet social needs.

Functionalism draws its inspiration from the ideas of Emile Durkheim. Durkheim was concerned with the question of how societies maintain internal stability and survive over time. He sought to explain social stability through the concept of solidarity, and differentiated between the mechanical solidarity of primitive societies and the organic solidarity of complex modern societies. According to Durkheim, more primitive or traditional societies were held together by mechanical solidarity; members of society lived in relatively small and undifferentiated

groups, where they shared strong family ties and performed similar daily tasks. Such societies were held together by shared values and common symbols. By contrast, he observed that, in modern societies, traditional family bonds are weaker; modern societies also exhibit a complex division of labor, where members perform very different daily tasks. Durkheim argued that modern industrial society would destroy the traditional mechanical solidarity that held primitive societies together. Modern societies however, do not fall apart. Instead, modern societies rely on organic solidarity; because of the extensive division of labor, members of society are forced to interact and exchange with one another to provide the things they need.

The functionalist perspective continues to try and explain how societies maintained the stability and internal cohesion necessary to ensure their continued existence over time. In the functionalist perspective, societies are thought to function like organisms, with various social institutions working together like organs to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work together naturally and automatically to maintain overall social equilibrium. Because social institutions are functionally integrated to form a stable system, a change in one institution will precipitate a change in other institutions. Dysfunctional institutions, which do not contribute to the overall maintenance of a society, will cease to exist.

In the 1950s, Robert Merton elaborated the functionalist perspective by proposing a distinction between manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions are the intended functions of an institution or a phenomenon in a social system. Latent functions are its unintended functions. Latent functions may be undesirable, but unintended consequences, or manifestly dysfunctional institutions may have latent functions that explain their persistence. For example, crime seems difficult to explain from the functionalist perspective; it seems to play little role in maintaining social stability. Crime, however, may have the latent function of providing examples that demonstrate the boundaries of acceptable behavior and the function of these boundaries to maintain social norms.

Social Institutions

Functionalists analyze social institutions in terms of the function they play. In other words, to understand a component of society, one must ask, “What is the function of this institution? How does it contribute to social stability? ” Thus, one can ask of education, “What is the function of education for society? ” A complete answer would be quite complex and require a detailed analysis of the history of education, but one obvious answer is that education prepares individuals to enter the workforce and, therefore, maintains a functioning economy. By delineating the functions of elements of society, of the social structure, we can better understand social life.

Criticism of Functionalism

Functionalism has been criticized for downplaying the role of individual action, and for being unable to account for social change. In the functionalist perspective, society and its institutions are the primary units of analysis. Individuals are significant only in terms of their places within social systems (i.e., social status and position in patterns of social relations). Some critics also take issue with functionalism’s tendency to attribute needs to society. They point out that, unlike human beings, society does not have needs; society is only alive in the sense that it is made up of living individuals. By downplaying the role of individuals, functionalism is less likely to recognize how individual actions may alter social institutions.

Critics also argue that functionalism is unable to explain social change because it focuses so intently on social order and equilibrium in society. Following functionalist logic, if a social institution exists, it must serve a function. Institutions, however, change over time; some disappear and others come into being. The focus of functionalism on elements of social life in relation to their present function, and not their past functions, makes it difficult to use functionalism to explain why a function of some element of society might change, or how such change occurs.

The Conflict Perspective

Conflict theory sees society as a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change as a result of competition over scarce resources.

Learning Objectives

Identify the tenets of and contributors to conflict theory, as well as the criticisms made against it

Key Points

- Conflict theory sees social life as a competition, and focuses on the distribution of resources, power, and inequality.
- Unlike functionalist theory, conflict theory is better at explaining social change, and weaker at explaining social stability.
- Conflict theory has been critiqued for its inability to explain social stability and incremental change.
- Conflict theory derives from the ideas of Karl Marx.

Key Terms

- **conflict theory**: A social science perspective that holds that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor.

- **functionalism**: Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.

The Conflict Perspective

The conflict perspective, or conflict theory, derives from the ideas of Karl Marx, who believed society is a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change driven by class conflict. Whereas functionalism understands society as a complex system striving for equilibrium, the conflict perspective views social life as competition. According to the conflict perspective, society is made up of individuals competing for limited resources (e.g., money, leisure, sexual partners, etc.). Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition, rather than consensus, is characteristic of human relationships. Broader social structures and organizations (e.g., religions, government, etc.) reflect the competition for resources and the inherent inequality competition entails; some people and organizations have more resources (i.e., power and influence), and use those resources to maintain their positions of power in society.

C. Wright Mills is known as the founder of modern conflict theory. In his work, he believes social structures are created because of conflict between differing interests. People are then impacted by the creation of social structures, and the usual result is a differential of power between the " elite " and the "others". Examples of the "elite" would be government and large corporations. G. William Domhoff believes in a similar philosophy as Mills and has written about the "power elite of America".

Sociologists who work from the conflict perspective study the distribution of resources, power, and inequality. When studying a social institution or phenomenon, they ask, "Who benefits from this element of society? "

Conflict Theory and Change

While functionalism emphasizes stability, conflict theory emphasizes change. According to the conflict perspective, society is constantly in conflict over resources, and that conflict drives social change. For example, conflict theorists might explain the civil rights movements of the 1960s by studying how activists challenged the racially unequal distribution of political power and economic resources. As in this example, conflict theorists generally see social change as abrupt, even revolutionary, rather than incremental. In the conflict perspective, change comes about through conflict between competing interests, not consensus or adaptation. Conflict theory, therefore, gives sociologists a framework for explaining social change, thereby addressing one of the problems with the functionalist perspective.

Criticism of Conflict Theory

Predictably, conflict theory has been criticized for its focus on change and neglect of social stability. Some critics acknowledge that societies are in a constant state of change, but point out that much of the change is minor or incremental, not revolutionary. For example, many modern capitalist states have avoided a communist revolution, and have instead instituted elaborate social service programs. Although conflict theorists often focus on social change, they have, in fact, also developed a theory to explain social stability. According to the conflict perspective, inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups who benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained. For example, the wealthy may fight to maintain their privileged access to higher education by opposing measures that would broaden access, such as affirmative action or public funding.

The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

Symbolic interactionism looks at individual and group meaning-making, focusing on human action instead of large-scale social structures.

Learning Objectives

Examine the differences between symbolic interactionism and other sociological perspectives

Key Points

- Symbolic interactionism has roots in phenomenology, which emphasizes the subjective meaning of reality.
- Symbolic interactionism proposes a social theory of the self, or a looking glass self.
- Symbolic interactionists study meaning and communication; they tend to use qualitative methods.
- Symbolic interactionism has been criticized for failing to take into account large-scale macro social structures and forces.

Key Terms

- **behaviorism**: an approach to psychology focusing on behavior, denying any independent significance for mind, and assuming that behavior is determined by the environment
- **phenomenology**: A philosophy based on the intuitive experience of phenomena, and on the premise that reality consists of objects and events as consciously perceived by conscious beings.

- **role theory**: assumes that people are primarily conformists who try to achieve the norms that accompany their roles; group members check each individual's performance to determine whether it conforms with that individual's assigned norms, and apply sanctions for misbehavior in an attempt to ensure role performance.

Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical approach to understanding the relationship between humans and society. The basic notion of symbolic interactionism is that human action and interaction are understandable only through the exchange of meaningful communication or symbols. In this approach, humans are portrayed as acting, as opposed to being acted upon. The main principles of symbolic interactionism are:

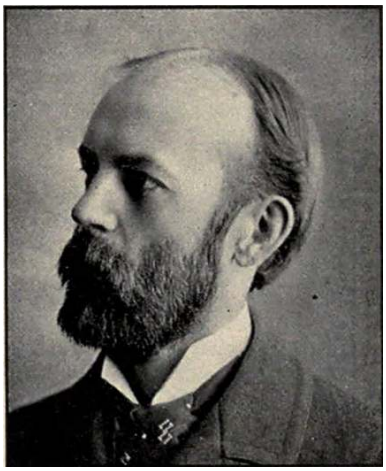
- Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them
- These meanings arise out of social interaction
- Social action results from a fitting together of individual lines of action

This approach stands in contrast to the strict behaviorism of psychological theories prevalent at the time it was first formulated (the 1920s and 1930s). According to symbolic interactionism, humans are distinct from infrahumans (lower animals) because infrahumans simply respond to their environment (i.e., a stimulus evokes a response or stimulus ⇒ response), whereas humans have the ability to interrupt that process (i.e., stimulus ⇒ cognition ⇒ response). Additionally, infrahumans are unable to conceive of alternative responses to gestures. Humans, however, can. This understanding should not be taken to indicate that humans never behave in a strict stimulus ⇒ response fashion, but rather that humans have the capability of responding in a different way, and do so much of the time.

This perspective is also rooted in phenomenological thought. According to symbolic interactionism, the objective world has no reality for humans; only subjectively defined objects have meaning. There is no single objective "reality"; there are only (possibly multiple, possibly conflicting) *interpretations* of a situation. Meanings are not entities that are bestowed on humans and learned by habituation; instead, meanings can be altered through the creative capabilities of humans, and individuals may influence the many meanings that form their society. Human society, therefore, is a social product.

The Looking Glass Self

Neurological evidence, based on EEGs, supports the idea that humans have a "social brain," meaning, there are components of the human brain that govern social interaction. These parts of the brain begin developing in early childhood (the preschool years) and aid humans in understanding how other people think. In symbolic interactionism, this is known as "reflected appraisals" or "the looking glass self," and refers to our ability to think about how other people will think about us. In 1902, Charles Horton Cooley developed the social psychological concept of the looking glass self. The term was first used in his work, Human Nature and the Social Order. There are three main components of the looking glass self:



Charles Cooley: Cooley developed the idea of the looking glass self.

- We imagine how we must appear to others
- We imagine the judgment of that appearance
- We develop our self through the judgments of others

Cooley clarified this concept in his writings, stating that society is an interweaving and interworking of mental selves.

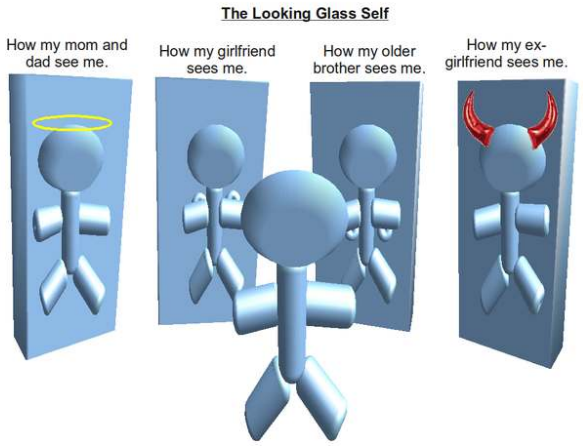
In hypothesizing the framework for the looking glass self, Cooley said, "the mind is mental" because "the human mind is social. " As children, humans begin to define themselves within the context of their socializations. The child learns that the symbol of his/her crying will elicit a response from his/her parents, not only when they are in need of necessities, such as food, but also as a symbol to receive their attention.

George Herbert Mead described self as "taking the role of the other," the premise for which the self is actualized. Through interaction with others, we begin to develop an identity about who we are, as well as empathy for others. This is the notion of, "Do unto others, as you would have them do unto you. " In respect to this, Cooley said, "The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind. "

It should be noted that symbolic interactionists advocate a particular methodology. Because they see meaning as the fundamental component of the interaction of human and society, studying human and social interaction requires an understanding

of that meaning. Symbolic interactionists tend to employ more qualitative, rather than quantitative, methods in their research.

The most significant limitation of the symbolic interactionist perspective relates to its primary contribution: it overlooks macro-social structures (e.g., norms, culture) as a result of focusing on micro-level interactions. Some symbolic interactionists, however, would counter that the incorporation of role theory into symbolic interactionism addresses this criticism.



The Looking Glass Self: This drawing depicts the looking-glass self. The person at the front of the image is looking into four mirrors, each of which reflects someone else's image of himself.

The Feminist Perspective

Feminist theory is a conflict theory that studies gender, patriarchy, and the oppression of women.

Learning Objectives

Identify the main tenets of the feminist perspective and its research focus, distinguishing the three waves of feminist theory

Key Points

- Feminist theory has developed in three waves. The first wave focused on suffrage and political rights. The second focused on social inequality between the genders. The current, third wave emphasizes the concepts of globalization, postcolonialism, post-structuralism, and postmodernism.
- Third wave feminist theory critiques generalizations about sex and gender.
- Feminist critiques of heterosexism and is closely allied with queer theory and the work of Michel Foucault.
- Feminist theory also studies the intersections of sex, gender, sexuality, race, nationality, and economic status.
- Feminism may conflict with multiculturalism. While muticulturalism necessitates the tolerance of foreign cultural practices, some of those practices might maintain an oppression of women that feminists find essentially intolerable and unacceptable.

Key Terms

- **poststructuralism**: an extension of structuralism influenced by the effort to deconstruct or challenge traditional categories
- **multiculturalism**: A characteristic of a society that has many different ethnic or national cultures mingling freely. It can also refer to political or social policies which support or encourage such a coexistence. Important in this is the idea that cultural practices, no matter how unusual, should be tolerated as a measure of respect.
- **postmodernism**: any style in art, architecture, literature, philosophy, etc., that reacts against an earlier modernist movement

Feminism

The feminist perspective has much in common with the conflict perspective. However, instead of focusing broadly on the unequal distribution of power and resources, feminist sociology studies power in its relation to gender. This topic is studied both within social structures at large and at the micro level of face-to-face interaction, the latter of which incorporates the methodology of symbolic interactionism (popularized by Erving Goffman). Feminist scholars study a range of topics, including sexual orientation, race, economic status, and nationality. However, at the core of feminist sociology is the idea that, in most societies, women have been systematically oppressed and that men have been historically dominant. This is referred to as patriarchy.

Three Waves of Feminism

Feminist thought has a rich history, which is categorized into three waves. At the turn of the century, the first wave of feminism focused on official, political inequalities and fought for women's suffrage. In the 1960s, second wave feminism, also known as the women's liberation movement, turned its attention to a broader range of inequalities, including those in the workplace, the family, and reproductive rights. Currently, a third wave of feminism is criticizing the fact that the first two waves of feminism were dominated by white women from advanced capitalist societies. This movement emphasizes diversity and change, and focuses on concepts such as globalization, postcolonialism, poststructuralism, and postmodernism. Contemporary feminist thought tends to dismiss essentializing generalizations about sex and gender (e.g., women are naturally more nurturing) and to emphasize the importance of intersections within identity (e.g., race and gender). The

feminist perspective also recognizes that women who suffer from oppression due to race, in addition to the oppression they suffer for being women, may find themselves in a double bind. The relationship between feminism and race was largely overlooked until the second wave of feminists produced literature on the topic of black feminism. This topic has received much more attention from third wave scholars and activists.

Feminism and Heterosexism

The feminist perspective also criticizes exclusive understandings of sexuality, such as heterosexism. Heterosexism is a system of attitudes, bias, and discrimination that favor male-female sexuality and relationships. At one point, heterosexual marriage was the only lawful union between two people that was recognized and given full benefits in the United States. This situated homosexual couples at a disadvantage, and made them ineligible for many of the government or employer-provided benefits afforded heterosexual married couples. However, heterosexism can extend far beyond government validation, as it describes a set of paradigms and institutionalized beliefs that systematically disadvantage anyone who does not fit into a normative mold. Like racism, heterosexism can operate on an institutional level (e.g., through government) and at an individual level (i.e., in face-to-face interactions). Feminist critiques of heterosexism thus align with queer theory and the ideas of Michel Foucault, who studied the relationship between power and sexuality.

Feminism and Multiculturalism

Though the feminist perspective focuses on diversity and liberation, it has been accused of being incompatible with multiculturalist policy. Multiculturalism aims to allow distinct cultures to reside together, either as distinct enclaves within ostensively Western societies, or as separate societies with national borders. One possible consequence of multiculturalism is that certain religious or traditional practices, that might disadvantage or oppress women, might be tolerated on the grounds of cultural sensitivity. From the Feminist perspective, such practices are objectionable to human rights and ought to be criminalized on those grounds. However, from a multiculturalist perspective, such traditions must be respected even if they seem to directly violate ideas about freedom or liberty. Controversies about this have arisen with both arranged marriages and female genital mutilation.



First-wave feminists fight for women's suffrage: Over the years, feminist demands have changed. First-wave feminists fought for basic citizenship rights, such as the right to vote, while third wave feminists are concerned with more complex social movements, like post-structuralism.

Theory and Practice

Sociologists use both theory and practice to understand what is going on in the social world and how it happens.

Learning Objectives

Recognize the relationship between theory and practice in sociological research

Key Points

- There is a reciprocal relationship between theory and practice in sociology.
- In practice, sociologists use an empirical approach that seeks to understand what is going on in the social world and how it happens.
- Practice, or empirical analysis, cannot stand on its own without underlying theoretical questions (the why) that guide the research.
- A theory is a proposed relationship between two or more observed phenomena.

- Grounded theory is an inductive research method that involves working upward from the data to generate a theory. Grounded theory is hinged upon the relationship between practice and theory.
- Starting from theory runs the risk of interpreting data strictly according the the perspective of that theory, which can create false results.
- Starting from theory runs the risk of interpreting data strictly according the the perspective of that theory.
- Grounded theory is an inductive research method that involves working from the data upward to generate a theory.

Key Terms

- **theory**: A coherent statement or set of ideas that explains observed facts or phenomena, or which sets out the laws and principles of something known or observed; a hypothesis confirmed by observation, experiment, etc.
- **scientific method**: A method of discovering knowledge about the natural world based in making falsifiable predictions (hypotheses), testing them empirically, and developing peer-reviewed theories that best explain the known data.
- **practice**: Actual operation or experiment, in contrast to theory.

There is a reciprocal relationship between theory and practice in sociology. In practice, sociologists use an empirical approach that seeks to understand what is going on in the social world and how it happens. These practices, however, cannot stand on their own without underlying theoretical questions (the *why*) that guide the research. Without theory, interesting data may be gathered without any way to explain the relationships between different observed phenomena. Sociologists go back and forth between theory and practice as advances in one require modification of the other.

Theory and Practice Explained

Practice refers to the actual observation, operation, or experiment. Practice is the observation of disparate concepts (or a phenomenon) that needs explanation. A theory is a proposed explanation of the relationship between two or more concepts, or an explanation for how/why a phenomenon occurs.

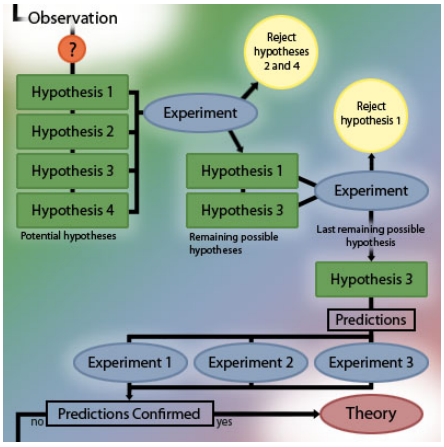
Grounded Theory Method

Sociologists often work from an already existing theory, and seek to test that theory in new situations. In these cases, *theory influencesthe practice of empirical research* – it shapes what kinds of data will be gathered and how this data will be interpreted. This data may confirm the theory, lead to modifications of it, or disprove the theory altogether in that particular context. These changes to the theory then lead to further research.

When working from theory, sociological observation runs the risk of being directed by that theory. For example, if one is working from the perspective of a Marxist conflict theory, one might tend to interpret everything as a manifestation of bourgeoisie domination, from the patterns of seating at a school cafeteria to presidential election results.

A response to this problem was developed by two sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, called grounded theory method; it is a systematic methodology in the social sciences involving the discovery of theory through the analysis of data. Grounded theory method is mainly used in qualitative research, but is also applicable to quantitative data.

Grounded theory method operates almost in a reverse fashion from traditional research, and at first sight may appear to be in contradiction to the scientific method. Rather than beginning with a hypothesis, the first step is data collection through a variety of methods. Using the collected data, the key points are marked with a series of codes, which are extracted from the text. The codes are grouped into similar concepts in order to make them more workable. From these concepts, categories are formed, which are the basis for the creation of a theory, or a reverse engineered hypothesis. This contradicts the traditional model of research, where the researcher chooses a theoretical framework and only then applies this model to the phenomenon to be studied.



Scientific Method: Practice and Theory: Social scientists begin with an observation (a practice), then they develop a hypothesis (or theory), and then, devise an empirical study to test their hypothesis.

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1.4: The Sociological Approach

Sociology Today

Contemporary sociology does not have a single overarching foundation—it has varying methods, both qualitative and quantitative.

Learning Objectives

Describe how the discipline of sociology has expanded since its foundation

Key Points

- The traditional focuses of sociology have included social stratification, social class, culture, social mobility, religion, secularization, law, and deviance.
- Sociology has gradually expanded its focus to include more diverse subjects such as health, medical, penal institutions, the Internet, or the role of social activity in the development of scientific knowledge.
- The linguistic and cultural turns of the mid-twentieth century led to increasingly interpretative, hermeneutic, and philosophic approaches to the analysis of society.

Key Terms

- **secularization**: The transformation of a society from close identification with religious values and institutions toward non-religious (or "irreligious") values and secular institutions.
- **hermeneutic**: Something that explains, interprets, illustrates or elucidates.
- **paradigm**: A system of assumptions, concepts, values, and practices that constitutes a way of viewing reality.

Although sociology emerged from Comte's vision of a discipline that would subsume all other areas of scientific inquiry, that was the future of sociology. Far from replacing the other sciences, contemporary sociology has taken its place as a particular perspective for investigating human social life.

The traditional focuses of sociology have included social stratification, social class, culture, social mobility, religion, secularization, law, and deviance. As all spheres of human activity are affected by the interplay between social structure and individual agency, sociology has gradually expanded to focus on more diverse subjects such as health, medical, military and penal institutions, the Internet, and the role of social activity in the development of scientific knowledge.

The range of social scientific methodology has also expanded. Social researchers draw upon a variety of qualitative and quantitative techniques. The linguistic and cultural turns of the mid-twentieth century led to increasingly interpretative, hermeneutic, and philosophic approaches to the analysis of society. Conversely, recent decades have seen the rise of new analytically, mathematically, and computationally rigorous techniques such as agent-based modelling and social network analysis.

Presently, sociological theories lack a single overarching foundation, and there is little consensus about what such a framework should consist of. However, a number of broad paradigms cover much modern sociological theorizing. In the humanistic parts of the discipline, these paradigms are referred to as social theory, often shared with the humanities. The discipline's dominant scientifically-oriented areas generally focus on a different set of theoretical perspectives, generally referred to as sociological theory. These include new institutionalism, social networks, social identity, social and cultural capital, toolkit and cognitive theories of culture, and resource mobilization. Analytical sociology is an ongoing effort to systematize many of these middle-range theories.



American Sociological Association: The American Sociological Association annual meetings are a way for contemporary sociologists to share their work and discuss the future of the discipline.

Levels of Analysis: Micro and Macro

Sociological study may be conducted at both macro (large-scale social processes) and micro (small group, face-to-face interactions) levels.

Learning Objectives

Analyze how symbolic interactionism plays a role in both macro and micro sociology

Key Points

- Macro-level sociology looks at large-scale social processes, such as social stability and change.
- Micro-level sociology looks at small-scale interactions between individuals, such as conversation or group dynamics.
- Micro- and macro-level studies each have their own benefits and drawbacks.
- Macrosociology allows observation of large-scale patterns and trends, but runs the risk of seeing these trends as abstract entities that exist outside of the individuals who enact them on the ground.
- Microsociology allows for this on-the-ground analysis, but can fail to consider the larger forces that influence individual behavior.

Key Terms

- **microsociology**: Microsociology involves the study of people in face-to-face interactions.
- **symbolic interactionism**: Symbolic interactionism is the study of the patterns of communication, interpretation, and adjustment between individuals.
- **macrosociology**: Macrosociology involves the study of widespread social processes.

Sociological approaches are differentiated by the level of analysis. Macrosociology involves the study of widespread social processes. Microsociology involves the study of people at a more interpersonal level, as in face-to-face interactions.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Macro and Micro Perspectives in Sociology: Just as scientists may study the natural world using different levels of analysis (e.g., physical, chemical, or biological), sociologists study the social world using different levels of analysis.

The macro-level study of widespread social processes has been the more dominant approach, and has been practiced since sociology's origins in the founding work of figures like Emile Durkheim. Durkheim, for example, studied the large-scale shift from homogenous traditional societies to industrialized societies, where each individual played a highly specialized role. The tendency toward macrosociology is evident in the kinds of questions that early sociologists asked: What holds societies together? How are norms (and deviance) established and handled by societies? What factors lead to social change, and what are the results of this change? Macrosociologists focus on society as a whole, as something that is prior to, and greater than, the sum of individual people.

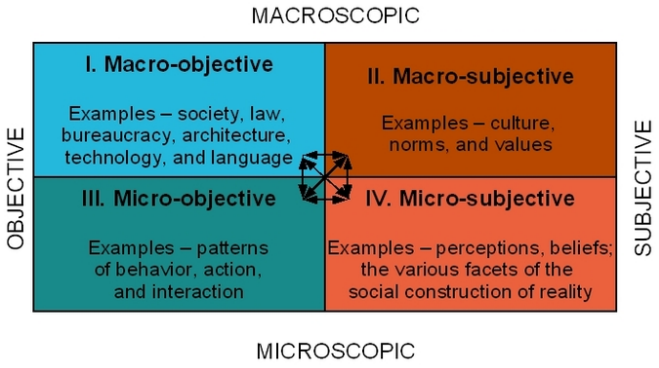
Studying social life on the micro-level is a more recent development (in the early and mid-twentieth century) in the history of the field, and was pioneered by proponents of the symbolic interactionism perspective, namely George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer, and Erving Goffmann. Mead was a pragmatist and behaviorist, which means several things.

1. To pragmatists, true reality does not exist "out there" in the real world. It "is actively created as we act in and toward the world. "
2. People remember and base their knowledge of the world on what has been useful to them, and are likely to alter what no longer "works. "
3. People define the social and physical "objects" they encounter in the world according to their use for them.
4. If we want to understand actors, we must base that understanding on what people actually do.

Blumer built on Mead's work. He believed that individuals create their own social reality through collective and individual action, and that the creation of social reality is a continuous process. Goffman elaborated on both Mead and Blumer by formulating the dramaturgical approach. He saw a connection between the acts people put on in their daily life and theatrical performances. In social interaction, like in theatrical performance, there is a front region where the "actors" (individuals) are on stage in front of the audience. This is where the positive aspect of the idea of self and desired impressions is highlighted. There is a back region, or stage, that can also be considered a hidden or private place where individuals can be themselves and step out of their role or identity in society. Face-to-face interactions are, thus, a stage where people perform roles and practice impression management (i.e. "saving face"). Other scholars have since developed new research questions and methods for studying micro-level social processes.

Micro- and macro-level studies each have their own benefits and drawbacks. Macrosociology allows observation of large-scale patterns and trends, but runs the risk of seeing these trends as abstract entities that exist outside of the individuals who

enact them on the ground. Microsociology allows for this on-the-ground analysis, but can fail to consider the larger forces that influence individual behavior.



A Taxonomy of Sociological Analysis: Sociological analysis can take place at the macro or micro level, and can be subjective or objective.

Applied and Clinical Sociology

Applied or clinical sociology uses sociological insights or methods to guide practice, research, or social reform.

Learning Objectives

Identify ways sociology is applied in the real world

Key Points

- Sociological research can be divided into pure research and applied research. Pure research has no motive other than to further sociological knowledge, while applied research has a direct practical end.
- Applied research may be put into the service of the corporate world, governmental and international agencies, NGOs, or clinical work. In all these instances, they apply sociological theories and methods to further the goals of the organization they are working under.
- One budding area in modern retail firms is site selection, or the determination of the best locations for new stores. Site selection requires understanding human ecology and consumer spending patterns, both of which are addressed using the sociological imagination.
- Clinical sociology involves the study of groups of people using learned information in case and care management towards holistic life enrichment or improvement of social and life conditions. Clinical sociologists usually focus on vulnerable population groups, such as children, youths or elderly.

Key Terms

- **clinical sociology**: Clinical sociology courses give students the skills to be able to work effectively with clients, teach basic counseling skills, give knowledge that is useful for careers, such as victims assisting and drug rehabilitation, and teach the student how to integrate sociological knowledge with other fields. They may go into such areas as marriage and family therapy, and clinical social work.
- **Sociotherapist**: A sociotherapist practices sociotherapy, which is a social science and form of social work and sociology that involves the study of groups of people, its constituent individuals and their behavior, using learned information in case and care management towards holistic life enrichment or improvement of social and life conditions.
- **Site Selection**: Site selection indicates the practice of new facility location, both for business and government. Site selection involves measuring the needs of a new project against the merits of potential locations.

Researchers often differentiate between “pure” and “applied” research. Presumably, pure research has no direct ends than adding to the knowledge pool, whereas applied research is put toward some practical end, such as working for a marketing firm to understand the relationship between race and consumption patterns or working for a government agency to study the reasons why poverty continues to exist. Of course, the line between pure and applied research is often blurred. For example, “pure” researchers in a university might get government funding to do their research projects, which somewhat complicates their commitment to do pure research. Outside the academic world, sociologists apply their skills in a variety of settings. Here, we will discuss the possibilities of applied sociology and one subfield, clinical sociology.

Sociologists can be found working in a wide range of fields, including organizational planning, development, and training; human resource management; industrial relations; marketing; public relations; organizational research; and international business.In all these instances, they apply sociological theories and methods toward understanding social relations and human behavior to further the goals of the organization they are working under, whether this is a business, a governmental agency, or a non-profit organization.

The Corporate World

Some sociologists find that adapting their sociological training and insights to the business world is relatively easy. Corporations want and need to understand their customers’ habits and preferences in order to anticipate changes in their markets. This drive to understand consumers is called consumer research and is a growing interest of corporations. Sociologists are particularly well suited to apply their quantitative and qualitative understanding of human behavior to this field.

Another budding area in modern retail firms is site selection, or the determination of the best locations for new stores. Site

selection requires understanding human ecology and consumer spending patterns, both of which are addressed using the sociological imagination. Some additional direct applications of sociology include concept and product testing (which will put to good use training in research methods), the evaluating of global market opportunities (which will draw upon understandings of various cultures), long-range planning and forecasting (which draws on both statistics and futurist perspectives), marketing and advertising (which applies consumer studies directly), and human resource management (which relies on studies of organizational behavior).

Governmental and International Agencies

Outside of the corporate world, sociology is often applied in governmental and international agencies such as the World Bank or United Nations. For example, a sociologist might work compiling and analyzing quantitative demographic data from the U.S. Census Bureau to understand patterns of population change. Or a sociologist might work for the United Nations to research global health trends and the efficacy of current public health initiatives.

Non-Governmental Organizations



Jane Addams, Applied Sociologist: Jane Addams is considered by many to be one of the earliest sociologists, though her contributions were mostly to the application of sociology to social work.

Non-Governmental Organizations (or NGOs) are legally constituted organizations created by private persons or organizations with no participation or representation of any government. Examples of NGOs include Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services, CARE International, and Lutheran World Relief. Many NGOs are concerned with the very social problems and social issues that sociologists study, from poverty to gender stratification to world population growth. Sociologists play important roles in the work of NGO's from community organizing to direct relief to lobbying, as they are able to apply sociological approaches (for example, the conflict approach) to understand structural patterns that have led to current social problems.

Clinical Sociology

Clinical sociology involves the study of groups of people using learned information in case and care management towards holistic life enrichment or improvement of social and life conditions. A clinical sociologist, who might also be called a sociotherapist or life enrichment therapist, is usually concurrently a member of another relevant profession: medical doctor, psychiatrist, psychologist, nurse, social worker, criminologist, or activity and recreational professionals, among others. Clinical sociologists usually focus on vulnerable population groups, such as children, youths or elderly, and are employed in various settings such as treatment facilities or life care communities like nursing homes. They are directly involved in case management and care planning.

The Significance of Social Inequality

Sociologists study many types of inequality, including economic inequality, racial/ethnic inequality, and gender inequality.

Learning Objectives

Describe different types of social inequality

Key Points

- People experience inequality throughout the life course, beginning in early childhood.
- Inequality early in life can affect life chances for the rest of one's life.
- Inequality means people have unequal access to scarce and valued resources in society. These resources might be economic or political, such as health care, education, jobs, property and land ownership, housing, and ability to influence government policy.

Key Terms

- **inequality**: An unfair, not equal, state.
- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.

When we are growing up, we might hear our parents talk about others as being from the "wrong side of the tracks," or not being "our kind. " We also become aware of what kind of toys they have (or don't have), the way others dress, what kind of house they live in, what jobs their parents have, and due to this, some

are treated differently and have better opportunities than others. We see differences in elementary schools and high schools in our city. If our parents belong to the upper class, we have a good chance of graduating high school and entering higher education. The more education we have, the more active we will be in political life, the more traditional and conservative our religious affiliation, the more likely we will marry into a family with both economic and social capital, and the more likely we will eat better food, will be less exposed to unhygienic conditions, and be able to pay for good health care. Social stratification and inequality are everywhere and impact us throughout our lives.

Sociology has a long history of studying stratification and teaching about various kinds of inequality, including economic inequality, racial/ethnic inequality, gender inequality, and other types of inequality. Inequality means people have unequal access to scarce and valued resources in society. These resources might be economic or political, such as health care, education, jobs, property and land ownership, housing, and ability to influence government policy.

Statistics on United States and global inequality are alarming. Consider this:

- Just 400 Americans have the same wealth as half of all Americans combined.
- Just 25 Americans have a combined income almost as great as the combined income of 2 billion of the world's poor.
- In 2007, more than 37 million U.S. citizens, or 12.5% of the population, were classified as poor by the Census Bureau.
- In 2007, CEOs in the Fortune 500 received an average of $10.5 million, 344 times the pay of the average worker.
- Four of the wealthiest people in the world come from one family, the Walton's. They are the four children who inherited Sam Walton's company Wal-Mart. Together, they are worth $83.6 billion.
- Half of American children will reside in a household that uses food stamps at some point during childhood.
- Life expectancy in Harlem is shorter than in Bangladesh.

Although inequality is everywhere, there are many controversies and questions about inequality that sociologists are interested in, such as where did inequality come from? Why does it continue? Do we justify inequality? Can we eliminate inequality? Can we make a society in which people are equal? The sociological approach gives us the methodological and theoretical tools to begin to answer these questions.



Cape Verde Water: The water situation in Cape Verde, an island country in the central Atlantic, is a poignant illustration of global social inequality. Most of the population in Cape Verde collects water at public water channels.



Income inequality: This chart shows the proportion of total income that goes to the richest 1% of Americans. After the Great Depression, this proportion fell as New Deal policies helped distribute income more evenly. But since the 1980s, the proportion rose rapidly, so that by 2007, the richest 1% of Americans earned almost a quarter of total income in the United States.

Thinking Globally

Increasingly, sociologists are turning their attention to the world at large and developing theories of global processes.

Learning Objectives

Discuss different sociological approaches to the study of global processes

Key Points

- World systems theory refers to the international division of labor among core countries, semi-periphery countries, and periphery countries and argues that inequality among countries comes not from inherent differences but from relationships of domination.

- Sociologists also study the globalization of norms and culture through dynamics such as world society.
- Sociologists may also study globalization from below, or grassroots mobilization, including glocalization and hybridization.
- Sociologists may also study globalization from below, or grassroots mobilization, including glocalization and hybridization.

Key Terms

- **international division of labor**: The international division of labor is an outcome of globalization. It is the spatial division of labor which occurs when the process of production is no longer confined to national economies.
- **glocalization**: The global distribution of a product or service that is tailored to local markets.
- **globalization**: A common term for processes of international integration arising from increasing human connectivity and interchange of worldviews, products, ideas, and other cultural phenomena. In particular, advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the rise of the Internet, represent major driving factors in globalization and precipitate the further interdependence of economic and cultural activities.

Thinking Globally

Historically, sociologists have tended to focus their work on individual countries, studying the social processes and structures within a single country. Some current scholars criticize that approach as “methodological nationalism” because it fails to consider the global connections and patterns that shape local and national situations. In addition, sociology has traditionally focused on Western societies, but has recently expanded its focus to non-Western societies. These shifts illustrate the fact that it is no longer possible to study social life without thinking globally. Contemporary societies have become so porous and interconnected (a process that scholars have termed globalization) that to ignore the global patterns would be to present an incomplete picture of any social situation.



Globalization: Global processes touch all corners of the world, including this mall in Jakarta, Indonesia, where the fast-food business model originating in the United States is now a part of everyday life.

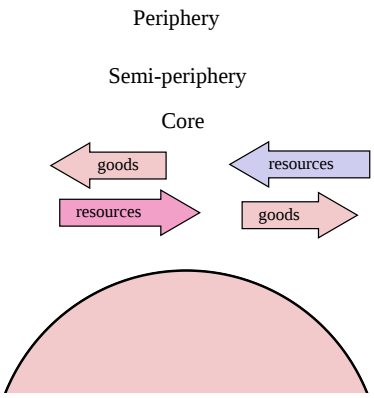
World Systems Theory

Thinking globally in sociology could entail a variety of different approaches. Some scholars use world systems theory. World systems theory stresses that the world system (not nation states) should be the basic unit of social analysis. The world-system refers to the international division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries. Core countries focus on higher-skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production, and the extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the system is dynamic, and individual states can gain or lose their core (semi-periphery, periphery) status over time. For a time, some countries become the world hegemon; throughout the last few centuries, this status has passed from the Netherlands to the United Kingdom and, most recently, to the United States.

The most well-known version of the world system approach has been developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1970s and 1980s. Wallerstein traces the rise of the world system from the 15th century, when the European feudal economy suffered a crisis and was transformed into a capitalist one. Europe (the West) utilized its advantages and gained control over most of the world economy, presiding over the development and spread of industrialization and the capitalist economy, indirectly resulting in unequal development.

Other approaches that fall under world systems theory include dependency theory and neocolonialism. Dependency theory takes the idea of the international division of labor and states that peripheral countries are not poor because they have not adequately developed, but rather are poor because of the very

nature of their relationship with core countries. This relationship is exploitative, as the resources needed by peripheral countries to develop are funneled to core countries. Poor countries are thus in a continual state of dependency to rich countries.



Dependency Theory: According to dependency theory, unequal exchange results in the unequal status of countries. Core countries accumulate wealth by gathering resources from and selling goods back to the periphery and semi-periphery.

Neocolonialism (also known as neoimperialism) also argues that poor countries are poor not because of any inherent inadequacy. Neocolonialism emphasizes the unequal relationships between former colonizing countries and colonized regions. Domination (not just economic, but also cultural and linguistic) still continues to occur even though poor countries are no longer colonies.

Global Institutions

The top-down approach is not only used to study the global economy, but also social norms. Sociologists who are interested in global social norms focus their attention on global institutions, such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, or various other international organizations, such as human rights groups.

John Meyer, a Stanford sociologist, is one of these. Meyer coined the term “world society” (or “world polity”) to describe scripts, models, and norms for behavior that originate from global institutions and that transcend the nation state. These norms form a global civil society that operates independently of individual nations and to which individual nations often strive to conform in order to be recognized by the international community.

Globalization from Below

Another approach to studying globalization sociologically is to examine on-the-ground processes. Some sociologists study grassroots social movements, such as non-governmental organizations which mobilize on behalf of equality, justice, and human rights. Others study global patterns of consumption, migration, and travel. Still others study local responses to globalization.

Two ideas that have emerged from these studies are glocalization and hybridization. Glocalization was a term coined by a Japanese businessman in the 1980s and is a popular phrase in the transnational business world. It refers to the ability to make a global product fit a local market. Hybridization is a similar idea, emerging from the field of biology, which refers to the way that various sociocultural forms can mix and create a third form which draws from its sources, but is something entirely new.

The possibilities for thinking globally in sociology are as varied as the world we live in: global finance, global technology, global cities, global medicine, global food. The list is endless. If we examine any social situation closely, the global patterns and linkages behind it will undoubtedly emerge.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: Sociological Research

2.1: The Research Process

2.2: Research Models

2.3: Ethics in Sociological Research

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2.1: The Research Process

Defining the Problem

Defining a sociological problem helps frame a question to be addressed in the research process.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the definition of the problem relates to the research process

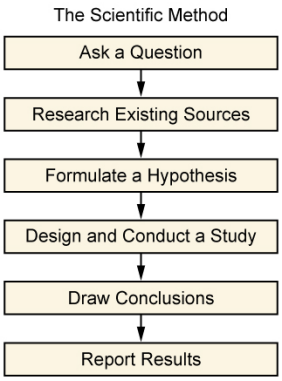
Key Points

- The first step of the scientific method is to ask a question, describe a problem, and identify the specific area of interest. The topic should be narrow enough to study within the context of a particular test but also broad enough to have a more general practical or theoretical merit.
- For many sociologists, the goal is to conduct research which may be applied directly to social policy and welfare, while others focus primarily on refining the theoretical understanding of social processes. Subject matter ranges from the micro level to the macro level.
- Like other sciences, sociology relies on the systematic, careful collection of measurements or counts of relevant quantities to be considered valid. Given that sociology deals with topics that are often difficult to measure, this generally involves operationalizing relevant terms.

Key Terms

- **operational definition**: A showing of something — such as a variable, term, or object — in terms of the specific process or set of validation tests used to determine its presence and quantity.
- **operationalization**: In humanities, operationalization is the process of defining a fuzzy concept so as to make the concept clearly distinguishable or measurable and to understand it in terms of empirical observations.

Defining the problem is necessarily the first step of the research process. After the problem and research question is defined, scientists generally gather information and other observations, form hypotheses, test hypotheses by collecting data in a reproducible manner, analyze and interpret that data, and draw conclusions that serve as a starting point for new hypotheses.



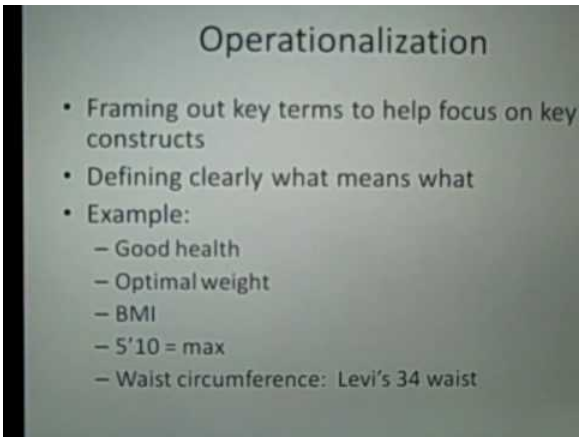
The Scientific Method is an Essential Tool in Research: This image lists the various stages of the scientific method.

The first step of the scientific method is to ask a question, describe a problem, and identify the specific area of interest. The topic should be narrow enough to study within the context of a particular test but also broad enough to have a more general practical or theoretical merit. For many sociologists, the goal is to conduct research which may be applied directly to social policy and welfare, while others focus primarily on refining the theoretical understanding of social processes. Subject matter ranges from the micro level of individual agency and interaction to the macro level of systems and the social structure.

Like other sciences, sociology relies on the systematic, careful collection of measurements or counts of relevant quantities to be considered valid. Given that sociology deals with topics that are often difficult to measure, this generally involves operationalizing relevant terms. Operationalization is a process that describes or defines a concept in terms of the physical or concrete steps it takes to objectively measure it, as opposed to some more vague, inexact, or idealized definition. The operational definition thus identifies an observable condition of the concept. By operationalizing a variable of the concept, all researchers can collect data in a systematic or replicable manner.

For example, intelligence cannot be directly quantified. We cannot say, simply by observing, exactly how much more intelligent one person is than another. But we can operationalize intelligence in various ways. For instance, we might administer an IQ test, which uses specific types of questions and scoring processes to give a quantitative measure of intelligence. Or we might use years of education as a way to operationalize intelligence, assuming that a person with more years of education is also more intelligent. Of course, others might dispute the validity of these operational definitions of intelligence by arguing that IQ or years of education are not good measures of intelligence. After all, a very intelligent

person may not have the means or inclination to pursue higher education, or a less intelligent person may stay in school longer because they have trouble completing graduation requirements. In most cases, the way we choose to operationalize variables can be contested; few operational definitions are perfect. But we must use the best approximation we can in order to have some sort of measurable quantity for otherwise unmeasurable variables.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Operationalizing Variables: This video discusses what it means to operationalize a variable using the example of "good health. "

Reviewing the Literature

Sociological researchers review past work in their area of interest and include this "literature review" in the presentation of their research.

Learning Objectives

Explain the purpose of literature reviews in sociological research

Key Points

- Literature reviews showcase researchers' knowledge and understanding of the existing body of scholarship that relates to their research questions.
- A thorough literature review demonstrates the ability to research and synthesize. Furthermore, it provides a comprehensive overview of what is and is not known, and why the research in question is important to begin with.
- Literature reviews offer an explanation of how the researcher can contribute toward the existing body of scholarship by pursuing their own thesis or research question.

Key Terms

- **essay**: A written composition of moderate length exploring a particular issue or subject.
- **Theses**: A dissertation or thesis is a document submitted in support of candidature for an academic degree or professional qualification presenting the author's research and findings. The term thesis is also used to refer to the general claim of an essay or similar work.
- **disciplinary**: Of or relating to an academic field of study.

A literature review is a logical and methodical way of organizing what has been written about a topic by scholars and researchers. Literature reviews can normally be found at the beginning of many essays, research reports, or theses. In writing the literature review, the purpose is to convey what a researcher has learned through a careful reading of a set of articles, books, and other relevant forms of scholarship related to the research question. Furthermore, creating a literature review allows researchers to demonstrate the ability to find significant articles, valid studies, or seminal books that are related to their topic as well as the analytic skill to synthesize and summarize different views on a topic or issue.



Library Research: Good literature reviews require exhaustive research. Online resources make this process easier, but researchers must still sift through stacks in libraries.

A strong literature review has the following properties:

- It is organized around issues, themes, factors, or variables that are related directly to the thesis or research question.
- It demonstrates the researcher's familiarity with the body of knowledge by providing a good synthesis of what is and is not known about the subject in question, while also identifying areas of controversy and debate, or limitations in the literature sharing different perspectives.
- It indicates the theoretical framework that the researcher is working with.
- It places the formation of research questions in their historical and disciplinary context.

- It identifies the most important authors engaged in similar work.
- It offers an explanation of how the researcher can contribute toward the existing body of scholarship by pursuing their own thesis or research question.

Formulating the Hypothesis

A hypothesis is a potential answer to your research question; the research process helps you determine if your hypothesis is true.

Learning Objectives

Explain how hypotheses are used in sociological research and the difference between dependent and independent variables

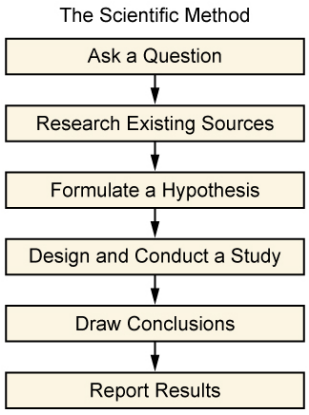
Key Points

- Hypotheses are testable explanations of a problem, phenomenon, or observation.
- Both quantitative and qualitative research involve formulating a hypothesis to address the research problem.
- Hypotheses that suggest a causal relationship involve at least one independent variable and at least one dependent variable; in other words, one variable which is presumed to affect the other.
- An independent variable is one whose value is manipulated by the researcher or experimenter.
- A dependent variable is a variable whose values are presumed to change as a result of changes in the independent variable.

Key Terms

- **dependent variable**: In an equation, the variable whose value depends on one or more variables in the equation.
- **independent variable**: In an equation, any variable whose value is not dependent on any other in the equation.
- **hypothesis**: Used loosely, a tentative conjecture explaining an observation, phenomenon, or scientific problem that can be tested by further observation, investigation, or experimentation.

A hypothesis is an assumption or suggested explanation about how two or more variables are related. It is a crucial step in the scientific method and, therefore, a vital aspect of all scientific research. There are no definitive guidelines for the production of new hypotheses. The history of science is filled with stories of scientists claiming a flash of inspiration, or a hunch, which then motivated them to look for evidence to support or refute the idea.



The Scientific Method is an Essential Tool in Research: This image lists the various stages of the scientific method.

While there is no single way to develop a hypothesis, a useful hypothesis will use deductive reasoning to make predictions that can be experimentally assessed. If results contradict the predictions, then the hypothesis under examination is incorrect or incomplete and must be revised or abandoned. If results confirm the predictions, then the hypothesis might be correct but is still subject to further testing.

Both quantitative and qualitative research involve formulating a hypothesis to address the research problem. A hypothesis will generally provide a causal explanation or propose some association between two variables. Variables are measurable phenomena whose values can change under different conditions. For example, if the hypothesis is a causal explanation, it will involve at least one dependent variable and one independent variable. In research, independent variables are the cause of the change. The dependent variable is the effect, or thing that is changed. In other words, the value of a dependent variable depends on the value of the independent variable. Of course, this assumes that there is an actual relationship between the two variables. If there is no relationship, then the value of the dependent variable does not depend on the value of the independent variable.

Determining the Research Design

The research design is the methodology and procedure a researcher follows to answer their sociological question.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast quantitive methods and qualitative methods

Key Points

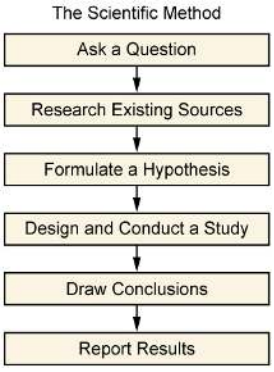
- Research design defines the study type, research question, hypotheses, variables, and data collection methods. Some examples of research designs include descriptive,

correlational, and experimental. Another distinction can be made between quantitative and qualitative methods.

- Sociological research can be conducted via quantitative or qualitative methods. Quantitative methods are useful when a researcher seeks to study large-scale patterns of behavior, while qualitative methods are more effective when dealing with interactions and relationships in detail.
- Quantitative methods include experiments, surveys, and statistical analysis, among others. Qualitative methods include participant observation, interviews, and content analysis.
- An interpretive framework is one that seeks to understand the social world from the perspective of participants.
- Although sociologists often specialize in one approach, many sociologists use a complementary combination of design types and research methods in their research. Even in the same study a researcher may employ multiple methods.

Key Terms

- **quantitative methods**: Quantitative research refers to the systematic empirical investigation of social phenomena via statistical, mathematical, or computational techniques.
- **qualitative methods**: Qualitative research is a method of inquiry employed in many different academic disciplines, traditionally in the social sciences, but also in market research and further contexts. Qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior. The qualitative method investigates the why and how of decision making, not just what, where, and when. Hence, smaller but focused samples are more often needed than large samples.
- **scientific method**: A method of discovering knowledge about the natural world based in making falsifiable predictions (hypotheses), testing them empirically, and developing peer-reviewed theories that best explain the known data.



The Scientific Method is an Essential Tool in Research: This image lists the various stages of the scientific method.

A research design encompasses the methodology and procedure employed to conduct scientific research. Although procedures vary from one field of inquiry to another, identifiable features distinguish scientific inquiry from other methods of obtaining knowledge. In general, scientific researchers propose hypotheses as explanations of phenomena, and design research to test these hypotheses via predictions which can be derived from them.

The design of a study defines the study type, research question and hypotheses, independent and dependent variables, and data collection methods. There are many ways to classify research designs, but some examples include descriptive (case studies, surveys), correlational (observational study), semi-experimental (field experiment), experimental (with random assignment), review, and meta-analytic, among others. Another distinction can be made between quantitative methods and qualitative methods.

Quantitative Methods

Quantitative methods are generally useful when a researcher seeks to study large-scale patterns of behavior, while qualitative methods are often more effective when dealing with interactions and relationships in detail. Quantitative methods of sociological research approach social phenomena from the perspective that they can be measured and quantified. For instance, socio-economic status (often referred to by sociologists as SES) can be divided into different groups such as working-class, middle-class, and wealthy, and can be measured using any of a number of variables, such as income and educational attainment.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Qualitative versus Quantitative Methods: These two researchers are debating the relative merits of using qualitative or quantitative methods to study social phenomena such as the learning processes of children.

Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods are often used to develop a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon. They also often deliberately give up on quantity, which is necessary for statistical analysis, in order to reach a greater depth in analysis of the phenomenon being studied. While quantitative methods involve experiments, surveys, secondary data analysis, and statistical analysis, qualitatively oriented sociologists tend to employ different methods of data collection and hypothesis testing, including participant observation, interviews, focus groups, content analysis, and historical comparison.

Qualitative sociological research is often associated with an interpretive framework, which is more descriptive or narrative in its findings. In contrast to the scientific method, which follows the hypothesis-testing model in order to find generalizable results, the interpretive framework seeks to understand social worlds from the point of view of participants.

Although sociologists often specialize in one approach, many sociologists use a complementary combination of design types and research methods in their research. Even in the same study a researcher may employ multiple methods.

Defining the Sample and Collecting Data

Defining the sample and collecting data are key parts of all empirical research, both qualitative and quantitative.

Learning Objectives

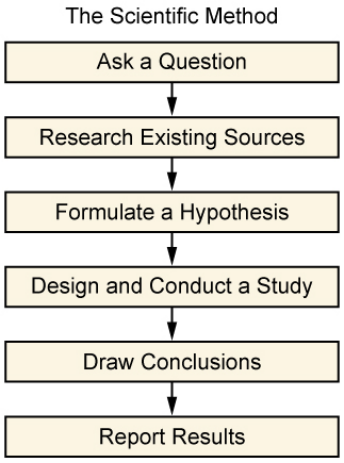
Describe different types of research samples

Key Points

- It is important to determine the scope of a research project when developing the question. The choice of method often depends largely on what the researcher intends to investigate. Quantitative and qualitative research projects require different subject selection techniques.
- It is important to determine the scope of a research project when developing the question. While quantitative research requires at least 30 subjects to be considered statistically significant, qualitative research generally takes a more in-depth approach to fewer subjects.
- For both qualitative and quantitative research, sampling can be used. The stages of the sampling process are defining the population of interest, specifying the sampling frame, determining the sampling method and sample size, and sampling and data collecting.
- There are various types of samples, including probability and nonprobability samples. Examples of types of samples include simple random samples, stratified samples, cluster samples, and convenience samples.
- Good data collection involves following the defined sampling process, keeping the data in order, and noting comments and non-responses. Errors and biases can result in the data. Sampling errors and biases are induced by the sample design. Non-sampling errors can also affect results.

Key Terms

- **data collection**: Data collection is a term used to describe a process of preparing and collecting data.
- **sample**: A subset of a population selected for measurement, observation or questioning, to provide statistical information about the population.
- **bias**: The difference between the expectation of the sample estimator and the true population value, which reduces the representativeness of the estimator by systematically distorting it.



The Scientific Method is an Essential Tool in Research: This image lists the various stages of the scientific method.

Social scientists employ a range of methods in order to analyze a vast breadth of social phenomena. Many empirical forms of sociological research follow the scientific method. Scientific inquiry is generally intended to be as objective as possible in order to reduce the biased interpretations of results. Sampling and data collection are a key component of this process.

It is important to determine the scope of a research project when developing the question. The choice of method often depends largely on what the researcher intends to investigate. For example, a researcher concerned with drawing a statistical generalization across an entire population may administer a survey questionnaire to a representative sample population. By contrast, a researcher who seeks full contextual understanding of the social actions of individuals may choose ethnographic participant observation or open-ended interviews. These two types of studies will yield different types of data. While quantitative research requires at least 30 subjects to be

considered statistically significant, qualitative research generally takes a more in-depth approach to fewer subjects.



Collecting Data: Natural scientists collect data by measuring and recording a sample of the thing they're studying, such as plants or soil. Similarly, sociologists must collect a sample of social information, often by surveying or interviewing a group of people.

In both cases, it behooves the researcher to create a concrete list of goals for collecting data. For instance, a researcher might identify what characteristics should be represented in the subjects. Sampling can be used in both quantitative and qualitative research. In statistics and survey methodology, sampling is concerned with the selection of a subset of individuals from within a statistical population to estimate characteristics of the whole population. The stages of the sampling process are defining the population of interest, specifying the sampling frame, determining the sampling method and sample size, and sampling and data collecting.

There are various types of samples. A probability sampling is one in which every unit in the population has a chance (greater than zero) of being selected in the sample, and this probability can be accurately determined. Nonprobability sampling is any sampling method where some elements of the population have no chance of selection or where the probability of selection can't be accurately determined. Examples of types of samples include simple random samples, stratified samples, cluster samples, and convenience samples.

Good data collection involves following the defined sampling process, keeping the data in time order, noting comments and other contextual events, and recording non-responses. Errors and biases can result in the data. Sampling errors and biases, such as selection bias and random sampling error, are induced by the sample design. Non-sampling errors are other errors which can impact the results, caused by problems in data collection, processing, or sample design.

Analyzing Data and Drawing Conclusions

Data analysis in sociological research aims to identify meaningful sociological patterns.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast the analysis of quantitative vs. qualitative data

Key Points

- Analysis of data is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of highlighting useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision making. Data analysis is a process, within which several phases can be distinguished.
- One way in which analysis can vary is by the nature of the data. Quantitative data is often analyzed using regressions. Regression analyses measure relationships between dependent and independent variables, taking the existence of unknown parameters into account.
- Qualitative data can be coded–that is, key concepts and variables are assigned a shorthand, and the data gathered are broken down into those concepts or variables. Coding allows sociologists to perform a more rigorous scientific analysis of the data.
- Sociological data analysis is designed to produce patterns. It is important to remember, however, that correlation does not imply causation; in other words, just because variables change at a proportional rate, it does not follow that one variable influences the other.
- Without a valid design, valid scientific conclusions cannot be drawn. Internal validity concerns the degree to which conclusions about causality can be made. External validity concerns the extent to which the results of a study are generalizable.

Key Terms

- **correlation**: A reciprocal, parallel or complementary relationship between two or more comparable objects.
- **causation**: The act of causing; also the act or agency by which an effect is produced.
- **Regression analysis**: In statistics, regression analysis includes many techniques for modeling and analyzing several variables, when the focus is on the relationship between a dependent variable and one or more independent variables. More specifically, regression analysis helps one understand how the typical value of the dependent variable changes when any one of the independent variables is varied, while the other independent variables are held fixed.

The Process of Data Analysis

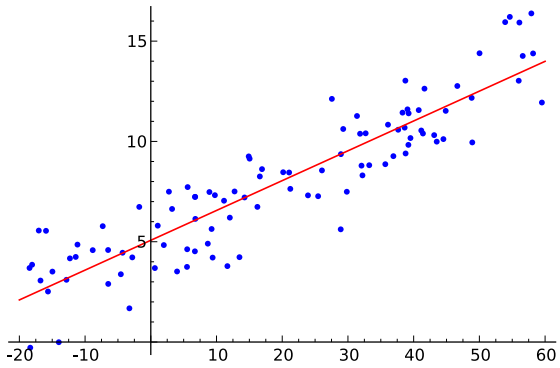
Analysis of data is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of highlighting useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision making. In statistical applications, some people divide data analysis into descriptive statistics, exploratory data analysis (EDA), and confirmatory data analysis (CDA). EDA focuses on discovering new features in the data and CDA focuses on confirming or falsifying existing hypotheses. Predictive analytics focuses on the application of statistical or structural models for predictive forecasting or classification. Text analytics applies statistical, linguistic, and structural techniques to extract and classify information from textual sources, a species of unstructured data.

Data analysis is a process, within which several phases can be distinguished. The initial data analysis phase is guided by examining, among other things, the quality of the data (for example, the presence of missing or extreme observations), the quality of measurements, and if the implementation of the study was in line with the research design. In the main analysis phase, either an exploratory or confirmatory approach can be adopted. Usually the approach is decided before data is collected. In an exploratory analysis, no clear hypothesis is stated before analyzing the data, and the data is searched for models that describe the data well. In a confirmatory analysis, clear hypotheses about the data are tested.

Regression Analysis

The type of data analysis employed can vary. One way in which analysis often varies is by the quantitative or qualitative nature of the data.

Quantitative data can be analyzed in a variety of ways, regression analysis being among the most popular. Regression analyses measure relationships between dependent and independent variables, taking the existence of unknown parameters into account. More specifically, regression analysis helps one understand how the typical value of the dependent variable changes when any one of the independent variables is varied, while the other independent variables are held fixed.

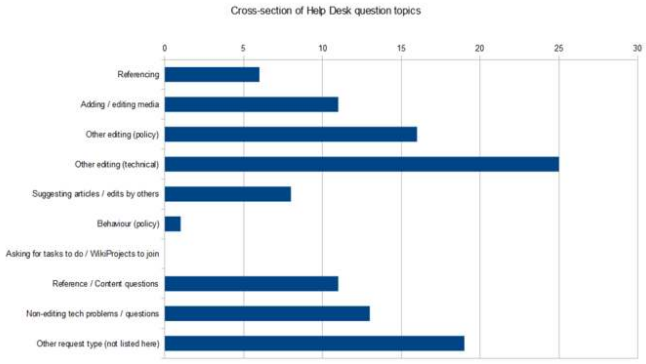


Linear Regression: This graph illustrates random data points and their linear regression.

A large body of techniques for carrying out regression analysis has been developed. In practice, the performance of regression analysis methods depends on the form of the data generating process and how it relates to the regression approach being used. Since the true form of the data-generating process is generally not known, regression analysis often depends to some extent on making assumptions about this process. These assumptions are sometimes testable if a large amount of data is available. Regression models for prediction are often useful even when the assumptions are moderately violated, although they may not perform optimally. However, in many applications, especially with small effects or questions of causality based on observational data, regression methods give misleading results.

Coding

Qualitative data can involve coding–that is, key concepts and variables are assigned a shorthand, and the data gathered is broken down into those concepts or variables. Coding allows sociologists to perform a more rigorous scientific analysis of the data. Coding is the process of categorizing qualitative data so that the data becomes quantifiable and thus measurable. Of course, before researchers can code raw data such as taped interviews, they need to have a clear research question. How data is coded depends entirely on what the researcher hopes to discover in the data; the same qualitative data can be coded in many different ways, calling attention to different aspects of the data.



Coding Qualitative Data: Qualitative data can be coded, or sorted into categories. Coded data is quantifiable. In this bar chart, help requests have been coded and categorized so we can see which types of help requests are most common.

Sociological Data Analysis

Sociological data analysis is designed to produce patterns. It is important to remember, however, that correlation does not imply causation; in other words, just because variables change at a proportional rate, it does not follow that one variable influences the other.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Correlation, Causation, and Spurious Relationships: This mock newscast gives three competing interpretations of the same survey findings and demonstrates the dangers of assuming that correlation implies causation.

Conclusions

In terms of the kinds of conclusions that can be drawn, a study and its results can be assessed in multiple ways. Without a valid design, valid scientific conclusions cannot be drawn. Internal validity is an inductive estimate of the degree to which conclusions about causal relationships can be made (e.g., cause and effect), based on the measures used, the research setting, and the whole research design. External validity concerns the extent to which the (internally valid) results of a study can be held to be true for other cases, such as to different people, places, or times. In other words, it is about whether findings can be validly generalized. Learning about and applying statistics (as well as knowing their limitations) can help you better understand sociological research and studies. Knowledge of statistics helps you makes sense of the numbers in terms of relationships, and it allows you to ask relevant questions about sociological phenomena.

Preparing the Research Report

Sociological research publications generally include a literature review, an overview of the methodology followed, the results and an analysis of those results, and conclusions.

Learning Objectives

Describe the main components of a sociological research paper

Key Points

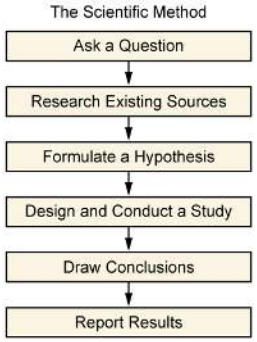
- Like any research paper, a sociological research report typically consists of a literature review, an overview of the methods used in data collection, and analysis, findings, and conclusions.
- A literature review is a creative way of organizing what has been written about a topic by scholars and researchers.
- The methods section is necessary to demonstrate how the study was conducted, including the population, sample frame, sample method, sample size, data collection method, and data processing and analysis.
- In the findings and conclusion sections, the researcher reviews all significant findings, notes and discusses all shortcomings, and suggests future research.

Key Terms

- **methodology**: A collection of methods, practices, procedures, and rules used by those who work in some field.
- **quantitative**: Of a measurement based on some quantity or number rather than on some quality.
- **literature review**: A literature review is a body of text that aims to review the critical points of current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a particular topic.

Like any research paper, sociological research is presented with a literature review, an overview of the methods used in data collection, and analysis, findings, and conclusions. Quantitative research papers are usually highly formulaic, with a clear introduction (including presentation of the problem and literature review); sampling and methods; results; discussion and conclusion. In striving to be as objective as possible in order to reduce biased interpretations of results, sociological

esearch papers follow the scientific method. Research reports may be published as books or journal articles, given directly to a client, or presented at professional meetings.



The Scientific Method is an Essential Tool in Research: The scientific method is a body of techniques for investigating phenomena, acquiring new knowledge, or correcting and integrating previous knowledge.

A literature review is a creative way of organizing what has been written about a topic by scholars and researchers. You will find literature reviews at the beginning of many essays, research reports, or theses. In writing the literature review, your purpose is to convey to your reader what you have learned through a careful reading of a set of articles related to your research question.

A strong literature review has the following properties:

- It is organized around issues, themes, factors, or variables that are related directly to your thesis or research question.
- It shows the path of prior research and how the current project is linked.
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- It places the formation of research questions in their historical context.
- It identifies the list of the authors that are engaged in similar work.

The methodssection is necessary to demonstrate how the study was conducted, and that the data is valid for study. Without assurance that the research is based on sound methods, readers cannot countenance any conclusions the researcher proposes. In the methodology section, be sure to include: the population, sample frame, sample method, sample size, data collection method, and data processing and analysis. This is also a section in which to clearly present information in table and graph form.

In the findings and conclusion sections, the researcher reviews all significant findings, notes and discusses all shortcomings, and suggests future research. The conclusion section is the only section where opinions can be expressed and persuasive writing is tolerated.

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2.2: Research Models

Surveys

The goal of a survey is to collect data from a representative sample of a population to draw conclusions about that larger population.

Learning Objectives

Assess the various types of surveys and sampling methods used in sociological research, appealing to the concepts of reliability and validity

Key Points

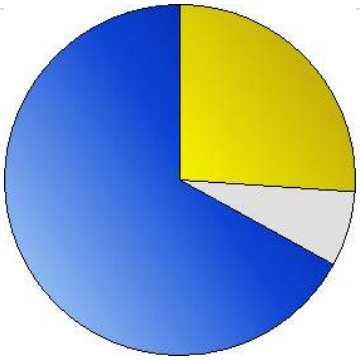
- The sample of people surveyed is chosen from the entire population of interest. The goal of a survey is to describe not the smaller sample but the larger population.
- To be able to generalize about a population from a smaller sample, that sample must be representative; proportionally the same in all relevant aspects (e.g., percent of women vs. men).
- Surveys can be distributed by mail, email, telephone, or in-person interview.
- Surveys can be used in cross-sectional, successive-independent-samples, and longitudinal study designs.
- Effective surveys are both reliable and valid. A reliable instrument produces consistent results every time it is administered; a valid instrument does in fact measure what it intends to measure.

Key Terms

- **cross-sectional study**: A research method that involves observation of a representative sample of a population at one specific point in time.
- **successive-independent-samples design**: A research method that involves observation of multiple random samples from a population over multiple time points.
- **longitudinal design**: A research method that involves observation of the same representative sample of a population over multiple time points, generally over a period of years or decades.
- **sample**: A subset of a population selected for measurement, observation or questioning, to provide statistical information about the population.

Selecting a Sample to Survey

The sample of people surveyed is chosen from the entire population of interest. The goal of a survey is to describe not the smaller sample but the larger population. This generalizing ability is dependent on the representativeness of the sample.



Nuclear Energy Support in the U.S.: This pie chart shows the results of a survey of people in the United States (February 2005, Bisconti Research Inc.). According to the poll, 67 percent of Americans favor nuclear energy (blue), while 26 percent oppose it (yellow).

There are frequent difficulties one encounters while choosing a representative sample. One common error that results is selection bias —when the procedures used to select a sample result in over- or under-representation of some significant aspect of the population. For instance, if the population of interest consists of 75% females, and 25% males, and the sample consists of 40% females and 60% males, females are under represented while males are overrepresented. In order to minimize selection biases, stratified random sampling is often used. This is when the population is divided into sub-populations called strata, and random samples are drawn from each of the strata, or elements are drawn for the sample on a proportional basis.

For instance, a Gallup Poll, if conducted as a truly representative nationwide random sampling, should be able to provide an accurate estimate of public opinion whether it contacts 2,000 or 10,000 people.

Modes of Administering a Survey

There are several ways of administering a survey. The choice between administration modes is influenced by several factors, including

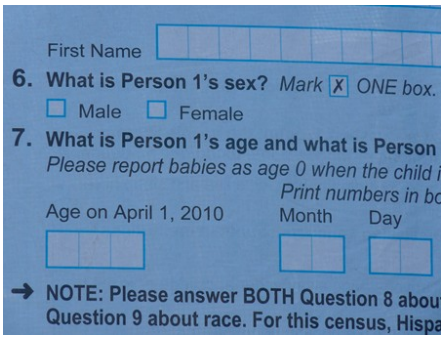
- costs,
- coverage of the target population,
- flexibility of asking questions,
- respondents' willingness to participate and
- response accuracy

Different methods create mode effects that change how respondents answer, and different methods have different advantages. The most common modes of administration can be summarized as:

- Telephone

- Mail (post)
- Online surveys
- Personal in-home surveys
- Personal mall or street intercept survey
- Hybrids of the above

Participants willing to take the time to respond will convey personal information about religious beliefs, political views, and morals. Some topics that reflect internal thought are impossible to observe directly and are difficult to discuss honestly in a public forum. People are more likely to share honest answers if they can respond to questions anonymously.



Questionnaire: Questionnaires are a common research method; the U.S. Census is a well-known example.

Types of Studies

Cross-Sectional Design

In a cross-sectional study, a sample (or samples) is drawn from the relevant population and studied once. A cross-sectional study describes characteristics of that population at one time, but cannot give any insight as to causes of population characteristics.

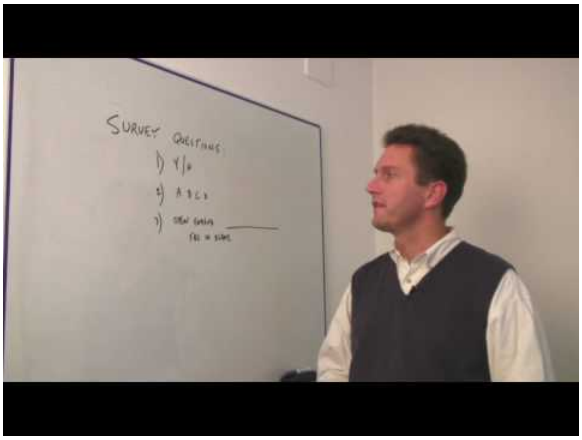
Successive-Independent-Samples Design

A successive-independent-samples design draws multiple random samples from a population at one or more times. This design can study changes within a population, but not changes within individuals because the same individuals are not surveyed more than once. Such studies cannot, therefore, identify the causes of change over time necessarily.

For successive independent samples designs to be effective, the samples must be drawn from the same population, and must be equally representative of it. If the samples are not comparable, the changes between samples may be due to demographic characteristics rather than time. In addition, the questions must be asked in the same way so that responses can be compared directly.

Longitudinal Design

A study following a longitudinal design takes measure of the same random sample at multiple time points. Unlike with a successive independent samples design, this design measures the differences in individual participants' responses over time. This means that a researcher can potentially assess the reasons for response changes by assessing the differences in respondents' experiences. However, longitudinal studies are both expensive and difficult to do. It's harder to find a sample that will commit to a months- or years-long study than a 15-minute interview, and participants frequently leave the study before the final assessment. This attrition of participants is not random, so samples can become less representative with successive assessments.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Writing survey questions: Researchers must carefully design survey questions to ensure they receive accurate and unbiased results.

Reliability and Validity

Reliable measures of self-report are defined by their consistency. Thus, a reliable self-report measure produces consistent results every time it is executed.

A test's reliability can be measured a few ways. First, one can calculate a test-retest reliability. A test-retest reliability entails conducting the same questionnaire to a large sample at two different times. For the questionnaire to be considered reliable, people in the sample do not have to score identically on each test, but rather their position in the score distribution should be similar for both the test and the retest.

Self-report measures will generally be more reliable when they have many items measuring a construct. Furthermore, measurements will be more reliable when the factor being measured has greater variability among the individuals in the sample that are being tested. Finally, there will be greater reliability when instructions for the completion of the questionnaire are clear and when there are limited distractions in the testing environment.

Contrastingly, a questionnaire is valid if what it measures is what it had originally planned to measure. Construct validity of a measure is the degree to which it measures the theoretical construct that it was originally supposed to measure.

Fieldwork and Observation

Ethnography is a research process that uses fieldwork and observation to learn about a particular community or culture.

Learning Objectives

Explain the goals and methods of ethnography

Key Points

- Ethnographic work requires intensive and often immersive long-term participation in the community that is the subject of research, typically involving physical relocation (hence the term fieldwork).
- In participant observation, the researcher immerses himself in a cultural environment, usually over an extended period of time, in order to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals and their practices.
- Such research involves a range of well-defined, though variable methods: interviews, direct observation, participation in the life of the group, collective discussions, analyses of personal documents produced within the group, self-analysis, and life-histories, among others.
- The advantage of ethnography as a technique is that it maximizes the researcher's understanding of the social and cultural context in which human behavior occurs.
- The advantage of ethnography as a technique is that it maximizes the researcher's understanding of the social and cultural context in which human behavior occurs. The ethnographer seeks out and develops relationships with cultural insiders, or informants, who are willing to explain aspects of their community from a native viewpoint. A particularly knowledgeable informant who can connect the ethnographer with other such informants is known as a key informant.

Key Terms

- **ethnography**: The branch of anthropology that scientifically describes specific human cultures and societies.
- **qualitative**: Of descriptions or distinctions based on some quality rather than on some quantity.

Fieldwork and Observation

Ethnography is a qualitative research strategy, involving a combination of fieldwork and observation, which seeks to understand cultural phenomena that reflect the knowledge and system of meanings guiding the life of a cultural group. It was pioneered in the field of socio-cultural anthropology, but has also become a popular method in various other fields of social sciences, particularly in sociology.

Ethnographic work requires intensive and often immersive long-term participation in the community that is the subject of research, typically involving physical relocation (hence the term fieldwork). Although it often involves studying ethnic or cultural minority groups, this is not always the case. Ideally, the researcher should strive to have very little effect on the subjects of the study, being as invisible and enmeshed in the community as possible.

Participant Observation

One of the most common methods for collecting data in an ethnographic study is first-hand engagement, known as participant observation. In participant observation, the researcher immerses himself in a cultural environment, usually over an extended period of time, in order to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals (such as a religious, occupational, or sub-cultural group, or a particular community) and their practices.



Fieldwork and Observation: One of the most common methods for collecting data in an ethnographic study is first-hand engagement, known as participant observation.

Methods

Such research involves a range of well-defined, though variable methods: interviews, direct observation, participation in the life of the group, collective discussions, analyses of personal documents produced within the group, self-analysis, and life-histories, among others.

Interviews can be either informal or formal and can range from brief conversations to extended sessions. One way of transcribing interview data is the genealogical method. This is a set of procedures by which ethnographers discover and record connections of kinship, descent, and marriage using diagrams and symbols. Questionnaires can also be used to aid the discovery of local beliefs and perceptions and, in the case of longitudinal research where there is continuous long-term study of an area or site, they can act as valid instruments for measuring changes in the individuals or groups studied.

Advantages

The advantage of ethnography as a technique is that it maximizes the researcher's understanding of the social and cultural context in which human behavior occurs. The ethnographer seeks out and develops relationships with cultural insiders, or informants, who are willing to explain aspects of their community from a native viewpoint. The process of seeking out new contacts through their personal relationships with current informants is often effective in revealing common cultural common denominators connected to the topic being studied.

Experiments

Experiments are tests designed to prove or disprove a hypothesis by controlling for pertinent variables.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast how hypotheses are being tested in sociology and in the hard sciences

Key Points

- Experiments are controlled tests designed to prove or disprove a hypothesis.
- A hypothesis is a prediction or an idea that has not yet been tested.
- Researchers must attempt to identify everything that might influence the results of an experiment, and do their best to neutralize the effects of everything except the topic of study.
- Since social scientists do not seek to isolate variables in the same way that the hard sciences do, sociologists create the equivalent of an experimental control via statistical techniques that are applied after data is gathered.
- A control is when two identical experiments are conducted and the factor being tested is varied in only one of these experiments.

Key Terms

- **control**: A separate group or subject in an experiment against which the results are compared where the primary variable is low or nonexistent.
- **experiment**: A test under controlled conditions made to either demonstrate a known truth, examine the validity of a hypothesis, or determine the efficacy of something previously untried.
- **hypothesis**: Used loosely, a tentative conjecture explaining an observation, phenomenon, or scientific problem that can be tested by further observation, investigation, or experimentation.

Scientists form a hypothesis, which is a prediction or an idea that has not yet been tested. In order to prove or disprove the hypothesis, scientists must perform experiments. The experiment is a controlled test designed specifically to prove or disprove the hypothesis. Before undertaking the experiment, researchers must attempt to identify everything that might influence the results of an experiment and do their best to neutralize the effects of everything except the topic of study. This is done through the introduction of an experimental control: two virtually identical experiments are run, in only one of which the factor being tested is varied. This serves to further isolate any causal phenomena.



An Experiment: An experiment is a controlled test designed specifically to prove or disprove a hypothesis.

Of course, an experiment is not an absolute requirement. In observation based fields of science, actual experiments must be designed differently than for the classical laboratory based sciences. Due to ethical concerns and the sheer cost of manipulating large segments of society, sociologists often turn to other methods for testing hypotheses.

Since sociologists do not seek to isolate variables in the same way that hard sciences do, this kind of control is often done via statistical techniques, such as regressions, applied after data is gathered. Direct experimentation is thus fairly rare in sociology.

Scientists must assume an attitude of openness and accountability on the part of those conducting an experiment. It is essential to keep detailed records in order to facilitate reporting on the experimental results and provide evidence of the effectiveness and integrity of the procedure.

Documents

Documentary research involves examining texts and documents as evidence of human behavior.

Learning Objectives

Describe different kinds of documents used in sociological research

Key Points

- This kind of sociological research is generally considered a part of media studies.
- Unobtrusive research involves ways of studying human behavior without affecting it in the process.
- Documents can either be primary sources, which are original materials that are not created after the fact with the benefit of hindsight, or secondary sources that cite, comment, or build upon primary sources.
- Typically, sociological research involving documents falls under the cross-disciplinary purview of media studies, which encompasses all research dealing with television, books, magazines, pamphlets, or any other human-recorded data. The specific media being studied are often referred to as texts.
- Sociological research involving documents, or, more specifically, media studies, is one of the less interactive research options available to sociologists. It can provide a significant insight into the norms, values, and beliefs of people belonging to a particular historical and cultural context.
- Content analysis is the study of recorded human communications.

Key Terms

- **content analysis**: Content analysis or textual analysis is a methodology in the social sciences for studying the content of communication.
- **documentary research**: Documentary research involves the use of texts and documents as source materials. Source materials include: government publications, newspapers, certificates, census publications, novels, film and video, paintings, personal photographs, diaries and innumerable other written, visual, and pictorial sources in paper, electronic, or other “hard copy” form.
- **media studies**: Academic discipline that deals with the content, history, meaning, and effects of various media, and in particular mass media.

Documentary Research

It is possible to do sociological research without directly involving humans at all. One such method is documentary research. In documentary research, all information is collected from texts and documents. The texts and documents can be either written, pictorial, or visual in form.

The material used can be categorized as primary sources, which are original materials that are not created after the fact with the benefit of hindsight, and secondary sources that cite, comment, or build upon primary sources.

Media Studies and Content Analysis

Typically, sociological research on documents falls under the cross-disciplinary purview of media studies, which encompasses all research dealing with television, books, magazines, pamphlets, or any other human-recorded data. Regardless of the specific media being studied, they are referred to as texts.

Media studies may draw on traditions from both the social sciences and the humanities, but mostly from its core disciplines of mass communication, communication, communication sciences, and communication studies.

Researchers may also develop and employ theories and methods from disciplines including cultural studies, rhetoric, philosophy, literary theory, psychology, political economy, economics, sociology, anthropology, social theory, art history and criticism, film theory, feminist theory, information theory, and political science.

Government Documentary Research: Sociologists may use government documents to research the ways in which policies are made.

Content analysis refers to the study of recorded human communications, such as paintings, written texts, and photos. It falls under the category of unobtrusive research, which can be defined as ways for studying human behavior without affecting it in the process. While sociological research involving documents is one of the less interactive research options available to sociologists, it can reveal a great deal about the norms, values, and beliefs of people belonging to a particular temporal and cultural context.

Use of Existing Sources

Studying existing sources collected by other researchers is an essential part of research in the social sciences.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the use of existing sources can benefit researchers

Key Points

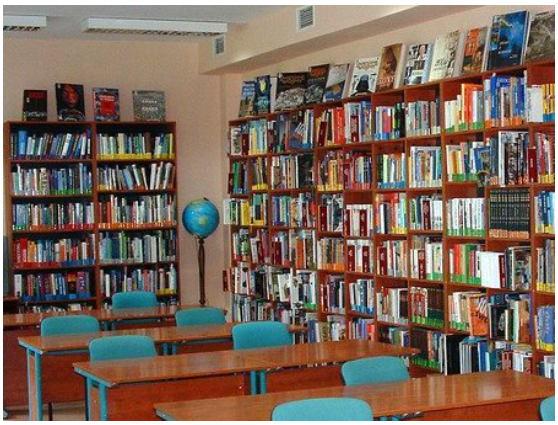
- Archival research is the study of existing sources. Without archival research, any research project is necessarily incomplete.
- The study of sources collected by someone other than the researcher is known as archival research or secondary data research.
- The importance of archival or secondary data research is two-fold. By studying texts related to their topics, researchers gain a strong foundation on which to base their work. Secondly, this kind of study is necessary in the development of their central research question.

Key Terms

- **secondary data**: Secondary data is data collected by someone other than the user. Common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses, organizational records, and data collected through qualitative methodologies or qualitative research.
- **Archival research**: An archive is a way of sorting and organizing older documents, whether it be digitally (photographs online, e-mails, etc.) or manually (putting it in folders, photo albums, etc.). Archiving is one part of the curating process which is typically carried out by a curator.
- **primary data**: Data that has been compiled for a specific purpose, and has not been collated or merged with others.

Using Existing Sources

The study of sources collected by someone other than the researcher, also known as archival research or secondary data research, is an essential part of sociology. In archival research or secondary research, the focus is not on collecting new data but on studying existing texts.



Existing Sources: While some sociologists spend time in the field conducting surveys or observing participants, others spend most of their research time in libraries, using existing sources for their research.

By studying texts related to their topics, researchers gain a strong foundation on which to base their work. Furthermore, this kind of study is necessary for the development of their central research question. Without a thorough understanding of the research that has already been done, it is impossible to know what a meaningful and relevant research question is, much less how to position and frame research within the context of the field as a whole.

Types of Existing Sources

Common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses, organizational records, field notes, semi-structured and structured interviews, and other forms of data collected through quantitative methods or qualitative research. These methods are considered *non-reactive*, because the people do not know they are involved in a study. Common sources differ from primary data. Primary data, by contrast, are collected by the investigator conducting the research.

Researchers use secondary analysis for several reasons. The primary reason is that secondary data analysis saves time that would otherwise be spent collecting data. In the case of quantitative data, secondary analysis provides larger and higher-quality databases that would be unfeasible for any individual researcher to collect on his own. In addition, analysts of social and economic change consider secondary data essential, since it is impossible to conduct a new survey that can adequately capture past change and developments.

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2.3: Ethics in Sociological Research

Confidentiality

Sociologists should take all necessary steps to protect the privacy and confidentiality of their subjects.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of how the anonymity of a research subject can be protected

Key Points

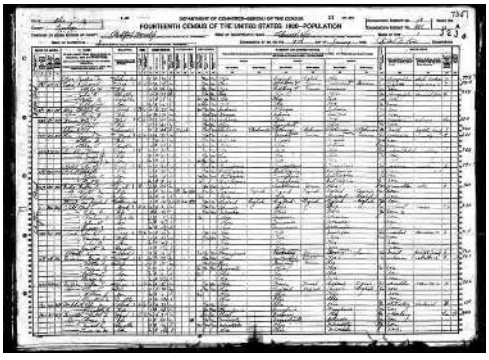
- When a survey is used, the data should be coded to protect the anonymity of subject.
- For field research, anonymity can be maintained by using aliases (fake names) on the observation reports.
- The types of information that should be kept confidential can range from a person's name or income, to more significant details (depending on the participant's social and political contexts), such as religious or political affiliation.
- The kinds of information that should be kept confidential can range from relatively innocuous facts, such as a person's name, to more sensitive information, such as a person's religious affiliation.
- Steps to ensure that the confidentiality of research participants is never breached include using pseudonyms for research subjects and keeping all notes in a secure location.

Key Terms

- **confidentiality**: Confidentiality is an ethical principle of discretion associated with the professions, such as medicine, law, and psychotherapy.
- **research**: Diligent inquiry or examination to seek or revise facts, principles, theories, and applications.
- **pseudonym**: A fictitious name, often used by writers and movie stars.

In any sociological research conducted on human subjects, the sociologists should take all the steps necessary to protect the privacy and confidentiality of their subjects. For example, when a survey is used, the data should be coded to protect the anonymity of the subjects.

In addition, there should be no way for any answers to be connected with the respondent who gave them. These rules apply to field research as well. For field research, anonymity can be maintained by using aliases (fake names) on the observation reports.



Cuyahoga County U.S. Census Form from 1920: Following ethical guidelines, researchers keep individual details confidential for decades. This form, from 1920, has been released because the information contained is too old to have any likely consequences for people who are still alive.

The types of information that should be kept confidential can range from something as relatively mundane and innocuous as a person's name (pseudonyms are often employed in both interview transcripts and published research) or income, to more significant details (depending on the participant's social and political contexts), such as religious or political affiliation.

Even seemingly trivial information should be kept safe, because it is impossible to predict what the repercussions would be in the event that this information becomes public. Unless subjects specifically and explicitly give their consent to be associated with the published information, no real names or identifying information of any kind should be used. Any research notes that might identify subjects should be stored securely. It is the obligation of the researcher to protect the private information of the research subjects, particularly when studying sensitive and controversial topics like deviance, the results of which may harm the participants if they were to be personally identified. By ensuring the safety of sensitive information, researchers ensure the safety of their subjects.

Protecting Research Subjects

There are many guidelines in place to protect human subjects in sociological research.

Learning Objectives

Identify the core tenet of research ethics, the importance of research ethics, and examples of ethical practice

Key Points

- Sociologists have a responsibility to protect their subjects by following ethical guidelines. Organizations like the American Sociological Association maintain, oversee, and enforce a code of ethics for sociologists to follow.
- In the context of sociological research, a code of ethics refers to formal guidelines for conducting sociological research, consisting of principles and ethical standards.
- The core tenet of research ethics is that the subjects not be harmed; principles such as confidentiality, anonymity, informed consent, and honesty follow from this premise.
- Institutional review boards are committees designated to approve, monitor, and review research involving people. They are intended to assess such factors as conflicts of interest and potential emotional distress caused to subjects.
- Institutional Review Boards are committees designated to approve, monitor, and review research involving people. They are intended to assess such factors as conflicts of interest–for instance, a funding source that has a vested interest in the outcome of a research project–and potential emotional distress caused to subjects.

Key Terms

- **informed consent**: Informed consent is a phrase often used in law to indicate that the consent a person gives meets certain minimum standards. In order to give informed consent, the individual concerned must have adequate reasoning faculties and be in possession of all relevant facts at the time consent is given.
- **confidentiality**: Confidentiality is an ethical principle of discretion associated with the professions, such as medicine, law, and psychotherapy.
- **institutional review board**: An institutional review board (IRB), also known as an independent ethics committee or ethical review board, is a committee that has been formally designated to approve, monitor, and review biomedical and behavioral research involving humans.

Ethical considerations are of particular importance to sociologists because sociologists study people. Thus, sociologists must adhere to a rigorous code of ethics. In the context of sociological research, a code of ethics refers to formal guidelines for conducting research, consisting of principles and ethical standards concerning the treatment of human individuals.



Ethical Guidelines for Research Involving Children: Sociologists must follow strict ethical guidelines, especially when working with children or other vulnerable populations.

The most important ethical consideration in sociological research is that participants in a sociological investigation are not harmed in any way. Exactly what this entails can vary from study to study, but there are several universally recognized considerations. For instance, research on children and youth always requires parental consent. All sociological research requiresinformed consent, and participants are never coerced into participation. Informed consent in general involves ensuring that prior to agreeing to participate, research subjects are aware of details of the study including the risks and benefits of participation and in what ways the data collected will be used and kept secure. Participants are also told that they may stop their participation in the study at any time.

Institutional review boards (IRBs) are committees that are appointed to approve, monitor, and review research involving human subjects in order to make sure that the well-being of research participants is never compromised. They are thus intended to assess such factors as conflicts of interest–for instance, a funding source that has a vested interest in the outcome of a research project–and potential emotional distress caused to subjects. While often primarily oriented toward biomedical research, approval from IRBs is now required for all studies dealing with humans.

Misleading Research Subjects

If a researcher deceives or conceals the purpose or procedure of a study, they are misleading their research subjects.

Learning Objectives

Identify two problems with intentionally deceiving research subjects

Key Points

- Although deception introduces ethical concerns because it threatens the validity of the subjects ‘ informed consent, there are certain cases in which researchers are allowed to deceive their subjects.
- Some studies involve intentionally deceiving subjects about the nature of the research, especially in cases in which full disclosure to the research subject could either skew the results of the study or cause some sort of harm to the researcher.
- In most instances, researchers are required to debrief (reveal the deception and explain the true purpose of the study to) subjects after the data is gathered.
- Some possible ways to address concerns are collecting pre-consent from participants and minimizing deception.

Key Terms

- **debrief**: To question someone, or a group of people, after the implementation of a project in order to learn from mistakes.
- **subject**: A human research subject is a living individual about whom a research investigator (whether a professional or a student) obtains data.

Some sociology studies involve intentionally deceiving subjects about the nature of the research. For instance, a researcher dealing with an organized crime syndicate might be concerned that if his subjects were aware of the researcher’s academic interests, his physical safety might be at risk. A more common case is a study in which researchers are concerned that if the subjects are aware of what is being measured, such as their reaction to a series of violent images, the results will be altered or tempered by that knowledge. In the latter case, researchers are required to debrief (reveal the deception and explain the true purpose of the study to) subjects after the data is gathered.



Dangerous Elements: Researchers working in dangerous environments may dec protect their own safety.

The ethical problems with conducting a trial involving an element of deception are legion. Valid consent means a participant is aware of all relevant context surrounding the research they are participating in, including both risks and benefits. Failure to ensure informed consent is likely to result in the harm of potential participants and others who may be affected indirectly. This harm could occur either in terms of the distress that subsequent knowledge of deception may cause participants and others, or in terms of the significant risks to which deception may expose participants and others. For example, a participant in a medical trial could misuse a drug substance, believing it to be a placebo.

Two approaches have been suggested to minimize such difficulties: pre-consent (including authorized deception and generic pre-consent) and minimized deception. Pre-consent involves informing potential participants that a given research study involves an element of deception without revealing its exact nature. This approach respects the autonomy of individuals because subjects consent to the deception. Minimizing deception involves taking steps such as introducing words like “probably” so that statements are formally accurate even if they may be misleading.

Research Funding

Research funding comes from grants from private groups or governments, and researchers must be careful to avoid conflicts of interest.

Learning Objectives

Examine the process of receiving research funding, including avoiding conflicts of interest and the sources of research funding

Key Points

- Most research funding comes from two major sources: corporations (through research and development departments) and government (primarily carried out through universities and specialized government agencies).
- If the funding source for a research project has an interest in the outcome of the project, this represents a conflict of interest and a potential ethical breach.
- A conflict of interest can occur if a sociologist is granted funding to conduct research on a topic, which the source of funding is invested in or related to in some way.

Key Terms

- **conflict of interest**: A situation in which someone in a position of trust has competing professional or personal interests.
- **research**: Diligent inquiry or examination to seek or revise facts, principles, theories, and applications.

Money for sociological research doesn't grow on trees. Many researchers fund their work by applying for grants from private groups or governments, but they must be careful to avoid a conflict of interest. Research funding is a term generally covering any funding for scientific research, in the areas of both "hard" science and technology and social sciences. The term often connotes funding obtained through a competitive process, in which potential research projects are evaluated and only the most promising receive funding. Such processes, which are run by government, corporations, or foundations, allocate scarce funds.



Funding and Conflicts of Interest: Money for sociological research doesn't grow on trees. Many researchers fund their work by applying for grants from private groups or governments, but they must be careful to avoid conflicts of interest.

Most research funding comes from two major sources: corporations (through research and development departments) and government (primarily carried out through universities and specialized government agencies). Some small amounts of scientific research are also carried out (or funded) by charitable foundations. In the United States, the government funding proportion in certain industries is higher, and it dominates research in social science and humanities.

Government-funded research can either be carried out by the government itself, or through grants to academic and other researchers outside the government. An advantage to government sponsored research is that the results are publicly shared, whereas with privately funded research the ideas are controlled by a single group. Consequently, government sponsored research can result in mass collaborative projects that are beyond the scope of isolated private researchers.

Funding of research by private companies is mainly motivated by profit, and are much less likely than governments to fund research projects solely for the sake of knowledge. The profit incentive causes researchers to concentrate their energies on projects which are perceived as likely to generate profits.

Research funding is often applied for by scientists and approved by a granting agency to financially support research. These grants require a lengthy process as the granting agency can inquire about the researcher's background, the facilities used, the equipment needed, the time involved, and the overall potential of the scientific outcome. The process of grant writing and grant proposing is a somewhat delicate process for both the granter and the grantee. The granter wants to choose the research that best fits their scientific principles, and the grantee wants to apply for research in which he has the best chances but also in which he can build a body of work toward future scientific endeavors. This interplay can be a lengthy process. However, most universities have research administration offices to facilitate the interaction between the researcher and the granting agency.

If the funding source for a research project has an interest in the outcome of the project, this can represent a conflict of interest and a potential ethical breach. In other words, when research is funded by the same agency that can be expected to gain from a favorable outcome, there is a potential for biased results. The existence of a conflict of interest, or a potential one at that, can call into question the integrity of a sociologist's research and findings.

Value Neutrality in Sociological Research

Value neutrality is the duty of sociologists to strive to be impartial and overcome their biases as they conduct their research.

Learning Objectives

Reconstruct the tension surrounding the idea of value neutrality in sociological research

Key Points

- Assigning moral values to social phenomena is an inescapable result of being part of society, rendering truly value-free research inconceivable. Despite this fact, sociologists should still strive for value neutrality.
- Value neutrality, as described by Max Weber, is the duty of sociologists to identify and acknowledge their own values and overcome their personal biases when conducting sociological research.
- In order to be value-neutral, sociologists must be aware of their own moral judgments and values, and avoid incorporating them into their research, their conclusions, and their teaching.
- Many sociologists believe it is impossible to set aside personal values and retain complete objectivity. They caution readers, rather, to understand that sociological studies may, by necessity, contain a certain amount of value bias.

Key Terms

- **Max Weber**: (1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

Assigning moral values to social phenomena is an inescapable result of being part of society. This inevitably renders truly value-free research inconceivable; however despite this, sociologists should strive for value neutrality. According to Max Weber, a German sociologist and philosopher who profoundly influenced social theory, value neutrality is the duty of sociologists to strive to be impartial and overcome their biases as they conduct their research, analyze their data, and publish their findings. Weber understood that personal values could distort the framework for disclosing study results. While he accepted that some aspects of research design might be influenced by personal values, he declared that it was entirely inappropriate to allow them to shape the interpretation of the responses.



Max Weber: Max Weber was a German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

Sociologists, Weber stated, must establish value neutrality, a practice of remaining impartial, without bias or judgment, during the course of a study and in publishing results. To do this, they must be conscious of their own personal values. Sociologists are obligated to disclose research findings without omitting or distorting significant data, even if results contradict personal views, predicted outcomes, or widely accepted beliefs. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, it is the duty of sociologists to avoid bringing their ideology into their roles as instructors.

Is value neutrality possible? Many sociologists believe it is impossible to set aside personal values and retain complete objectivity. They caution readers, rather, to understand that sociological studies may, by necessity, contain a certain amount of value bias. It does not discredit the results but allows readers to view them as one form of truth rather than as a singular fact. Some sociologists attempt to remain uncritical and as objective as possible when studying cultural institutions. However, this is difficult to obtain. Being a human and studying human subjects results in some degree of subjectivity, due to cultural influences. This is not necessarily negative, but it should be reported in any study being done so people can interpret the results as clearly as possible.

Value neutrality does not mean having no opinions, however. It just means that sociologists must strive to overcome personal biases, particularly subconscious biases, when analyzing data. It also means that sociologists must avoid skewing data in order to match a predetermined outcome that aligns with a particular agenda, such as a political or moral point of view. Although subjectivity is likely in almost any sociological study, with careful consideration, a good sociologist can limit its effect on any particular study.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: Culture

3.1: Culture and Society

3.2: The Symbolic Nature of Culture

3.3: Culture and Adaptation

3.4: Culture Worlds

3.5: Culture and the Dominant Ideology in the U.S.

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3.1: Culture and Society

Culture and Biology

Culture relates to nature (our biology and genetics) and nurture (our environment and surroundings that also shape our identities).

Learning Objectives

Examine the ways culture and biology interact to form societies, norms, rituals and other representations of culture

Key Points

- "Culture" encompasses objects and symbols, the meaning given to those objects and symbols, and the norms, values, and beliefs that pervade social life.
- Values reflect an individual's or society 's sense of right and wrong or what "ought" to be.
- Humans also have biological drives—hunger, thirst, need for sleep—whose unfulfillment can result in death.
- Because of our biology and genetics, we have a particular form and we have certain abilities. These set essential limits on the variety of activities that humans can express culture, but there is still enormous diversity in this expression.
- Culture refers to the way we understand ourselves as individuals and as members of society, including stories, religion, media, rituals, and even language itself.
- Social Darwinism was the belief that the closer a cultural group was to the normative Western European standards of behavior and appearance, the more evolved they were.
- Culture is the non-biological or social aspects of human life.
- Culture refers to the way we understand ourselves as individuals and as members of society, including stories, religion, media, rituals, and even language itself.
- Social Darwinism hinged on the belief that the closer cultural groups were to the normative Western European standards of behavior and appearance, the more evolved they were.

Key Terms

- **Social Darwinism**: a theory that the laws of evolution by natural selection also apply to social structures.
- **culture**: The beliefs, values, behavior, and material objects that constitute a people's way of life.

Culture and Biology

Human beings are biological creatures. We are composed of blood and bones and flesh. At the most basic level, our genes express themselves in physical characteristics, affecting bodily aspects such as skin tone and eye color. Yet, human beings are much more than our biology, and this is evident particularly in the way humans generate, and live within, complex cultures.

Defining Culture

Culture is a term used by social scientists, like anthropologists and sociologists, to encompass all the facets of human experience that extend beyond our physical fact. Culture refers to the way we understand ourselves both as individuals and as members of society, and includes stories, religion, media, rituals, and even language itself.

It is critical to understand that the term culture does not describe a singular, fixed entity. Instead, it is a useful heuristic, or way of thinking, that can be very productive in understanding behavior. As a student of the social sciences, you should think of the word culture as a conceptual tool rather than as a uniform, static definition. Culture necessarily changes, and is changed by, a variety of interactions, with individuals, media, and technology, just to name a few.

The History of Culture as a Concept

Culture is primarily an anthropological term. The field of anthropology emerged around the same time as Social Darwinism, in the late 19th and early 20th century. Social Darwinism was the belief that the closer a cultural group was to the normative, Western, European standards of behavior and appearance, the more evolved that group was. As a theory of the world, it was essentially a racist concept that persists in certain forms up to this day. If you have ever heard someone reference people of African descent as being from, or close to, the jungle, or the wilderness, you've encountered a type of coded language that is a modern incarnation of Social Darwinist thought.

During the late 19th and early 20th century time period, the positivist school also emerged in sociological thought. One of the key figures in this school, Cesare Lombroso, studied the physical characteristics of prisoners, because he believed that he could find a biological basis for crime. Lombroso coined the term atavism to suggest that some individuals were throwbacks to a more bestial point in evolutionary history. Lombroso used this concept to claim that certain individuals were more weak-willed, and more prone to criminal activity, than their supposedly more evolved counterparts.

In accordance with the hegemonic beliefs of the time, anthropologists first theorized culture as something that evolves in the same way biological organisms evolve. Just like biological evolution, cultural evolution was thought to be an adaptive system that produced unique results depending on location and historical moment. However, unlike biological evolution, culture can be intentionally taught and thus spread from one group of people to another.

Initially, anthropologists believed that culture was a product of biological evolution, and that cultural evolution depended exclusively on physical conditions. Today's anthropologists no longer believe it is this simple. Neither culture nor biology is solely responsible for the other. They interact in very complex ways, which biological anthropologists will be studying for years to come.



Guildford Cathedral relief (UK): People began domesticating cattle many years before they developed the genes for lactose tolerance.

Culture and Society

Culture is what differentiates one group or society from the next; different societies have different cultures.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between the various meanings of culture within society

Key Points

- Different societies have different cultures; a culture represents the beliefs and practices of a group, while society represents the people who share those beliefs and practices.
- Material culture refers to the objects or belongings of a group of people, such as automobiles, stores, and the physical structures where people worship. Nonmaterial culture, in contrast, consists of the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of a society.
- In 18th and 19th century Europe, the term "culture" was equated with civilization and considered a unique aspect of Western society. Remnants of that colonial definition of culture can be seen today in the idea of " high culture ".

- During the Romantic Era, culture became equated with nationalism and gave rise to the idea of multiple national cultures.
- Today, social scientists understand culture as a society's norms, values, and beliefs; as well as its objects and symbols, and the meaning given to those objects and symbols.

Key Terms

- **civilization**: An organized culture encompassing many communities, often on the scale of a nation or a people; a stage or system of social, political or technical development.
- **high culture**: The artistic entertainment and material artifacts associated with a society's aristocracy or most learned members, usually requiring significant education to be appreciated or highly skilled labor to be produced.
- **popular culture**: The prevailing vernacular culture in any given society, including art, cooking, clothing, entertainment, films, mass media, music, sports, and style
- **nationalism**: The idea of supporting one's country and culture; patriotism.

Culture encompasses human elements beyond biology: for example, our norms and values, the stories we tell, learned or acquired behaviors, religious beliefs, art and fashion, and so on. Culture is what differentiates one group or society from the next.

Different societies have different cultures; however it is important not to confuse the idea of *culture* with *society*. A culture represents the beliefs and practices of a group, while society represents the people who share those beliefs and practices. Neither society nor culture could exist without the other.

Defining Culture

Almost every human behavior, from shopping to marriage to expressions of feelings, is learned. Behavior based on learned customs is not necessarily a bad thing – being familiar with unwritten rules helps people feel secure and confident that their behaviors will not be challenged or disrupted. However even the simplest actions – such as commuting to work, ordering food from a restaurant, and greeting someone on the street – evidence a great deal of cultural propriety.

Material culture refers to the objects or belongings of a group of people (such as automobiles, stores, and the physical structures where people worship). *Nonmaterial culture*, in contrast, consists of the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of a society. Material and nonmaterial aspects of culture are linked, and physical objects often symbolize cultural ideas. A metro pass is a material object, but it represents a form of nonmaterial culture (namely capitalism, and the acceptance of paying for transportation). Clothing, hairstyles, and jewelry are part of material culture, but the appropriateness of wearing certain clothing for specific events reflects nonmaterial culture. A school building belongs to material culture, but the teaching methods and educational standards are part of education's nonmaterial culture.

These material and nonmaterial aspects of culture can vary subtly from region to region. As people travel farther afield, moving from different regions to entirely different parts of the world, certain material and nonmaterial aspects of culture become dramatically unfamiliar. As we interact with cultures other than our own, we become more aware of our own culture – which might otherwise be invisible to us – and to the differences and commonalities between our culture and others.

The History of "Culture"

Some people think of culture in the singular, in the way that it was thought of in Europe during the 18th and early 19th centuries: as something achieved through evolution and progress. This concept of culture reflected inequalities within European societies and their colonies around the world; in short, it equates culture with civilization and contrasts both with nature or non-civilization. According to this understanding of culture, some countries are more "civilized" than others, and some people are therefore more "cultured" than others.

When people talk about culture in the sense of civilization or refinement, they are really talking about "high culture," which is different from the sociological concept of culture. High culture refers to elite goods and activities, such as haute cuisine, high fashion or couture, museum-caliber art, and classical music. In common parlance, people may refer to others as being "cultured" if they know about and take part in these activities. Someone who uses culture in this sense might argue that classical music is more refined than music by working-class people, such as jazz or the indigenous music traditions of aboriginal peoples. Popular (or "pop") culture, by contrast, is more mainstream and influenced by mass media and the common opinion. Popular culture tends to change as tastes and opinions change over time, whereas high culture generally stays the same throughout the years. For example, Mozart is considered *high* culture, whereas Britney Spears is considered *pop* culture; Mozart is likely to still be popular in 100 years, but Britney Spears will likely be forgotten by all but a few.



Aboriginal culture: Early colonial definitions of culture equated culture and civilization and characterized aboriginal people as uncivilized and uncultured.

This definition of culture only recognizes a single standard of refinement to which all groups are held accountable. Thus, people who differ from those who believe themselves to be "cultured" in this sense are not usually understood as having a different culture; they are understood as being uncultured.

Although we still see remnants of this idea of high culture today, it has largely fallen out of practice. Its decline began during the Romantic Era, when scholars in Germany – especially those concerned with nationalism – developed the more inclusive notion of culture as a distinct worldview. Although more inclusive, this approach to culture still allowed for distinctions between so-called "civilized" and "primitive" cultures. By the late 19th century, anthropologists changed the concept of culture to include a wider variety of societies, ultimately resulting in the concept of culture adopted by social scientists today: objects and symbols, the meaning given to those objects and symbols, and the norms, values, and beliefs that pervade social life.

This new perspective has also removed the evaluative element of the concept of culture; it distinguishes among different cultures, but does not rank them. For instance, the high culture of elites is now contrasted with popular or pop culture. In this sense, high culture no longer refers to the idea of being "cultured," as all people have culture. High culture simply refers to the objects, symbols, norms, values, and beliefs of a particular group of people; popular culture does the same.



High culture: Ballet is traditionally considered a form of “high culture”.

Cultural Universals

A cultural universal is an element, pattern, trait, or institution that is common to all human cultures worldwide.

Learning Objectives

Discuss cultural universals in terms of the various elements of culture, such as norms and beliefs

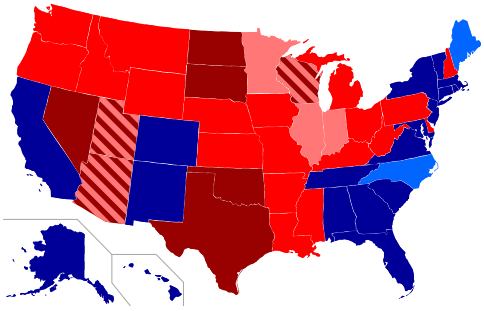
Key Points

- Cultural universals are elements, patterns, traits, or institutions that are common to all human cultures worldwide.
- There is a tension in cultural anthropology and cultural sociology between the claim that culture is a universal and that it is also particular. The idea of cultural universals runs contrary in some ways to cultural relativism which was, in part, a response to Western ethnocentrism.
- Ethnocentrism may take obvious forms. For example, the belief that one people’s culture is the most beautiful and true. Franz Boas understood “culture” to include not only certain tastes in food, art, and music, or beliefs about religion but instead assumed a much broader notion of culture.
- Among the cultural universals listed by Donald Brown (1991) are abstract speech, figurative speech and metaphors, antonyms and synonyms, and units of time.
- Among the cultural universals listed by Brown, some were investigated by Franz Boas. For example, Boas saw language as a means of categorizing experiences. Thus, although people may perceive visible radiation similarly, people who speak different languages slice up the continuum in different ways.
- Since Franz Boas, two debates have dominated cultural anthropology.

Key Terms

- **culture**: The beliefs, values, behavior, and material objects that constitute a people’s way of life.
- **particular**: A specific case; an individual thing as opposed to a whole class.
- **universal**: Common to all society; worldwide.

The sociology of culture concerns culture—usually understood as the ensemble of symbolic codes used by a society—as it is manifested in society. The elements of culture include (1) symbols (anything that carries particular meaning recognized by people who share the same culture); (2) language (system of symbols that allows people to communicate with one another); (3) values (culturally-defined standards that serve as broad guidelines for social living; (4) beliefs (specific statements that people hold to be true); and (5) norms (rules and expectations by which a society guides the behavior of its members). While these elements of culture may be seen in various contexts over time and across geography, a cultural universal is an element, pattern, trait, or institution that is common to all human cultures worldwide. Taken together, the whole body of cultural universals is known as the human condition. Among the cultural universals listed by Donald Brown (1991) are abstract speech, figurative speech and metaphors, antonyms and synonyms, and units of time.



First-Cousin Marriage Laws in the U.S.: In states marked dark blue, first-cousin Light blue signifies that it is legal but has restrictions or exceptions. Pink signifies th exceptions; red signifies that it is banned via statute, and dark red signifies that it is a

The concept of a cultural universal has long been discussed in the social sciences. Cultural universals are elements, patterns, traits, or institutions that are common to all human cultures worldwide. There is a tension in cultural anthropology and cultural sociology between the claim that culture is a universal (the fact that all human societies have culture), and that it is also particular (culture takes a tremendous variety of forms around the world). The idea of cultural universals—that specific aspects of culture are common to all human cultures—runs contrary to cultural relativism. Cultural relativism was, in part, a response to Western ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism may take obvious forms, in which one consciously believes that one people’s arts are the most beautiful, values the most virtuous, and beliefs the most truthful. Franz Boas argued that one’s culture may mediate and thus limit one’s perceptions in less obvious ways. He understood “culture” to include not only certain tastes in food, art, and music, or beliefs about religion but instead assumed a much broader notion of culture.

Among the cultural universals listed by Donald Brown, some of these were investigated by Franz Boas. For example, Boas called attention to the idea that language is a means of categorizing experiences, hypothesizing that the existence of different languages suggests that people categorize, and thus experience, language differently. Therefore, although people may perceive visible radiation the same way, in terms of a continuum of color, people who speak different languages slice up this continuum into discrete colors in different ways.

Culture Shock

Culture shock is the personal disorientation a person may feel when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life in a new country.

Learning Objectives

Discuss culture shock in terms of its four phases – honeymoon, negotiation, adjustment and mastery

Key Points

- Culture shock is the personal disorientation a person may feel when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life due to immigration or a visit to a new country.
- Culture shock can be described as consisting of at least one of four distinct phases: honeymoon, negotiation, adjustment, and mastery.
- During the honeymoon phase, the differences between the old and new culture are seen in a romantic light.
- After some time (usually around three months, depending on the individual), differences between the old and new culture become apparent and may create anxiety. This is the mark of the negotiation phase.
- In the adjustment phase, one grows accustomed to the new culture and develops routines.
- Lastly, in the mastery stage, assignees are able to participate fully and comfortably in the host culture.

- In the Adjustment phase, one grows accustomed to the new culture and develops routines.
- One knows what to expect in most situations and the host country no longer feels all that new.
- Lastly, in the Mastery stage, assignees are able to participate fully and comfortably in the host culture.

Key Terms

- **biculturalism**: The state or quality of being bicultural.

Culture shock is the personal disorientation a person may feel when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life due to immigration or a visit to a new country, or to a move between social environments. One of the most common causes of culture shock involves individuals in a foreign country. There is no true way to entirely prevent culture shock, as individuals in any society are personally affected by cultural contrasts differently.

Culture shock can be described as consisting of at least one of four distinct phases: honeymoon, negotiation, adjustment, and mastery. During the honeymoon phase, the differences between the old and new culture are seen in a romantic light. During the first few weeks, most people are fascinated by the new culture. They associate with nationals who speak their language, and who are polite to the foreigners. This period is full of observations and new discoveries. Like most honeymoon periods, this stage eventually ends.



Culture Shock: Enthusiastic welcome offered to the first Indian student to arrive in Dresden, East Germany (1951).

After some time (usually around three months, depending on the individual), differences between the old and new culture become apparent and may create anxiety. This is the mark of the negotiation phase. Excitement may eventually give way to unpleasant feelings of frustration and anger as one continues to experience unfavorable events that may be perceived as strange and offensive to one's cultural attitude. Still, the most important change in the period is communication. People adjusting to a new culture often feel lonely and homesick because they are not yet used to the new environment and meet people with whom they are not familiar every day.

Again, after some time, one grows accustomed to the new culture and develops routines, marking the adjustment phase. One knows what to expect in most situations and the host country no longer feels all that new. One becomes concerned with basic living again and things become more normal. One starts to develop problem-solving skills for dealing with the culture and begins to accept the culture's ways with a positive attitude. The culture begins to make sense and negative reactions and responses to the culture are reduced.

In the mastery stage, assignees are able to participate fully and comfortably in the host culture. Mastery does not mean total conversion. People often keep many traits from their earlier culture, such as accents and languages. It is often referred to as the biculturalism stage.

Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism

Ethnocentrism, in contrast to cultural relativism, is the tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own culture.

Learning Objectives

Examine the concepts of ethnocentrism and cultural relativism in relation to your own and other cultures in society

Key Points

- Ethnocentrism often entails the belief that one's own race or ethnic group is the most important or that some or all aspects of its culture are superior to those of other groups.
- Within this ideology, individuals will judge other groups in relation to their own particular ethnic group or culture, especially with concern to language, behavior, customs, and religion.
- Cultural relativism is the belief that the concepts and values of a culture cannot be fully translated into, or fully understood in, other languages; that a specific cultural artifact (e.g., a ritual) has to be understood in terms of the larger symbolic system of which it is a part.
- Cultural relativism is the principle that an individual person's beliefs and activities should be understood by others in terms of that individual's own culture.

Key Terms

- **ethnocentrism**: The tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own culture.
- **cultural relativism**: Cultural relativism is a principle that was established as axiomatic in anthropological research by Franz Boas in the first few decades of the twentieth century, and later popularized by his students. Boas first articulated the idea in 1887: "…civilization is not something absolute, but… is relative, and… our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes. "

Ethnocentrism, a term coined by William Graham Sumner, is the tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of your own ethnic culture and the belief that that is in fact the "right" way to look at the world. This leads to making incorrect assumptions about others' behavior based on your own norms, values, and beliefs. For instance, reluctance or aversion to trying another culture's cuisine is ethnocentric. Social scientists strive to treat cultural differences as neither inferior nor superior. That way, they can understand their research topics within the appropriate cultural context and examine their own biases and assumptions at the same time.

This approach is known as "cultural relativism." Cultural relativism is the principle that an individual person's beliefs and activities should be understood by others in terms of that individual's own culture. A key component of cultural relativism is the concept that nobody, not even researchers, comes from a neutral position. The way to deal with our own assumptions is not to pretend that they don't exist but rather to acknowledge them, and then use the awareness that we are not neutral to inform our conclusions.

An example of cultural relativism might include slang words from specific languages (and even from particular dialects within a language). For instance, the word "tranquilo" in Spanish translates directly to "calm" in English. However, it can be used in many more ways than just as an adjective (e.g., the seas are calm). Tranquilo can be a command or suggestion encouraging another to calm down. It can also be used to ease tensions in an argument (e.g., everyone relax) or to indicate a degree of self-composure (e.g., I'm calm). There is not a clear English translation of the word, and in order to fully comprehend its many possible uses, a cultural relativist would argue that it would be necessary to fully immerse oneself in cultures where the word is used.



Cultural context: Depending on your cultural background, this may or may not look different.

Material Culture

In the social sciences, material culture is a term that refers to the relationship between artifacts and social relations.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of material culture and how it can help sociologist understand a particular society

Key Points

- Studying a culture ‘s relationship to materiality is a lens through which social and cultural attitudes can be discussed. People’s relationship to and perception of objects are socially and culturally dependent.
- A view of culture as a symbolic system with adaptive functions, varying from place to place, led anthropologists to conceive of different cultures as having distinct patterns of enduring conventional sets of meaning.
- Anthropologists distinguish between material culture and symbolic culture, not only because each reflects different kinds of human activity, but also because they constitute different kinds of data and require different methodologies to study.
- This view of culture, which came to dominate anthropology between World War I and World War II, implied that each culture was bounded and had to be understood as a whole, on its own terms.
- The result is a belief in cultural relativism, which suggests that there are no ‘better’ or ‘worse’ cultures, just different cultures.

Key Terms

- **material culture**: In the social sciences, material culture is a term, developed in the late 19th and early 20th century, that refers to the relationship between artifacts and social relations.
- **Symbolic culture**: Symbolic culture is a concept used by archaeologists, social anthropologists and sociologists to designate the cultural realm constructed and inhabited uniquely by Homo sapiens.

In the social sciences, material culture refers to the relationship between artifacts and social relations. Material culture consists in physical objects that humans make. These objects inevitably reflect the historical, geographic, and social conditions of their origin. For instance, the clothes that you are wearing might tell researchers of the future about the fashions of today.



Clothes as Material Culture: Fashion is part of material culture.

People’s relationship to and perception of objects are socially and culturally dependent. Accordingly, social and cultural attitudes can be discussed through the lens of a culture’s relationship to materiality.

Material culture is also a term used by historians, sometimes termed “material history,” which refers to the study of ancient objects and artifacts in order to understand how a particular culture was organized and functioned over time.

This view of culture as a symbolic system with adaptive functions, varying from place to place, led anthropologists to view different cultures as having distinct patterns of enduring conventional sets of meaning. Anthropologists thus distinguish between material culture and symbolic culture, not only because each reflects different kinds of human activity, but also because they constitute different kinds of data and require different methodologies to study.

This view of culture, which came to dominate anthropology between World War I and World War II, implied that each culture was bounded and had to be understood as a whole, on its own terms. The result is a belief in cultural relativism, which suggests that there are no ‘better’ or ‘worse’ cultures, just different cultures.



Periodicals as Material Culture: Media, such as magazines, are part of material cultu



Computers as Material Culture: Computers are an increasingly common part of people. They constitute an increasingly significant part of our material culture.

Nonmaterial Culture

Non-material culture includes the behaviors, ideas, norms, values, and beliefs that contribute to a society’s overall culture.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the different ways norms, values and beliefs interact to form non-material culture

Key Points

- In contrast to material culture, non-material culture does not include physical objects or artifacts.

- It includes things that have no existence in the physical world but exist entirely in the symbolic realm.
- Examples are concepts such as good and evil, mythical inventions such as gods and underworlds, and social constructs such as promises and football games.
- The concept of symbolic culture draws from semiotics and emphasizes the way in which distinctively human culture is mediated through signs and concepts.
- The symbolic aspect of distinctively human culture has been emphasized in anthropology by Emile Durkheim, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Clifford Geertz, and many others.
- Semiotics emphasises the way in which distinctively human culture is mediated through signs and concepts.

Key Terms

- **social construct**: Social constructs are generally understood to be the by-products of countless human choices rather than laws resulting from divine will or nature.

Culture as a general concept consists of both material and non-material culture. Material culture is a term developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, that refers to the relationship between artifacts and social relations. In contrast, non-material culture does not include physical objects or artifacts. Examples include any ideas, beliefs, values, or norms that shape a society.

When sociologists talk about norms, they are talking about what's considered normal, appropriate, or ordinary for a particular group of people. Social norms are group-held beliefs about how members should behave in a given context. Sociologists describe norms as laws that govern society's behaviors. Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms. Norms are rules for behavior in specific situations, while values identify what should be judged as good or evil. Flying the national flag on a holiday is a *norm*, but it exhibits patriotism, which is a *value*. Wearing dark clothing and appearing solemn are normative behaviors at a funeral. In certain cultures they reflect the values of respect and support of friends and family. Different cultures honor different values. Finally, beliefs are the way people think the universe operates. Beliefs can be religious or secular, and they can refer to any aspect of life. For instance, many people in the U.S. believe that hard work is the key to success.

Members take part in a culture even if each member's personal values do not entirely agree with some of the normative values sanctioned in the culture. This reflects an individual's ability to synthesize and extract aspects valuable to them from the multiple subcultures they belong to.

Norms, values, and beliefs are all deeply interconnected. Together, they provide a way to understand culture.

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3.2: The Symbolic Nature of Culture

The Symbolic Nature of Culture

The symbolic systems that people use to capture and communicate their experiences form the basis of shared cultures.

Learning Objectives

Relate the idea that culture is symbolically coded to arguments about the dynamism of cultures

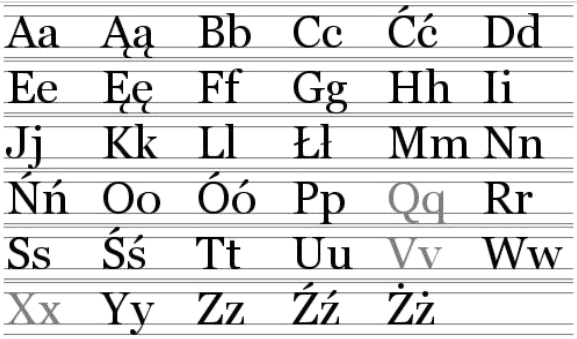
Key Points

- A symbol is any object, typically material, which is meant to represent another (usually abstract), even if there is no meaningful relationship.
- Culture is based on a shared set of symbols and meanings. Symbolic culture enables human communication and must be taught.
- Symbolic culture is more malleable and adaptable than biological evolution.
- The belief that culture is symbolically coded and can be taught from one person to another means that cultures, although bounded, can change.
- According to sociologists, symbols make up one of the 5 key elements of culture; the other key elements are language, values, beliefs, and norms.

Key Terms

- **symbol**: Any object, typically material, which is meant to represent another (usually abstract), even if there is no meaningful relationship.
- **Max Weber**: (1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

A symbol is any object, typically material, which is meant to represent another (usually abstract) object, even if there is no meaningful relationship. Anthropologists have argued that, through the course of their evolution, human beings evolved a universal human capacity to classify experiences, and encode and communicate them symbolically, such as with written language. Since these symbolic systems were learned and taught, they began to develop independently of biological evolution (in other words, one human being can learn a belief, value, or way of doing something from another, even if they are not biologically related). That this capacity for symbolic thinking and social learning is a product of human evolution confounds older arguments about nature versus nurture.



The Polish Alphabets: Cultures are shared systems of symbols and meanings. Alphabets are one example of a symbolic element of culture.

This view of culture argues that people living apart from one another develop unique cultures. Elements of different cultures, however, can easily spread from one group of people to another. The belief that culture is symbolically coded and can, therefore, be taught from one person to another, means that cultures, although bounded, can change. Culture is dynamic and can be taught and learned, making it a potentially rapid form of adaptation to changes in physical conditions. Anthropologists view culture as not only a product of biological evolution, but as a supplement to it; culture can be seen as the main means of human adaptation to the natural world.

This view of culture as a symbolic system with adaptive functions, which varies from place to place, led anthropologists to conceive of different cultures as defined by distinct patterns (or structures) of enduring (although arbitrary) conventional sets of meaning. These meanings took concrete form in a variety of artifacts such as myths and rituals, tools, the design of housing, and the planning of villages. Anthropologists distinguish between material culture and symbolic culture, not only because each reflects different kinds of human activity, but also because they constitute different kinds of data that require different methodologies to study.

The sociology of culture concerns culture as it is manifested in society: the ways of thinking, the ways of acting, and the material objects that together shape a people's way of life. According to Max Weber, symbols are important aspects of culture: people use symbols to express their spirituality and the spiritual side of real events, and ideal interests are derived from symbols. According to sociologists, symbols make up one of the five key elements of culture, the others being language, values, beliefs, and norms.

The Origins of Language

The origin of language is a widely discussed and controversial topic due to very limited empirical evidence.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast continuity-based theories and discontinuity-based theories about the origin of language

Key Points

- There is no consensus on the ultimate origin or age of human language.
- Continuity-based theories stress that language is so complex that it must have evolved from earlier pre-linguistic systems among pre-humans.
- Discontinuity-based theories stress that language is a unique human trait that appeared fairly suddenly in the transition from pre-hominids to early man.

Key Terms

- **language**: A form of communication using words either spoken or gestured with the hands and structured with grammar, often with a writing system.
- **symbolic**: Referring to something with an implicit meaning.
- **prehistory**: The history of human culture prior to written records.

The origin of language in the human species is a widely discussed topic. There is no consensus on ultimate origin or age. Empirical evidence is limited, and many scholars continue to regard the whole topic as unsuitable for serious study.



Language in daily life: The origin of language in the human species is a widely discussed topic.

Theories about the origin of language can be divided according to their basic assumptions. Some theories are based on the idea that language is so complex that one cannot imagine it simply appearing from nothing in its final form, but that it must have evolved from earlier pre-linguistic systems among our pre-human ancestors. These theories can be called continuity-based theories.

The opposite viewpoint is that language is such a unique human trait that it cannot be compared to anything found among non-humans and that it must therefore have appeared fairly suddenly in the transition from pre-hominids to early man. These theories can be defined as discontinuity-based.

Similarly, some theories see language mostly as an innate faculty that is largely genetically encoded, while others see it as a system that is largely cultural—that is, learned through social interaction. Currently the only prominent proponent of a discontinuity theory of human language origins is Noam Chomsky.

Continuity-based theories are currently held by a majority of scholars, but they vary in how they envision this development. Those who see language as being mostly innate, such as Steven Pinker, hold the precedents to be animal cognition, whereas those who see language as a socially learned tool of communication, such as Michael Tomasello, see it as having developed from animal communication, either primate gestural or vocal communication. Other continuity-based models see language as having developed from music.

Because the emergence of language is located in the early prehistory of man, the relevant developments have left no direct historical traces and no comparable processes can be observed today. Theories that stress continuity often look at animals to see if, for example, primates display any traits that can be seen as analogous to what pre-human language must have been like. Alternatively early human fossils can be inspected to look for traces of physical adaptation to language use or for traces of pre-linguistic forms of symbolic behaviour.

Language

Language may refer either to the human capacity for acquiring and using complex systems of communication, or to a specific instance of such.

Learning Objectives

Compare the different ways in which language can be studied

Key Points

- The word ” language ” has at least two basic meanings: language as a general concept, and “a language” (a specific linguistic system, e.g. “French”), a distinction first made by Ferdinand de Saussure.
- Languages, understood as the particular set of speech norms of a particular community, are also a part of the larger culture of the community that speak them.
- Humans use language as a way of signalling identity with one cultural group and difference from others.

- The organic definition of language sees language primarily as the mental faculty that allows humans to undertake linguistic behavior–to learn languages and produce and understand utterances.
- The structuralist view of language sees language as a formal system of signs governed by grammatical rules of combination to communicate meaning.
- The functional theory of language sees language as a system of communication that enables humans to cooperate.
- Humans use language as a way of signalling identity with one cultural group and difference from others.
- The organic definition of language sees language primarily as the mental faculty that allows humans to undertake linguistic behaviour: to learn languages and produce and understand utterances. These kinds of definitions are often applied by studies of language within a cognitive science framework and in neurolinguistics.
- The structuralist view of language sees language as a formal system of signs governed by grammatical rules of combination to communicate meaning. This definition stresses the fact that human languages can be described as closed structural systems consisting of rules that relate particular signs to particular meanings.
- The functional theory of language sees language as a system of communication that enables humans to cooperate. This definition stresses the social functions of language and the fact that humans use it to express themselves and to manipulate objects in their environment.

Key Terms

- **semiotics**: The study of signs and symbols, especially as means of language or communication.
- **linguistics**: The scientific study of language.

Language may refer either to the specifically human capacity for acquiring and using complex systems of communication, or to a specific instance of such a system of complex communication. The scientific study of language in any of its senses is called linguistics.

The word language has at least two basic meanings: language as a general concept, and a specific linguistic system (e.g. French). Ferdinand de Saussure first explicitly formulated the distinction, using the French word *langage* for language as a concept, and *langue* as the specific instance of language.

One definition sees language primarily as the mental faculty that allows humans to undertake linguistic behaviour–to learn languages and produce and understand utterances. These kinds of definitions are often applied by studies of language within a cognitive science framework and in neurolinguistics.

Another definition sees language as a formal system of signs governed by grammatical rules of combination to communicate meaning. This definition stresses the fact that human languages can be described as closed structural systems consisting of rules that relate particular signs to particular meanings.

Yet another definition sees language as a system of communication that enables humans to cooperate. This definition stresses the social functions of language and the fact that humans use it to express themselves and to manipulate objects in their environment.

When described as a system of symbolic communication, language is traditionally seen as consisting of three parts: signs, meanings, and a code connecting signs with their meanings. The study of how signs and meanings are combined, used, and interpreted is called semiotics.

Languages, understood as the particular set of speech norms of a particular community, are also a part of the larger culture of the community that speaks them. Humans use language as a way of signalling identity with one cultural group and difference from others. Human languages are usually referred to as natural languages, and the science of studying them falls under the purview of linguistics. Human language is unique in comparison to other forms of communication, such as those used by animals, because it allows humans to produce an infinite set of utterances from a finite set of elements.



A Bilingual Sign: Members of a culture usually share a common language. Here, a bilingual sign in Wales tells both English and Welsh speakers that smoking is prohibited.

Language and Perception

Various theories assume that language is not simply a representational tool; rather it fundamentally shapes our perception.

Learning Objectives

Explain the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

Key Points

- The principle of linguistic relativity holds that the structure of a language affects the ways in which its speakers conceptualize their world (i.e., world view), or otherwise influences their cognitive processes.
- A main point of debate in the discussion of linguistic relativity is the strength of correlation between language and thought. The strongest form of correlation is linguistic determinism, which holds that language entirely determines an individual's range of possible cognitive processes.
- The hypothesis of linguistic determinism is now generally agreed to be false, although many researchers still study weaker forms of correlation, often producing positive empirical evidence for a correlation.
- The crucial question is whether human psychological faculties are mostly universal and innate, or whether they are mostly a result of learning, and, therefore, subject to cultural and social processes that vary between places and times.

Key Terms

- **Perception**: (cognition) That which is detected by the five senses; not necessarily understood (imagine looking through fog, trying to understand if you see a small dog or a cat); also that which is detected within consciousness as a thought, intuition, deduction, etc.
- **relativity**: The state of being relative to something else.

Various theories assume that language fundamentally shapes our perception. One example is the principle of linguistic relativity. This principle holds that the structure of a language affects the ways in which its speakers conceptualize his or her world (worldview) or otherwise influences their cognitive processes. Popularly known as the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, or Whorfianism, the principle is often defined as having two versions:

1. The strong version states that language determines thought and emotions/feelings, and linguistic categories limit and determine cognitive categories
2. The weak version argues that linguistic categories and usage influence thought and certain kinds of non-linguistic behavior.

The concept of linguistic relativity describes different formulations of the principle that cognitive processes, such as thought, emotion/feelings and experience, may be influenced by the categories and patterns of the language a person speaks. Empirical research into the question has been associated mainly with the names of Benjamin Lee Whorf, who wrote on the topic in the 1930s, and his mentor Edward Sapir, who did not himself write extensively on the topic.

A main point of debate in the discussion of linguistic relativity is the strength of correlation between language and thought and emotion/feelings. The strongest form of correlation is linguistic determinism, which holds that language entirely determines the range of possible cognitive processes of an individual. The hypothesis of linguistic determinism is now generally agreed to be false, though many researchers are still studying weaker forms of correlation, often producing positive empirical evidence for a correlation.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

On Language and Perception: Cognition and Communication Research Centre film describing recent research on the mapping between language and perception, and whether the language one speaks affects how one thinks.

The centrality of the question of the relation between thought or emotions/feelings and language has brought attention to the issue of linguistic relativity, not only from linguists and psychologists, but also from anthropologists, philosophers, literary theorists, and political scientists. For example, can people experience or feel something they have no word to explain it with?

The crucial question is whether human psychological faculties are mostly universal and innate, or whether they are mostly a result of learning, and, therefore, subject to cultural and social processes that vary between places and times. The Universalist view holds that all humans share the same set of basic faculties, and that variability due to cultural differences is negligible. This position often sees the human mind as mostly a biological construction, so that all humans sharing the same neurological configuration can be expected to have similar or identical basic cognitive patterns.

The contrary position can be described in several ways. The constructivist view holds that human faculties and concepts are largely influenced by socially constructed and learned categories that are not subject to many biological restrictions. The idealist view holds that the human mental capacities are generally unrestricted by their biological-material basis. The essentialist view holds that there may be essential differences in the ways the different individuals or groups experience and conceptualize the world. The relativist position, which basically refers to a kind of Cultural relativism, sees different cultural groups as having different conceptual schemes that are not necessarily compatible or commensurable, nor more or less in accord with the external reality.



Edward Sapir: Empirical research into the question of linguistic relativity has been associated mainly with the names of Benjamin Lee Whorf, who wrote on the topic in the 1930s, and his mentor Edward Sapir, who did not himself write extensively on the topic.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis: The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis suggests that language shapes the way we see the world.

Symbols and Nature

Language is a symbolic system of communication based on a complex system of rules relating spoken, signed, or written symbols.

Learning Objectives

Key Points

- Human language is thought to be fundamentally different from and of much higher complexity than that of other species as it is based on a complex system of rules that result in an indefinite number of possible utterances from a finite number of elements.
- Written languages use visual symbols to represent the sounds of the spoken languages, but they still require

syntactic rules that govern the production of meaning from sequences of words.

- Human language differs from communication used by animals because the symbols and grammatical rules of any particular language are largely arbitrary, so that the system can only be acquired through social interaction.
- The study of how signs and meanings are combined, used, and interpreted is called semiotics.
- Signs can be composed of sounds, gestures, letters, or symbols, depending on whether the language is spoken, signed, or written.
- Language is traditionally seen as consisting of three parts: signs, meanings, and a code connecting signs with their meanings.

Key Terms

- **semiotics**: The study of signs and symbols, especially as means of language or communication.
- **human language**: Human language is typically used for communication, and may be spoken, signed, or written.
- **written language**: A written language is the representation of a language by means of a writing system.

Language is traditionally thought to consist of three parts: signs, meanings, and a code connecting signs with their meanings. Semiotics is the study of how signs and meanings are combined, used, and interpreted. Signs can consist of sounds, gestures, letters, or symbols, depending on whether the language is spoken, signed, or written.

Language as a whole, therefore, is the human capacity for acquiring and using complex systems of communication. A single language is any specific example of such a system. Language is based on complex rules relating spoken, signed, or written symbols to their meanings. What results is an indefinite number of possible innovative utterances from a finite number of elements.

Human language is thought to be fundamentally different from and of much higher complexity than the communication systems of other species (). Human language differs from communication used by animals () because the symbols and grammatical rules of any particular language are largely arbitrary, meaning that the system can only be acquired through social interaction. ()

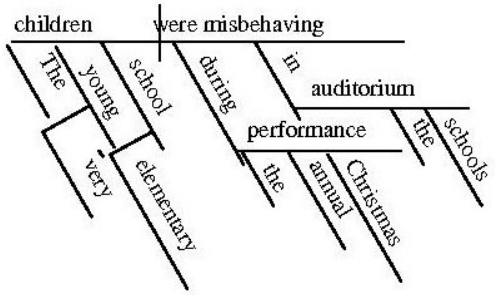


A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Can Parrots Really Talk?: Parrots mimic the sounds of human language, but have they really learned the symbolic system?



A Barking Dog: Animal sounds, like a dog's bark, may serve basic communication functions, but they lack the symbolic elements of human language.



A Sentence Diagram: Human language's grammatical structure makes it unique.

Written language is the representation of a language by means of a writing system. Written language exists only as a complement to a specific spoken language. Written languages use visual symbols to represent the sounds of the spoken languages, but they still require syntactic rules that govern the production of meaning from sequences of words.

A sign language is a language which, instead of acoustically conveying sound patterns, uses manual communication and body language to convey meaning. This can involve simultaneously combining hand shapes; orientation and movement of the hands, arms or body; and facial expressions to fluidly express a speaker's thoughts. Sign languages, like spoken languages, organize elementary units into meaningful semantic units.

Gestures

A gesture is a form of non-verbal communication in which visible bodily actions communicate particular messages.

Learning Objectives

Explain the role of gestures in the communication process

Key Points

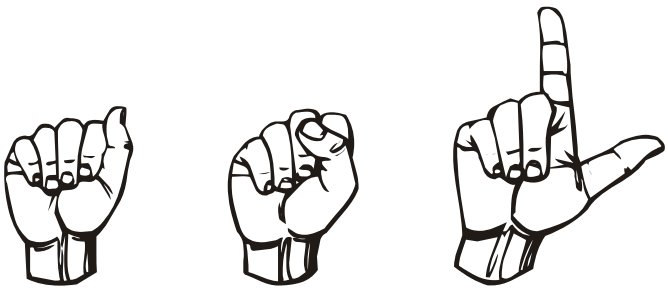
- Gestures allow individuals to communicate a variety of feelings and thoughts, from contempt and hostility to approval and affection, often together with body language in addition to spoken words.
- The most familiar categories of gestures are the so-called emblems or quotable gestures. These are conventional, culture -specific gestures that can be used as replacement for words, such as the handwave used in the U.S. for "hello" and "goodbye".
- Another broad category of gestures comprises those gestures used spontaneously when we speak. These gestures are closely coordinated with speech.
- Gestural languages such as American Sign Language and its regional siblings operate as complete natural languages that are gestural in modality.
- Gesturing is probably universal; there have been no reports of communities that do not gesture. Gestures are a crucial part of everyday conversation such as chatting, describing a route, or negotiating prices on a market.

Key Terms

- **gesture**: A motion of the limbs or body, especially one made to emphasize speech.
- **quotable gestures**: Quotable gestures are conventional, culture-specific gestures that can be used as replacement for words.
- **gestural languages**: A gestural language is a language which, instead of acoustically conveyed sound patterns, uses manual communication and body language to convey meaning. This can involve simultaneously combining hand shapes, orientation and movement of the hands, arms or body, and facial expressions to fluidly express a speaker's thoughts.

A gesture is a form of non-verbal communication in which visible bodily actions communicate particular messages, either in place of speech or together and in parallel with spoken words. Gestures include movement of the hands, face, or other parts of the body. Gestures differ from physical non-verbal communication that does not communicate specific messages, such as purely expressive displays, proxemics, or displays of joint attention. Gestures allow individuals to communicate a variety of feelings and thoughts, from contempt and hostility to approval and affection, often together with body language in addition to spoken words.

The most familiar categories of gestures are the so-called emblems or quotable gestures. These are conventional, culture-specific gestures that can be used as replacement for words, such as the handwave used in the U.S. for "hello" and "goodbye. " Another broad category of gestures comprises those gestures used spontaneously when we speak. These gestures are closely coordinated with speech. Gestural languages such as American Sign Language and its regional siblings operate as complete natural languages that are gestural.



Gestural Language: American Sign Language, or ASL, is a gestural language. This is how to sign the letters A-S-L.

Many animals, including humans, use gestures to initiate a mating ritual. This may include elaborate dances and other movements. Gestures play a major role in many aspects of human life. Gesturing is probably universal; there have been no reports of communities that do not gesture. Gestures are a crucial part of everyday conversation such as chatting, describing a route, or negotiating prices on a market; they are ubiquitous. Gestures have been documented in the arts such as in Greek vase paintings, Indian Miniatures, and European paintings.



Hand Gestures: Military air marshallers use hand and body gestures to direct flight operations aboard aircraft carriers.



Pointing: Pointing at another person with an extended finger is considered rude in many cultures.

Values

Cultures have values that are largely shared by their members, which identify what should be judged as good or evil.

Learning Objectives

Contrast values and norms

Key Points

- The values of a society can often be identified by noting which people receive honor or respect.
- Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms.
- Norms are rules for behavior in specific situations, while values identify what should be judged as good or evil.
- Members take part in a culture even if each member's personal values do not entirely agree with some of the normative values sanctioned in the culture.
- Values clarification is helping people clarify what their lives are for and what is worth working for.
- Cognitive moral education is based on the belief that students should learn to value things like democracy and justice as their moral reasoning develops.

Key Terms

- **norm**: A rule that is enforced by members of a community.
- **culture**: The beliefs, values, behavior, and material objects that constitute a people's way of life.
- **subculture**: A portion of a culture distinguished from the larger society around it by its customs or other features.

Values can be defined as broad preferences concerning appropriate courses of action or outcomes. Values reflect a person's sense of right and wrong, or what "ought" to be. Some examples of values are the concepts of "equal rights for all," "excellence deserves admiration," and "people should be treated with respect and dignity. " Values tend to influence attitudes and behavior.

Cultures have values that are largely shared by their members. Different cultures reflect different values. Noting which people receive honor or respect can provide clues to the values of a society. In the US, for example, some professional athletes are honored (in the form of monetary payment) more than college professors.

Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms. Norms are rules for behavior in specific situations, while values identify what should be judged as good or evil. Flying the national flag on a holiday is a norm, but it reflects the value of patriotism. Wearing dark clothing and appearing solemn are normative behaviors at a funeral; in certain cultures, this reflects the values of respect for and support of friends and family. Different cultures reflect different values.

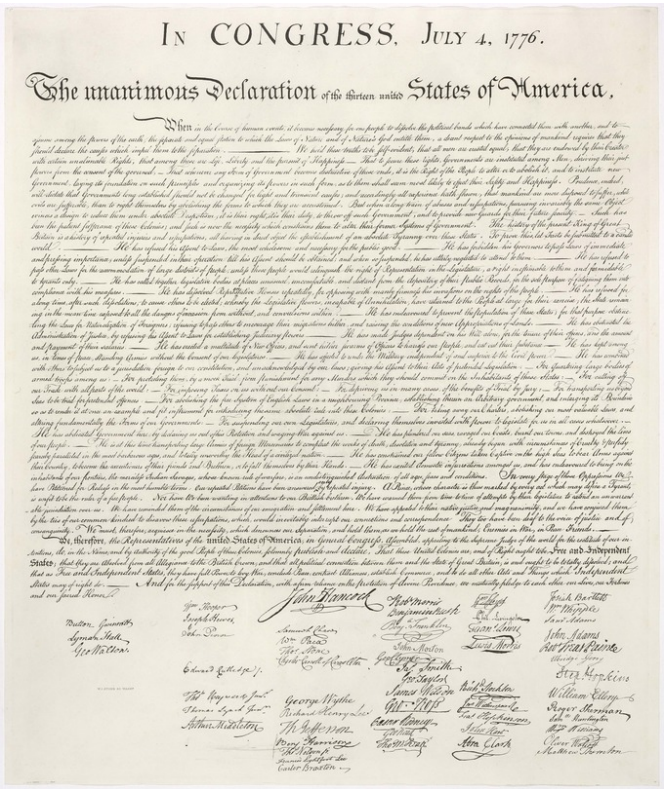
Members take part in a culture even if each member's personal values do not entirely agree with some of the normative values sanctioned in the culture. This reflects an individual's ability to synthesize and extract aspects valuable to them from the multiple subcultures to which they belong. If a group member expresses a value that is in serious conflict with the group's norms, the group's authority may encourage conformity or stigmatize the non-conforming behavior of its members.



Punk: Punk social groups are often considered marginal and are excluded from certain mainstream social spaces.



Punks as non-conformists: Members of the punk movement refused to conform to some of the normative values prevalent in Western culture.



IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

Declaration of Independence: Independence and freedom are fundamental values in the U.S.



The Liberty Bell: Many consider liberty to be a fundamental American value.

Norms

Social norms are the explicit or implicit rules specifying what behaviors are acceptable within a society or group.

Learning Objectives

Explain the origin, reinforcement, and significance of social norms in a society or group

Key Points

- Norms can be defined as the shared ways of thinking, feeling, desiring, deciding, and acting which are observable in regularly repeated behaviours and are adopted because they are assumed to solve problems.
- Social norms are neither static nor universal; they change with respect to time and vary with respect to culture, social classes, and social groups.
- Social norms can be enforced formally (e.g., through sanctions) or informally (e.g., through body language and non-verbal communication cues).
- One form of norm adoption is the formal method, where norms are written down and formally adopted. However, social norms are more likely to be informal and emerge gradually (e.g., not wearing socks with sandals).

Key Terms

- **social classes**: Social class (or simply “class”) is a set of concepts in the social sciences and political theory centered on models of social stratification in which people are grouped into a set of hierarchical social categories.
- **social group**: A collection of humans or animals that share certain characteristics, interact with one another, accept expectations and obligations as members of the group, and share a common identity.
- **social norms**: Social norms are described by sociologists as being laws that govern society’s behaviors.

Social norms are the explicit or implicit rules specifying acceptable behaviors within a society or group. They define the expected or acceptable behavior in particular circumstances. Social norms can also be defined as the shared ways of thinking, feeling, desiring, deciding, and acting which are observable in regularly repeated behaviors and are adopted because they are assumed to solve problems.

Social norms are neither static nor universal; they change with respect to time and vary with respect to culture, social classes, and social groups. What is deemed acceptable dress, speech, or behavior in one social group may not be acceptable in another.

Deference to social norms maintains one’s acceptance and popularity within a particular group. Social norms can be enforced formally (e.g., through sanctions) or informally (e.g., through body language and non-verbal communication cues). By ignoring or breaking social norms, one risks facing formal sanctions or quiet disapproval, finding oneself unpopular with or ostracized from a group.



Formal Sanctions: Norms may be enforced through informal sanctions, such as derision, or formal sanctions, such as arrest.

As social beings, individuals learn when and where it is appropriate to say certain things, use certain words, discuss certain topics, or wear certain clothes, and when it is not. Groups may adopt norms in two different ways. One form of norm adoption is the formal method, where norms are written down and formally adopted (e.g., laws, legislation, club rules). Social norms are much more likely to be informal and to emerge gradually (e.g., not wearing socks with sandals).



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Social Norms of Personal Space: Students demonstrate social norms of personal space by violating the norms. This type of experiment is called a breaching experiment.

Groups internalize norms by accepting them as reasonable and proper standards for behavior within the group. That said, while it is more likely that a new individual entering a group will

adopt the group's norms, values, and perspectives, newcomers to a group can also change a group's norms.



Same-Sex Marriage and Social Norms: In most Western countries, norms have prohibited same-sex marriage, but those norms are now changing.

Sanctions

As opposed to forms of internal control, like norms and values, sociologists consider sanctions a form of external control.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between methods of formal and informal social control

Key Points

- Sanctions can either be positive (rewards) or negative (punishment).
- Sanctions can arise from either formal or informal control.
- With informal sanctions, ridicule or ostracism can realign a straying individual towards norms. Informal sanctions may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval.
- Groups, organizations, and societies of various kinds can promulgate rules that act as formal sanctions to reward or punish behavior. For example, government and organizations use law enforcement mechanisms and other formal sanctions such as fines and imprisonment.
- To maintain control and regulate their subjects, authoritarian organizations and governments use severe sanctions such as censorship, expulsion, and limits on political freedom.

Key Terms

- **social control**: any control, either formal or informal, that is exerted by a group, especially by one's peers
- **sanction**: a penalty, or some coercive measure, intended to ensure compliance; especially one adopted by several nations, or by an international body
- **Informal sanctions**: These are the reactions of individuals and groups that bring about conformity to norms and laws. These can include peer and community pressure, bystander intervention in a crime, and collective responses such as citizen patrol groups.

Sanctions

Sanctions are mechanisms of social control. As opposed to forms of internal control, like cultural norms and values, sociologists consider sanctions a form of external control. Sanctions can either be positive (rewards) or negative (punishment), and can arise from either formal or informal control.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Formal and Informal Sanctions: Societies use formal and informal sanctions to enforce norms.

Informal Social Control and Deviance

The social values present in individuals are products of informal social control. This type of control emerges from society, but is rarely stated explicitly to individuals. Instead, it is expressed and transmitted indirectly, through customs, norms and mores. Whether consciously or not, individuals are socialized. With informal sanctions, ridicule or ostracism can cause a straying individual to realign behavior toward group norms. Informal sanctions may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval. In extreme cases, sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion. If a young boy is caught skipping school, and his peers ostracize him for his deviant behavior, they are exercising an informal sanction on him. Informal sanctions can check deviant behavior of individuals or groups, either through internalization, or through disincentivizing the deviant behavior.

As with formal controls, informal controls reward or punish acceptable or unacceptable behavior, otherwise known as

deviance. Informal controls are varied and differ from individual to individual, group to group, and society to society. To maintain control and regulate their subjects, groups, organizations, and societies of various kinds can promulgate rules that act as formal sanctions to reward or punish behavior. For example, in order to regulate behavior, government and organizations use law enforcement mechanisms and other formal sanctions such as fines and imprisonment. Authoritarian organizations and governments may rely on more directly aggressive sanctions. These actions might include censorship, expulsion, restrictions on political freedom, or violence. Typically, these more extreme sanctions emerge in situations where the public disapproves of either the government or organization in question.



A Prison Cell Block: Incarceration is a type of formal sanction.



Shame: Shame can be used as a type of informal sanction.

Folkways and Mores

Folkways and mores are informal norms that dictate behavior; however, the violation of mores carries heavier consequences.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between folkways and mores

Key Points

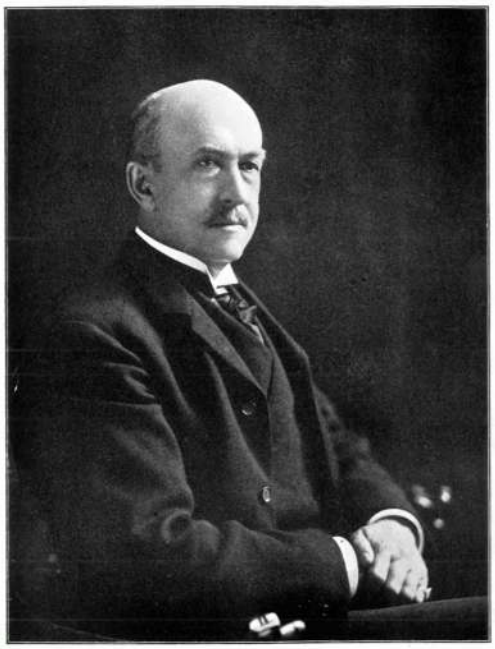
- Societal norms, or rules that are enforced by members of a community, can exist as both formal and informal rules of behavior. Informal norms can be divided into two distinct groups: folkways and mores.
- Both “mores” and “folkways” are terms coined by the American sociologist William Graham Sumner.
- Mores distinguish the difference between right and wrong, while folkways draw a line between right and rude. While folkways may raise an eyebrow if violated, mores dictate morality and come with heavy consequences.

Key Terms

- **mores**: A set of moral norms or customs derived from generally accepted practices. Mores derive from the established practices of a society rather than its written laws.
- **William Graham Sumner**: An American academic with numerous books and essays on American history, economic history, political theory, sociology, and anthropology.
- **folkway**: A custom or belief common to members of a society or culture.

Societal norms, or rules that are enforced by members of a community, can exist as both formal and informal rules of behavior. Informal norms can be divided into two distinct groups: folkways and mores. Folkways are informal rules and norms that, while not offensive to violate, are expected to be followed. Mores (pronounced *more-rays*) are also informal rules that are not written, but, when violated, result in severe punishments and social sanction upon the individuals, such as social and religious exclusions,.

William Graham Sumner, an early U.S. sociologist, recognized that some norms are more important to our lives than others. Sumner coined the term *mores* to refer to norms that are widely observed and have great moral significance. Mores are often seen as taboos; for example, most societies hold the more that adults not engage in sexual relations with children. Mores emphasize morality through right and wrong, and come with heavy consequences if violated.



William Graham Sumner, 1840-1910: William Graham Sumner coined the terms “folkways” and “mores. “

Sumner also coined the term *folkway* to refer to norms for more routine or casual interaction. This includes ideas about appropriate greetings and proper dress in different situations. In comparison to the morality of mores, folkways dictate what could be considered either polite or rude behavior. Their violation does not invite any punishment or sanctions, but may come with reprimands or warnings.

An example to distinguish the two: a man who does not wear a tie to a formal dinner party may raise eyebrows for violating folkways; were he to arrive wearing only a tie, he would violate cultural mores and invite a more serious response.

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3.3: Culture and Adaptation

The Origins of Culture

Culture is a central concept in anthropology, encompassing the range of human phenomena that cannot be attributed to genetic inheritance.

Learning Objectives

Paraphrase what is currently thought to be the reason for the development of language and complex culture

Key Points

- The term ” culture ” has two meanings: (1) the evolved human capacity to classify and represent experiences with symbols, and to act creatively; and (2) the distinct ways that people living in different parts of the world acted creatively and classified or represented their experiences.
- Distinctions are currently made between the physical artifacts created by a society, its so-called material culture and everything else, including the intangibles such as language, customs, etc. that are the main referent of the term “culture”.
- The origin of language, understood as the human capacity of complex symbolic communication, and the origin of complex culture are often thought to stem from the same evolutionary process in early man.
- Language and culture both emerged as a means of using symbols to construct social identity and maintain coherence within a social group too large to rely exclusively on the pre-human ways of building community (for example, grooming).

Key Terms

- **community**: A group sharing a common understanding and often the same language, manners, tradition and law. See civilization.
- **horticulture**: The art or science of cultivating gardens; gardening.

Culture (Latin: *cultura*, lit. “cultivation”) is a modern concept based on a term first used in classical antiquity by the Roman orator, Cicero: “cultura animi. ” The term “culture” appeared first in its current sense in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, to connote a process of cultivation or improvement, as in agriculture or horticulture. In the 19th century, the term developed to refer first to the betterment or refinement of the individual, especially through education, and then to the fulfillment of national aspirations or ideals. In the mid-19th century, some scientists used the term “culture” to refer to a universal human capacity.

In the 20th century, “culture” emerged as a central concept in anthropology, encompassing the range of human phenomena that cannot be attributed to genetic inheritance. Specifically, the term “culture” in American anthropology had two meanings: (1) the evolved human capacity to classify and represent experiences with symbols, and to act imaginatively and creatively; and (2) the distinct ways that people living in different parts of the world acted creatively and classified or represented their experiences. Distinctions are currently made between the physical artifacts created by a society, its so-called material culture and everything else, including the intangibles such as language, customs, etc. that are the main referent of the term “culture.”

The origin of language, understood as the human capacity of complex symbolic communication, and the origin of complex culture are often thought to stem from the same evolutionary process in early man. Evolutionary anthropologist Robin I. Dunbar has proposed that language evolved as early humans began to live in large communities that required the use of complex communication to maintain social coherence. Language and culture then both emerged as a means of using symbols to construct social identity and maintain coherence within a social group too large to rely exclusively on pre-human ways of building community (for example, grooming).

However, languages, now understood as the particular set of speech norms of a particular community, are also a part of the larger culture of the community that speak them. Humans use language as a way of signalling identity with one cultural group and difference from others. Even among speakers of one language, several different ways of using the language exist, and each is used to signal affiliation with particular subgroups within a larger culture.



Nomads: Anthropologists rejected the idea that culture was unique to Western society and adopted a new definition of culture that applied to all societies, literate and non-literate, settled and nomadic.

Mechanisms of Cultural Change

The belief that culture can be passed from one person to another means that cultures, although bounded, can change.

Learning Objectives

Describe at least two mechanisms which foster cultural change

Key Points

- Cultures are internally affected by both forces encouraging change and forces resisting change. These forces are related to social structures and natural events, and are involved in the perpetuation of cultural ideas and practices within current structures, which are themselves subject to change.
- Cultural change can have many causes, including the environment, technological inventions, and contact with other cultures.
- In diffusion, the form of something (though not necessarily its meaning) moves from one culture to another.
- Acculturation has different meanings, but in this context it refers to replacement of the traits of one culture with those of another, such has happened to certain Native American tribes and to many indigenous peoples across the globe during the process of colonization.
- "Direct Borrowing" on the other hand tends to refer to technological or tangible diffusion from one culture to another.
- Griswold suggests that culture changes through the contextually dependent and socially situated actions of individuals; macro-level culture influences the individual who, in turn, can influence that same culture.
- In anthropology, diffusion theory states that the form of something moves from one culture to another, but not its meaning. Acculturation theory refers to replacement of the traits of one culture with those of another.

Key Terms

- **assimilation**: The adoption, by a minority group, of the customs and attitudes of the dominant culture.
- **habit**: An action performed repeatedly and automatically, usually without awareness.

Fundamentally, although bounded, cultures can change. Cultures are internally affected by both forces encouraging change and forces resisting change. These forces are related to social structures and natural events, and are involved in the perpetuation of cultural ideas and practices within current structures, which are themselves subject to change. Resistance can come from habit, religion, and the integration and interdependence of cultural traits. For example, men and women have complementary roles in many cultures. One sex might desire changes that affect the other, as happened in the second half of the 20th century in western cultures (see, for example, the women's movement), while the other sex may be resistant to that change (possibly in order to maintain a power imbalance in their favor).



Biology versus Culture: These two avatars illustrate the basic concept of culture. One is simply a reflection of his biology; he is human. The other is a reflection of his biology and his culture: he is human and belongs to a cultural group or sub-culture.

Cultural change can have many causes, including the environment, technological inventions, and contact with other cultures. Cultures are externally affected via contact between societies, which may also produce—or inhibit—social shifts and changes in cultural practices. War or competition over resources may impact technological development or social dynamics. Additionally, cultural ideas may transfer from one society to another, through diffusion or acculturation.

Discovery and invention are mechanisms of social and cultural change. Discovery refers to the finding of new knowledge within an existing realm. Generally, it relates to discovering new understanding of a particular behavior or ritual. Invention is the creation of a new device or process. New discoveries often lead to new inventions by people.



The Change of Symbolic Meaning Over Time: The symbol of the ankh has its roots in Egyptian religious practice, but the symbol diffused over time and was adopted by other groups, including pagans, as a religious symbol.

In diffusion, the form of something (though not necessarily its meaning) moves from one culture to another. For example, hamburgers, mundane in the United States, seemed exotic when introduced into China. “Stimulus diffusion” (the sharing of ideas) refers to an element of one culture leading to an invention or propagation in another.

Acculturation has different meanings, but in this context it refers to replacement of the traits of one culture with those of another, such has happened to certain Native American tribes and to many indigenous peoples across the globe during the process of colonization. Related processes on an individual level include assimilation (adoption of a different culture by an individual) and transculturation.

Cultural Lag

The term “cultural lag” refers to the fact that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations, resulting in social problems.

Learning Objectives

Produce an example of cultural lag using an example of the tension between material and non-material culture

Key Points

- Cultural lag is not only a concept, as it also relates to a theory and explanation in sociology.
- It helps identify and explain social problems and also predict future problems.
- According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly and voluminously while non-material culture tends to resist change and remain fixed for a far longer period of time.
- Due to the opposing nature of these two aspects of culture, adaptation of new technology becomes rather difficult.

Key Terms

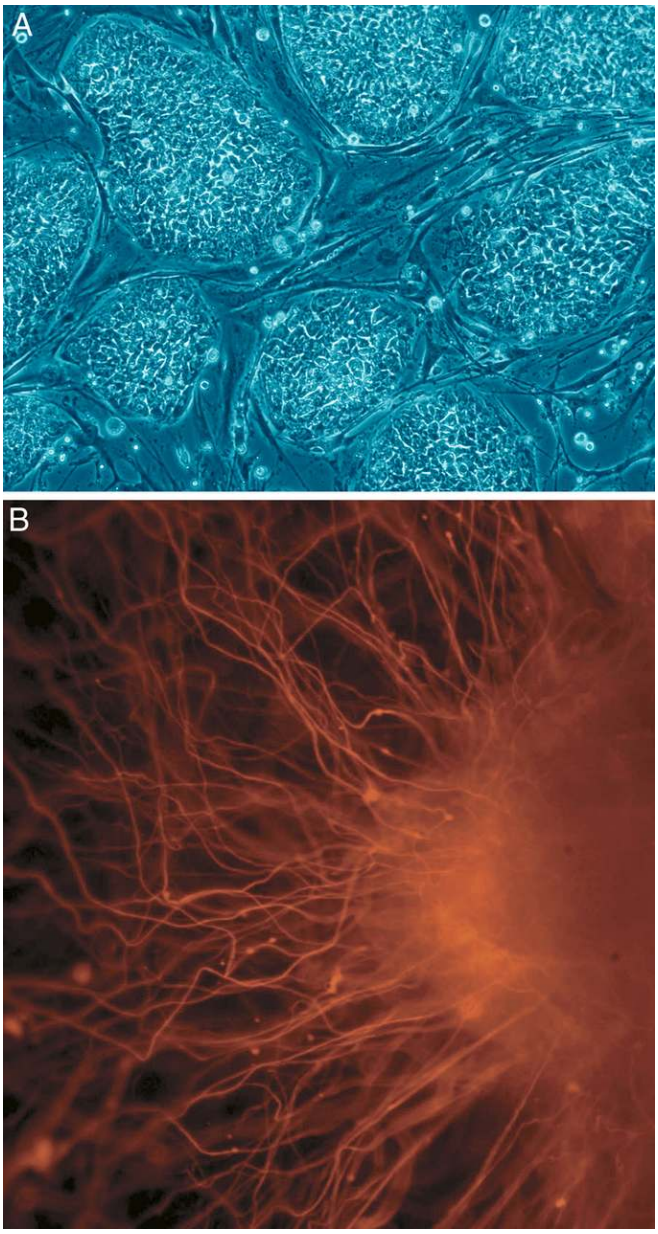
- **innovation**: The act of innovating; the introduction of something new, in customs, rites, and so on.
- **material culture**: In the social sciences, material culture is a term, developed in the late 19th and early 20th century, that refers to the relationship between artifacts and social relations.
- **non-material culture**: In contrast to material culture, non-material culture does not include any physical objects or artifacts. Examples of non-material culture include any ideas, beliefs, values, and norms that may help shape our society.

The term cultural lag refers to the notion that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations, and that social problems and conflicts are caused by this lag. Cultural lag is not only a concept, as it also relates to a theory and explanation in sociology. Cultural lag helps to identify and explain social problems and to predict future problems.

The term was coined by the sociologist William F. Ogburn in his 1922 work “Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature. ” According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly while non-material culture tends to resist change and remain fixed for a far longer period of time. His theory of cultural lag suggests that a period of maladjustment occurs when the non-material culture is struggling to adapt to new material conditions.

Due to the opposing nature of these two aspects of culture, adaptation of new technology becomes rather difficult. As explained by James W. Woodward, when material conditions change, changes are felt in the non-material culture as well. But these changes in the non-material culture do not match exactly with the change in the material culture. This delay is the cultural lag.

Cultural lag creates problems for a society in different ways. Cultural lag is seen as a critical ethical issue because failure to develop broad social consensus on appropriate uses of modern technology may lead to breakdowns in social solidarity and the rise of social conflict. The issue of cultural lag tends to permeate any discussion in which the implementation of some new technology can become controversial for society at large.



Human Embryonic Stem Cells: As example of cultural lag is human embryonic stem cells. We have the necessary technology to turn stem cells into neurons but have not yet developed ethical guidelines and cultural consensus on this practice.

Animals and Culture

Animal culture refers to cultural learning in non-human animals through socially transmitted behaviors.

Learning Objectives

Formulate a thesis which defends the idea that non-human animals have culture

Key Points

- Much cultural anthropological research has been done on non-human primates, due to their close evolutionary proximity to humans.
- One of the first signs of culture in early humans was the use of tools. Chimpanzees have been observed using tools such as rocks and sticks to obtain better access to food.
- The acquisition and sharing of behaviors correlates directly to the existence of memes, which are defined as “units of cultural transmission ” by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins.
- Though the idea of culture in animals has only been around for just over half of a century, scientists have been noting social behaviors of animals for centuries.
- Aristotle was the first to provide evidence of social learning in the bird songs. Charles Darwin first attempted to find the existence of imitation in animals when trying to prove his theory that the human mind had evolved from that of lower beings.

Key Terms

- **meme**: Any unit of cultural information, such as a practice or idea, that is transmitted verbally or by repeated action from one mind to another.
- **social behaviors**: In physiology and sociology, social behavior is behavior directed towards society, or taking place between, members of the same species.
- **cultural anthropological research**: Cultural anthropology is a branch of anthropology focused on the study of cultural variation among humans, collecting data about the impact of global economic and political processes on local cultural realities.

Animal culture refers to cultural learning in non-human animals through socially transmitted behaviors. The question of the existence of culture in non-human societies has been a contentious subject for decades due to the inexistence of a concise definition for culture. However, many scientists agree on culture being defined as a process, rather than an end product. This process, most agree, involves the social transmission of a novel behavior, both among peers and between generations. This behavior is shared by a group of animals, but not necessarily between separate groups of the same species.



Animal Culture: A chimpanzee mother and baby.

Tools and Learned Activities

One of the first signs of culture in early humans was the use of tools. Chimpanzees have been observed using tools such as rocks and sticks to obtain better access to food. There are other learned activities that have been exhibited by animals as well. Some examples of these activities that have been shown by varied animals are opening oysters, swimming, washing food, and unsealing tin lids. The acquisition and sharing of behaviors correlates directly to the existence of memes, which are defined as “units of cultural transmission” by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins. It especially reinforces the natural selection component. These learned actions are mechanisms for making life easier, and therefore longer.

History of Animal Culture

Though the idea of culture in animals has only been around for just over half of a century, scientists have been noting social behaviors of animals for centuries. Aristotle was the first to provide evidence of social learning in the bird songs. Charles Darwin first attempted to find the existence of imitation in animals when trying to prove his theory that the human mind had evolved from that of lower beings. Darwin was also the first to suggest what became known as ‘social learning’ in explaining the transmission of an adaptive behavior pattern throughout a population of honey bees.

Much cultural anthropological research has been done on non-human primates, due to their close evolutionary proximity to humans. In non-primate animals, research tends to be limited, so the evidence for culture is lacking. The subject has become more popular recently, prompting more research in the field.

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3.4: Culture Worlds

Subcultures

A subculture is a culture shared and actively participated in by a minority of people within a broader culture.

Learning Objectives

Give examples for subcultures by using Gelder's proposed criteria

Key Points

- Subcultures incorporate large parts of the broader cultures of which they are part; in specifics they may differ radically.
- The study of subcultures often consists of the study of symbolism attached to clothing, music, and other visible affectations by members of subcultures. Sociologists also study the ways in which these same symbols are interpreted by members of the dominant culture.
- Cultural appropriation is the process by which businesses often seek to capitalize on the subversive allure of subcultures in search of "cool," which remains valuable in the selling of any product.

Key Terms

- **subculture**: A portion of a culture distinguished from the larger society around it by its customs or other features.
- **symbolism**: Representation of a concept through symbols or underlying meanings of objects or qualities.
- **cultural appropriation**: Cultural appropriation is the adoption of some specific elements of one culture by a different cultural group.

In sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies, a subculture is a group of people with a culture that differentiates themselves from the larger culture to which they belong. A culture often contains numerous subcultures, which incorporate large parts of the broader cultures of which they are part; in specifics they may differ radically. Subcultures bring together like-minded individuals who feel neglected by societal standards and allow them to develop a sense of identity.

Subcultures and Symbolism

The study of subcultures often consists of the study of symbolism attached to clothing, music, and other visible affectations by members of subcultures. Additionally, sociologists study the ways in which these symbols are interpreted by members of the dominant culture. Some subcultures achieve such a status that they acquire a name. Members of a subculture often signal their membership through a distinctive and symbolic use of style, which includes fashions, mannerisms, and argot. Examples of subcultures could include bikers, military personnel, and Star Trek fans.



Trekkies: The hand gesture meaning 'live long and prosper' has spread beyond the subculture of Star Trek fans and is often recognized in mainstream culture.

Identifying Subcultures

It may be difficult to identify certain subcultures because their style—particularly clothing and music—may be adopted by mass culture for commercial purposes. Businesses often seek to capitalize on the subversive allure of subcultures in search of "cool," which remains valuable in selling of any product. This process of cultural appropriation may often result in the death or evolution of the subculture, as its members adopt new styles that appear alien to mainstream society.

In 2007, Ken Gelder proposed six key ways in which subcultures can be identified:

1. Through their often negative relations to work (as 'idle', 'parasitic', at play or at leisure, etc.)
2. Through their negative or ambivalent relation to class (since subcultures are not 'class-conscious' and don't conform to traditional class definitions)
3. Through their association with territory (the 'street', the 'hood', the club, etc.), rather than property
4. Through their movement out of the home and into non-domestic forms of belonging (i.e. social groups other than the family)
5. Through their stylistic ties to excess and exaggeration (with some exceptions)

6. Through their refusal of the banalities of ordinary life

Countercultures

Counterculture is a term describing the values and norms of a cultural group that run counter to those of the social mainstream of the day.

Learning Objectives

Apply the concept of counterculture to the rise and collapse of the US Hippie movement

Key Points

- Examples of countercultures in the U.S. could include the hippie movement of the 1960s, the green movement, polygamists, and feminist groups.
- A counterculture is a subculture with the specific characteristic that some of its beliefs, values, or norms challenge or even contradict those of the main culture with which it shares a geographic region and/or origin.
- Countercultures run counter to dominant cultures and the social mainstream of the day.

Key Terms

- **mainstream**: Purchased, used, or accepted broadly rather than by a tiny fraction of a population or market; common, usual, or conventional.
- **culture**: The beliefs, values, behavior, and material objects that constitute a people's way of life.
- **counterculture**: Any culture whose values and lifestyles are opposed to those of the established mainstream culture, especially to western culture.

"Counterculture" is a sociological term that refers to a cultural group or subculture whose values and norms of behavior run counter to those of the region's social mainstream; it can be considered the cultural equivalent of political opposition.

In the United States, the counterculture of the 1960s became identified with the rejection of conventional social norms of the 1950s. Counterculture youth rejected the cultural standards of their parents, especially with respect to racial segregation and initial widespread support for the Vietnam War.

As the 1960s progressed, widespread tensions developed in American society that tended to flow along generational lines regarding the war in Vietnam, race relations, sexual mores, women's rights, traditional modes of authority, and a materialistic interpretation of the American Dream. Hippies became the largest countercultural group in the United States. The counterculture also had access to a media eager to present their concerns to a wider public. Demonstrations for social justice created far-reaching changes affecting many aspects of society.



Hippies at an Anti-Vietnam Demonstration, 1967: A female demonstrator offers a flower to military police on guard at the Pentagon during an anti-Vietnam demonstration.

The counterculture in the United States lasted from roughly 1964 to 1973 — coinciding with America's involvement in Vietnam — and reached its peak in 1967, the "Summer of Love. " The movement divided the country: to some Americans, these attributes reflected American ideals of free speech, equality, world peace, and the pursuit of happiness; to others, the same attributes reflected a self-indulgent, pointlessly rebellious, unpatriotic, and destructive assault on America's traditional moral order.

The counterculture collapsed circa 1973, and many have attributed its collapse to two major reasons: First, the most popular of its political goals — civil rights, civil liberties, gender equality, environmentalism, and the end of the Vietnam War — were accomplished. Second, a decline of idealism and hedonism occurred as many notable counterculture figures died, the rest settled into mainstream society and started their own families, and the "magic economy" of the 1960s gave way to the stagflation of the 1970s.

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3.5: Culture and the Dominant Ideology in the U.S.

An Overview of U.S. Values

Despite certain consistent values (e.g. individualism, egalitarianism, freedom, democracy), American culture has a variety of expressions.

Learning Objectives

Defend the notion that America has both consistent values and a variety of expressions

Key Points

- Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms. Norms are rules for behavior in specific situations, while values identify what should be judged as good or evil.
- American culture includes both conservative and liberal elements, scientific and religious competitiveness, political structures, risk taking and free expression, materialist and moral elements.
- American culture has a variety of expressions due to its geographical scale and demographic diversity.
- Since the late 1970's, the term " traditional values " has become synonymous with " family values" in the U.S., and implies a congruence with mainstream Christianity. However "family values" is arguably a modern politicized subset of traditional values, which is a larger concept.

Key Terms

- **traditional**: Of or pertaining to tradition; derived from tradition; communicated from ancestors to descendants by word only; transmitted from age to age without writing; as, traditional opinions; traditional customs; traditional expositions of the Scriptures.
- **liberal**: Open to political or social changes and reforms associated with either classical or modern liberalism.
- **conservative**: A person who favors maintenance of the status quo or reversion to some earlier status.

Cultures have values that are largely shared by their members. The values of a society can often be identified by noting that which people receive, honor or respect.

Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms. Norms are rules for behavior in specific situations, while values identify what should be judged as either good or evil. Flying the national flag on a holiday is a norm, but it reflects the value of patriotism. Wearing dark clothing and appearing solemn are normative behaviors at a funeral; in certain cultures, they reflect the values of respect and support for friends and family.



The Statue of Liberty: The Statue of Liberty symbolizes freedom, a fundamental American value.

Different cultures reflect different values. American culture includes both conservative and liberal elements, such as scientific and religious competitiveness, political structures, risk taking and free expression, materialist and moral elements. Aside from certain consistent ideological principles (e.g. individualism, egalitarianism and faith in freedom and democracy), American culture's geographical scale and demographic diversity has spawned a variety of expressions. The flexibility of U.S. culture and its highly symbolic nature lead some researchers to categorize American culture as a mythic identity, while others recognize it as American exceptionalism.



Declaration of Independence: Many fundamental American values are derived from the Declaration of Independence.

Since the late 1970's, the terms "traditional values" and"family values" have become synonymous in the U.S., and imply a congruence with mainstream Christianity. However, the term "family values" is arguably a modern politicized subset of traditional values, which is a larger concept, anthropologically speaking. Although It is also not necessarily a political idea, it has become associated with both the particular correlation

between Evangelicalism and politics (as embodied by American politicians such as Ronald Reagan, Dan Quayle and George W. Bush), as well as the broader Christianity movement (as exemplified by Pat Robertson).



Traditional values as "family values"?: "Family values" is arguably a modern politicized subset of traditional values.

Value Clusters

People from different backgrounds tend to have different value systems, which cluster together into a more or less consistent system.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the separation of world values into the categories of 'self-expression' and 'survival'

Key Points

- The World Values Survey is used to identify different clusters of values around the world.
- Traditional and survival values tend to cluster in developing countries.
- With industrialization, countries shift from traditional to secular values.
- With the rise of knowledge economies, countries tend to shift from survival to self-expression values.
- With the rise of knowledge economies, countries tend to shift from survival to self-expression values.

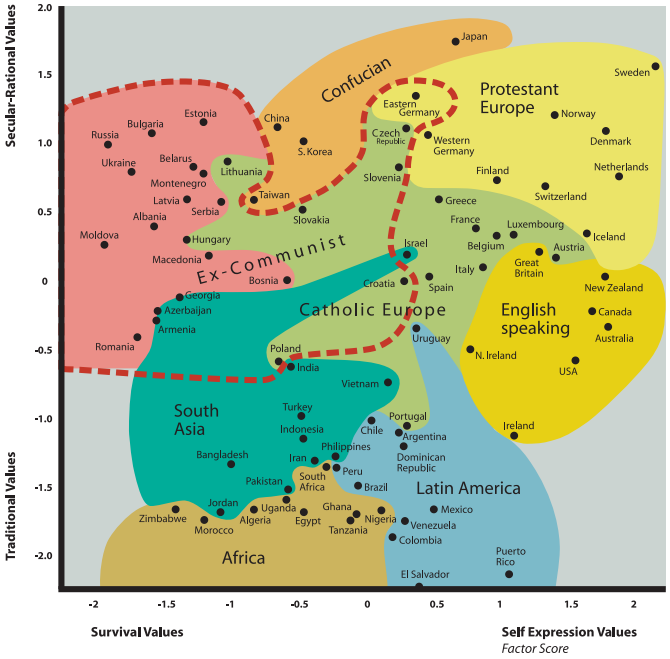
Key Terms

- **Secular Values**: Secular values, as opposed to traditional values, base morality on human faculties such as logic, reason, or moral intuition, rather than on purported supernatural revelation or guidance (which is the source of religious ethics).
- **Traditional Values**: Traditional values emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority and traditional family values. People who embrace these values also reject divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide. These societies have high levels of national pride and a nationalistic outlook.

People from different backgrounds tend to have different sets of values, or value systems. Certain values may cluster together into a more or less consistent system. A communal or cultural value system is held by and applied to a community, group, or society. Some communal value systems are reflected in legal codes and laws.

World Values Survey

Some sociologists are interested in better defining and measuring value clusters in different countries. To do so, they have developed what is called the World Values Survey, a survey of questions given to people around the world and used to identify different clusters of values in different regions. Over the years, the World Values Survey has demonstrated that people's beliefs play a key role in defining life in different countries—defining anything from a nation's economic development to the emergence of democratic institutions to the rise of gender equality.



World Values Survey: The World Values Survey is administered to people around the world. Their responses are aggregated and can be used to reveal regional value clusters, like those displayed in this map.

Trends

In general, the World Values Survey has revealed two major axes along which values cluster: (1) a continuum from traditional to secular values and (2) a continuum from survival to self-expression. Traditional values emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority, and traditional family values. People who embrace these values also reject divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide. These societies have high levels of national pride and a nationalistic outlook. Secular values have the opposite preferences to the traditional values. These societies place less emphasis on religion, traditional family values, and authority. Divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide are seen as relatively acceptable. Industrialization tends to bring a shift from traditional values to secular ones.

With the rise of the knowledge society, cultural change moves in a new direction. The transition from industrial society to knowledge society is linked to a shift from survival values to self-expression values. In knowledge societies, such as the United States, an increasing share of the population has grown up taking survival for granted. Survival values place emphasis on economic and physical security. It is linked with a relatively ethnocentric outlook and low levels of trust and tolerance. Self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection; tolerance of foreigners, gays, and lesbians; gender equality; and participation in decision-making as it relates to economic and political life.

Value Contradictions

Although various values often reinforce one another, these clusters of values may also include values that contradict one another.

Learning Objectives

Analyze a scenario in which a value system, either individual or collective, is shown to be internally inconsistent, and then resolve the conflict

Key Points

- Value systems may contain value contradictions. A value system by itself is internally inconsistent if its values contradict each other, and its exceptions are highly situational and inconsistently applied.
- Value contradictions can also arise within systems of personal or communal values.
- Often, conflicts arise due to value systems contradictions. Society tries to resolve value contradictions in order to reduce conflict.
- Society tries to resolve value contradictions.

Key Terms

- **Value Contradictions**: A value system by itself is internally inconsistent or contradictory if its values contradict each other, and its exceptions are highly situational and inconsistently applied.
- **Value Consistency**: A value system in its own right is internally consistent when its values do not contradict each other, and its exceptions are abstract enough to be used in all situations and consistently applied.
- **Communal Values**: A communal or cultural value system is held by and applied to a community/ group/society. Some communal value systems are reflected in the form of legal codes or law.

Although value clusters generally work together so that various values reinforce one another, at times, these clusters of values may also include values that contradict one another. Value contradictions can arise between individual and communal value systems. That is, as a member of a society, group, or community, an individual can hold both a personal value system and a communal value system at the same time. In this case, the two value systems (one personal and one communal) are externally consistent provided they bear no contradictions or situational exceptions between them.

Value contradictions can also arise within individual or communal value systems. A value system is internally consistent (value consistency) when its values do not contradict each other and its exceptions are abstract enough to be used in all situations

and consistently applied. Conversely, a value system by itself is internally inconsistent if its values contradict each other and its exceptions are highly situational and inconsistently applied. A value contradiction could be based on a difference in how people rank the value of things, or on fundamental value conflict. For example, although sharing a set of common values, such as hockey is better than baseball or ice cream is better than fruit, two different parties might not rank those values equally. Also, two parties might disagree as to whether certain actions are right or wrong, both in theory and in practice, and find themselves in an ideological or physical conflict.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Personal value contradictions: Individuals may have inconsistent personal values. For example, Donald Trump claims to be pro-life and also an avid supporter of the death penalty.

Conflicts are often a result of differing value systems. An example conflict would be a value system based on individualism pitted against a value system based on collectivism. A rational value system organized to resolve the conflict between two such value systems might take this form: Individuals may act freely unless their actions harm others or interfere with others' freedom or with functions of society that individuals need, provided those functions do not themselves interfere with these proscribed individual rights and were agreed to by a majority of the individuals.



Protestors clash with police at the 1999 WTO summit in Seattle: People whose personal values conflict with communal values may try to change communal values through protest.



Life of George Washington–The farmer: This picture, by French artist Régnier, shows George Washington standing among African American field workers. The practice of slavery represents a value contradiction between wealth and liberty.

Emerging Values

Values tend to change over time, and the dominant values in a country might shift as that country undergoes economic and social change.

Learning Objectives

Criticize materialist values for the sake of argument

Key Points

- Millennials and Baby Boomers grew up under different conditions and therefore have different values.
- People who grow up worrying about meeting their basic material needs will tend to have materialist values that emphasize survival and meeting basic needs.
- People who grow up without having to worry about meeting basic material needs will tend to have post-materialist values

such as self-expression.

Key Terms

- **autonomy**: Self-government; freedom to act or function independently.
- **values**: A collection of guiding principles; what one deems to be correct and desirable in life, especially regarding personal conduct.

Values tend to change over time. The dominant values in a country may shift as that country undergoes economic and social change. Often, such value change can be observed in generational differences. For example, most young adults today share similar values. They are sometimes referred to as Generation Y or Milliennials. This generation was born in the 1980s and 1990s, and raised in a much more technologically advanced environment.



Millennials (Generation Y): This generation was born in the 1980s and 1990s, a time of major technological advancement.

Milliennials tend to have different values than the previous generation. Some common, notable tendencies are:

- wanting to "make a difference" or have purpose
- wanting to balance work with the rest of life
- excessive seeking of fun and variety
- questioning authority or refusal to respond to authority without "good reason"
- unlimited ambition coupled with overly demanding, confrontational personality
- lack of commitment in the face of unmet expectations
- extreme sense of loyalty to family, friends, and self

By contrast, their parents or grandparents tend to belong to the Baby Boom generation, born between 1946 and 1964. Baby Boomers did not grow up with the same technologies as today's youth. Instead, they came of age during the 1960s and 1970s, and their values were often formed in support of or reaction to the political and social issues of the time. Whereas the generation before the Baby Boom was concerned with economic and physical security, Boomers tend to have what are referred to as post-materialist values.



Civil Rights Movement: The right to assembly protects citizens' rights to gather together to peacefully protest. This right was frequently exercised during the Civil Rights Movement (depicted here).

Post-materialist values emphasize non-material values like freedom and the ability to express oneself. The rising prosperity of the post-WWII years fostered these values by liberating people from the overriding concern for material security. Sociologists explain the rise of post-materialist values in two ways. First, they argue that individuals pursue various goals in order of basic necessity. While people may universally aspire to freedom and autonomy, the most pressing material needs like hunger, thirst, and physical security have to be satisfied first, since they are immediately linked with survival. These materialistic goals will have priority over post-materialist goals like belonging, esteem, and aesthetic and intellectual satisfaction. Once satisfaction has been achieved from these material survival needs, focus will gradually shift to the nonmaterial.

Second, sociologists suggest that people's basic values are largely fixed when they reach adulthood, and change relatively little thereafter. For example, those who experience economic scarcity in childhood may as adults place a high value on meeting economic needs (such as valuing economic growth above protecting the environment) and on safety needs (such as supporting more authoritarian styles of leadership or exhibiting strong feelings of national pride—e.g., maintaining a strong army or willingness to sacrifice civil liberties for the sake of law and order). On the other hand, those who mainly experienced sustained material affluence during youth might give high priority to values such as individual improvement, personal freedom, citizen input in government decisions, the ideal of a society based on humanism, and maintaining a clean and healthy environment. Because values are set when people are young, value change can be slow. The values we see emerging today may depend on material conditions nearly a generation ago.

Culture Wars

In American usage, “culture war” refers to the claim that there is a conflict between those conservative and liberal values.

Learning Objectives

Support the notion of a culture war by giving an example from your own contemporary society

Key Points

- A culture war is a struggle between two sets of conflicting cultural values.
- Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci argued for a culture war in which anti-capitalist elements seek to gain a dominant voice in the mass media, education, and other mass institutions.
- Members of the religious right accused their political opponents of undermining tradition, Western civilization, and family values.
- James Davison Hunter argued that on an increasing number of “hot-button” defining issues, such as abortion, gun politics, separation of church and state, privacy, recreational drug use, homosexuality, and censorship issues, there existed two definable polarities.
- James Davison Hunter argued that on an increasing number of “hot-button” defining issues — abortion, gun politics, separation of church and state, privacy, recreational drug use, homosexuality, censorship issues — there existed two definable polarities.

Key Terms

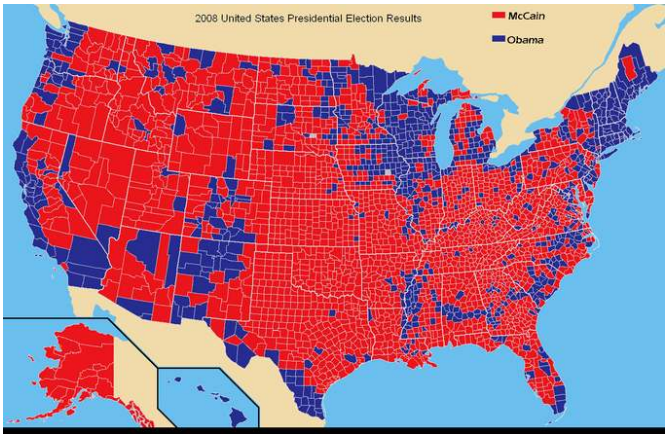
- **progressive**: Favoring or promoting progress; advanced.
- **religious right**: The religious or Christian right is a term used in the United States to describe right-wing Christian political groups that are characterized by their strong support of socially conservative policies. Christian conservatives principally seek to apply their understanding of the teachings of Christianity to politics and public policy by proclaiming the value of those teachings and/or by seeking to use those teachings to influence law and public policy.
- **kulturkampf**: A conflict between secular and religious authorities, especially the struggle between the Roman Catholic Church and the German government under Bismarck.

A culture war is a struggle between two sets of conflicting cultural values. This can be framed to describe west versus east, rural versus urban, or traditional values versus progressive secularism. The concept of a culture war has been in use in English since at least its adoption as a calque (loan translation) to refer to the German “Kulturkampf.”

Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci presented in the 1920s a theory of cultural hegemony. He stated that a culturally diverse society can be dominated by one class who has a monopoly over the mass media and popular culture, and Gramsci argued for a culture war in which anti-capitalist elements seek to gain a dominant voice in the mass media, education, and other mass institutions.

As an American phenomenon, it originated in the 1920s when urban and rural American values came into clear conflict. In American usage, the term culture war is used to claim that there is a conflict between those values considered traditionalist or conservative and those considered progressive or liberal. In the 1980s, the culture war in America was characterized by the conservative climate during the presidency of Ronald Reagan. Members of the religious right often criticized academics and artists, and their works, in a struggle against what they considered indecent, subversive, and blasphemous. They often accused their political opponents of undermining tradition, Western civilization and family values.

The expression was introduced again by the 1991 publication of *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* by James Davison Hunter, a sociologist at the University of Virginia. Hunter described what he saw as a dramatic realignment and polarization that had transformed American politics and culture. He argued that on an increasing number of “hot-button” defining issues, such as abortion, gun politics, separation of church and state, privacy, recreational drug use, homosexuality, and censorship issues, there existed two definable polarities. Furthermore, not only were there a number of divisive issues, but society had divided along essentially the same lines on these issues, so as to constitute two warring groups, defined primarily not by religion, ethnicity, social class, or even political affiliation, but rather by ideological world views.



Culture Wars: So-called red state/blue state maps have become popular for showing election results. Some suggest that the red state/blue state divide maps the battle lines in the culture wars.

Values as Binders

Cultures hold values that are largely shared by their members, thereby binding members together.

Learning Objectives

Compose a scenario which illustrates a potential clash between personal and cultural/societal values

Key Points

- Values and value systems are guidelines that determine what is important in a society, reflecting a person's sense of right and wrong, or what "ought" to be.
- Types of values include ethical/moral value, doctrinal/ideological (religious or political) values, social values, and aesthetic values.
- While a personal value system is held by and applied to one individual only, a communal or cultural value system is held by and applied to a community / group /society.
- Cultures have values that are largely shared by their members, thereby binding members together. Members take part in a culture even if each member's personal values do not entirely agree with some of the normative values sanctioned in the culture.
- Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms.
- Values can act as blinders if people take their own personal values (or their society's values) as universal truths and fail to recognize the diversity of values held across people and societies.

Key Terms

- **value system**: a set of consistent personal and cultural values used for the purpose of ethical or ideological integrity.
- **value**: The degree of importance given to something.

Values and value systems are guidelines that determine what is important in a society. They can be defined as broad preferences concerning appropriate courses of action or outcomes. Values reflect a person's sense of right and wrong, or what "ought" to be. *"Equal rights for all," "Excellence deserves admiration,"* and *"People should be treated with respect and dignity"* are representative of values. Types of values include ethical/moral value, doctrinal/ideological (religious, political, etc.) values, social values, and aesthetic values.

Values tend to influence attitudes and behavior. For example, if you value equal rights for all and you work for an organization that treats some employees markedly better than others, this may cause internal conflict. A value system is a set of consistent personal and cultural values used for the purpose of ethical or ideological integrity. While a personal value system is held by and applied to one individual only, a communal or cultural value system is held by and applied to a community/group/society. Some communal value systems are reflected in the form of legal codes or law. As a member of a society, group, or community, an individual can hold both a personal value system and a communal value system at the same time. In this case, the two value systems (one personal and one communal) are externally consistent provided they bear no contradictions or situational exceptions between them.

Cultures have values that are largely shared by their members, thereby binding members together. Members take part in a culture even if each member's personal values do not entirely agree with some of the normative values sanctioned in the culture. This reflects an individual's ability to synthesize and extract aspects valuable to them from the multiple subcultures to which they belong. Values vary across individuals and cultures, and change over time; in many ways, they are aligned with belief and belief systems. Noting which people receive honor or respect can often identify the values of a society. In the US, for example, professional athletes at the top levels in some sports are honored (in the form of monetary payment) more than college professors. Surveys show that voters in the United States would be reluctant to elect an atheist as a president, suggesting that belief in God is a value.

Values are related to the norms of a culture, but they are more global and abstract than norms. Normsare rules for behavior in specific situations, while values identify what should be judged as right or wrong. Flying the national flag on a holiday is a norm, but it reflects the value of patriotism. Wearing dark clothing and appearing solemn are normative behaviors at a funeral. In certain cultures, they reflect the values of respect and support of friends and family. If a group member expresses a value that is in serious conflict with the group's norms, the group's authority may carry out various ways of encouraging conformity or stigmatizing the non-conforming behavior of its members. For example, transgender individuals hold the value of freedom to identify and express their gender as they choose; however this value is not shared by much of society, and discriminatory laws and practices prevent this freedom.

Values can act as blinders if people take their own personal values (or their society's values) as universal truths and fail to recognize the diversity of values held across people and societies. They may believe their values determine the only way to understand and act in the world, when, in fact, different people and different societies may have widely divergent values.



Blinders: Values can act as blinders if people fail to recognize the diversity of values held across people and cultures, and assume their own society's values are universal truths.

Ideal vs. Real Culture

Any given culture contains a set of values that determine what is important to the society; these values can be idealized or realized.

Learning Objectives

Compare the idea of an idealized and a realized value system

Key Points

- Ideal values are absolute; they bear no exceptions. These values can be codified as a strict set of proscriptions on behavior.
- A realized value system contains exceptions to resolve the contradictions between ideal values and practical realities in everyday circumstances.
- Whereas we might refer to ideal values when listing American values (or even our own values), the values that we uphold in daily life tend to be real values.

Key Terms

- **real values**: values that contain exceptions to resolve the contradictions inherent between ideal values and practical realities.
- **ideal values**: absolute values that bear no exceptions and can be codified as a strict set of proscriptions on behavior.

Any given culture contains a set of values and value systems that determine what is important to the society as a whole. When we talk about American values, we often have in mind a set of ideal values. Ideal values are absolute; they bear no exceptions. These values can be codified as a strict set of proscriptions on behavior, and those who hold to their idealized value system and claim no exceptions are often referred to as absolutists.

An example of an ideal value is the idea of marriage and monogamy based on romantic love. In reality, many marriages are based on things other than romantic love (such as money, convenience, or social expectation), and many end in divorce. While monogamous marriages based on romantic love certainly do exist, such marriages are not universal, despite our value ideals.



The Ideal Marriage?: In ideal culture, marriage is forever, but in real culture, many marriages end in divorce.

Few things in life exist without exception. Along with every value system comes exceptions to those values. Abstract exceptions serve to reinforce the ranking of values; their definitions are generalized enough to be relevant to any and all situations. Situational exceptions, on the other hand, are ad hoc and pertain only to specific situations. With these exceptions, real values emerge. A realized value system, as opposed to an ideal value system, contains exceptions to resolve the contradictions between ideal values and practical realities in everyday circumstances.

Whereas we might refer to ideal values when listing American values (or even our own values), the values that we uphold in daily life tend to be real values. The difference between these two types of systems can be seen when people state that they hold one value system, yet in practice deviate from it, thus holding a different value system. For example, a religion lists an absolute set of values, while the practice of that religion may include exceptions.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: Socialization

4.1: The Role of Socialization
4.2: The Self and Socialization
4.3: Theories of Socialization
4.4: Learning Personality, Morality, and Emotions
4.5: Agents of Socialization
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4.1: The Role of Socialization

The Role of Socialization

Socialization prepares people for social life by teaching them a group's shared norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors.

Learning Objectives

Describe the three goals of socialization and why each is important

Key Points

- Socialization prepares people to participate in a social group by teaching them its norms and expectations.
- Socialization has three primary goals: teaching impulse control and developing a conscience, preparing people to perform certain social roles, and cultivating shared sources of meaning and value.
- Socialization is culturally specific, but this does not mean certain cultures are better or worse than others.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **Jeffrey J. Arnett**: In his 1995 paper, "Broad and Narrow Socialization: The Family in the Context of a Cultural Theory," sociologist Jeffrey J. Arnett outlined his interpretation of the three primary goals of socialization.
- **norm**: A rule that is enforced by members of a community.

The role of socialization is to acquaint individuals with the norms of a given social group or society. It prepares individuals to participate in a group by illustrating the expectations of that group.

Socialization is very important for children, who begin the process at home with family, and continue it at school. They are taught what will be expected of them as they mature and become full members of society. Socialization is also important for adults who join new social groups. Broadly defined, it is the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to future group members.



Socialization in School: Schools, such as this kindergarten in Afghanistan, serve as primary sites of socialization.

Three Goals of Socialization

In his 1995 paper, "Broad and Narrow Socialization: The Family in the Context of a Cultural Theory," sociologist Jeffrey J. Arnett outlined his interpretation of the three primary goals of socialization. First, socialization teaches impulse control and helps individuals develop a conscience. This first goal is accomplished naturally: as people grow up within a particular society, they pick up on the expectations of those around them and internalize these expectations to moderate their impulses and develop a conscience. Second, socialization teaches individuals how to prepare for and perform certain social roles—occupational roles, gender roles, and the roles of institutions such as marriage and parenthood. Third, socialization cultivates shared sources of meaning and value. Through socialization, people learn to identify what is important and valued within a particular culture.

The term "socialization" refers to a general process, but socialization always takes place in specific contexts. Socialization is culturally specific: people in different cultures are socialized differently, to hold different beliefs and values, and to behave in different ways. Sociologists try to understand socialization, but they do not rank different schemes of socialization as good or bad; they study practices of socialization to determine why people behave the way that they do.

Nature vs. Nurture: A False Debate

Is nature (an individual's innate qualities) or nurture (personal experience) more important in determining physical and behavioral traits?

Learning Objectives

Discuss both sides of the nature versus nurture debate, understanding the implications of each

Key Points

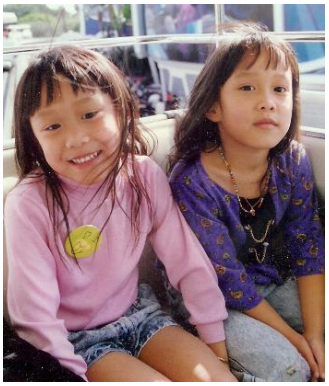
- Nature refers to innate qualities like human nature or genetics.
- Nurture refers to care given to children by parents or, more broadly, to environmental influences such as media and marketing.
- The nature versus nurture debate raises philosophical questions about determinism and free will.

Key Terms

- **nurture**: The environmental influences that contribute to the development of an individual; see also nature.
- **nature**: The innate characteristics of a thing. What something will tend by its own constitution, to be or do. Distinct from what might be expected or intended.
- **determinism**: The doctrine that all actions are determined by the current state and immutable laws of the universe, with no possibility of choice.

The nature versus nurture debate rages over whether an individual's innate qualities or personal experiences are more important in determining physical and behavioral traits.

In the social and political sciences, the nature versus nurture debate may be compared with the structure versus agency debate, a similar discussion over whether social structure or individual agency (choice or free will) is more important for determining individual and social outcomes.



Identical Twins: Because of their identical genetic makeup, twins are used in many studies to assess the nature versus nurture debate.

Historically, the "nurture" in the nature versus nurture debate has referred to the care parents give to children. But today, the concept of nurture has expanded to refer to any environmental factor – which may arise from prenatal, parental, extended family, or peer experiences, or even from media, marketing, and socioeconomic status. Environmental factors could begin to influence development even before it begins: a substantial amount of individual variation might be traced back to environmental influences that affect prenatal development.

The "nature" in the nature versus nurture debate generally refers to innate qualities. In historical terms, nature might refer to human nature or the soul. In modern scientific terms, it may refer to genetic makeup and biological traits. For example, researchers have long studied twins to determine the influence of biology on personality traits. These studies have revealed that twins, raised separately, still share many common personality traits, lending credibility to the nature side of the debate. However, sample sizes are usually small, so generalization of the results must be done with caution.

The nature versus nurture debate conjures deep philosophical questions about free will and determinism. The "nature" side may be criticized for implying that we behave in ways in which we are naturally inclined, rather than in ways we choose. Similarly, the "nurture" side may be criticized for implying that we behave in ways determined by our environment, not ourselves.

Of course, sociologists point out that our environment is, at least in part, a social creation.

Sociobiology

Sociobiology examines and explains social behavior based on biological evolution.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the concept of sociobiology in relation to natural selection and Charles Darwin, as well as genetics and instinctive behaviors

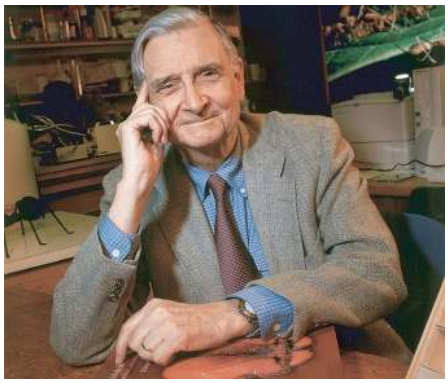
Key Points

- Sociobiologists believe that human behavior, like nonhuman animal behavior, can be partly explained as the outcome of natural selection.
- Sociobiologists are interested in instinctive, or intuitive behavior, and in explaining the similarities, rather than the differences, between cultures.
- Many critics draw an intellectual link between sociobiology and biological determinism, the belief that most human differences can be traced to specific genes rather than differences in culture or social environments.

Key Terms

- **biological determinism**: The hypothesis that biological factors such as an organism's genes (as opposed to social or environmental factors) determine psychological and behavioral traits.
- **natural selection**: A process by which heritable traits conferring survival and reproductive advantage to individuals, or related individuals, tend to be passed on to succeeding generations and become more frequent in a population, whereas other less favorable traits tend to become eliminated.
- **sociobiology**: The science that applies the principles of evolutionary biology to the study of social behavior in both humans and animals.

Sociobiology is a field of scientific study which is based on the assumption that social behavior has resulted from evolution. It attempts to explain and examine social behavior within that context. Often considered a branch of biology and sociology, it also draws from ethology, anthropology, evolution, zoology, archaeology, population genetics, and other disciplines. Within the study of human societies, sociobiology is very closely allied to the fields of Darwinian anthropology, human behavioral ecology, and evolutionary psychology. While the term "sociobiology" can be traced to the 1940s, the concept didn't gain major recognition until 1975 with the publication of Edward O. Wilson's book, Sociobiology: The New Synthesis.



Edward O. Wilson: E. O. Wilson is a central figure in the history of sociobiology.

Sociobiologists believe that human behavior, like nonhuman animal behavior, can be partly explained as the outcome of natural selection. They contend that in order to fully understand behavior, it must be analyzed in terms of evolutionary considerations. Natural selection is fundamental to evolutionary theory. Variants of hereditary traits, which increase an organism's ability to survive and reproduce, are more likely to be passed on to subsequent generations. Thus, inherited behavioral mechanisms that allowed an organism a greater chance of surviving and reproducing in the past are more likely to survive in present organisms.

Following this evolutionary logic, sociobiologists are interested in how behavior can be explained as a result of selective pressures in the history of a species. Thus, they are often interested in instinctive, or intuitive behavior, and in explaining the similarities, rather than the differences, between cultures. Sociobiologists reason that common behaviors likely evolved over time because they made individuals who exhibited those behaviors more likely to survive and reproduce.

Many critics draw an intellectual link between sociobiology and biological determinism, the belief that most human differences can be traced to specific genes rather than differences in culture or social environments. Critics also see parallels between sociobiology and biological determinism as a philosophy underlying the social Darwinian and eugenics movements of the early 20th century as well as controversies in the history of intelligence testing.

Deprivation and Development

Social deprivation, or prevention from culturally normal interaction with society, affects mental health and impairs child development.

Learning Objectives

Explain why social deprivation is problematic for a person (especially children) and the issues it can lead to

Key Points

- As they develop, humans go through several critical periods, or windows of time during which they need to experience particular environmental stimuli in order to develop properly.
- Feral children provide an example of the effects of severe social deprivation during critical developmental periods.
- Attachment theory argues that infants must develop stable, on-going relationships with at least one adult caregiver in order to form a basis for successful development.
- The term maternal deprivation is a catch phrase summarizing the early work of psychiatrist and psychoanalyst John Bowlby on the effects of separating infants and young children from their mother.
- In United States law, the "tender years" doctrine was long applied when custody of infants and toddlers was preferentially given to mothers.

Key Terms

- **feral children**: A feral child is a human child who has lived isolated from human contact from a very young age, and has no experience of human care, loving or social behavior, and, crucially, of human language.
- **Attachment Theory**: Attachment theory describes the dynamics of long-term relationships between humans. Its most important tenet is that an infant needs to develop a relationship with at least one primary caregiver for social and emotional development to occur normally.
- **Social deprivation**: In instances of social deprivation, particularly for children, social experiences tend to be less varied and development may be delayed or hindered.

Humans are social beings, and social interaction is essential to normal human development. Social deprivation occurs when an individual is deprived of culturally normal interaction with the rest of society. Certain groups of people are more likely to experience social deprivation. For example, social deprivation often occurs along with a broad network of correlated factors that all contribute to social exclusion; these factors include mental illness, poverty, poor education, and low socioeconomic status.

By observing and interviewing victims of social deprivation, research has provided an understanding of how social deprivation is linked to human development and mental illness. As they develop, humans pass through critical periods, or windows of time during which they need to experience particular environmental stimuli in order to develop properly. But when individuals experience social deprivation, they miss those critical periods. Thus, social deprivation may delay or hinder development, especially for children.

Feral children provide an example of the effects of severe social deprivation during critical developmental periods. Feral children are children who grow up without social interaction. In some cases, they may have been abandoned early in childhood and grown up in the wilderness. In other cases, they may have been abused by parents who kept them isolated from other people. In several recorded cases, feral children failed to develop language skills, had only limited social understanding, and could not be rehabilitated.

Attachment theory may explain why social deprivation has such dire effects for children. According to attachment theory, an infant needs to develop a relationship with at least one primary caregiver for social and emotional development to occur normally.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Attachment Theory: This film provides an explanation of John Bowlby's Attachment Theory.



Maternal Deprivation: The idea that separation from the female caregiver has profound effects is one with considerable resonance outside the conventional study of child development.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Maternal Deprivation: This clip is of footage from a 1952 study on maternal deprivation that found babies suffer emotional damage when separated from their mothers

Isolation and Development

Social isolation refers to a complete or near-complete lack of contact with society, which can affect all aspects of a person's life.

Learning Objectives

Interpret why social isolation can be problematic for a person in society and the importance of social connections

Key Points

- True social isolation is not the same as loneliness. It is often a chronic condition that persists for years and affects all aspects of a person's existence.
- Emotional isolation is a term used to describe a state of isolation where the individual is emotionally isolated, but may have a well functioning social network.
- Social networks promote good health by providing direct support, encouraging healthy behaviors, and linking people with diffuse social networks that facilitate access to a wide range of resources supportive of health.
- Sociologists debate whether new technologies, such as the Internet and mobile phones, exacerbate social isolation or encourage it.
- A widely-held hypothesis is that social ties link people with diffuse social networks that facilitate access to a wide range of resources supportive of health.

Key Terms

- **emotional isolation**: Emotional isolation is a term used to describe a state of isolation where the individual is emotionally isolated, but may have a well functioning social network.
- **social network**: The web of a person's social, family, and business contacts, who provide material and social resources and opportunities.
- **social isolation**: Social isolation refers to a complete or near-complete lack of contact with society. It is usually involuntary, making it distinct from isolating tendencies or actions taken by an individual who is seeking to distance himself from society.

Social isolation occurs when members of a social species (like humans) have complete or near-complete lack of contact with society. Social isolation is usually imposed involuntary, not chosen. Social isolation is not the same as loneliness rooted in temporary lack of contact with other humans, nor is it the same as isolating actions that might be consciously undertaken by an individual. A related phenomenon, emotional isolation may occur when individuals are emotionally isolated, even though they may have well-functioning social networks.

While loneliness is often fleeting, true social isolation often lasts for years or decades and tends to be a chronic condition that affects all aspects of a person's existence and can have serious consequences for health and well being. Socially isolated people have no one to turn to in personal emergencies, no one to confide in during a crisis, and no one against whom to measure their own behavior against or from whom to learn etiquette or socially acceptable behavior. Social isolation can be problematic at any age, although it has different effects for different age groups (that is, social isolation for children may have different effects than social isolation for adults, although both age groups may experience it).

Social isolation can be dangerous because the vitality of individuals' social relationships affect their health. Social contacts influence individuals' behavior by encouraging health-promoting behaviors, such as adequate sleep, diet, exercise, and compliance with medical regimens or by discouraging health-damaging behaviors, such as smoking, excessive eating, alcohol consumption, or drug abuse. Socially isolated individuals lack these beneficial influences, as well as lacking a social support network that can provide help and comfort in times of stress and distress. Social relationships can also connect people with diffuse social networks that facilitate access to a wide range of resources supportive of health, such as medical referral networks, access to others dealing with similar problems, or opportunities to acquire needed resources via jobs, shopping, or financial institutions. These effects are different from receiving direct support from a friend; instead, they are based on the ties that close social ties provide to more distant connections.

Sociologists debate whether new technologies, such as the Internet and mobile phones exacerbate social isolation or could help overcome it. With the advent of online social networking communities, people have increasing options for engaging in social activities that do not require real-world physical interaction. Chat rooms, message boards, and other types of communities are now meeting social needs for those who would rather stay home alone, yet still develop communities of online friends.



Social Isolation: Older adults are particularly susceptible to social isolation.

Feral Children

A feral child is a human child who has lived isolated from human contact from a very young age.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the differences between the fictional and real-life depictions of feral children

Key Points

- Legendary and fictional feral children are often depicted as growing up with relatively normal human intelligence and skills and an innate sense of culture or civilization.
- In reality, feral children lack the basic social skills that are normally learned in the process of enculturation. They almost always have impaired language ability and mental function. These impairments highlight the role of socialization in human development.
- The impaired ability to learn language after having been isolated for so many years is often attributed to the existence of a critical period for language learning, and is taken as evidence in favor of the critical period hypothesis.

Key Terms

- **enculturation**: The process by which an individual adopts the behaviour patterns of the culture in which he or she is immersed.
- **critical period**: A critical period refers to the window of time during which a human needs to experience a particular environmental stimulus in order for proper development to occur.
- **feral child**: A child who is raised without human contact as a result of being abandoned, allegedly often raised by wild animals.

A feral child is a human child who has lived isolated from human contact from a very young age, and has no (or little) experience of human care, loving or social behavior, and, crucially, of human language. Some feral children have been confined in isolation by other people, usually their own parents. In some cases, this child abandonment was due to the parents rejecting a child's severe intellectual or physical impairment. Feral children may have experienced severe child abuse or trauma before being abandoned or running away.

Depictions of Feral Children

Myths, legends, and fictional stories have depicted feral children reared by wild animals such as wolves and bears. Legendary and fictional feral children are often depicted as growing up with relatively normal human intelligence and skills and an innate sense of culture or civilization, coupled with a healthy dose of survival instincts. Their integration into human society is also made to seem relatively easy. These mythical children are often depicted as having superior strength, intelligence, and morals compared to "normal" humans. The implication is that because of their upbringing they represent humanity in a pure and uncorrupted state, similar to the noble savage.

Feral Children in Reality

In reality, feral children lack the basic social skills that are normally learned in the process of enculturation. For example, they may be unable to learn to use a toilet, have trouble learning to walk upright, and display a complete lack of interest in the human activity around them. They often seem mentally impaired and have almost insurmountable trouble learning human language. The impaired ability to learn language after having been isolated for so many years is often attributed to the existence of a critical period for language learning at an early age, and is taken as evidence in favor of the critical period hypothesis. It is theorized that if language is not developed, at least to a degree, during this critical period, a child can never reach his or her full language potential. The fact that feral children lack these abilities pinpoints the role of socialization in human development.

Examples of Feral Children

Famous examples of feral children include Ibn Tufail's Hayy, Ibn al-Nafis' Kamil, Rudyard Kipling's Mowgli, Edgar Rice Burroughs' Tarzan, J. M. Barrie's Peter Pan, and the legends of Atalanta, Enkidu and Romulus and Remus. Tragically, feral children are not just fictional. Several cases have been discovered in which caretakers brutally isolated their children and in doing so prevented normal development.

A real-life example of a feral child is Danielle Crockett, known as "The Girl in the Window". The officer who found Danielle reported it was "the worst case of child neglect he had seen in 27 years". Doctors and therapists diagnosed Danielle with environmental autism, yet she was still adopted by Bernie and Diane Lierow. Danielle could not speak or respond to others nor eat solid food. Today, Danielle lives in Tennessee with her parents and has made remarkable progress. She communicates through the PECS system and loves to swim and ride horses.



Peter Pan: Peter Pan is an example of a fictional feral child.

Institutionalized Children

Institutionalized children may develop institutional syndrome, which refers to deficits or disabilities in social and life skills.

Learning Objectives

Discuss both the processes of institutionalization and deinstitutionalization, as they relate to issues juveniles may have

Key Points

- The term "institutionalization" can be used both in regard to the process of committing an individual to a mental hospital or prison, and to institutional syndrome.
- Juvenile wards are sections of psychiatric hospitals or psychiatric wards set aside for children and adolescents with mental illness.
- Deinstitutionalization is the process of replacing long-stay psychiatric hospitals with less isolated community mental health service for those diagnosed with a mental disorder.

Key Terms

- **deinstitutionalization**: The process of abolishing a practice that has been considered a norm.
- **mental illness**: Mental illness is a broad generic label for a category of illnesses that may include affective or emotional instability, behavioral dysregulation, and/or cognitive dysfunction or impairment.
- **Institutional syndrome**: In clinical and abnormal psychology, institutional syndrome refers to deficits or disabilities in social and life skills, which develop after a person has spent a long period living in mental hospitals, prisons, or other remote institutions.

In clinical and abnormal psychology, institutional syndrome refers to deficits or disabilities in social and life skills, which develop after a person has spent a long period living in mental hospitals, prisons, or other remote institutions. In other words, individuals in institutions may be deprived of independence and of responsibility, to the point that once they return to "outside life" they are often unable to manage many of its demands. It has also been argued that institutionalized individuals become psychologically more prone to mental health problems.

The term institutionalization can be used both in regard to the process of committing an individual to a mental hospital or prison, or to institutional syndrome; thus a person being "institutionalized" may mean either that he/she has been placed in an institution, or that he/she is suffering the psychological effects of having been in an institution for an extended period of time.

Juvenile wards are sections of psychiatric hospitals or psychiatric wards set aside for children and/or adolescents with mental illness. However, there are a number of institutions specializing only in the treatment of juveniles, particularly when dealing with drug abuse, self-harm, eating disorders, anxiety, depression or other mental illness.



Psychiatric Wards: Many state hospitals have mental health branches, such as the Northern Michigan Asylum.

Deinstitutionalization is the process of replacing long-stay psychiatric hospitals with less isolated community mental health service for those diagnosed with a mental disorder or developmental disability. Deinstitutionalization can have multiple definitions; the first focuses on reducing the population size of mental institutions. This can be accomplished by releasing individuals from institutions, shortening the length of stays, and reducing both admissions and readmission. The second definition refers to reforming mental hospitals' institutional processes so as to reduce or eliminate reinforcement of dependency, hopelessness, learned helplessness, and other maladaptive behaviors.

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4.2: The Self and Socialization

Dimensions of Human Development

The dimensions of human development are divided into separate, consecutive stages of life from birth to old age.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the differences between the various stages of human life – prenatal, toddler, early and late childhood, adolescence, early and middle adulthood and old age

Key Points

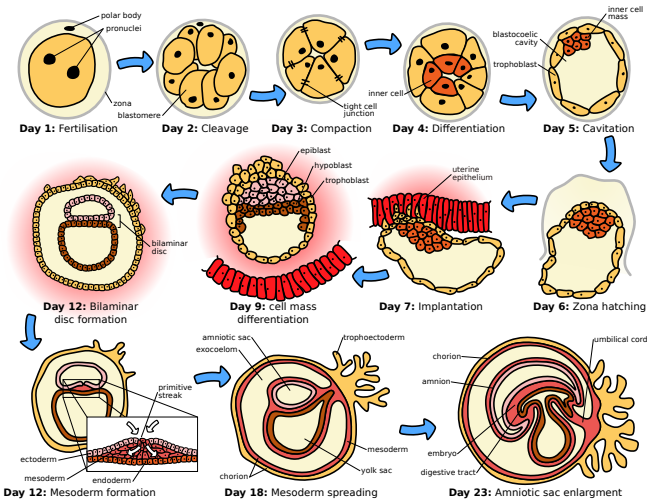
- The stages of human development are: prenatal development, toddler, early childhood, late childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood, and old age.
- Prenatal development is the process in which a human embryo gestates during pregnancy, from fertilization until birth. From birth until the first year, the child is referred to as an infant. Babies between ages of 1 and 2 are called “toddlers”.
- In the phase of early childhood, children attend preschool, broaden their social horizons and become more engaged with those around them.
- In late childhood, intelligence is demonstrated through logical and systematic manipulation of symbols related to concrete objects.
- Adolescence is the period of life between the onset of puberty and the full commitment to an adult social role.
- In early adulthood, a person must learn how to form intimate relationships. Middle adulthood refers to the period between ages 40 to 60.The final stage is old age, which refers to those over 60–80 years.
- In early adulthood, the person must learn how to form intimate relationships, both in friendship and love.
- Middle adulthood generally refers to the period between ages 40 to 60. During this period, middle-aged adults experience a conflict between generativity and stagnation.
- The last and final stage is old age, which refers to those over 60–80 years.

Key Terms

- **Prenatal development**: Prenatal development is the process in which a human embryo gestates during pregnancy, from fertilization until birth.
- **diurnal**: Happening or occurring during daylight, or primarily active during that time.

The dimensions of human development are divided into separate but consecutive stages in human life. They are characterized by prenatal development, toddler, early childhood, late childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood, and old age.

Prenatal development is the process during which a human embryo gestates during pregnancy, from fertilization until birth. The terms prenatal development, fetal development, and embryology are often used interchangeably. The embryonic period in humans begins at fertilization and from birth until the first year, the child is referred to as an infant. The majority of a newborn infant’s time is spent in sleep. At first, this sleep is evenly spread throughout the day and night but after a couple of months, infants generally become diurnal.



Human Embryogenesis: The first few weeks of embryogenesis in humans begin with the fertilizing of the egg and end with the closing of the neural tube.

Babies between ages of 1 and 2 are called “toddlers. ” In this stage, intelligence is demonstrated through the use of symbols, language use matures, and memory and imagination are developed. In the phase of early childhood, children attend preschool, broaden their social horizons and become more engaged with those around them. In late childhood, intelligence is demonstrated through logical and systematic manipulation of symbols related to concrete objects. Children go through the transition from the world at home to that of school and peers. If children can discover pleasure in intellectual stimulation, being productive, seeking success, they will develop a sense of competence.

Adolescence is the period of life between the onset of puberty and the full commitment to an adult social role. In early adulthood, the person must learn how to form intimate relationships, both in friendship and love. The development of this skill relies on the resolution of other stages. It may be hard to establish intimacy if one has not developed trust or a sense of

identity. If this skill is not learned, the alternative is alienation, isolation, a fear of commitment, and the inability to depend on others

Middle adulthood generally refers to the period between ages 40 to 60. During this period, middle-aged adults experience a conflict between generativity and stagnation. They may either feel a sense of contributing to the next generation and their community or a sense of purposelessness. The last and final stage is old age, which refers to those over 60–80 years. During old age, people frequently experience a conflict between integrity and despair.

Sociological Theories of the Self

Sociological theories of the self attempt to explain how social processes such as socialization influence the development of the self.

Learning Objectives

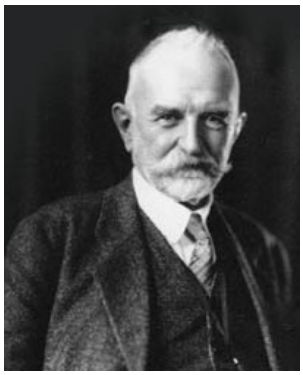
Interpret Mead's theory of self in term of the differences between "I" and "me"

Key Points

- One of the most important sociological approaches to the self was developed by American sociologist George Herbert Mead. Mead conceptualizes the mind as the individual importation of the social process.
- This process is characterized by Mead as the "I" and the "me. " The "me" is the social self and the "I" is the response to the "me. " The "I" is the individual's impulses. The "I" is self as subject; the "me" is self as object.
- For Mead, existence in a community comes before individual consciousness. First one must participate in the different social positions within society and only subsequently can one use that experience to take the perspective of others and thus become self-conscious.
- Primary Socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture.
- Secondary socialization refers to the process of learning the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society.
- Group socialization is the theory that an individual's peer groups, rather than parental figures, influences his or her personality and behavior in adulthood.
- Organizational socialization is the process whereby an employee learns the knowledge and skills necessary to assume his or her organizational role.
- In the social sciences, institutions are the structures and mechanisms of social order and cooperation governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given human collectivity. Institutions include the family, religion, peer group, economic systems, legal systems, penal systems, language and the media.

Key Terms

- **The self**: The self is the individual person, from his or her own perspective. Self-awareness is the capacity for introspection and the ability to reconcile oneself as an individual separate from the environment and other individuals.
- **generalized other**: the general notion that a person has regarding the common expectations of others within his or her social group
- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **community**: A group sharing a common understanding and often the same language, manners, tradition and law. See civilization.



George Herbert Mead: George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) was an American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist, primarily affiliated with the University of Chicago, where he was one of several distinguished pragmatists. He is regarded as one of the founders of social psychology and the American sociological tradition in general.

Sociological theories of the self attempt to explain how social processes such as socialization influence the development of the self. One of the most important sociological approaches to the self was developed by American sociologist George Herbert Mead. Mead conceptualizes the mind as the individual importation of the social process. Mead presented the self and the mind in terms of a social process. As gestures are taken in by the individual organism, the individual organism also takes in the collective attitudes of others, in the form of gestures, and reacts accordingly with other organized attitudes.

This process is characterized by Mead as the "I" and the "me. " The "me" is the social self and the "I" is the response to the "me. " In other words, the "I" is the response of an individual to the attitudes of others, while the "me" is the organized set of attitudes of others which an individual assumes. The "me" is the

accumulated understanding of the "generalized other," i.e. how one thinks one's group perceives oneself. The "I" is the individual's impulses. The "I" is self as subject; the "me" is self as object. The "I" is the knower, the "me" is the known. The mind, or stream of thought, is the self-reflective movements of the interaction between the "I" and the "me. " These dynamics go beyond selfhood in a narrow sense, and form the basis of a theory of human cognition. For Mead the thinking process is the internalized dialogue between the "I" and the "me. "

Understood as a combination of the "I" and the "me," Mead's self proves to be noticeably entwined within a sociological existence. For Mead, existence in a community comes before individual consciousness. First one must participate in the different social positions within society and only subsequently can one use that experience to take the perspective of others and become self-conscious.

Psychological Approaches to the Self

The psychology of self is the study of either the cognitive or affective representation of one's identity.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the development of a person's identity in relation to both the Kohut and Jungian self

Key Points

- The earliest formulation of the self in modern psychology derived from the distinction between the self as I, the subjective knower, and the self as Me, the object that is known.
- Heinz Kohut, an American psychologist, theorized that the self was bipolar, and was comprised of two systems of narcissistic perfection, one of which contained ambitions and the other of which contained ideals.
- In Jungian theory, derived from the psychologist C.G. Jung, the Self is one of several archetypes. It signifies the coherent whole, unifying both the consciousness and unconscious mind of a person.
- Social constructivists claim that timely and sensitive intervention by adults when a child is on the edge of learning a new task could help children learn new tasks.
- Attachment theory focuses on open, intimate, emotionally meaningful relationships.
- The nativism versus empiricism debate focuses on the relationship between innateness and environmental influence in regard to any particular aspect of development.
- A nativist account of development would argue that the processes in question are innate, that is, they are specified by the organism's genes. An empiricist perspective would argue that those processes are acquired in interaction with the environment.

Key Terms

- **cognitive**: the part of mental functions that deals with logic, as opposed to affective functions which deal with emotions
- **affective**: relating to, resulting from, or influenced by the emotions
- **archetype**: according to the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung, a universal pattern of thought, present in an individual's unconscious, inherited from the past collective experience of humanity

Psychology of the Self

The psychology of the self is the study of the cognitive or affective representation of one's identity. In modern psychology, the earliest formulation of the self derived from the distinction between the self as "I," the subjective knower, and the self as "me," the object that is known. Put differently, let us say an individual wanted to think about their "self" as an analytic object. They might ask themselves the question, "what kind of person am I? " That person is still, in that moment, thinking from some perspective, which is also considered the "self. " Thus, in this case, the "self" is both what is doing the thinking, and also, at the same time, the object that is being thought about. It is from this dualism that the concept of the self initially emerged in modern psychology. Current psychological thought suggests that the self plays an integral part in human motivation, cognition, affect, and social identity.

The Kohut Self



Carl Gustav Jung: According to Jung, the Self is one of several archetypes.

Heinz Kohut, an American psychologist, theorized a bipolar self that was comprised of two systems of narcissistic perfection, one of which contained ambitions and the other of which contained ideals. Kohut called the pole of ambitions the narcissistic self (later called the grandiose self). He called the

pole of ideals the idealized parental imago. According to Kohut, the two poles of the self represented natural progressions in the psychic life of infants and toddlers.

The Jungian Self

In Jungian theory, derived from the psychologist C.G. Jung, the Self is one of several archetypes. It signifies the coherent whole, unifying both the conscious and unconscious mind of a person. The Self, according to Jung, is the end product of individuation, which is defined as the process of integrating one's personality. For Jung, the Self could be symbolized by either the circle (especially when divided into four quadrants), the square, or the mandala. He also believed that the Self could be symbolically personified in the archetypes of the Wise Old Woman and Wise Old Man.

In contrast to earlier theorists, Jung believed that an individual's personality had a center. While he considered the ego to be the center of an individual's conscious identity, he considered the Self to be the center of an individual's total personality. This total personality included within it the ego, consciousness, and the unconscious mind. To Jung, the Self is both the whole and the center. While Jung perceived the ego to be a self-contained, off-centered, smaller circle contained within the whole, he believed that the Self was the greater circle. In addition to being the center of the psyche, Jung also believed the Self was autonomous, meaning that it exists outside of time and space. He also believed that the Self was the source of dreams, and that the Self would appear in dreams as an authority figure that could either perceive the future or guide an individual's present.

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4.3: Theories of Socialization

Theories of Socialization

Socialization is the means by which human infants begin to acquire the skills necessary to perform as functioning members of their society.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the different types and theories of socialization

Key Points

- Group socialization is the theory that an individual's peer groups, rather than parental figures, influences his or her personality and behavior in adulthood.
- Gender socialization refers to the learning of behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex.
- Cultural socialization refers to parenting practices that teach children about their racial history or heritage and, sometimes, is referred to as pride development.
- Sigmund Freud proposed that the human psyche could be divided into three parts: Id, ego, and super-ego.
- Piaget's theory of cognitive development is a comprehensive theory about the nature and development of human intelligence.
- Positive Adult Development is one of the four major forms of adult developmental study that can be identified. The other three forms are directionless change, stasis, and decline.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.

"Socialization" is a term used by sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and educationalists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society. Socialization is thus "the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained."

Socialization is the means by which human infants begin to acquire the skills necessary to perform as a functioning member of their society and is the most influential learning process one can experience. Unlike other living species, whose behavior is biologically set, humans need social experiences to learn their culture and to survive. Although cultural variability manifests in the actions, customs, and behaviors of whole social groups, the most fundamental expression of culture is found at the individual level. This expression can only occur after an individual has been socialized by his or her parents, family, extended family, and extended social networks.

The looking-glass self is a social psychological concept, created by Charles Horton Cooley in 1902, stating that a person's self grows out of society's interpersonal interactions and the perceptions of others. The term refers to people shaping themselves based on other people's perception, which leads people to reinforce other people's perspectives on themselves. People shape themselves based on what other people perceive and confirm other people's opinion on themselves.

George Herbert Mead developed a theory of social behaviorism to explain how social experience develops an individual's personality. Mead's central concept is the self: the part of an individual's personality composed of self-awareness and self-image. Mead claimed that the self is not there at birth, rather, it is developed with social experience.

Sigmund Freud was an Austrian neurologist who founded the discipline of psychoanalysis, a clinical method for treating psychopathology through dialogue between a patient and a psychoanalyst. In his later work, Freud proposed that the human psyche could be divided into three parts: Id, ego, and super-ego. The id is the completely unconscious, impulsive, child-like portion of the psyche that operates on the "pleasure principle" and is the source of basic impulses and drives; it seeks immediate pleasure and gratification. The ego acts according to the reality principle (i.e., it seeks to please the id's drive in realistic ways that will benefit in the long term rather than bringing grief). Finally, the super-ego aims for perfection. It comprises that organized part of the personality structure, mainly but not entirely unconscious that includes the individual's ego ideals, spiritual goals, and the psychic agency that criticizes and prohibits his or her drives, fantasies, feelings, and actions.

Different Forms of Socialization

Group socialization is the theory that an individual's peer groups, rather than parental figures, influences his or her personality and behavior in adulthood. Adolescents spend more time with peers than with parents. Therefore, peer groups have stronger correlations with personality development than parental figures do. For example, twin brothers, whose genetic makeup are identical, will differ in personality because they have different groups of friends, not necessarily because their parents raised them differently.

Gender socialization Henslin (1999) contends that "an important part of socialization is the learning of culturally defined gender roles " (p. 76). Gender socialization refers to the learning of

behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex. Boys learn to be boys, and girls learn to be girls. This "learning" happens by way of many different agents of socialization. The family is certainly important in reinforcing gender roles, but so are one's friends, school, work, and the mass media. Gender roles are reinforced through "countless subtle and not so subtle ways," said Henslin (1999, p. 76).

Cultural socialization refers to parenting practices that teach children about their racial history or heritage and, sometimes, is referred to as "pride development. " Preparation for bias refers to parenting practices focused on preparing children to be aware of, and cope with, discrimination. Promotion of mistrust refers to the parenting practices of socializing children to be wary of people from other races. Egalitarianism refers to socializing children with the belief that all people are equal and should be treated with a common humanity.

Cooley

In 1902, Charles Horton Cooley created the concept of the looking-glass self, which explored how identity is formed.

Learning Objectives

Discuss Cooley's idea of the "looking-glass self" and how people use socialization to create a personal identity and develop empathy for others

Key Points

- The looking-glass self is a social psychological concept stating that a person's self grows out of society's interpersonal interactions and the perceptions of others.
- There are three components of the looking-glass self: We imagine how we appear to others, we imagine the judgment of that appearance, and we develop our self (identity) through the judgments of others.
- George Herbert Mead described self as "taking the role of the other," the premise for which the self is actualized. Through interaction with others, we begin to develop an identity about who we are, as well as empathy for others.

Key Terms

- **George Herbert Mead**: (1863–1931) An American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist, primarily affiliated with the University of Chicago, where he was one of several distinguished pragmatists.
- **Looking-Glass self**: The looking-glass self is a social psychological concept, created by Charles Horton Cooley in 1902, stating that a person's self grows out of society's interpersonal interactions and the perceptions of others.
- **Charles Horton Cooley**: Charles Horton Cooley (August 17, 1864-May 8, 1929) was an American sociologist and the son of Thomas M. Cooley. He studied and went on to teach economics and sociology at the University of Michigan, and he was a founding member and the eighth president of the American Sociological Association.

The looking-glass self is a social psychological concept created by Charles Horton Cooley in 1902. It states that a person's self grows out of society's interpersonal interactions and the perceptions of others. The term refers to people shaping their identity based on the perception of others, which leads the people to reinforce other people's perspectives on themselves. People shape themselves based on what other people perceive and confirm other people's opinion of themselves.

There are three main components of the looking-glass self:

- First, we imagine how we must appear to others.
- Second, we imagine the judgment of that appearance.
- Finally, we develop our self through the judgments of others.

In hypothesizing the framework for the looking glass self, Cooley said, "the mind is mental" because "the human mind is social. " In other words, the mind's mental ability is a direct result of human social interaction. Beginning as children, humans begin to define themselves within the context of their socializations. The child learns that the symbol of his/her crying will elicit a response from his/her parents, not only when they are in need of necessities, such as food, but also as a symbol to receive their attention. George Herbert Mead described the self as "taking the role of the other," the premise for which the self is actualized. Through interaction with others, we begin to develop an identity about who we are, as well as empathy for others.

An example of the looking-self concept is computer technology. Using computer technology, people can create an avatar, a customized symbol that represents the computer user. For example, in the virtual world Second Life, the computer-user can create a human-like avatar that reflects the user in regard to race, age, physical makeup, status, and the like. By selecting certain physical characteristics or symbols, the avatar reflects how the creator seeks to be perceived in the virtual world and how the symbols used in the creation of the avatar influence others' actions toward the computer user.

Mead

For Mead, the self arises out of the social act of communication, which is the basis for socialization.

Learning Objectives

Discuss Mead's theory of social psychology in terms of two concepts – pragmatism and social behaviorism

Key Points

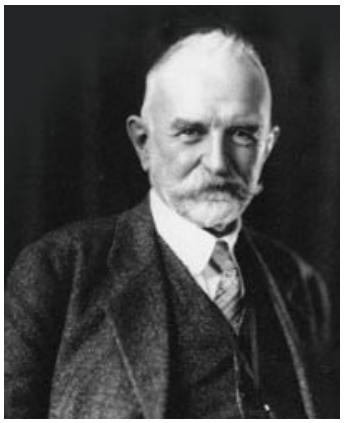
- George Herbert Mead was an American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist and one of several distinguished pragmatists.
- The two most important roots of Mead's work are the philosophy of pragmatism and social behaviorism.
- Pragmatism is a wide-ranging philosophical position that states that people define the social and physical "objects" they encounter in the world according to their use for them.
- One of his most influential ideas was the emergence of mind and self from the communication process between organisms, discussed in the book, *Mind, Self and Society*, also known as social behaviorism.

Key Terms

- **symbolic interactionism**: Symbolic interactionism is the study of the patterns of communication, interpretation, and adjustment between individuals.
- **social behaviorism**: Discussed in the book, Mind, Self and Society, social behaviorism refers to the emergence of mind and self from the communication process between organisms.
- **pragmatism**: The theory that problems should be met with practical solutions rather than ideological ones; a concentration on facts rather than emotions or ideals.

George Herbert Mead was an American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist, primarily affiliated with the University of Chicago, where he was one of several distinguished pragmatists. He is regarded as one of the founders of social psychology and the American sociological tradition in general.

The two most important roots of Mead's work, and of symbolic interactionism in general, are the philosophy of pragmatism and social behaviorism. Pragmatism is a wide ranging philosophical position from which several aspects of Mead's influences can be identified. There are four main tenets of pragmatism: First, to pragmatists true reality does not exist "out there" in the real world, it "is actively created as we act in and toward the world. Second, people remember and base their knowledge of the world on what has been useful to them and are likely to alter what no longer "works. " Third, people define the social and physical "objects" they encounter in the world according to their use for them. Lastly, if we want to understand actors, we must base that understanding on what people actually do. In Pragmatism nothing practical or useful is held to be necessarily true, nor is anything which helps to survive merely in the short term. For example, to believe my cheating spouse is faithful may help me feel better now, but it is certainly not useful from a more long-term perspective because it doesn't align with the facts (and is therefore not true).



George Herbert Mead: George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) was an American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist, primarily affiliated with the University of Chicago, where he was one of several distinguished pragmatists. He is regarded as one of the founders of social psychology and the American sociological tradition in general.

Mead was a very important figure in twentieth century social philosophy. One of his most influential ideas was the emergence of mind and self from the communication process between organisms, discussed in the book, *Mind, Self and Society*, also known as social behaviorism. For Mead, mind arises out of the social act of communication. Mead's concept of the social act is relevant, not only to his theory of mind, but also to all facets of his social philosophy. His theory of "mind, self, and society" is, in effect, a philosophy of the act from the standpoint of a social process involving the interaction of many individuals, just as his theory of knowledge and value is a philosophy of the act from the standpoint of the experiencing individual in interaction with an environment.

Mead is a major American philosopher by virtue of being, along with John Dewey, Charles Peirce, and William James, one of the founders of pragmatism. He also made significant contributions to the philosophies of nature, science, and history, to philosophical anthropology, and to process philosophy. Dewey and Alfred North Whitehead considered Mead a thinker of the first rank. He is a classic example of a social theorist whose work does not fit easily within conventional disciplinary boundaries.

Freud

According to Freud, human behavior, experience, and cognition are largely determined by unconscious drives and events in early childhood.

Learning Objectives

> Discuss Freud's "id", "ego" and "super-ego" and his six basic principles of psychoanalysis and how psychoanalysis is used today as a treatment for a variety of psychological disorders

Key Points

- Psychoanalysis is a clinical method for treating psychopathology through dialogue between a patient and a psychoanalyst.
- The specifics of the analyst's interventions typically include confronting and clarifying the patient's pathological defenses, wishes, and guilt.
- Freud named his new theory the Oedipus complex after the famous Greek tragedy Oedipus Rex by Sophocles. The Oedipus conflict was described as a state of psychosexual development and awareness.
- The id is the completely unconscious, impulsive, child-like portion of the psyche that operates on the "pleasure principle" and is the source of basic impulses and drives.
- The ego acts according to the reality principle (i.e., it seeks to please the id's drive in realistic ways that will benefit in the long term rather than bringing grief).
- The super-ego aims for perfection. It comprises that organized part of the personality structure.
- The super-ego aims for perfection. It comprises that organised part of the personality structure

Key Terms

- **Oedipus complex**: In Freudian theory, the complex of emotions aroused in a child by an unconscious sexual desire for the parent of the opposite sex.
- **the unconscious**: For Freud, the unconscious refers to the mental processes of which individuals make themselves unaware.

Sigmund Freud was an Austrian neurologist who founded the discipline of psychoanalysis. Interested in philosophy as a student, Freud later decided to become a neurological researcher in cerebral palsy, Aphasia, and microscopic neuroanatomy. Freud went on to develop theories about the unconscious mind and the mechanism of repression and established the field of verbal psychotherapy by creating psychoanalysis, a clinical method for treating psychopathology through dialogue between a patient and a psychoanalyst. The most common problems treatable with psychoanalysis include phobias, conversions, compulsions, obsessions, anxiety, attacks, depressions, sexual dysfunctions, a wide variety of relationship problems (such as dating and marital strife), and a wide variety of character problems (painful shyness, meanness, obnoxiousness, workaholism, hyperseductiveness, hyperemotionality, hyperfastidiousness).

The Basic Tenets of Psychoanalysis

The basic tenets of psychoanalysis include the following:

- First, human behavior, experience, and cognition are largely determined by irrational drives.
- Those drives are largely unconscious.
- Attempts to bring those drives into awareness meet psychological resistance in the form of defense mechanisms.
- Besides the inherited constitution of personality, one's development is determined by events in early childhood.
- Conflicts between conscious view of reality and unconscious (repressed) material can result in mental disturbances, such as neurosis, neurotic traits, anxiety, depression etc.
- The liberation from the effects of the unconscious material is achieved through bringing this material into the consciousness.

Psychoanalysis as Treatment

Freudian psychoanalysis refers to a specific type of treatment in which the "analysand" (the analytic patient) verbalizes thoughts, including free associations, fantasies, and dreams, from which the analyst induces the unconscious conflicts. This causes the patient's symptoms and character problems, and interprets them for the patient to create insight for resolution of the problems. The specifics of the analyst's interventions typically include confronting and clarifying the patient's pathological defenses, wishes, and guilt. Through the analysis of conflicts, including those contributing to resistance and those involving transference onto the analyst of distorted reactions, psychoanalytic treatment can hypothesize how patients unconsciously are their own worst enemies: how unconscious, symbolic reactions that have been stimulated by experience are causing symptoms.

The Id, The Ego, Super-Ego

Freud hoped to prove that his model was universally valid and thus turned to ancient mythology and contemporary ethnography for comparative material. Freud named his new theory the Oedipus complex after the famous Greek tragedy Oedipus Rex by Sophocles. The Oedipus conflict was described as a state of psychosexual development and awareness. In his later work, Freud proposed that the human psyche could be divided into three parts: Id, ego, and super-ego. The id is the completely unconscious, impulsive, child-like portion of the psyche that operates on the "pleasure principle" and is the source of basic impulses and drives; it seeks immediate pleasure and gratification. The ego acts according to the reality principle (i.e., it seeks to please the id's drive in realistic ways that will benefit in the long term rather than bringing grief). Finally, the super-ego aims for perfection. It comprises that organized part of the personality structure, mainly but not entirely unconscious,

that includes the individual's ego, ideals, spiritual goals, and the psychic agency that criticizes and prohibits his or her drives, fantasies, feelings, and actions.

Piaget

Piaget's theory of cognitive development is a comprehensive theory about the nature and development of human intelligence.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the differences between accommodation and assimilation, in relation to Piaget's stages

Key Points

- Jean Piaget was a French-speaking Swiss developmental psychologist and philosopher known for his epistemological studies with children. His theory of cognitive development and epistemological view are together called "genetic epistemology," the study of the origins of knowledge.
- Piaget argued that all people undergo a series of stages and transformations. Transformations refer to all manners of changes that a thing or person can experience, while states refer to the conditions or the appearances in which things or persons can be found between transformations.
- Piaget identified four stages of cognitive development: sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete operational, and formal operational. Through these stages, children progress in their thinking and logical processes.
- Piaget's theory of cognitive development is a comprehensive theory about the nature and development of human intelligence that explains how individuals perceive and adapt to new information through the processes of assimilation and accommodation.
- Assimilation is the process of taking one's environment and new information and fitting it into pre-existing cognitive schemas. Accommodation is the process of taking one's environment and new information, and altering one's pre-existing schemas in order to fit in the new information.
- Object permanence is the understanding that objects continue to exist even when they cannot be seen, heard, or touched.
- Object permanence is the understanding that objects continue to exist even when they cannot be seen, heard, or touched.
- The concrete operational stage is the third of four stages of cognitive development in Piaget's theory.
- The final stage is known as formal operational stage (adolescence and into adulthood): Intelligence is demonstrated through the logical use of symbols related to abstract concepts.

Key Terms

- **genetic epistemology**: Genetic epistemology is a study of the origins of knowledge. The discipline was established by Jean Piaget.
- **object permanence**: The understanding (typically developed during early infancy) that an object still exists even when it disappears from sight, or other senses.
- **accommodation**: Accommodation, unlike assimilation, is the process of taking one's environment and new information, and altering one's pre-existing schemas in order to fit in the new information.

Jean Piaget was a French-speaking Swiss developmental psychologist and philosopher known for his epistemological studies with children. His theory of cognitive development and epistemological view are together called "genetic epistemology. " He believed answers for the epistemological questions at his time could be better addressed by looking at their genetic components. This led to his experiments with children and adolescents in which he explored the thinking and logic processes used by children of different ages.

Piaget's theory of cognitive development is a comprehensive theory about the nature and development of human intelligence. Piaget believed that reality is a dynamic system of continuous change and as such, it is defined in reference to the two conditions that define dynamic systems. Specifically, he argued that reality involves transformations and states. Transformations refer to all manners of changes that a thing or person can undergo. States refer to the conditions or the appearances in which things or persons can be found between transformations.



Jean Piaget: Jean Piaget was a French-speaking Swiss developmental psychologist and philosopher known for his epistemological studies with children.

Piaget explains the growth of characteristics and types of thinking as the result of four stages of development. The stages are as follows:

- The sensorimotor stage is the first of the four stages in cognitive development that "extends from birth to the acquisition of language. " In this stage, infants construct an understanding of the world by coordinating experiences with physical actions–in other words, infants gain knowledge of the word from the physical actions they perform. The development of object permanence is one of the most important accomplishments of this stage.
- The pre-operational stage is the second stage of cognitive development. It begins around the end of the second year. During this stage, the child learns to use and to represent objects by images, words, and drawings. The child is able to form stable concepts, as well as mental reasoning and magical beliefs.
- The third stage is called the "concrete operational stage" and occurs approximately between the ages of 7 and 11 years. In this stage, children develop the appropriate use of logic and are able to think abstractly, make rational judgments about concrete phenomena, and systematically manipulate symbols related to concrete objects.
- The final stage is known as the "formal operational stage" (adolescence and into adulthood). Intelligence is demonstrated through the logical use of symbols related to abstract concepts. At this point, the person is capable of hypothetical and deductive reasoning.

When studying the field of education Piaget identified two processes: accommodation and assimilation. Assimilation describes how humans perceive and adapt to new information. It is the process of taking one's environment and new information and fitting it into pre-existing cognitive schemas. Accommodation, unlike assimilation, is the process of taking one's environment and new information and altering one's pre-existing schemas in order to fit in the new information.

Levinson

Daniel J. Levinson was one of the founders of the field of positive adult development.

Learning Objectives

Summarize Daniel Levinson's theory of positive adult development and how it influenced changes in the perception of development during adulthood

Key Points

- As a theory, positive adult development asserts that development continues after adolescence, long into adulthood.
- In positive adult development research, scientists question not only whether development ceases after adolescence, but also a notion, popularized by many gerontologists, that a decline occurs after late adolescence.
- Positive adult developmental processes are divided into at least six areas of study: hierarchical complexity, knowledge, experience, expertise, wisdom, and spirituality.

Key Terms

- **stasis**: inactivity; a freezing, or state of motionlessness
- **positive adult development**: Positive adult development is one of the four major forms of adult developmental study that can be identified.
- **decline**: downward movement, fall

Daniel Levinson

Daniel J. Levinson, an American psychologist, was one of the founders of the field of positive adult development. He was born in New York City on May 28, 1920, and completed his dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1947. In this dissertation, he attempted to develop a way of measuring ethnocentrism. In 1950, he moved to Harvard University. From 1966 to 1990, he was a professor of psychology at the Yale University School of Medicine.

Levinson's two most important books were *Seasons of a Man's Life* and *Seasons of a Woman's Life*, which continue to be highly influential works. His multidisciplinary approach is reflected in his work on the life structure theory of adult development.

Positive Adult Development

Positive adult development is one of the four major forms of adult developmental study. The other three are directionless change, stasis, and decline. Positive adult developmental processes are divided into the following six areas of study:

- hierarchical complexity
- knowledge
- experience
- expertise
- wisdom
- spirituality

Research in this field questions not only whether development ceases after adolescence, but also the notion, popularized by many gerontologists, that a decline occurs after late adolescence. Research shows that positive development does still occur during adulthood. Recent studies indicate that such development is useful in predicting things such as an individual's health, life satisfaction, and ability to contribute to society.

Now that there is scientific proof that individuals continue to develop as adults, researchers have begun investigating how to foster such development. Rather than just describing, as phenomenon, the fact that adults continue to develop, researchers are interested in aiding and guiding that development. For educators of adults in formal settings, this has been a priority in many ways already. More recently, researchers have begun to experiment with hypotheses about fostering positive adult development. These methods are used in organizational and educational setting. Some use developmentally-designed, structured public discourse to address complex public issues.



Positive Adult Development: Research in Positive Adult Development questions not only whether development ceases after adolescence, but also the notion, popularized by many gerontologists, that a decline occurs after late adolescence.

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4.4: Learning Personality, Morality, and Emotions

Sociology of Emotion

The sociology of emotions applies sociological theorems and techniques to the study of human emotions.

Learning Objectives

Examine the origins of the sociology of emotions through the work of Marx, Weber, and Simmel, and its development by T. David Kemper, Arlie Hochschild, Randall Collins, and David R. Heise

Key Points

- Emotions impact society on both the micro level (everyday social interactions) and the macro level (social institutions, discourses, and ideologies).
- Ethnomethodology revealed emotional commitments to everyday norms through purposeful breaching of the norms.
- We try to regulate our emotions to fit in with the norms of the situation, based on many, and sometimes conflicting demands upon us.

Key Terms

- **ethnomethodology**: An academic discipline that attempts to understand the social orders people use to make sense of the world through analyzing their accounts and descriptions of their day-to-day experiences.
- **The sociology of emotions**: The sociology of emotion applies sociological theorems and techniques to the study of human emotions.

The sociology of emotions applies sociological theorems and techniques to the study of human emotions. As sociology emerged, primarily as a reaction to the negative affects of modernity, many normative theories deal in some sense with "emotion" without forming a part of any specific subdiscipline: Marx described capitalism as detrimental to personal "species-being," Simmel wrote of the deindividualizing tendencies of "the metropolis," and Weber's work dealt with the rationalizing effect of modernity in general.

Emotions operate on both micro and macro levels. On the micro level, social roles, norms, and feeling rules structure's everyday social interactions. On a macro level, these same emotional processes structure social institutions, discourses, and ideologies. We try to regulate our emotions to fit in with the norms of the situation, based on many, and sometimes conflicting demands upon us. Systematic observations of group interaction found that a substantial portion of group activity is devoted to the socio-emotional issues of expressing affect and dealing with tension. Simultaneously, field studies of social attraction in groups revealed that feelings of individuals about each other collate into social networks, a discovery that still is being explored in the field of social network analysis.

Ethnomethodology revealed emotional commitments to everyday norms through purposeful breaching of the norms. In one study, a sociologist sent his students home and instructed them to act as guests rather than family members. Students reported others' astonishment, bewilderment, shock, anxiety, embarrassment, and ange and family members accused the students of being mean, inconsiderate, selfish, nasty, or impolite.

Important theories and theoreticians relating to the sociology of emotion include:

- T. David Kemper: He proposed that people in social interaction have positions on two relational dimensions: status and power. Emotions emerge as interpersonal events, change or maintain individuals' status and power.
- Arlie Hochschild: She proposed that individuals manage their feelings to produce acceptable displays according to ideological and cultural standards.
- Peggy Thoits: She divided emotion management techniques into implementation of new events and reinterpretation of past events. Thoits noted that emotions also can be managed with drugs, by performing faux gestures and facial expressions, or by cognitive reclassifications of one's feelings.
- Thomas J. Scheff: He established that many cases of social conflict are based on a destructive and often escalating, but stoppable and reversible shame-rage cycle–when someone results or feels shamed by another, their social bond comes under stress.
- Randall Collins: He stated that emotional energy is the main motivating force in social life, for love and hatred, investing, working or consuming, and rendering cult or waging war.
- David R. Heise. He developed the Affect Control Theory, which proposes that social actions are designed by their agents to create impressions that befit sentiments reigning in a situation.

For more information on emotions, watch this video:



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Emotions: Dr. Véronique Tran explains what emotions are and how they are linked to social interactions and social norms.



Social Significance of Emotion: The sociology of emotion suggests that individual emotional reactions, such as this girl's happiness and excitement, impact social interactions and institutions.

Informal Social Control

Social control refers to societal processes that regulate individual and group behaviour in an attempt to gain conformity.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of the difference between informal and formal means of social control

Key Points

- Informal control typically involves an individual internalizing certain norms and values. This process is known as socialization.
- Formal means of social control typically involve the state. External sanctions are enforced by the government to prevent chaos, violence, or anomie in society. Some theorists, such as Émile Durkheim, refer to this form of control as regulation.
- The social values present in individuals are products of informal social control, exercised implicitly by a society through particular customs, norms, and mores. Individuals internalize the values of their society, whether conscious or not of this indoctrination.
- Contemporary Western society uses shame as one modality of control, but its primary dependence rests on guilt, and, when that does not work, the criminal justice system.

Key Terms

- **conformity**: the ideology of adhering to one standard or social uniformity
- **sanction**: a penalty, or some coercive measure, intended to ensure compliance; especially one adopted by several nations, or by an international body
- **compliance**: the tendency of conforming with or agreeing to the wishes of others

Social Control

Social control refers to societal and political mechanisms that regulate individual and group behaviour in an attempt to gain conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group. Sociologists identify two basic forms of social control – informal control and formal control.

Formal Control

Formal social control typically involves the state. External sanctions are enforced by the government to prevent chaos, violence, or anomie in society. An example of this would be a law preventing individuals from committing theft. Some theorists, like Émile Durkheim, refer to this type of control as regulation.

Informal Control

Informal control typically involves an individual internalizing certain norms and values. This process is called socialization. The social values present in individuals are products of informal social control, exercised implicitly by a society through particular customs, norms, and mores. Individuals internalize the values of their society, whether conscious or not of this indoctrination.

Informal sanctions may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval, which can cause an individual to conform to the social norms of the society. In extreme cases,

sanctions may include social discrimination, exclusion, and violence. Informal social control has the potential to have a greater impact on an individual than formal control. When social values become internalized, they become an aspect of an individual's personality.

Informal sanctions check 'deviant' behavior. An example of a negative sanction is depicted in a scene in 'The Wall,' a film by Pink Floyd. In this scene, a young protagonist is ridiculed and verbally abused by a high school teacher for writing poetry in a mathematics class. Another example occurs in the movie 'About a Boy. " In this film, a young boy hesitates to jump from a high springboard and is ridiculed for his fear. Though he eventually jumps, his behaviour is controlled by shame, not by his internal desire to jump.



Informal means of control: At funerals, people tend to comport themselves to look as if they are grieving, even if they did not know the person who passed away. This is example of a social situation controlling an individual's emotions.

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4.5: Agents of Socialization

Family

A family serves to reproduce society biologically, through procreation, and socially, through the socialization of children.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the pivotal role a family plays in the socialization of children and the continuation of society through procreation

Key Points

- Although a family can fulfill a variety of other functions, not all of these are universal or obligatory.
- The incest taboo, which prohibits sexual relations between family members, is a form of exogamy and may help promote social solidarity.
- The family of orientation refers to the role of the family in providing children with a position in society and socialize them.
- From the parents' perspective, the family of procreation refers to the family's role is to produce and socialize children.
- Exogamy is a social arrangement according to which marriages can only occur with members outside of one's social group.
- Exogamy is a social arrangement according to which marriages can only occur with members outside of one's social group.

Key Terms

- **exogamy**: Marriage to a person belonging to a tribe or group other than your own as required by custom or law.
- **bridewealth**: Bridewealth is the amount of money, wealth, or property paid by the family of the groom to the bride's parents upon the marriage of the couple. The amount paid generally indicates the perceived value of the bride.
- **family of procreation**: the idea that the goal of a family is to produce and enculturate and socialize children
- **family of orientation**: This refers to the family in which an individual grows up.

The primary function of the family is to reproduce society, both biologically through procreation and socially through socialization. Given these functions, the individual's experience of his or her family shifts over time. From the perspective of children, the family is a family of orientation: the family functions to locate children socially, and plays a major role in their socialization. From the point of view of the parent(s), the family is a family of procreation: The family functions to produce and socialize children. In some cultures, marriage imposes upon women the obligation to bear children. In northern Ghana, for example, payment of bridewealth, which is an amount of money, wealth, or property paid to the bride's parents by the groom's family, signifies a woman's requirement to bear children, and women using birth control face substantial threats of physical abuse and reprisals.

Producing offspring is not the only function of the family. Marriage sometimes establishes the legal father of a woman's child; establishes the legal mother of a man's child; gives the husband or his family control over the wife's sexual services, labor, and/or property; gives the wife or her family control over the husband's sexual services, labor, and/or property; establishes a joint fund of property for the benefit of children; establishes a relationship between the families of the husband and wife. None of these functions are universal, nor are all of them inherent to any one society. In societies with a sexual division of labor, marriage, and the resulting relationship between a husband and wife, is necessary for the formation of an economically productive household. In modern societies, marriage entails particular rights and privileges which encourage the formation of new families even when there is no intention of having children.

In most societies, marriage between brothers and sisters is forbidden. In many societies, marriage between some first cousins is preferred, while at the other extreme, the medieval Catholic Church prohibited marriage even between distant cousins. The present day Catholic Church still maintains a standard of required distance for marriage.

These sorts of restrictions can be classified as an incest taboo, which is a cultural norm or rule that forbids sexual relations between family members and relatives. Incest taboo may serve to promote social solidarity and is a form of exogamy. Exogamy can be broadly defined as a social arrangement according to which marriages can only occur with members outside of one's social group. One exception to this pattern is in ancient Egypt, where marriage between brothers and sisters was permitted in the royal family, as it was also the case in Hawaii and among the Inca. This privilege was denied commoners and may have served to concentrate wealth and power in one family.



Family: Families have strong ties and, therefore, are powerful agents of socialization.

Neighborhood

A neighborhood is a geographically localized community within a larger city, town, or suburb.

Learning Objectives

Justify the importance of neighborhoods and communities as units of socialization, especially when specialized, such as by ethnicity or religion

Key Points

- Ethnic neighborhoods were important in many historical cities, and they remain common in modern cities.
- Rural-to-urban migration contributed to neighborhood distinctiveness and social cohesion in historical cities.
- A community is a group of interacting people, living in some proximity. Community usually refers to a social unit—larger than a household—that shares common values and has social cohesion.
- Social capital refers to a sense of connectedness due to the formation of social networks in a given community.

Key Terms

- **community**: A group sharing a common understanding and often the same language, manners, tradition and law. See civilization.
- **ethnic enclave**: An ethnic enclave is an ethnic community which retains some cultural distinction from a larger, surrounding area, it may be a neighborhood, an area or an administrative division based on ethnic groups.
- **social capital**: The good will, sympathy, and connections created by social interaction within and between social networks.

A neighborhood is a geographically localized community within a larger city, town, or suburb. Neighborhoods are often social communities with considerable face-to-face interaction among members. Neighborhoods are typically generated by social interaction among people living near one another. In this sense, they are local social units larger than households, but not directly under the control of city or state officials. In some preindustrial urban traditions, basic municipal functions such as protection, social regulation of births and marriages, cleaning, and upkeep are handled informally by neighborhoods and not by urban governments; this pattern is well documented for historical Islamic cities. In addition to social neighbourhoods, most ancient and historical cities also had administrative districts used by officials for taxation, record-keeping, and social control.

Specialization and Differentiation

Neighborhoods in preindustrial cities often had some degree of social specialization or differentiation. Ethnic enclaves were important in many past cities and remain common in cities today. Economic specialists, including craft producers, merchants, and others could be concentrated in neighborhoods. Other neighborhoods were united by religious persuasion. One factor contributing to neighborhood distinctiveness and social cohesion was the role of rural to urban migration. This was a continual process for preindustrial cities in which migrants tended to move in with relatives and acquaintances from their rural past.

On another level, a community is a group of interacting people, living in some proximity. Community usually refers to a social unit—larger than a household—that shares common values and has social cohesion. The sense of community and formation of social networks comprise what has become known as social capital.



Chelsea: This image is of Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan in New York City.

School

Education is the process by which society transmits its accumulated knowledge, skills, customs and values from one generation to another.

Learning Objectives

Explain the role of both formal and informal education in the socialization process, such as learning norms and expectations, as well as gaining social equality

Key Points

- The sociology of education is the study of how public institutions and individual experiences affect education and its outcomes.
- A systematic sociology of education began with Émile Durkheim's work on moral education as a basis for organic solidarity.
- Socialization is the process by which the new generation learns the knowledge, attitudes and values that they will need as productive citizens.
- The hidden curriculum is a subtler, but nonetheless powerful, indoctrination of the norms and values of the wider society.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **the sociology of education**: The sociology of education is the study of how public institutions and individual experiences affect education and its outcomes.
- **hidden curriculum**: A curriculum that goes beyond the explicit demands of the formal curriculum. The goals and requirements of the hidden curriculum are unstated, but inflexible. They concern not what students learn but how and when they learn.

Education is the means through which the aims and habits of a group of people is transmitted from one generation to the next. Generally, it occurs through any experience that has a formative effect on the way one thinks, feels, or acts. In its narrow, technical sense, education is the formal process by which society deliberately transmits its accumulated knowledge, skills, customs and values from one generation to another. The sociology of education is the study of how public institutions and individual experiences affect education and its outcomes. It is most concerned with the public schooling systems of modern industrial societies, including the expansion of higher, adult, and continuing education.

Education has often been seen as a fundamentally optimistic human endeavor characterized by aspirations for progress and betterment. It is understood by many to be a means of overcoming limitations, achieving greater equality and acquiring wealth and social status. Education is perceived as an endeavor that enables children to develop according to their unique needs and potential. It is also perceived as one of the best means of achieving greater social equality. Some take a particularly negative view, arguing that the education system is intentionally designed to perpetuate the social reproduction of inequality.

A systematic sociology of education began with Émile Durkheim's work on moral education as a basis for organic solidarity. It was after World War II, however, that the subject received renewed interest around the world: from technological functionalism in the US, egalitarian reform of opportunity in Europe, and human-capital theory in economics. These all implied that, with industrialization, the need for a technologically-skilled labor force undermines class distinctions and other ascriptive systems of stratification, and that education promotes social mobility.

Structural functionalists believe that society leans towards social equilibrium and social order. Socialization is the process by which the new generation learns the knowledge, attitudes and values that they will need as productive citizens. Although this aim is stated in the formal curriculum, it is mainly achieved through "the hidden curriculum", a subtler, but nonetheless powerful, indoctrination of the norms and values of the wider society. Students learn these values because their behavior at school is regulated until they gradually internalize and accept them. For example, most high school graduates are socialized to either enter college or the workforce after graduation. This is an expectation set forth at the beginning of a student's education.

Education also performs another crucial function. As various jobs become vacant, they must be filled with the appropriate people. Therefore, the other purpose of education is to sort and rank individuals for placement in the labor market. Those with high achievement will be trained for the most skilled and intellectually tasking jobs and in reward, be given the highest income. On the other hand, those who achieve the least, will be given the least demanding jobs, and hence the least income.



School: School serves as a primary site of education, including the inculcation of "hidden curricula" of social values and norms.

Day Care

Day care, in which children are cared for by a person other than their legal guardians, contributes to their socialization.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how the use of day care (ranging from relative care to preschools) impacts the socialization of children in both a positive and negative way

Key Points

- Studies have shown that while bad day care can result in physical and emotional problems, good day care is not harmful to noninfants and may even lead to better outcomes.
- The day care industry is a continuum from personal parental care to large, regulated institutions.
- Early childhood education is the formal education and care of young children by people other than their family in settings outside of their homes and before the age of normal schooling.

Key Terms

- **early childhood education**: The formal teaching and care of young children by people other than their family in settings outside of the home and before the age of normal schooling.

Day care is the care of a child during the day by a person other than the child's legal guardians, typically performed by someone outside the child's immediate family. Day care is typically a service during specific periods, such as when parents are at work. Child care is provided in nurseries or crèches, or by a nanny or family child care provider caring for children in their own homes. It can also take on a more formal structure, with education, child development, discipline, and even preschool education falling into the fold of services.



Day Care: A mother who works in construction drops her child off at daycare prior to work.

The day care industry is a continuum from personal parental care to large, regulated institutions. The vast majority of childcare is still performed by the parents, in house nanny, or through informal arrangements with relatives, neighbors, or friends. Another factor favoring large corporate day cares is the existence of childcare facilities in the workplace. Large corporations will not handle this employee benefit directly themselves and will seek out large corporate providers to manage their corporate daycares. Most smaller, for-profit day cares operate out of a single location.

Independent studies suggest that good day care for non-infants is not harmful. Some advocate that day care is inherently inferior to parental care. In some cases, good daycare can provide different experiences than parental care does, especially when children reach two and are ready to interact with other children. Bad day care puts the child at physical, emotional, and attachment risk. Higher quality care is associated with better outcomes. Children in higher quality child care had somewhat better language and cognitive development during the first 4½ years of life than those in lower quality care. They were also somewhat more cooperative than those who experienced lower quality care during the first three years of life.

As a matter of social policy, consistent, good daycare may ensure adequate early childhood education for children of less skilled parents. From a parental perspective, good daycare can complement good parenting. Early childhood education is the formal teaching and care of young children by people other than their family in settings outside of the home. "Early childhood" is usually defined as before the age of normal schooling – five years in most nations, though the U.S. National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) instead defines "early childhood" as before the age of eight.

Peer Groups

A peer group, whose members have interests, social positions, and age in common, have an influence on the socialization of group members.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the importance of the peer group in terms of childhood and adolescent socialization

Key Points

- This is where children can escape supervision and learn to form relationships on their own.
- The influence of the peer group typically peaks during adolescence.
- However, peer groups generally only affect short term interests unlike the family, which has long term influence.
- Peer groups can also serve as a venue for teaching members gender roles.
- Adolescent peer groups provide support for children and teens as they assimilate into the adult society decreasing dependence on parents, increasing feeling of self-sufficiency, and connecting with a much larger social network.
- The term ” peer pressure ” is often used to describe instances where an individual feels indirectly pressured into changing their behavior to match that of their peers.

Key Terms

- **peer pressure**: Peer pressure is the influence exerted by a peer group, encouraging individuals to change their attitudes, values, or behaviors in order to conform to group norms.
- **gender roles**: Sets of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship.
- **Peer group**: A peer group is a social group whose members have interests, social positions, and age in common.

A peer group is a social group whose members have interests, social positions, and age in common. This is where children can escape supervision and learn to form relationships on their own. The influence of the peer group typically peaks during adolescence. However, peer groups generally only affect short term interests unlike the family, which has long term influence.

Unlike the family and the school, the peer group lets children escape the direct supervision of adults. Among peers, children learn to form relationships on their own. Peer groups also offer the chance to discuss interests that adults may not share with their children (such as clothing and popular music) or permit (such as drugs and sex).

Peer groups have a significant influence on psychological and social adjustments for group individuals. They provide perspective outside of individual’s viewpoints. Members inside peer groups also learn to develop relationships with others in the social system. Peers, particularly group members, become important social referents for teaching members’ customs, social norms, and different ideologies.

Peer groups can also serve as a venue for teaching members gender roles. Through gender-role socialization group members learn about sex differences, social and cultural expectations. While boys and girls differ greatly there is not a one to one link between sex and gender role with males always being masculine and female always being feminine. Both genders can contain different levels of masculinity and femininity.

Adolescent peer groups provide support for children and teens as they assimilate into the adult society decreasing dependence on parents, increasing feeling of self-sufficiency, and connecting with a much larger social network. Peer groups cohesion is determined and maintained by such factors as group communication, group consensus, and group conformity concerning attitude and behavior. As members of peer groups interconnect, and agree, a normative code arises. This normative code can become very rigid deciding group behavior and dress. Peer group individuality is increased by normative codes, and intergroup conflict. Member deviation from the strict normative code can lead to rejection from the group. The term “peer pressure” is often used to describe instances where an individual feels indirectly pressured into changing their behavior to match that of their peers. Taking up smoking and underage drinking are two of the best known examples. In spite of the often negative connotations of the term, peer pressure can be used positively.

Mass Media and Technology

Since mass media has enormous effects on our attitudes and behavior, it contributes to the socialization process.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the connection between media, technology and society

Key Points

- Mass media is the means for delivering impersonal communications directed to a vast audience.
- The term media comes from Latin meaning, “middle,” suggesting that the media’s function is to connect people.
- Media bias refers to the bias of journalists and news producers within mass media. Bias exists in the selection of

events and stories that are reported and how they are covered.

- A technique used to avoid bias is the “round table,” an adversarial format in which representatives of opposing views comment on an issue.
- A technique used to avoid bias is the “round table”, an adversarial format in which representatives of opposing views comment on an issue.

Key Terms

- **media bias**: A political bias in journalistic reporting, in programming selection, or otherwise in mass communications media.
- **round table**: A conference at which participants of similar status discuss and exchange views
- **mass media**: Collectively, the communications media, especially television, radio, and newspapers, that reach the mass of the people.

Mass media is the means for delivering impersonal communications directed to a vast audience. The term media comes from Latin meaning, “middle,” suggesting that the media’s function is to connect people. Since mass media has enormous effects on our attitudes and behavior, notably in regards to aggression, it contributes to the socialization process.

Media Bias

Media bias refers the bias of journalists and news producers within the mass media. Bias exists in the selection of events and stories that are reported and how they are covered. The term “media bias” implies a pervasive or widespread bias contravening the standards of journalism, rather than the perspective of an individual journalist or article. The direction and degree of media bias in various countries is widely disputed.



Media Bias: A panel in the Newseum in Washington, DC shows the September 12 headlines in America and around the world. Note the different treatment of 9/11 by different sources.

A technique employed to avoid bias is the “round table,” an adversarial format in which representatives from opposing views comment on an issue. This approach theoretically allows diverse views to appear in the media. However, the person organizing the report still has the responsibility to choose people who really represent the breadth of opinion, to ask them non-prejudicial questions, and to edit their comments fairly. When done carelessly, a point/counterpoint can be as unfair as a simple biased report, by suggesting that the “losing” side lost on its merits.

The apparent bias of media is not always specifically political in nature. The news media tend to appeal to a specific audience. This means stories that affect a large number of people on a global scale often receive less coverage in some markets than local stories, such as a public school shooting, a celebrity wedding, a plane crash, or similarly glamorous or shocking stories. Millions of deaths in an ethnic conflict in Africa might be afforded scant mention in American media, while the shooting of five people in a high school is analyzed in-depth. The reason for these types of bias is a function of what the public wants to watch and/or what producers and publishers believe the public wants to watch.

Video Game Violence

Debates have been going on for years about the problem and effect of violent video games. Many people believe that violent video games, when played regularly, lead to real-life violence. In fact, video game violence can lead to an increase in a person’s thoughts and behaviors. There have been incidents of children acting out the violence they see in a game, often with dire consequences. The key is being involved in other activities; when teenagers who played violent video games also participated in sports or clubs, there was less indication they would become violent in any potential situation.

Workplace

The workplace performs its socialization process through onboarding, through which employees acquire skills to adjust to their new role.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the process of onboarding as it relates to workplace socialization

Key Points

- Tactics used in the onboarding process include formal meetings, lectures, videos, printed materials and computer-based orientations.
- Employees with certain personality traits and experiences adjust to an organization more quickly. These include employees with a proactive personality, “Big Five” personality traits, curiosity, and greater experience levels.
- Information seeking occurs when new employees ask questions of their co-workers to learn about the company’s

norms, expectations, procedures and policies.

- Also called networking, relationship building involves an employee's efforts to develop camaraderie with co-workers and even supervisors.
- Employee experience levels also affect the onboarding process such that more experienced members of the workforce tend to adapt to a new organization differently from, for example, a new college graduate starting his or her first job.
- Information seeking occurs when new employees ask questions of their co-workers and superiors in an effort to learn about their new job and the company's norms, expectations, procedures, and policies.
- Also called networking, relationship building involves an employee's efforts to develop camaraderie with co-workers and even supervisors.

Key Terms

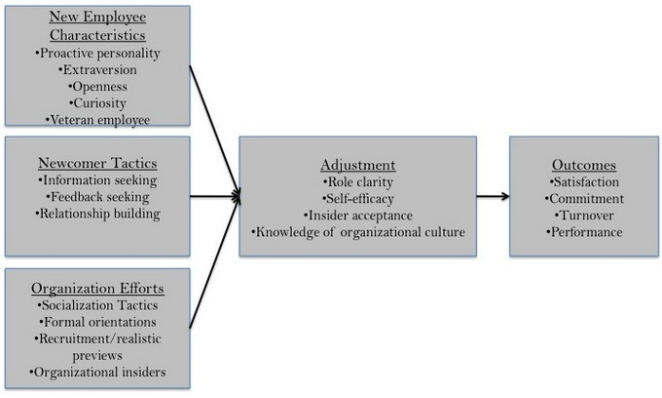
- **networking**: the act of meeting new people in a business or social context.
- **curiosity**: Inquisitiveness; the tendency to learn about things by asking questions, investigating or exploring.
- **onboarding**: The process of bringing a new employee on board, incorporating training and orientation.

The workplace performs its socialization function through onboarding. This is the mechanism through which new employees acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and behaviors to become effective organizational members. Tactics used in this process include formal meetings, lectures, videos, printed materials, or computer-based orientations. Research has demonstrated that these socialization techniques lead to positive outcomes for new employees including higher job satisfaction, better job performance, greater organizational commitment, and reduction in stress. These outcomes are particularly important to an organization looking to retain a competitive advantage in an increasingly mobile and globalized workforce.

Employees with certain personality traits and experiences adjust to an organization more quickly. These traits are a proactive personality, the "Big Five" traits, curiosity and greater experience levels. "Proactive personality" refers to the tendency to take charge of situations and achieve control over one's environment. This type of personality predisposes some workers to engage in behaviors like information seeking that accelerate the socialization process. The Big Five personality traits—openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism—have been linked to onboarding success. Specifically, new employees who are extraverted or particularly open to experience are more likely to seek out information, feedback, acceptance and relationships with co-workers.

Curiosity also plays a substantial role in the newcomer adaptation process. It is defined as the "desire to acquire knowledge" that energizes individual exploration of an organization's culture and norms. Individuals with a curious disposition eagerly seek out information to help them make sense of their new organizational surroundings, which leads to a smoother onboarding experience. Employee experience levels also affect the onboarding process. For example, more experienced members of the workforce tend adapt to a new organization differently from a college graduate starting his or her first job. This is because seasoned employees can draw from past experiences to help them adjust to their new work settings. They may be less affected by specific socialization efforts because they have (a) a better understanding of their own needs and requirements at work and (b) are more familiar with what is acceptable in the work context.

Employees that build relationships and seek information can help facilitate the onboarding process. Newcomers can also speed up their adjustment by demonstrating behaviors that assist them in clarifying expectations, learning organizational values and norms, and gaining social acceptance. Information seeking occurs when new employees ask questions in an effort to learn about the company's norms, expectations, procedures and policies. Also called networking, relationship building involves an employee's efforts to develop camaraderie with co-workers and supervisors. This can be achieved informally through talking to their new peers during a coffee break, or through more formal means like pre-arranged company events. Research has shown relationship building to be a key part of the onboarding process, leading to outcomes like greater job satisfaction, better job performance and decreased stress.



Organization Socialization Model: A model of onboarding (adapted from Bauer & Erdogan, 2011).

Religion

Religion is a collection of cultural systems, belief systems, and worldviews that relate humanity to spirituality and moral values.

Learning Objectives

Explain how people come to be socialized in terms of religion and how parental influence is a key factor in religiosity

Key Points

- Sociology of religion is the study of the beliefs, practices, and organizational forms of religion using the tools and methods of the discipline of sociology.
- Agents of socialization differ in effects across religious traditions. Some believe religion is like an ethnic or cultural category, making it less likely for the individuals to break from religious affiliations and be more socialized in this setting.
- Belief in God is attributable to a combination of the above factors, but is also informed by a discussion of socialization. The biggest predictor of adult religiosity is parental religiosity; if a person's parents were religious when he was a child, he is likely to be religious when he grows up.
- In their thesis, Altemeyer and Hunsberger found some interesting cases where secular people converted to religion, and religious people became secular.

Key Terms

- **parental religiosity**: The biggest predictor of adult religiosity is parental religiosity; if a person's parents were religious when he was a child, he is likely to be religious when he grows up.
- **agents of socialization**: Agents of socialization, or institutions that can impress social norms upon an individual, include the family, religion, peer groups, economic systems, legal systems, penal systems, language, and the media.
- **sociology of religion**: Sociology of religion is the study of the beliefs, practices, and organizational forms of religion using the tools and methods of the discipline of sociology.
- **religion**: an organized collection of belief systems, cultural systems, and world views that relate humanity to spirituality and, sometimes, to moral values

Religion is a collection of cultural systems, belief systems, and worldviews that relate humanity to spirituality and, sometimes, to moral values. Many religions have narratives, symbols, traditions, and sacred histories that are intended to give meaning to life or to explain the origin of life or the universe. They tend to derive morality, ethics, religious laws, or a preferred lifestyle from their ideas about the cosmos and human nature.

Sociology of religion is the study of the beliefs, practices, and organizational forms of religion, using the tools and methods of the discipline of sociology. This objective investigation may include the use of both quantitative methods (surveys, polls, demographic, and census analysis) and qualitative approaches, such as participant observation, interviewing, and analysis of archival, historical, and documentary materials.

Agents of socialization differ in effects across religious traditions. Some believe religion is like an ethnic or cultural category, making it less likely for the individuals to break from religious affiliations and be more socialized in this setting. Parental religious participation is the most influential part of religious socialization–more so than religious peers or religious beliefs. For example, children raised in religious homes are more likely to have some degree of religiosity in their lives. They are also likely to raise their own children with religion and to participate in religious ceremonies, such as baptisms and weddings.

Belief in God is attributable to a combination of the above factors but is also informed by a discussion of socialization. The biggest predictor of adult religiosity is parental religiosity; if a person's parents were religious when he was a child, he is likely to be religious when he grows up. Children are socialized into religion by their parents and their peers and, as a result, they tend to stay in religions. Alternatively, children raised in secular homes tend not to convert to religion. This is the underlying premise of Altemeyer and Hunsberger's main thesis–they found some interesting cases where just the opposite seemed to happen. Secular people converted to religion and religious people became secular. Despite these rare exceptions, the process of socialization is certainly a significant factor in the continued existence of religion.



Socialization through Religious Ceremonies: Religious ceremonies, such as Catholic mass, socialize members of the faith to the practices and beliefs of the religion.

The Division of Labor

Division of labor is the specialization of cooperative labor in specific, circumscribed tasks and similar roles.

Learning Objectives

Interpret Durkheim's division of labor theory in terms of mechanical and organic solidarity, as well as progression from primitive to advanced societies

Key Points

- An increasingly complex division of labor is historically closely associated with the growth of total output and trade, the rise of capitalism, and of the complexity of industrialization processes.
- Durkheim classified societies as primitive or advanced based on their division of labor.
- According to Durkheim, in primitive societies where there is little or no division of labor, people act and think alike with a collective conscience. In advanced societies with high division of labor, social ties are relatively homogeneous and weak.
- Labor hierarchy is a very common feature of the modern workplace structure.
- It is often agreed that the most equitable principle in allocating people within hierarchies is that of true competency or ability. This important Western concept of meritocracy could be interpreted as an explanation or as a justification of why a division of labor is the way it is.

Key Terms

- **industrialization**: A process of social and economic change whereby a human society is transformed from a pre-industrial to an industrial state
- **meritocracy**: Rule by merit, and talent. By extension, now often used to describe a type of society where wealth, income, and social status are assigned through competition.
- **labor hierarchy**: Labor hierarchy is a very common feature of the modern workplace structure, but of course the way these hierarchies are structured can be influenced by a variety of different factors.

Division of labor is the specialization of cooperative labor in specific, circumscribed tasks and roles. Historically, an increasingly complex division of labor is closely associated with the growth of total output and trade, the rise of capitalism, and of the complexity of industrialization processes. Division of labor was also a method used by the Sumerians to categorize different jobs and divide them between skilled members of a society.

Emilie Durkheim was a driving force in developing the theory of the division of labor in socialization. In his dissertation, Durkheim described how societies maintained social order based on two very different forms of solidarity (mechanical and organic), and analyzed the transition from more "primitive" societies to advanced industrial societies.

Durkheim suggested that in a "primitive" society, mechanical solidarity, with people acting and thinking alike and sharing a collective or common conscience, allows social order to be maintained. In such a society, Durkheim viewed crime as an act that "offends strong and defined states of the collective conscience". Because social ties were relatively homogeneous and weak throughout society, the law had to be repressive and penal, to respond to offenses of the common conscience.

In an advanced, industrial, capitalist society, the complex division of labor means that people are allocated in society according to merit and rewarded accordingly; social inequality reflects natural inequality. Durkheim argued that in this type of society moral regulation was needed to maintain order (or organic solidarity). He thought that transition of a society from "primitive" to advanced may bring about major disorder, crisis,

and anomie. However, once society has reached the “advanced” stage, it becomes much stronger and is done developing.

In the modern world, those specialists most preoccupied with theorizing about the division of labor are those involved in management and organization. In view of the global extremes of the division of labor, the question is often raised about what manner of division of labor would be ideal, most efficient, and most just. It is widely accepted that the division of labor is to a great extent inevitable, simply because no one can perform all tasks at once. Labor hierarchy is a very common feature of the modern workplace structure, but the structure of these hierarchies can be influenced by a variety of factors.



Division of Labor: An assembly line is a good example of a system that incorporates the division of labor; each worker is completing a discrete task to increase efficiency of overall production.

The Incest Taboo, Marriage, and the Family

An incest taboo is any cultural rule or norm that prohibits sexual relations between relatives.

Learning Objectives

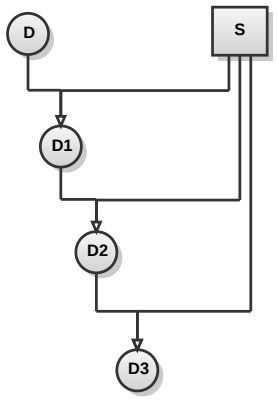
Analyze the different constructs of the incest taboo, ranging from biological (the Westermarck effect) to cultural (endogamy and exogamy)

Key Points

- Incest taboo is a cultural norm or rule that forbids sexual relations between relatives.
- Inbreeding is reproduction resulting from the mating of two genetically-related individuals.
- The Westermarck effect is essentially a psychological phenomenon that serves to discourage inbreeding. Through this effect, people who have grown up together are less likely to feel sexually attracted to one another later in life.
- Exogamy is a social arrangement in which marriage is permitted only with members from outside the social group.
- Endogamy is a social arrangement in which marriage can occur only within the same social group.

Key Terms

- **exogamy**: Marriage to a person belonging to a tribe or group other than your own as required by custom or law.
- **inbreeding**: Breeding between members of a relatively small population, especially one in which most members are related.
- **endogamy**: The practice of marrying or being required to marry within one’s own ethnic, religious, or social group.



Inbreeding: An intensive form of inbreeding where an individual S is mated to his daughter D1, granddaughter D2 and so on, in order to maximise the percentage of S’s genes in the offspring. D3 would have 87.5% of his genes, while D4 would have 93.75%.

An incest taboo is any cultural rule or norm that prohibits sexual relations between relatives. All human cultures have norms regarding who is considered suitable and unsuitable as sexual or marriage partners. Usually certain close relatives are excluded from being possible partners. Little agreement exists among cultures about which types of blood relations are permissible partners and which are not. In many cultures, certain types of cousin relations are preferred as sexual and marital partners, whereas others are taboo.

One potential explanation for the incest taboo sees it as a cultural implementation of a biologically evolved preference for sexual partners without shared genes, as inbreeding may have detrimental outcomes. The most widely held hypothesis proposes that the so-called Westermarck effect discourages adults from engaging in sexual relations with individuals with whom they grew up. The existence of the Westermarck effect has achieved some empirical support. The Westermarck effect, first proposed by Edvard Westermarck in 1891, is the theory that

children reared together, regardless of biological relationship, form a sentimental attachment that is by its nature non-erotic.

Another school argues that the incest prohibition is a cultural construct that arises as a side effect of a general human preference for group exogamy. Intermarriage between groups construct valuable alliances that improve the ability for both groups to thrive. According to this view, the incest taboo is not necessarily a universal, but it is likely to arise and become stricter under cultural circumstances that favor exogamy over endogamy; it likely to become more lax under circumstances that favor endogamy. This hypothesis has also achieved some empirical support.

Societies that are stratified often prescribe different degrees of endogamy. Endogamy is the opposite of exogamy; it refers to the practice of marriage between members of the same social group. A classic example is seen in India's caste system, in which unequal castes are endogamous. Inequality between ethnic groups and races also correlates with endogamy. Class, caste, ethnic and racial endogamy typically coexists with family exogamy and prohibitions against incest.

Ideology

Ideology is a coherent system of ideas that constitutes one's goals, expectations, and actions.

Learning Objectives

Explain the purpose of an ideology and how it is used in various contexts (i.e. religion or politics) to create change or conformity in society

Key Points

- Ideology can be used either to initiate change in society or to encourage continued adherence to a set of ideals in a situation where conformity already exists.
- According to Karl Marx, ideology is an instrument for social reproduction, as those who control the means of production (the ruling class) are able to establish the dominant ideology within a society.
- Louis Althusser proposed a materialistic conception of ideology using the concept of Ideological State Apparatus.
- Ideological State Apparatuses are institutions, such as the family, media, religious organizations, education system, etc., that together comprise ideological practice, the sphere which has the defining property of constituting individuals as subjects.
- Many political parties base their political action and program on an ideology. Political ideology consists of two dimensions: goals and methods.

Key Terms

- **superstructure**: The ideas, philosophies, and culture that are built upon the means of production.
- **ideology**: the doctrine, philosophy, body of beliefs or principles belonging to an individual or group

An ideology is a set of ideas that constitute one's goals, expectations, and actions. An ideology can be thought of as a comprehensive vision, as a way of looking at things, as in several philosophical tendencies, or a set of ideas proposed by the dominant class of a society to all members of this society. The main purpose behind an ideology is to offer either change in society, or adherence to a set of ideals where conformity already exists, through a normative thought process. Ideologies are systems of abstract thought applied to public matters and thus make this concept central to politics.

In the Marxist account of ideology, it serves as an instrument of social reproduction. In the Marxist economic base and superstructure model of society, base denotes the relations of production, and superstructure denotes the dominant ideology (religious, legal, political systems). The economic base of production determines the political superstructure of a society. Ruling class-interests determine the superstructure and the nature of the justifying ideology—actions feasible because the ruling class control the means of production. Similarly, Louis Althusser proposed a materialistic conception of ideology using the concept of the ideological state apparatus. For Althusser, beliefs and ideas are the products of social practices, not the reverse. What is ultimately important for Althusser are not the subjective beliefs held in the "minds" of human individuals, but rather the material institutions, rituals, and discourses that produce these beliefs.

Many political parties base their political action and program on an ideology. A political ideology is a certain ethical set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths, or symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group that explains how society should work and offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order. A political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used. Some parties follow a certain ideology very closely, while others may take broad inspiration from a group of related ideologies without specifically embracing any one of them.

Resocialization and Total Institutions

A total institution is a place where a group of people is cut off from the wider community and their needs are under bureaucratic control.

Learning Objectives

Review Goffman's five types of social institutions and their functions, including their processes of resocialization

Key Points

- The term total institution was coined by the American sociologist Erving Goffman.
- Resocialization is defined as radically changing an inmate's personality by carefully controlling his or her environment.
- Resocialization is a two-part process. First, the staff of the institution tries to erode the residents' identities and independence. Second, the resocialization process involves the systematic attempt to build a different personality or self.

Key Terms

- **Resocialization**: Resocialization is defined as radically changing an inmate's personality by carefully controlling the environment.
- **Erving Goffman**: Erving Goffman (June 11, 1922 – November 19, 1982) was a Canadian-born sociologist and writer. The 73rd president of American Sociological Association, Goffman's greatest contribution to social theory was his study of symbolic interaction in the form of dramaturgical analysis. This began with his 1959 book, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.
- **total institution**: It is an institution that controls almost all aspects of its members' lives. Boarding schools, orphanages, military branches, juvenile detention, and prisons are examples of total institutions.

A total institution is a place of work and residence where a great number of similarly situated people, cut off from the wider community for a considerable time, lead an enclosed, formally administered life together. The term was coined by the American sociologist Erving Goffman. Within a total institution, the basic needs of a entire bloc of people are under bureaucratic control. These needs are handled in an impersonal and bureaucratic manner.

Goffman divided total institutions into five different types:

1. Institutions established to care for harmless or incapable people, including orphanages, poor houses and nursing homes
2. Institutions established to care for people that are incapable of looking after themselves and are also a threat to the community, including leprosarium, mental hospitals, and tuberculosis sanitariums
3. Institutions organized to protect the community against perceived intentional dangers, with the welfare of the sequestered people not the immediate issue, including concentration camps, prisoner of war camps, penitentiaries and jails
4. Institutions purportedly established to pursue some task, including colonial compounds, work camps, boarding schools, and ships
5. Institutions designed as retreats from the world while also often serving as training stations for the religious, including convents, abbeys, and monasteries

The goal of total institutions is resocialization, the radical alteration of residents' personalities by deliberately manipulating their environment. Key examples include the process of resocializing new recruits into the military so that they can operate as soldiers. Resocialization is a two-part process. First, the staff of the institution tries to erode the residents' identities and independence. Second, resocialization involves the systematic attempt to build a different personality or self. This is generally done through a system of reward and punishment. The privilege of reading a book, watching television, or making a phone call can be a powerful motivator to conform. Conformity occurs when individuals change their behavior to fit in with the expectations of an authority figure or the expectations of a larger group.



Total Institutions: Prisons are examples of total institutions.

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4.6: Gender Socialization

Gender Socialization

Gender socialization is the process of teaching people how to behave as men or women.

Learning Objectives

Analyze how the process of gender socialization has an impact on the lifespan development of a person, specifically related to stereotypes between men and women

Key Points

- Gender socialization begins even before a baby is born.
- Gender is socialized through media messages, school instruction, family expectations, and experiences in the workplace.
- The process of gender socialization continues as adolescents enter the workforce. Research has found that adolescents encounter stereotypes of gendered performance in their first jobs.

Key Terms

- **gender**: The socio-cultural phenomenon of the division of people into various categories such as male and female, with each having associated roles, expectations, stereotypes, etc.

Sociologists and other social scientists generally attribute many of the behavioral differences between men and women to socialization. Socialization is the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to future group members. In regards to gender socialization, the most common groups people join are the gender categories male and female. Even the categorical options of gender an individual may choose is socialized; social norms act against selecting a gender that is neither male or female. Thus, gender socialization is the process of educating and instructing potential men and women how to behave as members of that particular group.

Socialization Before Birth

Preparations for gender socialization begin even before the birth of the child. One of the first questions people ask of expectant parents is whether the baby will be a boy or girl. This is the beginning of a social categorization process that continues throughout life. Preparations for the birth of the child often take the expected sex into consideration, such as painting the infant's room pink or blue.

Early Life Socialization

One illustration of early life gender socialization can be seen in preschool classrooms. Children in preschool classrooms where teachers were told to emphasize gender differences saw an increase in stereotyped views of what activities are appropriate for boys or girls, while children with teachers who did not emphasize gender showed no increase in stereotyped views. This clearly demonstrates the influence of socialization on the development of gender roles; subtle cues that surround us in our everyday lives strongly influence gender socialization.

Adolescent Socialization

The process of gender socialization continues as adolescents enter the workforce. Research has found that adolescents encounter stereotypes of gendered performance in the workforce in their first jobs. First jobs are significantly segregated by sex. Girls work fewer hours and earn less per hour than boys. Hourly wages are higher in job types dominated by boys while girls are more frequently assigned housework and childcare duties. The impact of these first experiences in the professional world will shape adolescents' perspectives on how men and women behave differently in the workforce.



Gender Socialization in Infants: Preparations for the birth of the child often take the expected sex into consideration, such as painting the infant's room pink or blue.

Learning the Gender Gap

The gender pay gap, or the difference between male and female earnings, is primarily due to discriminatory social processes.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the impact the gener pay/wage gap can have on both men and, in particular, women, in the economic world

Key Points

- There is a debate as to what extent the gender pay gap is the result of gender differences, implicit discrimination due to lifestyle choices, or because of explicit discrimination.

- The unadjusted wage gap refers to a measure of the wage gap that does not take into account differences in personal and workplace characteristics between men and women.
- We can assume that the adjusted wage gap represents the gap due to implicit discrimination. In other words, the social forces that cause women to stay home with children more frequently than men or to be less aggressive, are responsible for this part of the wage gap.
- The difference between the unadjusted and the adjusted wage gap is due to explicit discrimination or the fact that on average, a woman will make less than an identical man in the exact same occupation.
- Studies have shown that the majority of the gender wage gap is due to implicit, not explicit, discrimination.

Key Terms

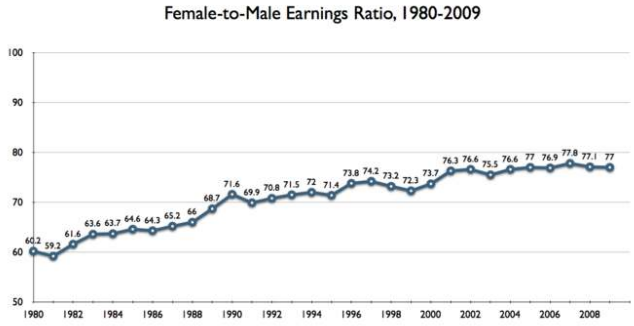
- **The gender pay gap**: The gender pay gap is the difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings, according to the OECD.
- **glass ceiling**: An unwritten, uncodified barrier to further promotion or progression for a member of a specific demographic group.

The gender pay gap is the difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The European Commission defines it as the average difference between men and women's hourly earnings. There is a debate as to what extent this is the result of gender differences, implicit discrimination due to lifestyle choices, or because of explicit discrimination. If it is a result of gender differences, then the pay gap is not a problem; men are simply better equipped to perform more valuable work than women. If it is a result of implicit discrimination due to lifestyle choices, then women's lower earnings result from the fact that women typically take more time off when having children or choose to work fewer hours. If it is explicit discrimination, then the pay gap is a result of stereotypical beliefs, conscious or unconscious, from those who hire and set salaries.

Most who study the gender wage gap assume that it is not due to differences in ability between genders – while in general men may be better at physical labor, the pay gap persists in other employment sectors as well. This implies that the gender gap stems from social, rather than biological, origins.

In order to determine whether the gender gap is a result of implicit or explicit discrimination, we can look at the adjusted and unadjusted wage gap. The unadjusted wage gap refers to a measure of the wage gap that does not take into account differences in personal (e.g., age, education, the number of children, job tenure, occupation, and occupational crowding) and workplace (e.g., the economic sector and place of employment) characteristics between men and women. Parts of the raw pay gap can be attributed to the fact that women, for instance, tend to engage more often in part-time work and tend to work in lower paid industries. The remaining part of the raw wage gap that cannot be explained by variables that are thought to influence pay is then referred to as the adjusted gender pay gap and may be explicitly discriminatory.

The total wage gap in the United States is 20.4 percent. A study commissioned by the United States Department of Labor, prepared by Consad Research Corp, asserts that there are "observable differences in the attributes of men and women that account for most of the wage gap. Statistical analysis that includes those variables has produced results that collectively account for between 65.1 and 76.4 percent of a raw gender wage gap of 20.4 percent, and thereby leave an adjusted gender wage gap that is between 4.8 and 7.1 percent. " Thus, only a relatively small part of the wage gap is due to explicit discrimination.



Gender Pay Gap in the United States, 1980-2009: This graph depicts the female-to-male earnings ratio, median yearly earnings among full-time, year-round workers from 1980 to 2009.

We can assume that the remainder (the gap attributed to the measured variables) is the result of implicit discrimination, that is, social forces that pressure women into working part time, to stay home with their children, to be less aggressive in pursuing promotions or raises, etc. A 2010 report by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, for example, pointed out that "the major reasons for this gap are very often related to both horizontal and vertical segregation – or the fact that women tend to choose lower-paid professions, reach a 'glass ceiling' in their careers, or have their jobs valued less favourably. The origins of these factors could be judged as being discriminatory in themselves, that is, when they are rooted in gender stereotypes of male and female occupations. "



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Gender Pay Gap in Europe: This PSA by the European Union illustrates the gender pay gap in Europe.

Gender Messages in the Family

Gender role theory posits that boys and girls learn the appropriate behavior and attitudes from the family with which they grow up.

Learning Objectives

Justify how the family acts as the most important agent of gender socialization for children and adolescents

Key Points

- Primary socialization – the socialization that occurs during childhood and depends mostly on a child's family members – is typically the most long-lasting and influential phase of socialization. Therefore, the gender roles learned from family will endure.
- The family is the most important agent of socialization because it serves as the center of the child's life.
- The division of labor between men and women contributes to the creation of gender roles, which in turn, lead to gender-specific social behavior.
- In the adult years the demands of work and family overwhelm most peer group relations and the influence of peers seriously declines as an agent of socialization, only to return during the elderly years.
- The division of labor creates gender roles, which in turn, lead to gendered social behavior.

Key Terms

- **primary socialization**: The socialization that takes place early in life, as a child and adolescent.
- **Division of labor**: A division of labour is the dividing and specializing of cooperative labour into specifically circumscribed tasks and roles.
- **gender role theory**: The idea that boys and girls learn the behavior and attitudes about how to perform one's biologically assigned gender.

Gender role theory posits that boys and girls learn the appropriate behavior and attitudes from the family and overall culture in which they grow up, and that non-physical gender differences are a product of socialization. Social role theory proposes that social structure is the underlying force behind gender differences, and that the division of labor between two sexes within a society motivates the differences in their respective behavior. Division of labor creates gender roles, which in turn, lead to gender-specific social behavior.

Family is the most important agent of socialization because it serves as the center of a child's life. Socialization theory tells us that primary socialization – the process that occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values and actions expected of individuals within a particular culture – is the most important phase of social development, and lays the groundwork for all future socialization. Therefore, the family plays a pivotal role in the child's development, influencing both the attitudes the child will adopt and the values the child will hold. Socialization can be intentional or unintentional; the family may not be conscious of the messages it transmits, but these messages nonetheless contribute to the child's socialization. Children learn continuously from the environment that adults create, including gender norms.

For example, a child who grows up in a two-parent household with a mother who acts as a homemaker and a father who acts as the breadwinner may internalize these gender roles, regardless of whether or not the family is directly teaching them. Likewise, if parents buy dolls for their daughters and toy trucks for their sons, the children will learn to value different things.

Gender Messages from Peers

Peer groups can serve as a venue for teaching gender roles, especially if conventional gender social norms are strongly held.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how peer groups can have a major impact on the gender socialization of a person, particularly children and adolescents

Key Points

- Gender roles refer to the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex in the context of a specific culture.

- Through gender-role socialization, group members learn about sex differences, and social and cultural expectations.
- Early on, children begin to almost restrict themselves to same-gendered groups. Boys tend to participate in more active and forceful activities in larger groups, away from adults, while girls were more likely to play in small groups, near adults.
- The stereotypes are less prominent when the groups are mixed-gendered, because the difference is not salient.
- A girl who wishes to take karate class instead of dance lessons may be called a “tomboy,” facing difficulty gaining acceptance from both male and female peer groups.

Key Terms

- **stereotype**: A conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image of a group of people or things.
- **gender roles**: Sets of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship.
- **Peer groups**: Peer groups can serve as a venue for teaching members gender roles.

Gender role theory posits that boys and girls learn the appropriate behavior and attitudes from the family and overall culture in which they grow up, and so non-physical gender differences are a product of socialization. Social role theory proposes that the social structure is the underlying force for gender differences. Social role theory proposes that sex-differentiated behavior is motivated by the division of labor between two sexes within a society. Division of labor creates gender roles, which in turn lead to gendered social behavior.

Peer groups can serve as a venue for teaching members gender roles. Gender roles refer to the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex in the context of a specific culture, and which differ widely across cultures and historical periods.

Through gender-role socialization, group members learn about sex differences, and social and cultural expectations. Biological males are not always masculine and biological females are not always feminine. Both genders can contain different levels of masculinity and femininity. Peer groups can consist of all males, all females, or both males and females.

Peer groups can have great influence on each other’s gender role behavior depending on the amount of pressure applied. If a peer group strongly holds to a conventional gender social norm, members will behave in ways predicted by their gender roles, but if there is not a unanimous peer agreement, gender roles do not correlate with behavior. There is much research that has been done on how gender affects learning within student peer groups. The purpose of a large portion of this research has been to see how gender affects peer cooperative groups, how that affects the relationships that students have within the school setting, and how gender can then affect attainment and learning. One thing that is an influence on peer groups is student behavior.

Knowing early on that children begin to almost restrict themselves to same-gendered groups, it is interesting to see how those interactions within groups take place. Boys tend to participate in more active and forceful activities in larger groups, away from adults, while girls were more likely to play in small groups, near adults. These gender differences are also representative of many stereotypical gender roles within these same-gendered groups. The stereotypes are less prominent when the groups are mixed-gendered.

When children do not conform to the appropriate gender role, they may face negative sanctions such as being criticized or marginalized by their peers. Though many of these sanctions are informal, they can be quite severe. For example, a girl who wishes to take karate class instead of dance lessons may be called a “tomboy,” facing difficulty gaining acceptance from both male and female peer groups. Boys, especially, are subject to intense ridicule for gender nonconformity.



Female Peer Groups: Teenage cliques exert influence upon their members to conform to group standards, including group mores about gender.

Gender Messages in Mass Media

In mass media, women tend to have less significant roles than men, and are often portrayed in stereotypical roles, such as wives or mothers.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the types of gender socialization people get from viewing various types of media

Key Points

- Gender socialization occurs through four major agents: family, education, peer groups, and mass media.
- Television commercials and other forms of advertising reinforce inequality and gender-based stereotypes.
- Particularly concerning are instances when women are depicted in dehumanizing, violent, and oppressive ways, especially in music videos.
- The mass media is able to deliver impersonal communications to a vast audience.

Key Terms

- **Gender socialization**: The process of educating and instructing males and females as to the norms, behaviors, values, and beliefs of group membership as men or women.
- **impersonal communications**: The mass media are the means for delivering impersonal communications directed to a vast audience, and include radio, advertising, television, and music.
- **television commercials**: Television commercials and other forms of advertising also reinforce inequality and gender-based stereotypes.

Gender socialization occurs through four major agents: family, education, peer groups, and mass media. Because mass media has enormous effects on our attitude and behavior, notably in regards to aggression, it is an important contributor to the socialization process. This is particularly true with regards to gender. In television and movies, women tend to have less significant roles than men. They are often portrayed as wives or mothers, rather than as main characters. When women are given a lead role, they are often one of two extremes: either a wholesome, saint-like figure or a malevolent, hyper-sexual figure. This same inequality is similarly pervasive in children's movies. Research indicates that among the 101 top-grossing, G-rated movies released between 1990 and 2005, three out of every four characters were male. Out of those movies, only seven films were even close to having a balanced cast of characters, with a ratio of less than 1.5 male characters per 1 female character.

Television commercials and other forms of advertising reinforce inequality and gender-based stereotypes. Women almost exclusively appear in ads that promote cooking, cleaning, or childcare-related products. In general, women are underrepresented in roles, or ads, that reference leadership, intelligence, or a balanced psyche. Particularly concerning are instances when women are depicted in dehumanizing, oppressive ways, especially in music videos. The music video for "Pimp," a song by 50 Cent, Snoop Dogg, and G-Unit, demonstrates how harmful gender messages can be disseminated through mass media. In the video, women are objectified and portrayed as only existing to serve men. They wear little clothing and are walked around on leashes by men, as if they were dogs and not humans.



Gender Messages in Mass Media: Traditional images of American gender roles reinforce the idea that women should be subordinate to men.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Gender Messages in Music: The music video for "PIMP," a song by 50 Cent, Snoop Dogg, and G-Unit, demonstrates how gender messages are disseminated through mass media. In the video, women are objectified and portrayed as only existing to serve men, as evidenced by the fact that men walk women around on leashes in part of the video.

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4.7: Socialization Throughout the Life Span

Socialization Throughout the Life Span

Socialization is the lifelong process of preparing an individual to live within his or her own society.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the concept of both primary and secondary socialization as a lifelong process which begins in infancy and continues into late adulthood

Key Points

- Socialization is the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society.
- Socialization is the process by which human infants acquire the skills necessary to perform as a functioning member of their society, a process that continues throughout an individual's life.
- The socialization process can be divided into primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture. This is mainly influenced by the immediate family and friends.
- Secondary socialization is the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society. It is the behavioral patterns reinforced by socializing agents of society. like schools and workplaces.
- The life course approach was developed in the 1960s for analyzing people's lives within structural, social and cultural contexts.

Key Terms

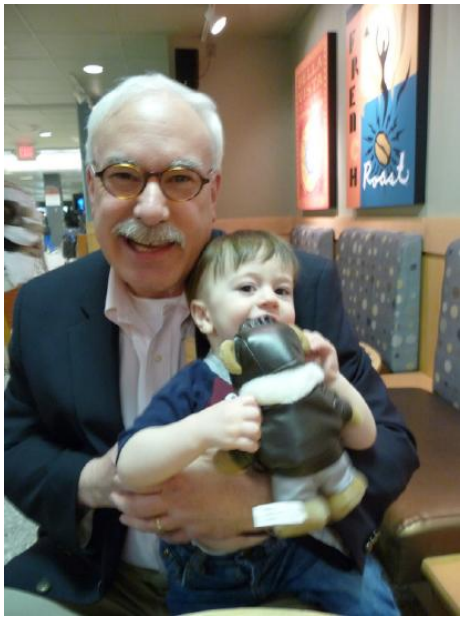
- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **agent**: One who exerts power, or has the power to act; an actor.

Socialization refers to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs and ideologies that provide an individual with the skills necessary for participating within society. Socialization is a process that continues throughout an individual's life. Some social scientists say socialization represents the process of learning throughout life and is a central influence on the behavior, beliefs and actions of adults as well as of children.

George Herbert Mead (1902–1994) developed the concept of self as developed with social experience. Since social experience is the exchange of symbols, people find meaning in every action, and seeking meaning leads people to imagine the intention of others from the others' point of view. In effect, others are a mirror in which we can see ourselves. Charles Horton Cooley (1902-1983) coined the term "looking glass self;" the self -image based on how we think others see us. According to Mead, the key to developing the self is learning to take the role of the other. With limited social experience, infants can only develop a sense of identity through imitation. Children gradually learn to take the roles of several others. The final stage is the generalized other; the widespread cultural norms and values we use as a reference for evaluating others.

Primary and Secondary Socialization

The socialization process can be divided into primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture. This is mainly influenced by the immediate family and friends. Secondary socialization is the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society. It is the behavioral patterns reinforced by socializing agents of society like schools and workplaces. For example, as new employees become socialized in an organization, they learn about its history, values, jargon, culture and procedures.



Life Course Approach: The life course approach studies the impact that sociocultural contexts have on an individual's development, from infancy until old age.

The Life Course Approach

The life course approach was developed in the 1960s for analyzing people's lives within structural, social and cultural contexts. Origins of this approach can be traced to such pioneering studies as Thomas's and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" from the 1920s or Mannheim's essay on the "Problem of generations. " The life course approach examines an individual's life history and how early events influence future decisions.

The Life Course

The life course approach analyzes people's lives within structural, social, and cultural contexts.

Learning Objectives

Explain the life course perspective as it relates to a person's development from infancy to old age, in terms of structural, social and cultural contexts

Key Points

- The life course approach refers to an approach developed in the 1960s for analyzing people's lives within structural, social, and cultural contexts.
- The life course approach examines an individual's life history and sees for example how early events influence future decisions and events, giving particular attention to the connection between individuals and the historical and socioeconomic context in which they lived.
- In a more general reading of the life course, human life is seen as divided into stages, which are somewhat arbitrary, but capture periods of life that are similar across cultures. These stages of life often inform and are reinforced by legal definitions of life stages.

Key Terms

- **socioeconomic**: Of or pertaining to social and economic factors.
- **life course**: the sequence of events, roles and age categories that people pass through from birth until death, all of which are culturally defined
- **age**: Mature age; especially, the time of life at which one attains full personal rights and capacities.

The life course approach, also known as the life course perspective, or life course theory, refers to an approach developed in the 1960s for analyzing people's lives within structural, social, and cultural contexts. Origins of this approach can be traced to pioneering studies such as Thomas's and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" from the 1920s or Mannheim's essay on the "Problem of generations".

The life course approach examines an individual's life history and sees for example how early events influence future decisions and events, giving particular attention to the connection between individuals and the historical and socioeconomic context in which they have lived. It holds that the events and roles that are part of the person's life course do not necessarily proceed in a given sequence, but rather constitute the sum total of the person's actual experience.

In a more general reading, human life is seen as often divided into various age spans such as infancy, toddler, childhood, adolescence, young adult, prime adulthood, middle age, and old age. These divisions are somewhat arbitrary, but generally capture periods of life that reflect a certain degree of similarity in development across cultures.



Old Age: This man is well into his later years and depicts life in its final stages.

In many countries, such as Sweden and the United States, adulthood legally begins at the age of eighteen. This is a major age milestone that is marked by significantly different attitudes toward the person who undergoes the transition. This is an example that demonstrates the influence of developmental stages on legal determinations of life stages, and thus, attitudes towards people at different stages of the human life course.



Infant: This picture depicts an individual at the earliest of life stages.

Anticipatory Socialization and Resocialization

Anticipatory socialization comes from an individual's desire to join a group while resocialization is imposed upon an individual by a group.

Learning Objectives

Explain the two steps associated with the resocialization process and how people use anticipatory socialization as a means to gain entrance into desired social groups

Key Points

- Anticipatory socialization is the process of changing one's attitudes and behaviors in preparation for a shift in one's role.
- The process of anticipatory socialization is facilitated by social interactions with the group they aspire to join.
- Resocialization is radically changing an inmate's personality by carefully controlling their environment.
- Resocialization is a two-part process. First, the staff of the institution tries to erode the residents' identities and independence. Second, there is a systematic attempt to build a different personality or self.

Key Terms

- **Social interactions**: It refers to a relationship between two (i.e. a dyad), three (i.e. a triad) or more individuals (e.g. a social group).
- **Anticipatory socialization**: Anticipatory socialization is the process, facilitated by social interactions, in which non-group-members learn to take on the values and standards of groups that they aspire to join, so as to ease their entry into the group and help them interact competently once they have been accepted by it.

Anticipatory Socialization

Anticipatory socialization is the process by which non-group-members adopt the values and standards of groups that they aspire to join, so as to ease their entry into the group and help them interact appropriately once they have been accepted. It involves changing one's attitudes and behaviors in preparation for a shift in one's role. Practices commonly associated with anticipatory socialization include grooming, play-acting, training, and rehearsing. Examples of anticipatory socialization include law school students learning how to behave like lawyers, older people preparing for retirement, and Mormon boys getting ready to become missionaries.

Anticipatory socialization was first defined by sociologist Robert K. Merton. It has its origins in a 1949 study of the United States military which found that privates who modeled their attitudes and behaviors on those of officers were more likely to be promoted than those who did not.

When people are blocked from access to a group they might have wanted to join, they reject that group's values and norms. Instead, they begin an anticipatory socialization process with groups that are more receptive to them. One example of this is the case of economically disadvantaged teenagers who seek to become drug dealers rather than professionals. While some critics would claim that these individuals lack motivation, some sociologists say they are simply making a pragmatic adjustment to the opportunities available to them.

Resocialization

Resocialization is defined as radically changing someone's personality by carefully controlling their environment. Total institutions aim to radically alter residents' personalities through deliberate manipulation of their environment. Key examples include the process of resocializing new recruits into the military so that they can operate as soldiers (or, in other words, as members of a cohesive unit) and the reverse process, in which those who have become accustomed to such roles return to society after military discharge. Resocialization may also be required for inmates who come out of prison and need to acclimate themselves back into civilian life.

Resocialization is a two-part process. First, the staff of the institution tries to erode the residents' identities and sense of independence. Strategies include forcing individuals to surrender all personal possessions, cut their hair in a uniform manner, and wear standardized clothing. Independence can be eroded by subjecting residents to humiliating and degrading procedures. Examples include strip searches, fingerprinting, and replacing residents' given names with serial numbers or code names. Second, resocialization involves the systematic attempt to build a different personality or self. This is generally accomplished through a system of rewards and punishments. The privilege of reading a book, watching television, or making a phone call can be powerful motivation to conform. Conformity occurs when individuals change their behavior to fit

the expectations of an authority figure or the expectations of a larger group.



Guitar Lessons: The young woman is interacting with her professor in anticipation of being associated with other guitarists

Stages of Socialization Throughout the Life Span

The socialization process can be separated into two main stages: primary socialization and secondary socialization.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of how the socialization process progresses throughout a person's life

Key Points

- The life process of socialization is generally divided into two parts: primary and secondary socialization.
- Primary socialization takes place early in life, as a child and adolescent. This is when an individual develops their core identity.
- Secondary socialization takes place throughout an individual's life, both as a child and as one encounters new groups. This involves more specific changes in response to the acquisition of new group memberships and roles and differently structured social situations.
- Some of the more significant contributors to the socialization process are: parents, guardians, friends, schools, siblings or other family members, social clubs (like religions or sports teams), life partners (romantic or platonic), and co-workers.

Key Terms

- **secondary socialization**: The socialization that takes place throughout one's life, both as a child and as one encounters new groups that require additional socialization.
- **primary socialization**: The socialization that takes place early in life, as a child and adolescent.

Socialization is a life process, but is generally divided into two parts: primary and secondary socialization.



Primary Socialization: The nuclear family serves as the primary force of socialization for young children.

Primary socialization takes place early in life, as a child and adolescent. Secondary socialization refers to the socialization that takes place throughout one's life, both as a child and as one encounters new groups that require additional socialization. While there are scholars who argue that only one or the other of these occurs, most social scientists tend to combine the two, arguing that the basic or core identity of the individual develops during primary socialization, with more specific changes occurring later—secondary socialization—in response to the acquisition of new group memberships and roles and differently structured social situations. The need for later-life socialization may stem from the increasing complexity of society with its corresponding increase in varied roles and responsibilities.



Secondary Socialization: By the time individuals are in their preteen or teenage years, peer groups play a more powerful role in socialization than family members.

Mortimer and Simmons outline three specific ways these two parts of socialization differ:

1. Content: Socialization in childhood is thought to be concerned with the regulation of biological drives. In adolescence, socialization is concerned with the development of overarching values and the self-image. In adulthood, socialization involves more overt and specific norms and behaviors, such as those related to the work role as well as more superficial personality features.
2. Context: In earlier periods, the socializee (the person being socialized) more clearly assumes the status of learner within

the context of the initial setting (which may be a family of orientation, an orphanage, a period of homelessness, or any other initial social groups at the beginning of a child's life), the school (or other educational context), or the peer group. Also, relationships in the earlier period are more likely to be affectively charged, i.e., highly emotional. In adulthood, though the socializee takes the role of student at times, much socialization occurs after the socializee has assumed full incumbency of the adult role. There is also a greater likelihood of more formal relationships due to situational contexts (e.g., work environment), which moderates down the affective component.

3. Response: The child and adolescent may be more easily malleable than the adult. Also, much adult socialization is self-initiated and voluntary; adults can leave or terminate the process at any time if they have the proper resources (symbolic, financial, and social) to do so.

Socialization is, of course, a social process. As such, it involves interactions between people. Socialization, as noted in the distinction between primary and secondary, can take place in multiple contexts and as a result of contact with numerous groups. Some of the more significant contributors to the socialization process are: parents, guardians, friends, schools, siblings or other family members, social clubs (like religions or sports teams), life partners (romantic or platonic), and co-workers. Each of these groups include a culture that must be learned and to some degree appropriated by the socializee in order to gain admittance to the group.

Childhood

Childhood has been constructed in different ways over time, though modern childhood is often defined by play, learning and socializing.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the importance of childhood (early, middle and adolescence) in terms of socialization and acceptance in society

Key Points

- Contemporary conceptions of childhood generally divide the period into three main stages: early childhood (toddlerhood), middle childhood, and adolescence.
- Childhood is not an absolute concept defined by age and experience. Instead, childhood as a concept has been conceived in very different manners over time.
- American culture figures outdoor play as an essential part of childhood, though the reality is that children are increasingly playing indoors.

Key Terms

- **toddlerhood**: The period of one's life in which one is a toddler
- **adolescence**: The transitional period of physical and psychological development between childhood and maturity.
- **middle childhood**: It is the school age and begins at around seven or eight.

Childhood is the age span ranging from birth to adolescence. In developmental psychology, childhood is divided up into the developmental stages of toddlerhood (learning to walk), early childhood (play age), middle childhood (school age), and adolescence (puberty through post-puberty).

Age Ranges of Childhood

The term childhood is non-specific and can imply a varying range of years in human development, depending on biological, personal, religious, cultural, or national interpretations. Developmentally and biologically, it refers to the period between infancy and puberty. In common terms, childhood is considered to start from birth. Some consider that childhood, as a concept of play and innocence, ends at adolescence. In the legal systems of many countries, there is an age of majority at which point childhood officially ends and a person legally becomes an adult. Globally, the age of majority ranges anywhere from 15 to 21, with 18 being the most common.

Developmental Stages of Childhood

Early childhood follows the infancy stage and begins with toddlerhood, reached when the child begins speaking or taking steps independently. Toddlerhood ends around age three when the child becomes less dependent on parental assistance for basic needs and early childhood continues approximately through years seven or eight. According to the National Association for the Education of Young Children, early childhood spans the from birth to age eight.

In most western societies, middle childhood begins at around age seven or eight, approximating primary school age and ends around puberty, which typically marks the beginning of adolescence.

Adolescence is usually determined by the onset of puberty. However, puberty may also begin in preadolescents. The end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood varies by country. Even within a single nation- state or ethic group there may be different conceptions of when an individual is considered to be (chronologically and legally) mature enough to be entrusted by society with certain tasks.

Modern Concepts of Childhood

The concept of childhood appears to evolve and change shape as lifestyles change and adult expectations alter. Some believe that children should not have any worries and should not have to work; life should be happy and trouble-free. Childhood is generally a time of playing, learning, socializing, exploring, and worrying in a world without much adult interference, aside from parents. It is a time of learning about responsibilities without having to deal with adult responsibilities.

Childhood is often retrospectively viewed as a time of innocence. According to this view, children have yet to be negatively influenced by society and are naive, rather than ignorant. A "loss of innocence" is a common concept, and is often seen as an integral part of coming of age. It is usually thought of as an experience or period in a child's life that widens their awareness of evil, pain or the world around them. This theme is demonstrated in the novels To Kill a Mockingbird and Lord of the Flies. The fictional character Peter Pan is the embodiment of a childhood that never ends.

Play

Play is essential to the cognitive, physical, social, and emotional well-being of children. It offers children opportunities for physical (running, jumping, climbing, etc.), intellectual (social skills, community norms, ethics, and general knowledge) and emotional development (empathy, compassion, and friendships). Unstructured play encourages creativity and imagination and allows children to interact with the world around them. Playing and interacting with other children, as well as with some adults, provides opportunities for friendships, social interactions, practicing adult roles, and resolving conflicts.



Play: Play is essential for the cognitive, physical, and social wellbeing of children.

Undirected play allows children to learn how to work in groups, to share, to negotiate, to resolve conflicts, and to learn self-advocacy skills. However, when play is controlled by adults, children acquiesce to adult rules and concerns and lose some of the benefits play offers them, particularly in developing creativity, leadership, and group skills.

Play is considered to be so important to optimal child development that it has been recognized by the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights as a right of every child. Raising children in a hurried and pressured style may limit the benefits they would gain from child-driven play.

American culture considers outdoor play as an essential part of childhood. However, the reality is that children are increasingly playing indoors. Nature Deficit Disorder, a term coined by Richard Louv in his 2005 book *Last Child in the Woods*, refers to the alleged trend in the United States that children are spending less time outdoors, resulting in a wide range of behavioral problems. With the advent of the computer, video games, and television, children have more reasons to stay inside rather than outdoors exploring. On average, American children spend forty-four hours per week with electronic media. Parents are also keeping children indoors in order to protect them from their growing fear of stranger danger.



Kids playing in the street: Children street culture transforms seemingly normal places into imaginative worlds

Adolescence

Adolescence is a period of significant cognitive, physical and social development, including changes in family and peer relationships.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the influences on, and significance of, adolescent socialization and development, culminating in the development of autonomy

Key Points

- In addition to biological and social development, adolescents are also subject to a varied experiences across cultures depending on norms and expectations around sexuality, autonomy and occupation.
- Today, media has a significant influence on the experience and conceptions of adolescents, particularly in Westernized societies.
- The experience of adolescence is influenced by external factors like cultural norms and the media.

Key Terms

- **adolescence**: The transitional period of physical and psychological development between childhood and maturity.
- **puberty**: the age at which a person is first capable of sexual reproduction

Adolescence is a transitional stage of physical and psychological human development, generally occurring between puberty and legal adulthood. Though the period of adolescence is most closely associated with the teenage years, chronological age provides only a rough marker of adolescence, and scholars have found it difficult to agree upon a precise definition. Thus, a thorough understanding of adolescence depends on information from various perspectives, most importantly from the areas of psychology, biology, history, sociology, education, and anthropology. Within all of these disciplines, adolescence is viewed as a transitional period between childhood with the purpose of preparing children for adult roles.

The end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood varies by country and by function. Even within a single nation-state or culture, there can be different ages at which an individual is considered to be (chronologically and legally) mature enough to handle certain tasks. In the west, such “coming of age” milestones include driving a vehicle, having legal sexual relations, serving in the armed forces or on a jury, purchasing and drinking alcohol, voting, entering into contracts, completing certain levels of education, and marrying. Adolescence is usually accompanied by increased independence and less supervision by parents or legal guardians.

The study of adolescent development often involves interdisciplinary collaborations. For example, researchers in neuroscience or bio-behavioral health might focus on pubertal changes in brain structure and its effects on cognition or social relations. Sociologists interested in adolescence might focus on the acquisition of social roles (e.g., worker or romantic partner) and how this varies across cultures or social conditions. Developmental psychologists might focus on changes in relations with parents and peers as a function of school structure and pubertal status.

Peer Relationships

Peer groups are especially important during adolescence, a period of development characterized by a dramatic increase in time spent with peers and a decrease in adult supervision. Adolescents also associate with friends of the opposite sex much more than in childhood and tend to identify with larger groups of peers based on shared characteristics.

Peer groups offer members the opportunity to develop various social skills like empathy, sharing and leadership. They can have positive influences on an individual, including academic motivation and performance. They can also have negative influences and lead to an increase in experimentation with drugs, drinking, vandalism, and stealing. Susceptibility to peer pressure increases during early adolescence, peaks around age 14, and declines thereafter.

During early adolescence, adolescents often associate in cliques; exclusive, single-sex groups of peers with whom they are particularly close. Toward late adolescence, cliques often merge into mixed-sex groups as teenagers begin romantically engaging with one another. These small friend groups break down even further as socialization becomes more couple-oriented. Despite the common notion that cliques are an inherently negative influence, they may help adolescents become socially acclimated and form a stronger sense of identity.

Romance and Sexual Activity

Romantic relationships tend to increase in prevalence throughout adolescence. By age 15, 53 percent of adolescents have had a romantic relationship that lasted at least one month over the course of the previous 18 months. A 2002 American study found that the average age of first sexual intercourse was 17 for males and 17.3 for females. As individuals develop into mature adolescents, there is an increase in the likelihood of a long-term relationship, which can be explained by sexual maturation and the development of cognitive skills necessary to maintain a romantic bond (e.g. caregiving, appropriate attachment). Long-term relationships allow adolescents to gain skills necessary for high-quality relationships later in life and contribute to development of feelings of self-worth.

Adolescence marks a time of sexual maturation, which impacts the types of social interactions adolescents maintain. While adolescents may engage in casual sexual encounters (often referred to as hookups in the United States), most sexual experience during this period of development takes place within romantic relationships.

Autonomy

Adolescents strive for autonomy. According to McElhaney et al., there are three ways in which autonomy can be described:

1. Emotional autonomy is the development of more adult-like close relationship with adults and peers
2. Behavioral autonomy, is the ability to make independent decisions and follow through with them
3. Cognitive autonomy is characterized as the manifestation of an independent set of beliefs, values and opinions



Adolescent Flirtation: Adolescence is a time of social and sexual exploration.

Transitional Adulthood

Coming of age traditions, while different across the world, are seen in almost every society.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how a young person “comes of age”, particularly in the context of religion or rituals

Key Points

- In many cultures, the transition from childhood to adulthood is marked by a coming of age tradition. In some, such traditions are associated with the arrival of sexual maturity in early adolescence; in others, it is associated with the arrival of new religious responsibilities.
- Often, coming of age traditions are religious, and signify that the individual is taking on a different role in his or her religious life, such as the Jewish bar mitzvah or Hindu ceremonies celebrating maturity.
- Other times these traditions are secular in nature and can range from legal benefits to extravagant parties.

Key Terms

- **coming of age**: A person’s journey from childhood or adolescence to adulthood.

“Coming of age” refers to a young person’s transition from childhood to adulthood. The age at which this transition takes place varies among different societies, as does the nature of the transition. It can be a simple legal convention or can be part of a larger ritual. In some societies today, such changes are associated with the arrival of sexual maturity in early adolescence; in others, it is associated with the arrival of an age at which point one carries religious responsibilities. In western societies, legal conventions stipulate points in late adolescence or early adulthood that mark the age of maturity are the focus of the transition. Still, many cultures retain ceremonies to confirm the coming of age and benefits come with the change.

Religion

Religion is often a determinant of when and how individuals come of age.

When members of the Baha’i faith turn 15, they reach the “age of maturity” and are considered spiritually mature, and are responsible for individually determining whether they wish to remain members of Baha’i. Those who declare that they wish to remain members of Baha’i are expected to begin observing certain Baha’i laws, such as obligatory prayer and fasting.

In many Christian churches, a young person celebrates his or her coming of age with the Sacrament of Confirmation. Some traditions withhold the rite of Holy Communion from those not yet at the age of accountability on the grounds that children do not understand what the sacrament means. In some denominations, full membership in the church, if not bestowed at birth, often must wait until the age of accountability, and is

frequently granted only after a period of preparation known as catechesis. The time of innocence before one has the ability to understand truly the laws of God, and during which God sees one as innocent, is also seen as applying to individuals who suffer from a mental disability which prevents them from ever reaching a time when they are capable of understanding the laws of God. These individuals are thus seen as existing in a perpetual state of innocence by the grace of God.

In Hinduism, coming of age generally signifies that a boy or girl are mature enough to understand his responsibility towards family and society. Hinduism also has the sacred thread ceremony for Dvija (twice-born) boys that marks their coming of age to do religious ceremonies. Women often celebrate their coming to age by having a ceremony. This ceremony includes dressing themselves in saris and announcing their maturity to the community

In Islam, children are not required to perform any obligatory acts of Islamic teachings prior to reaching the age of puberty, although they should be encouraged to begin praying at the age of seven. Before reaching puberty it is recommended to pray in obeisance to Allah and to exemplify Islamic customs, but as soon as one exhibits any characteristic of puberty, that person is required to perform the prayers and other obligations of Islam.

In the Jewish faith, boys reach religious maturity at the age of 13, signified by their bar mitzvah ceremony. Girls are believed to mature earlier and can have their bat mitzvah at the age of 12. Once the ritual is done, the new men and women are looked upon as adults and are expected to uphold the Jewish commandments and laws.

Professional Initiatory Rituals

Coming of age initiation rituals can occur in various professional organizations. In many universities of Europe, South America and India, first year students are made to undergo tests or humiliation before being accepted as students. Perhaps the oldest of these is “Raisin Monday,” which is still ongoing is at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. A senior student will take a new student and show him or her around the university. In gratitude, the new student will give the senior student a pound of raisins, for which the senior student gave receipts. If a new student later fails to produce the receipt that demonstrated his gift upon command, he could be thrown into a fountain.

Universities in Chile follow an annual ritual called “Mechoneo” (the act of pulling somebody’s hair). First year students are initiated by theatrical “punishment. ” Freshmen are tied together while upperclassmen throw them eggs, flour, water, etc. Some universities have traditional ways of initiating freshmen. In the United States, these sorts of initiation rituals are most commonly found in fraternities and sororities. Greek organizations may have different processes for associate members, also known as pledges, to become a member.



Bar Mitzvah: This thirteen-year-old boy is dressed in the religious garb and symbols of the Jewish faith on the day of his bar mitzvah. He is about to be recognized as an adult by the Jewish community.

Marriage and Responsibility

People marry for love, for socioeconomic stability, to start a family, and to create obligations between one another.

Learning Objectives

Assess the importance of the institution of marriage, as well as the various reasons why people enter into a marriage

Key Points

- Marriage rituals and traditions have changed significantly over time and vary across cultures.
- Marriage is a personal and sentimental act as well as one that often has religious and legal implications and significance.
- As of 2003, one’s level of educational attainment was a significant predictor of the educational attainment of one’s spouse.

Key Terms

- **same-sex marriage**: A marriage that unifies two people of the same sex either legally or only symbolically.
- **marriage**: The union of two (or sometimes more) people, usually to the exclusion of all others.
- **procreation**: The sexual activity of conceiving and bearing biological offspring.

Marriage is a governmentally, socially, or religiously recognized interpersonal relationship, usually intimate and sexual, that is often created as a form of contract. The most frequently occurring form of marriage is between a woman and a man, where the feminine term wife and the masculine husband are generally used to describe the parties to the contract. Some countries and American states recognize same-sex marriage, but gaining recognition for these unions is a legal battle occurring around the world.



Same-Sex Marriage: In all states of America, homosexual couples can get legally married.

The ceremony in which a marriage is enacted and announced to the community is called a wedding. The reasons people marry vary widely, but usually include publicly and formally declare their love, the formation of a single household unit, legitimizing sexual relations and procreation, social and economic stability, and the education and nurturing of children. A marriage can be declared by a wedding ceremony, which may be performed either by a religious officiator or through a similar government-sanctioned secular process. The act of marriage creates obligations between the individuals involved and, in some societies, between the parties' extended families. Marriages are perpetual agreements with legal consequences, terminated only by the death of one party or by formal dissolution processes, such as divorce and annulment.

Schwartz and Mare examined trends in marriage over time and found that the old maxim "opposites attract" is less accurate of marriage than the maxim "birds of a feather flock together. " Their research focused on one specific similarity in marital partners: education. They found that the correlation of educational levels of American married couples decreased in similarity slightly after World War II, but has since increased substantially. As of 2003, one's level of educational attainment was a significant predictor of the educational attainment of one's spouse. People without a high school diploma are unlikely to marry someone with more educational attainment and people with a college degree are likely to marry people with a similar level of educational attainment. Part of the reason why education is so influential in determining the level of education of one's spouse is because people tend to form groups based on levels of education. First, there are the groups formed in the process of becoming educated; many people meet their spouses at school. But jobs after one completes his or her education also tend to be grouped by level of education. As a result, people spend more time with individuals of a similar level of educational attainment. As most people tend to marry or partner with individuals with whom they spend a lot of time, it is not surprising that there is significant educational similarity between spouses.

One well-known attribute of marriage is that it tends to have health benefits. Happily married people tend to be healthier than unmarried people. However, unhappily married couples may not receive the same health benefits and may actually be less healthy than their single peers.



Wedding: In many countries, heterosexual weddings have the women dress in traditional white with a veil and the men in a tuxedo.

The Middle Years

Middle adulthood is generally accompanied by a decline in physical health and fertility, and an increase in ability to cope with stress.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the implications of middle age in terms of fading physical health and mortality concerns

Key Points

- There is much debate over the definition of the period in a person's life called "middle years" or "middle adulthood,"

but is generally thought to be experienced between the ages of 40 and 65.
- During this time, health begins to decline, but the middle-aged benefit from greater life experiences and less volatile responses to stress.
- Both male and female fertility begin to decline with middle age. Additionally, in developed countries, mortality begins to increase more noticeably each year from age 40 onwards.

Key Terms

- **middle age**: The period of life between youth and old age; midlife.
- **aging**: The process of becoming older or more mature.
- **advanced maternal age**: Increases the risk of a child being born with some disorders, such as Down syndrome.

Middle age is the period of age beyond young adulthood but before the onset of old age. Various attempts have been made to define this age, which is around the third quarter of the average life span. The U.S. Census lists middle age as including people aged from 35 to 54, while developmental psychologist Erik Erikson argues that middle adulthood occurs from the age of 40 until 65.

Middle-aged adults often show visible signs of aging such as the loss of skin elasticity and the graying of hair. Physical fitness usually wanes, with a 5–10 kg (10-20 lb) accumulation of body fat, reduction in aerobic performance and a decrease in maximal heart rate. Strength and flexibility also decrease throughout middle age. However, people age at different rates and there can be significant differences between individuals of the same age.

Both male and female fertility declines with advancing age. Advanced maternal age increases the risk of a child being born with some disorders, such as Down syndrome. Advanced paternal age sharply increases the risk of miscarriage, as well as Down syndrome, schizophrenia, autism, and bipolar disorder. Middle aged women will experience menopause, which ends natural fertility, in their late 40s or early 50s.

In developed countries, mortality begins to increase more noticeably each year from age 40 onwards, mainly due to age-related health problems, such as heart disease and cancer. However, the majority of middle-age people in industrialized nations can expect to live into old age. In general, life expectancy in developing countries is much lower and the risk of death at all ages is higher.

However, well-being involves more than merely physical factors, and middle age is not experienced as a “time of decline” for healthy people. Middle-aged people benefit from greater life experience than they had when they were young; this contributes to happiness and makes emotional responses to stress less volatile.



Middle Age: Diana DeGette, a politician from Colorado, was born in 1957 and is in the middle age stage of life.

Parenthood

Parenting is the process of supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood.

Learning Objectives

Contrast the four parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and uninvolved

Key Points

- Parenting is defined by a range of different skills and styles. It is also a continuously changing process as the child grows and develops.
- Parenting challenges and techniques transform continuously over the lifespan of a child.
- Parenting is guided by different philosophies and practices, which inform parenting styles and family structure.
- Developmental psychologist Diana Baumrind identified three main parenting styles in early child development; these were later expanded to four: authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and uninvolved.
- It is important to realize that parenting doesn’t end when a child turns 18. Support is needed in a child’s life well beyond the adolescent years and continues into middle and later adulthood.

Key Terms

- **family planning**: Birth control, especially when carried out by monogamous heterosexual couples.

- **authoritarian parenting style**: Parenting styles can be very rigid and strict. Parents who practice authoritarian style parenting have a strict set of rules and expectations and require rigid obedience.
- **parenting**: Process of raising and educating a child from birth until adulthood.

Parenting is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood. Parenting refers to the aspects of raising a child aside from the biological relationship. Parenting is usually carried out by the biological parents of the child in question, although governments and society take a role as well.

Social class, wealth, and income have the strongest impact on what methods of child rearing parents use. Understanding parenting styles help us understand how those styles contribute to the behavior and development of children.

Parenting Styles

Developmental psychologist Diana Baumrind identified three main parenting styles in early child development: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. These parenting styles were later expanded to four, including an uninvolved style. These four styles of parenting involve combinations of acceptance and responsiveness on the one hand, and demand and control on the other.

- Authoritarian parenting styles can be very rigid and strict. If rules are not followed, punishment is most often used to ensure obedience. There is usually no explanation for punishment except that the child is in trouble and should listen accordingly.
- Authoritative parenting relies on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment. Parents are more aware of a child's feelings and capabilities, and they support the development of a child's autonomy within reasonable limits. There is a give-and-take atmosphere involved in parent-child communication, and both control and support are exercised in authoritative parenting.
- Permissive or Indulgent parenting is most popular in middle class families in Western culture. In these family settings, a child's freedom and autonomy are valued and parents tend to rely mostly on reasoning and explanation. There tends to be little if any punishment or rules in this style of parenting and children are said to be free from external constraints.
- An uninvolved parenting style is when parents are often emotionally absent and sometimes even physically absent. They have no little to no expectation of the child and regularly have no communication. They are not responsive to a child's needs to do not demand anything of them in their behavioral expectations.

There is no single or definitive model of parenting. What may be right for one family or one child may not be suitable for another, although research shows that the authoritative parenting style is extremely effective and yields self-reliant, cheerful, and friendly children.

Various Parenting Practices

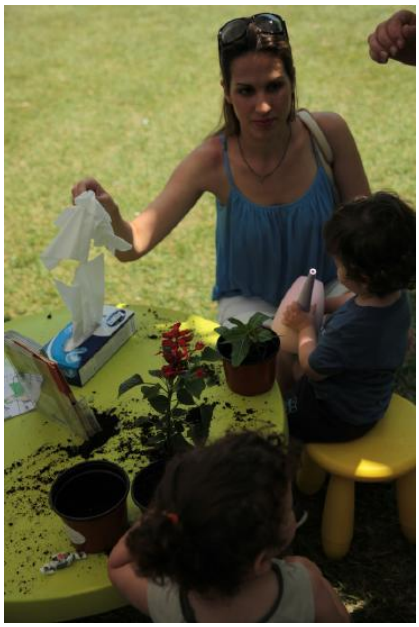
- Attachment Parenting: working strengthen the intuitive, psychological, and emotional bond between the primary caregiver and the child
- Helicopter Parenting: over-parenting; parents are constantly involving themselves, interrupting the child's ability to function on their own
- Narcissistic Parenting: parents are driven by their own needs; their children are an extension of their own identity; use their children to live out their dreams
- Positive Parenting: unconditional support, guiding them and supporting them for healthy development
- Slow Parenting: allowing the child to develop their own interests and allowing them to grow into their own person; lots of family time; allowing children to make their own decisions; limit electronics, simplistic toys
- Spiritual Parenting: respecting the child's individuality; making space for child to develop a sense of their own beliefs through their personality and their own potentials
- Strict Parenting: focused on strict discipline; demanding, with high expectations from the parents
- Toxic Parenting: poor parenting; complete disruption of the child's ability to identify one's self and reduced self-esteem; neglecting the needs of the child and abuse is sometimes seen in this parenting style
- Unconditional Parenting: giving unconditional positive encouragement

Parenting across the Lifespan

Family planning is the decision whether and when to become parents, including planning, preparing, and gathering resources. Parents should assess whether they have the required financial resources (the raising of a child costs around $16,198 yearly in the United States). They should also assess whether their family situation is stable enough and whether they themselves are responsible and qualified enough to raise a child. Reproductive health and preconceptional care affect pregnancy, reproductive success, and maternal and child physical and mental health. During pregnancy, the unborn child is affected by many decisions that his or her parents make, particularly choices linked to their lifestyle. The health and diet decisions of the

mother can have either a positive or negative impact on the child in utero.

It is important to realize that parenting doesn't end when a child turns 18. Support is needed in a child's life well beyond the adolescent years and continues into middle and later adulthood. Parental support is crucial in helping children figure out who they are and where they fit in the world. Parenting is a lifelong process.



Parenting: Parents have to tend more to children's basic needs when they are young.

Career Development: Vocation and Identity

A vocation is an occupation to which an individual is particularly drawn.

Learning Objectives

Define the meaning of the word "vocation" and how it impacts the choices people make as far as occupations are concerned

Key Points

- The word " vocation " is often used in a Christian religious context where a vocation is a call by God to the individual.
- A person's vocation is a profession that helps define a person's identity and directs a person's interests.
- Since the origination of Vocational Guidance in 1908, by the engineer Frank Parsons, the use of the term 'vocation' has evolved to include the notion of using our talents and capabilities to good-effect in choosing and enjoying a career.

Key Terms

- **career**: One's calling in life; a person's occupation; one's profession.
- **vocation**: An occupation for which a person is suited, trained, or qualified.

A vocation is a term for an occupation to which a person is especially drawn or for which he or she is suited, trained, or qualified. Though now often used in non-religious contexts, the meanings of the term originated in Christianity.

Use of the word "vocation" before the sixteenth century referred firstly to the "call" by God to the individual, or calling of all humankind to salvation, particularly in the Vulgate, and more specifically to the "vocation to the priesthood," which is still the usual sense in Roman Catholicism.

The idea of vocation is central to the Christian belief that God has created each person with gifts and talents oriented toward specific purposes and a way of life. This idea of vocation is especially associated with a divine call to service to the Church and humanity through particular vocational life commitments, such as marriage to a particular person, consecration as a religious, ordination to priestly ministry in the Church, and even a holy life as a single person. In the broader sense, Christian vocation includes the use of one's gifts in their profession, family life, church, and civic commitments for the sake of the greater common good.

Since the origination of Vocational Guidance in 1908, by the engineer Frank Parsons, the use of the term "vocation" has evolved to include the notion of using our talents and capabilities to good effect in choosing and enjoying a career. This semantic expansion has meant some diminishment of reference to the term's religious meanings in everyday usage.



Professional Vocations: In common parlance, a vocation refers to one's professional line of work or career, such as being a doctor.

The Older Years

Old age cannot be exactly defined, but it is often associated with certain activities, such as becoming a grandparent or entering retirement.

Learning Objectives

Discuss some of the implications of old age, particularly in relation to Erikson's "Eight Stages of Life" and age discrimination

Key Points

- Erik Erikson characterizes old age as a period of "Integrity vs. Despair," during which a person focuses on reflecting back on their life. Those who are unsuccessful during this phase will feel that their life has been wasted and will experience many regrets.
- Those who feel proud of their accomplishments will feel a sense of integrity. Successfully completing this phase means looking back with few regrets and a general feeling of satisfaction.
- Old age presents some social problems, such as age discrimination. Elderly people are more likely to be victims of abuse, and negative stereotypes are also very common.

Key Terms

- **abuse**: Physical or verbal maltreatment; injury.
- **self-neglect**: It refers to behaviors that threaten the person's own health and safety.

The boundary between middle age and old age cannot be defined exactly because it does not have the same meaning in all societies. People can be considered old because of certain changes in their activities or social roles. For example, people may be considered old when they become grandparents, or when they begin to do less or different work (retirement). Traditionally, the age of 60 was generally seen as the beginning of old age. Most developed world countries have accepted the chronological age of 65 years as a definition of an "elderly" or older person.

According to Erik Erikson's "Eight Stages of Life" theory, the human personality is developed in a series of eight stages that take place from the time of birth and continue on throughout an individual's complete life. He characterizes old age as a period of "Integrity vs. Despair," during which a person focuses on reflecting back on their life. Those who are unsuccessful during this phase will feel that their life has been wasted and will experience many regrets. The individual will be left with feelings of bitterness and despair. Those who feel proud of their accomplishments will feel a sense of integrity. Successfully completing this phase means looking back with few regrets and a general feeling of satisfaction. These individuals will attain wisdom, even when confronting death.

Age discrimination is a prevalent social problem facing the elderly. While discrimination toward the young is primarily visible through behavioral restrictions, discrimination toward the elderly ranges from behavioral restrictions to physical abuse. Abuse of the elderly is a serious problem in the U.S. There are nearly two million cases of elder abuse and self-neglect in the U.S. every year. Abuse refers to psychological/emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and caregiver neglect or financial exploitation, while self-neglect refers to behaviors that threaten the person's own health and safety.

Are We Prisoners of Socialization?

Who we are as people is determined by both our genes (nature) and our socialization (nurture).

Learning Objectives

Discuss socialization in terms of the nature (biology) versus nurture (social) debate

Key Points

- Some experts assert that who we are is a result of nurture — the relationships and caring that surround us—while others argue that who we are is based entirely in genetics, or " nature."
- Twin studies can provide useful insight into how much a certain trait is due to nurture vs. nature.

- Research demonstrates that who we are is affected by both nature (our genetic and hormonal makeup) and nurture (the social environment in which we are raised). Sociology is most concerned with the way that society 's influence affects our behavior patterns, made clear by the way behavior varies across class and gender.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.

Some experts assert that who we are is a result of nurture—the relationships and caring that surround us. Others argue that who we are is based entirely in genetics. According to this belief, our temperaments, interests, and talents are set before birth. From this perspective, then, who we are depends on nature.

One way that researchers attempt to prove the impact of nature is by studying twins. Some studies followed identical twins who were raised separately. The pairs shared the same genetics, but, in some cases, were socialized in different ways. Instances of this type of situation are rare, but studying the degree to which identical twins raised apart are the same and different can give researchers insight into how our temperaments, preferences, and abilities are shaped by our genetic makeup versus our social environment.

For example, in 1968, twin girls born to a mentally ill mother were put up for adoption. However, they were also separated from each other and raised in different households. The parents, and certainly the babies, did not realize they were one of five pairs of twins who were made subjects of a scientific study (Flam 2007).

In 2003, the two women, then age 35, reunited. Elyse Schein and Paula Bernstein sat together in awe, feeling like they were looking into a mirror. Not only did they look alike, but they behaved alike, using the same hand gestures and facial expressions (Spratling 2007). Studies like these point to the genetic roots of our temperament and behavior.

Though genetics and hormones play an important role in human behavior, sociology's larger concern is the effect that society has on human behavior, the "nurture" side of the nature versus nurture debate. What race were the twins? From what social class were their parents? What about gender? Religion? All of these factors affect the lives of the twins as much as their genetic makeup and are critical to consider as we look at life through the sociological lens.



Nature or Nurture?: "Nature versus nurture" describes the debate over the influence of biological versus social influences in socialization.

Sociologists all recognize the importance of socialization for healthy individual and societal development. But how do scholars working in the three major theoretical paradigms approach this topic? Structural functionalists would say that socialization is essential to society, both because it trains members to operate successfully within it and because it perpetuates culture by transmitting it to new generations. Without socialization, a society's culture would perish as members died off. A conflict theorist might argue that socialization reproduces inequality from generation to generation by conveying different expectations and norms to those with different social characteristics. For example, individuals are socialized differently by gender, social class, and race. As in the illustration of Chris Langan, this creates different (unequal) opportunities. An interactionist studying socialization is concerned with face-to-face exchanges and symbolic communication. For example, dressing baby boys in blue and baby girls in pink is one small way that messages are conveyed about differences in gender roles.

Socialization is important because it helps uphold societies and cultures; it is also a key part of individual development. Research demonstrates that who we are is affected by both nature (our genetic and hormonal makeup) and nurture (the social environment in which we are raised). Sociology is most concerned with the way that society's influence affects our behavior patterns, made clear by the way behavior varies across class and gender.

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4.8: Childhood Socialization

Child Socialization

Primary and secondary socialization are two forms of socialization that are particularly important for children.

Learning Objectives

Justify the importance of socialization for children, in terms of both primary and secondary socialization

Key Points

- Socialization refers to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society.
- Primary socialization for a child is very important because it sets the groundwork for all future socialization.
- Primary socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture.
- Secondary socialization refers to the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society.
- Sigmund Freud's psychosexual stages describe the progression of an individual's unconscious desires.
- Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development describe how individuals develop in and through reasoning about morals.
- Jane Loevinger developed a theory with stages of ego development.
- Margaret Mahler's psychoanalytic developmental theory contained three phases regarding the child's object relations.
- Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development describes how children reason and interact with their surroundings.
- James Marcia's theory focuses on identity achievement and has four identity statuses.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: Socialization is the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to future group members.
- **secondary socialization**: Secondary socialization refers to the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society.
- **primary socialization**: Primary socialization in sociology is the acceptance and learning of a set of norms and values established through the process of socialization.

Socialization is a term used by sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and educationalists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society. Socialization is thus "the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained. " There are many different forms of socialization, but two types are particularly important for children. These two types are known as primary and secondary socialization.

Primary socialization in sociology is the acceptance and learning of a set of norms and values established through the process of socialization. Primary socialization for a child is very important because it sets the groundwork for all future socialization. Primary socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture. It is mainly influenced by the immediate family and friends. For example if a child saw his or her mother expressing a discriminatory opinion about a minority group, then that child may think this behavior is acceptable and could continue to have this opinion about minority groups.

Secondary socialization refers to the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society. Basically, it is the behavioral patterns reinforced by socializing agents of society. Secondary socialization takes place outside the home. It is where children and adults learn how to act in a way that is appropriate for the situations they are in. Schools require very different behavior from the home, and children must act according to new rules. New teachers have to act in a way that is different from pupils and learn the new rules from people around them. Secondary socialization is usually associated with teenagers and adults, and involves smaller changes than those occurring in primary socialization.



Girl on a Playground: Playgrounds and other social situations contribute to secondary child socialization.

Theoretical Perspectives on Childhood Socialization

Theories of childhood socialization and development study the elements of the cognitive and social development that occur in childhood.

Learning Objectives

Contrast the various theories of childhood development, such as Freud's psychosexual theory, Piaget's stages of development and ecological systems theory

Key Points

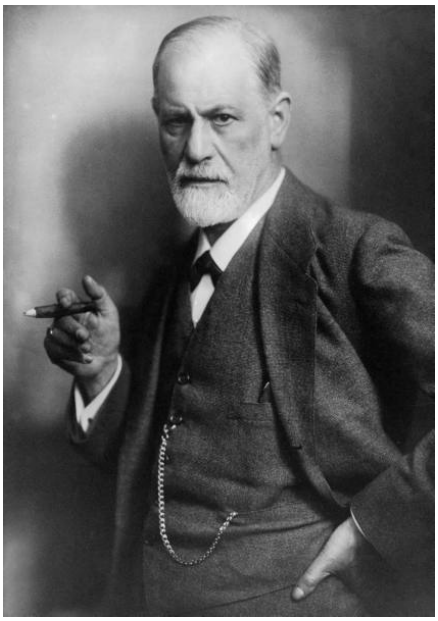
- Childhood is a unique time period of accelerated development and has been studied by many theorists.
- Sigmund Freud developed a psychosexual theory of human development that describes how sexual fixation and satisfaction moves psychological development forward.
- Jean Piaget developed a theory of cognitive development that explains how children learn differently at different stages in development.
- Urie Bronfenbrenner developed ecological systems theory that explains how human development is influenced by the context of the developing child.

Key Terms

- **Ecological Systems Theory**: Ecological systems theory, also called development in context or human ecology theory, specifies four types of nested environmental systems, with bi-directional influences within and between the systems.
- **Theory of Cognitive Development**: Piaget's theory of cognitive development posits that children learn by actively constructing knowledge through hands-on experience.
- **Psychosexual Theory of Human Development**: This theory is divided into five stages, each association with sexual satisfaction through a particular body part.

Since the nineteenth century, childhood has been perceived as a unique phase in an individual's life, and sociological theories reflect this. The main theories that psychologists and social scientists rely on today were developed in the twentieth century and beyond. These theories seek to understand why childhood is a unique period in one's life and the elements of the cognitive and social development that occur in childhood. This chapter seeks to give a brief introduction to various theoretical perspectives on childhood.

Twentieth-century Austrian psychologist Sigmund Freud was one of the first psychologists to theorize childhood and the significance of developmental stages. Freud believed that sexual drive, or libido, was the driving force of all human behavior and, accordingly, developed a psychosexual theory of human development. Children progress through five stages, each association with sexual satisfaction through a particular body part.



Sigmund Freud: Sigmund Freud developed the psychosexual theory of human development.

One of the most widely applied theories of childhood is Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development. Piaget posited that children learn actively through play. He suggested that the adult's role in helping a child learn is to provide appropriate materials for the child to interact and construct. He encouraged adults to make childhood learning through play even more effective by asking the child questions to get them to reflect upon behaviors. He believed it was instructive for children to see contradictions in their explanations. His approach to

childhood development has been embraced by schools, and the pedagogy of preschools in the United States.

Piaget's Four Stages of Development

Piaget outlined four stages in one's development to adulthood:

- The first of Piaget's stages of development is the sensorimotor stage, which lasts from birth until about age two. During this stage, the child learns about himself and his environment through motor and reflex actions. The child learns that he is separate from his environment and that aspects of his environment, such as his parents or a toy, continue to exist even though they may be outside of his sensory field. This observation is called object permanence.
- The sensorimotor stage is followed by the preoperational stage, which begins about the time that the child begins to talk and lasts until about age seven. The developments associated with the preoperational phase all extend from the child learning how to deploy his new linguistic capabilities. The child begins to use symbols to represent objects. Children absorb information and fit it into preexisting categories in their minds.
- Next, children progress to the concrete operational phase, which lasts from about first grade to early adolescence. During this stage, children more easily accommodate ideas that do not fit their preexisting worldview. The child begins to think abstractly and make rational decisions based on observable or concrete phenomena.
- Finally, children enter the formal operational stage, which begins in adolescence and carries them through adulthood. This person no longer requires concrete objects to make rational judgements and is capable of hypothetical and deductive reasoning.

Ecological Systems Theory

In 1979, psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner published *The Ecology of Human Development*, setting forth his theory known as ecological systems theory. Also called development in context theory or human ecology theory, the ecology systems theory specifies five different types of nested environmental systems: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem. Each of these systems exerts influence on an individual, particularly children as they are robustly socialized.

- The microsystem refers to the institutions and groups that most immediately and directly impact the child's development, including the child's family, school, religious institution, neighborhood, and peer group.
- The mesosystem recognizes that no microsystem can be entirely discrete and refers to the relationship between microsystems. For example, a child who has been completely abandoned by his family might find it difficult to bond with teachers.
- The exosystem describes the link between a social setting in which the individual does not have an active role an the individual's immediate context. For example, a child's experience at home may be impacted by a mother's experience at work.
- The macrosystem refers to the culture in which individuals live. A child, his school, and his parents are all part of a cultural context whose constituents are united by a sense of common identity, heritage, and values. Microsystems, and therefore mesosystems and exosystems, are impossible to understand when divorced from their macrosystemic context.
- The chronosystem refers to the patterning of environmental events and transitions over one's life course, as well as broader sociohistorical developments. For example, the impact of divorces on children has varied over history. When divorce was more culturally stigmatized, it had a different effect on children than today, when many children have divorced parents.

Identity Formation

Identity formation is the development of an individual's distinct personality by which he or she is recognized or known.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the formation of a person's identity, as well as the ideas of self-concept and self-consciousness

Key Points

- Cultural identity is the feeling of identity with a group or culture, or of an individual as far as he or she is influenced by his or her belonging to a group or culture.
- An ethnic identity is an identification with a certain ethnicity, usually on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry.
- National identity is an ethical and philosophical concept whereby all humans are divided into groups called nations.
- A religious identity is the set of beliefs and practices generally held by an individual, involving adherence to codified beliefs and rituals and study of ancestral or cultural traditions.
- Self-concept is the sum of a being's knowledge and understanding of his or her self.
- Cultural identity is the feeling of identity of a group or culture, or of an individual as far as he or she is influenced by his or her belonging to a group or culture.

- An ethnic identity is the identification with a certain ethnicity, usually on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry.
- National identity is an ethical and philosophical concept whereby all humans are divided into groups called nations.
- A religious identity is the set of beliefs and practices generally held by an individual, involving adherence to codified beliefs and rituals and study of ancestral or cultural traditions

Key Terms

- **cultural identity**: One's feeling of identity affiliation to a group or culture.
- **national identity**: An ethical and philosophical concept whereby all humans are divided into groups called nations.
- **religious identity**: The set of beliefs and practices generally held by an individual,involving adherence to codified beliefs and rituals and study of ancestral or cultural traditions, writings, history, and mythology, as well as faith and mystic experience.

Identity formation is the development of an individual's distinct personality, which is regarded as a persisting entity in a particular stage of life by which a person is recognized or known. This process defines individuals to others and themselves. Pieces of the individual's actual identity include a sense of continuity, a sense of uniqueness from others, and a sense of affiliation. Identity formation clearly influences personal identity by which the individual thinks of him or herself as a discrete and separate entity. This may be through individuation whereby the undifferentiated individual tends to become unique, or undergoes stages through which differentiated facets of a person's life tend toward becoming a more indivisible whole.

Individuals gain a social identity and group identity by their affiliations. Self-concept is the sum of a being's knowledge and understanding of himself. Self-concept is different from self-consciousness, which is an awareness of one's self. Components of self-concept include physical, psychological, and social attributes, which can be influenced by the individual's attitudes, habits, beliefs, and ideas. Cultural identity is one's feeling of identity affiliation to a group or culture.

Similarly, an ethnic identity is the identification with a certain ethnicity, usually on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry. Further, national identity is an ethical and philosophical concept whereby all humans are divided into groups called nations. Members of a nation share a common identity and usually a common origin in their sense of ancestry, parentage, or descent. Lastly, a religious identity is the set of beliefs and practices generally held by an individual, involving adherence to codified beliefs and rituals and study of ancestral or cultural traditions, writings, history, and mythology, as well as faith and mystic experience.



National Identity: Fourth of July celebrations, during which Americans dress in red, white, and blue, are manifestations of national identity. Fourth of July is only meaningful as a celebration of independence for individuals who share a sense of national identity as Americans.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: Social Interaction

5.1: Understanding Social Interaction

5.2: Types of Social Interaction

5.3: Elements of Social Interaction

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5.1: Understanding Social Interaction

Understanding Social Interaction

In sociology, social interaction is a dynamic, changing sequence of social actions between individuals or groups.

Learning Objectives

Review the four types of social interactions: accidental, repeated, regular, and regulated

Key Points

- A social interaction is an exchange between two or more individuals and is a building block of society. Social interaction can be studied between groups of two (dyads), three (triads) or larger social groups.
- By interacting with one another, people design rules, institutions and systems within which they seek to live. Symbols are used to communicate the expectations of a given society to those new to it.
- The empirical study of social interaction is one of the subjects of microsociology. Methods includes symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology as well as later academic sub-divisions and studies such as psychosocial studies, conversational analysis and human-computer interaction.
- With symbolic interactionism, reality is seen as social, developed interaction with others. Ethnomethodology questions how people's interactions can create the illusion of a shared social order despite not understanding each other fully and having differing perspectives.

Key Terms

- **dyad**: A pair of things standing in particular relation; dyadic relation.
- **Social Interaction**: A social exchange between two or more individuals.
- **social group**: A collection of humans or animals that share certain characteristics, interact with one another, accept expectations and obligations as members of the group, and share a common identity.

In sociology, social interaction is a dynamic sequence of social actions between individuals (or groups) who modify their actions and reactions due to actions by their interaction partner(s). Social interactions can be differentiated into accidental, repeated, regular and regulated.

A social interaction is a social exchange between two or more individuals. These interactions form the basis for social structure and therefore are a key object of basic social inquiry and analysis. Social interaction can be studied between groups of two (dyads), three (triads) or larger social groups.

Social structures and cultures are founded upon social interactions. By interacting with one another, people design rules, institutions and systems within which they seek to live. Symbols are used to communicate the expectations of a given society to those new to it, either children or outsiders. Through this broad schema of social development, one sees how social interaction lies at its core.

The empirical study of social interaction is one of the subjects of microsociology, which concerns the nature of everyday human social interactions and agency on a small scale. Methods include symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology, as well as later academic sub-divisions and studies like psychosocial studies, conversational analysis and human-computer interaction.

With symbolic interactionism, reality is seen as social, developed interaction with others. It argues that both individuals and society cannot be separated far from each other for two reasons. One being that they are both created through social interaction. The second reason is they cannot be understood in terms without the other. Ethnomethodology, an offshoot of symbolic interactionism, which questions how people's interactions can create the illusion of a shared social order despite not understanding each other fully and having differing perspectives.

Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology studies procedures people carry out in order to create a sense of orderliness within a particular institution or community.

Learning Objectives

Identify the three ways ethnomethodology differs from traditional sociology and how sociologists define the various methods of ethnomethodology, specifically fundamental assumption, ethnomethodological indifference, first time through, and Sack's Gloss

Key Points

- Ethnomethodology 's goal is to document the methods and practices through which society 's members make sense of their worlds.
- Anne Rawls characterizes the fundamental assumption of ethnomethodological studies, saying, "members of society must have some shared methods that they use to mutually construct the meaningful orderliness of social situations".

- Ethnomethodology is different from traditional sociology because it is not as concerned by the analysis of society, but rather by the procedures through which social order is produced.
- In contrast to traditional sociological forms of inquiry, the ethnomethodological perspective does not make theoretical or methodological appeals to outside assumptions regarding the structure of an actor or actors' characterization of social reality.

Key Terms

- **ethnomethodology**: An academic discipline that attempts to understand the social orders people use to make sense of the world through analyzing their accounts and descriptions of their day-to-day experiences.
- **agnosticism**: The view that the existence of God or of all deities is unknown, unknowable, unproven, or unprovable.
- **Harold Garfinkel**: He is known for establishing and developing ethnomethodology as a field of inquiry in sociology.

Ethnomethodology is an ethnographic approach to sociological inquiry introduced by the American sociologist Harold Garfinkel. Ethnomethodology's goal is to document the methods and practices through which society's members make sense of their worlds.

Garfinkel coined the term "ethnomethodology" in 1954 while preparing a paper that included his early research on juries. He proposed that ethnomethodology might serve as an appropriate term for the study of, "a member's knowledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized enterprises, where that knowledge is treated by [researchers] as part of the same setting that makes it orderable. " For example, when investigating the conduct of jury members, an ethnomethodologist would seek to describe the commonsense methods through which members of a jury produce themselves in a jury room as jurors—establishing matters of fact, developing evidence chains, determining the reliability of witness testimony, establishing the hierarchy of speakers in the jury room, determining the guilt or innocence of defendants. These methods would serve to constitute the social order of being a juror in that specific social setting.

Some Leading Policies, Methods, and Definitions

- The fundamental assumption of ethnomethodological studies: Anne Rawls characterized this fundamental assumption, saying, "members of society must have some shared methods that they use to mutually construct the meaningful orderliness of social situations. "
- Ethnomethodological indifference: Ethnomethodology maintains a policy of deliberate agnosticism, or indifference, towards the dictates, prejudices, methods, and practices of sociological analysis. The policy of ethnomethodological agnosticism is specifically not to be conceived of as indifference to the problems of social order; ethnomethodological agnosticism refers to only seeing social concerns as society's members see them.
- First time through: "First time through" is the practice of attempting to describe any social activity, regardless of its routine or mundane appearance, as if it were happening for the very first time. This is in an effort to expose how the observer of an activity constitutes the activity for the purposes of formulating any particular description. The point of such an exercise is to underline the complexities of sociological analysis and description, particularly the indexical and reflexive properties of the actors' or observer's own descriptions of what is taking place in any given situation.
- Sacks' Gloss: Sacks' Gloss suggests that a researcher interested in questions pertaining to a specific social order should seek out the members that social order for answers. This is in opposition to the idea that such questions are best answered by a sociologist.
- Ethnomethodology's field of investigation: Ethnomethodology's topic of study is the social practices of real people in real settings and the methods by which these people produce and maintain a shared sense of social order.

Ethnomethodology and Traditional Sociology

Three core differences between traditional sociology and ethnomethodology are:

- While traditional sociology usually offers an analysis of society, taking the objective truth of the social order for granted, ethnomethodology is concerned with the procedures by which that social order is produced and shared.
- While traditional sociology usually provides descriptions of social settings, which compete with the actual descriptions offered by the individuals who are party to those settings, ethnomethodology seeks to describe the actual procedures that individuals use in their descriptions of those settings.
- Structural functionalist research programs methodically impose pre-existing analytical schemata on their fields of study. Symbolic interactionist programs assume the truthful basis of the symbols being interpreted by actors party to social scenes. In comparison, ethnomethodology specifically avoids employing these types of programmatic assumptions in its descriptions of social scenes.

In contrast to traditional sociological forms of inquiry, the ethnomethodological perspective does not make theoretical or methodological appeals to outside assumptions regarding the structure of an actor or actors' characterization of social reality.

Ethnomethodology doesn't refer to the subjective states of an individual or groups of individuals. It refuses to attribute conceptual projections such as, "value states," "sentiments," or "goal orientations" to any actor or group of actors, and it does not posit a specific "normative order" as a transcendental feature of social scenes.

For the ethnomethodologist, the methodic realization of social scenes takes place within an actual setting under scrutiny. This realization is structured by the participants in a setting through reflexive accounting of that setting's features. The job of the ethnomethodologist is to describe the character of these activities—not to account for them in a way that exceeds the actual accounting practices of a participant in the setting.



Harold Garfinkel: Sociologist Harold Garfinkel was responsible for the development of ethnomethodology.

Dramaturgy

Dramaturgy is a sociological concept developed by Erving Goffman that uses the metaphor of theater to explain human behavior.

Learning Objectives

Explain how people use dramaturgy to influence other's opinion and perspective of them, specifically through impression management and the "two-way street" concept

Key Points

- All identities and behaviors are dependent upon the audience to whom one performs.
- Everyone seeks to control others' impressions of themselves. This is called impression management.
- Dramaturgy emphasizes the dual evaluative work that is undertaken by both the performer and the audience, thus demonstrating the inseparable link between performer and audience, individual and society.
- Front stage behaviors are those that are visible to the audience, while back stage behaviors are those to which the audience does not have access.

Key Terms

- **Impression Management**: In sociology and social psychology, impression management is a goal-directed conscious or unconscious process in which people attempt to influence the perceptions of other people about a person, object or event; they do so by regulating and controlling information in social interaction.
- **Back Stage**: Actions that only occur when the audience is not around.
- **Front Stage**: Actions that are visible to the audience and are part of the performance.

Dramaturgy is a sociological perspective that is a component of symbolic interactionism and is used in sociological analysis of everyday life. Developed by American sociologist Erving Goffman in his seminal 1959 text *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, dramaturgy uses the metaphor of theater to explain human behavior. According to this perspective, individuals perform actions in everyday life as if they were performers on a stage. Identity is performed through roles. Here, the term "role" works in two ways, referencing both the name for a theatrical character and the ways in which individuals fill roles in reality by acting as a mother, friend, husband, etc. Dramaturgy argues that the presentation of oneself through role is a way of engaging with society.

Impression Management

Goffman contends that each performance is a presentation of self and that everyone seeks to create specific impressions in the minds of others. This universal drive is called impression management. Individuals manage others' impressions of them by successfully portraying themselves "onstage," or in public. People present themselves to others based on cultural values, norms, and expectations. Most of the time, people seek to meet society's expectations, but the dramaturgical frame applies even in cases of rebellion. If an individual wishes to convey that she does not agree or identify with social norms, she must use a commonly legible system of symbols in order to communicate that information. As such, she is still engaging in impression management by trying to present herself in a particular way to society. From a dramaturgical perspective, a performance of identity is successful when the audience sees the performer as he or she wishes to be viewed.

The Two-Way Street

The innovative strength of the dramaturgical perspective is its recognition of the "two-way street" nature of identity management. An individual invests energy in portraying a particular identity to other people. Dramaturgy binds both

presentation and reception, demonstrating that one's identity is fundamentally intertwined with society outside of oneself. The performer is always aware that the audience is doing evaluative work on its own and might doubt the authenticity of the performance.

The interrelatedness of the individual's sense of identity and society is evidenced by the actor's acute awareness of the audience. Goffman explains this awareness in terms of front stage and back stage behaviors. Front stage actions are those that are visible to the audience and are part of the performance, while back stage actions only occur when the audience is not around. An example of this would be the type of customer service embodied by baristas at the local coffee shop. While on the clock and in front of customers, baristas will typically do what the customer wants and try to look untroubled by obnoxious requests. The barista wishes to convey to the customer that she is willing to meet the customer's needs. However, as soon as the customer leaves, the barista might deride the customer to coworkers. This shows how individuals are constantly attuned to audience and will alter their behaviors accordingly.



Performance Stage: Erving Goffman uses the metaphor of a stage to explain human behavior in everyday life.

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5.2: Types of Social Interaction

Nonverbal Communication

Nonverbal communication is the process of communicating by sending and receiving wordless messages.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the various ways people use non-verbal communication to send messages to others in society, such as speech, posture, gestures, clothing and consequences

Key Points

- Nonverbal communication can be conveyed through our dress and style.
- Nonverbal communication also occurs through the non-content parts of speech, such as voice quality, pace, pitch, volume, rhythm, and intonation.
- Gestures and posture vary by cultural context.

Key Terms

- **Emblem Gestures**: They vary by cultural space so widely that a common gesture in one context is offensive in another.
- **posture**: The way a person holds and positions their body.
- **paralanguage**: The non-verbal elements of speech, and to a limited extent of writing, used to modify meaning and convey emotion, such as pitch, volume, and intonation.

Nonverbal communication is the process of communicating by sending and receiving wordless messages. This type of communication includes gestures, touch, body language, posture, facial expressions, and eye contact. Nonverbal communication can also include messages communicated through material items. For example, clothing or hairstyle is a form of nonverbal exchange that communicates something about the individual. As a general rule, nonverbal communication can be studied based on the location or context of communication, the physical characteristics of the interlocutors, and the behaviors of the interlocutors in the course of the interaction.

Speech

Ironically, nonverbal communication can also be found in speech. This type of nonverbal communication is called paralanguage and includes vocal elements, such as voice quality, pace, pitch, volume, rhythm, and intonation. Differences in paralanguage can impact the message that is communicated through words. For example, if someone smiles while saying "Get out of town," that person likely is communicating that she doubts something you're saying or finds it unbelievable. Alternatively, if someone comes running at you and screams "Get out of town! " with a furious expression, it might be a literal threat. Paralanguage is a good example of nonverbal communication that is not visual.

Posture

Posture, or a person's bodily stance, communicates much about a person's perspectives. Various postures include slouching, towering, shoulders forward, and arm crossing. These nonverbal behaviors can indicate a person's feelings and attitudes. Posture can be used to determine an individual's degree of intention or involvement, the difference in status between interlocutors, and the level of fondness a person has for the other communicator, depending on body "openness."

Studies investigating the impact of posture on interpersonal relationships suggest that mirror-image congruent postures, where one person's left side is parallel to the other person's right side, lead communicators to think favorably about their exchange. Posture is socialized and geographical, meaning that an individual learns different ways to carry themselves in different contexts. A housewife from Kansas City will compose herself differently than a dock worker from Portland, who will compose himself differently than a teenager in Seattle. Generational differences demonstrate how posture is socialized; older generations were taught to carry themselves with their shoulders farther back, prompting parents to remind today's youth to stop slouching.

Gestures

Gestures are movements with one's hands, arms, or face that communicate a particular message. The most common gestures are emblem gestures or quotable gestures that are learned within a particular cultural to communicate a particular message. For example, in the Western world, waving one's hand back and forth communicates "hello" or "goodbye. " Emblem gestures can vary by cultural space so widely that a common gesture in one context is offensive in another. Facial gestures, or facial expressions, are a particularly communicative form of gesture. With all of the various muscles that precisely control the mouth, lips, eyes, nose, forehead, and jaw, human faces can make more than ten thousand different expressions. Facial expressions are more difficult for the "speaker" to manipulate, given that so many micro-movements are involved in the creation of one expression. This makes facial gestures extremely efficient and honest, and are therefore heavily relied upon in by the "listener" in evaluating the "speaker's" assertions.

Clothing

Clothing is a means of communicating nonverbally that relies upon materials other than one's body. Further, it is a form of nonverbal communication that everyone engages in unless living on a nudist colony. The types of clothing an individual wears convey nonverbal clues about his or her personality, background, and financial status. Even if an individual does not put much thought into his attire, what he wears still communicates something to others, even unintentionally. An example of how people are aware that their clothing serves to communicate is the notion of proper dress. You would dress differently to go to a wedding than a job interview than camping.



Clothing: How we choose to dress and style ourselves sends a message about us to the world.

Consequences

Nonverbal communication can have serious consequences, even if the public understands the message they are receiving is being conveyed unintentionally. For example, individuals tend to trust and support taller people. Obviously, an individual has no control over his height but, nevertheless, others perceive height to communicate certain character traits. In American elections, the taller candidate usually wins. In the 2004 presidential debates, George W. Bush (the shorter candidate) insisted that his podium be altered so that he appeared to be the same height as John Kerry. The point is that everything about ourselves, whether under our control or not, communicates information to an audience.



Nonverbal communication: One can tell that this couple is in love through nonverbal exchange. Obviously, the picture doesn't talk, but from the couple's posture, facial expressions, and clothing, one can tell that they're getting married.

Exchange

Social exchange theory argues that people form relationships because they determine that it is in their best interests to do so.

Learning Objectives

Explain how social exchange theory is based upon rational choice theory

Key Points

- In forming relationships, people exchange goods and services (including emotional support and interaction). People stay in relationships when they believe that the exchange is beneficial.
- Social exchange theory is rooted in rational choice theory.
- Individuals evaluate the worth of an action by subtracting the costs from the rewards.

Key Terms

- **rewards**: A gift given for positive reinforcement.
- **Social Exchange Theory**: It advances the idea that relationships are essential for life in society and that it is in one's interest to form relationships with others. Of course, whether or not it is in an individual's interest to form a relationship with a specific person is a calculus that both parties must perform.
- **worth**: It is having a value of; proper to be exchanged for.

Social exchange theory is a sociopsychological and sociological perspective that explains social change and stability as a process of negotiated exchanges between parties. The theory is fundamentally oriented around rational choice theory, or the idea that all human behavior is guided by an individual's interpretation of what is in his best interest. Social exchange theory advances the idea that relationships are essential for life in society and that it is in one's interest to form relationships with others. Of course, whether or not it is in an individual's interest to form a relationship with a specific person is a

calculation that both parties must perform. Nevertheless, social exchange theory argues that forming relationships is advantageous because of exchange. Each party to the relationship exchanges particular goods and perspectives, creating a richer life for both. Notably, while social exchange theory may reference the literal exchange of goods, it can also mean the exchange of more intangible elements. For example, it is in the interests of a dairy farmer and a vegetable farmer to form a relationship because they can exchange their material goods. The theory also applies to Jack and Jill who decide to get married for the emotional support they exchange with one another.

Social exchange theory is only comprehensible through the lens of rational choice theory. Rational choice theory supposes that every individual evaluates his/her behavior by that behavior's worth, which is a function of rewards minus costs. Rewards are the elements of relational life that have positive value for a person, while costs are the elements of relational life that have negative value for a person. Social exchange theory posits that individuals perform the calculus of worth when decided to form or maintain a relationship with another person. A good example of this would be proverbial "pro/con" list someone might make when deciding to stay or break up with her significant other.

Several assumptions undergird social exchange theory. The first is that humans seek rewards and avoid punishments. Second, humans are rational actors. Finally, social exchange theory acknowledges that the standards by which humans evaluate costs and rewards vary over time and from person to person. This means that what might seem rational to one person would seem completely irrational to another. However, so long as the individual's decision-making regarding the formation of social relationships involves an evaluation of worth, regardless of what that means to the person, the behavior fits the frame established by social exchange theory.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section. **Social Exchange Theory**: This clip outlines the tenets of social exchange theory.

Cooperation

Cooperation is the process of two or more people working or acting in concert.

Learning Objectives

Compare the three types of cooperation (coerced, voluntary and unintentional) and why cooperation is necessary for social reality

Key Points

- Cooperation can be coerced, voluntary, or unintentional.
- Communication is necessary for cooperation.
- Cooperation derives from an overlap in desires and is more likely if there is a relationship between the parties.

Key Terms

- **Unintentional Cooperation**: It is a form of cooperation in which individuals do not necessarily intend to cooperate, but end up doing so because of aligning interests.
- **Voluntary Cooperation**: It is cooperation to which all parties consent.
- **Coerced Cooperation**: It is when cooperation between individuals is forced.

Cooperation is the process of two or more people working or acting together. Cooperation enables social reality by laying the groundwork for social institutions, organizations, and the entire social system. Without cooperation, no institution beyond the individual would develop; any group behavior is an example of cooperation. Cooperation derives from an overlap in desires and is more likely if there is a relationship between the parties. This means that if two people know that they are going to encounter one another in the future or if they have memories of past cooperation, they are more likely to cooperate in the present.

There are three main types of cooperation: coerced, voluntary, and unintentional. Coerced cooperation is when cooperation between individuals is forced. An example of coerced cooperation is the draft. Individuals are forced to enlist in the military and cooperate with one another and the government, regardless of whether they wish to. Voluntary cooperation is cooperation to which all parties consent. An example of voluntary cooperation would be individuals opting to complete a group project for school when given the option of a group project or an individual project. Unintentional cooperation is a form of cooperation in which individuals do not necessarily intend to cooperate but end up doing so because of aligning interests. The free hand of a capitalist economy is an example of unintentional cooperation, where individuals will take actions

based on their own interests resulting sometimes in unintentional cooperation.

Communication plays an essential role in cooperation. Communication enables simple acts of cooperation by facilitating parties' recognition that they have mutual interests and large acts of cooperation by organizing the masses. Without communication, individuals would not be able to organize themselves to cooperate.



Cooperation in Politics: Without cooperation, Congress would be unable to create any laws.

Conflict

Social conflict is the struggle for agency or power within a society to gain control of scarce resources.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how various groups in society compete for resources, status and power within society, known as conflict theory

Key Points

- Conflict theory argues that conflict is a normal and necessary part of social interaction. In other words, conflict is seen as part of the social landscape rather than an anomaly.
- According to the theory, conflict is motivated by pursuit of personal interests. All individuals and groups are interested in gaining control over scarce resources, and this leads to conflict.
- Once one party gets control of resources, that party is unlikely to release them. The Matthew Effect is the idea that those in control will remain in control.

Key Terms

- **Matthew Effect**: The idea that those who have control will maintain control.
- **Zero Sum Game**: The idea that if group A acquires any given resource, group B will be unable to acquire it.
- **Social Conflict**: The struggle for agency or power within a society.

Social conflict is the struggle for agency or power within a society. It occurs when two or more people oppose one another in social interactions, reciprocally exerting social power in an effort to attain scarce or incompatible goals, and prevent the opponent from attaining them.

Conflict theory emphasizes interests deployed in conflict, rather than the norms and values. This perspective argues that the pursuit of interests is what motivates conflict. Resources are scarce and individuals naturally fight to gain control of them. Thus, the theory sees conflict as a normal part of social life, rather than an abnormal occurrence. The three tenets of conflict theory are as follows:

1. Society is composed of different groups that compete for resources.
2. While societies may portray a sense of cooperation, a continual power struggle exists between social groups as they pursue their own interests.
3. Social groups will use resources to their own advantage in the pursuit of their goals, frequently leading powerful groups to take advantage of less powerful groups.

Conflict theory relies upon the notion of a zero sum game, meaning that if group A acquires any given resource, group B will be unable to acquire it. Thus, any gain for group A is automatically a loss for group B. Conflict theory further argues that group A will continue to search for resources in order to keep group B from getting them, leading to the exploitation of the powerless. The idea that those who have control will maintain control is called the Matthew Effect.

According to the principles of conflict theory, all cooperation is only for the purpose of acquiring individual or group resources. This motivation for behavior restructures day-to-day interactions among people in a given society.



War: War is the classic example of conflict: one army is attempting to maintain control of resources (land, weapons, morale) so that the other army cannot have them.

Competition

Competition is a contest between people or groups of people for control over resources.

Learning Objectives

Explain how competition can be both a help and a hinderance for people in any particular society or group

Key Points

- People can compete over tangible resources, such as land, food, and mates, but also over intangible resources, such as social capital.
- Many evolutionary biologists view inter-species and intra-species competition as the driving force of adaptation and, ultimately, of evolution.
- Many philosophers and psychologists have identified a trait in most living organisms that can drive the particular organism to compete.

Key Terms

- **evolution**: gradual directional change, especially one leading to a more advanced or complex form; growth; development
- **innate**: Inborn; native; natural; as, innate vigor; innate eloquence.

Competition is a contest between people or groups of people for control over resources. In this definition, resources can have both literal and symbolic meaning. People can compete over tangible resources like land, food, and mates, but also over intangible resources, such as social capital. Competition is the opposite of cooperation and arises whenever two parties strive for a goal that cannot be shared.

Competition can have both beneficial and detrimental effects. Positively, competition may serve as a form of recreation or a challenge provided that it is non-hostile. On the negative side, competition can cause injury and loss to the organisms involved, and drain valuable resources and energy. Many evolutionary biologists view inter-species and intra-species competition as the driving force of adaptation, and, ultimately, of evolution. However, some biologists, most famously Richard Dawkins, prefer to think of evolution in terms of competition between single genes, which have the welfare of the organism “in mind” only insofar as that welfare furthers their own selfish drives for replication. Some Social Darwinists claim that competition also serves as a mechanism for determining the best-suited group–politically, economically, and ecologically.

Many philosophers and psychologists have identified a trait in most living organisms that can drive the particular organism to compete. This trait, unsurprisingly called “competitiveness,” is viewed as an innate biological trait that coexists along with the urge for survival. Competitiveness, or the inclination to compete, has become synonymous with aggressiveness and ambition in the English language. Just as advanced civilizations integrate aggressiveness and competitiveness into their interactions, as a way to distribute resources and adapt, most plants compete for higher spots on trees to receive more sunlight. However, Stephen Jay Gould and others have argued that as one ascends the evolutionary hierarchy, competitiveness (the survival instinct) becomes less innate and more a learned behavior.

The term also applies to econometrics. Here, it is a comparative measure of the ability and performance of a firm or sub-sector to sell and produce/supply goods and/or services in a given market. The two academic bodies of thought on the assessment of competitiveness are the Structure Conduct Performance Paradigm and the more contemporary New Empirical Industrial Organisation model. Predicting changes in the competitiveness of business sectors is becoming an integral and explicit step in public policymaking. Within capitalist economic systems, the drive of enterprises is to maintain and improve their own competitiveness.



Competitive Sport: All competitive sports are examples of competition for prestige.

Stereotypes in Everyday Life

A stereotype is a belief about a group of individuals that people apply to any given individual deemed to be part of that group.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the pros and cons of using stereotypes in society, such as understanding an individual based on common characteristics (pro) to racism (con)

Key Points

- Stereotypes are a heuristic, or tool, to help humans process an overwhelming amount of information as we try to learn about the world around us.

- Stereotypes enable the development of ingroups and outgroups, which can lead to the poor treatment of outgroups. If someone is perceived to be different from you, you might have an easier time treating them poorly. Stereotypes distinguish people.
- The universal application of a stereotype to every perceived member of a group is prejudicial.

Key Terms

- **outgroup**: It is a social group to which an individual does not identify.
- **ingroup**: It is a social group to which a person psychologically identifies themselves as a member
- **heuristic**: An experience-based technique for problem solving, learning, and discovery. Examples include using a rule of thumb or making an educated guess.

A stereotype is a belief about a group of individuals that people apply to any given individual whom is deemed to be part of that group. Stereotypes are usually inaccurate in their universal application. This means that although some individuals within a given group may fit a stereotype, others most certainly will not. The error in stereotyping is the application of a preconception to everyone who is perceived to belong to a particular group.

Stereotypes as Heuristics

Stereotypes are useful for the human brain because they operate as a heuristic or a cognitive mechanism to quickly gather, process, and synthesize information. As social animals, we seek to gather information about those around us. However, there is too much information to process in its entirety. Therefore, we have heuristics to make the process more efficient. In applying a stereotype, one is able to quickly "know" something about an individual. For example, if the only thing you know about Katherine is that she belongs to a band, you are able to guess that she likes music. People use stereotypes as shortcuts to make sense of their social contexts; this makes the task of understanding one's world less cognitively demanding.

Us Verus Them

By dividing the world into discrete categories by stereotyping, one is able to foster an us versus them mentality. This view separates the social world into different categories and distinguishes others from oneself. In other words, the creation of an us versus them mentality divides the world into an ingroup and an outgroup. An ingroup is the group with which one identifies; an outgroup is everyone else. In line with the reasoning that describes heuristics, distinguishing oneself from others is a cognitively necessary step; it allows us to develop a sense of identity. However, an us versus them mentality fostered by stereotyping can be used to justify horrible treatment of an outgroup. Once one feels as though someone else belongs to an outgroup, one has less difficulty treating that individual inhumanely. A classic example of an us versus them mentality is the Holocaust. The Nazis configured the Jews, a stereotyped class, to be inhuman, allowing the Nazis to treat people they placed in that class inhumanely.

Stereotypes and Prejudice

Given the social and cognitive necessities of heuristics, the problem with stereotyping is not the existence of the cognitive function. The problem lies in the assumption that all people of a group—a group with which they might not even identify—are the same. For example, it is a common stereotype that people who wear glasses are smart. Certainly, there are some glasses-wearing, intelligent people. But it is poor logic to think that everyone who sports glasses is intelligent. Stereotyping can lead to prejudice, or negative perceived judgements about a group of people. The application of prejudice to a given individual can cause personal and social damage.



Stereotyping of Police Officers: Police officers buying donuts and coffee is a popular stereotype of officers in the United States.

Personal Space

Personal space is the region surrounding people that they regard as psychologically their own.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the use of personal space can convey social relationships between people in various cultures

Key Points

- In general, the more intimate the relationship, the closer one is able to go into another's personal space. Negotiating these boundaries reflects on social proximity.
- Sociologists study personal space precisely because of social implications of distance in regard to relationships.
- Senses of personal space are culturally defined. Those who live in urban areas tend to require less personal space, for

example. People in Western culture have different notions of personal space than people elsewhere.

Key Terms

- **personal space**: The physical space closely surrounding a person, which, if encroached upon, can lead to discomfort, anger or anxiety.

Personal space is the region surrounding people that they regard as psychologically theirs. Most people value their personal space and feel discomfort, anger, or anxiety when that space is encroached. Permitting a person to enter personal space and entering somebody else's personal space are indicators of how the two people view their relationship. There is an intimate zone that is reserved for lovers, children, and close family members. There is another intermediary zone that is used for conversations with friends, to chat with associates, and in group discussions. There is a further zone that is used by strangers and acquaintances, and finally, a zone that is used for public speeches, lectures, and performances.

The size of one's sense of personal space is culturally determined, in addition to being dependent upon the nuanced relationship of the two interlocutors. Averaged estimates place one's sense of personal space at two feet on either side, 28 inches in front, and 16 inches behind for an average Westerner. Those living in densely populated places tend to have a smaller sense of personal space. Moreover, individual sense of space has changed historically as the notions of boundaries between public and private spaces have evolved over time.

Senses of personal space are intimately tied to the relationship between the two individuals involved. Entering someone's personal space is normally seen as an indication of familiarity. However, in modern society, particularly in crowded urban communities, it is sometimes difficult to maintain personal space; for example, in a crowded train. Many people find such physical proximity to be psychologically uncomfortable, but it is accepted as a fact of modern life. Sociologists study personal space precisely because of social implications of distance in regard to relationships.

Eye Contact

Eye contact develops in a cultural context and different gazes have different meanings all over the world.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the various ways people use eye contact as a means of social and emotional expression

Key Points

- Eye contact is an incredibly expressive form of nonverbal communication.
- Eye contact aligns with the relationship underlying the gaze. People who are close with one another look at each others eyes; avoiding eye contact can put distance between two individuals.
- The customs and significance of eye contact vary widely between cultures, with religious and social differences often altering its meaning greatly. For example, Japanese children are taught to direct their gaze at the region of their teacher's Adam's apple or tie knot.

Key Terms

- **eye contact**: The condition or action of looking at another human or animal in the eye.
- **oculesics**: The study of eye contact as a form of body language.

Eye contact is the meeting of the eyes between two individuals. In humans, eye contact is a form of nonverbal communication and has a large influence on social behavior. The study of eye contact is sometimes known as oculesics.

Eye contact provides a way in which one can study social interactions, as it provides indications of social and emotional information. People, perhaps without consciously doing so, probe each other's eyes and faces for signs of positive or negative mood. In some contexts, the meeting of eyes arouses strong emotions. Eye contact can establish a sense of intimacy between two individuals, such as the gazes of lovers or the eye contact involved in flirting. Alternatively, avoiding eye contact can establish distance between people. When in crowds, people tend to avoid eye contact in order to maintain privacy.

The customs and significance of eye contact vary widely between cultures, with religious and social differences often altering its meaning greatly. According to the tenets of the Islamic faith, Muslims ought to lower their gazes and try not to focus on the features of the opposite sex, except for the hands and face. Japanese children are taught to direct their gaze at the region of their teacher's Adam's apple or tie knot. As adults, Japanese tend to lower their eyes when speaking to a superior as a gesture of respect. In Eastern Africa, it is respectful not to look the dominant person in the eye, whereas such avoidance of eye contact is negatively interpreted in Western cultures. As with all forms of social interaction that impart social significance, eye contact is culturally determined.



Eye Contact in Painting: Two figures lock eyes in Caravaggio's The Fortune Teller.

Applied Body Language

Body language is a crucial part of social interaction.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the importance of body language as a means of social communication and give specific examples of body language

Key Points

- Research has suggested that between 60 and 70 percent of all meaning is derived from nonverbal behavior.
- One basic body- language signal is when a person crosses his or her arms. When the overall situation is amicable, it can mean that a person is thinking deeply about what is being discussed, but in a serious or confrontational situation, it can mean that a person is expressing opposition.
- Flirting is an example of applied body language. Sexual or romantic interest is primarily communicated through body language, which may include flicking one's hair, eye contact, brief touching, open stances, and close proximity between partners.

Key Terms

- **Flirting**: It is a playful activity involving verbal communication and also body language to indicate an interest in a deeper romantic or sexual relationship.
- **body language**: Nonverbal communication by means of facial expressions, eye behavior, gestures, posture, and the like; often thought to be involuntary.

Body language is a form of human non-verbal communication, which consists of body posture, gestures, facial expressions, and eye movements. Humans send and interpret such signals almost entirely subconsciously. It is impossible for social scientists to study body language in any manner that is not applied. Indeed, social scientists are interested in body language precisely because of what it conveys about social interactions and the relationship between nonverbal interlocutors. This dynamic can only be studied in applied contexts.

Research has suggested that between 60 and 70 percent of all meaning is derived from nonverbal behavior, making body language a crucial part of social interaction. Body language may provide clues as to the attitude or state of mind of a person. For example, it may indicate aggression, attentiveness, boredom, relaxed state, pleasure, amusement, and intoxication, among many other clues.

One of the most basic and powerful body language signals is when a person crosses his or her arms across the chest. This can indicate that a person is putting up an unconscious barrier between themselves and others. However, it can also indicate that the person's arms are cold, which would be clarified by rubbing the arms or huddling. When the overall situation is amicable, it can mean that a person is thinking deeply about what is being discussed, but in a serious or confrontational situation, it can mean that a person is expressing opposition. This is especially so if the person is leaning away from the speaker. A harsh or blank facial expression often indicates outright hostility.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section. **Flirting Instruction**: This video is a how-to on how to flirt. Note the significant attention paid to body language.

Another obvious example of expressive body language used in everyday life is flirting. Flirting is a playful activity involving verbal communication and also body language to indicate an interest in a deeper romantic or sexual relationship. Flirting usually involves speaking and behaving in a way that suggests a mildly greater level of intimacy than the actual relationship between parties would justify, though within the rules of social etiquette, which generally frown upon a direct expression of sexual interest. Body language may include flicking one's hair, eye contact, brief touching, open stances, and close proximity between partners. Thus, by watching two individuals, one can tell if they are flirting.



Marilyn Monroe: Marilyn Monroe has been described as the ultimate flirt. Does this photograph fit that perception? Does it have anything to do with her body language?

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5.3: Elements of Social Interaction

Social Status

Social status refers to one's standing in the community and his position in the social hierarchy.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the basis of both ascribed and achieved social status and how they influence one another and a person's standing within different groups of society

Key Points

- Social status may be achieved (earned) or ascribed (assigned at birth).
- Both achieved and ascribed statuses influence one another.
- Social mobility allows an individual to move between social levels in the general social hierarchy.
- Max Weber suggests that social status is the confluence of property, prestige, and power.
- Pierre Bourdieu argues that social status is a combination of economic and social capital, which combine to produce a difference of social "tastes" that are decided by class.
- Pierre Bourdieu argues that social status is a combination of economic and social capital, which combine to produce a difference of social "tastes" that divide by class.

Key Terms

- **hierarchy**: Any group of objects ranked so that everyone but the topmost is subordinate to a specified group above it.
- **Pierre Bourdieu**: A twentieth century French sociologist who developed the notion of social capital.
- **prestige**: A measure of how good the reputation of something or someone is, or how favorably something or someone is regarded.

Social status refers to the honor or prestige attached to one's position in society. It may also refer to a rank or position that one holds in a group, such as son or daughter, playmate, pupil, etc. One's social status is determined in different ways. One can earn his or her social status by his or her own achievements; this is known as achieved status. Alternatively, one can inherit his or her position on the social hierarchy; this is known as ascribed status. An ascribed status can also be defined as one that is fixed for an individual at birth, like sex, race, and socioeconomic background.

Social status is most often understood as a melding of the two types of status, with ascribed status influencing achieved status. For example, a baby born into a high-income household has his family's high socioeconomic status as an achieved status and is more likely to be exposed to resources like a familial emphasis on education that will make it more likely for him or her to get into an elite university. Admission, therefore, is an achieved status that was heavily influenced by resources made available by the person's ascribed status.



Max Weber: Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced verstehen—understanding behaviors—as goal of sociology.

It is easy to see how achieved and ascribed statuses accumulate into the social status of an individual. Pulling back into a larger perspective, these same factors accumulate into a system of social stratification. Social stratification is a conceptual social hierarchy in which individuals are ranked in terms of their perceived value to society. In capitalist countries, this hierarchy is largely socioeconomic, in that high-income individuals are ranked at the top of the social hierarchy with low-income individuals at the bottom. However, social stratification is not limited to economics; perceived moral value is also integrated into the stratification so that a poor member of the clergy is in a higher social rank than a rich criminal.

Social status, or the social sphere in which one belongs, can be changed through a process of social mobility. One can move either up or down the social hierarchy and the process is described in terms of upward or downward mobility. Simply, social mobility allows a person to move into a social status other than the one into which he was born depending upon one's ambition, lack thereof, or other factors.

One's social status depends on the context of a his or her situation and is therefore malleable. Take, for example, an employee who works on the floor of a manufacturing company. When considered in light of the larger social hierarchy, this worker will probably fall somewhere toward the mid-bottom of the hierarchy because of his socioeconomic status. Yet, perhaps this man is the floor manager and therefore has control of

hundreds of other employees. When he's at his place of work, he is high on the ladder of social hierarchy.



Pierre Bourdieu: According to Bourdieu's 1979 work Distinction, social capital is just as significant a factor in social status as economic capital.

Social status has been theorized by major sociologists, including Max Weber. Weber was a prominent German social theorist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Weber proposes that there are three primary components to social stratification: property, prestige, and power. Property refers to one's material possessions and subsequent life chances. Prestige refers to the reputation or esteem associated with one's social position. Weber uses power to mean the ability to do what one wants, regardless of the will of others. These "three P's" combine to produce social stratification.

Twentieth century French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu continued to theorize social status. According to Bourdieu's 1979 work *Distinction*, social capital is just as significant a factor in social status as economic capital. By this, Bourdieu means that indicators of one's class are not limited to how much money one has in the bank, but also one's cultural tastes which one acquires beginning in his youth. These tastes are influenced by class. For example, tastes for classical music and foie gras would typically signal an upbringing from a higher social class than one whose tastes are for Cheetos and Top 40 hits. Thus, social stratification is demonstrated by economic class and the cultural preferences that it engenders.

Role Theory

Role theory argues that human behavior is guided by expectations held both by the individual and by others in the community.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the development and fulfillment of particular roles within society (both occupational and relational) relates to a person's behavior

Key Points

- A role is a set of rules or norms that function as plans or blueprints to guide behavior within a particular society.
- Roles can be occupational or relational. An occupational role relates to a person's individual function (for example, a profession). A relational role governs how the individual behaves towards others (for example, being a father or a boss).
- Role theory is structural functionalist in that it seeks to explain human behavior by looking at what social function is fulfilled by holding a given role.
- Role theory suggests that a substantial proportion of observable, day-to-day behavior is simply people carrying out roles and negotiating which role to prioritize. Once you understand someone's role and which of their many roles they are prioritizing, you can predict how they are going to behave.

Key Terms

- **self-neglect**: It refers to behaviors that threaten the person's own health and safety.
- **abuse**: Physical or verbal maltreatment; injury.

A virtual world is an online community that takes the form of a computer-based simulated environment through which users can interact with one another. Individuals create online representations of themselves called avatars that can interact on the internet under direction of the avatar's creator. Such modeled worlds and their rules may draw from reality or fantasy worlds. Example rules are gravity, topography, locomotion, real-time actions and communication.

Social interaction between users can range from communication via text, graphical icons, visual gesture, sound, touch, voice command, and balance senses. Many MMORPGs (massively multiplayer online role-playing games) have real-time actions and communication. Players create a character who travels between buildings, towns and worlds to carry out business or leisure activities. Communication is usually textual, but real-time voice communication is also possible.

Many studies of virtual worlds have questioned the virtual world's ability to convey nuanced emotional messages as people do in face-to-face interactions. Certainly, users have developed techniques in the virtual world to communicate emotion. Beyond writing messages, users can communicate using emoticons, or simple "smilies" that visually depict simple emotions. While emoticons obviously do not convey the same range of mixed emotions as a human face, it is clear that participants in virtual worlds are innovating with language and images to develop new forms of communication.

Another aspect of social interaction in virtual worlds is variation of interactions between participants. While interaction with other participants in virtual worlds can often be done in real-time, time consistency is not always maintained in online virtual worlds.

Although the social interactions of participants in virtual worlds are often viewed in the context of online games, other forms of interaction are common. These include forums, wikis, chat rooms and video-conferences. Communities are born which have their own rules, topics, jokes and even language. Members of such communities can find like-minded people to interact with, whether this be through a shared passion, the wish to share information, or a desire to meet new people and experience new things.



Elderly Women Gathering: This image shows that elderly people can be active, social, and in good spirits.

Role Conflict

Role conflict describes the conflict between or among the roles corresponding to two or more statuses held by one individual.

Learning Objectives

Interpret how role conflict affects an individual's perception of him/herself and his/her place within society

Key Points

- We experience role conflict when we find ourselves pulled in various directions as we try to respond to the many statuses we hold.
- The most common form of role conflict is work/family conflict, in which one needs to prioritize familial or professional obligations.
- The effects of role conflict are related to individual personality characteristics and interpersonal relations.

Key Terms

- **work/family conflict**: A conflict one faces when one must choose between family needs and work obligations.
- **role conflict**: A conflict between or among the roles corresponding to two or more statuses in one individual.

Role conflict describes a conflict between or among the roles corresponding to two or more statuses fulfilled by one individual. We experience role conflict when we find ourselves pulled in various directions as we try to respond to the many statuses we hold.

The most obvious example of role conflict is work/family conflict, or the conflict one feels when pulled between familial and professional obligations. Take, for example, a mother who is also a doctor. She likely has to work long hours at the hospital and may even be on call several nights a week, taking her away from her children. Many individuals who find themselves in this position describe feeling conflicted and distressed about their situation. In other words, they experience role conflict.

The above example is presented as a personality role conflict: The woman is torn between the part of her personality that values being a mother and the part that identifies as being a doctor. For an example of interpersonal relations causing role conflict, consider an individual who is a school superintendent and a father. He might think that his wife and children expect him to spend most of his evenings with them, but he may also feel that his school board and parents' groups expect him to spend most of his after-office hours on educational and civic activities. He is therefore unable to satisfy both of these incompatible expectations, and role conflict is the result.

Conflict among the roles begins because of the human's desire to reach success, and because of the pressure put on an individual by two imposing, apposing and incompatible demands competing against each other. The effects of role conflict, as found through case studies and nationwide surveys, are related to individual personality characteristics and interpersonal relations. Individual personality characteristic conflicts can arise when "aspects of an individual's personality are in conflict with other aspects of that same individual's personality. "



Family Taught Gender Roles

Culture

Culture is the set of beliefs, values, symbols, rituals, fashions, etiquette, foods, and art that unite a particular society.

Learning Objectives

Analyze how culture is defined, materially and symbolically

Key Points

- Culture elements are learned behaviors; children learn them while growing up in a particular culture as older members teach them how to live. As such, culture is passed down from one generation to the next. This process of learning culture is called “acculturation”.
- Culture can be studied either through material or symbolic cultural forms.
- Biology and learned experiences influence one another to create cultural norms.
- Culture provides the rules for behaviors and patterns of thought in social life.
- Ethnocentrism is the tendency to view the world primarily from the perspective of one’s own culture and tends to place different culture’s below one’s own.
- Cultural relativism insists that no culture is better or worse than any other, only different.

Key Terms

- **acculturation**: A process by which the culture of an isolated society changes on contact with a different one, especially a more advanced society.
- **nature versus nurture debate**: The nature versus nurture debate concerns the relative importance of an individual’s innate qualities (“nature,” i.e., nativism, or innatism) versus personal experiences (“nurture,” i.e., empiricism or behaviorism) in determining or causing individual differences in physical and behavioral traits.

Culture is the set of beliefs, values, symbols, means of communication, religion, logics, rituals, fashions, etiquette, foods, and art that unite a particular society. Culture elements are learned behaviors; children learn them while growing up in a particular culture as older members teach them how to live. As such, culture is passed down from one generation to the next. This process of learning culture is called “acculturation. ”



High culture: Ballet is traditionally considered high culture.

One way of understanding culture is to think of the nature versus nurture debate. In this debate, social scientists asked whether nature or nurture is more influential in human life. Nature was considered to be things like our biology and genetics, while nurture was considered to be learned behaviors and other environmental influences on our identities. In this debate, culture is lumped together with the nurture side because both include learned behaviors and systems of thought that we pick up on from our surroundings. To illustrate the nature versus nurture debate, think of any human being. That person’s genetic material and physical body is what is considered his nature. But anything that the person does falls in the nurture side of the debate. This includes how he dresses, what he eats, what language he speaks, and every way in which he behaves.

While the nature versus nurture debate is useful to understand what culture is, the debate in academia has been somewhat settled by the acknowledgement that nature and nurture

influence each other. Biology gives us the neural capacity for things like language and culture, but our environments teach us how to use these capacities. For example, biology enables humans to learn a language; this makes us different from other species. However, nothing about our biology dictates whether a baby learns English, Spanish, or Tagalog. Which language one speaks is a learned behavior. Likewise, our cultural behaviors influence our biology. For example, before 4000 BCE, the gene that creates a protein that allows for the digestion of lactose was present in babies for consuming their mothers' milk, but then that protein would disappear after a baby was weaned. In 4000 BCE, humans began to domesticate animals and continue to drink their milk even after infancy. As such, over generations of using this cultural practice of animal domestication, the gene mutated to continue to produce the protein in adulthood. Thus, over time, the cultural practice influenced human biology. Nature and nurture contribute to one another.

In sum, culture provides the rules for behaviors and patterns of thought in social life. Because culture is learned, it is necessarily an aspect of social life and, therefore, requires a society or a group of people who interact and engage with one another. One way of thinking of a culture is the group of people to whom a set of symbols is understandable. For example, a rectangle with 13 alternating red and white stripes and a set of 50 white stars set on a blue patch in the upper left corner might not mean anything to someone in Greenland. To most Americans, the described design is an American flag, which itself connotes national pride.

It is tempting to associate a particular society with a particular country, but this isn't always the case. Certainly, some symbols (like flags) are understandable within a particular country, but it is important to consider dissent and subcultures. Culture can be difficult to pinpoint and individuals within a given culture might disagree over what their culture is. Culture is both unifying and contentious.

Culture spreads through material and symbolic means, each demanding different methodologies and techniques to study. Material culture consists of the goods used to exhibit particular cultural behaviors. One could say that coffee cups, laptops, sweatshirts, and pizza are elements of the material culture of life on a college campus. Cultural anthropologists and sociologists use material culture to understand a culture at large and archaeologists use digs to reveal the material culture of the past in order to learn more about life in that culture. Symbolic culture consists of the belief systems that found and motivate life in a particular culture. Well circulated stories about a college's founding, which professors are good to take classes with, and the college's motto are all elements of the symbolic culture of a university. Both types of cultures can spread between different societies, in this case, different college campuses.

Social Class

Social class is a measure of where a particular person falls on the social hierarchy.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the concept of social hierarchy as related to the development of social class

Key Points

- A social hierarchy refers to the arrangement of people in society, with some people having more power and others having less.
- Max Weber evaluated an individual's social class by a measure of power, property, and prestige.
- Social class is typically thought of in a three-class model, dividing a population into upper, middle, and lower classes.
- In the United States, very few people are in the upper class, but the upper class possesses a disproportionate amount of the nation's wealth.

Key Terms

- **socioeconomics**: The branch of economics that deals with social aspects.
- **White Collar Workers**: The term white-collar worker refers to a person who performs professional, managerial, or administrative work, in contrast with a blue-collar worker, whose job requires manual labor. Typically white collar work is performed in an office or cubicle.
- **Three-Class Model**: It includes the "rich," the "middle class," and the "poor. "
- **social facts**: the values, cultural norms, and social structures which transcend the individual and are capable of exercising a social constraint

A social hierarchy refers to the arrangement of people in society, with some people having more power and others having less. Social hierarchies, also referred to as social stratification, largely refers to socioeconomics, or the amount of material and social capital that an individual possesses. However, the socioeconomic classification is a stand-in for the amount of power possessed by an individual. Thus, one can layer and categorize individuals and classify them by group according to how much social power they possess.

Social class is the layer or social stratum denoting socioeconomic power into which an individual falls. In other words, social class describes how people are differentiated based upon their wealth or power. In the late eighteenth century,

class came to replace such categories as estates, rank, and orders as the primary means of organizing society into hierarchical divisions. This corresponded to a general decrease in the significance ascribed to hereditary characteristics and an increase in the significance of wealth and income as indicators of position in the social hierarchy. While hereditary characteristics, such as being born into a wealthy family, continue to influence the ease with which one establishes adult social standing, the model that emphasizes class and achieved status maintains the status quo in capitalistic societies, particularly the United States.

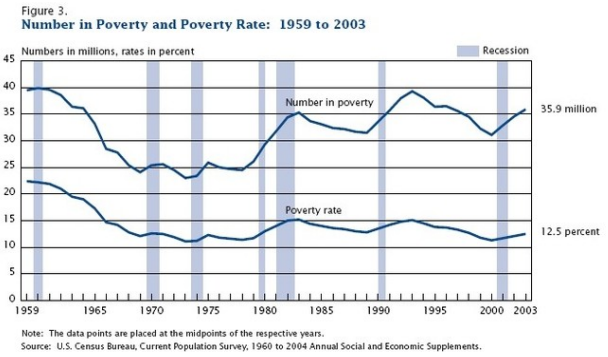
The study of social class and hierarchies fundamentally asks questions about inequality. Sociology has a long history of studying stratification and teaching about various kinds of inequality, including economic inequality, racial and ethnic inequality, and gender inequality. Inequality means that people have unequal access to scarce and valued resources in society, such as health care, education, jobs, property, housing, and political influence. Sociologists study the causes and effects of inequality.

As such, sociologists pay particular attention to socioeconomic status, as it signifies an equation of power and wealth that denotes a particular form of inequality. Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century German social theorist Max Weber proposed that socioeconomic status was configured by a combination of power, property, and prestige. For Weber, power refers to an individual's ability to impose his will on others, regardless of their wishes. Property refers to the sum total of one's possessions in addition to their income. Property therefore goes beyond income as a measure of social class because it measures accumulated wealth in addition to one's earning potential. Prestige refers to the reputation or esteem associated with one's position in society. Prestige used to be associated with family name, but now more frequently is yoked to occupation. Occupations like physicians or lawyers tend to hold more prestige than bartenders or janitors.

Power, prestige, and property tend to go hand in hand. An individual who is born into a wealthy family is likely to be born with more property and have access to better educational resources to achieve prestige, culminating in more power. Yet this is not always the case. For example, a professor may have little property, but has high prestige. Conversely, a "trust-fund baby" or someone left family money, might have much property, but little prestige in a society that values personal achievement.

Social class is commonly organized into a three-class model, by which individuals are separated into upper, middle, and lower classes. The upper class consists of the wealthy and powerful individuals who own and control the means of production. In the United States, the upper class is comprised of the richest 1-2% of the country, but other countries, particularly in Europe, still emphasize aristocracy and the family into which one was born. The middle class is the broadest swath of society, consisting of professional workers, small business owners, and low-level managers. These people are also referred to as "white collar workers. " The lower class consists of people who work wage jobs rather than salaried positions. Referred to as "blue collar workers," the lower class has little economic security and includes both individuals working lower-paying positions and unemployed and/or homeless people.

Social class in the United States looks a little bit different than one might suppose given the three-class model. Consider the following facts: Four hundred Americans have the same wealth as the bottom 50% of Americans combined. Twenty-five Americans have a combined income almost as great as the combined incomes of two billion of the world's poor. In 2007, CEOs in the top American companies received an average salary of $10.5 million per year, 344 times the pay of the average worker. Half of American children will reside in a household that uses food stamps at some point in their childhoods. As you can see, the upper class in the United States contains very few Americans; the population is concentrated in the middle and lower classes. Yet, the few people in the upper class control a disproportionate amount of American wealth.



U.S. Poverty Rate 1959-2009: This chart depicts the number of people living in poverty during each year from 1959-2003. The poverty rate corresponds to what proportion of Americans live in the lowest economic strata of the hierarchical class system.

Groups

Groups are collections of people who identify and interact with one another and are united in some way.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how heuristics allow people to learn about people within a society based on group affiliation and give examples of both positive and negative heuristics

Key Points

- Groups can be united by shared interests, values, language, backgrounds, social roles, or family ties.
- Group identification is one way that individuals make assumptions about others' identities.
- Groups operate as cognitive heuristics. Heuristics are sometimes perceived to be legitimate assumptions about an individual and sometimes deemed illegitimate. Legitimate heuristics tend to just be those that import positive generalizations to a particular person.
- Group affiliation is negotiated. Sometimes an individual will protest an assumed group affiliation. Other times, a group will contest an individual's claim to membership.

Key Terms

- **Legitimate Heuristic**: Generally, a heuristic that imports positive generalizations to a particular person.
- **stereotype**: A conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image of a group of people or things.
- **heuristic**: An experience-based technique for problem solving, learning, and discovery. Examples include using a rule of thumb or making an educated guess.

A social group is a collection of people who identify and interact with one another. They are united in some way, meaning that they may share interests, values, language, backgrounds, social roles, or family ties.

Perceiving society as a composite of groups allows for one to generalize about a particular person. If you know something about which groups a particular person belongs to, you may import certain character traits to that particular individual. In this way, groups operate as a cognitive heuristic, meaning that people use groups as a shortcut to use generalized information to learn about a particular person. If you know that Johnny is a member of the Computer Geek Club, you will assume that Johnny likes computers. Thus, you use group identity to generalize and make assumptions about a specific individual. Heuristics are sometimes perceived to be legitimate assumptions about an individual and sometimes deemed illegitimate. Legitimate heuristics tend to just be those that import positive generalizations to a particular person. For example, if you know that Sue holds an undergraduate degree, you may assume that Sue is an educated individual. However, the same heuristic can function in negative ways; this is the underlying mechanism that enables stereotypes. Stereotyping is when one makes generalizations about a particular person in a negative way based on their perceived group identity. Racism is one example of this; making assumptions about an individual because of their racial background is an example of negative group heuristics and stereotyping. Both legitimate and illegitimate heuristics demonstrate how knowledge about one's group affiliations conveys perceived social knowledge about that individual.

In this way, a person's group affiliation is associated with that person's identity. The relationship between identity and politics is dynamic and contested. Sometimes a person is perceived to be part of a group to which they identify, such as when someone makes assumptions about another person's identity based on their racial background. Conversely, an individual may claim membership to a group that rejects the petition. Take, for example, Elizabeth Warren's 2012 campaign for the United States Senate. In public remarks, Warren declared that she had Native American heritage and was part Cherokee. However, many Cherokee individuals protested the declaration and insisted that Ms. Warren was not Cherokee until she could prove otherwise. By this, one can see how groups can serve as an interface between an individual and society at large.



Elizabeth Warren: Senate candidate Elizabeth Warren claimed membership to Native American groups in her 2012 campaign, raising questions about what it means to belong to a group.

Social Institutions

An institution is any structure or mechanism of social order governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given community.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how the development of social institutions, both formal and informal, acts a guide for the rules and expectation of people within society

Key Points

- Institutions can either be formal, in that they are designed to govern behavior, or informal, in that they govern behavior by socialization rather than overt practices.
- Institutionalization refers to the process of embedding something, such as a concept, a social role, a value, or a logic within an organization, social system, or society as a whole.
- Institutions can also be abstract, such as the institution of marriage.

Key Terms

- **Informal Institutions**: They are those that are not designed to regulate conduct, but often end up doing so as members seek to conform to communal standards.
- **Formal Institutions**: They are those that are created with the intention of governing human behavior.

An institution is any structure or mechanism of social order and cooperation governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given community. Institutions are identified with a social purpose and permanence, transcending individual lives and intention by enforcing rules that govern cooperative behavior. While institutions are obviously comprised of individuals and create rules through these individuals' agentic actions, institutions act as forces of socialization, meaning that they teach individuals to conform to their norms.

Institutions can be either formal or informal. Formal institutions are those that are created with the intention of governing human behavior. Examples include the United States Congress, an institution that is designed to create the laws of the United States. However, formal institutions do not have to have the force of the law at their disposal. Another example is the Roman Catholic Church. While violating the tenets of the Catholic Church is not in violation of law, the Church expects its members to adhere to its religious codes. Informal institutions are those that are not designed to regulate conduct, but often end up doing so as members seek to conform to communal standards. Institutions can also be abstract, such as the institution of marriage. This means that marriage has become a social expectation, with informal rules for how married people are expected to behave.



Formal institutions: The United States Congress, housed in the Capitol Building, is one example of a formal institution.

While institutions tend to appear to people in society as part of the natural, unchanging landscape of their lives, sociological studies of institutions reveal institutions a social constructs, meaning that they are created by individuals and particular historical and cultural moment. Sociology traditionally analyzes social institutions in terms of interlocking social roles and expectations. Social institutions are created by and defined by their own creation of social roles for their members. The social function of the institution is the fulfillment of the assigned roles.

Institutionalization refers to the process of embedding something, such as a concept, a social role, a value, or a logic within an organization, social system, or society as a whole. The process of institutionalization elucidates how values, norms, and institutions are so closely intertwined.

Social Networks

A social network is a social structure that exists between actors —individuals or organizations.

Learning Objectives

Assess the role of social networks in the socialization of people

Key Points

- A social network is comprised by various nodes and the ties that connect them.
- Nodes can be individuals or organizations.
- Ties are the various types of connections these nodes. Ties are assessed in terms of strength. Loose connections, like mere acquaintances, are called weak ties. Strong ties, like family bonds are called strong ties.
- The study of networks is called either social network analysis or social network theory.

- The small world phenomenon is the hypothesis that the chain of social acquaintances required to connect one arbitrary person to another arbitrary person anywhere in the world is generally short. The concept gave rise to the phrase “six degrees of separation” after Stanley Milgram’s 1967 experiment.

Key Terms

- **Ties**: They are the various types of connections between nodes.
- **node**: They are the individual actors within the networks, and ties are the relationships between the actors.
- **Social Network Analysis**: It is the study of social networks

A social network is a social structure that exists between actors —individuals or organizations. A social network indicates the way that people and organizations are connected through various social familiarities, ranging from casual acquaintance to close familial bonds. Social networks are composed of nodes and ties. The person or organization participating in the network is called a node. Ties are the various types of connections between these nodes. Ties are assessed in terms of strength. Loose connections, like mere acquaintances, are called weak ties. Strong ties, like family bonds are called strong ties.

Shape and Size

The shape and size of social networks influence their utility for their nodal participants. Smaller, tighter networks composed of strong ties behave differently than larger, looser networks of weak ties. The looser and larger the network, the more likely nodes are to introduce new ideas and opportunities to their members. Participants in smaller networks are more likely to share values and information, increasing efficiency, but decreasing creativity.

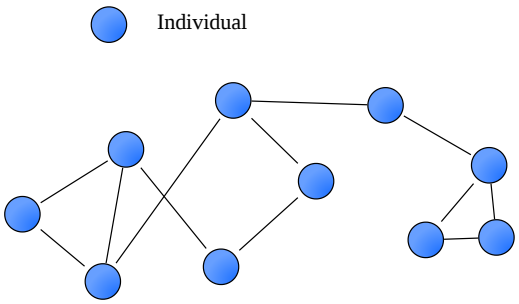


Diagram of a Network: Individuals in groups are connected to each other by social relationships.

Small World Phenomenon

The small world phenomenon is the hypothesis that the chain of social acquaintances required to connect one arbitrary person to another arbitrary person anywhere in the world is generally short. The concept gave rise to the famous phrase “six degrees of separation” after a 1967 small world experiment by psychologist Stanley Milgram which found that two random US citizens were connected by an average of six acquaintances.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Facebook as a Social Network: This video discusses the merits and problems with Facebook as a social network.

The study of social networks is called either social network analysis or social network theory. Research has indicated that social networks operate on many levels—from familial to national—and play a critical role in determining the ways that problems are solved, the way organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals. Social network theory argues that individual traits and characteristics usually presumed to have significance actually matter far less than an individual’s relationship and ties to other actors in a network. Critics argue that this perspective diminishes the power and agency of the individual. Despite these criticisms, sociologists study social networks because of their influence on individuals. Social networks are seen as the basic tool individuals use to connect to society.

Virtual Worlds

A virtual world is an online community that takes the form of a computer-based simulated environment through which users can interact.

Learning Objectives

Explain how virtual worlds are changing the face of societal interactions, such as through the development of new language and like-minded communities

Key Points

- Such modeled worlds and their rules may draw from reality or fantasy worlds. Social interaction between users can range

from communication via text, graphical icons, visual gesture, touch, voice command, and balance senses.
- Researchers have questioned the virtual world ‘s ability to convey nuanced emotional messages in face-to-face interactions. That said, participants in virtual worlds are innovating with language and images to develop new forms of communication like emoticons.
- Another aspect of social interaction in virtual worlds is variation in interactions between participants. While the interaction with other participants in virtual worlds can often be done in real-time, time consistency is not always maintained in online virtual worlds.

Key Terms

- **emoticon**: A graphical representation, either in the form of an image or made up of ASCII characters, of a particular emotion of the writer.
- **Virtual World**: It is an online community that takes the form of a computer-based simulated environment through which users can interact with one another.
- **avatar**: The physical embodiment of an idea or concept; a personification.

A virtual world is an online community that takes the form of a computer-based simulated environment through which users can interact with one another. Individuals create online representations of themselves called avatars that can interact on the internet under direction of the avatar’s creator. Such modeled worlds and their rules may draw from reality or fantasy worlds. Example rules are gravity, topography, locomotion, real-time actions and communication.

Social interaction between users can range from communication via text, graphical icons, visual gesture, sound, touch, voice command, and balance senses. Many MMORPGs (massively multiplayer online role-playing games) have real-time actions and communication. Players create a character who travels between buildings, towns and worlds to carry out business or leisure activities. Communication is usually textual, but real-time voice communication is also possible.

Many studies of virtual worlds have questioned the virtual world’s ability to convey nuanced emotional messages as people do in face-to-face interactions. Certainly, users have developed techniques in the virtual world to communicate emotion. Beyond writing messages, users can communicate using emoticons, or simple “smilies” that visually depict simple emotions. While emoticons obviously do not convey the same range of mixed emotions as a human face, it is clear that participants in virtual worlds are innovating with language and images to develop new forms of communication.

Another aspect of social interaction in virtual worlds is variation of interactions between participants. While interaction with other participants in virtual worlds can often be done in real-time, time consistency is not always maintained in online virtual worlds.

Although the social interactions of participants in virtual worlds are often viewed in the context of online games, other forms of interaction are common. These include forums, wikis, chat rooms and video-conferences. Communities are born which have their own rules, topics, jokes and even language. Members of such communities can find like-minded people to interact with, whether this be through a shared passion, the wish to share information, or a desire to meet new people and experience new things.



World of Warcraft: This is a still from World of Warcraft, a popular online game in which players direct avatars who interact with one another.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z7C6LAEQUGs

Virtual Worlds: This video provides an overview of three different virtual worlds (There.com, Second Life, and World of Warcraft) and shows how different individuals and companies use the websites.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

6: Social Groups and Organization

6.1: Types of Social Groups
6.2: Functions of Social Groups
6.3: Large Social Groups
6.4: Bureaucracy
6.5: Group Dynamics
6.6: Social Structure in the Global Perspective

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6.1: Types of Social Groups

The Nature of Groups

A social group is two or more humans who interact with one another, share similar characteristics, and collectively have a sense of unity.

Learning Objectives

Contrast the social cohesion-based concept of a social group with the social identity concept

Key Points

- A social group exhibits some degree of social cohesion and is more than a simple collection or aggregate of individuals.
- Social cohesion can be formed through shared interests, values, representations, ethnic or social background, and kinship ties, among other factors.
- The social identity approach posits that the necessary and sufficient conditions for the formation of social groups is the awareness that an individual belongs and is recognized as a member of a group.
- The social identity approach posits that the necessary and sufficient conditions for the formation of social groups is the awareness that the individual belongs and is recognized as a member of a group.

Key Terms

- **social group**: A collection of humans or animals that share certain characteristics, interact with one another, accept expectations and obligations as members of the group, and share a common identity.
- **The social identity approach**: Posits that the necessary and sufficient condition for the formation of social groups is awareness of a common category membership.
- **The social cohesion approach**: More than a simple collection or aggregate of individuals, such as people waiting at a bus stop, or people waiting in a line.

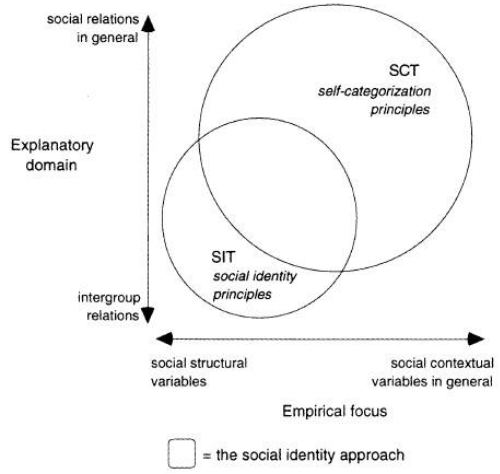
In the social sciences, a social group is two or more humans who interact with one another, share similar characteristics, and have a collective sense of unity. This is a very broad definition, as it includes groups of all sizes, from dyads to whole societies. A society can be viewed as a large group, though most social groups are considerably smaller. Society can also be viewed as people who interact with one another, sharing similarities pertaining to culture and territorial boundaries.

A social group exhibits some degree of social cohesion and is more than a simple collection or aggregate of individuals, such as people waiting at a bus stop or people waiting in a line. Characteristics shared by members of a group may include interests, values, representations, ethnic or social background, and kinship ties. One way of determining if a collection of people can be considered a group is if individuals who belong to that collection use the self-referent pronoun “we;” using “we” to refer to a collection of people often implies that the collection thinks of itself as a group. Examples of groups include: families, companies, circles of friends, clubs, local chapters of fraternities and sororities, and local religious congregations.

Renowned social psychologist Muzafer Sherif formulated a technical definition of a social group. It is a social unit consisting of a number of individuals interacting with each other with respect to:

1. common motives and goals;
2. an accepted division of labor;
3. established status relationships;
4. accepted norms and values with reference to matters relevant to the group; and
5. the development of accepted sanctions, such as raise and punishment, when norms were respected or violated.

Explicitly contrasted with a social cohesion-based definition for social groups is the social identity perspective, which draws on insights made in social identity theory. The social identity approach posits that the necessary and sufficient conditions for the formation of social groups is “awareness of a common category membership” and that a social group can be “usefully conceptualized as a number of individuals who have internalized the same social category membership as a component of their self concept. ” Stated otherwise, while the social cohesion approach expects group members to ask “who am I attracted to? ” the social identity perspective expects group members to simply ask “who am I? ”



Social Identity Approach: The explanatory profiles of social identity and self-categorization theories.



Law Enforcement Officials: A law enforcement official is a social category, not a group. However, law enforcement officials who all work in the same station and regularly meet to plan their day and work together would be considered part of a group.

Primary Groups

A primary group is typically a small social group whose members share close, personal, enduring relationships.

Learning Objectives

List at least three defining characteristics of a primary group

Key Points

- Primary groups are marked by concern for one another, shared activities and culture, and long periods of time spent together. They are psychologically comforting and quite influential in developing personal identity.
- Families and close friends are examples of primary groups.
- The goal of primary groups is actually the relationships themselves rather than achieving some other purpose.
- The concept of the primary group was introduced by Charles Cooley in his book, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*.

Key Terms

- **Close friends**: They are examples of primary groups.
- **group**: A number of things or persons being in some relation to one another.
- **relationship**: Connection or association; the condition of being related.

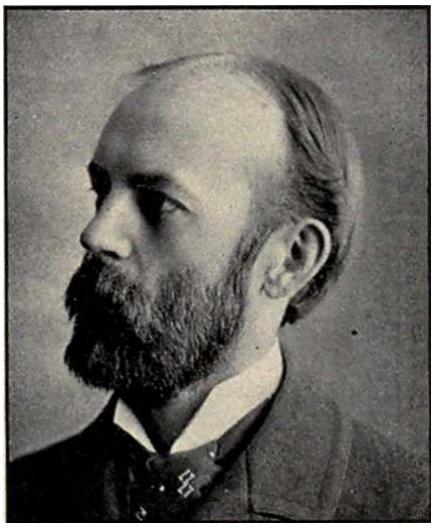
Sociologists distinguish between two types of groups based upon their characteristics. A primary group is typically a small social group whose members share close, personal, enduring relationships. These groups are marked by concern for one another, shared activities and culture, and long periods of time spent together. The goal of primary groups is actually the relationships themselves rather than achieving some other purpose. Families and close friends are examples of primary groups.

Charles Cooley

The concept of the primary group was introduced by Charles Cooley, a sociologist from the Chicago School of sociology, in his book *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind* (1909). Primary groups play an important role in the development of personal identity. Cooley argued that the impact of the primary group is so great that individuals cling to primary ideals in more complex associations and even create new primary groupings within formal organizations. To that extent, he viewed society as a constant experiment in enlarging social experience and in coordinating variety. He, therefore, analyzed the operation of such complex social forms as formal institutions and social class systems and the subtle controls of public opinion.

Functions of Primary Groups

A primary group is a group in which one exchanges implicit items, such as love, caring, concern, support, etc. Examples of these would be family groups, love relationships, crisis support groups, and church groups. Relationships formed in primary groups are often long lasting and goals in themselves. They also are often psychologically comforting to the individuals involved and provide a source of support and encouragement.



Charles Cooley: The concept of the primary group was introduced by Charles Cooley, a sociologist from the Chicago School of sociology, in his book, “Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind” (1909).



Families as Social Groups: This family from the 1970s would be an example of a primary group.

Secondary Groups

Secondary groups are large groups whose relationships are impersonal and goal oriented; their relationships are temporary.

Learning Objectives

Outline the main distinctions between primary and secondary groups

Key Points

- The distinction between primary and secondary groups was originally proposed by Charles Cooley. He termed them “secondary” because they generally develop later in life and are much less likely to be influential on one’s identity than primary groups.
- Secondary relationships involve weak emotional ties and little personal knowledge of one another. In contrast to primary groups, secondary groups don’t have the goal of maintaining and developing the relationships themselves.
- Secondary groups include groups in which one exchanges explicit commodities, such as labor for wages, services for payments, and such. They also include university classes, athletic teams, and groups of co-workers.

Key Terms

- **primary group**: It is typically a small social group whose members share close, personal, enduring relationships. These groups are marked by concern for one another, shared activities and culture, and long periods of time spent together.
- **group**: A number of things or persons being in some relation to one another.
- **Secondary groups**: They are large groups whose relationships are impersonal and goal-oriented.

Unlike first groups, secondary groups are large groups whose relationships are impersonal and goal oriented. People in a secondary group interact on a less personal level than in a primary group, and their relationships are generally temporary rather than long lasting. Some secondary groups may last for many years, though most are short term. Such groups also begin and end with very little significance in the lives of the people involved.

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Charles Cooley

The distinction between primary and secondary groups was originally proposed by Charles Cooley. He labeled groups as “primary” because people often experience such groups early in their life and such groups play an important role in the development of personal identity. Secondary groups generally develop later in life and are much less likely to be influential on one’s identity.

Functions

Since secondary groups are established to perform functions, people’s roles are more interchangeable. A secondary group is one you have chosen to be a part of. They are based on interests and activities. They are where many people can meet close friends or people they would just call acquaintances. Secondary groups are also groups in which one exchanges explicit commodities, such as labor for wages, services for payments, etc. Examples of these would be employment, vendor-to-client

relationships, a doctor, a mechanic, an accountant, and such. A university class, an athletic team, and workers in an office all likely form secondary groups. Primary groups can form within secondary groups as relationships become more personal and close.



Classmates as Secondary Groups: A class of students is generally considered a secondary group.



Doctors as Secondary Groups: The doctor-patient relationship is another example of secondary groups.

In-Groups and Out-Groups

In-groups are social groups to which an individual feels he or she belongs, while an individual doesn't identify with the out-group.

Learning Objectives

Recall two of the key features of in-group biases toward out-groups

Key Points

- In- group favoritism refers to a preference and affinity for one's in-group over the out-group, or anyone viewed as outside the in-group.
- One of the key determinants of group biases is the need to improve self-esteem. That is individuals will find a reason, no matter how insignificant, to prove to themselves why their group is superior.
- Intergroup aggression is any behavior intended to harm another person, because he or she is a member of an out-group, the behavior being viewed by its targets as undesirable.
- The out-group homogeneity effect is one's perception of out-group members as more similar to one another than are in-group members (e.g., "they are alike; we are diverse").
- Prejudice is a hostile or negative attitude toward people in a distinct group, based solely on their membership within that group.
- A stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members.

Key Terms

- **in-group bias**: It refers to a preference and affinity for one's in-group over the out-group, or anyone viewed as outside the in-group.
- **Intergroup aggression**: It is any behavior intended to harm another person because he or she is a member of an out-group, the behavior being viewed by its targets as undesirable.
- **In-group favoritism**: It refers to a preference and affinity for one's in-group over the out-group, or anyone viewed as outside the in-group. This can be expressed in evaluation of others, linking, allocation of resources and many other ways.

In sociology and social psychology, in-groups and out-groups are social groups to which an individual feels as though he or she belongs as a member, or towards which they feel contempt, opposition, or a desire to compete, respectively. People tend to hold positive attitudes towards members of their own groups, a phenomenon known as in-group bias. The term originates from social identity theory which grew out of the work of social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner.



Henri Tajfel: The in-group and out-group concepts originate from social identity theory, which grew out of the work of social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner.

In-group favoritism refers to a preference and affinity for one's in-group over the out-group or anyone viewed as outside the in-group. This can be expressed in evaluation of others, linking, allocation of resources, and many other ways. A key notion in understanding in-group/out-group biases is determining the psychological mechanism that drives the bias. One of the key determinants of group biases is the need to improve self-esteem. That is individuals will find a reason, no matter how insignificant, to prove to themselves why their group is superior.

Intergroup aggression is any behavior intended to harm another person because he or she is a member of an out group. Intergroup aggression is a by product of in-group bias, in that if the beliefs of the in-group are challenged or if the in-group feels threatened, then they will express aggression toward the out-group. The major motive for intergroup aggression is the perception of a conflict of interest between in-group and out-group. The way the aggression is justified is through dehumanizing the out-group, because the more the out-group is dehumanized the "less they deserve the humane treatment enjoined by universal norms. "



French Stereotypes: Prejudice is similar to stereotype in that a stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members.

The out-group homogeneity effect is one's perception of out-group members as more similar to one another than are in-group members, e.g. "they are alike; we are diverse. " The out-group homogeneity effect has been found using a wide variety of different social groups, from political and racial groups to age and gender groups. Perceivers tend to have impressions about the diversity or variability of group members around those central tendencies or typical attributes of those group members. Thus, out-group stereotypicality judgments are overestimated, supporting the view that out-group stereotypes are over-generalizations In an experiment testing out-group homogeneity, researchers revealed that people of other races are perceived to look more alike than members of one's own race. When white students were shown faces of a few white and a few black individuals, they later more accurately recognized white faces they had seen and often falsely recognized black faces not seen before. The opposite results were found when subjects consisted of black individuals.

Prejudice is a hostile or negative attitude toward people in a distinct group, based solely on their membership within that group. There are three components. The first is the affective component, representing both the type of emotion linked with the attitude and the severity of the attitude. The second is a cognitive component, involving beliefs and thoughts that make up the attitude. The third is a behavioral component, relating to one's actions – people do not just hold attitudes, they act on them as well. Prejudice primarily refers to a negative attitude about others, although one can also have a positive prejudice in favor of something. Prejudice is similar to stereotype in that a stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members.

Reference Groups

Sociologists call any group that individuals use as a standard for evaluating themselves and their own behavior a reference group.

Learning Objectives

Explain the purpose of a reference group

Key Points

- Social comparison theory argues that individuals use comparisons with others to gain accurate self-evaluations and learn how to define the self. A reference group is a concept referring to a group to which an individual or another group is compared.
- Reference groups provide the benchmarks and contrast needed for comparison and evaluation of group and personal characteristics.
- Robert K. Merton hypothesized that individuals compare themselves with reference groups of people who occupy the social role to which the individual aspires.

Key Terms

- **self-identity**: a multi-dimensional construct that refers to an individual's perception of "self" in relation to any number of characteristics, such as academics and non academics, gender roles and sexuality, racial identity,and many others.
- **social role**: it is a set of connected behaviors, rights, and obligations as conceptualized by actors in a social situation.
- **reference group**: it is a concept referring to a group to which an individual or another group is compared.

Social comparison theory is centered on the belief that there is a drive within individuals to gain accurate self-evaluations.

Individuals evaluate their own opinions and define the self by comparing themselves to others. One important concept in this theory is the reference group. A reference group refers to a group to which an individual or another group is compared. Sociologists call any group that individuals use as a standard for evaluating themselves and their own behavior a reference group.

Reference groups are used in order to evaluate and determine the nature of a given individual or other group's characteristics and sociological attributes. It is the group to which the individual relates or aspires to relate himself or herself psychologically. Reference groups become the individual's frame of reference and source for ordering his or her experiences, perceptions, cognition, and ideas of self. It is important for determining a person's self-identity, attitudes, and social ties. These groups become the basis of reference in making comparisons or contrasts and in evaluating one's appearance and performance.

Robert K. Merton hypothesized that individuals compare themselves with reference groups of people who occupy the social role to which the individual aspires. Reference groups act as a frame of reference to which people always refer to evaluate their achievements, their role performance, aspirations and ambitions. A reference group can either be from a membership group or non-membership group.

An example of a reference group is a group of people who have a certain level of affluence. For example, an individual in the U.S. with an annual income of $80,000, may consider himself affluent if he compares himself to those in the middle of the income strata, who earn roughly $32,000 a year. If, however, the same person considers the relevant reference group to be those in the top 0.1% of households in the U.S., those making $1.6 million or more, then the individual's income of $80,000 would make him or her seem rather poor.



Reference group: Reference groups provide the benchmarks and contrast needed for comparison and evaluation of group and personal characteristics.



Reference group: Reference groups become the individual's frame of reference and source for ordering his or her experiences, perceptions, cognition, and ideas of self.

Social Networks

A social network is a social structure between actors, connecting them through various social familiarities.

Learning Objectives

Diagram, in miniature, your social networks using nodes and ties

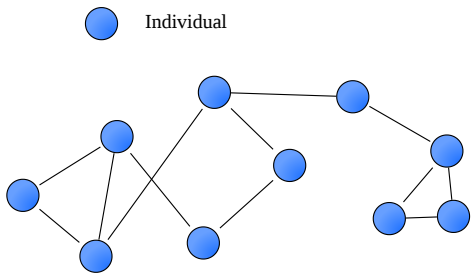
Key Points

- The study of social networks is called both "social network analysis" and "social network theory ".
- Social network theory views social relationships in terms of nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors within the networks, and ties are the relationships between the actors.
- In sociology, social capital is the expected collective or economic benefits derived from the preferential treatment and cooperation between individuals and groups.
- The rule of 150 states that the size of a genuine social network is limited to about 150 members.
- The small world phenomenon is the hypothesis that the chain of social acquaintances required to connect one arbitrary person to another arbitrary person anywhere in the world is generally short.
- Milgram also identified the concept of the familiar stranger, or an individual who is recognized from regular activities, but with whom one does not interact.
- Milgram also identified the concept of the familiar stranger, or an individual who is recognized from regular activities, but with whom one does not interact.

Key Terms

- **node**: They are the individual actors within the networks, and ties are the relationships between the actors.
- **social capital**: The good will, sympathy, and connections created by social interaction within and between social networks.

A social network is a social structure between actors, either individuals or organizations. It indicates the ways in which they are connected through various social familiarities, ranging from casual acquaintance to close familial bonds. The study of social networks is called both “social network analysis” and “social network theory. ” Research in a number of academic fields has demonstrated that social networks operate on many levels, from families up to the level of nations, and play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals. Sociologists are interested in social networks because of their influence on and importance for the individual. Social networks are the basic tools used by individuals to meet other people, recreate, and to find social support.



Social Network Illustration: An example of a social network diagram

Social network theory views social relationships in terms of nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors within the networks, and ties are the relationships between the actors. There can be many kinds of ties between the nodes. In its most simple form, a social network is a map of all of the relevant ties between the nodes being studied. The network can also be used to determine the social capital of individual actors. In sociology, social capital is the expected collective or economic benefits derived from the preferential treatment and cooperation between individuals and groups.

The rule of 150 states that the size of a genuine social network is limited to about 150 members. The rule arises from cross-cultural studies in sociology and especially anthropology of the maximum size of a village. The small world phenomenon is the hypothesis that the chain of social acquaintances required to connect one arbitrary person to another arbitrary person anywhere in the world is generally short. The concept gave rise to the famous phrase “six degrees of separation” after a 1967 small world experiment by psychologist Stanley Milgram that found that two random U.S. citizens were connected by an average of six acquaintances. Milgram also identified the concept of the familiar stranger, or an individual who is recognized from regular activities, but with whom one does not interact. Somebody who is seen daily on the train or at the gym, but with whom one does not otherwise communicate, is an example of a familiar stranger. If such individuals meet in an unfamiliar setting, for example, while travelling, they are more likely to introduce themselves than would perfect strangers, since they have a background of shared experiences.

Studies

Recent research suggests that the social networks of Americans are shrinking, and more and more people have no close confidants or people with whom they can share their most intimate thoughts. In 1985, the mean network size of individuals in the United States was 2.94 people. Networks declined by almost an entire confidant by 2004, to 2.08 people. Almost half, 46.3% of Americans, say they have only one or no confidants with whom they can discuss important matters. The most frequently occurring response to the question of how many confidants one has was zero in 2004.

Online Communities

On the Internet, social interactions can occur in online communities that preclude the need to be face-to-face.

Learning Objectives

Discuss at least three central features of online communities

Key Points

- An online community is a virtual community that exists online and whose members enable its existence through taking part in membership rituals.
- An online community can take the form of an information system where anyone can post content, such as a bulletin board system or one where only a restricted number of people can initiate posts, such as Weblogs.
- Cost plays a role in all aspects and stages for online communities. Fairly cheap and easily attainable technologies and programs have also influenced the increase in establishment of online communities.

Key Terms

- **information system**: Any data processing system, either manual or computerized
- **Online communities**: It is a virtual community that exists online and whose members enable its existence through taking part in membership ritual.
- **weblog**: A website in the form of an ongoing journal; a blog.

An online community is a virtual community that exists online and whose members enable its existence through taking part in membership rituals. An online community can take the form of an information system where anyone can post content, such as a bulletin board system or one where only a restricted number of people can initiate posts, such as Weblogs. Online communities

have also become a supplemental form of communication between people who know each other primarily in real life. Many means are used in social software separately or in combination, including text-based chat rooms and forums that use voice, video text, or avatars.

The Development of Online Communities

The idea of a community is not a new concept. What is new, however, is transferring it over into the online world. A community was previously defined as a group from a single location. If you lived in the designated area, you became a part of that community. Interaction between community members was done primarily face-to-face and in a social setting. This definition for community no longer applies. In the online world, social interactions no longer have to be face-to-face or based on proximity. Instead, they can be with literally anyone, anywhere. There is a set of values to consider when developing an online community. Some of these values include: opportunity, education, culture, democracy, human services, equality within the economy, information, sustainability, and communication.

Cost plays a role in all aspects and stages for online communities. Fairly cheap and easily attainable technologies and programs have also influenced the increase in establishment of online communities. While payment is necessary to participate in some online communities, such as certain dating websites or for monthly game subscriptions, many other sites are free to users such as the social networks Facebook and Twitter. Because of deregulation and increased Internet access, the popularity of online communities has escalated. Online communities provide instant gratification, entertainment, and learning.

Building Online Communities

Every online community has a distinct set of members who participate differently. A lurker observes the community and viewing content, but does not add to the community content or discussion. A novice engages the community, starts to provide content, and tentatively interacts in a few discussions. A regular consistently adds to the community discussion and content and interacts with other users. A leader is recognized as a veteran participant, connecting with regulars to make higher concepts and ideas. Finally, an elder leaves the community for a variety of reasons. For instance, the elder might experience a change in interests or lack the time to stay connected.

Studies

In 2001, consultants at McKinsey & Company did a study where they found that only 2% of transaction site customers returned after their first purchase. In contrast, 60% of new online communities users began using and visiting the sites regularly after their first experiences. Online communities have changed the game for retail firms, as they have forced them to change their business strategies.



Facebook: While payment is necessary to participate in some online communities, such as certain dating websites or for monthly game subscriptions, many other sites are free to users such as social networks Facebook and Twitter.

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6.2: Functions of Social Groups

Defining Boundaries

Social groups are defined and separated by boundaries.

Learning Objectives

Explain what tends to happen to individuals when their group boundaries are impermeable, and also when they are permeable

Key Points

- Cultural sociologists define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors…that separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership. " These boundaries are necessary for the existence of in-groups and out-groups.
- Where group boundaries are considered permeable (e.g., a group member may pass from a low status group into a high status group), individuals are more likely to engage in individual mobility strategies.
- Where group boundaries are considered impermeable, and where status relations are considered reasonably stable, individuals are predicted to engage in social creativity behaviors.
- One important factor in how symbolic boundaries function is how widely they are accepted as valid. Symbolic boundaries are a "necessary but insufficient" condition for social change.
- According to sociologists, it is "only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can they take on a constraining character… and become social boundaries. " Thus, rituals and traditions to define boundaries are extremely influential in determining how groups interact.
- In the social sciences, the word "clique" is used to describe a group of 2 to 12 "persons who interact with each other more regularly and intensely than others in the same setting. "

Key Terms

- **symbolic boundary**: Conceptual distinctions made by social actors that separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership.
- **individual mobility**: The ability of an individual to move from one social group to another.

Social groups are defined by boundaries. Cultural sociologists define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors…that separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership. " In-groups, or social groups to which an individual feels he or she belongs as a member, and out-groups, or groups with which an individual does not identify, would be impossible without symbolic boundaries.

Permeability of Group Boundaries

The perceived permeability of group boundaries is important in determining how members define their identity. Where group boundaries are considered permeable (e.g., a group member may pass from a low status group into a high status group), individuals are more likely to engage in individual mobility strategies. That is, individuals "disassociate from the group and pursue individual goals designed to improve their personal lot rather than that of their in-group. "



Children and Marbles: Early childhood peers engaged in parallel play.

Where group boundaries are considered impermeable, and where status relations are considered reasonably stable, individuals are predicted to engage in social creativity behaviors. Here, without changing necessarily the objective resources of in the in-group or the out-group, low status in-group members are still able to increase their positive distinctiveness. This may be achieved by comparing the in-group to the out-group on some new dimension, changing the values assigned to the attributes of the group, and choosing an alternative out-group by which to compare the in-group.

Defining Boundaries

One important factor in how symbolic boundaries function is how widely they are accepted as valid. Symbolic boundaries are a "necessary but insufficient" condition for social change. According to sociologists, it is "only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can they take on a constraining

character… and become social boundaries. ” Thus, rituals and traditions to define boundaries are extremely influential in determining how groups interact.

Emile Durkheim was interested in this idea. He saw the symbolic boundary between the sacred and the profane as the most profound of all social facts, and the one from which lesser symbolic boundaries were derived. Rituals, whether secular or religious, were for Durkheim the means by which groups maintained their symbolic and moral boundaries. Mary Douglas has subsequently emphasized the role of symbolic boundaries in organizing experience, private and public, even in a secular society.

Choosing Leaders

Leadership is the ability to organize a group of people to achieve a common purpose.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the seven types of leadership (functional, autocratic, democratic, laissez-faire, expressive, authoritarian, and toxic) arguing which one is best

Key Points

- Situational theory states that the times produce the person and not the other way around.
- Functional leadership theory argues that the leader ‘s main job is to see that whatever is necessary to group needs is taken care of.
- Under the autocratic leadership style, all decision-making powers are centralized in the leader.
- The democratic leadership style consists of the leader sharing the decision-making abilities with group members.
- In the laissez-faire leadership style, a person may be in a leadership position without providing leadership, leaving the group to fend for itself.
- A toxic leader is someone who leaves the group in a worse-off condition than when he or she first found them.
- A toxic leader is someone who leaves the group in a worse-off condition than when he or she first found them.

Key Terms

- **Toxic leadership**: A toxic leader is someone who has responsibility over a group of people or an organization, and who abuses the leader-follower relationship by leaving the group or organization in a worse-off condition than when he/she first found them.
- **Autocratic leadership**: All decision-making powers are centralized in the leader, as with dictators.
- **Trait theory of leadership**: It is defined as integrated patterns of personal characteristics that reflect a range of individual differences and foster consistent leader effectiveness across a variety of group and organizational situations
- **leader**: one who organizes or directs a group of people

Leadership is the ability to organize a group of people to achieve a common purpose. Although the leader may or may not have any formal authority, students of leadership have produced theories involving traits, situational interaction, function, behavior, power, vision and values, charisma, and intelligence, among others. A leader is somebody who people follow, somebody who guides or directs others.

Theories of Leadership

The trait theory of leadership seeks to find attributes that all leaders possess. According to researchers of leadership, all individuals can and do emerge as leaders across a variety of situations and tasks. Significant relationships exist between leadership and such individual traits as: intelligence, adjustment, extraversion, consciousness, openness to experience, and general self-efficacy.

Considering the criticisms of the trait theory outlined above, several researchers have begun to adopt a different perspective of leader individual differences–the leader attribute pattern approach. In contrast to the traditional approach, the leader attribute pattern approach is based on theorists’ arguments that the influence of individual characteristics on outcomes is best understood by considering the person as an integrated totality rather than a summation of individual variables.

Situational theory also appeared as a reaction to the trait theory of leadership. Social scientists argued that history was more than the result of intervention of great men. Herbert Spencer (1884) said that the times produce the person and not the other way around. This theory assumes that different situations call for different characteristics; according to this group of theories, no single optimal psychographic profile of a leader exists. By contrast, functional leadership theory is a particularly useful theory for addressing specific leader behaviors expected to contribute to organizational or unit effectiveness. This theory argues that the leader’s main job is to see that whatever is necessary to group needs is taken care of; thus, a leader can be said to have done their job well when they have contributed to group effectiveness and cohesion.

Styles of Leaderships

Leadership style refers to a leader’s behavior. It is the result of the philosophy, personality, and experience of the leader. Under the autocratic leadership style, all decision-making powers are centralized in the leader, as with dictators. The democratic leadership style consists of the leader sharing the decision-

making abilities with group members by promoting the interests of the group members and by practicing social equality. This style of leadership works well because people feel their voice is being heard, but it can result in fighting and animosity if opinions clash and decisions can not be reached. In the laissez-faire leadership style, a person may be in a leadership position without providing leadership, leaving the group to fend for itself. Subordinates are given a free hand in deciding their own policies and methods. Expressive leaders are concerned about the emotional well-being of the group and want the group to function harmoniously. Authoritarian leaders are dictator-like; they make all the decisions for the group and have the final say, regardless of other's feelings or opinions. Finally, someone with a toxic leadership style is a person who has responsibility over a group of people or an organization, and who abuses the leader-follower relationship by leaving the group or organization in a condition that's worse than when he/she originally found it.



Nelson Mandela: Nelson Mandela, the President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999, is an example of democratic leadership.



Autocratic leadership: Benito Mussolini, a fascist dictator who ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943, is an example of autocratic leadership, where all decision-making powers were centralized on him.

Making Decisions

Decision-making is the mental processes resulting in the selection of a course of action among several alternative scenarios.

Learning Objectives

Describe three examples of voting which can be used to come to a decision

Key Points

- Groups face unique challenges in decision-making, and as a result there are various decision-making strategies used by groups.
- Consensus decision-making requires that a majority approve a given course of action, but that the minority agrees to go along with the course of action.
- When a consensus is impossible or impractical, voting can be used to come to a decision. Range voting, majority voting, and plurality voting are three examples of this type of decision-making.
- Group polarization refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members.
- Groupthink is the mode of thinking that happens when the desire for harmony in a decision-making group overrides a realistic appraisal of alternatives. Group members try to minimize conflict and reach a consensus decision without critical evaluation of alternative ideas or viewpoints.

- Groupthinking is the mode of thinking that happens when the desire for harmony in a decision-making group overrides a realistic appraisal of alternatives.
- Group polarization refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members.

Key Terms

- **Consensus decision-making**: It is a group decision making process that seeks the consent, not necessarily the agreement of participants and the resolution of objections.
- **groupthink**: A process of reasoning or decision making by a group, especially one characterized by uncritical acceptance or conformity to a perceived majority view.
- **Group polarization**: It refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members.

Decision-making is the mental process resulting in the selection of a course of action among several alternative scenarios. Every decision-making process produces a final choice. Group decision-making is the process used when individuals are brought together in a group to solve problems. According to the idea of synergy, decisions made collectively tend to be more effective than decisions made by a single individual. However, there are situations in which the decisions made by a collection of individuals are riddled with error, or poor judgment. For example, groups high in cohesion have been noted to have a negative effect on group decision making and hence on group effectiveness.

Formal Systems for Making Decisions

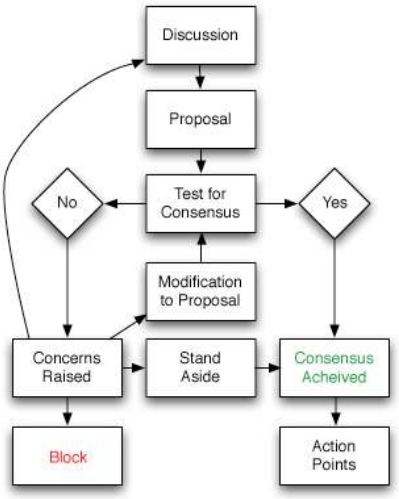
Consensus decision-making tries to avoid "winners" and "losers". Consensus requires that a majority approve a given course of action, but that the minority agrees to go along with the course of action. In other words, if the minority opposes the course of action, consensus requires that the course of action be modified to remove objectionable features.

When a consensus is impossible, impractical, or undesirable, different voting systems can be used for a group to decide on an outcome. Three examples are range voting, majority voting, and plurality voting. Range voting lets each member score one or more of the available options. The option with the highest average is chosen. Majority voting requires support from more than 50% of the members of the group. Plurality voting is where the largest block in a group decides, even if it falls short of a majority.

Social Settings

Decision making in groups is sometimes examined separately as process and outcome. Groupthink is a psychological phenomenon that occurs within groups of people. It is the mode of thinking that happens when the desire for harmony in a decision-making group overrides a realistic appraisal of alternatives. Group members try to minimize conflict and reach a consensus decision without critical evaluation of alternative ideas or viewpoints.

Similarly, group polarization refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members. These more extreme decisions are towards greater risk if the individual's initial tendency is to be risky and towards greater caution if individual's initial tendency is to be cautious. In 2009, an interesting occurrence of group polarization was found in a study conducted by Luhan, Kocher, and Sutter, in which subjects played a 'dictator game'. In this game, both individual and group decision-making was observed to see how individual preferences with respect to the allocation of money between a dictator and a recipient are transformed into a team decision. Their main finding was that team decisions were more selfish and competitive, less trusting and less altruistic than individual decisions. This study therefore offers evidence of group polarization, where the actions of individuals when in a group were more extreme than when the individual acted individually.



Consensus Decision-Making: This diagram shows how decisions are made by consensus. Consensus requires that a majority approve a given course of action, but that the minority agree to go along with the course of action.

Setting Goals

Goal setting involves establishing specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-targeted (S.M.A.R.T.) goals.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of the ways in which improving choice, effort, persistence, and cognition affect outcomes in goal-

setting

Key Points

- Setting goals affects outcomes in four ways: choice, effort, persistence, and cognition. Individuals tend to exhibit more of these positive qualities when they are working toward a goal.
- The enhancement of performance through goals requires feedback. Without feedback, goal setting is unlikely to work.
- Edwin A Locke concluded that 90% of laboratory and field studies involving specific and challenging goals led to higher performance than did easy goals or no goals at all.

Key Terms

- **feedback**: Critical assessment on information produced.
- **goal**: A desired result that one works to achieve.

Setting goals involves establishing specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-targeted (S.M.A.R.T.) benchmarks for results. Work on the theory of goal-setting suggests that it's an effective tool for making progress because participants in a group with a common goal are clearly aware of what is expected from them. On a personal level, setting goals helps people work toward their own objectives, which are most commonly financial or career-based goals.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=LKKwOdi1VhU

Setting Goals – A Story Time Running Journey: This video shows how setting goals can be used for sports – in this case, for running.

Elements of Goal-Setting

Setting goals affects outcomes in four ways: by improving choice, effort, persistence, and cognition. By choice, we mean that goals narrow attention and direct efforts to goal-relevant activities, and away from perceived undesirable and goal-irrelevant actions. Secondly, goals can lead to more effort. For example, if a person typically produces four widgets an hour, and sets the goal of producing six, he may work more intensely toward the goal. Third, through improved persistence, someone becomes more prone to work through setbacks when pursuing a goal. Finally, by cognition, we mean that goals can lead individuals to develop and change their behavior.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Five Great Reasons Why You Should Set Goals: Goal-setting is used in business for sustainability, progress, and continued success.



Goal setting and achievement: Athletes set goals during the training process. Through choice, effort, persistence, and cognition, they can prepare to compete.

The enhancement of performance through goals requires feedback. Goal setting and feedback go hand in hand, for without feedback, goal setting is unlikely to work. Providing feedback on short-term objectives helps to sustain motivation and commitment to a goal. Feedback should also be provided on the strategies followed to achieve the goals and the final outcomes achieved as well. Goal-setting may have little effect if individuals can't see the results of their performance in relation to the goal.

Studies in Goal-Setting

The first empirical studies were performed by Cecil Alec Mace in 1935. Later in the mid-1960s, Edwin A. Locke began to examine goal setting, a topic he continued to explore for thirty

years. He concluded that 90% of laboratory and field studies involving specific and challenging goals led to higher performance than did easy goals or no goals at all.

Controlling the Behaviors of Group Members

The behavior of group members can be controlled indirectly through group polarization, groupthink, and herd behavior.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of group polarization, groupthink and herd behavior in real life

Key Points

- Group polarization is the phenomenon that when placed in group situations, people will make decisions and form opinions that are more extreme than when they are in individual situations.
- Groupthink is a psychological phenomenon that occurs within groups of people. It is the mode of thinking that happens when the desire for harmony in a decision-making group overrides a realistic appraisal of alternatives.
- Herd behavior describes how individuals in a group can act together without planned direction.
- All of these phenomena show how membership in a group can overcome individual behavior.

Key Terms

- **herd behavior**: The behavior exhibited by individuals in a group who act together without planned direction.
- **Group polarization**: It refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members.
- **groupthink**: A process of reasoning or decision making by a group, especially one characterized by uncritical acceptance or conformity to a perceived majority view.

Group polarization is the phenomenon that when placed in group situations, people will make decisions and form opinions that are more extreme than when they are in individual situations. The phenomenon has shown that after participating in a discussion group, members tend to advocate more extreme positions and call for riskier courses of action than individuals who did not participate in any such discussion.

The importance of group polarization is significant as it helps explain group behavior in a variety of real-life situations. Examples of these situations include public policy, terrorism, college life, and violence. For instance, group polarization can largely be seen at political conventions that are broadcasted nation wide before a large election. Generally, a political party holds the same ideals and fundamentals. At times, however, individual members of the party may waver on where they stand on smaller subjects. During a political convention, the political party as a group is strongly united in one location and is exposed to many persuasive speakers. As a result, each individual in the political party leaves more energized and steadfast on where the party as a whole stands with regards to all subjects and behind all candidates, even if they were wavering on where they stood before hand.

Groupthink

Groupthink is a psychological phenomenon that occurs within groups of people. It is the mode of thinking that happens when the desire for harmony in a decision-making group overrides a realistic appraisal of alternatives. Group members try to minimize conflict and reach a consensus decision without critical evaluation of alternative ideas or viewpoints. Irving Janis led the initial research on the groupthink theory. The United States Bay of Pigs Invasion was one of the primary political case studies that Janis used in explaining the theory of groupthink. The invasion plan was initiated by the Eisenhower administration, but when the Kennedy White House took over, it “uncritically accepted” the CIA’s plan. When some people attempted to present their objections to the plan, the Kennedy team as a whole ignored these objections and kept believing in the morality of their plan. Janis claimed the fiasco that ensued could have been prevented if the Kennedy administration had followed the same methods of preventing groupthink that it later followed during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Herd Behavior

Herd behavior describes how individuals in a group can act together without planned direction. The term pertains to the behavior of animals in herds, flocks and schools, and to human conduct during activities such as stock market bubbles and crashes, street demonstrations, sporting events, religious gatherings, episodes of mob violence and everyday decision-making, judgment and opinion-forming.



Groupthink in the Kennedy Administration: The United States Bay of Pigs Invasion, implemented by President John F. Kennedy, was one of the primary political case studies that Irving Janis used in explaining the theory of groupthink.

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6.3: Large Social Groups

Formal Structure

Formal structure of an organization or group includes a fixed set of rules for intra-organization procedures and structures.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast formal with informal organizations

Key Points

- A formal organization has its own set of distinct characteristics, including well-defined rules and regulations, an organizational structure, and determined objectives and policies, among other characteristics.
- Formal rules are often adapted to subjective interests, giving the practical everyday life of an organization more informality.
- The deviation from rulemaking on a higher level was documented for the first time in the Hawthorne studies in 1924. This deviation was referred to as informal organization.

Key Terms

- **procedure**: A particular method for performing a task.
- **Formal organization**: It is a fixed set of rules of intra-organization procedures and structures.

What are Formal Organizations?

The formal structure of a group or organization includes a fixed set of rules of procedures and structures, usually set out in writing, with a language of rules that ostensibly leave little discretion for interpretation. In some societies and organizations, such rules may be strictly followed; in others, they may be little more than an empty formalism.

Characteristics of Formal Organization

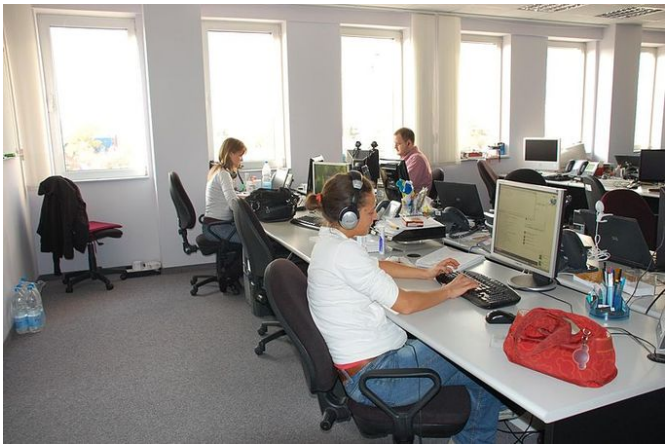
A formal organization has its own set of distinct characteristics. These include well-defined rules and regulation, an organizational structure, and determined objectives and policies, among other characteristics.

Distinction from Informal Organization

Formal rules are often adapted to subjective interests giving the practical everyday life of an organization more informality. Practical experience shows no organization is ever completely rule-bound: all real organizations represent some mix of formal and informal characteristics. When attempting to create a formal structure for an organization, it is necessary to recognize informal organization in order to create workable structures. Tended effectively, the informal organization complements the more explicit structures, plans, and processes of the formal organization. Informal organization can accelerate and enhance responses to unanticipated events, foster innovation, enable people to solve problems that require collaboration across boundaries, and create paths where the formal organization may someday need to pave a way.

The Hawthorne Studies

The deviation from rulemaking on a higher level was documented for the first time in the Hawthorne studies in 1924. This deviation was referred to as informal organization. At first this discovery was ignored and dismissed as the product of avoidable errors, until these unwritten laws of were recognized to have more influence on the fate of the enterprise than those conceived on organizational charts of the executive level. Numerous empirical studies in sociological organization research followed, particularly during the Human Relations Movement—the researchers of organizational development who study the behavior of people in groups, in particular workplace groups.



Formal Organization: A formal organization is a fixed set of rules of intra-organization procedures and structures. As such, it is usually set out in writing, with a language of rules that ostensibly leave little discretion for interpretation.

Informal Structure

The informal organization is the aggregate of behaviors, interactions, norms, and personal/professional connections.

Learning Objectives

Explain the function of informal groups within a formal organizational structure

Key Points

- Keith Davis suggests that informal groups serve at least four major functions within the formal organizational structure.

- Informal groups perpetuate the cultural and social values that the group holds dear.
- Informal groups provide social status and satisfaction that may not be obtained from the formal organization.
- Informal groups develop a communication channel to keep its members informed about what management actions will affect them in various ways.
- Informal groups provide social control by influencing and regulating behavior inside and outside the group.

Key Terms

- **Informal organizations**: It consists of a dynamic set of personal relationships, social networks, communities of common interest, and emotional sources of motivation. The informal organization evolves organically and spontaneously in response to changes in the work environment, the flux of people through its porous boundaries, and the complex social dynamics of its members.

What is Informal Organization?

The informal organization is the interlocking social structure that governs how people work together in practice. It is the aggregate of behaviors, interactions, norms, and personal/professional connections through which work gets done and relationships are built among people. It consists of a dynamic set of personal relationships, social networks, communities of common interest, and emotional sources of motivation. The informal organization evolves organically in response to changes in the work environment, the flux of people through its porous boundaries, and the complex social dynamics of its members.

Key Characteristics of Informal Organizations

The nature of the informal organization becomes more distinct when its key characteristics are juxtaposed with those of the formal organization. The informal organization is characterized by constant evolution; grass roots; being dynamic and responsive; requiring insider knowledge to be seen; treating people as individuals; being flat and fluid; being cohered by trust and reciprocity; and being difficult to pin down.

Functions of Informal Organizations

Keith Davis suggests that informal groups serve at least four major functions within the formal organizational structure.

First, they perpetuate the cultural and social values that the group holds dear. Certain values are usually already commonly held among informal group members. Day-to-day interaction reinforces these values that perpetuate a particular lifestyle and preserve group unity and integrity. For example, a college management class of 50 students may contain several informal groups that constitute the informal organization within the formal structure of the class.

Second, they provide social status and satisfaction that may not be obtained from the formal organization. In a large organization, a worker may feel like an anonymous number rather than a unique individual. Members of informal groups share jokes and gripes, eat together, play and work together, and are friends—contributing to personal esteem, satisfaction, and a feeling of worth.

Third, the informal group develops a communication channel to keep its members informed about what management actions will affect them in various ways. Many astute managers use the grapevine to “informally” convey certain information about company actions and rumors.

Finally, they provide social control by influencing and regulating behavior inside and outside the group. Internal control persuades members of the group to conform to its lifestyle. For example, if a student starts to wear a coat and tie to class, informal group members may convince the student that such attire is not acceptable and therefore to return to sandals, jeans, and T-shirts.

Business Approaches

Under rapid growth business approach, Starbucks, which grew from 100 employees to over 100,000 in just over a decade, provides structures to support improvisation. Under the Learning Organization model, following a four-year study of the Toyota Production System, Steven J. Spear and H. Kent Bowen concluded in *Harvard Business Review* that the legendary flexibility of Toyota’s operations is due to the way the scientific method is ingrained in its workers—not through formal training or manuals but through unwritten principles that govern how workers work, interact, construct, and learn.

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

“Gemeinschaft” (community) and “Gesellschaft” (society) are concepts referring to two different forms of social organization.

Learning Objectives

Explain the differences between Ferdinand Tönnies’s notions Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Key Points

- Gemeinschaft, often translated as ” community “, is a concept referring to individuals bound together by common norms, often because of shared physical space and shared beliefs.
- Gesellschaft, often translated as ” society “, refers to associations in which self-interest is the primary justification

for membership.

- The equilibrium in Gemeinschaft is achieved through morals, conformism, and exclusion (social control) while Gesellschaft keeps its equilibrium through police, laws, tribunals and prisons. Rules in Gemeinschaft are implicit, while Gesellschaft has explicit rules (written laws).
- Eric Hobsbawm has argued that as globalization turns the entire planet into an increasingly remote kind of Gesellschaft,
- Fredric Jameson highlights the ambivalent envy felt by those constructed by Gessellschaft for remaining enclaves of Gemeinschaft, even as they inevitably corrode their existence.

Key Terms

- **norm**: A rule that is enforced by members of a community.
- **institution**: An established organization, especially one dedicated to education, public service, culture, or the care of the destitute, poor etc.

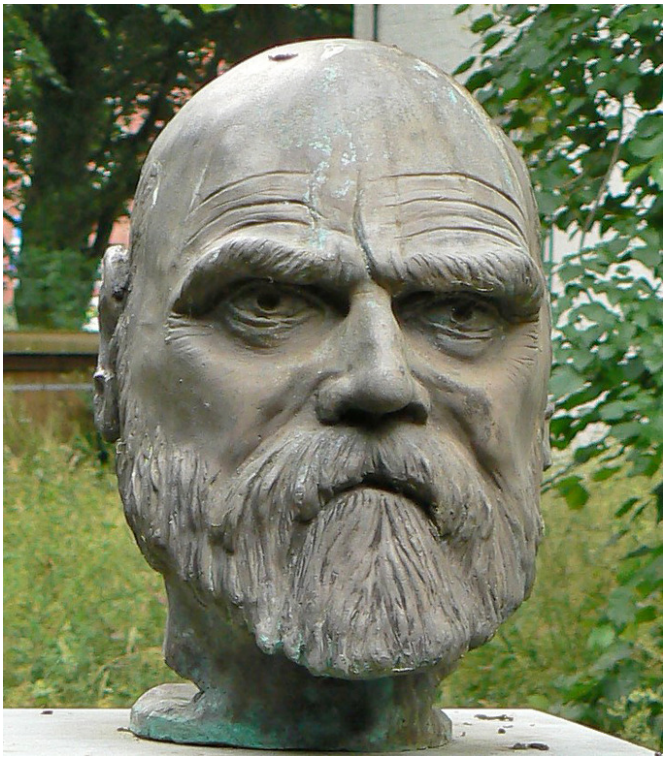
In Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (1887), Ferdinand Tönnies set out to develop concepts that could be used as analytic tools for understanding why and how the social world is organized.

Gemeinschaft, frequently translated as "community," refers to individuals bound together by common norms, often because of shared physical space and shared beliefs. Familial ties represent the purest form of gemeinschaft, although religious institutions are also a classic example of this type of relationship. Such groupings based on feelings of togetherness and mutual bonds are maintained by members of the group who see the existence of the group as their key goal. Characteristics of these groups include slight specialization and division of labor, strong personal relationships, and relatively simple social institutions.

Gesellschaft, frequently translated as "society," refers to associations in which self-interest is the primary justification for membership. A modern business is a good example of an association in which individuals seek to maximize their own self-interest, and in order to do so, an association to coordinate efforts is formed. The specialization of professional roles holds them together, and often formal authority is necessary to maintain structures. Characteristics of these groups include highly calculated divisions of labor, impersonal secondary relationships, and strong social institutions. Such groups are sustained by their members' individual aims and goals.

The equilibrium in Gemeinschaft is achieved through morals, conformism, and exclusion (social control), while Gesellschaft keeps its equilibrium through police, laws, tribunals and prisons. Amish and Hassidic communities are examples of Gemeinschaft, while state municipalities are types of Gesellschaft. Rules in Gemeinschaft are implicit, while Gesellschaft has explicit rules (written laws).

Tönnies' distinction between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, like others between tradition and modernity, has been criticized for over-generalizing differences between societies, and implying that all societies were following a similar evolutionary path, which he has never proclaimed.



Ferdinand Toennies: In Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (1887), Ferdinand Tönnies set out to develop the concepts Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft that could be used as analytic tools for understanding why and how the social world is organized.

Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

Mechanical and organic solidarity are concepts referring to different modes of establishing and maintaining social order and cohesion.

Learning Objectives

Apply Durkheim's concepts of mechanical and organic solidarity to groups in the real world

Key Points

- Social scientists have long sought to understand how and why individuals live together—especially in dense settings such as those found in urban environments.
- In *The Division of Labour in Society*, Emile Durkheim outlined two theories to explain how social order and solidarity are established and maintained.

- Solidarity describes connections between individuals that allows them to form a cohesive social unit. Durkheim argued solidarity is significant because it is a necessary component of a functioning civilization and a necessary component of a fulfilling human life.
- Durkheim described two forms of solidarity: mechanical and organic, roughly corresponding to smaller and larger societies.
- Mechanical solidarity refers to connection, cohesion, and integration born from homogeneity, or similar work, education, religiosity, and lifestyle. Organic solidarity is born from the interdependence of individuals in more advanced societies, particularly professional dependence.

Key Terms

- **Solidarity**: It is the integration—and degree and type of integration—shown by a society or group with people and their neighbors.
- **Collective Conscious**: A conscience for Durkheim is preeminently the organ of sentiments and representations; it is not the rational organ that the term consciousness would imply.
- **Emile Durkheim**: David Émile Durkheim (April 15, 1858 – November 15, 1917) was a French sociologist. He formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.

Social scientists have long sought to understand how and why individuals live together—especially in dense settings such as those found in urban environments. In *The Division of Labor in Society*, Emile Durkheim outlined two theories that attempt to explain how social order and solidarity is established and maintained. Solidarity describes connections between individuals that allow them to form a cohesive social network. Durkheim argued solidarity is significant because it is a necessary component of a functioning civilization and a necessary component of a fulfilling human life.

Durkheim described two forms of solidarity: mechanical and organic, roughly corresponding to smaller and larger societies.

Mechanical Solidarity

Mechanical solidarity refers to connection, cohesion, and integration born from homogeneity, or similar work, education, religiosity, and lifestyle. Normally operating in small-scale ” traditional ” societies, mechanical solidarity often describes familial networks; it is often seen as a function of individuals being submerged in a collective consciousness. Collective consciousness is achieved when individuals begin to think and act in relatively similar ways. Though traditional small towns, familial networks, and religious congregations are often cited examples of mechanical solidarity, dispersed religious communities would also qualify if they can be said to share a collective conscience.

Organic Solidarity

Organic solidarity is born from the interdependence of individuals in more advanced societies, particularly professional dependence. Although individuals perform very different roles in an organization, and they often have different values and interests, there is a cohesion that arises from the compartmentalization and specialization woven into “modern” life. For example, farmers produce the food to feed the factory workers who produce the tractors that allow the farmer to produce the food.

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6.4: Bureaucracy

Bureaucracies and Formal Groups

A bureaucracy is an organization of non-elected officials who implements the rules, laws, and functions of their institution.

Learning Objectives

Explain the function of bureaucrats

Key Points

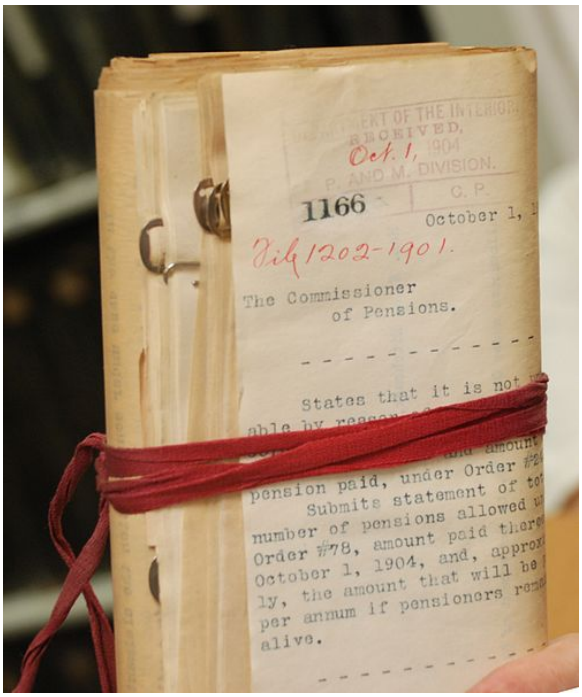
- A bureaucrat is a member of a bureaucracy and can comprise the administration of any organization of any size, though the term usually connotes someone within an institution of government.
- Public administration houses the implementation of government policy and an academic discipline that studies this implementation and that prepares civil servants for this work.
- Red tape is excessive regulation or rigid conformity to formal rules that is considered redundant and hinders or prevents action or decision-making. Examples include filling out paperwork, obtaining licenses, having multiple people or committees approve a decision and various low-level rules.
- Street-level bureaucracy is the subset of a public agency or government institution containing the individuals who carry out and enforce the actions required by laws and public policies.
- Street-level bureaucrats include police officers, firefighters, and other individuals, who on a daily basis interact with regular citizens and provide the force behind the given rules and laws in their areas of expertise.

Key Terms

- **Street-level bureaucracy**: It is the subset of a public agency or government institution containing the individuals who carry out and enforce the actions required by laws and public policies
- **red tape**: A derisive term for regulations or bureaucratic procedures that are considered excessive or excessively time- and effort-consuming.
- **Public administration**: It houses the implementation of government policy and an academic discipline that studies this implementation and that prepares civil servants for this work.

A bureaucracy is an organization of non-elected officials of a government or organization who implements the rules, laws, and functions of their institution. A bureaucrat is a member of a bureaucracy and can comprise the administration of any organization of any size, though the term usually connotes someone within an institution of government. Bureaucrat jobs were historically often “desk jobs,” though the modern bureaucrat may be found “in the field” as well as in an office. Public administration houses the implementation of government policy and an academic discipline that studies this implementation and that prepares civil servants for this work. In the US, civil servants and academics such as Woodrow Wilson promoted American civil service reform in the 1880s, moving public administration into academia.

Red tape is excessive regulation or rigid conformity to formal rules that is considered redundant or bureaucratic and hinders or prevents action or decision-making. It is usually applied to governments, corporations and other large organizations. Red tape generally includes filling out paperwork, obtaining licenses, having multiple people or committees approve a decision and various low-level rules that make conducting one’s affairs slower, more difficult, or both. Red tape can also include “filing and certification requirements, reporting, investigation, inspection and enforcement practices, and procedures”. The “cutting of red tape” is a popular electoral and policy promise. In the United States, a number of committees have discussed and debated Red Tape Reduction Acts. Across the Atlantic, the European Commission has a competition that offers an award for the “Best Idea for Red Tape Reduction”. The competition is “aimed at identifying innovative suggestions for reducing unnecessary bureaucracy stemming from European law”. In 2008, the European Commission held a conference entitled ‘Cutting Red Tape for Europe’. The goal of the conference was “reducing red tape and overbearing bureaucracy” to help “business people and entrepreneurs improve competitiveness”.



Bureaucratic Red Tape: Bundle of U.S. pension documents from 1906 bound in red tape.

As opposed to bureaucrats carrying out "desk jobs," street-level bureaucracy is the subset of a public agency or government institution containing the individuals who carry out and enforce the actions required by laws and public policies. Street-level bureaucracy is accompanied by the idea that these individuals vary the extents to which they enforce the rules and laws assigned to them. The concept of street-level bureaucracy was first coined by Michael Lipsky in 1980, who argued that "policy implementation in the end comes down to the people who actually implement it". He argued that state employees such as police and social workers should be seen as part of the "policy-making community" and as exercisers of political power. Street-level bureaucrats include police officers, firefighters, and other individuals, who on a daily basis interact with regular citizens and provide the force behind the given rules and laws in their areas of expertise.



Bureaucracy – Magritte: An illustration made in homage of the original painting by René Magritte depicting the faceless men that comprise bureaucracies.

Weber's Model for Bureaucracy

Weber identified in bureaucracies a rational-legal authority in which legitimacy is seen as coming from a legal order.

Learning Objectives

Describe Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy and his concept of the "iron cage"

Key Points

- Weber listed several preconditions for the emergence of bureaucracy: the growth in size of the population being administered, the growth in complexity of the administrative tasks being carried out, and the existence of a monetary economy requiring a more efficient administrative system.
- Weber identified in bureaucracies a rational-legal authority in which legitimacy is seen as coming from a legal order and the laws enacted within it. This is contrasted with traditional forms of authority, which arose from phenomena like kinship.
- Rationalization describes a transition in society, wherein traditional motivators of behavior, like values, beliefs, and emotions, are replaced with rational calculations.
- Weber termed the increasing rationalization in Western societies an "iron cage" that traps individuals in systems based solely on efficiency, rational calculation and control.

Key Terms

- **Rational-legal authority**: A form of leadership in which the authority of an organization or a ruling regime is largely tied to legal rationality, legal legitimacy and bureaucracy.
- **ideal type**: An ideal type is not a particular person or thing that exists in the world, but an extreme form of a concept

used by sociologists in theories. For example, although there is not a perfectly "modern" society, the term "modern" is used as an ideal type in certain theories to make large-scale points.

- **iron cage**: a theory proposed by Max Weber which argues that rationalization and rules trap humans in a figurative "cage" of thought based on rational calculations

Weberian bureaucracy was a term coined by Max Weber, a notable German sociologist, political economist, and administrative scholar, who contributed to the study of bureaucracy, administrative discourses, and literature during the mid-1800s and early 1900s. In his 1922 masterpiece, *Economy and Society*, Weber described many ideal types of public administration and governance. His critical study of the bureaucratization of society was one of the most enduring parts of this work. It was Weber who began the study of bureaucracy and whose works led to the popularization of this term. Many aspects of modern public administration date back to him. This is epitomized in the fact that a classic, hierarchically-organized civil service is still called a "Weberian civil service. "



Max Weber: Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced verstehen—understanding behaviors—as goal of sociology.

Weber listed the following as preconditions for the emergence of bureaucracy: the growth in size and density of the population being administered, the growth in complexity of the administrative tasks being carried out, and the existence of a monetary economy requiring a more efficient administrative system. As a result of the development of communication and transportation technologies, like telegraphs and automobiles, a more efficient administration became not only possible but demanded by the public. Accompanying this shift was an increasing democratization and rationalization of culture. This resulted in public demands for a new administrative system that treated all humans equally. Weber's ideal bureaucracy is characterized by the following:

- hierarchical organization
- delineated lines of authority with fixed areas of activity
- action taken on the basis of, and recorded in, written rules
- bureaucratic officials with expert training
- rules implemented by neutral officials
- and career advancement depending on technical qualifications judged by organization, not individuals

Rational-Legal Authority

Weber identified in bureaucracies a rational-legal authority in which legitimacy is seen as coming from a legal order. The majority of modern bureaucratic officials and political leaders represent this type of authority. However, while recognizing bureaucracy as the most efficient form of organization, and perhaps indispensable for the modern state, Weber also saw it as a threat to individual freedoms. For Weber, the implementation of bureaucracies in government was a kind of rationalization, in which traditional motivators for behavior were cast aside. Instead of utilizing traditions, emotions, or values to motivate behavior, in a bureaucracy, people used rational calculation. Regarding Western societies, Weber called this increasing rationalization an "iron cage" that trapped individuals in systems based solely on efficiency, rational calculation, and control. In his theory, the "iron cage" is the one set of rules and laws that we are all subjected to. According to Weber, the shift from old forms of mobility, like kinship, to new forms, like strict, legal rules, was a direct result of the growth of bureaucracy and capitalism.



Kafka and Weber: This is an illustration of the fiction writer, Franz Kafka, who wrote about bureaucratic nightmares, and the sociologist, Max Weber, who studied bureaucracies.

The "McDonaldization" of Society

Sociologist George Ritzer theorizes "McDonaldization" as a contemporary form of rationalization.

Learning Objectives

Explain how George Ritzer's categorizes efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control with reference to the McDonalds model

Key Points

- In Ritzer's reconceptualization, McDonaldization is the process of rationalization that Weber found inherent in bureaucracies extended to fast-food chains such as McDonalds under globalization.
- According to Ritzer, McDonaldization is comprised of four main components: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control.
- The first one, efficiency, is geared toward the minimization of time as the optimal method for accomplishing a task. The second, calculability, refers to the quantifiable objectives of fast-food chains, seeing quantity as quality.
- With the rise of predictability, the third component, all consumers can predict receiving the same service and the same product every time they interact with the McDonaldized organization. Under control, the fourth component, employees become standardized and replaced by non-human technologies.
- Under cultural hybridization, as McDonald's enters a country, consumer patterns are unified and local cultures are westernized.
- As a response, the process of de-Mcdonaldization offers alternatives to this model of production and organization.

Key Terms

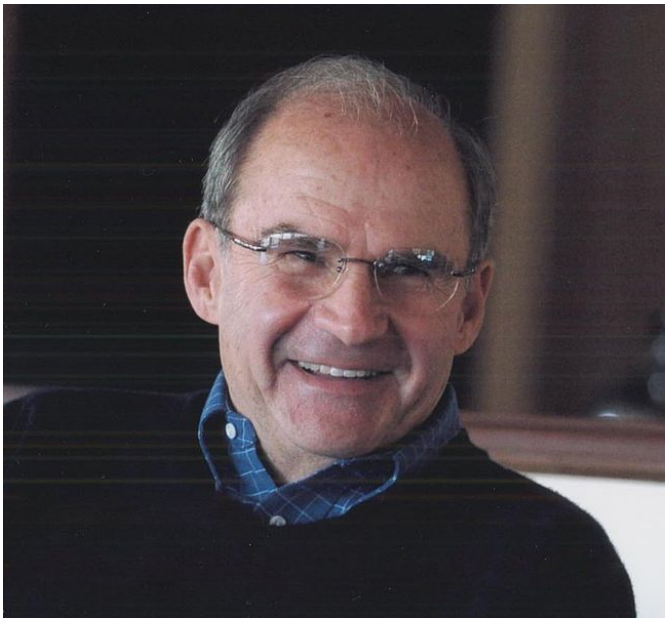
- **Max Weber**: (1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

"McDonaldization" is a term used by sociologist George Ritzer in his book *The McDonaldization of Society* (1993). McDonaldization as described by Ritzer is a reconceptualization of rationalization, or moving from traditional to rational modes of thought, and scientific management. In sociology, rationalization refers to the replacement of traditions, values, and emotions as motivators for behavior in society with rational, calculated ones. Where Max Weber used the model of the bureaucracy to represent the direction of this changing society, Ritzer sees the fast-food restaurant as having become a more representative contemporary paradigm in contemporary societies. In Ritzer's book, McDonald's serves as the case model of this process in the 1990s.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

The McDonaldization Theory of George Ritzer: "McDonaldization" is a term used by sociologist George Ritzer in his book The McDonaldization of Society (1993). He explains it occurs when a culture possesses the characteristics of a fast-food restaurant. McDonaldization is a reconceptualization of rationalization, or moving from traditional to rational modes of thought, and scientific management. Where Max Weber used the model of the bureaucracy to represent the direction of this changing society, Ritzer sees the fast-food restaurant as having become a more representative contemporary paradigm.



George Ritzer: George Ritzer is a sociologist who studies American patterns of consumption, globalization, metatheory, and modern and postmodern social theory.

Components of McDonaldization

According to Ritzer, McDonaldization is comprised of four main components: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. The first one, efficiency, is the optimal method for accomplishing a task. Efficiency in McDonaldization means that every aspect of the organization is geared toward the minimization of time. From a customer perspective, efficiency is achieving the fastest way to get from being hungry to being full.

The second component, calculability, refers to the quantifiable objectives of fast-food chains. McDonaldization developed the notion that quantity equals quality, and that a large amount of product delivered to the customer in a short amount of time is the same as a high quality product. This allows people to quantify how much they're getting versus how much they're paying. Workers in these organizations are judged by how fast they accomplish tasks instead of the quality of work they do. This relates to the idea of availability versus variety – you can get a lot of one thing, but not necessarily the thing you want. Increase in volume does not equate to increase in choice.



McDonald's: The sign at a McDonald's "drive-thru. " The "over 99 billion served" statement illustrates Ritzer's idea of calculability.

Third, predictability is the idea that no matter where a person goes, they will receive the same service and receive the same product every time they interact with the McDonaldized organization. This also applies to the workers in those organizations. Their tasks are highly repetitive, highly routine, and predictable.

Fourth, under control, employees become standardized and replaced by non-human technologies. Lastly, as part of standardization, cultural hybridization occurs. Ritzer argues that as McDonald's enters a country, consumer patterns are unified, and starting with the food chains, local cultures are westernized.

Ritzer also outlines irrationality of rationality as a fifth aspect of McDonaldization. As Ritzer said, "Irrationality means that rational systems are unreasonable systems. By that I mean that they deny the basic humanity, the human reason, of the people who work within or are served by them. " He further states that beyond dehumanization further irrationalities emerge; including the inefficient masses of red tape, over quantification leading to low quality work, unpredictability as employees grow unclear about what they are supposed to do, and the loss of control due to other inadequacies.

Examples

Junk-journalism, defined here as inoffensive and trivial news served up in palatable portions, is an example of Mcdonaldization. Another example could be McUniversities, which features modularized curricula, delivering degrees in a fast-track pick-and-mix fashion to satisfy all tastes. The diminished quality of these products can only be disguised by extensive advertising which constantly repackages them to look new. When we look at schools and classrooms across the world, there is an ever increasing similarity between that of Western classrooms and the rest of the world. This can be considered an example of how Western culture, focused on efficiency of transfer of knowledge, has spread around the rest of the world.

De-McDonaldization

As a response, the process of de-Mcdonaldization offers alternatives to this model of production and organization. Many corporations have been making an effort to deny the kind of rationalization similar to what Ritzer calls McDonaldization. Protests have also been arising in nation-states to protect localized economies and traditional values.

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6.5: Group Dynamics

Effects of Group Size on Stability and Intimacy

Since it is easier for fewer people to agree on goals and to coordinate their work, smaller groups are more cohesive than larger groups.

Learning Objectives

Relate group size to group cohesiveness

Key Points

- A group is said to be in a state of cohesion when its members possess bonds linking them to one another and to the group as a whole.
- An intimate community is one in which some members recognize and are recognized by all of the others, and most of the members recognize and are recognized by many of the others. Relationships in intimate communities tend to be more stable and the groups more cohesive.
- Dunbar's number is the suggested cognitive limit to the number of people with whom one can maintain stable social relationships. It is usually estimated to be around 150, and this serves as an upper bound on the size of intimate communities.

Key Terms

- **dunbar's number**: Dunbar's number is a suggested cognitive limit to the number of people with whom one can maintain stable social relationships.
- **cohesiveness**: The state of being cohesive.

A group is said to be in a state of cohesion when its members possess bonds linking them to one another and to the group as a whole. According to Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950), group cohesion develops from a field of binding social forces that act on members to stay in the group. Groups that possess strong unifying forces typically stick together over time, whereas groups that lack such bonds between members usually disintegrate.

The Role of Group Size

Since it is easier for fewer people to agree on goals and to coordinate their work, smaller groups are often more cohesive than larger groups. Group cohesiveness may suffer, though, if the group lacks enough members to perform its tasks well.

An intimate community is one in which some members recognize and are recognized by all of the others, and most of the members recognize and are recognized by many of the others. This is in contrast to (usually larger) communities where members are known and interact mostly within their own subgroup, such as a neighborhood, department, or occupation. The contrast between the two types is illustrated by comparing hamlet with town, military company with battalion, parish church with diocese, or a country school with a huge urban one.

The Limits of Group Size

Intimate communities seldom have more than about 150 members, a number derived from the "Dunbar's Number" concept. This is the suggested cognitive limit to the number of people with whom one can maintain stable social relationships. These are relationships in which an individual knows who each person is, and how each person relates to every other person. While no precise value has been unanimously agreed upon, it has been proposed to lie between 100 and 230, with a commonly used value of 150. The concept is based on studies of social animals, which have shown a correlation between the typical frontal brain capacity the members of a species has and the maximum size of the groups in which they live. Like animals, the number of relationships the human brain can handle is large but not unlimited.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Dunbar's Number: Dr. Robin Dunbar explains the concept of Dunbar's number.

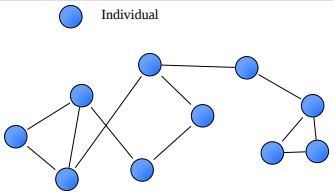


Diagram of a Network: Individuals in groups are connected to each other by social relationships.

Effects of Group Size on Attitude and Behavior

Size (number of people involved) is an important characteristic of groups, organizations and communities in which social behavior occurs.

Learning Objectives

Describe Georg Simmel's view on group size

Key Points

- A social group has been defined as two or more humans who interact with one another, share similar characteristics and collectively have a sense of unity. Groups can be categorized according to size.
- Individual behavior has been shown to be influenced by the presence of others. For example, an individual's performance at work or the individual's decision-making processes (as in the term "groupthink").
- Dyads and triads are the smallest social groups. Social interaction in a dyad is typically more intense because neither member shares the other's attention with anyone else. A triad is more stable because one member can act as a mediator if the relationship between the other two become strained.
- As an organization or community grows in size it is apt to experience changes in the way it operates. As the size of a group increases, the need for more organization or leadership also becomes more obvious.
- German sociologist Georg Simmel argued that as the group becomes greater, the individual becomes separated and grows more alone, isolated and segmented. Simmel's view was somewhat ambiguous with respect to group size's affect on the individual.

Key Terms

- **social group**: A collection of humans or animals that share certain characteristics, interact with one another, accept expectations and obligations as members of the group, and share a common identity.
- **impersonal**: Lacking warmth or emotion; cold.
- **dyad**: A pair of things standing in particular relation; dyadic relation.
- **triad**: a group of three people

In the social sciences a social group is defined as two or more humans who interact with one another, share similar characteristics and collectively have a sense of unity. Social groups come in a myriad of sizes and varieties. Groups can also be categorized in various ways, one of which is according to the number of people present within the group. This makes sense if the size of the group has consequences for the way group members relate with each other.

Individual behavior deviates substantially in a group setting; therefore, it is difficult to determine group behavior by looking solely at the individuals that comprise the group. Group attitudes and behavior depend upon several variables: size, structure, the purpose that the group serves, group development and various influences upon a group. Group dynamics refers to a system of behaviors and psychological processes occurring within a social group or between social groups. Individual behavior has been shown to be influenced by the presence of others. For example, an individual's performance at work or the individual's decision-making processes (as in the term "groupthink").

Effects of Group Size

Size (the number of people involved) is an important characteristic of groups, organizations and communities in which social behavior occurs.

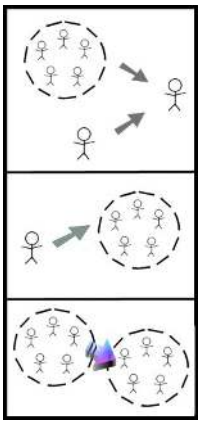
Dyads and triads are the smallest social groups. Social interaction in a dyad is typically more intense than in larger groups because neither member shares the other's attention with anyone else. A triad is more stable than a dyad because one member can act as a mediator should the relationship between the other two become strained.

As an organization or community grows in size it is apt to experience tipping points where the way it operates needs to change. The complexity of large groupings is partly because they are made up of interrelated subgroups. As the size of a group increases, the need for more organization or leadership also often becomes more obvious.



Crowds and Large Groups: This large group may share some traits (such as enjoyment of the concert that the crowd just witnessed), but likely vary in many other traits. Large groups introduce diversity of attitudes and behaviors.

German sociologist Georg Simmel argued that as the group becomes greater, the individual becomes separated and grows more alone, isolated and segmented. Simmel's view was somewhat ambiguous with respect to group size. On one hand, he believed that the bigger the group the better for the individual. In a larger group it would be harder to exert control on an individual, but there is a possibility of the individual becoming distant and impersonal.



Studying Group Attitudes and Behaviors: Sociologists study interactions within groups, and between both groups and individuals.

The Asch Experiment: The Power of Peer Pressure

The Asch conformity experiments were a series of studies conducted in the 1950s that demonstrated the power of conformity in groups.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the Asch experiment sought to measure conformity in groups

Key Points

- The Asch conformity experiments consisted of a group "vision test", where study participants were found to be more likely to conform to obviously wrong answers if first given by other "participants", who were actually working for the experimenter.
- The experiment found that over a third of subjects conformed to giving a wrong answer.
- In terms of gender, males show around half the effect of females (tested in same-sex groups). Conformity is also higher among members of an in-group.

Key Terms

- **conformity**: the ideology of adhering to one standard or social uniformity

Conducted by social psychologist Solomon Asch of Swarthmore College, the Asch conformity experiments were a series of studies published in the 1950s that demonstrated the power of conformity in groups. They are also known as the Asch paradigm. In the experiment, students were asked to participate in a group "vision test. " In reality, all but one of the participants were working for Asch (i.e. confederates), and the study was really about how the remaining student would react to their behavior.

Method

The original experiment was conducted with 123 male participants. Each participant was put into a group with five to seven confederates. The participants were shown a card with a line on it (the reference line), followed by another card with three lines on it labeled a, b, and c. The participants were then asked to say out loud which of the three lines matched in length the reference line, as well as other responses such as the length of the reference line to an everyday object, which lines were the same length, and so on.

Each line question was called a "trial. " The "real" participant answered last or next to last. For the first two trials, the subject would feel at ease in the experiment, as he and the other "participants" gave the obvious, correct answer. On the third trial, all the confederates would start giving the same wrong answer. There were 18 trials in total and the confederates answered incorrectly for 12 of them. These 12 were known as the "critical trials. "

The aim was to see whether the real participants would conform to the wrong answers of the confederates and change their answer to respond in the same way, despite it being the wrong answer.

Results

Dr. Asch thought that the majority of people would not conform to something obviously wrong, but the results showed that only 24% of the participants did not conform on any trial. Seventy five percent conformed at least once, 5% conformed every time, and when surrounded by individuals all voicing an incorrect answer, participants provided incorrect responses on a high proportion of the questions (32%). Overall, there was a 37% conformity rate by subjects averaged across all critical trials. In a control group, with no pressure to conform to an erroneous answer, only one subject out of 35 ever gave an incorrect answer.

Study Variations

Variations of the basic paradigm tested how many cohorts were necessary to induce conformity, examining the influence of just one cohort and as many as fifteen. Results indicated that one cohort has virtually no influence and two cohorts have only a small influence. When three or more cohorts are present, the tendency to conform increases only modestly. The maximum effect occurs with four cohorts. Adding additional cohorts does not produce a stronger effect.

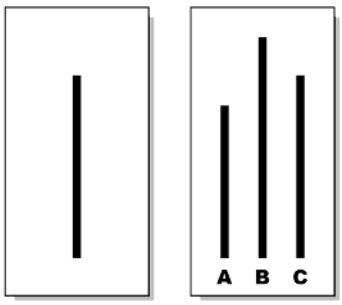
In terms of gender, males show around half the effect of females (tested in same-sex groups). Conformity is also higher among members of an in-group.

The unanimity of the confederates has also been varied. When the confederates are not unanimous in their judgment, even if only one confederate voices a different opinion, participants are much more likely to resist the urge to conform (only 5% to 10% conform) than when the confederates all agree. This result holds whether or not the dissenting confederate gives the correct answer. As long as the dissenting confederate gives an answer that is different from the majority, participants are more likely to give the correct answer.

This finding illuminates the power that even a small dissenting minority can have upon a larger group. This demonstrates the importance of privacy in answering important and life-changing questions, so that people do not feel pressured to conform. For example, anonymous surveys can allow people to fully express how they feel about a particular subject without fear of retribution or retaliation from others in the group or the larger society. Having a witness or ally (someone who agrees with the point of view) also makes it less likely that conformity will occur.

Interpretations

Asch suggested that this reflected poorly on factors such as education, which he thought must over-train conformity. Other researchers have argued that it is rational to use other people's judgments as evidence. Others have suggested that the high conformity rate was due to social norms regarding politeness, which is consistent with subjects' own claims that they did not actually believe the others' judgments and were indeed merely conforming.



Asch Experiment: One of the pairs of cards used in the experiment. The card on the left has the ref and the one on the right shows the three comparison lines.

The Milgram Experiment: The Power of Authority

The Milgram experiment found that most people are willing to obey authority figures over their personal objections.

Learning Objectives

Discuss two interpretations of the results of the Milgram experiment

Key Points

- The Milgram experiment on obedience to authority figures was a series of notable social psychology experiments conducted by Yale University psychologist Stanley Milgram in the 1960s.
- The Milgram experiment investigated whether study participants would obey commands to administer increasingly painful "shocks" to other particpants who were actually actors only pretending to be shocked.
- The original experiment found that 65 percent of participants deferred to the authority of the experimenter and administered the final 450 volt "shock".

Key Terms

- **authority figures**: A person that displays a form or a symbol of authority.
- **milgram experiment**: It was a series of notable social psychology experiments conducted by Yale University psychologist Stanley Milgram in the 1960s. It measured the willingness of study participants to obey an authority figure who instructed them to perform acts that conflicted with their personal conscience.

The Milgram experiment—based on obedience to authority figures—was a series of notable social psychology experiments conducted by Yale University psychologist Stanley Milgram in the 1960s. It measured the willingness of study participants to obey an authority figure who instructed them to perform acts that conflicted with their personal conscience.

Milgram devised his psychological study to answer the question of whether the millions participating in the Holocaust actually consciously shared the intent of its genocidal goals. Milgram's experiments suggested that the millions of accomplices were merely following orders, despite violating their moral beliefs.

The Milgram Experiment was also quite controversial, and considered by many scientists to be unethical and physically or psychologically abusive, motivating more thorough review boards and committee reviews for research with human subjects.

The Experiment

The volunteer subject used a list of word pairs to play the role of "teacher" with another participant, the "learner". In reality, the learner was a confederate working for the experimenter and only acting as a participant. The naïve participants drew slips of paper to determine their roles, but unknown to them, both slips said "teacher," and the confederate always claimed to have the slip that read "learner. " At this point, the "teacher" and "learner" were separated into different rooms where they could communicate but not see each other.

The teacher began by reading the list of word pairs to the learner. They would read the first word of each pair and four possible answers. The learner would press a button to indicate his response. If the answer was incorrect, the teacher was instructed administer an electric shock to the learner, with the voltage increasing in 15-volt increments for each wrong answer. If correct, the teacher would read the next word pair.

The teacher was given an electric shock from the electro-shock generator as a sample of the shock that the "learner" would supposedly receive during the experiment. The subjects believed that for each wrong answer, the learner was receiving actual shocks. In reality, there were no shocks. After the confederate was separated from the subject, the confederate set up a tape recorder integrated with the electro-shock generator, which played pre-recorded sounds for each shock level.

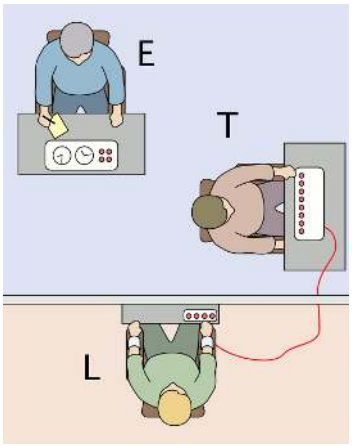
In one version of the experiment, the confederate told the participant that he had a heart condition. After a number of voltage level increases, the confederate started to bang on the wall that separated them from the participant. After several times banging on the wall and complaining about their heart condition, all responses by the learner would cease.

At this point, many people indicated their desire to stop the experiment and check on the learner. Some test subjects paused at 135 volts and began to question the purpose of the experiment. Most continued after being assured that they would not be held responsible.

If at any time the subject indicated his desire to halt the experiment, he was given a succession of verbal prods by the experimenter, in this order:

1. Please continue.
2. The experiment requires that you continue.
3. It is absolutely essential that you continue.
4. You have no other choice, you must go on.

If the subject still wished to stop after all four successive verbal prods, the experiment was halted. Otherwise, it was halted after the subject had given the maximum 450-volt shock three times in succession.



The Milgram Experiment Setup: The experimenter (E) orders the teacher (T), the subject of the experiment, to give what the latter believes are painful electric shocks to a learner (L), who is actually an actor and confederate. The subject believes that for each wrong answer, the learner was receiving actual electric shocks, though in reality there were no such punishments. Being separated from the subject, the confederate set up a tape recorder integrated with the electro-shock generator, which played pre-recorded sounds for each shock level.

Results

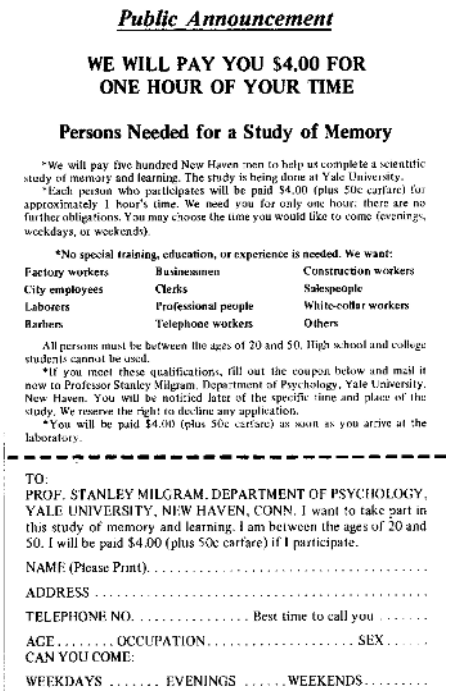
Before conducting the experiment, Milgram polled fourteen Yale University senior-year psychology majors to predict the behavior of 100 hypothetical teachers. All of the poll respondents believed that only a very small fraction of teachers would be prepared to inflict the maximum voltage.

In Milgram's first set of experiments, 65 percent (26 of 40) of experiment participants administered the experiment's final massive 450-volt shock, though many were very uncomfortable doing so. At some point, every participant paused and questioned the experiment, some saying they would refund the money they were paid for participating in the experiment.

Interpretations

Professor Milgram elaborated two theories explaining his results:

- The first is the theory of conformism, based on the Solomon Asch conformity experiments, describing the fundamental relationship between the group of reference and the individual person. It states that a subject who has neither ability nor expertise to make decisions, especially in a crisis, will leave decision making to the group and its hierarchy.
- The second is the agentic state theory, where, according to Milgram, "the essence of obedience consists in the fact that a person comes to view themselves as the instrument for carrying out another person's wishes, and they therefore no longer see themselves as responsible for their actions…"



Public Announcement

WE WILL PAY YOU $4.00 FOR ONE HOUR OF YOUR TIME

Persons Needed for a Study of Memory

*We will pay five hundred New Haven men to help us complete a scientific study of memory and learning. The study is being done at Yale University.

*Each person who participates will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) for approximately 1 hour's time. We need you for only one hour: there are no further obligations. You may choose the time you would like to come (evenings, weekdays, or weekends).

*No special training, education, or experience is needed. We want:

Factory workers	Businessmen	Construction workers
City employees	Clerks	Salespeople
Laborers	Professional people	White-collar workers
Barbers	Telephone workers	Others

All persons must be between the ages of 20 and 50. High school and college students cannot be used.

*If you meet these qualifications, fill out the coupon below and mail it now to Professor Stanley Milgram, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven. You will be notified later of the specific time and place of the study. We reserve the right to decline any application.

*You will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) as soon as you arrive at the laboratory.

TO:
PROF. STANLEY MILGRAM, DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN. I want to take part in this study of memory and learning. I am between the ages of 20 and 50. I will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) if I participate.

NAME (Please Print). . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . . .

TELEPHONE NO. . . . . Best time to call you . . . . . .

AGE . . . . . OCCUPATION. . . . . SEX . . . . .

CAN YOU COME:

WEEKDAYS . . . . . EVENINGS . . . . . WEEKENDS . . . . . .

Milgram Experiment Advertisement: Image of the original advertisement posted to solicit study participants for the Milgram experiment.

Groupthink

In groupthink, each member of the group attempts to conform his or her opinions to what he or she believes is the consensus of the group.

Learning Objectives

Explain why groupthink occurs and how it can be minimized

Key Points

- ” Groupthink ” is a term coined by Yale research psychologist Irving Janis.
- Groupthink describes a process by which a group can make poor or irrational decisions.
- Groupthink tends to occur on committees and in large organizations.

Key Terms

- **consensus**: A process of decision making that seeks widespread agreement among group members.
- **groupthink**: A process of reasoning or decision making by a group, especially one characterized by uncritical acceptance or conformity to a perceived majority view.

“Groupthink” is a term coined by Yale research psychologist Irving Janis to describe a process by which a group can make poor or irrational decisions.

In a groupthink situation, each member of the group attempts to conform his or her opinions to what they believe to be the consensus of the group. While this may seem like a rational approach to decision making, it can result in the group ultimately agreeing upon an action that each member individually might consider to be unwise.

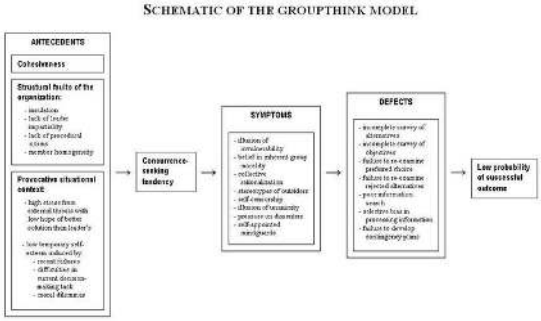
Janis originally defined the term as “a mode of thinking that people engage in when they are deeply involved in a cohesive in-group, when the members’ strivings for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action. ” The word “groupthink” was intended to be reminiscent of George Orwell’s coinages in his novel, *1984*, from the fictional language Newspeak, such as “doublethink” and “duckspeak. ”

Groupthink tends to occur on committees and in large organizations, and Janis originally studied the groupthink phenomena in historical cases, such as the Pearl Harbor bombing, the Vietnam War, and the Bay of Pigs Invasion.

Managing Groupthink

Management consultants often recommend putting in place a variety of mechamisms to minimize groupthink. One common method is to place responsibility and authority for a decision in the hands of a single person who can turn to others for advice. Another mechanism is to pre-select an individual to take the role of disagreeing with any suggestion presented. This makes other individuals more likely to present their own ideas and point out flaws in others and reduces the stigma associated with being the first to take negative stances.

Anonymous feedback via a suggestion box or online chat has also been found to be a useful remedy for groupthink. Negative or dissenting views of proposals can be raised without any individual being identifiable by others as having lodged a critique. In this way, group solidarity is preserved, as all members have plausible deniability that they raised a dissenting point.



Schematic of the Groupthink Model: A schematic of the groupthink model based on Irving Janis’s

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6.6: Social Structure in the Global Perspective

Durkheim's Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

Mechanical solidarity is found in less structurally complex societies while organic solidarity emerges in industrialized societies.

Learning Objectives

Give examples for societies held together by mechanical or organic solidarity

Key Points

- In mechanical solidarity social cohesion and integration comes from the homogeneity of individuals: People feel connected through similar work, educational and religious training, and lifestyle, which is often based on the kinship ties of familial networks.
- Organic solidarity is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies. It comes from the interdependence that arises from specialization of work and the complementarities between people.
- The two types of solidarity can be distinguished by morphological and demographic features, type of norms in existence, and the intensity and content of the conscience collective.

Key Terms

- **Solidarity**: A bond of unity between individuals, united around a common goal or against a common enemy, such as the unifying principle that defines the labor movement.
- **cohesion**: State of cohering, or of working together.

As part of his theory of the development of societies in, *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893), sociologist Emile Durkheim characterized two categories of societal solidarity: organic and mechanical.



Émile Durkheim: Durkheim formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.

Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

In a society exhibiting mechanical solidarity, its cohesion and integration comes from the homogeneity of individuals. People feel connected through similar work, educational and religious training, and lifestyle. Mechanical solidarity normally operates in "traditional" and small-scale societies, and it is usually based on kinship ties of familial networks.

Organic solidarity is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies. It comes from the interdependence that arises from specialization of work and the complementarities between people—a development that occurs in "modern" and "industrial" societies. Although individuals perform different tasks and often have different values and interest, the order and very solidarity of society depends on their reliance on each other to perform their specified tasks. "Organic" refers to the interdependence of the component parts. Thus, social solidarity is maintained in more complex societies through the interdependence of its component parts (e.g., farmers produce the food to feed the factory workers who produce the tractors that allow the farmer to produce the food). As a simple example, farmers produce food to feed factory workers who produce tractors that, in the end, allow the farmer to produce more food.

The two types of solidarity can be distinguished by formal and demographic features, type of norms in existence, and the intensity and content of the conscience collective.

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Introduced by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are two conceptual models for types of human association.

Learning Objectives

Explain how status is achieved in Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft respectively

Key Points

- Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are sociological categories, introduced by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, which describe two common kinds of human groupings or association.
- Gemeinschaft (" community ") is an association in which individuals are oriented to the larger group as much as, and often more than, their own self interest, and are further regulated by common social mores or beliefs about the appropriate behavior and responsibility of members of the association.
- Gesellschaft (" society ") describes associations in which, for the individual, the larger association never takes precedence over their own self interest, and these associations lack the same level of shared social mores as Gemeinschaft.

Key Terms

- **association**: A group of persons associated for a common purpose; an organization; society.
- **kinship**: relation or connection by blood, marriage, or adoption

Introduced by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are two conceptual models for types of human association.

Gemeinschaft

Gemeinschaft ("community") is an association in which individuals are mainly oriented to the will of the larger group, generally more than their own self-interest. Their activities are regulated by common mores or beliefs about the appropriate behavior and responsibilities of members of the association. These associations are marked by what Tönnies called "unity of will. " He saw the family as the most perfect expression of Gemeinschaft; however, he also expected that Gemeinschaft could be based on shared place and shared belief as well as kinship, and included globally dispersed religious communities as possible examples of Gemeinschaft.

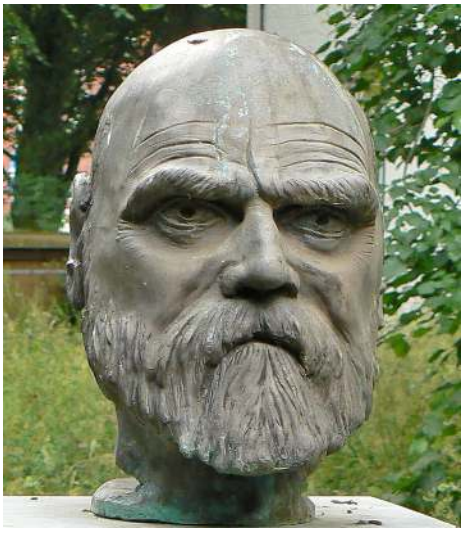
Gemeinschaft community involves ascribed status, meaning a fixed status given by birth. For example, an individual born from farmers will come to occupy their parents' role until death. Gemeinschaften ("communities") are broadly characterized by a moderate division of labor, strong personal relationships, strong families, and relatively simple social institutions. In such societies, there is less of a need to enforce social control externally due to a collective sense of loyalty individuals feel for society.

Gesellschaft

In contrast, Gesellschaft ("society") describes associations in which the larger association never takes precedence over the individual's self interest, and these associations lack the same level of shared social mores. Gesellschaft is maintained through individuals acting on their own self-interest. A modern business is a good example of Gesellschaft: the workers, managers, and owners may have very little in terms of shared orientations or beliefs, or they may not care deeply for the product they are making, but it is in all their self interest to come to work to make money, and, therefore, the business continues.

Gesellschaft society involves achieved status, or a status reached by education and professional advancement. Unlike Gemeinschaften ("communities"), Gesellschaften ("societies") emphasize secondary relationships rather than familial or community ties, and there is generally less individual loyalty to the larger community. Social cohesion in Gesellschaften typically derives from a more elaborate division of labor. Such societies are, therefore, potentially more susceptible to class conflict, as well as racial and ethnic conflicts.

As all conceptual models, these categories can be challenged by social change. For instance, during the social upheavals of the Reconstruction era in the United States, former slaves, whose kinship ties were forcibly disrupted under slavery, forged new communities that shared aspects of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. A current example of a Gemeinschaft community would be the Amish, whereas the United States would be considered a Gesellschaft society.



Ferdinand Tönnies: Ferdinand Tönnies' bust in Husum, Germany.

Lenski's Sociological Evolution Approach

Lenski's sociological evolution approach views technological progress as the most basic factor in the evolution of societies and cultures.

Learning Objectives

Describe Lenski's four stages of human development

Key Points

- Sociocultural evolution is an umbrella term for theories of cultural evolution and social evolution, describing how cultures and societies have changed over time.
- Gerhard Lenski is an American sociologist known for contributions to the sociology of religion, social inequality, and ecological-evolutionary social theory.
- Lanski views technological progress as the most basic factor in the evolution of societies and cultures.
- Lanski distinguishes four stages of human development, based on advances in the history of communication. In these four stages, information is passed on in this order: genetically, individually, through signs, and lastly, through symbols or language.
- The relationship between population and production is central to Lenski's thought.

Key Terms

- **shared culture**: Lenski claims that members of a society are united by a shared culture, although cultural patterns become more diverse as a society gains more complex technology and information.
- **Gerhard Lenski**: He is an American sociologist known for contributions to the sociology of religion, social inequality, and ecological-evolutionary social theory.
- **Sociocultural evolution**: It is an umbrella term for theories of cultural evolution and social evolution, describing how cultures and societies have changed over time.

Sociocultural evolution is an umbrella term for theories of cultural evolution and social evolution, describing how cultures and societies have changed over time. Most nineteenth century and some twentieth century approaches aimed to provide models for the evolution of humankind as a whole, argue that different societies are at different stages of social development. Gerhard Lenski is an American sociologist known for contributions to the sociology of religion, social inequality, and ecological-evolutionary social theory.

Technological Progress



Agriculture: A tractor ploughing an alfalfa field circa 1921.

In his books, *Powerand Privilege* and *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology*, Lenski expands on the works of Leslie White and Lewis Henry Morgan. He views technological progress as the most basic factor in the evolution of societies and cultures. Unlike White, who defined technology as the ability to create and utilize energy, Lenski focuses on information, its amount and its uses.

Four Stages of Human Development

Lenski claims that members of a society are united by a shared culture, although cultural patterns become more diverse as a society gains more complex technology and information. The more information and knowledge a given society has, especially where it allows humans to shape their environment, the more advanced it is. He distinguishes four stages of human development, based on advances in the history of communication.

In the first stage, information is passed by genes. In the second state, with the development of agriculture, humans are able to pass information through individual experience. In the third, humans begin to use signs and develop logic. In the fourth, they create symbols, and develop language and writing. Advances in the technology of communication translate into advances in a society's economic system and political system, distribution of goods, social inequality and other spheres of social life.

Population and Production

The relationship between population and production is central to Lenski's thought. Human reproductive capacity exceeds the available resources in the environment. Thus, Lenski concludes, human populations are limited by their capability of food production. According to Lenski, human capacity for population growth has been a "profoundly destabilizing force throughout human history and may well be the ultimate source of most social and cultural change." It is the relationships among population, production, and environment that drive sociocultural evolution.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: Deviance, Social Control, and Crime

7.1: Deviance
7.2: Social Control
7.3: Theories of Crime and Deviance
7.4: The Functionalist Perspective on Deviance
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7.1: Deviance

Deviance

Deviance refers to behaviors that violate social norms.

Learning Objectives

Define deviance and explain the nature of deviant behavior

Key Points

- Deviant behavior may violate formally-enacted rules or informal social norms.
- Formal deviance includes criminal violation of formally-enacted laws. Examples of formal deviance include robbery, theft, rape, murder, and assault.
- Informal deviance refers to violations of informal social norms, which are norms that have not been codified into law. Examples of informal deviance include picking one's nose, belching loudly, or standing unnecessarily close to another person.
- Deviance can vary dramatically across cultures. Cultural norms are relative, which makes deviant behavior relative as well.

Key Terms

- **Formal Deviance**: Deviance, in a sociological context, describes actions or behaviors that violate social norms, including formally-enacted rules (e.g., crime), as well as informal violations of social norms (e.g., rejecting folkways and mores).
- **deviance**: Actions or behaviors that violate formal and informal cultural norms, such as laws or the norm that discourages public nose-picking.
- **Informal Deviance**: Deviance, in a sociological context, describes actions or behaviors that violate social norms, including formally-enacted rules (e.g., crime), as well as informal violations of social norms (e.g., rejecting folkways and mores).

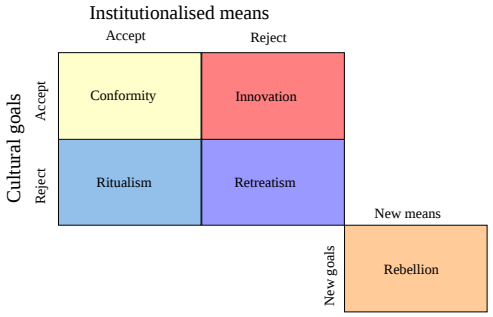
Deviance, in a sociological context, describes actions or behaviors that violate informal social norms or formally-enacted rules. Among those who study social norms and their relation to deviance are sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and criminologists, all of whom investigate how norms change and are enforced over time.

Deviance is often divided into two types of activities. The first, crime, is the violation of formally enacted laws and is referred to as formal deviance. Examples of formal deviance include robbery, theft, rape, murder, and assault. The second type of deviant behavior involves violations of informal social norms (norms that have not been codified into law) and is referred to as informal deviance. Examples of informal deviance include picking one's nose, belching loudly, or standing unnecessarily close to another person.

Deviance can vary dramatically across cultures. Cultural norms are relative, which makes deviant behavior relative as well. For instance, in the United States, Americans do not generally impose time-based restrictions on speech. However, in the Christ Desert Monastery, specific rules govern determine when residents can and cannot speak, and speech is banned between 7:30 pm and 4:00 am. These rules are one example of how norms vary across cultures.

Current sociological research on deviance takes many forms. For example, Dr. Karen Halnon of Pennsylvania State University studies informal deviance and focuses on what she calls "deviance vacations," whereby people of a given socioeconomic status voluntarily enter a different, often lower, social strata. One example involves heterosexual white males who become drag queens on weekends. This behavior represents a luxury, because heterosexual white males can afford to make a temporarily shift, knowing that they may subsequently return to the comforts of their prevailing socioeconomic status. Other examples include performers who may affect deviant behaviors in order to gain credibility with an aim to increasing commercial profits.

Robert K. Merton's Deviance Typology



Merton's Social Strain Theory: This diagram depicts Robert K. Merton's Social Strain

Norms and Sanctions

Norms are social rules of behavior, and a sanction is a form of punishment against violation of different norms.

Learning Objectives

Key Points

- Deviance, or the violations of social norms, can be easier to identify than the norm itself. For this reason, deviance frequently provides a tool to learn about norms.
- Norms and deviance always depend on the culture in which they exist.To study norms and deviance, one must contextualize the action, or consider the action in light of all of the circumstances surrounding it.
- Norms can be formal, as in the case of laws, or informal, as in the case of codes of etiquette. Formal deviance results in legal sanctions, such as fines or prison, while informal deviance results in social sanctions or stigma.
- The violation of a folkway leads to the development of a preference rather than stigmatization. When a more is violated, on the other hand, it results in a more serious degree of social sanction.
- Informal deviance, or violation of unwritten, social rules of behavior, results in social sanction, or stigma.
- A folkway leads to the development of a preference rather than stigmatization.
- When a more is violated, it results in a more serious degree of social sanction.

Key Terms

- **folkway**: A custom or belief common to members of a society or culture.
- **stigma**: A mark of infamy or disgrace.
- **More**: A way to refer to norms that are widely observed and have great moral significance. Mores include an aversion for societal taboos, such as incest or pederasty.

Norms are the social rules that govern behavior in a community. Norms can be explicit (such as laws) or implicit (such as codes of polite behavior). Norms can be difficult to identify because they are so deeply instilled in members of a given society. Norms are learned by growing up in a particular culture and can be difficult to learn if one does not grow up in the same social milieu.

The act of violating a social norm is called deviance. Individuals usually have a much easier time identifying the transgression of norms than the norms themselves. For example, few Americans would think to tell a sociologist that it is a social norm to hold the door open for a fellow pedestrian entering a building if within a particular distance. However, someone might remark that another person is rude because he or she did not hold the door open. Studying norms and studying deviance are inseparable endeavors.

Like deviance, norms are always culturally contingent. To study norms and deviance, one must contextualize the action, or consider the action in light of all of the circumstances surrounding it. For example, one cannot merely say that showing up nude to a job interview is a violation of social norms. While it is usually social convention to show up in some manner of (usually professional) dress to a job interview, this is most likely not the case for someone interviewing to be a nude model. To understand the norm, one must understand the context.

The violation of social norms, or deviance, results in social sanction. Different degrees of violation result in different degrees of sanction. There are three main forms of social sanction for deviance: 1) legal sanction, 2) stigmatization, and 3) preference for one behavior over another. Formal deviance, or the violation of legal codes, results in criminal action initiated by the state. Informal deviance, or violation of unwritten, social rules of behavior, results in social sanction, or stigma. Lesser degrees of social violation result in preference rather than stigmatization. While society might deem it preferable to show up to most job interviews wearing a suit rather than casual attire, you will likely not be out of the running for the job if you are wearing khakis rather than a suit. However, should you show up nude to most interviews, you would likely be stigmatized for your behavior, since it would be such a drastic departure from the norm.

We say that the norm that governs wearing professional rather than casual attire to a job interview is a folkway because its violation results in lesser degree of social sanction—the development of a preference rather than stigmatization. The norm that governs wearing clothing to most job interviews, rather than showing up nude, is a more because its violation results in a more serious degree of social sanction.

Deviance and Social Stigma

Social stigma in deviance is the disapproval of a person because they do not fit the require social norms that are given in society.

Learning Objectives

Describe the meaning of stigma through the work of two sociologists

Key Points

- Social stigma is severe social disapproval of a person because of a particular trait that indicates their deviance from social norms.
- Émile Durkheim, one of the founders of the social sciences, began to address the social marking of deviance in the late nineteenth century.
- Erving Goffman presented the fundamentals of stigma as a social theory, including his interpretation of "stigma" as a means of spoiling identity. By this, he referred to the stigmatized trait's ability to "spoil" recognition of the individual's adherence to social norms in other facets of self.
- Without a society, one cannot have stigma. To have stigma, one must have a stigmatizer and someone who is stigmatized. As such, this is a dynamic and social relationship.

Key Terms

- **stigmatized**: Subject to a stigma; marked as an outcast.
- **stigma**: A mark of infamy or disgrace.
- **deviance**: Actions or behaviors that violate formal and informal cultural norms, such as laws or the norm that discourages public nose-picking.

Social stigma is the extreme disapproval of an individual based on social characteristics that are perceived to distinguish them from other members of a society. Social stigma is so profound that it overpowers positive social feedback regarding the way in which the same individual adheres to other social norms. For example, Terry might be stigmatized because she has a limp. Stigma attaches to Terry because of her limp, overpowering the ways in which Terry might be social normative–perhaps she is a white, Protestant, or a heterosexual female with a limp. The limp marks Terry, despite her other traits.

Stigma plays a primary role in sociological theory. Émile Durkheim, one of the founders of the social sciences, began to address the social marking of deviance in the late nineteenth century. Erving Goffman, an American sociologist, is responsible for bringing the term and theory of stigma into the main social theoretical fold. In his work, Goffman presented the fundamentals of stigma as a social theory, including his interpretation of "stigma" as a means of spoiling identity. By this, he referred to the stigmatized trait's ability to "spoil" recognition of the individual's adherence to social norms in other facets of self. Goffman identified three main types of stigma: (1) stigma associated with mental illness; (2) stigma associated with physical deformation; and (3) stigma attached to identification with a particular race, ethnicity, religion, ideology, etc.

While Goffman is responsible for the seminal texts in stigma theory, stigmatization is still a popular theme in contemporary sociological research. In *Conceptualizing Stigma* (2001), sociologists Jo Phelan and Bruce Link interpret stigma as the convergence of four different factors: (1) differentiation and labeling of various segments of society; (2) linking the labeling of different social demographics to prejudices about these individuals; (3) the development of an us-versus-them ethic; and (4) disadvantaging the people who are labeled and placed in the "them" category.

Ultimately, stigma is about social control. A corollary to this is that stigma is necessarily a social phenomenon. Without a society, one cannot have stigma. To have stigma, one must have a stigmatizer and someone who is stigmatized. As such, this is a dynamic and social relationship. Given that stigmas arise from social relationships, the theory places emphasis, not on the existence of deviant traits, but on the perception and marking of certain traits as deviant by a second party. For example, theorists of stigma care little about whether Emily has a psychiatric diagnosis, but rather on how Sally perceives Emily's psychiatric diagnosis and, subsequently, treats Emily differently. Stigma depends on a another individual perceiving and knowing about the stigmatized trait. As stigma is necessarily a social relation, it is necessarily imbued with relations of power. Stigma works to control deviant members of the population and encourage conformity.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Be Aware: End the Stigma Against Mental Illness: Be Aware is an awareness campaign that aims to end the stigma against mental illness.



The Stigmatization of Homeless People: Homeless people are regularly stigmatized being unemployed while living in the streets.

Deviance and Technology

Advances in technology have resulted in new forms of deviance as well as new forms of control.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the impact of technological innovation on forms of deviance and social control

Key Points

- Cyberloafing refers to the use of high-speed internet by employees for personal use instead of work-related purposes.
- Production deviance refers to the behaviors of deviant employees that have a negative impact on the overall productivity of the organization.
- Property deviance refers to cases in which workers damage an employer's property without authorization.
- Property deviance typically involves theft, but it may include sabotage, intentional errors in work, and the misuse of expense accounts.

Key Terms

- **Property Deviance**: Property deviance is "where employees either damage or acquire tangible assets…without authorization". This type of deviance typically involves theft but may include "sabotage, intentional errors in work, misusing expense accounts", among other examples.
- **cyberloafing**: The use of computers by employees for purposes unrelated to work.
- **sabotage**: A deliberate action aimed at weakening an enemy through subversion, obstruction, disruption, and/or destruction.

As technology has opened up a new space for cyberculture, new forms of deviance and social control have appeared. Some individuals use technology as a means of deviating from more traditional cultural norms. For example, in the United States, employees in offices are encouraged to remain productive and efficient, letting their minds wander off-task as little as possible. In the past decade, most companies have installed high-speed internet access as a means of improving efficiency. However, employees often reappropriate the internet access to avoid work by using social networking sites. Such procrastination and corporate inefficiency stemming from internet access is called "cyberloafing. "

In addition to new forms of deviance in traditional cultural mores, new forms of deviance have arisen within cyberculture. New technologies result in new standards of how to engage with them. The behaviors of deviant employees ultimately have a negative impact on the overall productivity of an organization. For this reason, all of these behaviors are considered production deviance. More serious cases of deviant behavior involve property deviance. Property deviance refers to workers damaging an employer's property without authorization. This type of deviance typically involves theft but may include sabotage, intentional errors in work, and the misuse of expense accounts.

Just as new forms of deviance have come about as a result of technological advances, so too have new means of controlling deviant populations. In reaction to cyberloafing, companies have developed new technologies to monitor employees' computers and restrict social networking during the workday. These methods include installing proxy servers to prevent programs from accessing resources like Internet Relay Chat, AOL Instant Messenger, or online gambling services. Other practices include strict disciplinary measures for employees found cyberloafing, and carrot-and-stick measures, such as providing free or subsidized Internet access for employees outside of working hours. Technology is used in policing to monitor formal deviants and encourage conformity to the law and social norms.



Slacking and Snacking at Work: Misusing company resources to conduct personal bus as online shopping.

The Functions of Deviance

Deviance provides society the boundaries to determine acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in society.

Learning Objectives

Describe how structural functionalism views the relation between deviance and social change

Key Points

- Deviance provides the key to understanding the disruption and recalibration of society that occurs over time.
- Systems of deviance create norms and tell members of a given society how to behave by laying out patterns of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.
- Deviance allows for group majorities to unite around their worldview, often at the expense of those marked as deviant.
- Social parameters create boundaries between populations and lead to an us-versus-them mentality within various groups.
- Being marked as deviant can actually bolster solidarity within the marked community as members take pride and ownership in their stigmatized identity.
- Some traits will be stigmatized and can potentially cause social disruption. However, as traits become more mainstream, society will gradually adjust to incorporate the formerly stigmatized traits.

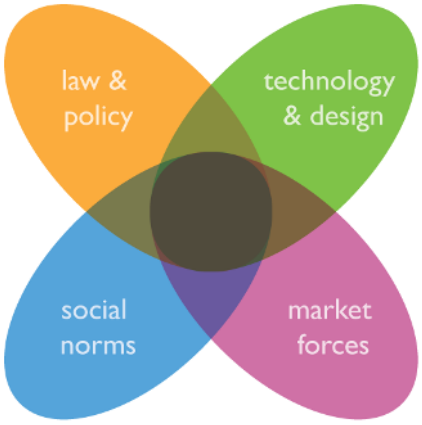
Key Terms

- **structural functionalism**: The structural-functionalist approach to deviance argues that deviant behavior plays an important role in society by laying out patterns of what is acceptable and unacceptable. These social parameters create boundaries and enable an us-verus-them mentality.

What function does the notion of deviance play in society? Sociologists who identify with the tradition of structural- functionalism ask this type of question. Structural functionalism has its roots embedded in the very origins of sociological thought and the development of sociology as a discipline. A structural functionalist approach emphasizes social solidarity and stability in social structures. Structural functionalists ask: How does any given social phenomenon contribute to social stability? This cannot be answered without addressing this question of deviance.

For the structural functionalist, deviance serves two primary roles in creating social stability. First, systems of deviance create norms and tell members of a given society how to behave by laying out patterns of acceptable and unacceptable behavior. In order to know how not to unsettle society, one must be aware of what behaviors are marked as deviant. Second, these social parameters create boundaries between populations and enable an us-versus-them mentality within various groups. Deviance allows for group majorities to unite around their worldview, at the expense of those marked as deviant. Conversely, being marked as deviant can actually bolster solidarity within the marked community as members take pride and ownership in their stigmatized identity, creating cohesive units of their own.

From a structural-functionalist perspective, then, how does society change, particularly in regards to establishing norms and deviant behaviors? Deviance provides the key to understanding the disruption and recalibration of society that occurs over time. Some traits will be stigmatized and can potentially cause social disruption. However, as traits become more mainstream, society will gradually adjust to incorporate the formerly stigmatized traits. Take, for example, homosexuality. In urban America 50 years ago, homosexual behavior was considered deviant. On the one hand, this fractured society into those marked as homosexuals and those unmarked (normative heterosexuals). While this us-versus-them mentality solidified social identities and solidarities within the two categories, there was nevertheless an overarching social schism. As time went on, homosexuality came to be accepted as more mainstream. Accordingly, what originally appears as a fracturing of society actually reinforces social stability by enabling mechanisms for social adjustment and development.



Four Mechanisms that Regulate Our Behavior: Our behavior in our everyday lives is regulated by social norms, law and policy, technology and design, and market forces.

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7.2: Social Control

Social Control Theory

Social control theory argues that relationships, commitments, values, and beliefs encourage conformity.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between methods of social control

Key Points

- Internal means of control, such as an individual's own sense of right and wrong, decrease the likelihood that one will deviate from social norms.
- Through external means of control, individuals conform because an authority figure threatens sanctions if the individual disobeys.
- Jackson Toby argued that individuals engaged in non-delinquent community activities felt as thought they had too much to lose by joining delinquent groups and, hence, had a "stake in conformity ".
- F. Ivan Nye argued that youth may be directly controlled through constraints imposed by parents, through limits on the opportunity for delinquency, and through parental rewards and punishments.
- Michel Foucault argues that the eighteenth century introduced a new form of power: discipline. Discipline is a power relation in which the subject is complicit. This is contrasted with the previous strategy of regulating bodies but not seeking complicity.
- Socialization refers to the lifelong process of inheriting, interpreting, and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **Social Control Theory**: Social control theory proposes that people's relationships, commitments, values, norms, and beliefs encourage them not to break the law. Thus, if moral codes are internalized and individuals are tied into, and have a stake in their wider community, they will voluntarily limit their propensity to commit deviant acts.
- **Discipline and Punish**: Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison is a 1975 book by the French philosopher Michel Foucault.

Social control theory describes internal means of social control. It argues that relationships, commitments, values, and beliefs encourage conformity—if moral codes are internalized and individuals are tied into broader communities, individuals will voluntarily limit deviant acts. This interpretation suggests the power of internal means of control, such as one's own conscious, ego, and sensibilities about right and wrong, are powerful in mitigating the likelihood that one will deviate from social norms. This stands in contrast to external means of control, in which individuals conform because an authority figure (such as the state) threatens sanctions should the individual disobey.

Social control theory seeks to understand how to reduce deviance. Ultimately, social control theory is Hobbesian; it presupposes that all choices are constrained by social relations and contracts between parties. Like Hobbes, adherents to social control theory suggest that morality is created within a social order by assigning costs and consequences to certain actions that are marked as evil, wrong, illegal, or deviant.

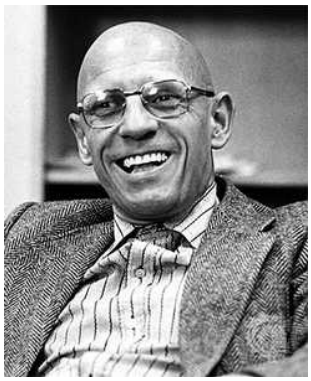
Jackson Toby

An internal understanding of means of control became articulated in sociological theory in the mid-twentieth century. In 1957, Jackson Toby published an article entitled "Social Disorganization and Stake in Conformity: Complementary Factors in the Predatory Behavior of Hoodlums," which discussed why adolescents were inclined or disinclined to engage in delinquent activities. Toby argued that individuals engaged in non-delinquent community activities felt as thought they had too much to lose by joining delinquent groups and, hence, had a "stake in conformity." The notion of an individual being shaped by his ties to his community, of having a "stake in conformity," laid the groundwork for the idea of internalized norms that act as a method of social control.

F. Ivan Nye

Toby's study was followed in 1958 by F. Ivan Nye's book *FamilyRelationships and Delinquent Behavior*. Nye carried on the tradition of studying juvenile delinquency as a means of theorizing about deviance and social control. Nye conducted formal interviews of 780 young people in Washington State, though his sample was criticized for not including individuals from urban backgrounds and for only selecting individuals who were likely to describe their families unfavorably. Nye focused on the family unit as a source of control and specified three types of control: (1) direct control, or the use of punishments and rewards to incentivize particular behaviors; (2) indirect control, or the affectionate identification with individuals who adhere to social norms; and (3) internal control, or the manipulation of an individual's conscience or sense of guilt to encourage conformity.

Youth may be directly controlled through constraints imposed by parents, through limits on the opportunity for delinquency, or through parental rewards and punishments. However, youth may be constrained when free from direct control by their anticipation of parental disapproval (indirect control), or through the development of a conscience, an internal constraint on behavior.



Michel Foucault: In his 1975 seminal text, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Michel Foucault identifies a new form of power introduced in the eighteenth century: discipline.

Michel Foucault

How do individuals develop a particular conscience that promotes social adherence? This is the question taken up by social theorist Michel Foucault in his 1975 seminal text, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Foucault argues that the eighteenth century introduced a new form of power: discipline. Prior to this period, government achieved social control by the mere regulation of bodies. Deviants were controlled by the threat and frequent use of the death penalty or indefinite incarceration.

Discipline, however, is a power relation in which the subject is complicit. Rather than the state only regulating bodies, the state began to achieve social control by molding the minds of its subjects such that individuals were educated to conform even when out of the direct gaze of the punishing authority. The training of subjects' minds occurs broadly in society via socialization, or the lifelong process of inheriting, interpreting, and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies. Simply by living within a particular cultural context, one learns and internalizes the norms of society.

Conformity and Obedience

Conformity is the act of matching attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors to group norms.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate among compliance, identification, and internalization; and between obedience and conformity

Key Points

- Norms are implicit rules shared by a group of individuals, that guide their interactions with others and among society or social group.
- Herbert Kelman identified three major types of conformity: compliance, identification, and internalization.
- Compliance is public conformity, while possibly keeping one's own original beliefs for oneself. Identification is conforming to someone who is liked and respected. Internalization is accepting the belief or behavior and conforming both publicly and privately, if the source is credible.
- Obedience is a form of social influence in which a person accepts instructions or orders from an authority figure.
- Stanley Milgram created a highly controversial and often replicated study, the Milgram experiment, where he focused on how long participants would listen to and obey orders from the experimenter.
- In the Stanford Prison Experiment, Philip Zimbardo placed college age students into an artificial prison environment in order to study the impact of "social forces" on participants behavior.
- Stanley Milgram created a highly controversial and often replicated study, the Milgram experiment, where he focused how long participants would listen to and obey orders from the experimenter.
- In the Stanford Prison Experiment, Philip Zimbardo placed college age students into an artificial prison environment in order to study the impacts of "social forces" on participants behavior.

Key Terms

- **identification**: A feeling of support, sympathy, understanding, or belonging towards somebody or something.
- **compliance**: the tendency of conforming with or agreeing to the wishes of others
- **conformity**: the ideology of adhering to one standard or social uniformity

Conformity

Social control is established by encouraging individuals to conform and obey social norms, both through formal and informal means. Conformity is the act of matching attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors to group norms. The tendency to conform occurs in small groups and in society as a whole, and may result from subtle unconscious influences or direct and overt social

pressure. Conformity can occur in the presence of others, or when an individual is alone. For example, people tend to follow social norms when eating or watching television, regardless of whether others are present. As conformity is a group phenomenon, factors such as group size, unanimity, cohesion, status, prior commitment, and public opinion help determine the level of conformity an individual displays.

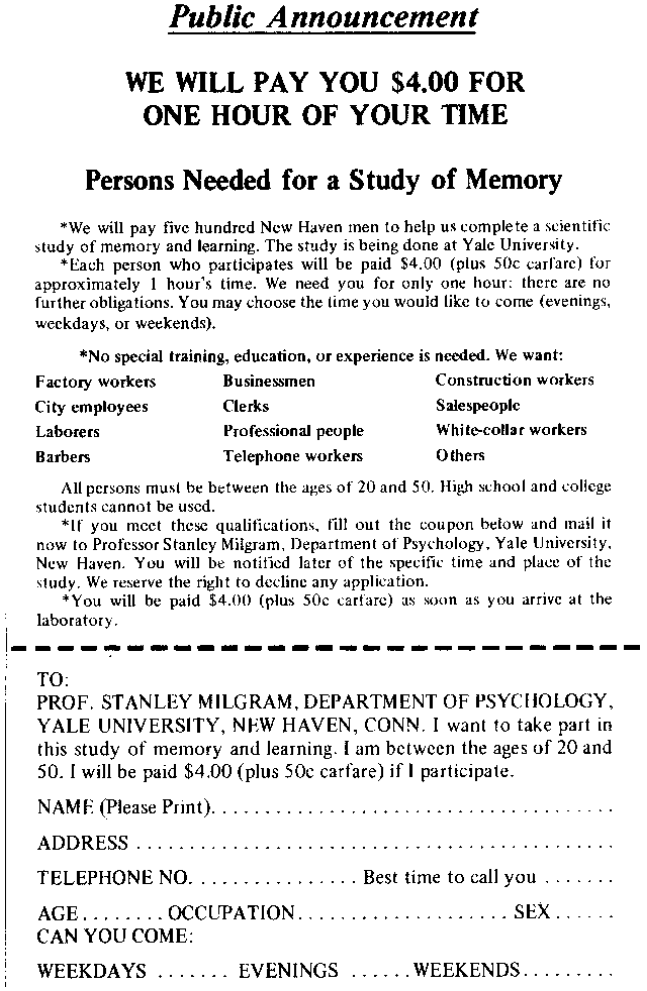
Harvard psychologist Herbert Kelman identified three major types of conformity: *compliance*, *identification*, and *internalization*. Compliance is public conformity, while possibly keeping one's own original beliefs independent. It is motivated by the need for approval and the fear of being rejected. Identification is conforming to someone who is liked and respected, such as a celebrity or a favorite uncle. This can be motivated by the attractiveness of the source, and this is a deeper type of conformism than compliance. Internalization is accepting the belief or behavior and conforming both publicly and privately. It is the deepest influence on people, and it will affect them for a long time.

Solomon E. Asch conducted a classic study of conformity. He exposed students in a group to a series of lines, and the participants were asked to match the length of one line with a standard line, a task with a very clear right answer. Only one individual in the group was a true student, however – the rest were confederates, or actors that were pretending to be students, but knew the true aim of the study. The confederates were instructed to unanimously give the wrong answer (matching the standard line with an incorrect line) in 12 of the 18 trials. The results showed a surprisingly high degree of conformity: 76% of the students conformed on at least one trial, giving the wrong answer to match the answer of the confederates (who they perceived as actual students). On average people conformed one-third of the time, even in situations where the correct answer was obvious.

Obedience

In human behavior, obedience is a form of social influence in which a person accepts instructions or orders from an authority figure. Obedience differs from compliance, which is behavior influenced by peers, and from conformity, which is behavior intended to match that of the majority. Obedience can be seen as both a sin and a virtue. For example in a situation when one orders a person to kill another innocent person and he or she does this willingly, it is a sin. However, when one orders a person to kill an enemy who will end a lot of innocent lives and he or she does this willingly, it can be deemed a virtue.

Stanley Milgram created a highly controversial and often replicated study of obedience. In the Milgram experiment, participants were told they were going to contribute to a study about punishment and learning, but the actual focus was on how long they would listen to and obey orders from the experimenter. The participants were instructed that they had to shock a person in another room for every wrong answer on a learning task, and the shocks increased with intensity for each wrong answer. If participants questioned the procedure, the researcher would encourage them to continue. The Milgram study found that participants would obey orders even when it posed severe harm to others.



Public Announcement

WE WILL PAY YOU $4.00 FOR ONE HOUR OF YOUR TIME

Persons Needed for a Study of Memory

*We will pay five hundred New Haven men to help us complete a scientific study of memory and learning. The study is being done at Yale University.

*Each person who participates will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) for approximately 1 hour's time. We need you for only one hour: there are no further obligations. You may choose the time you would like to come (evenings, weekdays, or weekends).

*No special training, education, or experience is needed. We want:

Factory workers	Businessmen	Construction workers
City employees	Clerks	Salespeople
Laborers	Professional people	White-collar workers
Barbers	Telephone workers	Others

All persons must be between the ages of 20 and 50. High school and college students cannot be used.

*If you meet these qualifications, fill out the coupon below and mail it now to Professor Stanley Milgram, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven. You will be notified later of the specific time and place of the study. We reserve the right to decline any application.

*You will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) as soon as you arrive at the laboratory.

TO:
PROF. STANLEY MILGRAM, DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN. I want to take part in this study of memory and learning. I am between the ages of 20 and 50. I will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) if I participate.

NAME (Please Print). . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . . .

TELEPHONE NO. . . . . Best time to call you . . . . . .

AGE . . . . . OCCUPATION . . . . . SEX . . . . . .
CAN YOU COME:

WEEKDAYS . . . . . EVENINGS . . . . . WEEKENDS . . . . . .

Milgram experiment advertising: In the Milgram experiment, participants were told they were going to contribute to a study about punishment and learning, but the actual focus was on how long they would listen to and obey orders from the experimenter.

The other classical study on obedience was conducted at Stanford University during the 1970's. Phillip Zimbardo was the principle investigator responsible for the experiment. In the Stanford Prison Experiment, college-age students were put into a pseudo prison environment in order to study the impacts of "social forces" on participants' behavior. Unlike the Milgram study, in which each participant underwent the same experimental conditions, the Zimbardo study used random

assignment so that half the participants were prison guards and the other half were prisoners. The experimental setting was made to physically resemble a prison, while simultaneously inducing "a psychological state of imprisonment." Zimbardo found that the guards in the study obeyed orders so willingly that their behavior turned aggressive. Likewise, prisoners were hostile to and resented their guards, and because of the psychological duress induced in the experiment, it had to be shut down after only 6 days.

Informal Means of Control

Informal social control refers to the reactions of individuals and groups that bring about conformity to norms and laws.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the mechanisms of informal social control

Key Points

- Informal sanctions may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion.
- Socialization is a term used by sociologists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies, which provide an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society.
- The family is often the most important agent of socialization because it is the center of the child's life.
- A peer group is a social group whose members have interests, social positions, and age in common. It can also be an important agent of socialization.
- A peer group is a social group whose members have interests, social positions and age in common.

Key Terms

- **Informal sanctions**: These are the reactions of individuals and groups that bring about conformity to norms and laws. These can include peer and community pressure, bystander intervention in a crime, and collective responses such as citizen patrol groups.

Informal social control —the reactions of individuals and groups that bring about conformity to norms and laws—includes peer and community pressure, bystander intervention in a crime, and collective responses such as citizen patrol groups. The social values that are present in individuals are products of informal social control. It is exercised by a society without explicitly stating these rules and is expressed through customs, norms, and mores.

Informal sanctions may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion. An example of a negative sanction is seen in a scene from the Pink Floyd film *The Wall*, where the young protagonist is ridiculed and verbally abused by a high school teacher for writing poetry in a mathematics class. As with formal controls, informal controls reward or punish acceptable or unacceptable behavior. Informal controls differ from individual to individual, group to group, and society to society. For example, at a women's institute meeting, a disapproving look might convey that it is inappropriate to flirt with the minister. In a criminal gang, a stronger sanction applies in the case of someone threatening to inform to the police.

Socialization

Socialization is a term used by sociologists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies, which provide an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society. Primary socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate for individuals as members of a particular culture. Secondary socialization takes place outside the home, where children and adults learn how to act in a way that is appropriate for the situations they are in. Finally, re-socialization refers to the process of discarding former behavior patterns and reflexes, accepting new ones as part of a transition in one's life.



Group Socialization: Informal social control—the reactions of individuals and groups that bring about conformity to norms and laws—includes peer and community pressure, bystander intervention in a crime, and collective responses such as citizen patrol groups.

The family is often the most important agent of socialization because it is the center of the child's life. Agents of socialization can differ in effects. A peer group is a social group whose members have interests, social positions, and age in common. It can also be an important influence on a child, as this is where

children can escape supervision and learn to form relationships on their own. The influence of the peer group typically peaks during adolescence. However, peer groups generally only affect short-term interests, unlike the long-term influence exerted by the family.

Formal Means of Control

Formal means of social control are generally state-determined, through the creation of laws and their enforcement.

Learning Objectives

Explain the relationship between formal means of social control and state authority

Key Points

- Formal means of control include the threats of sanctions or enforced sanctions manipulated by the state to encourage social control.
- The death penalty and imprisonment are forms of social control that the government utilizes to maintain the rule of law.
- Social theorist Max Weber contributed to our understanding of formal social control by writing about the state's monopoly on violence.
- In democratic societies, the goals and mechanisms of formal social control are determined through legislation by elected representatives and thus enjoy a measure of support from the population and voluntary compliance.

Key Terms

- **Politics as Vocation**: An essay that Weber wrote of the definitional relationship between the state and violence in the early twentieth century.
- **Max Weber**: (1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.
- **Formal means of Control**: Formal sanctions such as fines and imprisonment.

Formal means of social control are the means of social control exercised by the government and other organizations who use law enforcement mechanisms and sanctions such as fines and imprisonment to enact social control. In democratic societies the goals and mechanisms of formal social control are determined through legislation by elected representatives. This gives the control mechanisms a measure of support from the population and voluntary compliance. The mechanisms utilized by the state as means of formal social control span the gamut from the death penalty to curfew laws.

From a legal perspective, sanctions are penalties or other means of enforcement used to provide incentives for obedience with the law, or rules and regulations. Criminal sanctions can take the form of serious punishment, such as corporal or capital punishment, incarceration, or severe fines. Within the civil law context, sanctions are usually monetary fines.

Our understanding of formal control is enhanced by social theorist Max Weber's work on the state's use of violence. Weber writes of the definitional relationship between the state and violence in the early twentieth century in his essay "Politics as Vocation. " Weber concludes that the state is that which has a monopoloy on violence. By this, Weber means that the state is the only institution within a society who can legitimately exercise violence on society's members. When Sam kills Katie, he is a criminal guilty of murder. When the state kills Katie, it is enacting its authority to use the death penalty to protect society. Weber uses this definition to define what constitutes the state. The formal means of social control and the monopoly on violence serve a similar role in defining the state—they both illustrate the unique relationship between the state and its subjects.

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7.3: Theories of Crime and Deviance

Sociological Theories of Deviance

Sociological theories of deviance are those that use social context and social pressures to explain deviance.

Learning Objectives

Describe four different sociological approaches to deviance

Key Points

- Social strain typology, developed by Robert K. Merton, is based upon two criteria: (1) a person's motivations or adherence to cultural goals; (2) a person's belief in how to attain her goals.
- According to Merton, there are five types of deviance based upon these criteria: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.
- Structural functionalism argues that deviant behavior plays an active, constructive role in society by ultimately helping cohere different populations within a society.
- Conflict theory suggests that deviant behaviors result from social, political, or material inequalities in a social group.
- Labeling theory argues that people become deviant as a result of people forcing that identity upon them and then adopting the identity.

Key Terms

- **conformity**: the ideology of adhering to one standard or social uniformity
- **typology**: The systematic classification of the types of something according to their common characteristics.
- **Retrospective labeling**: Occurs when a deviant recognizes her acts as deviant prior to the primary deviance, while prospective labeling is when the deviant recognizes future acts as deviant.

The study of social deviance is the study of the violation of cultural norms in either formal or informal contexts. Social deviance is a phenomenon that has existed in all societies with norms. Sociological theories of deviance are those that use social context and social pressures to explain deviance.



Crime: The study of social deviance is the study of the violation of cultural norms in either formal or informal contexts. Social deviance is a phenomenon that has existed in all societies where there have been norms.

Social Strain Typology

Four main sociological theories of deviance exist. The first is the social strain typology developed by American sociologist Robert K. Merton. Merton proposed a typology of deviant behavior, a classification scheme designed to facilitate understanding. Merton typology of deviance was based on two criteria: (1) a person's motivations or adherence to cultural goals; (2) a person's belief in how to attain her goals. According to Merton, there are five types of deviance based upon these criteria: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. Merton's typology is fascinating because it suggests that people can turn to deviance in the pursuit of widely accepted social values and goals. For instance, individuals in the U.S. who sell illegal drugs have rejected the culturally acceptable means of making money, but they still share the widely accepted cultural value of making money. Thus, deviance can be the result of accepting one norm, but breaking another in order to pursue the first.

Structural Functionalism

The second main sociological explanation of deviance comes from structural functionalism. This approach argues that deviant behavior plays an active, constructive role in society by ultimately helping to cohere different populations within a particular society. Deviance helps to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. It draws lines and demarcates boundaries. This is an important function that affirms the cultural values and norms of a society for the members of that society. In addition to clarifying the moral boundaries of society, deviant behavior can also promote social unity by creating an "us-versus-them" mentality in relation to deviant individuals. Finally, deviance is actually seen as one means for society to change over time. Deviant behavior can

imbalance the social equilibrium but—in the process of restoring balance—society will adjust norms. With changing norms in response to deviance, the deviant behavior can contribute to long-term social stability.

Conflict Theory



Punks: Labeling theory argues that people, such as punks, become deviant as a result of people forcing that identity upon them and then adopting the identity.

The third main sociological theory of deviance is conflict theory. Conflict theory suggests that deviant behaviors result from social, political, or material inequalities of a social group. In response to these inequalities, certain groups will act deviantly in order to change their circumstances, change the social structure that engendered their circumstances, or just to "act out" against their oppressors. An example of conflict theory would be the Occupy Wall Street movement that began in the fall of 2011. Angered at the extreme inequalities in wealth distribution in the United States, protesters began to organize more communal ways of living in Zucotti Park—near Wall Street in New York City—in order to protest the lavish means of life of those at the top of the socioeconomic ladder. The protesters were deviating from social norms of coherence in order to articulate grievances against the extremely wealthy. Their actions and perspectives demonstrate the use of conflict theory to explain social deviance.

Labeling Theory

The fourth main sociological theory of deviance is labeling theory. Labeling theory refers to the idea that individuals become deviant when a deviant label is applied to them; they adopt the label by exhibiting the behaviors, actions, and attitudes associated with the label. Labeling theory argues that people become deviant as a result of others forcing that identity upon them. This process works because of stigma; in applying a deviant label, one attaches a stigmatized identity to the labeled individual.

Labeling theory allows us to understand how past behaviors of a deviant-labeled individual are reinterpreted in accordance with their label. This process of recasting past actions in light of a current deviant identity is referred to as "retrospective labeling. " A clear example of retrospective labeling is seen in how the perpetrators of the Columbine High School massacre were recast after the incident took place. Much of their behavior leading up to the school shootings has been reinterpreted in light of the deviant identity with which they were labeled as a result of the shootings.

Biological Theories of Deviance

A biological theory of deviance proposes that an individual deviates from social norms largely because of their biological makeup.

Learning Objectives

Outline the main assumptions of three biological theories of deviance

Key Points

- A biological interpretation of formal deviance was first advanced by the Italian School of Criminology, a school of thought originating from Italy during the mid-nineteenth century.
- The school was headed by medical criminologist Cesare Lombroso, who argued that criminality was a biological trait found in some human beings. The term Lombroso used to describe the appearance of organisms resembling ancestral forms of life is atavism.
- The idea of atavism drew a connection between an individual's appearance and their biological propensity to deviate from social norms.
- Enrico Ferri took this idea farther, arguing that anyone convicted of a crime should be detained for as long as possible. According to Ferri's line of thought, if individuals committed crimes because of their biological constitution, what was the point of deterrence or rehabilitation?
- Garofalo is perhaps best known for his efforts to formulate a "natural" definition of crime. According to his view, those who violate human universal laws are themselves "unnatural".

Key Terms

- **penology**: The processes devised and adopted for the punishment and prevention of crime.
- **atavism**: The reappearance of an ancestral characteristic in an organism after several generations of absence.
- **Italian School of Criminology**: The Italian school of criminology was founded at the end of the 19th century by

Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909) and two of his Italian disciples, Enrico Ferri (1856–1929) and Raffaele Garofalo (1851–1934).

A biological theory of deviance proposes that an individual deviates from social norms largely because of their biological makeup. The theory primarily pertains to formal deviance, using biological reasons to explain criminality, though it can certainly extend to informal deviance.

Cesare Lombroso

A biological interpretation of formal deviance was first advanced by the Italian School of Criminology, a school of thought originating from Italy during the mid-nineteenth century. The school was headed by medical criminologist Cesare Lombroso, who argued that criminality was a biological trait found in some human beings. Enrico Ferri and Raffaelo Garofalo continued the Italian School as Lombroso's predecessors. The Italian School was interested in why some individuals engaged in criminal behavior and others did not. Their explanation was that some individuals had a biological propensity for crime.

The term Lombroso used to describe the appearance of organisms resembling ancestral forms of life is atavism. He belived that atavism was a sign of inherent criminalities, and thus he viewed born criminals as a form of human sub-species. Lombroso believed that atavism could be identified by a number of measurable physical stigmata—a protruding jaw, drooping eyes, large ears, twisted and flattish nose, long arms relative to the lower limbs, sloping shoulders, and a coccyx that resembled "the stump of a tail. " The concept of atavism was glaringly wrong, but like so many others of his time, Lombroso sought to understand behavioral phenomena with reference to the principles of evolution as they were understood at the time.

Enrico Ferri

Lombroso's work was continued by Erico Ferri's study of penology, the section of criminology that is concerned with the philosophy and practice of various societies in their attempt to repress criminal activities. Ferri's work on penology was instrumental in developing the "social defense" justification for the detention of individuals convicted of crimes. Ferri argued that anyone convicted of a crime should be detained for as long as possible. According to Ferri's line of thought, if individuals committed crimes because of their biological constitution, what was the point of deterrence or rehabilitation? For Ferri, none of these therapeutic interventions could change the offender's biology, making them pointless. After an individual had been convicted of a crime, the state 's responsibility was to protect the community and prevent the criminal from doing more harm —as his biology determined he would do.

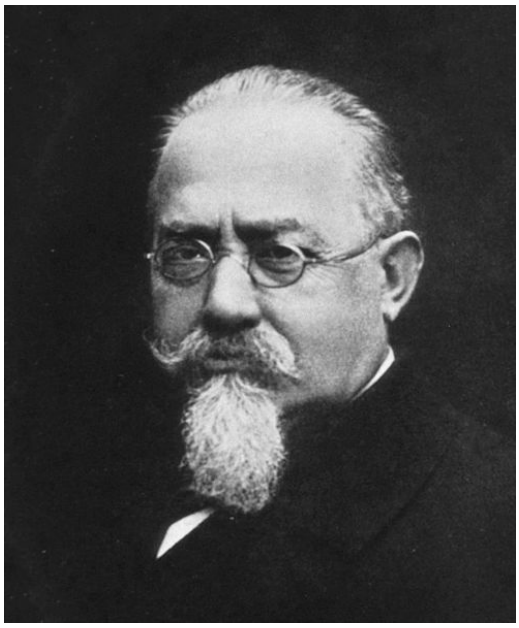
Raffaelo Garofalo

Garofalo is perhaps best known for his efforts to formulate a "natural" definition of crime. Classical thinkers accepted the legal definition of crime uncritically; crime is what the law says it is. This appeared to be rather arbitrary and "unscientific" to Garofalo, who wanted to anchor the definition of crime in something natural. Most significant was Garofalo's reformulation of classical notions of crime and his redefinition of crime as a violation of natural law, or a human universal.

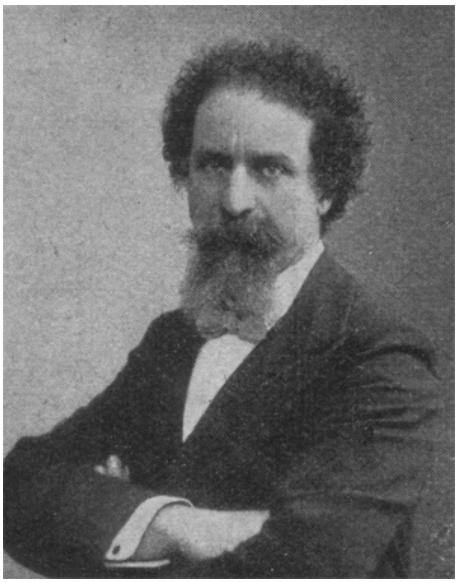
A human universal is a trait, characteristic, or behavior that exists across cultures, regardless of the nuances of a given context. A famous example of a universal is the incest taboo. Exempting a very small number of small communities, all human cultures have a taboo against incest in some form. Garofalo's presentaion of crime as a violation of a human universal allows for one to characterize criminals as unnatural. As soon as criminals are marked as inhuman or unnatural, the public has license to think of an individual convicted of a crime as completely unlike the rest of society; a whole new range of punishments are authorized, including serious social stigmatization.

Biological Theories Today

Italian School biological explanations have not resonated in criminal justice systems in America. However, some traces still exist. Now, the conversation about crime and biological explanations focuses more on the relationship between genetics and crime than the relationship between phenotypic features and crime. Because the modern emphasis is on actual genetics rather than phenotypic expressions of genes, stereotyping of individuals with "criminal" traits or propensities is more difficult. For example, when walking down the street, you can tell who has a protruding jaw, but you can't tell who has the genetic combination that increases one's propensity for aggression. Though the debate has mutated, a biological explanation for deviance and crime is still commonplace.



Cesare Lombroso: Cesare Lombroso argued that criminality was a biological trait found in some human beings



Enrico Ferri: Lombroso's work was continued by Erico Ferri's study of penology, the section of criminology that is concerned with the philosophy and practice of various societies in their attempt to repress criminal activities.

Psychological Theories of Deviance

Psychological theories of deviance use a deviant's psychology to explain his motivation or compulsion to violate social norms.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the problematic aspects of psychological theories of deviance

Key Points

- Conduct disorder is a psychological disorder diagnosed in childhood that presents itself through a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the basic rights of others of major age-appropriate norms are violated.
- Deviant behavior can also be explained by psychological trauma in one's past.
- Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is a psychological condition in which a traumatic incident in one's past compels an individual to have abnormal reactions to stimuli.
- Though psychological theories are frequently employed to explain deviant behavior, one should bear in mind that the stability of psychological categories is constantly in flux.

Key Terms

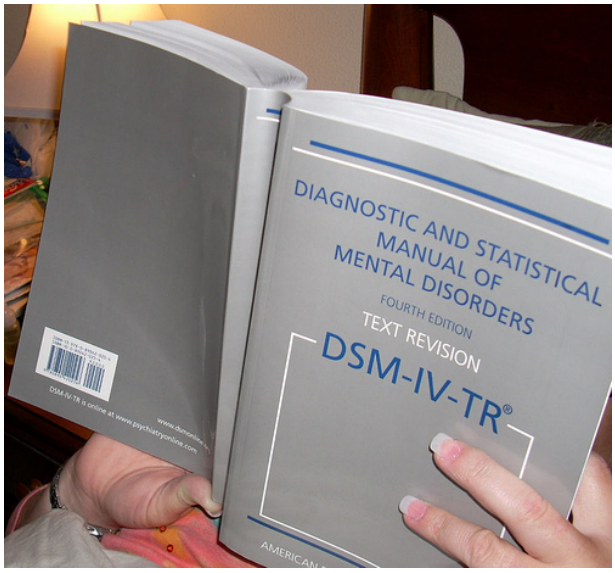
- **conduct disorder**: Conduct disorder is a psychological disorder diagnosed in childhood that presents itself through a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate norms are violated.
- **Psychological theory of deviance**: In many ways, psychological theories of deviance mirror biological explanations (see section: Biological Theories of Deviance), only with an emphasis on the brain.
- **post-traumatic stress disorder**: Any condition that develops following some stressful situation or event, such as sleep disturbance, recurrent dreams, withdrawal or lack of concentration.

Psychological theories of deviance use a deviant's psychology to explain his motivation and compulsion to violate social norms. In many ways, psychological theories of deviance mirror biological explanations, only with an added emphasis on brain function. Whereas historical biological explanations, such as those provided by the Italian School, used biological traits from the whole body (e.g., protruding jaws, large ears) as signifiers of a biological propensity for criminal behavior, today's psychological theories of deviance use the biology of the brain (in terms of the structure of the brain, levels of neurotransmitters, and psychiatric diagnoses) to explain deviance.

Conduct Disorder

One case study of a psychological theory of deviance is the case of conduct disorder. Conduct disorder is a psychological disorder diagnosed in childhood that presents itself through a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the basic rights of others and major age-appropriate norms are violated. This childhood disorder is often seen as the precursor to antisocial personality disorder. According the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders–IV* (the professional

manual listing all medically recognized mental disorders and their symptoms), conduct disorder presents as aggressive and disrespectful behavior. Compared to normal controls, youth with early and adolescent onset of conduct disorder displayed reduced responses in the brain regions associated with antisocial behavior. In addition, youth with conduct disorder demonstrated less responsiveness in the orbitofrontal regions of the brain during a stimulus-reinforcement and reward task. These psychological symptoms of conduct disorder, both in terms of neuroanatomy and neurotransmitter regulation, help to explain the explanatory link between psychology and crime. Moreover, they demonstrate the increasingly fluid boundary between psychological and biological theories of deviance.



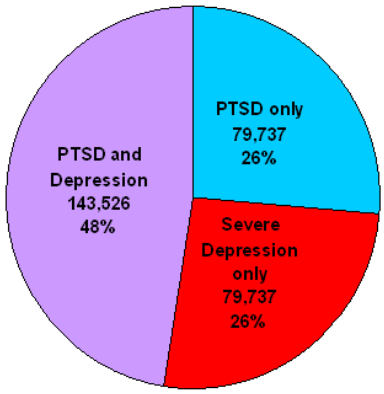
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – IV: According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – IV, the professional manual listing all medically recognized mental disorders and their symptoms, conduct disorder presents as aggressive and disrespectful behavior.

Psychological Trauma

Psychological theories of deviance do not necessarily have a biological element. Deviant behavior can also be explained by psychological trauma in one's past. Take, for example, the case of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This is a psychological condition in which a traumatic incident in one's past causes an individual to have abnormal reactions to stimuli. PTSD is frequently invoked in cases of child abuse, in which the psychological trauma of having been abused as a child can contribute to deviant behavior in the future. PTSD is also discussed in cases of deviant, violent behavior on the part of individuals who have experienced trauma while in the military. Consider the case of Sergeant Robert Bales. Sgt. Bales is an American soldier who has served four tours in Iraq and Afghanistan over the past decade. Sgt. Bales is accused of getting drunk and going into a town nearby his post in Afghanistan and murdering 16 Afghanis without provocation. Experts are already speculating that the psychological trauma of multiple redeployments contributed to Sgt. Bales's alleged deviance.

Problems with Psychological Theories of Deviance

While psychiatric diagnoses are commonly used to explain deviance, one must remember that what counts as a legitimate diagnosis is always in contention. The DSM, the manual for what the psychological community recognizes as a legitimate psychiatric diagnosis, is a revised manual. One example of the importance of these revisions: homosexuality used to be included in the DSM as a psychiatric condition. Thus, until it was removed in 1986, homosexuality (the psychological condition) could have been a psychological explanation for deviant sexuality. However, since being removed from the DSM, homosexuality is no longer recognized as a legitimate psychiatric condition and, therefore, the now debunked homosexuality-as-psychiatric-condition does not serve an explanatory role in regards to deviant sexuality. This goes to demonstrate the fluctuating nature of psychological theories of deviance.



PTSD Statistics: Cases of PTSD and Severe Depression Among U.S. Veterans Deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan Between Oct 2001 and Oct 2007

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7.4: The Functionalist Perspective on Deviance

The Functionalist Perspective on Deviance

Functionalism claims that deviance help to create social stability by presenting explanations of non-normative and normative behaviors.

Learning Objectives

Describe the functionalist view of deviance in society

Key Points

- A structural functionalist approach emphasizes social solidarity, divided into organic and mechanical typologies, and stability in social structures.
- Deviance provides the key to understanding the disruption and recalibration of society that occurs over time. Some traits that could cause social disruption will be stigmatized.
- Systems of deviance create norms and tell members of a given society on how to behave by laying out patterns of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.
- Deviance allows for group majorities to unite around their worldview, often at the expense of those marked as deviant. Social parameters create boundaries between populations and enable an "us-versus-them" mentality within the two groups.
- Being marked as deviant can actually bolster solidarity within the marked community as members take pride and ownership in their stigmatized identity.
- Some traits will be stigmatized and can potentially cause social disruption. However, as traits become more mainstream, society will gradually adjust to incorporate the formerly stigmatized traits.

Key Terms

- **structural functionalism**: A sociological approach that looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole.
- **population**: A count of the number of residents within a political or geographical boundary, such as a town, a nation, or the world or of the number of individuals belonging to a particular group.
- **Social Parameters**: The given rules and norms in a given social situation.

What function does deviance play in society? This is a question asked by sociologists subscribing to the school of structural functionalism. Structural functionalism has its roots in the very origins of sociological thought and the development of sociology as a discipline. Though precursors of structural functionalism have been in existence since the mid-1800's, structural functionalism was solidified by Émile Durkheim in the late nineteenth century. A structural functionalist approach emphasizes social solidarity, divided into organic and mechanical typologies, and stability in social structures. Structural functionalists ask "How does any given social phenomenon contribute to social stability?" This question cannot be answered without investigating deviance.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Functions of Crime: This is a short clip from the "Functions of Crime" segment of their new seven-part DVD "Short Cuts to Sociology: Crime and Deviance. "



Émile Durkheim: Durkheim formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.

For the structural functionalist, deviance serves two primary roles in creating social stability. First, systems of recognizing and punishing deviance create norms and tell members of a given society how to behave by laying out patterns of acceptable and unacceptable behavior. In order to avoid unsettling society, one must be aware of what behaviors are marked as deviant. Second, these social parameters create

boundaries between populations and enable an "us-versus-them" mentality within different groups. Deviance allows for the majorities to unite around their normativity, at the expense of those marked as deviant. Conversely, being marked as deviant can actual bolster solidarity within the marked community, as members take pride and ownership in their stigmatized identity and create cohesive units of their own (for example, members of the LGBT community unifying around Pride).

From a structural functionalist perspective, then, how does society change, particularly in regards to establishing norms and deviant behaviors? Deviance provides the key to understanding the disruption and re-calibration of society that occurs over time. Some traits will be stigmatized and can potentially cause social disruption. However, as traits become more mainstream, society will gradually adjust to incorporate the formerly stigmatized traits.

Take, again, the example of homosexuality. In urban America 50 years ago, homosexual behavior was considered deviant. On the one hand, this fractured society into those marked as homosexuals and those unmarked as normative heterosexuals. While this us-versus-them mentality solidified social identities and solidarities within the two categories, there was an overarching social schism. As time went on, homosexuality has come to be accepted as somewhat more mainstream. Accordingly, what originally appears as a fracturing of society actually reinforces social stability by enabling mechanisms for social adjustment and development.

Strain Theory: How Social Values Produce Deviance

Strain theory states that social structures within society may pressure citizens to commit crimes.

Learning Objectives

Apply Merton's typology of deviance to the real world and give examples for each type

Key Points

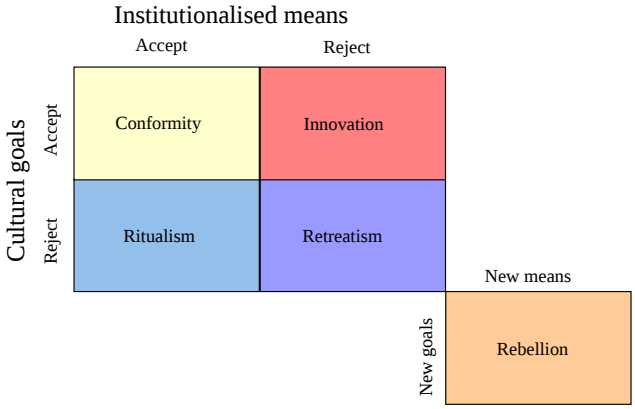
- Social strain theory was developed by famed American sociologist Robert K. Merton. "Strain" refers to the discrepancies between culturally defined goals and the institutionalized means available to achieve these goals.
- Merton was proposing a typology of deviance based upon two criteria: (1) a person's motivations or her adherence to cultural goals; (2) a person's belief in how to attain his goals.
- A typology is a classification scheme designed to facilitate understanding.
- According to Merton, there are five types of deviance based upon these criteria: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

Key Terms

- **typology**: The systematic classification of the types of something according to their common characteristics.
- **Social strain theory**: Social strain theory was developed by famed American sociologist Robert K. Merton who, in his discussion of deviance, proposed a typology of deviant behavior.

Social strain theory was developed by famed American sociologist Robert K. Merton. The theory states that social structures may pressure citizens to commit crimes. Strain may be structural, which refers to the processes at the societal level that filter down and affect how the individual perceives his or her needs. Strain may also be individual, which refers to the frictions and pains experienced by an individual as he or she looks for ways to satisfy individual needs. These types of strain can insinuate social structures within society that then pressure citizens to become criminals.

Robert K. Merton's Deviance Typology



Social Strain Theory: Five types of deviance.

In his discussion of deviance Merton proposed a typology of deviant behavior that illustrated the possible discrepancies between culturally defined goals and the institutionalized means available to achieve these goals. A typology is a classification scheme designed to facilitate understanding. In this case, Merton was proposing a typology of deviance based upon two criteria: (1) a person's motivations or his adherence to cultural goals; (2) a person's belief in how to attain his goals. According to Merton, there are five types of deviance based upon these criteria:

- Conformity involves the acceptance of the cultural goals and means of attaining those goals.
- Innovation involves the acceptance of the goals of a culture but the rejection of the traditional and/or legitimate means of

attaining those goals. For example, a member of the Mafia values wealth but employs alternative means of attaining his wealth; in this example, the Mafia member's means would be deviant.
- Ritualism involves the rejection of cultural goals but the routinized acceptance of the means for achieving the goals.
- Retreatism involves the rejection of both the cultural goals and the traditional means of achieving those goals.
- Rebellion is a special case wherein the individual rejects both the cultural goals and traditional means of achieving them but actively attempts to replace both elements of the society with different goals and means.

What makes Merton's typology so fascinating is that people can turn to deviance in the pursuit of widely accepted social values and goals. For instance, individuals in the U.S. who sell illegal drugs have rejected the culturally acceptable means of making money, but still share the widely accepted cultural value in the U.S. of making money. Thus, deviance can be the result of accepting one norm, but breaking another in order to pursue the first. In this sense, according social strain theory, social values actually produce deviance in two ways. First, an actor can reject social values and therefore become deviant. Additionally, an actor can accept social values but use deviant means to realize them.

Critics point to the fact that there is an ample amount of crime/delinquent behavior that is "non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic" (O'Grady, 2011), which highlights that not all crimes are explicable using Merton's theory. Crimes such as vandalism, for example, can't be explained by a need for material acquisition.

Illegitimate Opportunity Structures: Social Class and Crime

Illegitimate opportunity structures are the rules that operate within deviant subcultures.

Learning Objectives

Explain how illegitimate opportunity structures function in different subcultures

Key Points

- American sociologists Richard Cowan and Lloyd Ohlin extended Robert K. Merton's social strain theory to directly address juvenile delinquency and social class.
- A subculture is a group of people with a culture that differentiates them from the larger culture to which they belong.
- In a criminal subculture, youth learn to use crime for material gain.
- In a conflict subculture, youth learn to form gangs as a way to express frustration about the lack of normative opportunity structures in their neighborhood.
- In a retreatist subculture youth learn to reject both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures.
- In a retreatist subculture youth learn to reject both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures

Key Terms

- **Conflict subculture**: In a conflict subculture, youth learn to form gangs as a way to express frustration about the lack of normative opportunity structures in their neighborhood.
- **subculture**: A portion of a culture distinguished from the larger society around it by its customs or other features.
- **Illegitimate opportunity structure**: In criminology, subcultural theory emerged from the work of the Chicago School on gangs and developed through the symbolic interactionism school into a set of theories arguing that certain groups or subcultures in society have values and attitudes that are conducive to crime and violence. The primary focus is on juvenile delinquency because theorists believe that if this pattern of offending can be understood and controlled, it will break the transition from teenage offender into habitual criminal.

American sociologists Richard Cowan and Lloyd Ohlin extended Robert K. Merton's social strain theory to directly address juvenile delinquency and social class. If you recall, social strain theory develops a typology of deviance in which an individual can deviate on two planes. An individual can be deviant by refusing to accept social norms or an individual can deviate by accepting social norms but using deviant means to achieve their realization. In the context of the U.S., in which prosperity is a social value, one could deviate by rejecting the notion of wealth. Alternatively, one could deviate by aspiring to a wealthy lifestyle but earning one's living as a pickpocket.

In 1960, Cowan and Ohlin published *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. In this work, they noted that the individuals who achieved social norms by deviant means frequently operated from within institutions that, similarly to those operating in normative institutions, had rules of behavior. A key to understanding Cowan and Ohlin's theory is the notion of subculture. A subculture is a group of people with a culture that differentiates them from the larger culture to which they belong. Subcultures create a stacking or layering effect within a larger cultural context. While a pickpocket may deviate from American social norms, he adheres to social norms of a smaller group of individuals who identify as American pickpockets. Cowan and Ohlin asserted that subcultures have rules of their own. Illegitimate opportunity structures are the

rules that operate within deviant subcultures. Cowan and Ohlin emphasized how the structures of these deviant subcultures paralleled the rules and operations of more socially acceptable institutions.



Goths: Goths are an example of a subculture: A group of people with a culture that differentiates them from the larger culture to which they belong.

Cowan and Ohlin used juvenile delinquency as a case study to explore this theory of illegitimate opportunity structures. In a criminal subculture, youth learn to use crime for material gain. This subculture usually forms in areas where there is an established organization of adult crime that provides an illegitimate opportunity structure for youths to learn how to behave criminally for material success. In a conflict subculture, youth learn to form gangs as a way to express frustration about the lack of normative opportunity structures in their neighborhood. New initiates into the gang will learn how to engage in conflict or gang activities to express frustrations by watching gang leadership. Thus, gangs become a subculture of their own, in contradistinction to the normative, peaceful model of youth behavior. Finally, in a retreatist subculture youth learn to reject both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. These individuals are thought to be “double failures” in that they engage in conduct that is neither normative and accepted by society at large nor deviant but accepted by a subculture.

Criminal and conflict subcultures demonstrate that individuals can reject the normative means of the culture at large and still find a place within a smaller deviant subculture. The retreatist subculture is the exception that proves the rule of illegitimate opportunity structures. The extreme deviance and isolation of individuals affiliated with a retreatist subculture demonstrate that others who engage in deviant behavior are able to find a subculture to which to subscribe.

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7.5: The Conflict Perspective on Deviance

The Conflict Perspective on Deviance

Conflict theories emphasize the social, political, or material inequality of a social group, that critique the broad socio-political system.

Learning Objectives

Explain how conflict theory understands deviance and crime in society

Key Points

- In conflict theory, deviant behaviors are actions that do not go along with the social institutions.
- Marx himself did not write about deviant behavior, but he wrote about alienation amongst the proletariat, as well as between the proletariat and the finished product, which causes conflict and, thus, deviant behavior.
- Marx used the term ” lumpenproletariat ” to describe that layer of the working class which is unlikely to ever achieve class consciousness.
- Michel Foucault believed that torture had been phased out from modern society due to the dispersion of power; there was no need any more for the wrath of the state on a deviant individual.
- According to Foucault, instead individuals are controlled by institutions. Contemporary society is characterized by the lack of free will on the part of individuals because institutions of knowledge, norms, and values, are in place to categorize and control humans.

Key Terms

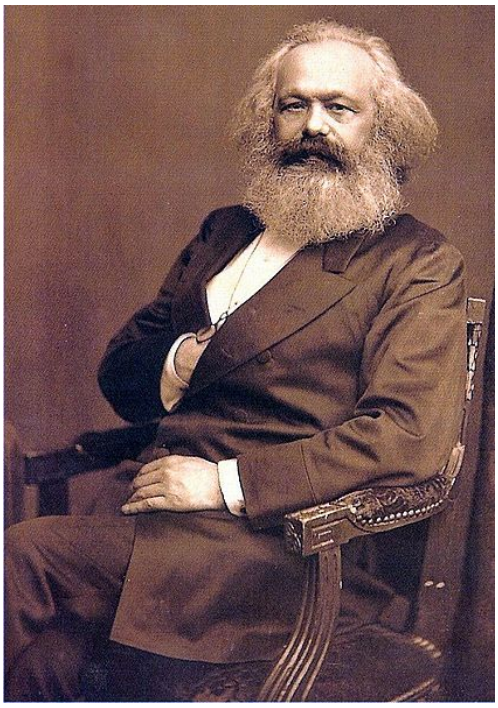
- **institution**: An established organization, especially one dedicated to education, public service, culture, or the care of the destitute, poor etc.
- **Deviant Behavior**: The violation of prevailing norms or cultural standards prescribing how humans ought to behave.
- **lumpenproletariat**: the lowest stratum of the proletariat

Deviance, in a sociological context, describes actions or behaviors that violate social norms, including formally-enacted rules, as well as informal violations of social norms. In sociology, conflict theories are perspectives that emphasize the social, political, or material inequality of a social group, that critique the broad socio-political system, or that otherwise detract from structural functionalism and ideological conservativism. Conflict theories draw attention to power differentials, such as class conflict, and generally contrast historically dominant ideologies. It is therefore a macro level analysis of society. Karl Marx is the father of the social conflict theory, which is a component of the four paradigms of sociology.

In conflict theory, deviant behaviors are actions that do not comply with social institutions. The institution’s ability to change norms, wealth, or status comes into conflict with the individual. The legal rights of poor folks might be ignored, while the middle class side with the elites rather than the poor. Conflict theory is based upon the view that the fundamental causes of crime are the social and economic forces operating within society.

Karl Marx

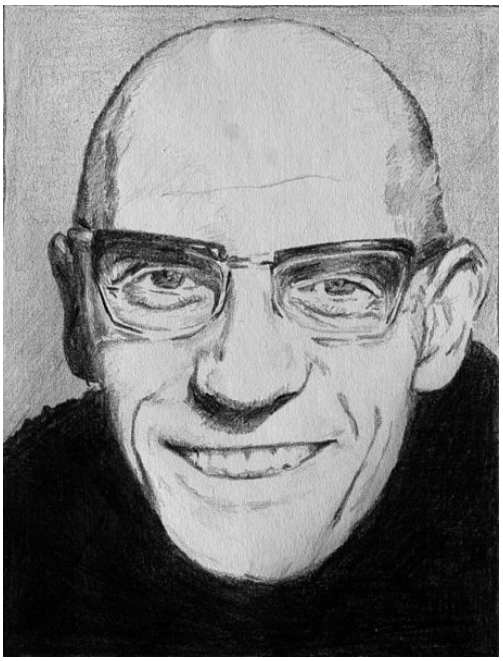
Marx himself did not write about deviant behavior specifically, but he wrote about alienation amongst the proletariat, as well as between the proletariat and the finished product, which causes conflict, and thus deviant behavior. Alienation is the systemic result of living in a socially stratified society, because being a mechanistic part of a social class alienates a person from his or her humanity. In a capitalist society, the worker’s alienation from his and her humanity occurs because the worker can only express labor, a fundamental social aspect of personal individuality, through a privately owned system of industrial production in which each worker is an instrument, a thing, not a person. However, Marx used the term lumpenproletariat to describe that layer of the working class, unlikely to ever achieve class consciousness, lost to socially useful production, and, therefore, of no use in revolutionary struggle or an actual impediment to the realization of a classless society



Portrait of Karl Marx: The nineteenth-century German intellectual Karl Marx identified and described the alienation that afflict the worker under capitalism.

Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault believed that torture had been phased out from modern society due to the dispersion of power; so there was no need any more for the wrath of the state on a deviant individual. Rather, the modern state receives praise for its fairness and dispersion of power that, instead of controlling each individual, controls the mass. He also theorized that institutions control people through the use of discipline. The modern prison is a template for these institutions, because it controls its inmates by the perfect use of discipline. Foucault theorizes that, in a sense, the contemporary society is characterized by the lack of free will on the part of individuals. Institutions of knowledge, norms, and values, are in place to categorize and control humans.



Drawing of Michel Foucault: The French philosopher Michel Foucault theorized that institutions control people through the use of discipline.

Class, Crime, and the Criminal Justice System

Class structure within the criminal justice system helps determine the types of crimes individuals will commit.

Learning Objectives

Explain why white-collar crime is less likely to be tracked in the U.S.

Key Points

- In Marxist theory, the class structure of the capitalist mode of production is characterized by the conflict between two main classes.
- Bourgeoisie are the capitalists who own the means of production, while the much larger proletariat who must sell their own labor power.
- White-collar crime is a financially motivated, nonviolent crime committed for illegal monetary gain.
- Criminal justice is the system of practices and institutions of governments directed at upholding social control, deterring, and mitigating crime or sanctioning those who violate laws with criminal penalties and rehabilitation efforts.
- Criminal justice is the system of practices and institutions of governments directed at upholding social control, deterring and mitigating crime, or sanctioning those who violate laws with criminal penalties and rehabilitation efforts.
- There are four jurisdictions for punishment: retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and societal protection.

- Courts rely on an adversarial process in which attorneys-one representing the defendant and one representing the crown-present their cases in the presence of a judge who monitors legal procedures
- There are four jurisdictions for punishment: retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and societal protection.

Key Terms

- **Marxist Theory**: An economic and sociopolitical worldview and method of socioeconomic inquiry centered upon a materialist interpretation of history, a dialectical view of social change, and an analysis–critique of the development of capitalism.
- **white-collar crime**: A non-violent crime, generally for personal gain and often involving money.
- **plea bargain**: An agreement in which a defendant agrees to plead guilty to a lesser charge instead of not guilty to a greater one

Of the classical founders of social science, conflict theory is most commonly associated with Karl Marx. Based on a dialectical materialist account of history, Marxism posited that capitalism, like previous socioeconomic systems, would inevitably produce internal tensions leading to its own destruction. Marx ushered in radical change, advocating proletarian revolution and freedom from the ruling classes. In Marxist theory, the class structure of the capitalist mode of production is characterized by the conflict between two main classes: the bourgeoisie, the capitalists who own the means of production, and the much larger proletariat who must sell their own labor power.

Theory of Deviance

Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay theorized that social disorganization was a root cause of deviancy and crime, especially for minority youth. They discussed the fact that inner city kids tended to be more involved in a criminal lifestyle than kids who lived in the suburbs. Being able to afford to live in better parts of the city (and thus having wealth) afforded certain kids better opportunities in terms of lifestyle and education, leading to less crime and criminal involvement.

White-Collar Crime

White-collar crime is a financially motivated, nonviolent crime committed for illegal monetary gain. Within the field of criminology, white-collar crime initially was defined by sociologist Edwin Sutherland in 1939 as “a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation. ” A clear example of how deviance reflects power imbalances is in the reporting and tracking of crimes. Indeed, white-collar crimes are typically committed by individuals in higher social classes. That white-collar crimes are less likely to be tracked, less likely to be reported, less likely to be prosecuted, and are more likely to be committed by people in higher social classes suggests that the way crimes are punished in the United States tends to favor the affluent while punitively punishing the less affluent. Additionally, men benefit more from white-collar crime than do women, as they are more likely to attempt these crimes when they are in more powerful positions, allowing them to reap greater rewards.

The Criminal Justice System

Criminal justice is the system of practices and institutions of governments directed at upholding social control, deterring and mitigating crime, or sanctioning those who violate laws with criminal penalties and rehabilitation efforts. Those accused of crime have protections against abuse of investigatory and prosecution powers.

Within the criminal justice system, there are three basic elements that constitute it: the police, the courts, and punishment. The police maintain public order by enforcing the law. Police use personal discretion in deciding whether and how to handle a situation. Research suggests that police are more likely to make an arrest if the offense is serious, if bystanders are present, or if the suspect is of a visible minority. Courts rely on an adversarial process in which attorneys-one representing the defendant and one representing the crown-present their cases in the presence of a judge who monitors legal procedures. In practice, courts resolve most cases through a plea bargain. Though efficient, this method puts less-powerful people at a disadvantage. There are four jurisdictions for punishment: retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and societal protection. Community-bases corrections include probation and parole. These programs lower the cost of supervising people convicted of crimes and reduce prison overcrowding but have not been shown to reduce recidivism.



Stone as a Weapon of the Proletariat: In Marxist theory, the class structure of the capitalist mode of production is characterized by the conflict between two main classes: the bourgeoisie, the capitalists who own the means of production, and the much larger proletariat who must sell their own labor power.

Power and Inequality

Power and inequality determine the socioeconomic conditions of different classes.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the four basic assumptions of social stratification theory

Key Points

- Social stratification is a concept involving the classification of persons into groups based on shared socioeconomic conditions.
- Conflict theories, such as Marxism, focus on the inaccessibility of resources and lack of social mobility found in stratified societies.
- Social stratification has been shown to cause many social problems, including homicide, infant mortality, obesity, teenage pregnancies, emotional depression, teen suicide, and a high prison population.
- In modern Western societies, stratification is broadly organized into three main layers: upper class, middle class, and lower class.
- Conflict theories, such as Marxism, point to the inaccessibility of resources and lack of social mobility found in stratified societies.
- In Marxist theory, the capitalist mode of production consists of two main economic parts: the substructure and the Superstructure. Marx
- Social stratification has been shown to cause many social problems.

Key Terms

- **Marxist Theory**: An economic and sociopolitical worldview and method of socioeconomic inquiry centered upon a materialist interpretation of history, a dialectical view of social change, and an analysis–critique of the development of capitalism.
- **Conflict Theories**: Perspectives in social science that emphasize the social, political, or material inequality of a social group, critique the broad socio-political system, or otherwise detract from structural functionalism and ideological conservatism.
- **Weberian**: Of or relating to Max Weber (1864–1920), influential German sociologist and political economist.

Power and Inequality

In social science and politics, power is the ability to influence the behavior of people. The term *authority* is often used for power perceived as legitimate by the social structure. Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to (or regularly found in) humans as social beings. French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) saw power as "a complex strategic situation in a given society social setting". Power may be held through authority, social class (material wealth), personal charisma, expertise or knowledge, persuasion, force (such as law or violence), and a myriad of other dynamics.

Because power operates both relationally and reciprocally, sociologists speak of the balance of power between people in a relationship. All parties to all relationships have some power; the sociological examination of power concerns itself with discovering and describing the relative strengths – equal or unequal, stable or subject to periodic change. Given that power is not innate and can be granted to others, to acquire power you must possess or control a form of power currency (such as wealth, social status, authority, etc.).

Social inequality and stratification

Social inequality refers to relational processes in society that have the effect of limiting or harming a group's social status, social class, and social circle. Areas of social inequality include access to voting rights, freedom of speech and assembly, the extent of property rights and access to education, health care, quality housing, traveling, transportation, vacationing and other social goods and services.

The reasons for social inequality can vary, but are often broad and far reaching. Social inequality can emerge through a society's understanding of appropriate gender roles, or through the prevalence of social stereotyping. They can also be established through discriminatory legislation. Social

inequalities exist between ethnic or religious groups, classes and countries, making the concept a global phenomenon.

In sociology, social stratification is a concept involving the classification of persons into groups based on shared socioeconomic conditions; it is a relational set of inequalities with economic, social, political and ideological dimensions. Theories of social stratification are based on four basic principles:

1. Social stratification is a trait of society, not simply a reflection of individual differences.
2. Social stratification carries over from generation to generation.
3. Social stratification is universal but variable.
4. Social stratification involves not just inequality but beliefs as well.

Classifications of stratification

In modern Western societies, stratification is broadly organized into three main layers: upper class, middle class, and lower class.

The upper class in modern societies is the social class composed of the wealthiest members of society, who also wield the greatest political power. The upper class is generally contained within the wealthiest 1–2 percent of the population, with wealth passed from generation to generation.

In Weberian socioeconomic terms, the middle class is the broad group of people in contemporary society who fall socioeconomically between the working class and upper class. The common measures of what constitutes middle class vary significantly between cultures.

The working class describes the group of people employed in lower tier jobs, often including those in unemployment or otherwise possessing below-average incomes. Working classes are mainly found in industrialized economies and in urban areas of non-industrialized economies.

Social Stratification and Marxism

Conflict theories, such as Marxism, focus on the inaccessibility of resources and lack of social mobility found in stratified societies. Many sociological theorists have criticized the extent to which the working classes are unlikely to advance socioeconomically; the wealthy tend to hold political power which they use to exploit the proletariat inter-generationally.

In Marxist theory, the capitalist mode of production consists of two main economic parts: the substructure and the superstructure. Marx saw classes as defined by people's relationship to the means of productions in two basic ways: either they own productive property or they labor for others. The base comprehends the forces and relations of production: employer-employee work conditions, the technical division of labor, and property relations—into which people enter to produce the necessities and amenities of life. These relations determine society's other relationships and ideas, which are described as its superstructure. The superstructure of a society includes its culture, institutions, political power structures, roles, rituals, and state.

Social stratification has been shown to cause many social problems. A comprehensive study of major world economies revealed that homicide, infant mortality, obesity, teenage pregnancies, emotional depression, teen suicide, and prison population all correlate with higher social inequality.

There are three common characteristics of stratified systems:

1. Rankings apply to social categories of people who share a common characteristic without necessarily interacting or identifying with each other. The process of being ranked can be changed by the person being ranked, and it can differ based on race, gender, and social class.
2. People's life experiences and opportunities depend on their social category. This characteristic can be changed by the amount of work a person can put into their interests. The use of resources can influence others.
3. The ranks of different social categories change slowly over time. This has occurred frequently in the United States ever since the American revolution—the U.S. Constitution has been altered several times to specify rights for everyone.

The Law as an Instrument of Oppression

Oppression is the exercise of authority or power in a burdensome, cruel, or unjust manner.

Learning Objectives

Describe the sociological approach to oppression

Key Points

- Anarchists and other libertarian socialists argue that police and law themselves are oppression. The term oppression, in such instances, refers to the subordination of a given group or social category by unjust use of force or authority in order to achieve the effects of oppression.
- In psychology, racism, sexism and other prejudices are often studied as individual beliefs which, although not necessarily oppressive in themselves, can lead to oppression if they are codified in law or become parts of a culture.
- In sociology, prejudices are often studied as being institutionalized systems of oppression in some societies.

- In sociology and psychology, internalized oppression is the manner in which an oppressed group comes to use against itself the methods of the oppressor.

Key Terms

- **anarchist**: One who believes in or advocates the absence of hierarchy and authority in most forms (compare anarchism), especially one who works toward the realization of such.
- **prejudice**: An adverse judgment or opinion formed beforehand or without knowledge of the facts.

Oppression is the exercise of authority or power in a burdensome, cruel, or unjust manner. It can also be defined as an act or instance of oppressing, the state of being oppressed, and the feeling of being heavily burdened, mentally or physically, by troubles, adverse conditions, and anxiety. Injustice refers to the absence of justice. The term may be applied either in reference to a particular event or act, or to a larger status quo. The term generally refers to misuse, abuse, neglect, or malfeasance that is uncorrected or otherwise sanctioned by a legal system. Misuse and abuse with regard to a particular case or context may represent a systemic failure to serve the cause of justice.

Anarchists and other libertarian socialists argue that police and laws themselves are oppression. The term oppression, in such instances, refers to the subordination of a given group or social category by unjust use of force, authority, or societal norms in order to achieve the effects mentioned above. When institutionalized, formally or informally, it may achieve the dimension of systematic oppression. Oppression is customarily experienced as a consequence of, and expressed in, the form of a prevailing, if unconscious, assumption that the given target is in some way inferior. Oppression is rarely limited solely to formal government action: An individual may be the particular focus of oppression or persecution, and in such circumstances, have no group membership in which to share, and thus maybe mitigate the burden of ostracism.

In psychology, racism, sexism and other prejudices are often studied as individual beliefs which, although not necessarily oppressive in themselves, can lead to oppression if they are codified in law or become parts of a culture. By comparison, in sociology, these prejudices are often studied as being institutionalized systems of oppression in some societies. In sociology, the tools of oppression include a progression of denigration, dehumanization, and demonization which often generate scapegoating, which is used to justify aggression against targeted groups and individuals.

In sociology and psychology, internalized oppression is the manner in which an oppressed group comes to use against itself the methods of the oppressor. For example, sometimes members of marginalized groups hold an oppressive view toward their own group, or start to believe in negative stereotypes.



Anarchists at the G20 Summit in London, 2009: Sometimes the oppressed unite to fight back against the oppressors.

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7.6: The Symbolic-Interactionalist Perspective on Deviance

Differential Association Theory

Differential association is when individuals base their behaviors by association and interaction with others.

Learning Objectives

List Sutherland's nine key points

Key Points

- In criminology, differential association is a theory developed by Edwin Sutherland.
- Differential association theory proposes that through interaction with others, individuals learn the values, attitudes, techniques, and motives for criminal behavior.
- Differential association predicts that an individual will choose the criminal path when the balance of definitions for law-breaking exceeds those for law-abiding.
- One critique leveled against differential association stems from the idea that people can be independent, rational actors and individually motivated.

Key Terms

- **Edwin Sutherland**: Considered as one of the most influential criminologists of the 20th century. He was a sociologist of the symbolic interactionist school of thought and is best known for defining white-collar crime and differential association—a general theory of crime and delinquency.
- **Differential Association Theory**: This theory predicts that an individual will choose the criminal path when the balance of definitions for law-breaking exceeds those for law-abiding.
- **differential association**: a theory in criminology developed by Edwin Sutherland, proposing that through interaction with others, individuals learn the values, attitudes, techniques, and motives for criminal behavior

In criminology, differential association is a theory developed by Edwin Sutherland (1883–1950) proposing that through interaction with others, individuals learn the values, attitudes, techniques, and motives for criminal behavior. Differential association theory is the most talked-about of the learning theories of deviance. This theory focuses on *how* individuals learn to become criminals, but it does not concern itself with *why* they become criminals.

Differential association predicts that an individual will choose the criminal path when the balance of definitions for law-breaking exceeds those for law-abiding. This tendency will be reinforced if social association provides active people in the person's life. The earlier in life an individual comes under the influence high status people within a group, the more likely the individual is to follow in their footsteps. This does not deny that there may be practical motives for crime. If a person is hungry but has no money, there is a temptation to steal. But the use of "needs" and "values" is equivocal. To some extent, both non-criminal and criminal individuals are motivated by the need for money and social gain.

Sutherland's Nine Points

The principles of Sutherland's theory of differential association can be summarized into nine key points.

1. Criminal behavior is learned.
2. Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
3. The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups.
4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes techniques of committing the crime (which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes simple) and the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable.
6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of the law.
7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.
8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those needs and values, since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values.

An important quality of differential association theory is the frequency and intensity of interaction. The amount of time that a person is exposed to a particular definition and at what point the interaction began are both crucial for explaining criminal activity. The process of learning criminal behavior is really not any different from the process involved in learning any other type of behavior. Sutherland maintains that there is no unique learning process associated with acquiring non-normative ways of behaving.

One very unique aspect of this theory is that it works to explain more than just juvenile delinquency and crime committed by

lower class individuals. Since crime is understood to be learned behavior, the theory is also applicable to white-collar, corporate, and organized crime.

One critique leveled against differential association stems from the idea that people can be independent, rational actors and individually motivated. This notion of one being a criminal based on his or her environment is problematic—the theory does not take into account personality traits that might affect a person's susceptibility to these environmental influences.



Criminal Silhouette: Differential association theory predicts that an individual will choose the criminal path when the balance of definitions for law-breaking exceeds those for law-abiding.

Control Theory

Control theory explains that societal institutions without strong control of society can result in deviant behavior.

Learning Objectives

Identify the central assumption of control theory

Key Points

- Control theory advances the proposition that weak bonds between the individual and society allow people to deviate. Establishing strong social bonds, such as family ties or close community groups, will prevent crime.
- According to Travis Hirschi, people will conform to a group when they believe they have more to gain from conformity than by deviance.
- Decentralized control or market control is typically maintained through factors such as price, competition, or market share.
- Centralized control such as bureaucratic control is typically maintained through administrative or hierarchical techniques such as creating standards or policies.
- Mixed control is typically maintained by keeping a set of values and beliefs or norms and traditions.
- Mixed control is typically maintained by keeping a set of values and beliefs or norms and traditions.

Key Terms

- **control theory**: The theory states that behavior is caused not by outside stimuli, but by what a person wants most at any given time. According to control theory, weak social systems result in deviant behavior.
- **deviance**: Actions or behaviors that violate formal and informal cultural norms, such as laws or the norm that discourages public nose-picking.

Control theory advances the proposition that weak bonds between the individual and society allow people to deviate. In other words, deviant behavior occurs when external controls on behavior are weak. If the individual has strong social bonds with positive influences, deviant behavior is less likely than for another individual who has no family or friends.

Social Bonds

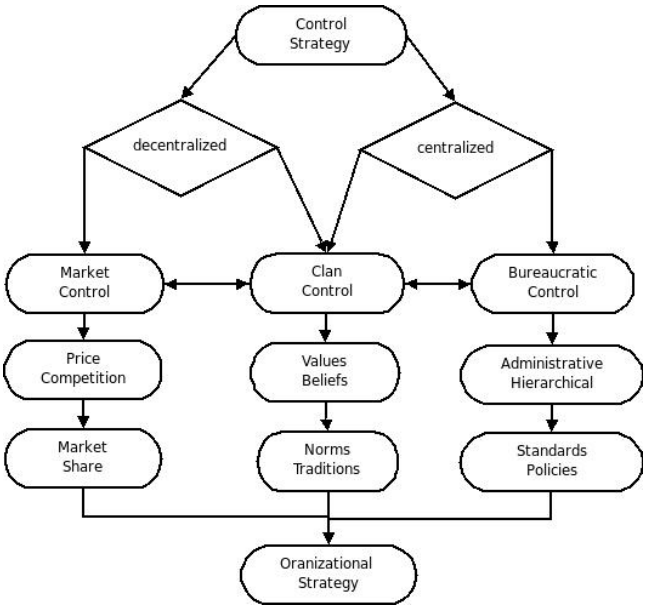
According to Travis Hirschi, norms emerge to deter deviant behavior, leading to conformity and groups. People will conform to a group when they believe they have more to gain from conformity than by deviance. Hirschi argued a person follows norms because they have a bond with society. These social bonds have four elements: opportunity, attachment, belief, and involvement. When any one of these bonds are weakened or broken a person is more likely to act in defiance.

Control Theory in sociology can either be classified as centralized, decentralized, or mixed. Decentralized control, or market control, is typically maintained through factors such as price, competition, or market share. Centralized control, such as bureaucratic control, is typically maintained through administrative or hierarchical techniques that create standards or policies. An example of mixed control is clan control, which contains both centralized and decentralized control. Mixed control is typically maintained by establishing a set of values and beliefs or norms and traditions.

Critique

While control theory gives an adequate explanation of non-serious forms of youthful delinquency, it fails to explain adult criminal behavior and serious instances of youth crime. Moreover, control theory is met with some resistance for its compliance to a conservative view of the broader social order. From a control theory perspective, children who are properly bonded to their parents would be involved in less crime than children who have weaker parental bonds; control theory assumes that the family is a naturally law-abiding institution.

The theory's biggest weakness is that it places too much importance on the bonds relative to an individual and society, without looking at other concepts like autonomy and impulsiveness.



Control Strategy: Control theory advances the proposition that weak bonds between the individual and society allow people to deviate.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory holds that deviance is not inherent to an act, but instead the result of the externally-imposed label of "deviant".

Learning Objectives

Describe the labeling theory approach to deviance

Key Points

- George Herbert Mead posited that the self is socially constructed and reconstructed through the interactions which each person has with the community. Thus, if the community labels an individual as "deviant", the individual will integrate this label into his sense of self.
- A social role is a set of expectations we have about a behavior. They are necessary for the organization and functioning of any society or group.
- Deviant roles are very special roles that society provides for deviant behavior.
- Mental illness and homosexuality are two examples of labels given to individual displaying deviant behavior.
- People who believe in hard labeling believe that mental illness does not exist. According to them, these illnesses are entirely socially constructed when we attach the label "mentally ill" to a behavior.
- Soft labeling supporters believe that mental illnesses are not socially constructed.
- People who believe in hard labeling believe that mental illness does not exist – they are entirely socially constructed.
- Soft labeling supporters believe that mental illnesses are not socially constructed.

Key Terms

- **Labeling theory**: Labeling theory is closely related to social-construction and symbolic-interaction analysis.
- **Deviant roles**: Labeling theory concerns itself mostly not with the normal roles that define our lives, but with those very special roles that society provides for deviant behavior.
- **social role**: Labeling theory concerns itself mostly not with the normal roles that define our lives, but with those very special roles that society provides for deviant behavior, called deviant roles, stigmatic roles, or social stigma.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory is closely related to social-construction and symbolic-interaction analysis. It holds that deviance is not an inherent tendency of an individual, but instead focuses on the tendency of majorities to negatively label minorities or those seen as deviant from standard cultural norms. The theory is concerned with how the self-identity and the behavior of individuals may be determined or influenced by the terms used to describe or classify them. The theory was prominent during the 1960s and 1970s, and some modified versions of the theory are still popular today.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Sociology – Labelling theory: Short presentation on labeling theory.

Theoretical Origins

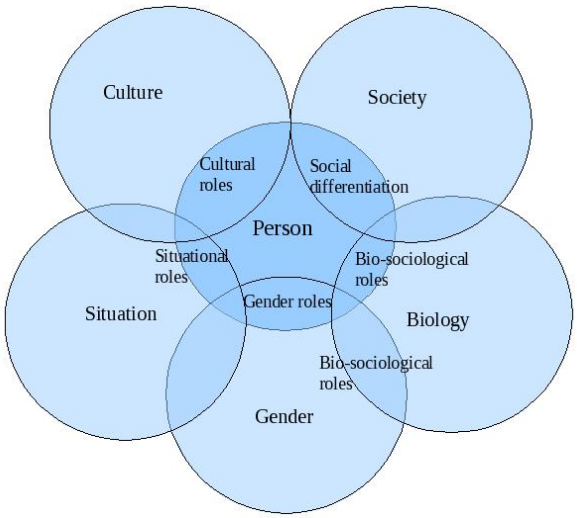
Labeling theory had its origins in *Suicide*, a book by French sociologist Émile Durkheim. He argued that crime is not so

much a violation of a penal code as it is an act that outrages society. He was the first to suggest that deviant labeling satisfies that function and satisfies society's need to control the behavior. George Herbert Mead posited that the self is socially constructed and reconstructed through the interactions which each person has with the community. The labeling theory suggests that people are given labels based on how others view their tendencies or behaviors. Each individual is aware of how they are judged by others because he or she has adopted many different roles and functions in social interactions and has been able to gauge the reactions of those present.

Social Roles

Labeling theory concerns itself not with the normal roles that define our lives, but with those very special roles that society provides for deviant behavior, called deviant roles, stigmatic roles, or social stigma. A social role is a set of expectations we have about a behavior. Social roles are necessary for the organization and functioning of any society or group. We expect the postman, for example, to adhere to certain fixed rules about how he does his job.

Labeling theory hypothesizes that the labels applied to individuals influence their behavior, particularly that the application of negative or stigmatizing labels promotes deviant behavior. They become a self-fulfilling prophecy: an individual who is labeled has little choice but to conform to the essential meaning of that judgment. Consequently, labeling theory postulates that it is possible to prevent social deviance via a limited social shaming reaction in "labelers" and replace moral indignation with tolerance.



Social roles:. A social role is a set of expectations we have about a behavior. Social roles are necessary for the organization and functioning of any society or group.

Labeling Deviants

The social construction of deviant behavior plays an important role in the labeling process that occurs in society. This process involves not only the labeling of criminally deviant behavior, which is behavior that does not fit socially constructed norms, but also labeling that reflects stereotyped or stigmatized behavior of the "mentally ill." Furthermore, the application of labeling theory to homosexuality has been extremely controversial. It was Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues who pointed out the big discrepancy between the behavior and the role attached to it.

Hard Labeling and Soft Labeling

There are two distinctions in labeling: hard labeling and soft labeling. People who believe in hard labeling believe that mental illness does not exist. It is merely deviance from the norms of society that people attribute to mental illness. Thus, mental illnesses are socially constructed illnesses and psychotic disorders do not exist. People who believe in soft labeling believe that mental illnesses do, in fact, exist. Unlike the supporters of hard labeling, soft labeling supporters believe that mental illnesses are not socially constructed but are objective problems.

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7.7: Crime

Crime

Crime is the breach of rules or laws for which some governing authority can ultimately prescribe a conviction.

Learning Objectives

Relate cultural change to changing definitions of crime

Key Points

- While every crime violates the law, not every violation of the law counts as a crime. Breaches of contract and of other civil law may rank as “offenses” or as “infractions. ” Torts are wrongs against private parties that can give rise to a civil cause of action.
- In sociology, a normative definition views crime as deviant behavior that violates prevailing norms, or cultural standards prescribing how humans ought to behave normally.
- Criminalization is a procedure deployed by society as a pre-emptive, harm-reduction device, using the threat of punishment as a deterrent to anyone proposing to engage in the behavior causing harm.
- As cultures change and the political environment shifts, societies may criminalize or decriminalize certain behaviors, which directly affects crime statistics and social perception of crime and deviant behavior..
- Criminology is the scientific study of the nature, extent, causes, and control of criminal behavior in both the individual and in society.
- As cultures change and the political environment shifts, societies may criminalize or decriminalize certain behaviors, which directly affects the crime statistics.
- Crime statistics refers to the collection and calculation on data on crime in a given location.
- Criminology is the scientific study of the nature, extent, causes, and control of criminal behavior in both the individual and in society.

Key Terms

- **criminalization**: The act of making a previously legal activity illegal.
- **Deviant Behavior**: The violation of prevailing norms or cultural standards prescribing how humans ought to behave.
- **Breaches of Contract**: An action in which a binding agreement or bargained-for exchange is not honored by one or more of the parties to the contract by non-performance or interference with the other party’s performance.

Crime is the breach of rules or laws for which some governing authority can ultimately prescribe a conviction. Crimes may also result in cautions, rehabilitation, or be unenforced. Individual human societies may each define crime and crimes differently, in different localities, and at different time stages of the crime. While every crime violates the law, not every violation of the law counts as a crime; for example, breaches of contract and of other civil law may rank as “offenses” or as “infractions. ” Modern societies generally regard crimes as offenses against the public or the state, as distinguished from torts, which are wrongs against private parties that can give rise to a civil cause of action.

In sociology, a normative definition views crime as deviant behavior that violates prevailing norms, or cultural standards prescribing how humans ought to behave normally. This approach considers the complex realities surrounding the concept of crime and seeks to understand how changing social, political, psychological, and economic conditions may affect changing definitions of crime and the form of the legal, law-enforcement, and penal responses made by society.

These structural realities remain fluid and often contentious. For example: as cultures change and the political environment shifts, societies may criminalize or decriminalize certain behaviors, which directly affects the statistical crime rates, influences the allocation of resources for the enforcement of laws, and re-influences the general public opinion. One can view criminalization as a procedure deployed by society as a pre-emptive, harm-reduction device, using the threat of punishment as a deterrent to anyone proposing to engage in the behavior causing harm. The state becomes involved because governing entities can become convinced that the costs of not criminalizing, through allowing the harms to continue unabated, outweigh the costs of criminalizing it, restricting individual liberty, for example, to minimize harm to others.

Similarly, changes in the collection and calculation of data on crime may affect the public perceptions of the extent of any given “crime problem.” All such adjustments to crime statistics, together with the experience of people in their everyday lives, shape attitudes on the extent to which the state should use law or social engineering to enforce or encourage any particular social norm. Criminology is the scientific study of the nature, extent, causes, and control of criminal behavior in both the individual and in society.

Types of Crime

Criminal law, as opposed to civil law, is the body of law that relates to crime and that defines conduct that is not allowed.

Learning Objectives

Identify and differentiate between different types of crimes

Key Points

- In criminal law, an offense against the person usually refers to a crime which is committed by direct physical harm or force being applied to another person.
- A violent crime is a crime in which the offender uses or threatens to use violent force upon the victim.
- Sex crimes are forms of human sexual behavior that are crimes. Someone who commits one is said to be a sex offender.
- Property crime involves the taking of money or property, and does not involve force or threat of force against a victim.
- Hate crimes occur when a perpetrator targets a victim because of his or her perceived membership in a certain social group, usually defined by racial group, religion, sexual orientation, disability, class, ethnicity, nationality, age, sex, or gender identity.
- Organized crime is the transnational, national, or local grouping of highly centralized enterprises run by criminals for the purpose of engaging in illegal activity.
- Virtual crime refers to a virtual criminal act that takes place in a massively multiplayer online game (MMOG).
- Organized crime are transnational, national, or local groupings of highly centralized enterprises run by criminals for the purpose of engaging in illegal activity

Key Terms

- **Property Crime**: Property crime is a category of crime that includes, among other crimes, burglary, larceny, theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, shoplifting, and vandalism. Property crime only involves the taking of money or property, and does not involve force or threat of force against a victim.
- **organized crime**: A set of large criminal organizations (often competing for markets and territories) that deal in illegal goods and services.
- **Violent Crime**: A violent crime, or crime of violence, is a crime in which the offender uses or threatens to use violent force upon the victim. This entails both crimes in which the violent act is the objective, such as murder, as well as crimes in which violence is the means to an end, (including criminal ends) such as robbery. Violent crimes include crimes committed with and without weapons.

Criminal law, as opposed to civil law, is the body of law that relates to crime. It could be defined as the body of rules that defines conduct that is not allowed because it is held to threaten, harm or endanger the safety and welfare of people, and that sets out the punishment to be imposed on people who do not obey these laws. Criminal law is distinctive for the uniquely serious potential consequences, or sanctions, for failure to abide by its rules.

Offenses Against the Person

In criminal law, an offense against the person usually refers to a crime which is committed by direct physical harm or force being applied to another person. They are usually analyzed by division into fatal offenses, sexual offenses, or non-fatal non-sexual offenses. Although most sexual offenses will also be offenses against the person, sexual crimes are usually categorized separately. Similarly, although many homicides also involve an offense against the person, they are usually categorized under the more serious category.

Violent Crimes

A violent crime is a crime in which the offender uses or threatens to use violent force upon the victim. Violent crimes include crimes committed with and without weapons. They also include both crimes in which the violent act is the objective, such as murder, as well as crimes in which violence is the means to an end, such as robbery. The United States Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) counts five categories of crime as violent crimes: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. According to BJS figures, the rate of violent crime victimization in the United States declined by more than two thirds between the years 1994 and 2009. On September 30, 2009, 7.9% of sentenced prisoners in federal prisons were in for violent crimes; 52.4% of sentenced prisoners in state prisons at yearend 2008 were in for violent crimes; and 21.6% of convicted inmates in jails in 2002 were in for violent crimes.

Sex Crimes

Sex crimes are forms of human sexual behavior that are crimes. Someone who commits one is said to be a sex offender. Some sex crimes are crimes of violence that involve sex. Others

are violations of social taboos, such as incest, sodomy, indecent exposure or exhibitionism. There is much variation among cultures as to what is considered a crime or not, and in what ways or to what extent crimes are punished.

Property Crimes

Property crime is a category of crime that includes burglary, larceny, theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, shoplifting, and vandalism. Property crime only involves the taking of money or property, and does not involve force or threat of force against a victim. Although robbery involves taking property, it is classified as a violent crime, since force, or threat of force, on an individual is involved, in contrast to burglary which typically takes place in an unoccupied dwelling or other unoccupied building. In 2005, only 18% of reported cases of larceny/theft were cleared in the United States.

Hate Crimes

Hate crimes occur when a perpetrator targets a victim because of his or her perceived membership in a certain social group, usually defined by racial group, religion, sexual orientation, disability, class, ethnicity, nationality, age, sex, or gender identity.

Virtual Crimes

Virtual crime refers to a virtual criminal act that takes place in a massively multiplayer online game (MMOG). The huge time and effort invested into such games can lead online "crime" to spill over into real world crime, and even blur the distinctions between the two. Some countries have introduced special police investigation units to cover such "virtual crimes. " South Korea is one such country, and looked into 22,000 cases in the first six months of 2003.

Organized Crime

Organized crime is the transnational, national, or local grouping of highly centralized enterprises run by criminals for the purpose of engaging in illegal activity, most commonly for monetary profit. Sometimes criminal organizations force people to do business with them, as when a gang extorts money from shopkeepers for "protection. " An organized gang or criminal set can also be referred to as a mob.



Handcuffs: Handcuffs pictured on the ground outside the courthouse



Crime Does Not Pay: Shooting a Baby: "Crime Does Not Pay" was one of the primary targets of Dr. Fredrick Wertham's crusade against comics books, and were often cited in his writing and during the Senate inquiries into the comic book industries corruption of the innocent. The general theme of "Crime Does Not Pay" is exactly what the title of the series suggests – criminals rise to power, but come to an often violent end. This panel is from issue 22 of the series.



Crime Dog: Anti-crime campaign using the crime dog cartoon

Crime Statistics

Crime statistics attempt to provide statistical measures of the crime in societies.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate U.S. crime statistics and the various ways law enforcement officials gather them

Key Points

- The two major methods for collecting crime data are law enforcement reports and victimization statistical surveys.
- Statistics from law enforcement organizations are normally readily available and are generally reliable in terms of identifying what crime is being dealt with by law enforcement organizations.
- Victimization surveys are useful because they show some types of crime are well reported to law enforcement officials, while other types of crime are under reported.
- The U.S. has two major data collection programs: the Uniform Crime Reports from the FBI, and the National Crime Victimization Survey from the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Key Terms

- **Victimization Statistical Surveys**: The survey results are used for the purposes of building a crime index.
- **crime**: a specific act committed in violation of the law
- **Uniform Crime Reports**: The UCR Program is a nationwide, cooperative statistical effort of over 18,000 city, university and college, county, state, tribal, federal, and other law enforcement agencies who voluntarily report data on crimes brought to their attention.
- **Crime Statistics**: The collection and/or calculation of data on crime.

Crime statistics attempt to provide statistical measures of the crime in societies. Several methods for measuring crime exist, including household surveys, hospital or insurance records, and compilations by police and similar law enforcement agencies. Typically official crime statistics refer to the latter, but some offences are likely to go unreported to the police. Public surveys are sometimes conducted to estimate the amount of crime not reported to police. Given that crime is usually secretive by nature, measurements of it are likely to be inaccurate. The two major methods for collecting crime data are law enforcement reports and victimization statistical surveys.

Crime statistics are gathered and reported by many countries and are of interest to several international organizations, including Interpol and the United Nations. Law enforcement agencies in some countries, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States and the Home Office in England & Wales, publish crime indices, which are compilations of statistics for various types of crime. The U.S. has two major data collection programs: the Uniform Crime Reports from the FBI and the National Crime Victimization Survey from the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The National Crime Victimization Survey has its use, but it also limited in its scope. For example, it only collects data on the following crimes – assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, rape and robbery. The U.S. has no comprehensive infrastructure to monitor crime trends and report the information to related parties, such as law enforcement.

Crime can generally be broken down into 2 categories – violent and nonviolent. Violent crimes involve harm to another person, generally done intentionally. The seriousness of the crime is determined by the amount of harm; use of a weapon also increases the seriousness.

By contrast, nonviolent crime involves harm to property and/or possessions. Fraud or certain drug charges are examples of nonviolent crimes.

Because of the difficulties in quantifying how much crime actually occurs, researchers generally take two approaches to gathering statistics about crime. First, they often use statistics from law enforcement organizations. These statistics are normally readily available and are generally reliable in terms of identifying what crime is being dealt with by law enforcement organizations, as they are gathered by law enforcement officers in the course of their duties, and are often extracted directly from law enforcement computer systems. However, these statistics often tend to reflect the productivity and law enforcement activities of the officers concerned, and may bear little relationship to the actual amount of crime. One way in which victimization surveys are useful is that they show some types of crime are well reported to law enforcement officials, while other types of crime are under reported. These surveys also give insights as to why crime is reported, or not. This allows degrees of confidence to be assigned to various crime statistics.

Research using a series of victim surveys in 18 countries of the European Union in 2005, funded by the European Commission, has reported that the level of crime in Europe has fallen back to the levels of 1990, and notes that levels of common crime have shown declining trends in the U.S., Canada, Australia and other industrialized countries as well. The European researchers say a general consensus identifies demographic change as the leading cause for this international trend. Although homicide and robbery rates rose in the U.S. in the 1980s, by the end of the century they had declined by 40%.



FBI Seal: The U.S. has two major data collection programs: the Uniform Crime Reports from the FBI, and the National Crime Victimization Survey from the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Juvenile Crime

Juvenile delinquency is participation in illegal behaviors by minors. A juvenile delinquent is typically under the age of 18.

Learning Objectives

Describe the factors that influence the development of delinquency in youth and the ways the legal system deals with this delinquency

Key Points

- A juvenile delinquent is a person who is typically under the age of 18 and commits an act that otherwise would have been charged as a crime had they been an adult.
- There are three categories of juvenile delinquency: delinquency, criminal behavior, and status offenses. Delinquency includes crimes committed by minors which are dealt with by the juvenile courts and justice system.
- Criminal behavior are crimes dealt with by the criminal justice system.
- Status offenses are offenses which are only classified as such because the person is a minor; they also dealt with by the juvenile courts.
- Poverty is a large predictor of low parental monitoring, harsh parenting, and association with deviant peer groups, all of which are in turn associated with juvenile offending. Family factors also have an influence on delinquency.
- Delinquency prevention is the broad term for all efforts aimed at preventing youth from becoming involved in criminal or other antisocial activity.
- Poverty is a large predictor of low parental monitoring, harsh parenting, and association with deviant peer groups, all of which are in turn associated with juvenile offending.
- Family factors which may have an influence on offending include: the level of parental supervision, the way parents discipline a child, particularly harsh punishment, parental conflict or separation, criminal parents or siblings, parental abuse or neglect, and the quality of the parent-child relationship
- Delinquency prevention is the broad term for all efforts aimed at preventing youth from becoming involved in criminal, or other antisocial, activity.

Key Terms

- **Delinquency Prevention**: Delinquency prevention is the broad term for all efforts aimed at preventing youth from becoming involved in criminal or other antisocial activity. Prevention services may include activities such as substance abuse education and treatment, family counseling, youth mentoring, parenting education, educational support, and youth sheltering. Increasing availability and use of family planning services, including education and contraceptives helps to reduce unintended pregnancy and unwanted births, which are risk factors for delinquency.
- **Status Offenses**: A status offense is an action that is prohibited only to a certain class of people, and most often applied to offenses only committed by minors.
- **juvenile delinquency**: Participation in illegal behaviour by minors.

Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency is participation in illegal behavior by minors. Most legal systems prescribe specific procedures for dealing with juveniles, such as juvenile detention centers and courts. A juvenile delinquent is a person who is typically under the age of 18 and commits an act that would have otherwise been charged as a crime if the minor was an adult. Depending on the type and severity of the offense committed, it is possible for persons under 18 to be charged and tried as adults.

Juvenile delinquency can be separated into three categories:

1. Delinquency: crimes committed by minors that are dealt with by the juvenile courts and justice system;
2. Criminal behavior: crimes dealt with by the criminal justice system;
3. Status offenses: offenses which are only classified as such because one is a minor, such as truancy, also dealt with by the juvenile courts.

Young men disproportionately commit juvenile delinquency. Feminist theorists and others have examined why this is the case. One suggestion is that ideas of masculinity may make young men more likely to offend. Being tough, powerful, aggressive, daring, and competitive becomes a way for young men to assert and express their masculinity. Alternatively, young men may actually be naturally more aggressive, daring, and prone to risk-taking. According to a study led by Florida State University criminologist Kevin M. Beaver, adolescent males who possess a certain type of variation in a specific gene are more likely to flock to delinquent peers. The study, which appeared in the September 2008 issue of the Journal of Genetic Psychology, is the first to establish a statistically significant association between an affinity for antisocial peer groups and a particular variation (called the 10-repeat allele) of the dopamine transporter gene (DAT1).

There is also a significant skew in the racial statistics for juvenile offenders. When considering these statistics, which state that Black and Latino teens are more likely to commit juvenile offenses, it is important to keep the following in mind: poverty is a large predictor of low parental monitoring, harsh parenting, and association with deviant peer groups, all of which are in turn associated with juvenile offending. The majority of adolescents who live in poverty are racial minorities.

Family factors that may have an influence on offending include:

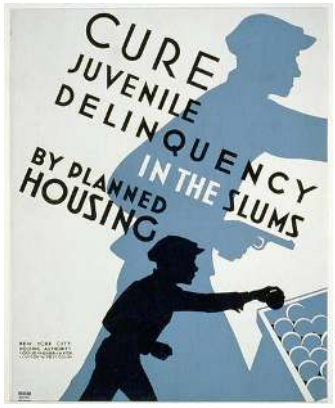
- the level of parental supervision,
- the way parents discipline a child,
- particularly harsh punishment,
- parental conflict or separation,
- criminal parents or siblings,
- parental abuse or neglect,
- the quality of the parent-child relationship.

Delinquency prevention is the broad term for all efforts aimed at preventing youth from becoming involved in criminal or other antisocial activity. Because the development of delinquency in youth is influenced by numerous factors, prevention efforts need to be comprehensive in scope. Prevention services may include activities like substance abuse education and treatment, family counseling, youth mentoring, parenting education, educational support, and youth sheltering. Increasing availability and use of family planning services, including education and contraceptives, helps to reduce unintended pregnancy and unwanted births—which are risk factors for delinquency.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Juvenile Delinquency: Juvenile delinquency refers to antisocial or illegal behavior by children or adolescents, for dealing with juveniles, such as juvenile detention centers. There are a multitude of different theories on the causes of crime, most if not all of which can be applied to the causes of youth crime.



Cure Juvenile Delinquency by Planned Housing: Poster promoting planned housing as a method to deter juvenile delinquency, showing silhouettes of a child stealing a piece of fruit and as an older minor involved in armed robbery.

Violent Crime

A violent crime is a crime in which the offender uses or threatens to use violent force upon the victim.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the United States Department of Justice classifies violent crime

Key Points

- The United States Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) counts five categories of crime as violent crimes: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault.
- Violent crimes include crimes committed with and without weapons. With the exception of rape, males are the primary victims of all forms of violent crime.
- The rate of violent crime victimization in the United States declined by more than two thirds between the years 1994 and 2009.

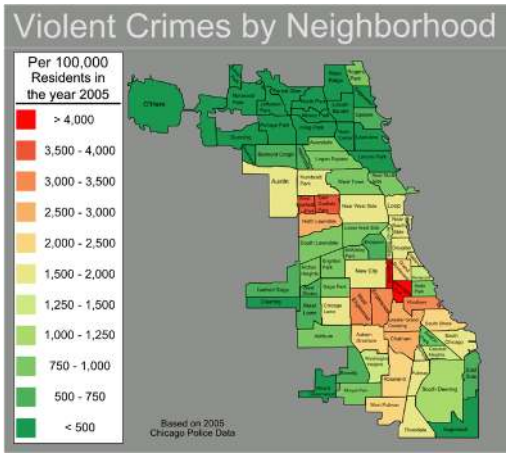
Key Terms

- **Simple Assault**: In law, assault is a crime which involves causing a victim to apprehend violence.
- **aggravated assault**: Assault with disregard for the value of life, or with a deadly weapon.
- **Forcible Rape**: A type of sexual assault usually involving sexual intercourse, which is initiated by one or more persons against another person without that person's consent.

A violent crime is a crime in which the offender uses or threatens to use violent force upon the victim. This entails both crimes in which the violent act is the objective, such as murder, as well as crimes in which violence is the means to an end, such as robbery. Violent crimes include crimes committed with and without weapons. With the exception of rape (which accounts for 6% of all reported violent crimes), males are the primary victims of all forms of violent crime.

The comparison of violent crime statistics between countries is usually problematic due to the way different countries classify crime. Valid comparisons require that similar offences between jurisdictions be compared. Often this is not possible because crime statistics aggregate equivalent offences in such different ways that make it difficult or impossible to obtain a valid comparison.

The United States Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) counts five categories of crime as violent crimes: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. According to the BJS, the rate of violent crime victimization in the United States declined by more than two thirds between the years 1994 and 2009. Nearly 8% of sentenced prisoners in federal prisons on September 30, 2009 were in for violent crimes; 52.4% of sentenced prisoners in state prisons at yearend in 2008 were in for violent crimes; and 21.6% of convicted inmates in jails in 2002 were in for violent crimes.



Chicago Violent Crime Map: Map of violent crimes in 2005 in Chicago community areas per

Since the 13th century AD, evidence shows large long-term declines in the rate of murder, from one hundred people to one person per 100,000 between 1200 and 2000 AD. By contrast, there is a widespread belief that violent crime is on the rise, due largely to a mass media, which disproportionately reports violent crime.

Property Crime

Property crime only involves the taking of money or property, and does not involve force or threat of force against a victim.

Learning Objectives

Discuss different types of property crime

Key Points

- Burglary of residences, retail establishments, and other commercial facilities involves breaking and entering, and then stealing property.
- Theft of cash is most common, followed by vehicle parts, clothing, and tools.
- Shoplifting is a specific type of theft, in which products are taken from retail shops without paying.
- Motor vehicle theft is a common form of property crime, often perpetrated by youths for joyriding.
- The percentage of U.S. households that experienced property crime dropped from 21% in 1994 to 12% in 2004. Moreover, from 1996 to 2005, the number of arrests in the United States for property crime has declined by 22.1%.

Key Terms

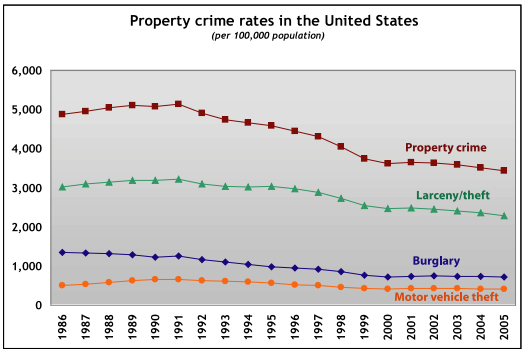
- **burglary**: The crime of unlawfully breaking into a vehicle, house, store, or other enclosure with the intent to steal.
- **shoplifting**: It is the theft of goods from a retail establishment. It is one of the most common property crimes dealt with by police and courts.
- **Property Crime**: Property crime is a category of crime that includes, among other crimes, burglary, larceny, theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, shoplifting, and vandalism. Property crime only involves the taking of money or property, and does not involve force or threat of force against a victim.

Property crime is a category of crime that includes larceny, theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, shoplifting, vandalism, and burglary. Property crime only involves the taking of money or property, and does not involve force or threat of force against a victim. Property crimes are high-volume crimes, with cash, electronics, power tools, cameras, and jewelry often targeted.



Car Window Burglary: This is a photographic example of a car that has been burglarized.

Burglary of residences, retail establishments, and other commercial facilities involves breaking and entering, and then stealing property. Attempted forcible entry into a property is also classified as burglary in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) definition. In the United States, burglary rates are highest in August and lowest in February, with weather, length-of-day, and other factors having an effect on rates. Fall and winter are peak seasons for burglary in Denmark. Most residential burglaries occur on weekdays, between 10 to 11 a.m. and 1 to 3 p.m., when homes are the least likely to be occupied. Some crime prevention programs, such as Neighborhood Watch, have shown little effectiveness in reducing burglary and other crime.



Property Crimes in the United States: Property crime rates in the United States, 1986-2005

Theft of cash is most common, followed by vehicle parts, clothing, and tools. In 2005, only 18% of reported cases of larceny and theft were cleared in the United States. Shoplifting is a specific type of theft, in which products are taken from retail shops without paying. Items popular with shoplifters include cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and fashionable clothing. Motor vehicle theft is a common form of property crime, often perpetrated by youths for joyriding. The FBI includes attempted motor vehicle thefts in its Uniform Crime Report (UCR) definition. Crime prevention and target-hardening measures, such as car alarms and ignition locks, have been effective deterrents against motor vehicle theft, as have been practices such as etching VINs on car parts. Only 13% of reported motor vehicle theft cases were cleared in the United States in 2005.



Theft: An example of theft: someone took everything except for the front wheel.

Statistics for violent crimes are accessible and available to the public. In 2004, 12% of households in the United States experienced some type of property crime, with theft being the most common. The percentage of U.S. households that experienced property crime dropped from 21% in 1994 to 12% in 2004. Moreover, from 1996 to 2005, the number of arrests in the United States for property crime has declined by 22.1%. The decline is far larger for offenders under age 18, with a decrease of 43.8% in property crime arrests, compared to a 9.5% decrease for those 18 and over. The peak age for property crime arrests in the United States is 16, compared to 18 for violent crime arrests.

White-Collar Crime

White-collar crime is a financially motivated, nonviolent crime committed for illegal monetary gain.

Learning Objectives

Describe Edwin Sutherland's work on white collar crime

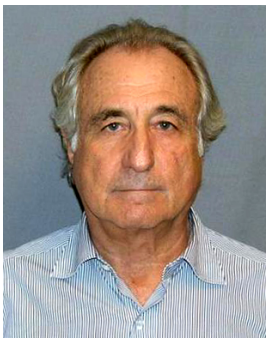
Key Points

- White-collar crime, is similar to corporate crime, because white-collar employees are more likely to commit fraud, bribery, ponzi schemes, insider trading, embezzlement, cyber crime, copyright infringement, money laundering, identity theft, and forgery.
- The term "white-collar crime" was coined in 1939 by the sociologist Edwin Sutherland, who defined it as a "crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation".
- White collar crimes stand in contrast to blue-collar street crimes include arson, burglary, theft, assault, rape, and vandalism.
- Corporate crime deals with the company as a whole. Their difference is that white-collar crime benefits the individual involved, and corporate crime benefits the company or the corporation.
- Insider trading, the trading of stock by someone with access to publicly unavailable information, is a type of fraud.

Key Terms

- **insider trading**: Buying or selling securities of a publicly-held company by a person who has privileged access to information concerning the company's financial condition or plans.
- **copyright infringement**: The unauthorized use of copyrighted material in a manner that violates one of the copyright owner's exclusive rights, such as the right to reproduce or perform the copyrighted work, or to make derivative works that build upon it.

White-collar crime is a financially motivated, nonviolent crime committed for illegal monetary gain. White-collar crime, is similar to corporate crime, because white-collar employees are more likely to commit fraud, bribery, ponzi schemes, insider trading, embezzlement, cyber crime, copyright infringement, money laundering, identity theft, and forgery.



Ponzi scheme: In March 2009, the American financier Bernard Madoff pleaded guilty to 11 federal felonies and admitted to turning his wealth management business into a massive Ponzi scheme that defrauded thousands of investors of billions of dollars.

The term "white-collar crime" was coined in 1939 by Edwin Sutherland, who defined it as a "crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation" in a speech entitled "The White Collar Criminal" delivered to the American Sociological Society. Much of Sutherland's work was to separate and define the differences in blue-collar street crimes such as arson, burglary, theft, assault, rape, and vandalism, which are often blamed on psychological, associational, and structural factors. Instead, white-collar criminals are opportunists, who learn to take advantage of their circumstances to accumulate financial gain. They are educated, intelligent, affluent, and confident individuals whose jobs involve unmonitored access to large sums of money.

Corporate crime deals with the company as a whole. The relationship that white-collar crime has with corporate crime is that they are similar because they both are involved within the business world. Their difference is that white-collar crime benefits the individual involved, and corporate crime benefits the company or the corporation. Insider trading, the trading of

stock by someone with access to publicly unavailable information, is a type of fraud. One well-known insider trading case in the United States is the ImClone stock trading case. In December 2001, top-level executives sold their shares in ImClone Systems, a pharmaceutical company that manufactured an anti-cancer drug. The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission investigated numerous top-level executives, as well as Martha Stewart, a friend of ImClone's former chief executive who had also sold her shares at the same time. The SEC reached a settlement in 2005.

One common misconception about corporate crime is that its effects are mainly financial. For example, pharmaceutical companies may make false claims regarding their drugs and factories may illegally dump toxic waste. Indeed, the Hooker Chemical Company dumped toxic waste into the abandoned Love Canal in Niagara Falls and sold the land without disclosing the dumping. It was sold in the 1950's to a private housing developer, whose residents began experiencing major health problems such as miscarriages and birth defects in the 1970's.

Organized Crime

Organized crime refers to transnational, national, or local groupings of highly centralized enterprises run by criminals.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast patron-client networks and bureaucratic organized crime groups

Key Points

- An organized gang or criminal set can also be referred to as a mob.
- Patron-client networks are defined by the fluid interactions they produce.
- The best known patron-client networks are the Sicilian and Italian American Cosa Nostra, most commonly known as the Sicilian Mafia.
- Bureaucratic and corporate organized crime groups are defined by the general rigidity of their internal structures.
- The term "street gang" is commonly used interchangeably with "youth gang", referring to neighborhood or street-based youth groups that meet "gang" criteria.

Key Terms

- **Corporate Organized Crime**: Crimes committed either by a corporation (i.e., a business entity having a separate legal personality from the natural persons that manage its activities), or by individuals acting on behalf of a corporation or other business entity (see vicarious liability and corporate liability).
- **Patron-Client Networks**: Patron-client networks are defined by the fluid interactions they produce. Organized crime groups operate as smaller units within the overall network, and as such tend towards valuing significant others, familiarity of social and economic environments, or tradition.
- **corporate crime**: illegal acts committed by a business or corporation (a business entity having a separate legal personality from the natural persons that manage its activities) or by individuals acting on behalf of a business
- **Street Gang**: A group of recurrently associating individuals with identifiable leadership and internal organization, identifying with or claiming control over territory in the community, and engaging either individually or collectively in violent or other forms of illegal behavior.

Organized crime refers to transnational, national, or local groupings of highly centralized enterprises run by criminals for the purpose of engaging in illegal activity, most commonly for monetary profit. Sometimes criminal organizations force people to do business with them, as when a gang extorts money from shopkeepers for "protection." Gangs may become "disciplined" enough to be considered "organized." An organized gang or criminal set can also be referred to as a mob.

Patron-client networks are defined by the fluid interactions they produce. Organized crime groups operate as smaller units within the overall network, and as such tend towards valuing significant others, familiarity of social and economic environments, or tradition.

Some notable patron-client networks involve the Russian and Albanian mafias, the Japanese Yakuza, the Irish mob, and the Sicilian and Italian American Cosa Nostra (i.e. the Sicilian mafia).



Organized Crime: Al Capone is a name often associated with organized crime.

Bureaucratic and corporate organized crime groups are defined by the general rigidity of their internal structures. Focusing more on how the operations works, succeeds, sustains itself or avoids retribution, they are generally typified by: a complex authority structure; an extensive division of labor between classes and the organization; responsibilities carried out in an impersonal manner; and top-down communication and rule enforcement mechanisms.

A distinctive gang culture underpins many, but not all, organized groups; this may develop through recruiting strategies, social learning processes in the corrective system experienced by youth, family, or peer involvement in crime, and the coercive actions of criminal authority figures. The term "street gang" is commonly used interchangeably with "youth gang", referring to neighborhood or street-based youth groups that meet "gang" criteria.

Organized crime groups often victimize businesses through the use of extortion or theft and fraud activities like hijacking cargo trucks, robbing goods, committing bankruptcy fraud, insurance fraud, or stock fraud. Organized crime groups seek out corrupt public officials in executive, law enforcement, and judicial roles so that their activities can avoid, or at least receive early warnings about, investigation and prosecution.

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7.8: Reactions to Deviance

Police

The police are a constituted body of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property, and limit civil disorder.

Learning Objectives

Explain the relationship between the police and the state, differentiating between preventive police and police detectives

Key Points

- Preventive police wear uniforms and perform functions that require an immediate recognition of an officer's legal authority, such as traffic control, stopping and detaining motorists, and active crime response and prevention.
- Police detectives are responsible for investigations and detective work. "Plainclothes" officers dress in attire consistent with that worn by the general public for purposes of blending in.
- Specialized units exist within many law enforcement organizations for dealing with particular types of crime, such as traffic law enforcement and crash investigation, homicide, or fraud.
- In United States constitutional law, police power is the capacity of the states to regulate behavior and enforce order within their territory for the betterment of the general welfare, morals, health, and safety of their inhabitants.
- Transnational policing pertains to all those forms for policing that, in some sense, cross national borders.
- INTERPOL is an organization facilitating international police cooperation.

Key Terms

- **INTERPOL**: Commonly used name for the International Criminal Police Organization, an international organization facilitating police cooperation.
- **Specialized Units**: Subdivisions within many law enforcement organizations for dealing with particular types of crime, such as traffic law enforcement and crash investigation, homicide, or fraud.

The police are a constituted body of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property, and limit civil disorder. Their powers include the legitimized use of force. The term police is most commonly associated with police services of a state that are authorized to exercise the police power of that state within a defined legal or territorial area of responsibility. Police forces are often defined as being separate from military or other organizations involved in the defense of the state against foreign aggressors; however, gendarmerie and military police are military units charged with civil policing.

Preventive Police and Police Detectives

In most Western police forces, perhaps the most significant division is between preventive police and detectives. Terminology varies from country to country. Preventive police designates the police that patrol and respond to emergencies and other incidents, as opposed to detective services. As the name "uniformed" suggests, preventive police wear uniforms and perform functions that require an immediate recognition of an officer's legal authority, such as traffic control, stopping and detaining motorists, and more active crime response and prevention. On the other hand, police detectives are responsible for investigations and detective work. Detectives, in contrast to uniform police, typically wear 'business attire' in bureaucratic and investigative functions where a uniformed presence would be either a distraction or intimidating. "Plainclothes" officers dress in attire consistent with that worn by the general public for purposes of blending in, but a need to establish police authority still exists.

Specialized units exist within many law enforcement organizations for dealing with particular types of crime, such as traffic law enforcement and crash investigation, homicide, or fraud. In counter insurgency type campaigns, select and specially trained units of police armed and equipped as light infantry have been designated as police field forces. They perform paramilitary type patrols and ambushes whilst retaining their police powers in areas that were highly dangerous.

Police in the United States

In United States constitutional law, police power is defined as the capacity of the states to regulate behavior and enforce order within their territory for the betterment of the general welfare, morals, health, and safety of their inhabitants. Police power can be exercised in the form of making laws and compelling obedience to those laws through legal sanctions, physical means, or other forms of coercion and inducements. In the United States, concern over such issues has increasingly weighed upon law enforcement agencies, courts, and legislatures at every level of government since the 1960s. Incidents such as the 1965 Watts Riots and the videotaped 1991 beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles Police officers and the riot following their acquittal have been suggested by some as evidence that U.S. police are dangerously lacking in appropriate controls.



Police: The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has been heavily fictionalized in numerous movies and television shows throughout its history. The department has also been involved in a number of controversies, mostly involving racial animosity and police corruption.

Transnational Police

The term transnational policing entered into use in the mid-1990s as a description for forms of policing that transcended the boundaries of the sovereign nation state. Transnational policing pertains to all those forms for policing that, in some sense, transgress national borders. This includes a variety of practices, but cross-border police cooperation, criminal intelligence exchange between police agencies working in different nation-states, and police development-aid to weak, failed, or failing states are the three types that have received the most scholarly attention. The International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO), widely known as INTERPOL, is an organization facilitating international police cooperation. It was established as the International Criminal Police Commission (ICPC) in 1923 and adopted its telegraphic address as its common name in 1956.

Courts

A court is a form of tribunal with the authority to adjudicate legal disputes between parties, and carry out the administration of justice.

Learning Objectives

Describe the three levels of the court system

Key Points

- In both common law and civil law legal systems, courts are the central means for dispute resolution. Generally, all persons have an ability to bring their claims before a court.
- Jurisdiction refers to the court's practical authority to decide cases. There are two types of jurisdiction. The first is personal jurisdiction: the court's jurisdiction over the parties to a lawsuit.
- Secondly, subject -matter jurisdiction is the authority of a court to hear cases of a particular type or cases relating to a specific subject matter.
- There are three levels of courts. Trial courts initially hear cases and review evidence and testimony to determine the facts of the case. Appellate courts hear an appeal of a trial court or other lower tribunal. The Supreme Court primarily reviews the decisions of the intermediate courts.
- A tribunal in the general sense is any person or institution with the authority to judge, adjudicate, or determine claims or disputes.
- The Supreme Court primarily reviews the decisions of the intermediate courts.
- A tribunal in the general sense is any person or institution with the authority to judge, adjudicate, or determine claims or disputes.

Key Terms

- **civil law**: The body of law dealing with the private relations between members of a community; it contrasts with criminal law, military law, and ecclesiastical law.
- **common law**: Law developed by judges through decisions of courts and similar tribunals (also called case law), as distinguished from legislative statutes or regulations promulgated by the executive branch.
- **tribunal**: Any person or institution with the authority to judge, adjudicate, or determine claims or disputes.

What is a Court?

A court is a form of tribunal, often a governmental institution, with the authority to adjudicate legal disputes between parties, and carry out the administration of justice in civil, criminal, and administrative matters in accordance with the rule of law. In both common law and civil law legal systems, courts are the central means for dispute resolution, and it is generally understood that all persons have an ability to bring their claims before a court. Similarly, the rights of those accused of a crime include the right to present a defense before a court.

The system of courts that interpret and apply the law are collectively known as the judiciary. The place where a court sits is known as a venue. The room where court proceedings occur is known as a courtroom, and the building is known as a courthouse; court facilities range from simple and very small facilities in rural communities, to large buildings in cities. A judge is a person who presides over court proceedings, either alone or as part of a panel of judges.

Jurisdiction

The practical authority given to the court is known as its jurisdiction, or the court's power to decide certain kinds of questions or petitions. A plaintiff is the term used in some jurisdictions for the party who initiates a civil lawsuit before a court. A defendant is any party required to answer a plaintiff's complaint in a civil lawsuit, or any party that has been formally charged or accused of violating a criminal statute. A legal remedy is the means with which a court of law (usually in the exercise of civil law jurisdiction) enforces a right, imposes a penalty, or makes some other court order to impose its will.

In the United States, the legal authority of a court to take action is based on personal jurisdiction, subject-matter jurisdiction, and venue over the parties to the litigation. Personal jurisdiction refers to a court's jurisdiction over the parties to a lawsuit. Personal jurisdiction means the power of the court to decide a dispute, as against a particular person. Subject-matter jurisdiction is the authority of a court to hear cases of a particular type, or cases relating to a specific subject matter. For instance, bankruptcy court only has the authority to hear bankruptcy cases.

Types of Courts

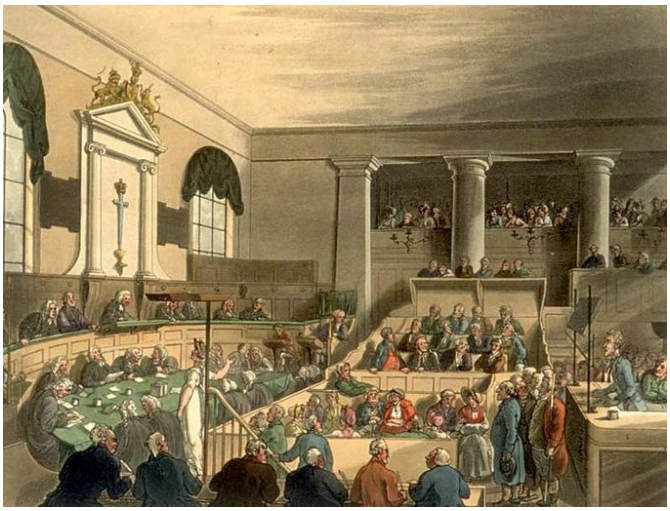
In most jurisdictions, the court system is divided into at least three levels: the trial court, which initially hears cases and reviews evidence and testimony to determine the facts of the case; at least one intermediate appellate court that hears an appeal of a trial court or other lower tribunal; and a supreme court, which primarily reviews the decisions of the intermediate courts. A tribunal, in the general sense, is any person or institution with the authority to judge, adjudicate on, or determine claims or disputes, whether or not it is called a tribunal in its title. For example, the Nuremberg Trials were a series of military tribunals, held by the victorious allied forces of World War II, most notable for the prosecution of prominent members of the political, military, and economic leadership of the defeated Nazi Germany.



Nuremberg Tribunal: At the Nuremberg Tribunals, the main target of the prosecution was Hermann Göring (at the left edge on the first row of benches), considered to be the most important surviving official in the Third Reich after Hitler's death.



U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor: United States Supreme Court Associate Justice Sonia Sotomayor



The Old Bailey: A trial at the Old Bailey in London, as drawn by Thomas Rowlandson and Augustus Pugin, for Ackermann's Microcosm of London (1808-11).

Prisons

A prison is a place in which people are physically confined and, usually, deprived of a range of personal freedoms.

Learning Objectives

Analyze recent developments in the rate of incarceration in the U.S.

Key Points

- Imprisonment is a legal penalty that may be imposed by the state for the commission of a crime.
- The modern prison system was born in London, influenced by the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham.
- In the U.S., jails are county or city administrated institutions, which house both inmates awaiting trial on the local level, and convicted misdemeanants serving a term of one year or less.
- Supermax prisons provide long term, segregated housing for inmates classified as the highest security risks in the prison system.
- The United States has the highest documented incarceration rate in the world (743 per 100,000 population).

Key Terms

- **Supermax Prisons**: Prisons that provide long term, segregated housing for inmates classified as the highest security risks in the prison system.
- **Jeremy Bentham**: An English founder of utilitarianism who was influential in designing the first modern prisons.

A prison is a place in which people are physically confined and, usually, deprived of a range of personal freedoms. Imprisonment is a legal penalty that may be imposed by the state for the commission of a crime. For most of history, imprisoning has not been a punishment in itself, but rather a way to confine criminals until corporal or capital punishment was administered. Only in the 19th century, beginning in Britain, did prisons as they are known today become commonplace. The modern prison system was born in London, influenced by the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham.

Prison Design

Prisons are normally surrounded by fencing, walls, earthworks, geographical features, or other barriers to prevent escape. Multiple barriers, concertina wire, electrified fencing, secured and defensible main gates, armed guard towers, lighting, motion sensors, dogs and roving patrols may all also be present, depending on the level of security.



Prison: Barbed wire is a feature of prisons.

Modern prison designs have sought to increasingly restrict and control the movement of prisoners throughout the facility, while permitting a maximal degree of direct monitoring by a smaller prison staff. As compared to traditional large landing-cellblock designs, which were inherited from the 19th century and which permitted only intermittent observation of prisoners, many newer prisons are designed in a decentralized "popular" layout.

Incarceration in the United States

In the United States, "jail" and "prison" refer to separate levels of incarceration; generally speaking, jails are county or city administrated institutions which house both inmates awaiting trial on the local level, and convicted misdemeanants serving a term of one year or less, while prisons are state or federal facilities housing convicted felons serving a term of more than one year. Supermax prisons provide long term, segregated housing for inmates classified as the highest security risks in the prison system—the "worst of the worst" criminals, and those who pose a threat to national and international security.

The United States has the highest documented incarceration rate in the world (743 per 100,000 population). Incarceration rate in the U.S. for federal and state prisons in 2007 was the highest in history of the country. It was 5.5 times greater than the sharp peak that occurred during the Great Depression at 137 per

100,000 in 1939. According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), 2,266,800 adults were incarcerated in U.S. count jails and federal and state prisons at yearend 2010; this represents about 0.7% of adults in the U.S. resident population. Additionally, 4,933,667 adults at yearend 2009 were on probation or on parole. In total, 7,225,800 adults were under correctional supervision (probation, parole, jail, or prison) in 2009, representing about 3.1% of adults in the U.S. resident population.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), non-Hispanic blacks accounted for 39.4% of the total prison and jail population in 2009. According to the 2010 census of the U.S. Census Bureau, blacks (including Hispanic blacks) comprised 13.6% of the US population. Hispanics (of all races) were 20.6% of the total jail and prison population in 2009. Hispanics comprised 16.3% of the U.S. population according to the 2010 U.S. census.

The Death Penalty

Capital punishment is a legal process whereby a person is put to death by the state as a punishment for a crime.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate arguments for and against the death penalty

Key Points

- Crimes that can result in a death penalty are known as capital crimes or capital offences.
- Supporters of the death penalty argue that the death penalty is morally justified when applied to murder cases, especially cases with aggravating elements, such as multiple homicide, child murder, torture murder and mass killing including terrorism or genocide.
- Capital punishment is often opposed on the grounds that innocent people will inevitably be executed.
- Abolitionists believe capital punishment is the worst violation of human rights.

Key Terms

- **insubordination**: The quality of being insubordinate; disobedience to lawful authority.
- **capital punishment**: Punishment by death.
- **capital crime**: A crime that is punishable by death.

What Is Capital Punishment?

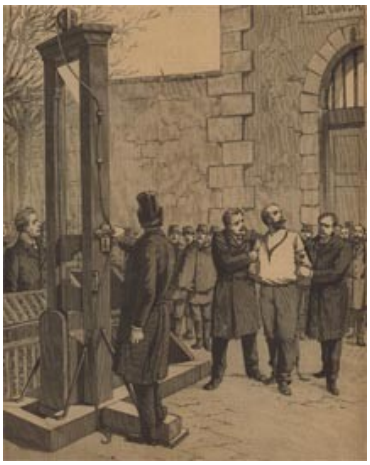
Capital punishment is a legal process whereby a person is put to death by the state as a punishment for a crime. Crimes that can result in a death penalty are known as “capital crimes” or “capital offenses. ” Capital punishment has in the past been practiced by most societies. Currently, only 58 nations actively practice it, and 97 countries have abolished it. Although many nations have abolished capital punishment, over 60% of the world’s population live in countries where executions take place–the People’s Republic of China, India, the United States, and Indonesia–the four most-populous countries in the world, that continue to apply the death penalty.

Execution of criminals and political opponents has been used by nearly all societies–both to punish crime and to suppress political dissent. In most places that practice capital punishment, it is reserved for murder, espionage, treason, or as part of military justice. In some countries sexual crimes, such as rape, adultery, incest, and sodomy, carry the death penalty, as do religious crimes, such as apostasy in Islamic nations. In many countries that use the death penalty, drug trafficking is also a capital offense. In China, human trafficking and serious cases of corruption are punished by the death penalty. In militaries around the world courts, martial have imposed death sentences for offenses, such as cowardice, desertion, insubordination, and mutiny.

Arguments For and Against

Supporters of the death penalty argue that the death penalty is morally justified when applied in murder, especially with aggravating elements, such as multiple homicide, child murder, torture murder, and mass killing including terrorism or genocide. Some even argue that not applying the death penalty in latter cases are patently unjust. Supporters of the death penalty, especially those who do not believe in the deterrent effect of the death penalty, say the threat of the death penalty could be used to urge capital defendants to plead guilty, testify against accomplices, or disclose the location of the victim’s body.

Capital punishment is often opposed on the grounds that innocent people will inevitably be executed. Between 1973 and 2005, 123 people in 25 states were released from death row when new evidence of their innocence emerged. Abolitionists believe capital punishment is the worst violation of human rights, because the right to life is the most important, and judicial execution violates it without necessity and inflicts to the condemned to a psychological torture. In addition, opponents of the death penalty use the argument that executing a criminal costs more than life imprisonment does. Many states have found it cheaper to sentence criminals to life in prison than to go through the time-consuming and bureaucratic process of executing a convicted criminal.



Capital Punishment: Anarchist Auguste Vaillant guillotined in France in 1894.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: Global Stratification and Inequality

8.1: Systems of Stratification

8.2: Global Stratification

8.3: Stratification in the World System

8.4: Global Diversity

8.5: A Comparative Analysis of Global Stratification in Mexico

8.6: Sociological Theories and Global Inequality

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8.1: Systems of Stratification

Stratification

Global stratification refers to the hierarchical arrangement of individuals and groups in societies around the world.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the three dominant theories that attempt to explain global stratification

Key Points

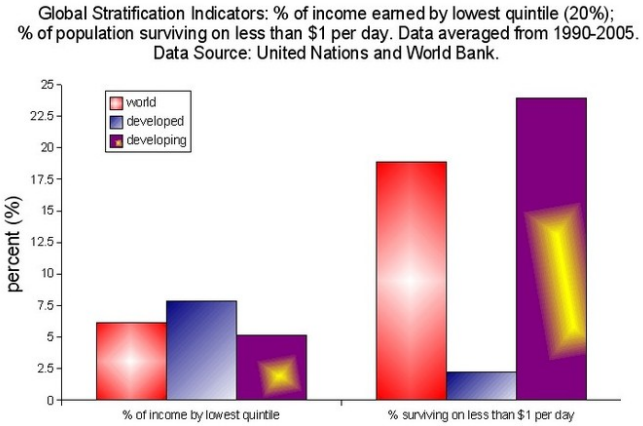
- Society is stratified into social classes based on individuals' socioeconomic status, gender, and race.
- Stratification results in inequality when resources, opportunities, and privileges are distributed based on individuals' positions in the social hierarchy.
- Stratification and inequality can be analyzed as micro-, meso-, and macro-level phenomena, as they are produced in small group interactions, through organizations and institutions, and through global economic structures.
- There are three dominant theories that consider why inequality exists on a global scale. First, some sociologists use a theory of development and modernization to argue that poor nations remain poor because they hold onto traditional attitudes and beliefs, technologies and institutions.
- Second, dependency theory blames colonialism and neocolonialism (continuing economic dependence on former colonial countries) for global stratification.
- Lastly, world systems theory suggests that all countries are divided into a three-tier hierarchy based on their relationship to the global economy, and that a country's position in this hierarchy determines its own economic development.

Key Terms

- **Global Stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of individuals and groups in societies around the world.
- **socioeconomic status**: One's social position as determined by income, wealth, occupational prestige, and educational attainment.
- **inequality**: An unfair, not equal, state.

Global stratification refers to the hierarchical arrangement of individuals and groups in societies around the world. Sociologists speak of stratification in terms of socioeconomic status (SES). Socioeconomic status is a measure of a person's position in a class structure. For example, a person may be designated as "lower class" or "upper class" based on their SES. A person's SES is usually determined by their income, occupational prestige, wealth, and educational attainment, though other variables are sometimes considered.

Inequality occurs when a person's position in the social hierarchy is tied to different access to resources. Inequality largely depends on differences in wealth. For example, a homeowner will have access to consistent shelter, while a person who cannot afford to own a home may have substandard shelter or be homeless. Because of their different levels of wealth, they have different access to shelter. Likewise, a wealthy person may receive higher quality medical care than a poor person, have greater access to nutritional foods, and be able to attend higher caliber schools. Material resources are not distributed equally to people of all economic statuses.



Global Stratification Indicators – Inequality and Income: Globally, the poorest 20% of the population, or lowest tier of the stratified economic order, makes a disproportionately small percentage of global income and lives off of a meager amount.

While stratification is most commonly associated with socioeconomic status, society is also stratified by statuses such as race and gender. Together with SES, race and gender shape the unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, and privileges among individuals. For example, within a given social class, women are less likely to receive job promotions than men. Similarly, within American cities with heavily racially segregated neighborhoods, racial minorities are less likely to have access to high quality schools than white people.

Perspectives on Stratification

Stratification is generally analyzed from three different perspectives: micro-level, meso-level, and macro-level.

Micro-level analysis focuses on how prestige and personal influence create inequality through face-to-face and small group interactions. For example, the more physically attractive a person is, the more likely they are to achieve status in small groups. This effect happens on a small-scale and is difficult to analyze as a uniform, widespread occurrence. Thus, stratification based on levels of physical attractiveness is analyzed as a micro-level process.

Meso-level analysis of stratification focuses on how connections to organizations and institutions produce inequality. For example, parents, teachers, and friends convey expectations about one's class position that teach different skills and values based on status. These educational disparities occur in the small setting of a classroom, but are consistent across a wide range of schools. Thus, they are analyzed as meso-level phenomena that reinforce systems of inequality.

Macro-level analysis of stratification considers the role of international economic systems in shaping individuals' resources and opportunities. For example, the small African nation of Cape Verde is significantly indebted to European nations and the U.S., and the majority of the nation's industry is controlled by foreign investors. As the nation's economy has ceded control of once public services, such as electricity, its citizen have lost jobs and the price of electricity has increased. Thus, the nation's position in the world economy has resulted in poverty for many of its citizens. A global structure, or a macro-level phenomenon, produces unequal distribution of resources for people living in various nations.

Theories of Macro-Level Inequality

There are three dominant theories that sociologists use to consider why inequality exists on a global scale. First, some sociologists use a theory of development and modernization to argue that poor nations remain poor because they hold onto traditional attitudes and beliefs, technologies and institutions. According to this theory, in the modern world, the rise of capitalism brought modern attitudes, modern technologies, and modern institutions which helped countries progress and have a higher standard of living. Modernists believe economic growth is the key to reducing poverty in poor countries.

Second, dependency theory blames colonialism and neocolonialism (continuing economic dependence on former colonial countries) for global stratification. Countries have developed at an uneven rate because wealthy countries have exploited poor countries in the past and today through foreign debt and transnational corporations (TNCs). According to dependency theory, the key to reversing inequality is to relieve former colonies of their debts so that they can benefit from their own industry and resources.

Lastly, world systems theory suggests that all countries are divided into a three-tier hierarchy based on their relationship to the global economy, and that a country's position in this hierarchy determines its own economic development. In this model nations are divided into core, semiperipheral, and peripheral countries. Core nations (e.g. the United States, France, Germany, and Japan) are dominant capitalist countries characterized by high levels of industrialization and urbanization. Semiperipheral countries (e.g. South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, Brazil, India, Nigeria, and South Africa) are less developed than core nations but are more developed than peripheral nations. Peripheral countries (e.g. Cape Verde, Haiti, and Honduras) are dependent on core countries for capital, and have very little industrialization and urbanization.

Slavery

Slavery is a system in which people are bought and sold as property, forced to work, or held in captivity against their will.

Learning Objectives

Describe different types of slavery

Key Points

- Slavery is a system of social stratification that has been institutionally supported in many societies around the world throughout history.
- The Atlantic slave trade brought African slaves to the Americas from the 1600's to the 1900's, spurring the growth of slave use on plantations in the U.S., where the slave population reached 4 million before slavery was made illegal in 1863.
- Human trafficking, or the illegal trade of humans, is primarily used for forcing women and children into sex industries.

Key Terms

- **Atlantic Slave Trade**: The enterprise through which African slaves were brought to work on plantations in the Caribbean Islands, Latin America, and the southern United States primarily.
- **bonded labor**: A form of indenture in which a loan is repaid by work, the worker being unable to leave until the debt is repaid
- **slavery**: an institution or social practice of owning human beings as property, especially for use as forced laborers
- **debt bondage**: A condition similar to slavery where human beings are unable to control their lives or their work due to unpaid debts.

Slavery is a system under which people are treated as property to be bought and sold, and are forced to work. Slaves can be held against their will from the time of their capture, purchase, or birth; and can also be deprived of the right to leave, to refuse to work, or to demand compensation. Historically, slavery was institutionally recognized by many societies. In more recent times slavery has been outlawed in most societies, but continues through the practices of debt bondage, indentured servitude, serfdom, domestic servants kept in captivity, certain adoptions

in which children are forced to work as slaves, child soldiers, and forced marriage.

Slavery predates written records and has existed in many cultures. The number of slaves today is higher than at any point in history, remaining as high as 12 million to 27 million. Most are debt slaves, largely in South Asia, who are under debt bondage incurred by lenders, sometimes even for generations. Human trafficking, or the illegal trade of humans, is primarily used for forcing women and children into sex industries.

Types of Slavery

Chattel slavery, so named because people are treated as the personal property, chattels, of an owner and are bought and sold as commodities, is the original form of slavery. When taking these chattels across national borders, it is referred to as human trafficking, especially when these slaves provide sexual services.

Debt bondage or bonded labor occurs when a person pledges himself or herself against a loan. The services required to repay the debt and their duration may be undefined. Debt bondage can be passed on from generation to generation, with children required to pay off their parents' debt. It is the most widespread form of slavery today.

Forced labor is when an individual is forced to work against his or her will, under threat of violence or other punishment, with restrictions on their freedom. It is also used as a general term to describe all types of slavery and may also include institutions not commonly classified as slavery, such as serfdom, conscription and penal labor.

History of Slavery

Evidence of slavery predates written records, and has existed in many cultures. Prehistoric graves from about 8000 BCE in Lower Egypt suggest that a Libyan people enslaved a San-like tribe. Slavery is rare among hunter-gatherer populations, as slavery is a system of social stratification. Mass slavery also requires economic surpluses and a high population density to be viable. Due to these factors, the practice of slavery would have only proliferated after the invention of agriculture during the Neolithic Revolution about 11,000 years ago.

In the United States, the most notorious instance of slavery is the Atlantic slave trade, through which African slaves were brought to work on plantations in the Caribbean Islands, Latin America, and the southern United States primarily. An estimated 12 million Africans arrived in the Americas from the 1600's to the 1900's. Of these, an estimated 645,000 were brought to what is now the United States. The usual estimate is that about 15 percent of slaves died during the voyage, with mortality rates considerably higher in Africa itself as the process of capturing and transporting indigenous peoples to the ships often proved fatal. Although the trans-Atlantic slave trade ended shortly after the American Revolution, slavery remained a central economic institution in the southern states of the United States, from where slavery expanded with the westward movement of population. By 1860, 500,000 American slaves had grown to 4 million. Slavery was officially abolished in 1863; but, even after the Civil War, many former slaves were essentially enslaved as tenant farmers.



African American Slaves: Depiction of Slaves on a Virginian Plantation

Caste Systems

Caste systems are closed social stratification systems in which people inherit their position and experience little mobility.

Learning Objectives

Compare the caste system in ancient India with the estate system in feudal Europe

Key Points

- Castes are most often stratified by race or ethnicity, economic status, or religious status.
- Castes have been noted in societies all over the world throughout history, though they are mistakenly often assumed to be a tradition specific to India.
- Historically, the caste system in India consisted of four well known categories: Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (commerce), Shudras (workmen). Some people left out of these four caste classifications were called "outcasts" or "untouchables" and were shunned and ostracized.

Key Terms

- **endogamy**: The practice of marrying or being required to marry within one's own ethnic, religious, or social group.
- **estate**: A major social class or order of persons regarded collectively as part of the body politic of the country and

formerly possessing distinct political rights (w:Estates of the realm)

- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.

Caste is an elaborate and complex social system that combines some or all elements of endogamy, hereditary transmission of occupation, social class, social identity, hierarchy, exclusion, and power. Caste as a closed social stratification system in which membership is determined by birth and remains fixed for life; castes are also endogamous, meaning marriage is proscribed outside one's caste, and offspring are automatically members of their parents' caste.

Although Indian society is often associated with the word "caste," the system is common in many non-Indian societies. Caste systems have been found across the globe, in widely different cultural settings, including predominantly Muslim, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and other societies. UNICEF estimates that identification and sometimes discrimination based on caste affects 250 million people worldwide.

In colonial Spain, throughout South America and Central America, *castas* referred to a method of stratifying people based on race, ethnicity, and social status and was in common usage since the 16th century. The term caste was applied to Indian society in the 17th century, via the Portuguese. The Dutch also used the word caste in their 19th century ethnographic studies of Bali and other parts of southeast Asia. In Latin American sociological studies, the word caste often includes multiple factors such as race, ethnicity, and economic status. Multiple factors were used to determine caste in part because of numerous mixed births during the colonial times between natives, Europeans, and people brought in as slaves or indentured laborers.



Colonial Mexican Caste System: After the Spanish colonized Mexico, one's position in a caste system depended on how European or indigenous one seemed. Both biological and sociocultural indicators were used to measure ethnicity.

Some literature suggests that the term caste should not be confused with race or social class. Members of different castes in one society may belong to the same race or class, as in India, Japan, Korea, Nigeria, Yemen, or Europe. Usually, but not always, members of the same caste are of the same social rank, have a similar group of occupations, and typically have social mores which distinguish them from other groups. Some sociologists suggest that caste systems come in two forms: racial caste systems and non-racial caste systems.

India

Caste is often associated with India. Historically, the caste system in India consisted of four well known categories (Varnas): Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (commerce), Shudras (workmen). Some people left out of these four caste classifications were called "outcasts" or "untouchables" and were shunned and ostracized. Ancient Indian legal texts, such as Manusmṛti (ca. 200 BCE-200 CE), suggest that caste systems have been part of Indian society for millennia.

Other Indian scriptures suggest ancient Indian law was not rigid about endogamy within castes. For example, Nāradasmṛti, another text on ancient Indian law, written after Manusmṛti and dated to be over 1400 years old, approves of many, but not all marriages across caste lines. The Nāradasmṛti set out categories of approved marriages between castes. Several statutes recognized offsprings of mixed castes, much like caste system of colonial Spain. Ancient Indian texts also suggest that India's social stratification system was controversial, a topic of profound historical debates within the Indian community, and inspired efforts for reform.

Europe

Social systems identical to caste systems found elsewhere in the world have historically existed in Europe as well. European societies were historically stratified according to closed, endogamous social systems with groups such as the nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie, and peasants. These caste groups had distinctive privileges and unequal rights, which were not a product of informal advantages such as wealth and were not rights enjoyed as citizens of the state. These unequal and distinct privileges were sanctioned by law or social mores, were exclusive to each distinct social subset of society, and were inherited automatically by offspring. In some European countries, these closed social classes or castes were given titles, followed mores and codes of behavior specific to their caste, and even wore distinctive dress. Nobility rarely married commoners, and if they did, they lost certain privileges. Caste endogamy wasn't limited to royalty; in Finland, for example, it was a crime—until modern times—to seduce and defraud into marriage by declaring a false social class. In parts of Europe, these closed social caste groups were called estates.

Along with the three or four estates recognized in various European countries, an additional group existed below the bottom layer of the hierarchical society. This bottom social strata with limited rights was understood to serve those with recognized social status. Prominent for centuries throughout Europe, and enduring through the mid-19th century in some areas, members of this numerically large caste were called serfs. In some countries such as Russia, the 1857 census found that over 35 percent of the population could be categorized as a serf. Serf mobility was heavily restricted, and in matters of marriage and living arrangements, they were subject to rules dictated by the State, the Church, by landowners, and by often rigid local custom and tradition.

Class

Social class refers to the grouping of individuals in a stratified social hierarchy, usually based on wealth, education, and occupation.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast Marx's understanding of 'class' with Weber's class model

Key Points

- Sociologists may analyze social class using a simple three-stratum model of stratification, Marxist theory, or a structural-functionalist approach.
- Max Weber formulated a three-component theory of stratification that saw political power as an interplay between "class", " status " and " group power. " Weber theorized that class position was determined by a person's skills and education, rather than by their relationship to the means of production.
- The three-stratum model of stratification recognizes three categories: a wealthy and powerful upper class that owns and controls the means of production; a middle class of professional or salaried workers; and a lower class who rely on hourly wages for their livelihood.
- In Marxist theory, the class structure of the capitalist mode of production is characterized by two main classes: the bourgeoisie, or the capitalists who own the means of production, and the much larger proletariat (or working class) who must sell their own labor power for wages.
- Social class often has far reaching effects, influencing one's educational and professional opportunities and access to resources such as healthcare and housing.

Key Terms

- **class mobility**: Movement from one class status to another–either upward or downward.
- **socioeconomic status**: One's social position as determined by income, wealth, occupational prestige, and educational attainment.
- **class consciousness**: A term used in social sciences and political theory to refer to the beliefs that a person holds regarding one's social class or economic rank in society, the structure of their class, and their class interests.

Social class refers to the grouping of individuals into positions on a stratified social hierarchy. Class is an object of analysis for sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists and social historians. However, there is not a consensus on the best definition of the term "class," and the term has different contextual meanings. In common parlance, the term "social class" is usually synonymous with socioeconomic status, which is one's social position as determined by income, wealth, occupational prestige, and educational attainment.

Common models used to think about social class come from Marxist theory: common stratum theory, which divides society into the upper, middle, and working class; and structural-functionalism.

Class in Marxist Theory

According to the class social theorist Karl Marx, class is a combination of objective and subjective factors. Objectively, a class shares a common relationship to the means of production. Subjectively, the members will necessarily have some perception of their similarity and common interests, called class consciousness. Class consciousness is not simply an awareness of one's own class interest but is also a set of shared views regarding how society should be organized legally, culturally, socially and politically.

In Marxist theory, the class structure of the capitalist mode of production is characterized by two main classes: the bourgeoisie, or the capitalists who own the means of production, and the much larger proletariat (or working class) who must sell their own labor power for wages. For Marxists, class antagonism is rooted in the situation that control over social production necessarily entails control over the class which produces goods—in capitalism this is the domination and exploitation of workers by owners of capital.

Weberian Class

The class sociologist Max Weber formulated a three-component theory of stratification that saw political power as an interplay between "class", "status" and "group power. " Weber theorized that class position was determined by a person's skills and education, rather than by their relationship to the means of production.

Weber derived many of his key concepts on social stratification by examining the social structure of Germany. He noted that contrary to Marx's theories, stratification was based on more than simply ownership of capital. Weber examined how many members of the aristocracy lacked economic wealth yet had strong political power. Many wealthy families lacked prestige and power, for example, because they were Jewish. Weber introduced three independent factors that form his theory of stratification hierarchy: class, status, and power: class is person's economic position in a society; status is a person's prestige, social honor, or popularity in a society; power is a person's ability to get his way despite the resistance of others. While these three factors are often connected, someone can have high status without immense wealth, or wealth without power.

The Common Three-Stratum Model

Contemporary sociological concepts of social class often assume three general categories: a very wealthy and powerful upper class that owns and controls the means of production; a middle class of professional or salaried workers, small business owners, and low-level managers; and a lower class, who rely on hourly wages for their livelihood.

The upper class is the social class composed of those who are wealthy, well-born, or both. They usually wield the greatest political power.

The middle class is the most contested of the three categories, consisting of the broad group of people in contemporary society who fall socioeconomically between the lower class and upper class. One example of the contestation of this term is that In the United States middle class is applied very broadly and includes people who would elsewhere be considered lower class. Middle class workers are sometimes called white-collar workers.

The lower or working class is sometimes separated into those who are employed as wage or hourly workers, and an underclass —those who are long-term unemployed and/or homeless, especially those receiving welfare from the state. Members of the working class are sometimes called blue-collar workers.

Consequences of Social Class

A person's socioeconomic class has wide-ranging effects. It may determine the schools he is able to attend, the jobs open to him, who he may marry, and his treatment by police and the courts. A person's social class has a significant impact on his physical health, his ability to receive adequate medical care and nutrition, and his life expectancy.

Class mobility refers to movement from one class status to another–either upward or downward. Sociologists who measure class in terms of socioeconomic status use statistical data measuring income, education, wealth and other indexes to locate people on a continuum, typically divided into "quintiles" or segments of 20% each. This approach facilitates tracking people over time to measure relative class mobility. For example, the income and education level of parents can be compared to that of their children to show inter-generational class mobility.



Social Class and Living Conditions: In the United States, neighborhoods are stratified by class such that the lower class is often made to live in crime-ridden, decaying areas.



French Estates: In France before the French Revolution, society was divided into three estates: the clergy, nobility, and commoners. In this political cartoon, the Third Estate (commoners) is carrying the other two on its back.

Gender

Along with economic class and race, society is stratified by gender, with women often holding a lower social position than men.

Learning Objectives

Describe the effects of gender discrimination on women's employment and wealth

Key Points

- In the labor force, women are often relegated to lower status jobs, lower wages, and fewer promotions and raises than their male counterparts.
- Sexism is discrimination against a person on the basis of their sex, and tends to result in disadvantages for women who do not embrace their traditional gender role as mother and household overseer.
- Women's participation in the labor force also varies depending on marital status and social class.

Key Terms

- **sexism**: The belief that people of one sex or gender are inherently superior to people of the other sex or gender.
- **Motherhood Penalty**: The loss of pay and promotions among women due to the perceived association between women and the demands of childrearing.
- **Informal Economies**: Employment domains that are not regulated by governments and law enforcement.

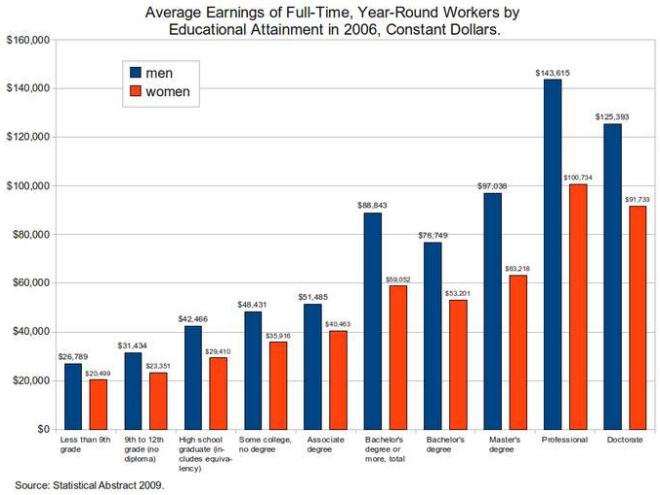
Economic class, race, and gender shape the opportunities, the privileges, and the inequalities experienced by individuals and groups. The United States continues to be greatly stratified along these three lines.

Capitalism also takes advantage of gender inequality. Women workers are often used as a source of cheap labor in informal economies, or employment domains that are not regulated by governments and law enforcement. For example, women work for low wages without health benefits as nannies and maids in New York, in clothing sweatshops in Los Angeles, and on rose farms in Ethiopia. In formal economies, women often receive less pay and have less chances for promotion than men. This phenomenon is referred to as the gender gap in employment.

Current U.S. labor force statistics illustrate women's changing role in the labor force. For instance, since 1971, women's participation in the labor force has grown from 32 million (43.4% of the female population 16 and over) to 68 million (59.2% of the female population 16 and over). Women also make, on average, $17,000 less than men do. Women tend to be concentrated in less prestigious and lower paying occupations than men, particularly those that are traditionally considered women's jobs or pink-collar jobs. Women's participation in the labor force also varies depending on marital status and social class.

Sociological research shows that women are not paid the same wages as men for similar work. Women tend to make between 75% and 91% of what men make for comparable work, with the highest inequality between men and women found among those with college and graduate degrees. The fact that women earn

less than men with equal qualifications helps explain why women are enrolling in college at higher rates than men — they require a college education to make the same amount as men with a high school diploma. The income gap between genders used to be similar between middle-class and affluent workers, but it is now widest among the most highly paid. A woman earning in the 95th percentile in 2006 would earn about $95,000 per year; a man in the 95th earning percentile would make about $115,000, a 28% difference.



Average Earnings of Full-Time, Year-Round Workers by Educational Attainment in 2006, Constant Dollars: Wages based upon gender and education point to a distinctive glass ceiling as it pertains to women in the workplace.

The most common explanation for the wage gap between men and women is the finding that women pay a motherhood penalty, regardless of whether or not they are actually mothers. This can be explained from the perspective of a potential employer: assuming you have two equally qualified candidates for a position, both are in their mid-twenties, married, and straight out of college, but one is a male and the other is female, which would you choose? Many employers choose men over women because women are "at risk" of having a child, even though they may not want to have children. The employer considers women who have children to be cumbersome, based on the expectation that women will take maternity leave and will be primarily responsible for childrearing. If women do actually take time off to bear and raise children, this further reduces the likelihood that they will be considered for raises or promotions.

Sexism

Sexism is discrimination against people based on their sex or gender, and can result in lower social status for women. Sexism can refer to three subtly different beliefs or attitudes: the belief that one sex is superior to the other; the belief that men and women are very different and that this should be strongly reflected in society, language, and the law; the simple hatred of men (misandry) or women (misogyny). Many peoples' beliefs about sex equality range along a continuum. Some people believe that women should have equal access with men to all jobs, while others believe that while women are superior to men in a few aspects, in most aspects men are superior to women.

Sexist beliefs are an example of essentialist thought, which holds that individuals can be understood (and often discriminated against) based on the characteristics of the group to which they belong–in this case, their gender.

Sexism has been linked to widespread gender discrimination. One example is the disparity in wealth between men and women in the U.S. Sociological research has shown that there are fewer wealthy women than there are wealthy men and that they are less likely to control the management of their own wealth. Up until the 19th Century most women could not own property and women's participation in the paid labor force outside the home was limited. It is possible that wealth among the elite may be redistributed toward a more equal balance between the sexes with increasing numbers of women entering the workforce and moving toward more financially lucrative positions in major corporations.

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8.2: Global Stratification

Global Stratification and Inequality

Stratification results in inequality when resources, opportunities, and privileges are distributed based on position in social hierarchy.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the three dominant theories of global inequality

Key Points

- Society is stratified into social classes based on an individual's socioeconomic status, gender, and race.
- Stratification and inequality can be analyzed as micro-, meso-, and macro-level phenomena, as they are produced in small group interactions, through organizations and institutions, and through global economic structures.
- Sociologists use three primary theories to analyze macro-level stratification and inequality: development and modernization theory, dependency theory, and world systems theory.

Key Terms

- **Macro-Level Stratification**: The role of international economic systems in shaping individuals' resources and opportunities by privileging certain social stratas.
- **Global Stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of individuals and groups in societies around the world.
- **Modernization Theory**: Argues that poor nations remain poor because they hold onto traditional attitudes, beliefs, technologies, and institutions.

Global stratification refers to the hierarchical arrangement of individuals and groups in societies around the world.

Global inequality refers to the unequal distribution of resources among individuals and groups based on their position in the social hierarchy. Classic sociologist Max Weber analyzed three dimensions of stratification: class, status, and party. Modern sociologists, however, generally speak of stratification in terms of socioeconomic status (SES). A person's SES is usually determined by their income, occupational prestige, wealth, and educational attainment, though other variables are sometimes considered.

Stratification and Inequality

Stratification refers to the range of social classes that result from variations in socioeconomic status. Significantly, because SES measures a range of variables, it does not merely measure economic inequality. For example, despite earning equal salaries, two persons may have differences in power, property, and prestige. These three indicators can indicate someone's social position; however, they are not always consistent.

Inequality occurs when a person's position in the social hierarchy is tied to different access to resources, and it largely depends on differences in wealth. For example, a wealthy person may receive higher quality medical care than a poor person, have greater access to nutritional foods, and be able to attend higher caliber schools. Material resources are not distributed equally to people of all economic statuses.



US Wealth Held by Top 1% of Population (1913-2008): This graph illustrates the percentage of all US wealth held by the top 1% of the population. This percentage has shifted over time, but has consistently been a significant portion of total US wealth, indicating that wealth is not equally distributed between all US citizens.

While stratification is most commonly associated with socioeconomic status, society is also stratified by statuses such as race and gender. Together with SES, these shape the unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, and privileges among individuals. For example, within a given social class, women are less likely to receive job promotions than men. Similarly, within American cities with heavily racially-segregated neighborhoods, racial minorities are less likely to have access to high quality schools than white people.

Perspectives Towards Stratification

Stratification is generally analyzed from three different perspectives: micro, meso, and macro. Micro-level analysis focuses on how prestige and personal influence create inequality through face-to-face and small group interactions. Meso-level analysis focuses on how connections to organizations and institutions produce inequality. Macro-level analysis considers the role of economic systems in shaping individuals' resources and opportunities.

Macro-level analyses of stratification can include global analyses of how positions in the international economic system shape access to resources and opportunities. For example, the small African nation of Cape Verde is significantly indebted to European nations and the U.S., and the majority of its industry is controlled by foreign investors. As the nation's economy has ceded control of once-public services, such as electricity, its citizens have lost jobs and the price of electricity has increased. Thus, the nation's position in the world economy has resulted in poverty for many of its citizens.

A global structure, or a macro-level phenomenon, produces unequal distribution of resources for people living in various nations.

Theories of Macro-Level Inequality

There are three dominant theories that sociologists use to consider why inequality exists on a global scale.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Global Social Stratification: People in countries around the world experience different access to resources and opportunities and different standards of living, based on their position in the global hierarchy.

Firstly, some sociologists use a *theory of development and modernization* to argue that poor nations remain poor because they hold onto traditional attitudes and beliefs, technologies and institutions, such as traditional economic systems and forms of government. Modernists believe large economic growth is the key to reducing poverty in poor countries.

Secondly, *dependency theory* blames colonialism and neocolonialism (continuing economic dependence on former colonial countries) for global poverty. Countries have developed at an uneven rate because wealthy countries have exploited poor countries in the past and today through foreign debt and transnational corporations (TNCs). According to dependency theory, wealthy countries would not be as rich as they are today if they did not have these materials, and the key to reversing inequality is to relieve former colonies of their debts so that they can benefit from their own industry and resources.

Lastly, *world systems theory* suggests that all countries are divided into a three-tier hierarchy based on their relationship to the global economy, and that a country's position in this hierarchy determines its own economic development.

According to world systems theory as articulated by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, core countries are at the top of the global hierarchy as they can extract material resources and labor from less developed countries. These core countries own most of the world's capital and technology, and have great control over world trade and economic agreements. Semiperipheral countries generally provide labor and materials to core countries, which benefits core countries but also increases income within the semiperipheral country. Peripheral countries are generally indebted to wealthy nations, and their land and populations are often exploited for the gain of other countries.

Because of this hierarchy, individuals living in core countries generally have higher standards of living than those in semiperipheral or peripheral countries.

Industrialized Countries

Industrialized countries have greater levels of wealth and economic development than less-industrialized countries.

Learning Objectives

Describe the characteristics of industrialized countries

Key Points

- Industrialized countries are at the top of the global socioeconomic hierarchy, and their populations generally enjoy a high standard of living.
- Most commonly, the criteria used to evaluate a country's level of development is its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita.
- One measure of a nation's level of development is the Human Development Index (HDI), a statistical measure developed by the United Nations that gauges a country's level of human development.

Key Terms

- **Developed Country**: A sovereign state with a highly developed economy relative to other nations.
- **Industrialized Country**: A sovereign state with a highly developed economy relative to other nations.
- **Human Development Index (HDI)**: A composite statistic used to rank countries by level of "human development,"

taken as a synonym of the older term “standard of living. “

- **gross domestic product**: (GDP) The market value of all officially recognized final goods and services produced within a country in a year, or over a given period of time; often used as an indicator of a country’s material standard of living.

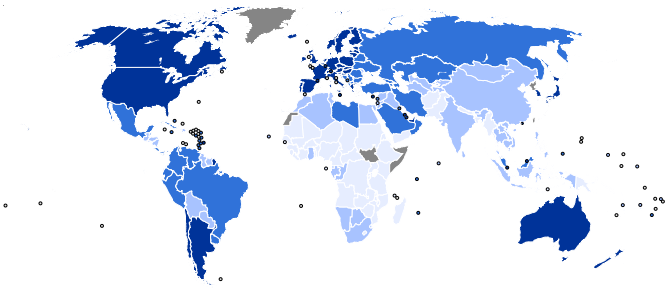
An industrialized country, also commonly referred to as a developed country, is a sovereign state with a highly developed economy relative to other nations. Most commonly, the criteria used to evaluate a country’s level of development is its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. However, many other variables are frequently taken into account. Factors used to measure a country’s development can include: per capita income, level of industrialization, extent of infrastructure, life expectancy, literacy rate, and general standard of living. The criteria to use and the countries to classify as developed are contentious issues, as discussed below.

Characteristics of Industrialized Countries

In terms of global stratification, industrialized countries are at the top of the global hierarchy. Developed countries, which include such nations as the United States, France, and Japan, have higher GDPs, per-capita incomes, levels of industrialization, breadth of infrastructure, and general standards of living than less developed nations. Consequently, people living in developed countries have greater access to such resources as food, education, roads, and electricity than their counterparts in less developed nations.

Human Development Index

One measure of a nation’s level of development is the Human Development Index (HDI), a statistical measure developed by the United Nations that gauges a country’s level of development. Often, national income or gross domestic product (GDP) are used alone to measure how prosperous a nation’s economy is. HDI considers these factors, but also accounts for how income is invested in healthcare, education, and other infrastructure. Thus, HDI is often used to predict trends in a nation’s development.



United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) Rankings for 2011: Human Development Index (HDI) is a measure of how much of a nation’s wealth is invested into local services such as education and infrastructure. Countries with low HDI tend to be caught in a national cycle of poverty — they have little wealth to invest, but the lack of investment perpetuates their poverty. This map shows how disparate HDIs are around the world. Because nations have varying levels of wealth, income, and investment in infrastructure, individual populations experience inequality.

Criticisms

The Human Development Index, along with the entire concept of “developing” and “developed” countries, has been criticized on a number of grounds. The term “developing” implies inferiority compared to a developed country, and it also assumes a desire to develop along the traditional Western model of economic development. Critics argue that this is a rather Western-centric perspective. Critics also argue that it does take into account any ecological considerations and focuses almost exclusively on national performance and ranking.

Industrializing Countries

Industrializing countries have low standards of living, undeveloped industry, and low Human Development Indices (HDIs).

Learning Objectives

Explain why some scholars use the term ‘less-developed country’ instead of ‘industrializing country’

Key Points

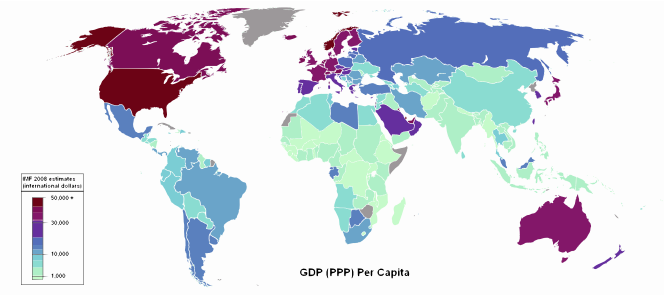
- In the global hierarchy, industrializing countries are at the middle of the global economic order as measured by indicators such as income per capita, basic infrastructure, literacy rates, or HDI.
- HDI is the measure of development that is used by the United Nations. HDI considers a country’s per capita gross domestic product (GDP), per capita income, rate of literacy, life expectancy, basic infrastructure, and other factors to determine how developed a country is.
- Because so-called “industrializing countries” do not always have economic growth, some scholars prefer the descriptive

term “less- developed country ” to describe nations with smaller economies than developed countries.

Key Terms

- **Human Development Index (HDI)**: A composite statistic used to rank countries by level of “human development,” taken as a synonym of the older term “standard of living. “
- **Developing Country**: A nation with a low living standard, undeveloped industrial base, and low Human Development Index (HDI) relative to other countries.
- **Industrializing Country**: A nation with a low living standard, undeveloped industrial base, and low Human Development Index (HDI) relative to other countries.

An industrializing country, also commonly referred to as a developing country or a less-developed country, is a nation with a low standard of living, undeveloped industrial base, and low Human Development Index (HDI) relative to other countries. HDI is the measure of development that is used by the United Nations. HDI considers a country’s per capita gross domestic product (GDP), per capita income, rate of literacy, life expectancy, basic infrastructure, and other factors affecting standard of living to determine how developed a country is. Industrializing countries have HDIs between the most and least industrialized countries in the world.



Map of GDP Per Capita (2008): The GDP of economies across the globe.

Considering global stratification, industrializing nations are at the middle of the hierarchy. Standards of living in industrializing nations are lower than in developed countries, but range widely depending on whether a nation is rapidly industrializing or is in decline. For example, India is considered a industrializing country. Many Indians, particularly in rural areas and urban slums, live in extreme poverty and have little access to healthcare, education, and paid employment. However, standards of living in India have greatly improved in recent decades as a result of a rapidly expanding economy. By contrast, in Afghanistan, which is also considered an industrializing nation, war and drought has halted economic growth and standards of living have not been rising substantially.

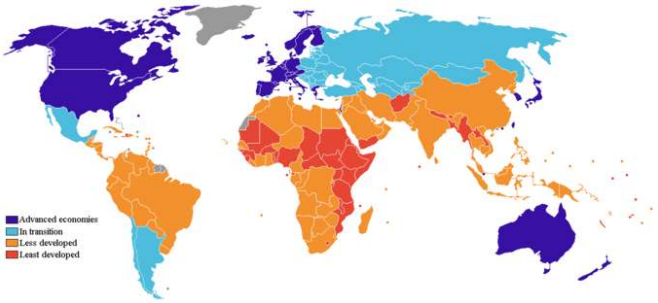
“Industrializing” versus “Less-developed”

Many scholars and social theorists have criticized the term “industrializing country” for being misleading. First, it implies that a country’s economy is growing; some partially industrialized countries are stagnant or in decline. Second, critics claim the term masks the inequality within each country. In other words, saying that India is an industrializing country hides the fact that within India some people are very wealthy and have a high standard of living, while some Indians are very poor and have few resources and opportunities. Because of such critiques, some scholars use the term less-developed country to describe the present circumstances in countries with relatively small economies and little infrastructure.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Developing Countries Need Infrastructure to Facilitate Trade: According to research from the World Bank, one challenge facing industrializing nations is how to successfully export products when they do not have pre-existing infrastructures to facilitiate international trade.



Developed and Developing Countries: This map shows what stage of economic development various countries are in. It also includes which nations are in a transitional moment between stages of development.

Least Industrialized Countries

The world’s least industrialized countries have low income, few human resources, and are economically vulnerable.

Learning Objectives

Describe the characteristics of Least Developed Countries

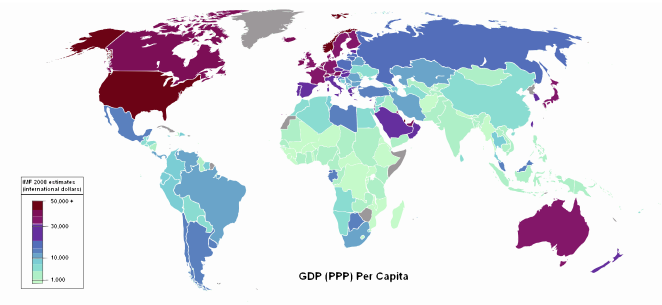
Key Points

- Least industrialized countries are more likely than more developed countries to have authoritarian governments, uncontrolled epidemics, and low access to services such as healthcare and education.
- According to the UN, and least industrialized countries meet three standards:1. Low income (a three-year average gross national income of less that $905 USD per capita) 2. Human resource weakness3. Economic vulnerability.
- Modern sociologists consider the world's least industrialized countries to play a peripheral role in the world economy, and therefore refer to them as peripheral nations.

Key Terms

- **Least Industrialized Countries**: The countries at the bottom of a stratified global economic order, which play only a peripheral role in the international economy.
- **Third World Countries**: Those countries not aligned with the west or the east during the Cold War, especially the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.
- **Human Development Index (HDI)**: A composite statistic used to rank countries by level of "human development," taken as a synonym of the older term "standard of living. "

In contrast to industrialized and industrializing countries, the world's least industrialized countries exhibit extremely poor economic growth and have the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) measures in the world. HDI is the measure of development that is used by the United Nations. HDI considers a country's per capita gross domestic product (GDP), per capita income, rate of literacy, life expectancy, basic infrastructure, and other factors affecting standard of living to determine how developed a country is. To be considered a least industrialized country, or least developed country (LDC) as they are commonly called, a country must have a small economy and low standards of living.



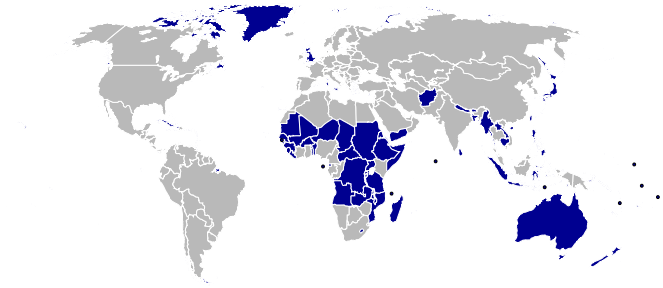
Map of GDP Per Capita (2008): This map shows countries' gross domestic products (GDP) per capita. Countries in the 1–10,000 international dollar range roughly correspond to least industrialized countries.

Defining an LDC

By the United Nations' standards, a country must meet three specific criteria to be classified as an LDC:

1. Low income (a three-year average gross national income of less that $905 USD per capita)
2. Human resource weakness, based on indicators of nutrition, health, education, and literacy
3. Economic vulnerability, based on instability of agricultural production, instability of exports of goods and services, and a high percentage of population displaced by natural disaster, for example.

The UN uses such specific standards for defining LDCs because the UN provides support and advocacy services to LDCs. Thus, the definition of LDCs is more rigid than the definition of developing/industrializing and developed/industrialized countries.



Map of Least Developed Countries: Least developed countries tend to be concentrated in areas with ongoing conflict, a high rate of natural distasters, or industries that are vulnerable to climate instability.

Characteristics

Not all LDCs are alike, but many characteristics are shared. For example, the majority of LDCs are located in Sub-Saharan Africa. LDCs in this region are particularly likely to have authoritarian governments such as dictatorships. Similarly, for many LDCs AIDS is a major issue, overwhelming unstable medical infrastructures. In all LDCs, populations have a low standard of living. People living in LDCs are unlikely to have

consistent access to electricity, clean water, healthcare, education, and in many cases food and shelter.

The "Third World"

In the past, countries that are now labeled as LDCs were known as "third world" countries. Third world countries were undeveloped countries that were neither major players in the capitalist world market nor communist states under the USSR. Most current scholars consider the term "third world" to be outdated. Modern sociologists are more likely to describe the world's least industrialized nations as "peripheral," referring to their marginalized position in the world economy. Least industrialized nations are likely to be exploited by more developed nations for material and human resources, such as oil and cheap labor. They participate in the world economy, but do not greatly benefit from it. Least industrialized nations are at the bottom of a stratified global economic order, and play only a peripheral role in the international economy.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Global Humanitarian Forum Discussion of Special Needs of Least Industrialized Countries: Here policy makers discuss the challenges that countries with small, insecure economies and inadequate infrastructure face as they seek higher status in the global hierarchy.

Growing Global Inequality

There is a wide gap between the wealth of the world's richest countries and its poorest.

Learning Objectives

Describe the development of global inequality in the 20th century

Key Points

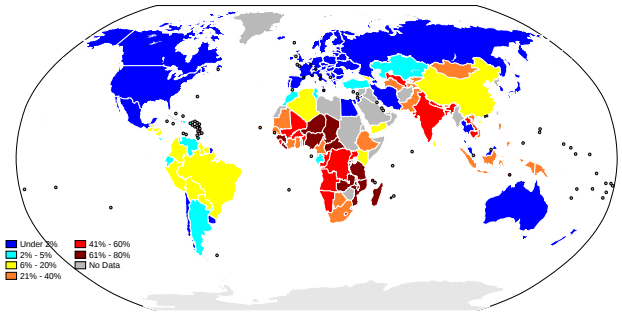
- Global inequality is thought to have peaked around the year 1970, but inequality remains significant and persistent.
- According to social reproduction theory, rich and powerful individuals benefit from being at the top of the economic hierarchy and have the influence needed to protect their status, so they contribute to the persistence of global inequality.
- Even though global inequality has decreased in recent decades, inequality is persistent and shows no signs of disappearing.

Key Terms

- **Social Reproduction Theory**: According to this theory of inequality, rich and powerful individuals and institutions perpetuate inequality to protect their high status.
- **Twin Peaks**: Opposite clusters of the world's richest and poorest countries.
- **divergence**: The degree to which two or more things separate or move in opposite directions.

There is a vast gap between the wealth of the world's richest countries and its poorest, resulting in different access to resources and opportunities for each country's population. To discuss this global inequality, sociologists may refer to the world's " twin peaks," or two groups of its richest and poorest countries. At the top of the hierarchy, a group of countries that includes the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and Australia has 13% of the world's population but receives 45% of its income (adjusted for international purchasing power). At the bottom of the hierarchy, a group of countries including India, Indonesia, and China has 42% of the world's population but receives only 9% of income (adjusted for international purchasing power). The existence of these twin peaks demonstrates that there is a wide gap between the world's wealthiest and poorest nations.

Throughout most of the 20th century, there was a trend towards divergence between the economies of richer and poorer countries. In other words, the gap between wealthy, developed nations and poorer, developing nations widened — global inequality increased. Current research indicates, however, that global inequality peaked around 1970. Around the year 1970, world income was distributed between extremely rich and extremely poor countries, with little overlap. Since the 1970s, trends show that an increasing percentage of the world's population lives in middle-income countries. Thus, there is a broader spectrum of incomes, with fewer people living at the extremes of wealth and poverty than in the past. Since 1970, global inequality has decreased.



Global inequality: As of 2009, there was still a stark divide between the wealth of the world's richest countries and its poorest, but an increased number of countries had middle-incomes as compared to the years prior to 1970. Global inequality remained persistent but had decreased somewhat.

Even though global inequality has decreased in recent decades, inequality is persistent and shows no signs of disappearing. Evidence used by researchers to demonstrate the presence of global inequality includes: the poorest 10% of Americans have a higher standard of living than 2/3 of the world's population; the richest 1% of the world's population holds as much wealth as the poorest 10% of the population; and the three richest individuals in the world possess greater wealth than the poorest 10% of the population. These statistics are small glimpses of the big picture of global economy, but begin to illustrate the great inequality that exists.

Sociologists who study global inequality have proposed social reproduction theory as one way to explain the persistence of inequality. According to social reproduction theory, rich and powerful individuals and institutions perpetuate inequality to protect their high status. The rich and powerful control the means of production (such as factories, land, and transportation) and often have strong influence in government. Moreover, they often control the media, schools, and courts, extending their influence in various social realms. Because individuals and institutions at the top of the economic hierarchy benefit from their status, they use their influence to protect their positions.

A related explanation for the persistence of inequality is the idea that culture teaches acceptance of the extant economic hierarchy. According to this view, individuals are taught to believe that the rich and powerful are more talented, hardworking, and intelligent than the poor. This explanation holds that the misconception that poor people are lazy or irresponsible is widespread, and that people are therefore likely to accept that poor people deserve to be poor. People who ascribe to the cultural belief that the rich are deserving of their wealth are unlikely to challenge economic inequality, so they thereby perpetuate it.

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8.3: Stratification in the World System

Colonialism and Neocolonialism

Colonialism is the establishment, maintenance, acquisition, and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between dependency theory, world-systems theory, and the Marxist perspective on colonialism

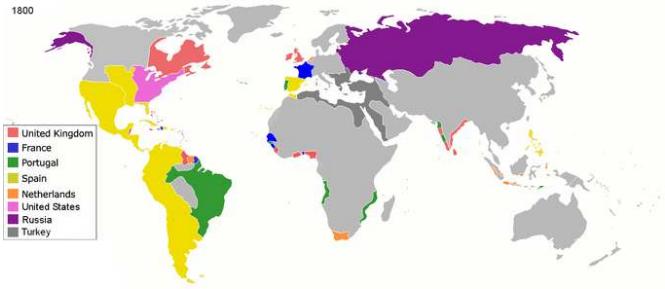
Key Points

- The colonial period ranges from the 1450s to the 1970s, beginning when several European powers (Spain, Portugal, Britain, and France especially) established colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Americas.
- Decolonization took place after the First and Second World Wars as former colonies established independence from colonial powers.
- Neocolonialism refers to the unequal economic and power relations that currently exist between former colonies and former colonizing nations.
- Marx viewed colonialism as part of the global capitalist system, which has led to exploitation, social change, and uneven development.
- Dependency theory argues that countries have developed at an uneven rate because wealthy countries have exploited poor countries in the past through colonialism and today through foreign debt and trade.
- World-systems theory splits the world economic system into core, peripheral, and semi-peripheral countries.

Key Terms

- **decolonization**: The freeing of a colony or territory from dependent status by granting it sovereignty.
- **Age of Discovery**: A period in history starting in the early 15th century and continuing into the early 17th century during which Europeans engaged in intensive exploration of the world, establishing direct contact with Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Oceania and mapping the planet.
- **Scramble for Africa**: A process of invasion, occupation, colonization and annexation of African territory by European powers during the New Imperialism period, between 1881 and World War I in 1914.
- **colonialism**: the establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition and expansion of territories (or colonies) in one geographic area by people from another area

Colonialism is the establishment, maintenance, acquisition, and expansion of colonies in one territory, imposed by people from another territory. It is a process whereby the metropole, or parent state, claims sovereignty over the colony, and the social structure, government, and economy of the colony are changed by colonizers from the metropole. Colonialism is a set of unequal relationships between the metropole and the colony, and between the colonists and the indigenous, or native, population.



Map of Empires and Colonies: 1800: By the end of the 19th century, most of the Americas were under the control of European colonial empires. At present, much of South and Central America is still economically dependent on foreign nations for capital and export markets.

History of Colonialism

Modern colonialism started with the Age of Discovery, during which Portugal and Spain discovered new lands across the oceans (including the Americas and Atlantic/South Pacific islands) and built trading posts. According to some scholars, building these colonies across oceans differentiates colonialism from other types of expansionism. These new lands were first divided between the Portuguese Empire and Spanish Empire, though the British, French, and Dutch soon acquired vast territory as well.

The 17th century saw the creation of the French colonial empire, the Dutch Empire, and the English colonial empire, which later became the British Empire. It also saw the establishment of some Swedish overseas colonies and a Danish colonial empire.

The spread of colonial empires diminished in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, largely due to the American Revolutionary War and Latin American wars for independence. However, many new colonies were established after this period, including the German colonial empire and Belgian colonial empire. In the late 19th century, many European powers were involved in the so-called Scramble for Africa, in which many African colonies were established.

Decolonization

After the First World War, the victorious allies divided up the German colonial empire and much of the Ottoman Empire according to League of Nations mandates. These territories were

divided into three classes based on how quickly they would be ready for independence. Decolonization outside the Americas lagged until after World War II. In ideal cases, decolonized colonies were granted sovereignty, or the right to self-govern, becoming independent countries.

Neocolonialism

The term "neocolonialism" has been used to refer to a variety of contexts since the decolonization that took place after World War II. Generally, it does not refer to any type of direct colonization, but colonialism by other means. Specifically, neocolonialism refers to the theory that former or existing economic relationships—the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the Central American Free Trade Agreement —are used to maintain control of former colonies after formal independence was achieved. In broader usage, neocolonialism may simply refer to the involvement of powerful countries in the affairs of less powerful countries; this is especially relevant in modern Latin America. In this sense, neocolonialism implies a form of economic imperialism.

Colonialism and Neocolonialism in the World System

One approach sociologists take to colonialism and neocolonialism is a Marxist perspective. Marx viewed colonialism as part of the global capitalist system, which has led to exploitation, social change, and uneven development. He argued that it was destructive and produced dependency. According to some Marxist historians, in all of the colonial countries ruled by Western European countries, indigenous people were robbed of health and opportunities. From a Marxist perspective, colonies are considered vis-à-vis modes of production. The search for raw materials and new investment opportunities is the result of inter-capitalist rivalry for capital accumulation.

Dependency theory builds upon Marxist thought, blaming colonialism and neocolonialism for poverty within the world system. This theory argues that countries have developed at an uneven rate because wealthy countries have exploited poor countries in the past and today through foreign debt and foreign trade.

World-Systems Theory

The world-systems theory suggests that the aftermath of colonialism and the continuing practice of neocolonialism produces unequal economic relations within the world system. Sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein elaborated on these forms of economic inequality. In this theory, the world economic system is divided into a hierarchy of three types of countries: core, semiperipheral, and peripheral. Core countries (e.g., U.S., Japan, Germany) are dominant capitalist countries characterized by high levels of industrialization and urbanization. Peripheral countries (e.g., most African countries and low income countries in South America) are dependent on core countries for capital, and have very little industrialization and urbanization. Peripheral countries are usually agrarian and have low literacy rates and lack Internet connection in many areas. Semiperipheral countries (e.g., South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, Brazil, India, Nigeria, South Africa) are less developed than core nations but are more developed than peripheral nations.



French Pith Helmet: The pith helmet is a symbol of French colonialism in tropical regions, as it was worn by colonial officers.

Multinational Corporations

A multinational corporation (MNC) is a business enterprise that manages production or delivers services in more than one country.

Learning Objectives

Reconstruct the debate between critics and proponents of economic globalization

Key Points

- Multinational corporations affect local and national policies by causing governments to compete with each other to be attractive to multinational corporation investment in their country.
- Multinational corporations often hold power over local and national governments through a monopoly on technological and intellectual property. Because of their size, multinationals can also have a significant impact on government policy through the threat of market withdrawal.

- Economic globalization refers to increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, services, technology and capital. Multinational corporations play a key role in this process.
- Those who view economic globalization positively cite evidence of per capita GDP growth, decrease in poverty, and a narrowing gap between rich and poor nations.
- Those who view economic globalization negatively cite evidence of exploitation of the local labor force, funneling of important resources away from the country itself into foreign exports, and overall dependency of developing countries upon wealthy countries.
- Those who view economic globalization positively cite evidence of per capita GDP growth, decrease in poverty, and a narrowing gap between rich and poor nations.
- Those who view economic globalization negatively cite evidence of exploitation of the local labor force, funneling of important resources away from the country itself into foreign exports, and overall dependency of developing countries upon wealthy countries.

Key Terms

- **Economic Imperialism**: The geopolitical practice of using capitalism, business globalization, and cultural imperialism to control a country, in lieu of either direct military control or indirect political control.
- **Market Withdrawal**: The act or threat of removing one's goods or services from the consumer market, potentially reducing the supply of a product, or of jobs.
- **tax break**: A deduction in tax that is given in order to encourage a certain economic activity or a social objective.

A multinational corporation (MNC) or multinational enterprise (MNE) is a corporate enterprise that manages production or delivers services in more than one country.

A MNC differs slightly from a transnational corporation (TNC), because while MNC's are traditionally national companies with foreign subsidiaries, a TNC does not identify itself with one national home. However, these terms are often used interchangeably. Multinational corporations can have a powerful influence in local economies, and even the world economy.

Influence on Local and National Economies

National and local governments often compete with one another to attract MNC facilities, with the expectation of increased tax revenue, employment, and economic activity. To compete, political entities may offer MNCs incentives such as tax breaks, pledges of governmental assistance or subsidized infrastructure, or lax environmental or labor regulations.

Besides holding the promise of economic growth for local and national governments, multinational corporations also exert power over political entities once they are established, through their control over technical and intellectual property. For example, Adidas holds patents on shoe designs, Siemens A.G. holds many patents on equipment and infrastructure and Microsoft benefits from software patents. These patents often allow multinational corporations to exercise a monopoly in the local economy, preventing local enterprises from developing. This also functions to keep labor costs low, sometimes exploitatively so.

Because of their size, multinational corporations can also have a significant impact on government policy through the threat of market withdrawal.

Influence on the World Economy

Multinational corporations play an important role in the world economy through the process of economic globalization; in other words, the increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, services, technology and capital.

Multinational corporations have played a leading role in this globalization, establishing multiple links between the economies of various countries. Using capital from developed countries, MNCs establish factories and plants in developing countries, where they can access raw materials and labor more cheaply. The finished products are then shipped back to wealthy countries where there is a consumer market.

These multiple links lead to an increasing economic integration between various economies, resulting in the emergence of a global marketplace or a single world market.

A Positive View of Economic Globalization

Those who view this phenomenon positively cite the evidence of per capita GDP growth, decrease in poverty, and a narrowing gap between rich and poor nations. Proponents of economic globalization argue that the economic benefits are widely shared between different parts of society, discounting critics who point to rising inequality between the rich and poor within nations who have joined the global market.

Those in favour of globalization also cite evidence of overall improvement of living standards and poverty reduction in globalizing countries. For example, there has been a 5.4 percent annual growth in income for the poorest fifth of the population of Malaysia. Even in China, where inequality continues to be a problem, the poorest fifth of the population saw a 3.8 percent annual growth in income in 2001. Finally, there is evidence that

the gap has narrowed between rich and poor countries, which is often touted as a positive benefit of economic globalization.

Critical Views of Economic Globalization

Not all observers of economic globalization have a positive evaluation. As discussed above, multinational corporations exert powerful influence over local and national governments, often prompting them to enact policies that benefit business, rather than protecting the rights of local people. Thus, economic globalization in the form of MNCs can lead to exploitation of the local labor force, funneling of important resources away from the country itself into foreign exports, and overall dependency of developing countries upon wealthy countries.

In addition to the uneven distribution of benefits that often occurs, critics also point to the ways that resources are diverted from the local population into foreign exports. For example, some of the land in Cape Verde could be planted and harvested to feed people but is planted instead with cash crops for foreign exchange. Fresh produce is regularly sold or changed to a nonperishable type, such as canned tuna for export, rather than consumed by the population. Widespread malnutrition is one of the effects of this foreign dependency.

Finally, economic globalization may result in unequal economic relations of dependency between developing and developed countries. Instead of acting independently on behalf of the people in the country, governments of developing countries may act more in the interests of MNCs and of other nations on whom they rely on for aid. They may feel that without these forms of economic connection, their country cannot survive.

Thus, dependent relations that were formed in the colonial period continue on today in the form of what many scholars call neocolonialism or economic imperialism.



Walmart in Quanzhou, China: Walmart is an example of a large multi-national corporation, with stores and manufacturing facilities all over the world.

Poverty

Poverty is the condition of not having access to material resources, income, or wealth.

Learning Objectives

Compare the definitions of poverty, absolute poverty, and extreme poverty

Key Points

- The U.S. officially defines poverty using the poverty line, which is the measure of those whose incomes are less than three times the approximate cost of a subsistence level food budget.
- Absolute poverty is the level of poverty where individuals and families cannot meet food, shelter, warmth, and safety needs, while relative poverty refers to economic disadvantage compared to wealthier members of society.
- Extreme poverty is a severe lack of material possessions or money, defined by the World Bank as living on less than US $1.25 a day.
- Poverty may correspond not only to lack of resources, but to lack of opportunity to improve one's standard of living and acquire resources.
- Globally, countries are stratified in an economic hierarchy that is often measured by GNI PPP, or gross national income converted to international dollars. Individuals in wealthy countries are less likely to live in poverty than those in poor countries.

Key Terms

- **Economic Stratification**: Economic stratification refers to the condition within a society where social classes are separated, or stratified, along economic lines, with distinct economic strata, or levels.
- **GNI PPP**: The GNI PPP is the gross national income of a country converted to international dollars using a factor called the purchasing power parity, and is a commonly used measure of national economic well-being.
- **The Poverty Line**: The threshold of poverty, below which one's income does not cover necessities.

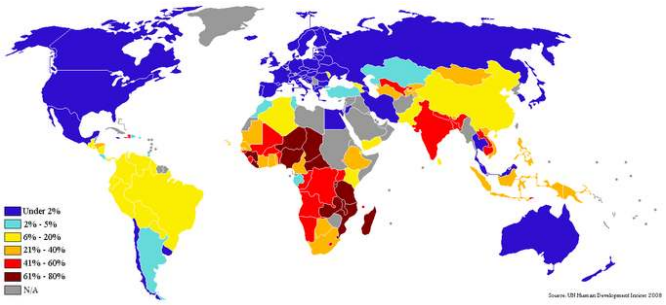
Poverty describes the state of not having access to material resources, wealth, or income. The U.S. officially defines poverty using the poverty line, which is the official measure of those whose incomes are less than three times the approximate cost of a subsistence level food budget. This definition has been in use in the U.S. to track demographic changes and allocate welfare aid since the 1960s. Near poverty is when one earns up to 25% above the poverty line; put otherwise, a person near poverty has an income below 125% of the current poverty line. Absolute poverty is the level of poverty where individuals and families cannot meet food, shelter, warmth, and safety needs, while

relative poverty refers to economic disadvantage compared to wealthier members of society. Extreme poverty is a severe lack of material possessions or money, defined by the World Bank as living on less than US $1.25 a day.

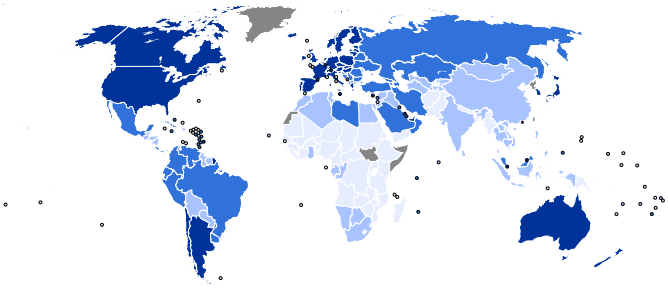
Poverty may correspond not only to lack of resources, but to lack of opportunity to improve one's standard of living and acquire resources. Life chances are an individual's access to basic opportunities and resources in the marketplace. Someone who is living in poverty but has high life chances may be able to improve their economic standing, while someone with low life chances will likely have a consistently low standard of living.

Billions of people around the world live in poverty, and often experience hunger, preventable illness, and low life expectancy as a result. A commonly used measure of national economic well-being is the GNI PPP. The GNI PPP is the gross national income of a country converted to international dollars using a factor called the purchasing power parity. In other words, GNI PPP lets you understand how much a person could buy with a given amount of money (in other words, a person's annual income), regardless of the country's currency. It enables comparisons between the relative wealth and poverty of countries — the higher a country's GNI PPP is, the better off the average person in that country is.

Comparing GNI PPPs makes clear that there is global economic stratification, or that countries are arranged in a hierarchy based on the unequal distribution wealth.The developed world is over 6 times wealthier than the less developed world. Globally, Africa has the highest level of poverty, with the average person earning less than 10% of what the average US citizen earns.



Percentage of Population Living on Less than $1/day: This map shows the percentage of national populations living on less than $1/day, adjusted for international purchasing power. This is a commonly used measure of poverty to allow international comparisons.



United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) Rankings for 2011: Human Development Index (HDI) is a measure of how much of a nation's wealth is invested into local services such as education and infrastructure. Countries with low HDI tend to be caught in a national cycle of poverty — they have little wealth to invest, but the lack of investment perpetuates their poverty.

Modernization and Technology

Modernization deals with social change from agrarian societies to industrial ones, with new technologies playing an important role.

Learning Objectives

Discuss some problems with modernization theory, especially for poorer countries

Key Points

- The Renaissance period (14th-17th centuries) was an important era of introducing new technologies of mechanization and efficient production which paved the way for the Industrial Revolution.
- The printing press, invented by Johannes Gutenburg in the 15th century, is regarded as one of the most important Renaissance inventions because it allowed the rapid spread of information across borders.
- The mass production technologies perfected during the Industrial Revolution led to a dramatic change in production processes, which in turn spurred on patterns of urbanization, wage labor, and nuclear family life.
- The Information Revolution refers to the most recent era of technological developments, including cell phones and the Internet.
- The assumption that it is always beneficial to adopt new technologies in order to modernize must be questioned, because it can sometimes lead to value judgments against societies and groups who do not use the latest technologies.

Key Terms

- **Information Revolution**: Refers to the most recent era of technological developments, including cell phones and the Internet.
- **Industrial Revolution**: The major technological, socioeconomic, and cultural change in the late 18th and

early 19th century, resulting from the replacement of an economy based on manual labor to one dominated by industry and machine manufacturing.
- **modernization**: A model of an evolutionary transition from a "pre-modern" or "traditional" society to a "modern" society, including the adoption of new industry and technology.

Background

New technology is a major source of social change. Modernization deals with social change from agrarian societies to industrial ones, so it is important to look at technology changes across contexts. New technologies do not change societies by themselves. Rather, it is the response to technology that causes change. Frequently, a new technology will be recognized but not put to use for a very long time. Later, it may be taken up on large scale such that an entire society is revolutionized by it.

From the perspective of Western societies, one of the most important epochs for technological innovation was the Renaissance, which spanned roughly the 14th through 17th centuries starting from Italy and spreading throughout the rest of Europe. Many technologies which had profound impact of social life were either invented or popularized during this time. For example, the compound crank and connecting rod converted circular motion into reciprocal motion and was of utmost importance for the mechanization of work processes, later becoming integrated into machine design. The mariner's astrolabe played an important role in sea navigation, aiding in the discovery of the Americas and other overseas lands. Other technologies introduced during this time include the cranked reel (used to wind skeins of yarn), the blast furnace (enhanced iron production), and the rotary grindstone with treadle.

The Printing Press

Of extreme significance during this period was the invention of the printing press in the mid-1400s by Johannes Gutenburg. Paving the way for mass production of printed material, the printing press is widely regarded as one of the most important inventions of the Renaissance. It made possible the relatively free flow of information, which transcended borders and induced a sharp rise in Renaissance literacy, learning, and education. It also allowed for greater circulation of (sometimes revolutionary) ideas among the rising middle classes and peasants and threatened the traditional power monopoly of the ruling nobility. The printing press became a key factor in the rapid spread of the Protestant Revolution and is thought to have enabled the development of national identities.

The Renaissance

The technologies of the Renaissance period, which introduced methods of mechanization, were the predecessors of the mass-production techniques that fueled the Industrial Revolution during the 18th and 19th centuries, which started in Great Britain and emanated outwards. Key technologies developed during this period included the steam engine, new iron smelting methods, and the water frame, spinning Jenny, and spinning mule (in the textile industry). As a result of these developments, new factories sprung up everywhere and production shifted from homes or small workshops to factories. These developments also shaped new patterns of urbanization, labor, and family life, all of which may be deemed a process of modernization. For example, people moved from the countryside into the city in search of new work opportunities, more people were employed as wage-laborers doing repetitive tasks in a factory, and nuclear families became disconnected from the more extended kinship networks found in rural areas as people moved into cities.

Modernization continues apace today as technologies spread into areas that were previously less technologically advanced and as new innovations are introduced almost daily. Cell phones, for example, have changed the lives of millions throughout the world. This is especially true in Africa and parts of the Middle East where there is a low cost communication infrastructure. Spread of Internet connection is another powerful factor which facilitates rapid flows of information and interconnection between people in all corners of the globe. These processes may be considered the phase of technological innovation following the Industrial Revolution, which some have labeled the Information Revolution.

Modernization through technological innovation is seen by modernization theorists as a key way that poor countries can "catch up" to the developed world. The converse may also prove to be true though, if nations that do not adopt cutting edge technology at the same pace as developed nations are shut out of the global economy. This can lead to ethnocentric bias and prejudice against poorer countries who do not develop the new technologies that higher income countries do. Another flaw with modernization theory is its failure to recognize that if poorer countries adopt the technologies of higher-income countries, this may foster dependence. Poorer countries will rely on higher-income countries for support and guidance, thus widening (rather than narrowing) the power differential.

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8.4: Global Diversity

World Health Trends

World health research considers global patterns of interaction between people, products, money and information as they affect health trends.

Learning Objectives

Explain why health interventions must not just address diseases but also structural factors

Key Points

- Global illnesses are often classified into the categories ” diseases of affluence ” and ” diseases of poverty,” reflecting the impact of national economic development on health conditions and outcomes.
- Diseases of affluence refer to physical and mental health conditions for which personal lifestyles and societal conditions associated with economic development are believed to be an important risk factor, and they include many non-communicable diseases.
- Diseases of poverty are usually infectious diseases that are often related to poor sanitation, low vaccination coverage, inadequate public health services, and weak enforcement of environmental health and safety regulations.
- Because health trends are impacted by social, economic, and political conditions, global health interventions must address not just diseases themselves, but also the structural factors which prevent certain groups from accessing adequate healthcare.

Key Terms

- **diseases of poverty**: A group of conditions largely consisting of infectious diseases that are related to poor sanitation, low vaccination coverage, and inadequate health and safety regulations.
- **World Health Organization (WHO)**: A specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) that is concerned with international public health.
- **diseases of affluence**: Refers to diseases that are caused by personal lifestyles and social conditions associated with affluence, such as high fat diets and environmental pollution.

As flows of people, money, products, and information increasingly transcend national boundaries, it becomes important to study health trends not just within nations, but from a worldwide perspective. World (or global) health as a research field emerged out of this necessity and lies at the intersection of the medical and social science disciplines, including the fields of demography (the study of population trends), economics, epidemiology (the study of the distribution of health events in a population), political economy, and sociology.

Historically, global health studies rose to prominence in the 1940s, after World War II reconfigured geopolitical alignments and international relations. In 1948, the member states of the newly formed United Nations gathered together to create the World Health Organization (WHO). The organization began with a focus on prevention and eradication of contagious diseases, such as cholera, smallpox, and malaria. WHO initiatives have evolved and expanded throughout the years, however. For example immunization initiatives were launched in the 1970’s, HIV/AIDs initiatives in the 1980’s, and violence awareness initiatives in the 2000’s. While the WHO is the key international agency for monitoring and promoting global health, many other groups also participate.

Diseases of Affluence and Diseases of Poverty

The main diseases and health conditions prioritized by global health initiatives are sometimes classified under the terms diseases of affluence and diseases of poverty, although the impacts of globalization are increasingly blurring any such distinction.

Diseases of affluence refer to physical health conditions for which personal lifestyles (such as lack of exercise or eating a high-fat diet) and societal conditions (such as stressful work arrangements or environmental pollution) associated with economic development are believed to be an important risk factor. Examples of diseases of affluence include Type II diabetes, asthma, coronary heart disease, obesity, hypertension, cancer, and alcoholism. Depression and other mental health conditions may also be included as conditions associated with increased social isolation and lower levels of psychological well being observed in many developed countries. Many of these conditions are interrelated. For example, obesity can be linked to many other illnesses and deaths in high-income nations.

So-called diseases of affluence are predicted to become more prevalent in developing countries, as diseases of poverty decline, longevity increases, and lifestyles change. In 2008, nearly 80% of deaths due to non-communicable diseases, including heart disease, strokes, chronic lung diseases, cancers, and diabetes, occurred in low- and middle-income countries.

In contrast, the diseases of poverty tend to consist largely of infectious diseases, often related to poor sanitation, low vaccination coverage, inadequate public health services, and weak enforcement of environmental health and safety regulations. At the global level, the three primary poverty-related diseases are AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis.

Developing countries account for 95% of the global AIDS prevalence and 98% of active tuberculosis infections. Furthermore, 90% of malaria deaths occur in sub-Saharan Africa. Together, these three diseases account for 10% of global mortality.

Treatable childhood diseases are another set of illnesses that are seen at disproportionately high rates in poor countries, despite the existence of cures for the diseases for decades. These illnesses include measles, pertussis, diarrheal diseases, pneumonia, and polio. Among children under the age of 5 in the developing world, malnutrition, which results from either a lack of food or an inadequately diversified diet, contributes to 53% of deaths associated with infectious diseases. Malnutrition impairs the immune system, thereby increasing the frequency, severity, and duration of childhood illnesses. Micronutrient deficiencies also compromise intellectual potential, growth, development, and adult productivity.

Health Interventions



Maternal health clinic in Afghanistan: Maternal health is one of the priorities of global health organizations, such as the World Health Organization.

As the above discussion of diseases of poverty and diseases of affluence reveals, health trends are closely related to social, political, and economic patterns. Thus, health interventions must likewise address not just diseases themselves, but the structural factors which prevent certain groups from accessing adequate healthcare or from having adequate information with which to practice healthy habits and prevent disease. These interventions could include addressing issues of structural inequality, that is, the highly unequal distribution of global wealth that results in conditions of extreme poverty which are difficult if not impossible to escape. It could also mean addressing the global economic patterns which result in healthcare workers having more incentive to work in developed countries and leaving developing countries short staffed. Finally, health interventions could advance by considering the relationship of national and international politics to the establishment of adequate education and healthcare systems.

Hunger, Malnutrition, and Family

Those with weak support structures are more vulnerable to hunger and starvation than those with strong family networks.

Learning Objectives

Describe different attempts to understand world hunger

Key Points

- Globally, hunger, malnutrition, starvation, and related health problems cause a significant number of deaths, particularly in the developing world.
- Conflicting perspectives on global hunger attribute the problem to food shortages, poor food distribution, and economic policies that favor export over local consumption.
- Amartya Sen won his 1998 Nobel Prize, in part for his work in demonstrating that hunger in modern times is not typically the product of a lack of food, but rather of problems in food distribution networks and governmental policies in the developing world.

Key Terms

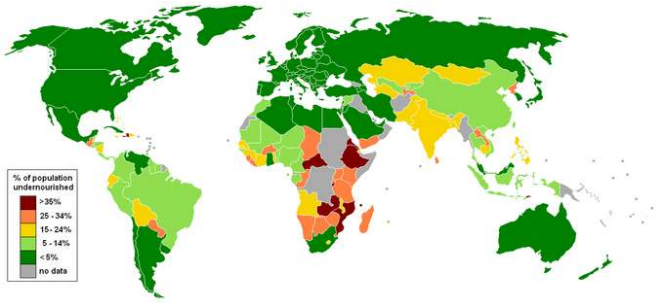
- **Malthusianism**: The idea that population growth will outpace food production, resulting in widespread famine and population reduction.
- **food sovereignty**: A policy framework advocated for by a number of farmers, peasants, pastoralists, fisherfolk, indigenous peoples, women, rural youth, and environmental organizations, which consists of the right of peoples to define their own food, agriculture, livestock, and fisheries systems, in contrast to having food largely subject to international market forces.

"Hunger" is the most commonly used term to describe the social condition of people who frequently experience the physical sensation of desiring food. "Malnutrition" is a general term for conditions caused by improper diet or nutrition, and can occur in conjunction with under- or overconsumption of calories. Undernutrition is the result of chronic underconsumption of food.

Two terms frequently associated with hunger are "famine" and "starvation. " Famine is the widespread scarcity of food, and it is usually accompanied by regional malnutrition, starvation, epidemic, and increased mortality. Starvation describes a state of exhaustion of the body caused by lack of food and may be fatal.

World Statistics

While statistics vary based on measurements used, it is generally agreed that the number of malnourished or undernourished people in the world was around 1 billion people in 2010, about a sixth of the world's total population. Hunger is particularly devastating for children. Approximately six million children die of hunger every year.



Hunger: This map shows the percentage of a country's population that is undernourished.

Understanding Hunger

Attempts to understand why hunger exists are not new. Thomas Malthus, in the six editions of his book, *An Essayon the Principle of Population*, published from 1798 to 1826, argued that the explosive population growth happening in his time could not continue indefinitely. He claimed population growth would eventually be checked by famine and disease, because the earth's ability to produce food would not be able to keep up with the size of the population. His dire predictions are widely known as "Malthusianism. "

Current population growth, which is still on the rise, seems to disprove Malthus' theory, hunger problems notwithstanding. In fact, many believe that the earth is more than capable of sustaining the current world population. The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations purports that the world already produces enough food to feed everyone–over 6 billion people–and could feed double that number of people. Amartya Sen won his 1998 Nobel Prize in part for his work in demonstrating that hunger in modern times is not typically the product of a lack of food, but rather problems in food distribution networks and governmental policies in the developing world.

Today, there is a wide range of opinions as to why the hunger problem is so persistent. Some organizations raise the issue of food sovereignty and claim that every country on earth (with the possible minor exceptions of some city-states) has sufficient agricultural capacity to feed its own people, but that the free trade economic order prevents this from happening. These advocates argue that free trade policies transfer economic decision-making power into the hands of multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and transnational corporations, so that local people are unable to determine what is done with food that is locally produced.

At the other end of the spectrum, transnational organizations like the World Bank claim to be part of the solution to hunger, maintaining that the best way for countries to succeed in breaking the cycle of poverty and hunger is to build export-led economies that will give them the financial means to buy foodstuffs on the world market.

The Role of the Family in Hunger Problems

The family plays an important role in understanding patterns of hunger. Those who have a weak or non-existent family support structure are more likely than those with strong family networks to go hungry. Children and seniors are the most vulnerable to going hungry for lack of familial support.

Children, since they are less able to provide for themselves than adults, are more likely to go hungry if they live in unstable families or on the streets. Malnutrition and hunger-related diseases cause (at least partially) 60% of children's deaths in the developing world.

Seniors are another at-risk population for hunger. According to one 2007 study, over 11.4% of seniors in the United States experience some form of food insecurity. The most at-risk segments of the senior population include those who lack a strong family structure (i.e., those who were never married), live alone, or live with a grandchild (but with no adult child present).

The Health of Infants and Children

Childhood mortality is high in developing countries where malnutrition, infectious diseases, and unsanitary conditions are widespread.

Learning Objectives

Describe the most common causes of child mortality

Key Points

- International organizations have worked to improve maternal and childhood health conditions around the world, and have helped to reduce the number of childhood deaths from 17 million annually in the 1980s to 10 million annually in the 2000s.
- Without diagnosis and treatment, about 35% of HIV-infected pregnant women will transmit HIV to their infants. As a result, approximately 1,000 HIV-infected children are born every day.
- Birth defects are among the leading global causes of infant and child mortality, with an estimated 4.9 million birth defect pregnancies worldwide each year. The majority of these occur in low- and middle- income countries.
- The World Health Organization has estimated that about 1.5 million children under age 5 years continue to die annually from diseases that are preventable via the administration of

vaccines, making up approximately 20% of overall childhood mortality.
- Spreading technology, health information, and nutrition and medication may held reduce rates of infant and child mortality in developing countries.

Key Terms

- **dengue**: An acute febrile disease of the tropics caused by a flavivirus, transmitted by mosquitoes, and characterized by high fever, rash, headache, and severe muscle and joint pain.
- **birth defect**: Any of several medical disorders that are present at birth.
- **Diarrheal Diseases**: The condition of having three or more loose or liquid bowel movements per day, which is a common cause of death in developing countries and the second most common cause of infant deaths worldwide.

In the 1980's, the United States increased funding for maternal and childhood health programs. At that time, it was estimated that 17 million children under the age of 5 died every year. By 2006, largely due to the efforts of many international aid organizations, the annual number of deaths of children under the age of 5 was 10 million. Even with the great advances in childhood health that have occurred in recent decades, many health problems still afflict infant and child populations.

HIV/AIDS

Without diagnosis and treatment, about 35% of HIV-infected pregnant women will transmit HIV to their infants. As a result, approximately 1,000 HIV-infected children are born every day, accounting for about 370,000 new pediatric infections annually, 85% of which are in 25 sub-Saharan African countries. Without antiretroviral drugs, half of these children die by age 2. Of the estimated 2.3 million children worldwide with HIV, 1.27 million are estimated to need treatment and only 356,000 (28%) receive it.

Birth Defects

Birth defects are among the leading global causes of infant and child mortality, with an estimated 4.9 million birth defect pregnancies worldwide each year. The majority of these occur in low and middle income countries.

Birth defect trends and risk factors are difficult to monitor because many countries do not have systems that can accurately track the prevalence of birth defects. International organizations have been working to expand monitoring systems and improve laboratory capacity. In the United States, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention researches and tracks birth defects and coordinates the surveillance and research activities of about 40 member programs of the International Clearing House for Birth Defects Surveillance and Research.

Infectious Diseases

In Asia, dengue fever, an infectious tropical disease, is a major cause of child mortality. Global research teams have been working to improve methods for diagnosing and treating dengue. A 2011 CDC report found that the incidence of dengue has increased worldwide in recent decades, but little is known about its incidence in Africa.

Diarrheal diseases cause an estimated 1.4 million deaths per year in children under 5 years old. In developing countries, diarrheal diseases are also a leading cause of death from infections among persons with HIV. Lack of access to water and sanitation and poor hygiene are responsible for most of these deaths. Poor nutrition is also an important factor in diarrheal disease risk.

The World Health Organization has estimated that about 1.5 million children under age 5 years continue to die annually from diseases that are preventable via the administration of vaccines, making up approximately 20% of overall childhood mortality. Vaccines can prevent pneumonia and diarrhea, the two leading causes of death among children under age 5. Other immunizations that can improve maternal and child health are tetanus immunization of pregnant women and polio immunization. Moreover, an estimated 4 million newborns die in the first four weeks of life, accounting for 40% of all deaths among children under the age of 5. Improved pre- and post-natal care, as well as more accessible information about infant health, could help reduce the infant mortality rate.



Child Hunger and Infection: Hunger is one of the basic needs of a human, or on the ERG, a need of existence.

Interventions

Infant mortality rates are reduced by increasing availability of safe emergency pregnancy care and training doctors and nurses to promote safe breast feeding for HIV infected women and other support and guidance related to pregnancy, delivery, and postpartum periods. Globally, untreated maternal syphilis still causes more than 650,000 adverse pregnancy outcomes, including about 350,000 pre-birth deaths, each year. The overwhelming majority of these are in countries with limited laboratory capacity for syphilis testing as part of basic pregnancy care. Congenital syphilis, passed from mother to child, can be eliminated through universal screening of pregnant women early in pregnancy, and prompt treatment with at least one injection of penicillin. International organizations are working to make these interventions available.



African American Midwives and Infant Mortality: This poster from a museum exhibit illustrates how in impoverished communities without access to technologically advanced medical facilities, the first intervention used to reduce rates of infant mortality is often improving sanitation or hygienic standards.

HIV and AIDS

HIV/AIDS results in high infection and mortality rates amidst inadequate distribution of preventative information and treatment.

Learning Objectives

Describe how HIV/AIDS affects different regions on a global scale

Key Points

- HIV/AIDS is primarily transferred through sexual contact, blood transfusions and needle sharing, and mother-child contact during pregnancy, birth, and breastfeeding.
- HIV/AIDS has disproportionately impacted low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, with high proportions of infected women and children and low access to adequate healthcare and anti-retroviral drugs there.
- Governmental and non-profit organizations have developed to improve HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and social services, but many populations continue to be ravaged by the disease.

Key Terms

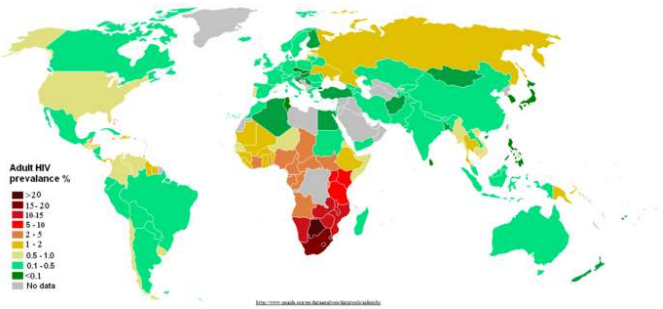
- **pandemic**: A disease that hits a wide geographical area and affects a large proportion of the population.

Human immunodeficiency virus infection / acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) is a disease of the human immune system caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). The illness interferes with the immune system, making people with AIDS much more likely to get infections, including opportunistic infections and tumors that do not usually affect people with working immune systems. This susceptibility increases as these disease gets worse.

HIV is transmitted primarily via sexual intercourse (including oral sex and anal sex), contaminated blood transfusions and hypodermic needles, and from mother to child during pregnancy, delivery, or breastfeeding. Prevention of HIV infection, primarily through safe sex and needle-exchange programs, is a key strategy to control the disease. There is no known cure for or vaccine against HIV, but antiretroviral treatment can slow the course of the disease and may lead to a near-normal life expectancy for people with HIV. Antiretroviral treatment reduces the risk of death and complications from the disease. However, these medications are expensive and may be associated with side effects of their own.

HIV/AIDS and World Health

HIV/AIDS is a major health problem in many parts of the world, and is considered a pandemic—a disease outbreak which is present over a large area and is actively spreading. In 2009, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that there are 33.4 million people worldwide living with HIV/AIDS, with 2.7 million new HIV infections per year and 2.0 million annual deaths due to AIDS. Of the approximately 34 million people infected with HIV/AIDS, approximately 16.8 million are women and 3.4 million are younger than 15 years old. AIDS was first recognized by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in 1981 and its cause, HIV, was identified in the early 1980s.



Map of AIDS Prevalence Among Young Adults: AIDS prevalence is distributed unequally across the world, with sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia experiencing the worst of the pandemic.

Sub-Saharan Africa is the region most affected by the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. In 2010, an estimated 68% (22.9 million) of all HIV cases and 66% of all deaths (1.2 million) occurred in this region. About 5% of the sub-Saharan African adult population is infected and HIV/AIDS is believed to be the cause of 10% of all deaths in children. Women compose nearly 60% of cases in the region. South Africa has the largest population of people with HIV of any country in the world, at 5.9 million.

South and Southeast Asia is the second most affected region in the world. In 2010, this region had an estimated 4 million cases, or 12% of all people living with HIV, resulting in approximately 250,000 deaths. Approximately 2.4 million of these cases are in India.

Prevalence is lowest in Western and Central Europe at 0.2% and East Asia at 0.1%. In 2008 in the United States, approximately 1.2 million people were living with HIV, resulting in about 17,500 deaths. The CDC estimated that in 2008 20% of infected Americans were unaware of their infection.

Prevention

Many international organizations are working to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS and its mortality rate. Campaigns have attempted to distribute condoms to HIV/AIDS stricken regions–consistent condom use reduces the risk of HIV transmission by approximately 80% over the long-term. Circumcision in sub-Saharan Africa has been found to reduce the risk of HIV infection in heterosexual men by between 38% and 66% over two years. Based on these studies, the World Health Organization has recommended male circumcision as a method of preventing female-to-male HIV transmission. Additionally, early treatment of HIV-infected people with antiretrovirals protected 96% of sexual partners from infection.

Treatment

People infected with HIV/AIDS can be treated with anti-retroviral drugs. This medication can relieve many of the symptoms associated with the infection, such as increased susceptibility to other viral infections. Moreover, benefits of treatment include a decreased risk of progression from HIV to AIDS and a decreased risk of death. Medication can also include a decreased risk of transmission of the disease to sexual partners and a decrease in mother to child transmission. However, these drugs often have significant side effects and they are expensive, making them difficult to access in low-income countries.

Population Trends

The world population has been growing continuously since the 14th century, but the growth rate has been decreasing in the last few decades.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate scenarios of over and underpopulation

Key Points

- The demographic transition describes countries' shifts from high population growth— fueled by high birth rates and low death rates—to population stability or shrinkage— brought about by low birth and death rates. This transition occurs in tandem with economic development.
- Human overpopulation is a state where the population exceeds the available material and social resources; underpopulation occurs when the birth rate is not sufficient to maintain a stable population.
- Overpopulation can lead to many problems, including famine, disease, conflict, and underdevelopment of national economic and social potential; underpopulation can lead to reductions in the GDP and slowed economic growth.
- Proposed solutions to global overpopulation include a survival of the fittest attitude, economic development to stimulate the demographic transition in countries with growing populations, and a combination of population control and self-sufficiency methods.

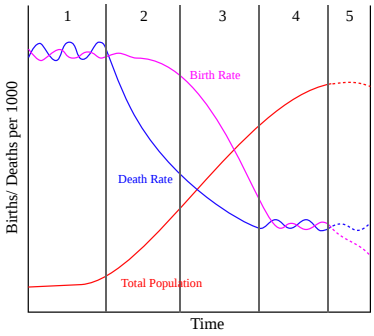
Key Terms

- **Malthusianism**: The idea that population growth will outpace food production, resulting in widespread famine and population reduction.
- **demographic transition**: The shift from high birth rates and death rates to low birth rates and death rates, usually occurring alongside economic development.
- **laissez-faire**: Describes a policy of governmental non-interference in economic affairs.

The world population has experienced continuous growth since the end of the Great Famine and the Black Death in 1350, when it stood at around 370 million. Between October 2011 and March 2012, it was estimated that the world population exceeded 7 billion. The world population growth rate was estimated at 1.1% per year as of 2011, a rate which has declined since its peak during the 1950s–1970s.

The Demographic Transition

Despite an overall pattern of growth, population trends are not even across countries. The demographic transition helps explain the differences between countries. The demographic transition refers to the shift from high birth rates and death rates to low birth and death rates; this occurs as part of the economic development of a country. The basic premises of the theory are as follows: in pre-industrial societies, population growth is relatively slow because both birth and death rates are high; as countries develop, death rates fall faster than birth rates do, resulting in large population growth; as development stabilizes, birth rates drop off and the population stabilizes.



The Demographic Transition: This model illustrates the demographic transition, as birth and death rates rise and fall but eventually reach equilibrium.

Overpopulation at a National Level

Overpopulation indicates a scenario in which the population of a living species exceeds the carrying capacity of its ecological niche. Overpopulation is not a function of the number or density of the individuals, but rather the number of individuals compared to the resources they need to survive. In other words, it is a ratio—population:resources. Resources important in measures of overpopulation include clean water, food, shelter, healthcare, etc.

Most of the population growth in the world today comes from developing countries, most notably African countries, where birth rates have remained high. Many of these countries are struggling to provide food and resources necessary to support a young, growing population. Overpopulation can result in a variety of problems, including famine, shortage of natural

resources, spread of communicable disease due to dense populations, and conflict over scarce resources.

Underpopulation at a National Level

Once countries pass through the demographic transition, some experience fertility rate decreases so substantial that they fall well below replacement level—the birth rate needed to maintain a stable population—and their populations begin to shrink. About half the world population lives in nations with sub-replacement fertility. A new fear for many governments, particularly those in countries with very low fertility rates, is underpopulation—a state in which the declining population reduces the GDP and economic growth of the country, as population growth is often a driving force of economic expansion. To combat extremely low fertility rates, some of these governments have introduced pro-family policies, such as payments to parents for having children and extensive parental leave for parents.

Debates about Overpopulation on a Global Level

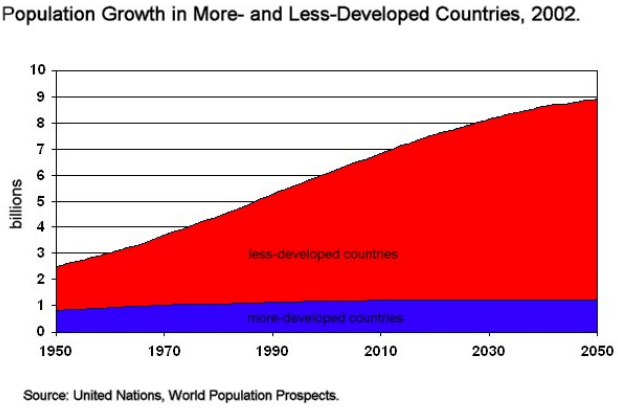
Despite concerns of underpopulation in individual countries, overpopulation is still the most pressing concern for those who track global population trends. Presently, the world's population grows by approximately 80 million annually. The United Nations projects that the world population will stabilize in 2075 at nine billion due to declining fertility rates.

Concerns about overpopulation are not new; early in the 19th century, Thomas Malthus argued in "An Essay on the Principle of Population" that, if left unrestricted, human populations would continue to grow until they would become too large to be supported by the food grown on available agricultural land. Once the population exceeded the planet's carrying capacity, the population would be restrained through mass famine and starvation. Malthus argued for population control—policies intended to lower the birth rate—to avoid this happening. His arguments are widely known as Malthusianism, and present-day proponents of this theory are called Neo-Malthusians. Critics of Malthus point to the fact that the widespread famines he predicted have not occurred, even though the world population has continued to expand.

Possible Solutions to Overpopulation

Some approach overpopulation with a laissez-faire attitude, arguing that if the earth's ecosystem becomes overtaxed, it will naturally regulate itself. In this mode of thought, disease or starvation are natural means of decreasing the population. Objections to this argument include that a huge number of plant and animal species would go extinct; terrible pollution would arise in some areas, and it would be difficult to abate; and moral problems would be created—great suffering for the people who do not have access to resources.

Others argue that economic development is the best way to reduce population growth because economic development can spur demographic transitions that lead to reduced fertility rates. Where women's status has improved, for example, there has generally been a drastic reduction in the birth rate, resulting in more sustainable growth levels.



Population Growth According to Development: The majority of world population growth today is occurring in less developed countries.

Global Aging

On average, global life expectancies have been increasing and birth rates declining, resulting in global aging.

Learning Objectives

Examine aging as a global issue

Key Points

- Developments in healthcare, lifestyle, and political stability have led to longer life expectancy worldwide.
- While global life expectancy is increasing, the rate at which the world population is aging is not uniform across countries—life expectancies are higher in wealthier, developed countries than in poorer, developing ones.
- Growing life expectancy is not the only factor contributing to global aging. As nations develop, average birth rates decline.
- As more people in a nation's population reach old age, the nation's healthcare and social security system will be strained.

Key Terms

- **life expectancy**: The amount of time one is expected to live.
- **life span**: the length of time for which a person lives, or for which something exists or is current or valid

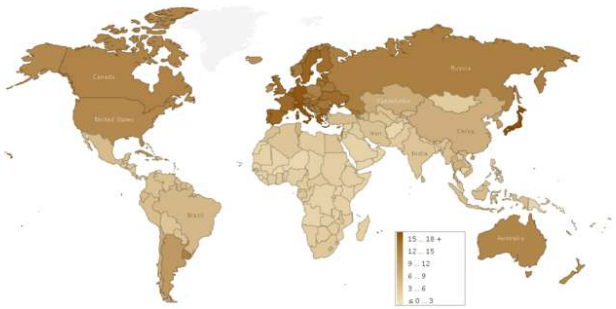
Globally, most countries are seeing the average life expectancy of their populations increase. This trend translates to a greater percentage of the world's population over the age of 65. However, the rate at which the world's population is aging is not uniform across the world—some countries have actually seen decreasing life expectancies.

Economic circumstances are one factor that affects life expectancy. Citizens living in wealthier, more developed countries or regions tend to have higher life expectancies. For example, in the United Kingdom, life expectancy in the wealthiest areas is several years longer than in the poorest areas. Wealth may be correlated to factors such as diet and lifestyle as well as better access to medical care—many wealthy European countries offer universal healthcare. As more people in a nation's population reach old age, its healthcare and social security system will be strained. This strain is occurring in the United States, where people born into the baby boomer generation of the 1950s–1960s are aging and reaching retirement age, thus tapping into Medicaid and social security funds at unprecedented rates.

People living in poorer, less developed countries tend to have lower life expectancies. Much of the higher death rates in poorer nations is due to war, starvation, infant deaths, diseases, and lack of access to adequate health care. The presence of one risk factor is often related to another—war torn countries, for example, are likely to have more instances of starvation. Likewise, people with diseases may have a difficult time getting or sustaining a job, making them vulnerable to starvation. The impact of AIDS on life expectancy is particularly significant in many sub-Saharan African countries. As nations develop, their life expectancy generally rises.

Growing life expectancy is not the only factor contributing to global aging. As nations develop, the average number of children per parent drops. There are several possible reasons for this trend: first, in poorer countries, it may be important to have many children because infant mortality is high and children provide financial support for households and support for their parents in retirement. As a population gets richer, these reasons will become less important. Second, as women become more educated, they tend to delay having children until later in life. This naturally leads to fewer childbirths.

A drop in the birth rate means that the percentage of people in a society who are young will decline. This, combined with higher life expectancies, means that the ratio of old to young people will grow and the population as a whole will age. These two trends, stemming from the growing global economy, cause global aging.



Percentage of Population Above 65: 2005: This map illustrates global trends in aging by depicting the percentage of each country's population that is over the age of 65. More developed countries have older populations because their citizens live longer. Less developed countries have much younger populations.

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8.5: A Comparative Analysis of Global Stratification in Mexico

Distribution of Wealth and Income

The distribution of wealth and income reveals inequalities among and within countries and the ways in which wealth is redistributed.

Learning Objectives

Discuss methods and policies of wealth redistribution

Key Points

- The distribution of wealth compares the assets —including income, land, stocks, and other investments—held by the richest and poorest members of society, while the distribution of income compares only how much money each group earns per year.
- Since the 1970s, the gap in wealth between the highest and lowest brackets of earners has grown, with 2 percent of the population owning a majority of global wealth and the bottom half of the population owning less than 1 percent of global wealth in the year 2000.
- Policies aimed at redistributing wealth may attempt to either increase the wealth of the upper class or decrease inequality. These policies may include the adoption of national economic systems or the operation of small scale charitable organizations.

Key Terms

- **income distribution**: In economics, income distribution is how a nation's total GDP is spread amongst its population.
- **distribution of wealth**: A measure of how assets are divided throughout the population.
- **Pareto Distribution**: A statistical measure that is often used to model the distribution of wealth.
- **wealth**: the abundance of valuable resources or material possessions

The distribution of wealth is a comparison of the wealth of various members or groups in a society. It differs from the income distribution in that it looks at the distribution of asset ownership in a society, rather than the current income of members of that society. There are many ways in which the distribution of wealth can be analyzed. One commonly used method is to compare the wealth of the richest ten percent with the wealth of the poorest ten percent. In many societies, the richest ten percent control more than half of the total wealth. A Pareto distribution is a statistical measure that is often used to model the distribution of wealth, though other mathematical models are also used. The Gini coefficient measures the amount of wealth or income inequality in a society by plotting the proportion of total income (or wealth) earned by the bottom x percent of the population.

Recent Measures of Distribution

At the end of the 20th century, wealth was concentrated among the G8 nations (France, Italy, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Russia) and Western industrialized nations, along with several Asian and OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) nations. A study by the World Institute for Development Economics Research at the United Nations reports that the richest 1 percent of adults owned 40 percent of global assets in the year 2000, and that the richest 10 percent of adults accounted for 85 percent of the world total. The bottom half of the world adult population owned 1 percent of global wealth. Moreover, another study found that the richest 2 percent of the population owned more than half of global assets as of the year 2000. In terms of distribution of income, a May 2011 report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) stated that the gap between rich and poor in OECD countries (most of which are "high income" economies) was at its highest level since the 1970s.

Real Estate

One form of wealth is land or real estate. As with general wealth distribution, land is also distributed unequally. Sizable numbers of households own no land, while a small percentage of people at the top of the economic hierarchy own most of the world's privately held land. For example, 10 percent of land owners in Baltimore, Maryland own 58 percent of the taxable land value. The bottom 10 percent of those who own any land own less than 1 percent of the total land value.

World Distribution of Financial Wealth

In 2007, 147 companies controlled nearly 40 percent of the monetary value of all transnational corporations. On an international level, wealth is distributed unequally between nations, which are stratified in a world economic order.

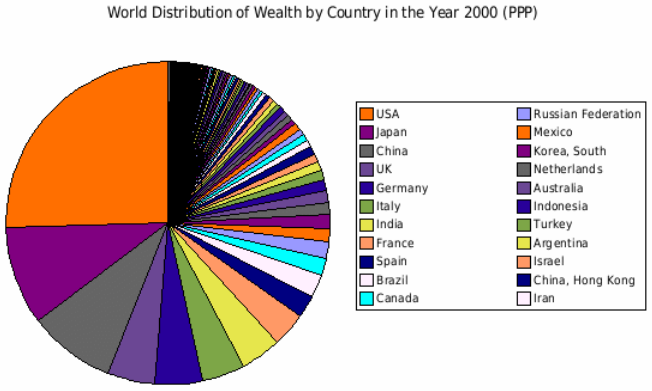
Redistribution of Wealth and Public Policy

In many societies, attempts have been made to redistribute wealth through property redistribution, taxation, or regulation. Sometimes these policies are engineered to favor the upper class, while in other cases they are intended to diminish inequality between the upper and lower classes. Examples of this practice go back at least to the Roman republic in the third century B.C., when laws were passed limiting the amount of wealth or land that could be owned by any one family. Motivations for such limitations on wealth include the desire for

equality of opportunity, a fear that great wealth leads to political corruption, the belief that limiting wealth will gain the political favor of a voting bloc, or fear that extreme concentration of wealth results in rebellion.

Various forms of socialism, an economic system in which the state exerts significant control over wealth distribution, attempt to diminish the unequal distribution of wealth and the conflicts that arise from it. Communism, an economic system that (in its ideal form) consists of state ownership of assets and industry and the equal distribution of resources among the population, can be seen as an attempt to eradicate wealth inequality through government policy. An idea taken from Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto* is that wealth should be distributed as according to the precepts of, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need. " While states such as the Soviet Union and China have implemented communist systems to varying degrees, Marxism has never been realized in its ideal form, and no country has had a totally equal distribution of wealth.

In addition to government efforts to redistribute wealth, the tradition of individual and organizational charity is a voluntary means of wealth transference. Many voluntary charitable organizations make concerted efforts to aid those in need by redistributing wealth and material resources.



Global Distribution of Wealth by Country (2000): This pie chart shows the global distribution of wealth among countries, illustrating the point that a small number of countries hold the majority of global assets.

Social Mobility

Social mobility is the extent to which individuals can move between social positions, either in their lifetime or between generations.

Learning Objectives

Compare the various types of social mobiliy, the status systems they exist in, and their status between countries and over time.

Key Points

- Social mobility is most often discussed in terms of vertical mobility, which refers to movement between higher and lower status positions, or movement up and down the social ladder.
- Social mobility varies between countries and over time, with status more or less tied to social position at birth in different cultural contexts.
- Public policy may attempt to regulate the extent to which people are socially mobile, as when public school systems attempt to evenly distribute educational opportunities or religious bodies attempt to limit the movement of women.

Key Terms

- **meritocratic**: Used to describe a type of society where wealth, income, and social status are assigned through competition.
- **cultural capital**: Non-financial social assets that promote social mobility beyond economic means, such as education, intellect, style of speech, dress, and even physical appearance.
- **ascribed status**: The social status of a person that is given from birth or assumed involuntarily later in life.

Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups in social position over time. Most commonly, social mobility refers to the change in wealth and social status of individuals or families. However, it may also refer to changes in health status, literacy rate, education, or other variables among groups, such as classes, ethnic groups, or countries.

Types of Social Mobility

Social mobility typically refers to vertical mobility—movement of individuals or groups up or down from one socio-economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marriage. Nonetheless, social mobility can also refer to horizontal mobility—movement from one position to another within the same social level, as when someone changes between two equally prestigious occupations.

In some cases, social mobility is intergenerational, as when children attain a higher or lower status than their parents held. Other times, social mobility is intra-generational, meaning that a person changes status within their lifetime. A high level of intergenerational mobility is often considered praiseworthy, and can be seen as a sign of equality of opportunity in a society.

Social mobility can be enabled to varying extents by economic capital, cultural capital, human capital, and social capital. Economic capital includes a person's financial and material resources, such as income and accumulated wealth. Cultural capital includes resources ranging from holding a graduate

degree to having a grasp of a group's customs and rituals, both of which may confer an advantage in job markets and social exchanges. Human capital refers to such individual traits as competence and work ethic, which may enable increased educational or professional attainment. Social capital includes the advantages conferred by one's social network, such as access to professional opportunities and insider knowledge. These types of capital facilitate mobility by providing access to opportunities and the tools to acquire wealth and status.

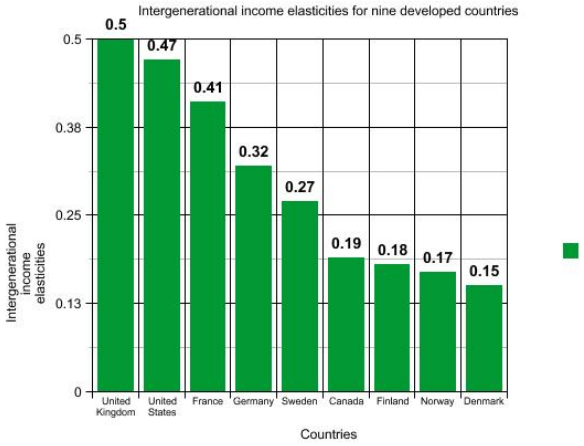
Status Systems

Societies present different opportunities for mobility depending on their system of values. For example, Western capitalist countries are generally meritocratic, in which social standing is based on such personal attributes as educational attainment, income, and occupational prestige. In such countries, highly skilled jobs pay better than low-skilled jobs. This type of society has an open status system, which functions on the basis of achieved status, or status gained through one's own merit. Thus, the degree of mobility in Western capitalist states ideally depends on the extent to which individuals have access to educational and economic opportunity, rather than their position at birth. On the other hand, closed status systems are based on ascribed status. Ascribed status is a fixed position a person is born into, not based on their performance. When this ascriptive status rule is used (for example, in Medieval Europe), people are placed in a position based on personal traits beyond their control.

The ability of an individual to become wealthy out of poverty does not necessarily indicate that there is social mobility in his or her society. Some societies with low or nonexistent social mobility afford free individuals opportunities to initiate enterprise and amass wealth, but wealth fails to "buy" entry into a higher social class. In feudal Japan and Confucianist China, wealthy merchants occupied the lowest ranks in society. In pre-revolutionary France, a nobleman, however poor, was from the "second estate" of society and thus considered superior to a wealthy merchant (from the "third estate"). These examples demonstrate how social mobility is not simply based on economic capital, but also social and cultural capital.

A Comparative View of Social Mobility

Several studies have been conducted to compare social mobility between countries. Recent data shows that of nine developed countries, the United States and United Kingdom have the lowest intergenerational vertical social mobility, with about half of the advantages of having a parent with a high income passed on to the next generation. The four developed countries with the the highest social mobility are Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Canada, with less than 20% of advantages of having a high income parent passed on to their children.



Source: Economic Mobility Project, Corak, Miles. 2006. "Do Poor Children Become Poor Adults? Lessons from a Cross Country Comparison of Generational Earnings Mobility." Research on Economic Inequality, 13 no. 1: 143-188.

Intergenerational Mobility in a Sample of Developed Countries: This graph shows the results of a study on how much intergenerational social mobility there is in a sample of developed countries. Countries with higher intergenerational income elasticity have lower social mobility — in countries on the left of the graph, children are likely to attain the same social status as their parents.

Not only does social mobility vary across types of countries, it can also change over time. For example, social mobility in the United States has varied widely since the 19th century. In the United States in the mid-19th century, inequality was low and social mobility was high. In the 19th century, the U.S. had much higher social mobility than comparably developed nations like the U.K., due in part to the common school movement and open public school system, a large farming industry, and high geographic mobility. However, during the latter half of the 20th century and the early 21st century, social mobility has decreased and social inequality has grown in the U.S. In other words, in the U.S. an individual's family background may be more predictive of social position today than it was in 1850.

Mexico's Economy

Mexico's rapid economic changes have led to huge gains in GDP, but have caused social problems such as stratification and inequality.

Learning Objectives

Discuss poverty and economic growth in Mexico

Key Points

- Mexico's economy has expanded in recent years, but the benefits of economic growth have not reached all sectors of the workforce, resulting in economic stratification, a

significant proportion of the population living in poverty, and high rates of underemployment.
- Mexico's entry into free trade agreements has solidified its position in world market and aided its national economic growth, but has arguably failed to improve standards of living for much of it's population.
- Mexico's industrial and agricultural sectors illustrate the uneven nature of economic development, which often benefits individuals and groups who have financial capital and assets, while not significantly improving the situation of lower classes, particularly those in poverty.

Key Terms

- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.
- **Developed Nations**: a sovereign state which has a highly developed economy and advanced technological infrastructure in comparison to other, less developed nations.
- **poverty**: The state of one who lacks material possessions, wealth, or access to social resources and opportunities.

Mexico's economy has undergone significant changes in the past century, with implications for the country's economic position and its population. After the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) overturned the previous land distribution system, in which a few hacienda owners overworked and underpaid millions of peasants, the new Mexican leaders instituted a nominally socialist democracy. The years from 1930-1970, during which Mexico instituted its new protectionist economic policy, have been dubbed by economic historians as the "Mexican Miracle," a period of economic growth and capital accumulation. While population doubled from 1940 to 1970, gross domestic product (GDP), the sum of national production and a common measure of economic growth, increased sixfold during the same period.

After the international oil and interest rate crisis in 1982, which had a profoundly negative impact on the Mexican economy, Mexican leaders changed economic directions. They instituted neoliberal reforms which increasingly integrated Mexico's economy with that of other nations. Trade liberalization continued after that, with several free trade agreements with Latin American and European countries, Japan, and Israel signed during former President Vincente Fox's leadership (2000-2006). Thus, Mexico became one of the most open countries in the world to trade, and the economic base shifted accordingly to exports and imports.



Map of Mexican Free Trade Agreements: Since liberalizing its trade policies beginning in the 1980s, Mexico has entered into Free Trade Agreements with many countries. This trend has greatly increased the amount of Mexico's economy that depends on imports and exports.

Social Stratification, Poverty, and Unemployment

Mexico's economic development has been substantial. However, general GDP growth obscures some pervasive problems that have persisted and even worsened in recent years, including social stratification, poverty, and unemployment.

Social stratification, or the grouping of individuals into a hierarchy based on socioeconomic status, is highly present in Mexico and can be traced back to the colonial period. During the colonial period, before Mexico's independence, the upper class was composed of those who owned the land and the lower class was made of those who worked the land. After the Mexican Revolution, the government ceded an estimated 50% of the land to the general population. Though this slightly reduced the gap between the wealthy and the poor, land ownership continued to be main source of wealth for Mexicans and has dictated the hierarchy of wealth distribution among the population.

After the country entered its economic industrial transformation, industrialists, businessmen, and politicians have controlled the direction of wealth in Mexico and have remained among the wealthy. The monopoly that the wealthy have over resources in Mexico is evidenced in OECD statistics: Mexico is the country with the second highest degree of economic disparity between the extremely poor and extremely rich, after Chile, although this gap has been diminishing over the last decade. The bottom 10% of income earners possess 1.36% of the country's assets, whereas the upper 10% possesses almost 36%. 85% of national wealth is concentrated in a few families of entrepreneurs, corporate magnates, and politicians. Thus, economic industrialization has not necessarily led to an improved standard of living for a significant portion of the Mexican population, many of whom live in poverty.

The gap between the rich and poor has not only remained large between classes, but also has been growing between northern and southern regions. As reforms have taken place, the southern states, such as Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, have remained

isolated from the rest of the country. The national government provides less funding to these southern regions than to northern regions. Consequently, infrastructure, social development, education, and economic growth have lagged behind in southern states. These states hold the highest levels of illiteracy, unemployment, lack of basic services such as running water and sanitation, overall urban infrastructure, and government stability.

Poverty

Poverty in Mexico is characterized as lack of access to basic human needs such as nutrition, clean water, and shelter. Poverty can also include lack of access to extends to social services such as education, healthcare, security, and income. Current figures indicate that as much as 44.2% of Mexico's population lives below the poverty line as defined by the country's National Council of Social Development Policy Evaluation.

While causes of poverty are multiple, many social scientists have posited that the government's emphasis on national economic growth has neglected the needs of the country's poorer citizens. For example, Mexico's heavy dependency on foreign influences, particularly the United States, has led it to adopt policies that do not favor its own citizens. Similarly, many critics claim that while the NAFTA agreement proved effective in increasing Mexico's economic performance, foreign trade policies have not done enough to promote social advancement and reduce poverty. To remain competitive in the international market, Mexico has had to offer low wages to its workers while allowing high returns and generous concessions to international corporations. Nonetheless, the government's current administration has made attempts to reduce poverty by providing improved education, healthcare, and job opportunities to citizens. In recent years, a middle class, once virtually nonexistent, has begun to emerge.

Race Relations in Mexico: The Color Hierarchy

Mexican society still shows traces of the racial and ethnic caste system that was instituted by the Spanish during the colonial period.

Learning Objectives

Explain how racial relations in Mexico have been influenced by the colonial caste system

Key Points

- With regards to Mexican population groups, processes of identity formation and social stratification can be analyzed both in terms of race and of ethnicity. This is because definitions of each depend upon biological and socio-cultural traits.
- The large majority of Mexicans can be classified as "mestizos," meaning that they neither identify fully with any indigenous culture nor with a European heritage. Rather, they identify as having cultural traits and heritage that combine elements from indigenous and European traditions.
- Mexican officials intentionally spread a racial ideology, known as mestizaje, that encouraged miscegenation between European and indigenous people. This was intended to distribute European descent throughout the population and create a new mestizo national identity.

Key Terms

- **miscegenation**: the mixing or blending of race in marriage or breeding; interracial marriage
- **indigenous**: native to a land or region, especially before an intrusion
- **Caste System**: an elaborate and complex social system that combines some or all elements of endogamy, hereditary transmission of occupation, social class, social identity, hierarchy, exclusion and power

Race Relations in Mexico

Generally speaking, Mexican ethnic and racial relations can be arranged on an axis between two extremes, European and Native American heritage. This division is a remnant of the colonial Spanish caste system, which categorized individuals according to their perceived level of biological mixture between these two groups. Along this axis, a color hierarchy emerged that persists in importance today. In this hierarchy, those who are viewed as being more European, or "white," are generally endowed with higher social status. Those who are viewed as being more "indigenous," or "dark," are typically given less social prestige.

The color hierarchy is utilized for more than simply classifying people based on their phenotypical traits, or physical appearance. It is also a way to racialize socio-cultural traits. For example, because upward social mobility is generally correlated with "whitening," if persons with indigenous biological and cultural roots rise to positions of power and prestige, they tend to be viewed as more "white" than if they belonged to a lower social class.

The racial hierarchy is complicated by the presence of considerable numbers of people with partly African and Asian heritage. Nonetheless, these groups are often categorized on the color hierarchy somewhere between indigenous and European.

Indigenous Groups

As a classifier, indigenous identity was constructed by the dominant European and Mestizo majority and imposed upon indigenous people as a pejorative. This identity was associated with a lack of assimilation into modern Mexico. This identity therefore became socially stigmatizing, and contrary to social expectations and ideals. In early post-revolutionary Mexico, cultural policies were paternalistic towards indigenous people, and contained efforts to completely assimilate indigenous peoples into Mestizo culture.

The category of "indigena" (indigenous) can be defined according to linguistic criteria as people who speak one of Mexico's 62 indigenous languages. This categorization method is used by the National Mexican Institute of Statistics. Conversely, indigenous identity can also be defined broadly to include all persons who self-identify as having an indigenous cultural background, whether or not they speak an indigenous language.

Blancos/Güeros

Mexicans of European descent, often called "blancos" ("whites") or "güeros" in Mexican Spanish, have light skin and predominantly European features. These people are typically associated with Mexico's upper and middle socioeconomic classes. Because "Mestizos" are also people with varying amounts of European ancestry, the differentiation between "mestizos" and "blancos" is often based on socio-cultural rather than biological boundaries.

Europeans began arriving to Mexico after the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire. The descendants of the conquistadors, along with new arrivals from Spain, formed a new elite class of the population. Intermixing eventually produced a Mestizo group that would become the nation's demographic majority by the time of Independence. That being said, during this time, power remained firmly in the hands of the elite, called "criollo. "

Today, most blancos are still associated with the Spanish colonial order. Although some would not be considered "white" by U.S. or European standards, one way blancos distinguish themselves is by keeping separate from the Mestizo and other classes in Mexico. In popular conception, blancos are closely associated with ideas of modernity, which supposedly means that they are the closest culturally to Americans and Europeans (both are idealized as white).

Mestizos

The large majority of Mexicans are classified as "mestizos," meaning that they neither identify fully with any indigenous culture nor with a particular non-Mexican heritage. Instead, they identify as having cultural traits and heritage that combine elements from indigenous and European traditions. By the deliberate efforts of post-revolutionary governments, the "mestizo identity" was constructed as the basis of the modern Mexican national identity, through a process of cultural synthesis referred to as mestizaje.

The term "mestizo" is not widely used in Mexican society today, and it has been dropped as a category in population censuses. That being said, it is still used in social and cultural studies when referring to the non-indigenous part of the Mexican population. The word has somewhat pejorative colloquial connotations. Most people who would be defined as mestizos in the sociological literature would probably self-identify simply as Mexicans. In addition, people will self-identify as "gente de razón" ("people of reason"), in contrast to "gente de costumbre" ("people of tradition"), thus further differentiating themselves from the status of indigeneity, which is considered superstitious and backward.

The Process of "Mestizaje"

In the Mexican post-revolutionary period, mestizaje was a racial ideology that combined ideologies of white superiority with the social reality of a postcolonial, multiracial setting. It promoted the use of planned miscegenation (the mixing of racial groups through reproduction) as a eugenic strategy to improve the overall quality of the population. In the logic of "mestizaje," the distribution of white genetic material throughout the population would improve citizens.



Map of Indigenous Languages in Mexico: This map shows the regions where there are over 100,000 speakers of particular indigenous languages. These areas are concentrated in the poorer southern states. Thus, the areas that have not been heavily economically modernized have not been as significantly affected by ethnic mestizaje.



Spanish Caste System in Mexico: This artist's rendering of the Spanish racial/ethnic caste system imposed in Mexico during the colonial period illustrates the hierarchy from white Europeans to dark-skinned Native Americans or indigenous people.

The Status of Women in Mexico

In spite of purported economic growth, both women and men in Mexico have to deal with social stratification, poverty, and unemployment.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the causes of poverty in Mexico

Key Points

- Mexico's primary, secondary, and tertiary economic sectors have all expanded in recent years, but the benefits of economic growth have not reached all sectors of the workforce, resulting in economic stratification.
- Mexico's entry into free trade agreements (like NAFTA) has solidified its position in the world market and has aided its national economic growth, but has arguably failed to improve standards of living for much of its population.
- Mexico's industrial and agricultural sectors illustrate the uneven nature of economic development, which often benefits individuals and groups who have financial capital and assets, while not significantly improving the situation of lower classes, particularly those in poverty.

Key Terms

- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.
- **Developed Nations**: a sovereign state which has a highly developed economy and advanced technological infrastructure in comparison to other, less developed nations.
- **underemployment**: the condition of having employment for which one is overqualified, or employment that does not meet the desired hours of work and wages desired by the employee

In the wake of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917), the prevailing land distribution system, in which a handful of hacienda owners overworked and underpaid millions of peasants, was overturned by new Mexican leaders, who replaced it with a nominally socialist democracy. From 1930 until 1970, Mexico instituted this new economic policy. During these forty years, a time period economic historians have dubbed the "Mexican Miracle," the nation experienced dramatic economic growth and capital accumulation. The nation adopted policies of economic protectionism, which contributed to an economic boom in which industries rapidly expanded their production. Important changes in the economic structure included the following:

- free land distribution to peasants
- the nationalization of the oil and railroad companies
- the introduction of social rights into the constitution
- the birth of large and influential labor unions
- the upgrading of infrastructure.

As a result of these changes, between 1940 to 1970, the population of Mexico doubled, and the gross domestic product (GDP), the sum of national production and a common measure of economic growth, increased sixfold.

Social Stratification, Poverty, and Unemployment

Social stratification, or the grouping of individuals into a hierarchy based on socioeconomic status, is highly present in Mexico and can be traced back to the colonial period. During the colonial period, before Mexico's independence, the upper class was composed of those who owned land, and the lower class was composed of those who worked the land. After the Mexican Revolution, the government ceded an estimated 50% of the land to the general population. Though this slightly reduced the gap between the wealthy and the poor, land ownership continued to be a main source of wealth for Mexicans, and it dictated the hierarchy of wealth distribution amongst the population.

The gap between the rich and poor has not only remained large between classes, but also has been growing between northern and southern regions. As reforms have taken place, the southern states, such as Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, have remained isolated from the rest of the country. The national government provides less funding to these southern regions than to northern regions. Consequently, infrastructure, social development, education, and economic growth have lagged behind in southern states. These states have the highest levels of illiteracy and unemployment, and the lowest levels of urban infrastructure, government stability, and basic services, like running water and sanitation.

Poverty

Poverty in Mexico is characterized as a lack of access to basic human needs, such as nutrition, clean water, and shelter. Poverty can also include a lack of access to social services such as education, healthcare, security, and income. Current statistics indicate that as much as 44.2% of Mexico's population lives below the poverty line, as defined by the country's National Council of Social Development Policy Evaluation. In 2008, 33.7% of the population lived in moderate poverty, and at least 10.5% suffered from extreme poverty.

While the causes of poverty are multiple, many social scientists have posited that the government's emphasis on national economic growth has neglected the needs of the country's poorer citizens. For example, Mexico's heavy dependency on foreign influences, particularly the United States, has led it to adopt policies that do not favor its own citizens. Similarly, many critics claim that while the NAFTA agreement proved effective in increasing Mexico's economic performance, foreign trade policies have not done enough to promote social advancement and reduce poverty. To remain competitive in the international market, Mexico has had to offer low wages to its workers, while at the same time allowing high returns and generous concessions to international corporations.

Unemployment

Unemployment, or the rate of potential members of the labor force who are unable to find or maintain employment, has been at continuously high levels in Mexico. In spite of splendid macroeconomic indicators, low levels of inflation, and stable currency, job creation has not kept pace with a growing population and labor pool.

Underemployment refers to an employment situation that is insufficient in some important way for the worker, such as holding a part-time job despite desiring full-time work, or being over-qualified for a position. Over-qualification occurs when an employee has education, experience, or skills beyond the requirements of the job.

In Mexico, underemployment results largely from over-qualification. There are few high paying jobs available for university graduates. Often, college graduates search for years to find a job that is suitable for their qualifications, while working low-paying jobs that do not utilize their skills in the meantime. Situations like this have caused the standard of living among the urban middle class to deteriorate and has also resulted in emigration from this sector to other countries, especially the United States and Canada. The situation also depicts how Mexico's economy has failed to provide the structural opportunities for social mobility that industrialization and economic development purportedly promise.



Mexican Economic Growth: In recent decades, the Mexican economy has experienced growth in its primary sector (including agriculture and oil extraction), secondary sector (auto manufacturing), and tertiary sector (including tourism).

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8.6: Sociological Theories and Global Inequality

The Functionalist Perspective: Motivating Qualified People

From a functionalist point of view, inequality plays a role in holding society together and encouraging efficiency.

Learning Objectives

Review the functionalist perspective on inequality

Key Points

- According to a functionalist perspective, differences in power, wealth, and other rewards within the social structure are justified, because they motivate the most qualified people to exercise their talents in the most important jobs.
- Society is unequally structured because of people's inherent inequality in functional importance.
- A problem with this view is that it is difficult to determine the functional importance of any job.
- Another problem with this view is that it assumes that the current system of stratification is fair and rational, which is not always the case.

Key Terms

- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.
- **functional importance**: The degree to which a job is unique and requires skill.

The structural-functional approach to stratification asks the same question that it does of the other components of society: What function or purpose does it serve? The answer is that all aspects of society, even poverty, contribute in some way to the larger system's overall stability.

According to structural-functionalists, stratification and inequality are inevitable and beneficial to society. The layers of society, conceptualized as a pyramid, are the inevitable sorting of unequal people. The layering is useful because it ensures that the best people are at the top and those who are less worthy are further down the pyramid, and therefore have less power and are given fewer rewards than the high quality people at the top. The Davis-Moore hypothesis, advanced by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore in a paper published in 1945, is a central claim within the structural functionalist paradigm, and purports that the unequal distribution of rewards serves a purpose in society. Inequality ensures that the most functionally important jobs are filled by the best qualified people. In other words, it makes sense for the CEO of a company, whose position is more important functionally, to make more money than a janitor working for the same company.

A job's functional importance is determined by the degree to which the job is unique and requires skill, meaning whether only a few, or many other people, can perform the same function adequately. Garbage collectors are important to public sanitation, but do not need to be rewarded highly because little training or talent is required to perform their job. For example, according to this theory doctors should be rewarded highly, because extensive training is required to do their job. It is logical that society must offer greater rewards (e.g., income, vacations, promotion) to motivate the most qualified people to fill the most important positions.

Critiques of the Functionalist Perspective

There are several problems with this approach to stratification. First, it is difficult to determine the functional importance of any job, as the accompanying specialization and inter-dependence make every position necessary to the overall operation. According to this critique, the engineers in a factory, for example, are just as important as the other workers in the factory to the success of a project. In another example, a primary school teacher in the U.S. earns $29,000 per year, whereas a National Basketball Association player can earn as much as $21 million per year. Are basketball players more essential to society than teachers? Are basketball players more functionally important than teachers? In 2009, comedian Jerry Seinfeld earned $85 million. Do his earnings demonstrate his contribution to society? If NBA players or famous comedians went on strike and decided not to work, most people would not notice. However, if teachers, bus drivers, nurses, cleaners, garbage collectors, or waitresses stopped working, society would close down. Thus, functionalism can be critiqued on the basis that there is little connection between income and functional importance.

Second, functionalism assumes that the system of social stratification is fair and rational, and that the "best" people end up on top because of their superiority. But in real life, the system does not work so easily or perfectly. For example, some would argue that former U.S. president George W. Bush was not the smartest or most politically talented individual, but he was well connected and born at the top of the stratification system (white, male, wealthy, American), and therefore was elected to a position with great power—the U.S. presidency.



The Legal Field: Lawyers and judges tend to work very long hours and are often subject to high stress situations; for example, as they determine the fate of individuals' freedom and the allocation of large sums of money. Functionalists hold that the high pay and status granted to lawyers acts as incentive to motivate qualified people to accept these drawbacks.

The Conflict Perspective: Class Conflict and Scarce Resources

Conflict theory of stratification holds that inequality is harmful to society because it creates a fixed system of winners and losers.

Learning Objectives

Compare the conflict theory of inequality to the funcionalist theory of inequality

Key Points

- According to conflict theory, capitalist economic competition unfairly privileges the rich, who have the power to perpetrate an unfair system that works to their advantage.
- "Losers" who are at the bottom of the social stratification have little opportunity to improve their situation, since those at the top tend to have far more political and economic power.
- Functionalists argue against the conflict theory approach by contending that people don't always act out of economic self-interest, and that people who want to succeed can do so through hard work.

Key Terms

- **conflict theory**: A social science perspective that holds that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor.
- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.
- **tax break**: A deduction in tax that is given in order to encourage a certain economic activity or a social objective.

Conflict theorists argue that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society. According to conflict theory, social stratification benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor. Thus, it creates a system of winners and losers that is maintained by those who are on the top. The people who are losers do not get a fair chance to compete, and thus are stuck on the bottom. For example, many wealthy families pay low wages to nannies to care for their children, to gardeners to attend to their rose gardens, and to maids to pick up their dirty socks. These low wage workers do not make enough to move beyond a paycheck-to-paycheck lifestyle, and have no means to move ahead. Therefore, conflict theorists believe that this competitive system, together with the way the game is "fixed", ends up creating and perpetuating stratification systems.

According to conflict theory, capitalism, an economic system based on free-market competition, particularly benefits the rich by assuming that the "trickle down" mechanism is the best way to spread the benefits of wealth across society. Governments that promote capitalism often establish corporate welfare through direct subsidies, tax breaks, and other support that benefit big businesses. They assume that the market will allow these benefits to the rich to make their way to the poor through competition. For example, the Walton family, the owners of Wal-Mart, receives enormous tax breaks. Whether the benefits of these tax breaks have made their way down to ordinary people through better business practices or better working conditions for Wal-Mart employees is questionable. Conflict theorists would argue that they haven't, but rather have been used by the Walton family to solidify the patterns of stratification that keep the family rich.

Functionalists criticize this approach by arguing that people do not always act largely out of economic self-interest. For example, Chuck Feeney, the creator of Duty Free Shoppers, has given $4 billion to charities. Bill Gates has given 58% of his wealth to charity. Functionalists also argue that conflict theorists underestimate people's ability to move upward in society. They argue that if people really want to succeed, they can do so through hard work.



Nanny with European Children: Nannies, who are often minority women, are one example of lower class workers with little chance for upward mobility.

The Interactionist Perspective

The interactionist perspective on social inequality focuses on the way that micro-interactions maintain structural inequality.

Learning Objectives

Design a scenario which illustrates the interactionist perspective on inequality in action

Key Points

- Interactionists often consider the question of how power is exchanged in a situation.
- The interactionist perspective on inequality looks at how certain social roles have more power or authority than others.
- Micro-interactions all have the ability to reinforce or undermine power and status differentials. Thus, social stratification is a result of these individual interactions.

Key Terms

- **Social Roles**: One's position and responsibilities in society, which are largely determined in modern developed nations by occupation and family position.
- **Interactionist Perspective**: An approach to inequality that focuses on how micro-interactions reflect and create unequal power dynamics.

The interactionist perspective on inequality focuses on how micro-interactions reflect and create unequal power dynamics. Interactionists consider the question of how power is exchanged in a situation. For example, when a child and an adult engage in conversation, the adult establishes their power by claiming knowledge and authority that the child cannot. When considering larger systems of inequality, interactionists look at the inequality between social roles. Social roles refer to one's position and responsibilities in society, which are largely determined in modern developed nations by occupation. The interactionist perspective on inequality looks at how certain social roles have more power, or authority, than others.

An example using real social roles can help illustrate the interactionist perspective: A CEO has more power than a receptionist. Macro-sociologists may explain this disparity by pointing to the unequal education of the two employees, the unequal salaries they earn, or the differing skill levels required to fulfill each job. Interactionists, on the other hand, would focus on the way that day-to-day exchanges demonstrate and reinforce the gap between the CEO and receptionist. When the receptionist hangs up the CEO's jacket, he takes on a subservient position; when the receptionist makes excuses for the CEO missing a deadline, he accepts responsibility for the CEO's mistake; when the receptionist laughs at jokes that he does not find funny, he flatters the CEO because he recognizes that his job depends on doing so. All of these micro-interactions, which may seem trivial at the time, add up to status inequality, according to the interactionist.



Wal-Mart's CEO: Interactionalists would argue that Walmart's CEO maintains his status and power through the accumulation of interactions with others.

Lenski's Synthesis

In Lenski's view, inequality is a natural product of societal development.

Learning Objectives

Paraphrase the process which led to inequality, according to the Gehard Lenski's theory, including different levels of society

Key Points

- As societies moved from hunter/gatherer to pastoralist/horticulturalist to agricultural to industrial and then to post-industrial structures, more surplus goods were created.
- Surplus goods created the possibility for some people to accumulate more possessions than others.
- Individuals with more goods have an economic advantage relative to those with less good because they have greater bargaining power, creating social inequality.

Key Terms

- **Societal Development**: The process of transitioning from a hunter/gatherer economic model to an industrialized one.
- **surplus**: That which remains when use or need is satisfied, or when a limit is reached; excess.
- **Hunter-gatherer**: Describes societies with no division of labor in which people hunt and gather food and materials to meet their basic needs.

In sociologist Gerhard Lenski 's view, inequality is a product of societal development. Lenski differentiated societies based on their level of technology, communication, and economy. Human groups begin as hunter-gatherers, move toward pastoralism and/or horticulturalism, develop toward an agrarian society, and ultimately end up industrializing (with the potential to develop a service industry following industrialization). While this is a common progression, not all societies pass through every stage.

Hunting, Gathering, Subsistence

The origins of inequality can be found in the transition from hunter/gatherer societies to horticultural/pastoralist societies. In hunter/gather societies (around 50,000 B.C.), small groups of people gathered what they could find, hunted, and fished. People collected enough food to satisfy all of their needs, but no more—there was no surplus of goods. There was little trading between the groups, and there was not much inequality between groups because everyone possessed basically the same goods as everyone else. Division of labor was virtually non-existent—people working for subsistence completed all steps of each job. Food gathering and food production were the focus of work.

Horticulture, Pastoralism, Surplus

In horticultural/pastoralist societies (around 12,000 B.C.), groups grew very large, and humans began to settle in one place. For the first time, people had more time to do work other than producing food, such as making leather and weapons. This new division of labor led to surplus goods and the accumulation of possessions. Groups traded these surplus goods with each other, and trade led to inequality because some people accumulated more possessions than others. As societies developed more advanced technologies and underwent industrialization, more surplus was created, increasing the potential for social inequality. According to Lenski, inequality is the result of increasing surplus—some individuals will have ownership of surplus goods, others will not. Those with more goods have an economic advantage relative to those with less goods because they have greater bargaining power, creating social inequality.



Modern-day Hunter/gatherer Societies: Nearly all societies have become industrialized to varying extents, but a few continue to function based on hunting and gathering. In these societies, there are few surplus goods. According to Lenski, this means that such societies do not exhibit inequality.

Marx's View of Class Differentiation

In the Marxist perspective, social stratification is created by unequal property relations, or unequal access to the means of production.

Learning Objectives

Diagram the relationship between the owners of production, the proletariat, the substructure and the superstructure according to Marx's view

Key Points

- In capitalist societies, the bourgeoisie class owns the means of production while the proletariat class sells their labor to the bourgeoisie.

- The bourgeoisie have power and status, which they use to maintain the society's superstructure —it's values, ideologies, and norms.
- In an ideal Marxist communist society, everyone would share access to the means of production and social stratification would be nonexistent.

Key Terms

- **egalitarian communist society**: A society in which the state owns the means of production and equally distributes resources.
- **superstructure**: The ideas, philosophies, and culture that are built upon the means of production.
- **substructure**: The base of society, which in Marxist terms includes relations of production.

In Marx's view, social stratification is created by people's differing relationship to the means of production: either they own productive property or they labor for others.

In Marxist theory, the capitalist mode of production consists of two main economic parts: the substructure and the Superstructure. In a capitalist society, the ruling class, or the bourgeoisie, owns the means of production, such as machines or tools that can be used to produce valuable objects. The working class, or the proletariat, only possess their own labor power, which they sell to the ruling class in the form of wage labor to survive. These relations of production—employer-employee relations, the technical division of labor, and property relations —form the base of society or, in Marxist terms, the substructure. From this material substructure, the superstructure emerges. The superstructure includes the ideas, philosophies and culture of a society. In a capitalist society, the ruling class promotes its own ideologies and values as the norm for the entire society, and these ideas and values are accepted by the working class.

A temporary status quo could be achieved by employing various methods of social control—consciously or unconsciously—by the bourgeoisie in various aspects of social life. Eventually, however, Marx believed the capitalist economic order would erode, through its own internal conflict; this would lead to revolutionary consciousness and the development of egalitarian communist society. In this communist society, the state would own the means of production, and it would equally distribute resources to all citizens. The means of production would be shared by all members of society, and social stratification would be abolished.



Marx Memorial in Moscow: This memorial to Karl Marx in Moscow reads, "Proletarians of all countries unite! " Marxism is associated with a view of stratification that pits the owners of means of production against the laborers.

Weber's View of Stratification

Max Weber formed a three-component theory of stratification in which social difference is determined by class, status, and power.

Learning Objectives

Recall the three components of stratification in Weberian theory, including their definitions

Key Points

- Class is a person's economic position, based on birth and individual achievement.
- Status is one's social prestige or honor, which may or may not be influenced by class.
- Power is one's ability to get one's way despite the resistance of others.

Key Terms

- **power**: The ability to get one's way even in the face of opposition to one's goals.
- **status**: A person's social position or standing relative to that of others.

- **class**: A person's economic position in society, based on birth and individual achievement.

Classic sociologist Max Weber was strongly influenced by Marx's ideas, but rejected the possibility of effective communism, arguing that it would require an even greater level of detrimental social control and bureaucratization than capitalist society. Weber criticized the dialectical presumption of proletariat revolt, believing it to be unlikely. Instead, he developed the three-component theory of stratification and the concept of life chances. Weber supposed there were more class divisions than Marx suggested, taking different concepts from both functionalist and Marxist theories to create his own system. Weber claimed there are four main classes: the upper class, the white-collar workers, the petite bourgeoisie, and the manual working class. Weber's theory more closely resembles theories of modern Western class structures embraced by sociologists, although economic status does not seem to depend strictly on earnings in the way Weber envisioned.

Working half a century later than Marx, Weber derived many of his key concepts on social stratification by examining the social structure of Germany. Weber examined how many members of the aristocracy lacked economic wealth, yet had strong political power. He noted that, contrary to Marx's theories, stratification was based on more than ownership of capital. Many wealthy families lacked prestige and power, for example, because they were Jewish. Weber introduced three independent factors that form his theory of stratification hierarchy: class, status, and power. He treated these as separate but related sources of power, each with different effects on social action.

Three Sources of Power

Class is a person's economic position in a society, based on birth and individual achievement. Weber differs from Marx in that he did not see this as the supreme factor in stratification. Weber noted that managers of corporations or industries control firms they do not own; Marx would have placed such a person in the proletariat.

Status refers to a person's prestige, social honor, or popularity in a society. Weber noted that political power was not rooted solely in capital value, but also in one's individual status. Poets or saints, for example, can possess immense influence on society, often with little economic worth.

Power refers to a person's ability to get their way despite the resistance of others. For example, individuals in state jobs, such as an employee of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or a member of the United States Congress, may hold little property or status, but they still hold immense power.



US Congress in Present Times: Using Weber's theory of stratification, members of the U.S. Congress are at the top of the social hierarchy because they have high power and status, despite having relatively little wealth on average.

Market-Oriented Theories

Market-oriented theories of inequality argue that supply and demand will regulate prices and wages and stabilize inequality.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the concept of the market-oriented theory of inequality

Key Points

- When supply meets demand, prices reach a state of equilibrium and cease fluctuating.
- According to market-oriented theories, over time the low wages earned by agricultural laborers will induce more people to learn other skills, thus reducing the pool of agricultural laborers.
- The supply and demand model is commonly applied to wages, in the market for labor. The typical roles of supplier and consumer are reversed.

Key Terms

- **supply and demand**: An economic model of price determination in a market based on the relative scarcity or abundance of goods and services.
- **equilibrium**: In economics, the point at which supply equals demand and prices cease fluctuating.
- **free market**: Any economic market in which trade is unregulated; an economic system free from government intervention.

Market-oriented theories of inequality are focused on the laws of the free market. The free market refers to a capitalist economic order in which prices are set based on competition. In a free market, prices are supposed to be regulated by the law of supply and demand. According to supply and demand, if a

produce or service is scarce but desired by many, it will fetch a high price. Conversely, if a product or service is readily available and desired by few, it will fetch a low price. When the supply of a product exactly meets the demand for it, the price reaches a state of equilibrium and no longer fluctuates.

The model is commonly applied to wages, in the market for labor. The typical roles of supplier and consumer are reversed. The suppliers are individuals, who try to sell (supply) their labor for the highest price. The consumers of labors are businesses, which try to buy (demand) the type of labor they need at the lowest price. As populations increase, wages fall for any given unskilled or skilled labor supply. Conversely, wages tend to go up with a decrease in population. When demand exceeds supply, suppliers can raise the price, but when supply exceeds demand, suppliers will have to decrease the price in order to make sales. Consumers who can afford the higher prices may still buy, but others may forgo the purchase altogether, demand a better price, buy a similar item, or shop elsewhere. As the price rises, suppliers may also choose to increase production, or more suppliers may enter the business.

Considering inequality, market-oriented theories claim that if left to the free-market, all products and services will reach equilibrium, and price stability will reduce inequality. For example, in countries with huge pools of unskilled agricultural laborers but limited agricultural land, agricultural land is very poorly compensated. According to market-oriented theories, over time the low wages earned by agricultural laborers will induce more people to learn other skills, thus reducing the pool of agricultural laborers. With less supply and stable demand, the wage for agricultural labor will rise to a sustainable level. Thus, the status of agricultural laborers will rise, and inequality will be reduced. Generally, market-oriented theories hold that when supply of labor and goods meets demand, the economic order will reach equilibrium, and inequality will either be non-existent or will be stable.

Dependency Theories

Dependency theory states that colonialism and neocolonialism have created unequal economic relations between poor and wealthy countries.

Learning Objectives

Explain malnourishment and hunger in the “third world” through dependency theory

Key Points

- In the past, colonialism allowed wealthy countries to plunder their colonies for material benefits—raw materials like rubber, sugar, and slave labor.
- Today, poor countries have taken enormous loans from wealthy countries in order to stay afloat. Paying off the compound interest from this debt prevents them from investing resources into their own country.
- Foreign trade gets in the way of local governments’ ability to improve the living conditions of their people by encouraging the export of food and other raw materials to wealthy consumer markets.

Key Terms

- **foreign trade**: The exchange of capital, goods, and services across international borders or territories.
- **foreign debt**: A debt that a country, an organization in a country, or a resident individual in a country owes to those in other countries.
- **neocolonialism**: The control or domination by a powerful country over weaker ones (especially former colonies) by the use of economic pressure, political suppression, and cultural dominance.
- **dependency ratio**: an age-population measurement of those typically not in the labor force (the dependent part) and those typically in the labor force (the productive part)

Dependency theories propose that colonialism and neocolonialism —continuing economic dependence on and exploitation of former colonial countries—are the main causes global poverty. Countries have developed at an uneven rate because wealthy countries have exploited poor countries in the past and continue to do so today through foreign debt and foreign trade.

Historical Dependency

Historically, wealthy nations have taken a great quantity of materials from poor countries, such as minerals and metals necessary to make automobiles, weapons, and jewelry. Large amounts of agricultural products that can only be grown in the hot climates of the poor countries, such as coffee, tea, sugar, and cocoa, have been exported to and manufactured in the wealthy countries. Wealthy countries would not be as rich as they are today if they did not have these materials. Wealthy countries increased their own profits by organizing cheap labor through slavery.

King Leopold II, for example, who was King of Belgium from 1865-1909, forced hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children to work as slaves in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The invention of the bicycle tire in the 1890s and later the automobile tire meant that rubber was in high demand; wild rubber vines were widespread in the Congo, earning Leopold millions. The Democratic Republic of Congo is still suffering

from the plunder of natural resources, torture, and killing that was endured during Leopold's reign.

Modern Dependency

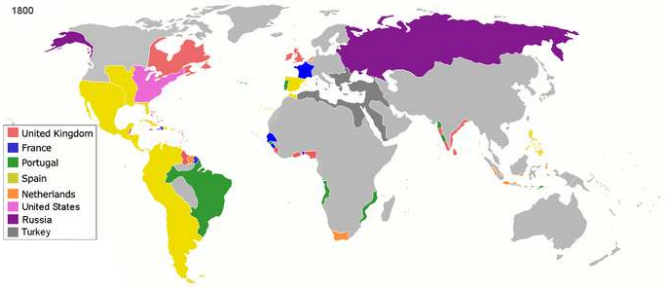
Today, poor countries are trapped by large debts which prevent them from developing. For example, between 1970 and 2002, the continent of Africa received $540 billion in loans from wealthy nations—through the World Bank and IMF. African countries have paid back $550 billion of their debt but they still owe $295 billion. The difference is the result of compound interest. Countries cannot focus on economic or human development when they are constantly paying off debt; these countries will continue to remain undeveloped. Dependency theorists believe large economic aid is not necessarily the key to reducing poverty and developing, but rather debt relief may be a more effective step.

In addition, foreign trade and business often mitigate local governments' ability to improve the living conditions of their people. This trade often comes in the form of transnational corporations (TNCs). The governments of poor countries invite these TNCs to invest in their country with the hope of developing the country and bringing material benefit to the people. However, workers' time and energy are often poured into producing goods that they themselves will not consume. For example, some of the land in Cape Verde could be planted and harvested to feed local people, but it is planted instead with cash crops for foreign exchange. Fresh produce is regularly sold or changed to a nonperishable type such as tuna canned for export rather than consumed by the population.

Malnutrition and Dependency

Widespread malnutrition is one of the effects of this foreign dependency. This is common around the globe. Brazil is the second largest exporter of agricultural products, but 50 percent of its population is malnourished. Although Ethiopia has one of the largest populations of cattle in Africa, much of the population suffers from malnutrition and the government continues to export large numbers of cattle to the Middle East. Even during the peak of the infamous 1985 famine, the government was sending dried meat to Egypt.

Through unequal economic relations with wealthy countries in the form of continued debts and foreign trade, poor countries continue to be dependent and unable to tap into their full potential for development.



Map of Empires and Colonies: 1800: By the end of the 19th century, most of the Americas were under the control of European colonial empires. At present, much of South and Central America is still economically dependent on foreign nations for capital and export markets.

World-Systems Theory

World Systems Theory posits that there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited.

Learning Objectives

Produce a map of the world that shows some countries as core, peripheral, and semi-peripheral according to Wallerstein's theory

Key Points

- Immanuel Wallerstein developed World Systems Theory and its three-level hierarchy: core, periphery, and semi-periphery.
- Core countries are dominant capitalist countries that exploit peripheral countries for labor and raw materials.
- Peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for capital and have underdeveloped industry.
- Semi-peripheral countries share characteristics of both core and peripheral countries.

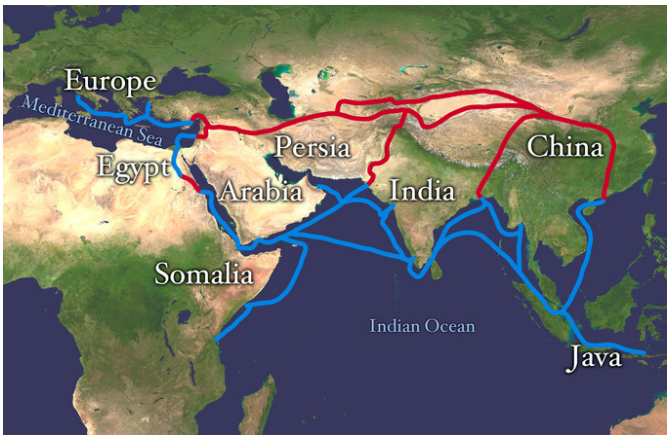
Key Terms

- **peripheral**: Peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for capital and have underdeveloped industry.
- **core**: Describes dominant capitalist countries which exploit the peripheral countries for labor and raw materials.
- **semi-peripheral**: Countries that share characteristics of both core and periphery countries.

World Systems Theory, like dependency theory, suggests that wealthy countries benefit from other countries and exploit those countries' citizens. In contrast to dependency theory, however, this model recognizes the minimal benefits that are enjoyed by low status countries in the world system. The theory originated with sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, who suggests that the way a country is integrated into the capitalist world system determines how economic development takes place in that country.

According to Wallerstein, the world economic system is divided into a hierarchy of three types of countries: core, semiperipheral, and peripheral. Core countries (e.g., U.S., Japan, Germany) are dominant, capitalist countries characterized by high levels of industrialization and urbanization. Core countries are capital intensive, have high wages and high technology production patterns and lower amounts of labor exploitation and coercion. Peripheral countries (e.g., most African countries and low income countries in South America) are dependent on core countries for capital and are less industrialized and urbanized. Peripheral countries are usually agrarian, have low literacy rates and lack consistent Internet access. Semi-peripheral countries (e.g., South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, Brazil, India, Nigeria, South Africa) are less developed than core nations but more developed than peripheral nations. They are the buffer between core and peripheral countries.

Core countries own most of the world's capital and technology and have great control over world trade and economic agreements. They are also the cultural centers which attract artists and intellectuals. Peripheral countries generally provide labor and materials to core countries. Semiperipheral countries exploit peripheral countries, just as core countries exploit both semiperipheral and peripheral countries. Core countries extract raw materials with little cost. They can also set the prices for the agricultural products that peripheral countries export regardless of market prices, forcing small farmers to abandon their fields because they can't afford to pay for labor and fertilizer. The wealthy in peripheral countries benefit from the labor of poor workers and from their own economic relations with core country capitalists.



11th Century World System: In the 11th century, international production and trade was dominated by the exchange of silk, and thus countries along the silk route were the dominant participants in the "world-system. " Today, with vast communications and transportation technology, virtually every society participates in the world-system as either a source of raw materials, production, or consumption.

State-Centered Theories

According to state-centered theories of inequality, the government should regulate the distribution of resources to protect workers.

Learning Objectives

Compare socialist and communist state-centered theories

Key Points

- Socialist and communist economic systems operate on the premise that inequality is best addressed by the state, rather than through the free-market.
- State-centered theories of inequality critique market-driven theories on the basis that capitalists embroiled in the free-market will act to increase their own wealth, exploiting the lower classes.
- State-centered theories propose that states should enact policies to prevent exploitation and promote the equal distribution of goods and wages.

Key Terms

- **State-Centered Theories of Inequality**: Theories that emphasize the role of governmental policy and economic planning in producing economic stratification. These theories assert that intentional state policies must be aimed at equitably distributing resources and opportunities.
- **Market-Oriented Theories of Inequality**: Economic models that assert that the capitalist free-market will naturally regulate prices and wages.

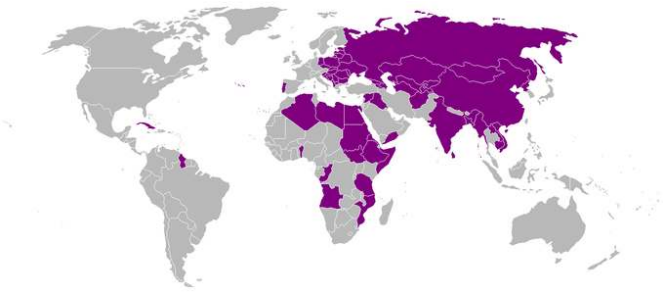
State-centered theories of inequality emphasize the role of governmental policy and economic planning in producing economic stratification. In contrast to market-oriented theories of inequality, state-centered theories do not assert that the capitalist free-market will naturally regulate prices and wages. State-centered theories assert that intentional state policies must be aimed at equitably distributing resources and opportunities.

Socialism and Communism

Socialism and communism operate on the assumption that states can regulate (and potentially eliminate) inequality. Socialism is an economic and political system in which the state owns the majority industry, but resources are allocated based on a combination of natural rights and individual achievements. Communism operates on the principle that resources should be completely equally distributed, on the basis that every person has a natural right to food, shelter, and generally an equal share of a society's wealth. Socialism includes a combination of public and private property, while under communist systems all property is publicly held and administered by the state.

A socialist economic system would consist of an organisation of production to directly satisfy economic demands and human needs. Goods and services would be produced directly for use instead of for private profit driven by the accumulation of capital. Accounting would be based on physical quantities, a common physical magnitude, or a direct measure of labour-time. Distribution of output would be based on the principle of individual contribution.

State-centered theories of inequality critique market-driven ones on the basis that capitalists embroiled in the free-market will act to increase their own wealth, exploiting the lower classes. Accordingly, these theories propose that states should enact policies to prevent exploitation and promote the equal distribution of goods and wages.



Map of Socialist States: This map of all states to declare themselves officially socialist at some point in history illustrates the spread of state-centered theories of inequality.

Evaluating Global Theories of Inequality

Social theorists think differently about global inequality based on their sociological perspective.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between the positions on social inequality taken by functionalists, Marxists, modern liberalism, and social justice advocates

Key Points

- Functionalists are likely to believe that inequality is beneficial to societies and is naturally regulated by market forces to foster economic growth.
- Marxists, on the other hand, are likely to see inequality as detrimental to society and to advocate government regulation of the means of production and distribution of property.
- In modern liberal societies, individuals tend to value human rights according to the idea that all people are born with equal value.
- Social justice advocates generally argue that inequality is unfair, as it leaves some individuals with greater life chances and higher standards of living than others regardless of individual worth or merit.

Key Terms

- **State-Oriented Approach**: A strategy for reducing inequality in which governments instate policies to equally distribute opportunities and resources.
- **Market-Oriented Approach**: A perspective on inequality that asserts that a free market will result in prices that benefit the smooth functioning and growth of economies.
- **Functionalist Approach**: An approach that asserts that global inequality is not a problem at all, but rather benefits society as it produces an incentive structure to motivate highly capable individuals to pursue positions of power.

There is significant debate among sociologists, other social scientists, and policy makers over the best approach to global inequality. Some theorists who embrace a functionalist approach assert that global inequality is not a problem at all, but rather benefits society as it produces an incentive structure to motivate highly capable individuals to pursue positions of power. Functionalists are likely to embrace market-oriented approaches to inequality, on the basis that a free market will result in prices that benefit the smooth-functioning and growth of economies. Marxists, by contrast, see global inequality as indicative of exploitation and consider it a detriment to society. These thinkers are likely to support state -oriented approaches to regulating inequality, with governments instating policies to equally distribute opportunities and resources. Interactionists recognize global inequality, but consider it only in the context of individual relations and, therefore, see no role for state intervention.

Whatever sociological theory one adopts to explain the existence of inequality, not all theorists consider inequality to be a problem that needs correction. The idea that all members of a society should be equal is often associated with modern liberalism. In modern liberal societies, individuals tend to value human rights according to the idea that all people are born with equal value. The logic of human rights does not necessarily imply that all people should achieve equal status, but it does assume that all should have equal opportunities to advance, or Weberian life chances. Those who evaluate global inequality and consider it to violate human rights may advocate for solutions to inequality using the language of social justice. Social justice advocates generally argue that inequality is unfair, as it leaves some individuals with greater life chances and higher standards of living than others, regardless of individual worth or merit.



Occupy Wall Street: Protestors at Occupy Wall Street adhere to the position that income inequality is a detriment to society. By protesting the financial institutions that provide capital to economic enterprises, "occupiers" suggest that the market-driven approach to inequality, embraced by financiers, has not resulted in a fair and equitable economic order.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: Stratification, Inequality, and Social Class in the U.S.

9.1: Social Class

9.2: Social Class in the U.S.

9.3: The Class Structure in the U.S.

9.4: Social Mobility

9.5: The Impacts of Social Class

9.6: Poverty

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9.1: Social Class

Social Class

Society is stratified into social classes on the basis of wealth, income, educational attainment, and occupation.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the discrepancies in the formation of social classes, as identified by various sociologists

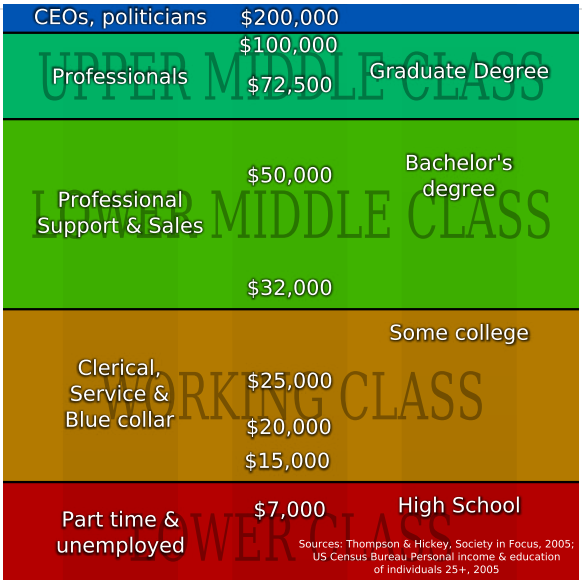
Key Points

- There are competing models for thinking about social classes in the U.S. — most Americans believe in a three tier structure that includes the upper, middle, and lower classes, but popular variations delineate an upper-middle class and a working class.
- Individuals tend to form relationships with others in their own class, and to consequently acculturate to, or learn the values of behaviors of, their own class. This process strengthens distinctions between classes as each group establishes a unique class culture.
- Due to class mobility, in some cases individuals may also acculturate to the culture of another class when ascending or descending in the social order.

Key Terms

- **social network**: The web of a person's social, family, and business contacts, who provide material and social resources and opportunities.
- **acculturate**: To acquire the culture (including systems of value and belief) of the society that one inhabits, starting at birth.
- **Class Culture**: A system of beliefs, values, and behaviors that is particular to a socioeconomic group.

Most social scientists agree that society is stratified into a hierarchical arrangement of social classes. Social classes are groupings of individuals in a hierarchy, usually based on wealth, educational attainment, occupation, income, and membership in a subculture or social network. Social class in the United States is a controversial issue, having many competing definitions, models, and even disagreements over its very existence. Many Americans believe in a simple three-class model that includes upper class, the middle class, and the lower class or working class. More complex models that have been proposed by social scientists describe as many as a dozen class levels.



United States Social Classes: While social scientists offer competing models of class structure, most agree that society is stratified by occupation, income, and educational attainment.

Meanwhile, some scholars deny the very existence of discrete social classes in American society. In spite of debate, most social scientists agree that in the U.S. there is a social class structure in which people are hierarchically ranked. Elsewhere in the world, one's social class may depend more upon race/ethnicity, position at birth, or religious affiliation. For example, in Mexico, society is stratified into classes determined by European or indigenous lineage as well as wealth. In the U.K. class position depends somewhat on family lineage, with members of the nobility traditionally belonging to the aristocracy.

Class Culture

Social class is sometimes presented as a description of how members of society have sorted themselves along a continuum of positions varying in importance, influence, prestige, and compensation. Thought of this way, once individuals identify as being within a class group they begin to adhere to the behaviors they expect of that class. Thus, a person who considers him or herself to be upper class will dress differently from a person who considers him or herself to be working class — one may wear a business suit on a daily basis, while the other wears jeans, for example. By adhering to class expectations, individuals create sharper distinctions between classes than may otherwise exist.

Sociologists studying class distinctions since the 1970s have found that social classes each have unique cultural traits. The phenomenon, referred to as class culture, has been shown to have a strong influence on the mundane lives of people,

affecting everything from the manner in which they raise their children, to how they initiate and maintain romantic relationships, to the color in which they paint their houses. The overall tendency of individuals to associate mostly with those of equal standing as themselves has strengthened class differences. Because individuals' social networks tend to be within their own class, they acculturate to, or learn the values and behaviors of, their own class. Due to class mobility, in some cases individuals may also acculturate to the culture of another class when ascending or descending in the social order. Nonetheless, the impact of class culture on delineating a social hierarchy is significant.

Property

Property is the total of one's possessions and, therefore, may be a better measure of social class than income.

Learning Objectives

Describe the various forms of property – private, public and collective – and their functions

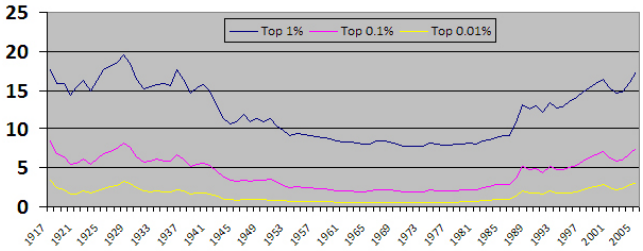
Key Points

- Property goes beyond income as a measure of social class as it reflects the accumulated wealth (e.g., homes, stocks, bonds, savings) in addition to one's earning potential.
- Private property is distinguishable from public property and collective property, which refers to assets owned by a state, community, or government rather than by individuals or a business entity.
- Economic liberals consider private property to be essential for the construction of a prosperous society.
- Socialists view private property relations as limiting the potential of productive forces in the economy.
- Libertarians believe that private property rights are a requisite for rational and efficient economic calculation.

Key Terms

- **libertarian**: A believer in a political doctrine that emphasizes individual liberty and a lack of governmental regulation and oversight both in matters of the economy ('free market') and in personal behavior.
- **economic liberals**: Economic liberalism is the ideological belief in organizing the economy on individualist lines, such that the greatest possible number of economic decisions are made by private individuals and not by collective institutions.

Property refers to the sum total of one's possessions, as well as their regular income. It goes beyond income as a measure of social class, as it reflects wealth accumulated (e.g., homes, stocks, bonds, savings) in addition to one's earning potential. Property is a better overall measure of social class than income, as many individuals who are considered wealthy actually have very small income, and those with less property tend to have less power and prestige.



Income: Income is one form of property, and contributes significantly the measures of wealth. In the United States, the top 1% of the population earns a disproportionate amount of national income, coinciding with their position at the top of the social class hierarchy.

Private property is the ownership, control, employment, ability to dispose of, and bequeath land, capital, and other forms of property by persons and privately owned firms. Private property is distinguishable from public property and collective property, which refers to assets owned by a state, community, or government rather than by individuals or a business entity. The concept of property is not equivalent to that of possession. Property and ownership refer to a socially constructed circumstance conferred upon individuals or collective entities by the state, whereas possession is a physical phenomenon.

Economic liberals consider private property to be essential for the construction of a prosperous society. They believe private ownership of land ensures the land will be put to productive use and its value protected by the landowner. If the owners must pay property taxes, this forces the owners to maintain a productive output from the land to keep taxes current.

On the other hand, socialists view private property relations as limiting the potential of productive forces in the economy. They believe private property becomes useless when it concentrates into centralized, socialized institutions based on private appropriation of revenue until the role of the capitalist becomes redundant.

Lastly, libertarians believe that private property rights are a requisite for rational economic calculation, and that without clearly defined property rights, the prices of goods and services cannot be determined in an "efficient" manner, making the most efficient economic calculation impossible.

Power

Power refers to someone's ability to get others to do his or her will, regardless of whether or not they want to.

Learning Objectives

Compare the positives and negatives associated with the use of power and how power operates in society

Key Points

- Legitimate power, power given to individuals willingly by others, is called " authority ".
- Illegitimate power, power taken by force or the threat of force, is called " coercion ".
- Coercion is power taken by force or the threat of force.
- Influence, in contrast to coercion, refers to the means by which power is used.
- Because power operates both relationally and reciprocally, sociologists speak of the balance of power between parties to a relationship. All parties to all relationships have some power.

Key Terms

- **coercion**: Actual or threatened force for the purpose of compelling action by another person; the act of coercing.
- **influence**: An action exerted by a person or thing with such power on another to cause change.

Power refers to someone's ability to get others to do his or her will, regardless of whether or not they want to. It is also a measurement of an entity's ability to control its environment, including the behavior of other entities. Legitimate power, power given to individuals willingly by others, is called "authority;" illegitimate power, power taken by force or the threat of force, is called "coercion. " In the corporate environment, power is often expressed as upward or downward. With downward power, a company's superior influences subordinates. When a company exerts upward power, it is the subordinates who influence the decisions of the leader. Often, the study of power in a society is referred to as "politics. "

Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. The use of power need not involve coercion (force or the threat of force). At one extreme, it more closely resembles what everyday English-speakers call "influence," or the means by which power is used. Although power can be seen as various forms of constraint on human action, it can also be understood as that which makes action possible, although in a limited scope.

Because power operates both relationally and reciprocally, sociologists speak of the balance of power between parties to a relationship. All parties to all relationships have some power. The sociological examination of power concerns itself with discovering and describing the relative strengths–equal or unequal, stable, or subject to periodic change. Sociologists usually analyze relationships in which the parties have relatively equal or nearly equal power in terms of constraint rather than of power.

Prestige

Prestige refers to the reputation or esteem associated with one's position in society, which is closely tied to their social class.

Learning Objectives

Compare the two types of prestige – achieved and ascribed, and how prestige is related to power, property and social mobility

Key Points

- Prestige used to be associated with one's family name, but for most people in developed countries, prestige is now generally tied to one's occupation.
- Highly skilled occupations tend to have more prestige associated with them than low skill occupations.
- Prestige is often related to the other two indicators of social class – property and power.
- Prestige is an important element in social mobility.

Key Terms

- **occupation**: A regular activity performed in exchange for payment, including jobs and professions.
- **social class**: A group of people in a stratified hierarchy, based on social power, wealth, educational attainment, and other criteria.
- **prestige**: A measure of how good the reputation of something or someone is, or how favorably something or someone is regarded.

Prestige refers to the reputation or esteem associated with one's position in society. A person can earn prestige by his or her own achievements, which is known as achieved status, or they can be placed in the stratification system by their inherited position, which is called ascribed status. For example, prestige used to be associated with one's family name (ascribed status), but for most people in developed countries, prestige is now generally tied to one's occupation (achieved status). Occupations like physicians or lawyers tend to have more prestige associated with them than occupations like bartender or janitor. An individual's prestige is closely tied to their social class – the higher the prestige of an individual (through their occupation or, sometimes, their family name), the higher their social class.

Prestige is often related to the other two indicators of social class – property and power. A Supreme Court justice, for example, is usually wealthy, enjoys a great deal of prestige, and exercises significant power. In some cases, however, a person ranks differently on these indicators, such as funeral directors.

Their prestige is fairly low, but most have higher incomes than college professors, who are among the most educated people in America and have high prestige.

Prestige is a strong element in social mobility. On the one hand, choosing certain occupations or attending certain schools can influence a person's level of prestige. While these opportunities are not equally available to everyone, one's choices can, at least to a limited extent, increase or decrease one's prestige, and lead to social mobility. On the other hand, certain elements of prestige are fixed; family name, place of birth, parents' occupations, etc., are unchangeable parts of prestige that cause social stratification.



Oxford University Ceremony: The job of professor is an example of an occupation that has high prestige even though many professors do not earn incomes in the top economic bracket.

Status Inconsistency

Status inconsistency occurs when an individual's social positions are varied and these variations influence his or her overall social status.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the concept of status inconsistency and how this phenomena can lead to frustration for people

Key Points

- Introduced by the sociologist Gerhard Lenski in the 1950s, status inconsistency theories predict that people whose status is inconsistent will be more frustrated and dissatisfied than people with consistent statuses.
- Sociologists investigate issues of status inconsistency in order to better understand status systems and stratification.
- Max Weber articulated three major dimensions of stratification in his discussion of class, power, and status.

Key Terms

- **sociologist**: A social scientist focused on the study of society, human social interaction, and the rules and processes that bind and separate people not only as individuals, but as members of associations, groups and institutions.
- **status inconsistency**: A situation in which an individual's varied social positions can have both positive and negative influences on his or her social status.
- **Max Weber**: (1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

Status inconsistency is a situation where an individual's social positions have both positive and negative influences on his or her social status. Introduced by the sociologist Gerhard Lenski in the 1950s, status inconsistency theories predict that people whose statuses are inconsistent will be more frustrated and dissatisfied than people with consistent statuses. For example, a teacher may have a positive societal image (respect, prestige, etc.), which increases her status but she may earn little money, which simultaneously decreases her status.

All societies have some basis for social stratification, and industrial societies are characterized by multiple dimensions to which some vertical hierarchy may be imputed. The notion of status inconsistency is simple: It is defined as occupying different vertical positions in two or more hierarchies. Sociologists investigate issues of status inconsistency in order to better understand status systems and stratification, and because some sociologists believe that positions of status inconsistency might have strong effects on people's behavior.

Max Weber articulated three major dimensions of stratification in his discussion of class, power, and status. This multifaceted framework provides the background concepts for discussing status inconsistency. Status inconsistency theories predict that people whose status is inconsistent, or higher on one dimension than one another, will be more frustrated and dissatisfied than people with consistent statuses.

Gerhard Lenski originally predicted that people suffering from status inconsistency would favor political actions and parties directed against higher status groups. According to Lenski, the concept can be used to further explain why status groups made up of wealthy minorities who would be presumed conservative tend to be liberal instead. Since Lenski coined the term, status inconsistency has remained controversial with limited empirical verification.



School Teacher: Teachers are often held in high esteem and exert power over students and in local policy, but they tend to have low incomes and little accumulated wealth.

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9.2: Social Class in the U.S.

Social Class in the U.S.

Most social scientists agree that American society is stratified into social classes, based on wealth, education, and occupation.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast two different social class models

Key Points

- There are competing models for dividing society into discrete classes, but most are based upon a basic three-tiered model that includes an upper class, middle class, and lower class.
- Each social class is thought to share particular cultural traits, such as manner of dress and speech, that reinforce divisions between different classes.
- The "American Dream" holds that U.S. society is meritocratic and status is based on individual achievement, but many social scientists tend to support the idea that inequality is persistent in America and often results from inherited advantages or disadvantages.

Key Terms

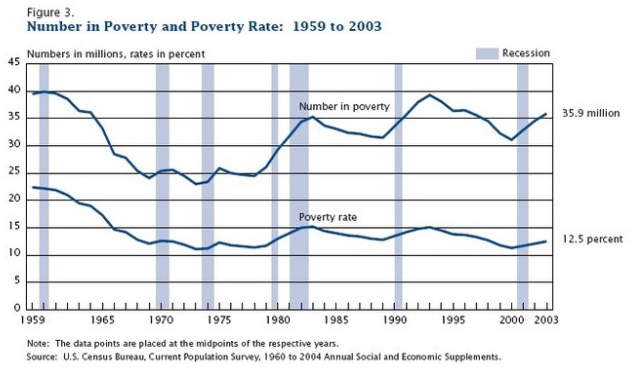
- **social network**: The web of a person's social, family, and business contacts, who provide material and social resources and opportunities.
- **acculturate**: To acquire the culture (including systems of value and belief) of the society that one inhabits, starting at birth.
- **The American Dream**: The belief that with hard work, courage, and determination, anyone can prosper and achieve success.

In the United States, most social scientists agree that society is stratified into a hierarchical arrangement of social classes. Social classes are groupings of individuals in a hierarchy, usually based on wealth, educational attainment, occupation, income, and membership in a subculture or social network. Social class in the United States is a controversial topic; there have been many competing definitions, models, and even disagreements over its very existence. Many Americans believe in a simple three-class model that includes the rich or upper class, the middle class, and the poor or working class. More complex models that have been proposed by social scientists describe as many as a dozen class levels. Meanwhile, some scholars deny the very existence of discrete social classes in American society. In spite of this debate, most social scientists agree that in the United States, there is a social class structure in which people are hierarchically ranked.

Models of U.S. Social Classes

One social class model proposed by sociologists posits that there are six social classes in America. In this model, the upper class in America (3% of the population) is divided into the upper-upper class (1% of the U.S. population), earning hundreds of millions to billions of dollars in income per year, while the lower-upper class (2%) earns millions in annual income. The middle class (40%) is divided into the upper-middle class (14%, earning $76,000 or more per year) and the lower-middle class (26%, earning $46,000 to $75,000 annually). The working class (30%) earns $19,000 to $45,000. The lower class (27%) is divided into the working poor (13%, earning $9000 to $18,000) and the underclass (14%, earning under $9000). This model has gained traction as a tool for thinking about social classes in America, but it notably does not fully account for variations in status based on non-economic factors, such as education and occupational prestige. This critique is somewhat mitigated by the fact that income is often closely aligned with other indicators of status: Those with high incomes likely have substantial education, high-status occupations, and powerful social networks.

Another model for thinking about social class in the United States attributes the following general characteristics to each tier: The upper class has vast accumulated wealth and significant control over corporations and political institutions, and their privilege is usually inherited; the corporate elite is a class of high-salaried stockholders, such as CEOs, who do not necessarily have inherited privilege but have achieved high status through their careers; the upper middle class consists of highly educated salaried professionals whose occupations are held in high esteem, such as lawyers, engineers, and professors; the middle class is the most vaguely defined and largest social class, and is generally thought to include people in mid-level managerial positions or relatively low status professional positions, such as high school teachers and small business owners; the working class generally refers to those without college degrees who do unskilled service work, such as being a sales clerk or housecleaner, and it includes most people whose incomes fall below the poverty line.



U.S. Poverty Rate 1959-2009: This chart depicts the number of people living in poverty during each year from 1959-2003. The poverty rate corresponds to what proportion of Americans live in the lowest economic strata of the hierarchical class system.

Definition of Middle Class

Since the middle class is the largest yet most vaguely defined class, it is important to think about how people come to identify themselves as "middle class." Some people define middle class by income, whereas others are more concerned with values and job description. For example, one may define themselves as middle class if they needed to go to college to obtain their job, despite having a lower income than a blue-collar worker. Another person may believe that since he makes $100,000 a year (regardless of his job *status*), he is middle class. Most people define middle class in terms of income *and* values (such as education and religion).

Class Culture

Sociologists studying class distinctions since the 1970s have found that social classes each have unique cultural traits. The phenomenon, referred to as class culture, has been shown to have a strong influence on the mundane lives of people. Class culture is thought to affect everything from the manner in which people raise their children, to how they initiate and maintain romantic relationships, to the color in which they paint their houses. The overall tendency of individuals to associate mostly with those of equal standing as themselves has strengthened class differences. Because individuals' social networks tend to be within their own class, they acculturate to, or learn the values and behaviors of, their own class. Due to class mobility, in some cases, individuals may also acculturate to the culture of another class when ascending or descending in the social order. Nonetheless, the impact of class culture on the social hierarchy is significant.

Debates over the Existence and Significance of U.S. Social Classes

According to the logic of the American Dream, American society is meritocratic and class is achievement based. In other words, one's membership in a particular social class is based on their educational and career accomplishments, and class distinctions, therefore, are not rigid. Many sociologists dispute the existence of such class mobility and point to the ways in which social class is inherited.

Social theorists who dispute the existence of social classes in the United States tend to argue that society is stratified along a continuous gradation, rather than into delineated categories. In other words, there is inequality in America, with some people attaining higher status and higher standards of living than others. There is no clear place to draw the line separating one status group from the next.

Income

Individual and household income remains one of the most prominent indicators of class status within the United States.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the relationship between income and class status

Key Points

- Personal income is an individual's total earnings from wages, investment earnings, and other sources, and the mostly widely cited data on personal income comes from the U.S. Census Bureau 's population surveys.
- Though individuals in a household may hold low prestige or low earning jobs, having multiple incomes can allow for upward class mobility as a household's wealth increases.
- According to the U.S. Census, men tend to have higher income than women, while Asians and whites earned more than African Americans and Hispanics.

Key Terms

- **U.S. Census Bureau**: The government agency that is responsible for the United States Census, which gathers national demographic and economic data.
- **income**: money one earns by working, or by capitalising off other people's work
- **Bureau of Economic Analysis**: The Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) is an agency in the United States Department of Commerce that measures important economic statistics, including the gross domestic product of the United States.
- **personal income**: All of an individual's monetary earnings, including salary, investment gains, inheritance, and any other gains.

Income in the United States is most commonly measured by U.S. Census Bureau in terms of either household or individual income and remains one of the most prominent indicators of

class status. Income is not one of its causes. In other words, income does not determine the status of an individual or household but rather reflects that status. Some say that income and prestige are the incentives provided by society in order to fill needed positions with the most qualified and motivated personnel possible.

Personal income is an individual's total earnings from wages, investment interest, and other sources. In the United States, the most widely cited personal income statistics are the Bureau of Economic Analysis's personal income and the Census Bureau's per capita money income. The Census Bureau also produces alternative estimates of income and poverty based on broadened definitions of income that include many components that are not included in money income. Estimates are available by demographic characteristics of householders and by the composition of households. According to the US Census, men tend to have higher income than women, while Asians and whites earned more than African Americans and Hispanics.

The combination of two or more incomes allows for households to increase their income substantially without moving higher on the occupational ladder or attaining higher educational degrees. Thus, it is important to remember that the favorable economic position of households in the top two quintiles is in some cases, the result of combined income, rather than the high status of a single worker.



Working class: A monument to the working and supporting classes along Market Street in the heart of San Francisco's Financial District, home to tens-of-thousands of professional upper class and managerial middle class workers.

Wealth

Wealth is commonly measured in terms of net worth, which is the sum of all assets, including home equity, minus all liabilities.

Learning Objectives

Define "wealth" and explain how it differs from "income"

Key Points

- The wealth — more specifically, the median net worth —of households in the United States varies with relation to race, education, geographic location, and gender.
- While income is often seen as a type of wealth in colloquial language use, wealth and income are different measures of economic prosperity.
- Assets are known as the raw materials of wealth, and they consist primarily of stocks and other financial and non-financial property, particularly homeownership, that allows individuals to increase their wealth.
- Home ownership is one of the main sources of wealth among families in the United States, but can be inaccessible to low income households due to high interest rates.

Key Terms

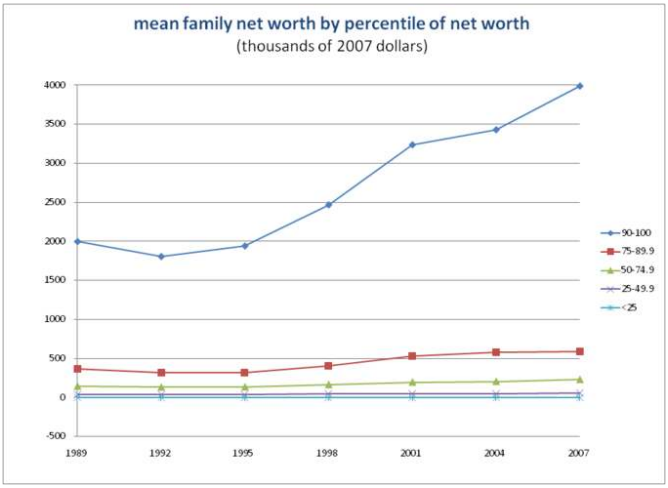
- **Assets**: Any property or object of value that one possesses, usually considered as applicable to the payment of one's debts.
- **interest rate**: The percentage of an amount of money charged for its use per some period of time (often a year).
- **net worth**: The total assets minus total liabilities of an individual or a company.

Wealth in the United States is commonly measured in terms of net worth, which is the sum of all assets, including home equity, minus all liabilities. The wealth—more specifically, the median net worth—of households in the United States varies with relation to race, education, geographic location, and gender. While income is often seen as a type of wealth in colloquial language use, wealth and income are two substantially different measures of economic prosperity. While there may be a high correlation between income and wealth, the relationship cannot be described as causal.

Assets are known as the raw materials of wealth, and they consist primarily of stocks and other financial and non-financial property, particularly home ownership, that allows individuals to increase their wealth. Home ownership is one of the main sources of wealth among families in the United States. However, there are racial differences in the acquisition of housing, and this inequality reproduces stratification in wealth across race. For white families, home ownership is worth, on

average, $60,000 more than it is worth for black families. A lower proportion of people of color than white people have access to the financial resources needed to purchase a home with the intention of letting its value appreciate over time to increase personal wealth. In many communities with large minority populations, high interest rates can cause roadblocks to home ownership.

Data on personal wealth in the United States shows that the inequality between the nation's richest and poorest citizens is vast. For example, just 400 Americans have the same wealth as half of all Americans combined. In 2007 more than 37 million U.S. citizens, or 12.5% of the population, were classified as poor by the Census Bureau. In 2007 the richest 1% of the American population owned 34.6% of the country's total wealth, and the next 19% owned 50.5%. Thus, the top 20% of Americans owned 85% of the country's wealth and the bottom 80% of the population owned 15%.



Mean Family Net Worth by Decile: This graph shows changes in the average net worth of families in each decile of the U.S. income hierarchy. In recent years, the average net worth of high-income families has grown significantly more than that of middle and lower-income families.

Education

In the U.S., educational attainment is strongly correlated to income and occupation, and therefore to social class.

Learning Objectives

Describe how higher educational attainment relates to social class

Key Points

- American society values post-secondary education very highly; it is one of the main determinants of social class, along with income, wealth, and occupation.
- Tertiary education (or "higher education") is required for many middle and upper class professions.
- Educational attainment is strongly related to income in the United States.

Key Terms

- **low-interest loans**: Money lent with only a small percentage of interest accruing as a charge, often made available to students.
- **scholarship**: Monetary aid given to a student to assist them in paying for an education.
- **tertiary education**: Higher education, including college education and vocational programs beyond high school.

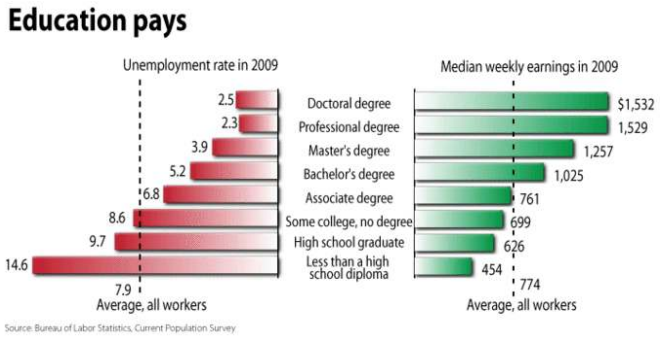
The educational attainment of the U.S. population parallels that of many other industrialized countries, with the vast majority of the population having completed secondary education and a rising number of college graduates outnumbering high school dropouts. As a whole, the U.S. population is spending more years in formal educational programs. American society highly values post-secondary education, or education beyond high school; it is one of the main determinants of class and status in the U.S. In fact, the attainment of post-secondary and graduate degrees is often considered the most important feature distinguishing middle and upper middle class people from lower or working class people. In this regard, universities can be regarded as the gatekeepers of the professional middle class.

Many middle-class professions require post-secondary degrees, which are classified as tertiary education (or "higher education"). Tertiary education is rarely free, but the costs do vary widely; tuition at elite private colleges often exceeds $200,000 for a four-year program while public colleges and universities typically charge much less (for state residents). Many public institutions, such as the University of California system, rival elite private schools in reputation and quality. Many colleges and universities offer scholarships to make higher education more affordable. Government and private lenders also offer low-interest loans. Still, by all accounts, the average cost of education is increasing.

In the U.S., income is strongly related to educational attainment. In 2005, the majority of people with doctorate and professional degrees were counted among the nation's top 15% of income earners. The income of people with bachelor's degrees was above the national median, while the median income of people with some college education remained near the national median. According to U.S. Census Bureau, 9% of persons aged 25 or older had a graduate degree, 27.9% had a bachelor's degree or more, and 53% had attended at least some college. According to the same census, 85% of the U.S. population had graduated from high school. These numbers indicate that the average

American does not have a college degree or higher. Having a degree is strongly linked to occupation, and therefore income; degree holders work in more highly skilled professions and earn more on average. Thus, having a bachelor's or graduate degree is a strong indicator of social class.

Income and educational levels differ by race, age, household configuration, and geography. Although the incomes of both men and women are associated with higher educational attainment (higher incomes for higher educational attainment), there remains an income gap between races and genders at each educational level.



Education Pays: This graphic, released by the US Department of Labor, shows the correlation between higher education, employment status, and income. The more education a person attains, the more likely they are to be employed in high paying occupations.

Occupation

In the United States, occupation and occupational prestige are primary indicators of social class, along with income, wealth, and education.

Learning Objectives

Explain how occupation may affect a person's social class

Key Points

- High status professional occupations, such as those of a doctor, lawyer, or CEO, require high educational attainment and are associated with the upper-middle and upper classes.
- Occupation often corresponds with income and educational attainment, which combined determine a person's social class. However, occupations with high occupational prestige can increase one's social class without a corresponding increase in indicators, such as income.
- To enter the professions, a person usually must hold a professional degree. Examples of professional degrees include JDs for law, MDs for medicine, and MBAs for business.

Key Terms

- **profession**: An occupation, trade, craft, or activity in which one has a professed expertise in a particular area, especially one requiring a high level of skill or training.
- **educational attainment**: Educational attainment is a term commonly used by statisticians to refer to the highest degree of education an individual has completed.
- **occupational prestige**: The rating of a job based on the social esteem or respect granted to an occupation.

In the United States, occupation is a primary indicator of social class, along with income, wealth, and education. Occupation is closely linked to Americans' identities, and is a salient marker of status. The importance of occupation in part results from the substantial amount of time that American's devote to their careers. The average work week in the United States for those employed full time is 42.9 hours long, and 30% of the population works more than 40 hours per week.

High educational attainment is generally a pre-requisite for entering high status professional occupations. Professional occupations, sometimes called "the professions" or "white collar jobs," include highly skilled positions, such as that of a lawyer, physician, and CEO. Having a professional occupation is associated with being a member of the upper-middle or upper class. To enter the professions, a person usually must hold a professional degree. Examples of professional degrees include JDs for law, MDs for medicine, and MBAs for business. Because the professions are considered highly skilled, require high educational attainment, and provide high incomes, they are associated with high social status.

Sociologists often talk about the status associated with various occupations in terms of occupational prestige. Occupational prestige refers to the esteem in which society holds a particular occupation. Occupational prestige is one way in which occupation may affect a person's social class independent of income and educational attainment. While high status occupations often reap high incomes and require significant education, in some cases these three variables are not linked. For example, being a university professor has high status and requires high educational attainment, but does not always result in high income. Its status depends upon the high esteem in which professors are held. In large part because of high occupational prestige, university professors are generally considered members of the upper-middle class. Conversely, funeral directors generally have high incomes and often high educational attainment. Being a funeral director is not a high status job, however, because Americans do not tend to hold the occupation in high esteem it has low occupational prestige. Funeral directors are, therefore, often considered members of

the middle class. As illustrated by this example, occupations with high prestige can raise one's social class even without improving one's economic status.



Occupation: The social class associated with a particular occupation can change over time as the esteem in which the occupation is held changes. In the late-nineteenth century, at the time of this painting, doctors were not members of the upper class. As the occupation has come to require increased education and to depend upon increasing technological expertise, the occupation's prestige has risen. Doctors are now commonly considered members of the upper-middle or upper class.

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9.3: The Class Structure in the U.S.

Class Structure in the U.S.

American society is stratified into social classes based on wealth, income, educational attainment, occupation, and social networks.

Learning Objectives

Discuss America's class structure and its relation to the concept of the "American Dream"

Key Points

- There are competing models for thinking about social classes in the U.S. — most Americans recognize a three-tier structure that includes the upper, middle, and lower classes, but variations delineate an upper-middle class and a working class.
- High income earners likely are substantially educated, have high- status occupations, and maintain powerful social networks.
- According to the "American Dream," American society is meritocratic and class is achievement-based. In other words, one's membership in a particular social class is based on educational and career accomplishments.

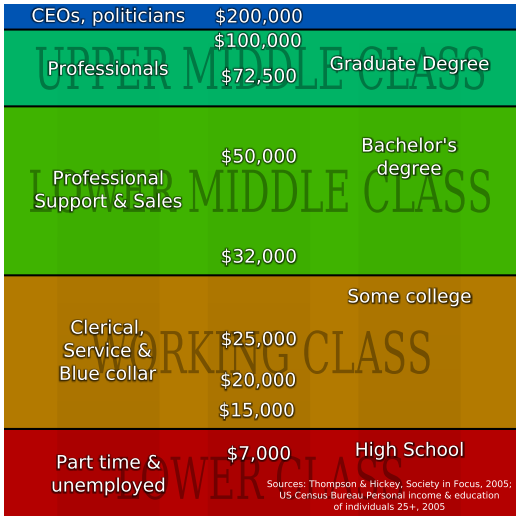
Key Terms

- **social network**: The web of a person's social, family, and business contacts, who provide material and social resources and opportunities.
- **The American Dream**: The belief that with hard work, courage, and determination, anyone can prosper and achieve success.
- **Corporate Elite**: A class of high-salaried stockholders, such as corporate CEOs, who do not necessarily have inherited privilege but have achieved high status through their careers.

Most social scientists in the U.S. agree that society is stratified into social classes. Social classes are hierarchical groupings of individuals that are usually based on wealth, educational attainment, occupation, income, or membership in a subculture or social network. Social class in the United States is a controversial issue, having many competing definitions, models, and even disagreements over its very existence. Many Americans recognize a simple three-tier model that includes the upper class, the middle class, and the lower or working class. Some social scientists have proposed more complex models that may include as many as a dozen class levels. Meanwhile, some scholars deny the very existence of discrete social classes in American society. In spite of debate, most social scientists do agree that in the U.S. people are hierarchically ranked in a social class structure.

Models of U.S. Social Classes

A team of sociologists recently posited that there are six social classes in America. In this model, the upper class (3% of the population) is divided into upper-upper class (1% of the U.S. population, earning hundreds of millions to billions per year) and the lower-upper class (2%, earning millions per year). The middle class (40%) is divided into upper-middle class (14%, earning $76,000 or more per year) and the lower-middle class (26%, earning $46,000 to $75,000 per year). The working class (30%) earns $19,000 to $45,000 per year. The lower class (27%) is divided into working poor (13%, earning $9000 to 18,000 per year) and underclass (14%, earning under $9000 per year). This model has gained traction as a tool for thinking about social classes in America, but it does not fully account for variations in status based on non-economic factors, such as education and occupational prestige. This critique is somewhat mitigated by the fact that income is often closely aligned with other indicators of status; for example, those with high incomes likely have substantial education, high status occupations, and powerful social networks.



United States Social Classes: While social scientists offer competing models of class structure, most agree that society is stratified by occupation, income, and educational attainment.

A commonly used model for thinking about social classes in the U.S. attributes the following general characteristics to each tier: the upper class has vast accumulated wealth and significant control over corporations and political institutions, and their privilege is usually inherited; the corporate elite consists of high-salaried stockholders, such as corporate CEOs, who did not necessarily inherit privilege but have achieved high status through their careers; the upper-middle class consists of highly

educated salaried professionals whose occupations are held in high esteem, such as lawyers, engineers, and professors; the middle class (the most vaguely defined and largest social class) is generally thought to include people in mid-level managerial positions or relatively low status professional positions, such as high school teachers and small business owners; the working class generally refers to those without college degrees who do low level service work, such as working as a sales clerk or housekeeper, and includes most people whose incomes fall below the poverty line. In the above outline of social class, status clearly depends not only on income, but also occupational prestige and educational attainment.

Debates over the Existence and Significance of U.S. Social Classes

According to the "American Dream," American society is meritocratic and class is achievement-based. In other words, membership in a particular social class is based on educational and career accomplishments. Many sociologists dispute the existence of such class mobility and point to the ways in which social class is inherited. For example, a son or daughter of a wealthy individual may carry a higher status and different cultural connotations than a member of the nouveau riche ("new money"). Likewise, being born into a particular social class may confer advantages or disadvantages that increase the likelihood that an adult will remain in the social class into which they were born.

Social theorists who dispute the existence of social classes in the U.S. tend to argue that society is stratified along a continuous gradation, rather than into delineated categories. In other words, there is inequality in America, with some people attaining higher status and higher standards of living than others. But there is no clear place to draw a line separating one status group from the next. Whether one ascribes to the view that classes are discrete groups or levels along a continuum, it is important to remember that all social classes in the United States, except the upper class, consist of tens of millions of people. Thus social classes form social groups so large that they feature considerable internal diversity and any statement regarding a given social class' culture should be seen as a broad generalization.

The Upper Class

The American upper class is the highest socioeconomic bracket in the social hierarchy and is defined by its members' great wealth and power.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the most important characteristics of the upper class in the U.S.

Key Points

- Members of the upper class accumulate wealth through investments and capital gains, rather than through annual salaries.
- Households with net worths of $1 million or more may be identified as members of the upper-most socioeconomic demographic, depending on the class model used.
- Sociologist Leonard Beeghley asserts that all households with a net worth of $1 million or more are considered "rich. " He divides the rich into two sub- groups: the rich and the super-rich.

Key Terms

- **investment**: The expenditure of capital in expectation of deriving income or profit from its use.
- **capital gain**: An increase in the value of a capital asset, such as stock or real estate.

The American upper class refers to the "top layer," or highest socioeconomic bracket, of society in the United States. This social class is most commonly described as those with great wealth and power, and may also be referred to as the capitalist class, or simply as "the rich. " People in this class commonly have immense influence in the nation's political and economic institutions as well as in the media.

Many politicians, heirs to fortunes, top business executives such as CEOs, successful venture capitalists, and celebrities are considered members of the upper class. Some prominent and high-rung professionals may also be included if they attain great influence and wealth. The main distinguishing feature of this class is their source of income. While the vast majority of people and households derive their income from salaries, those in the upper class derive their income primarily from investments and capital gains.

Households with a net worth of $1 million or more may be identified as members of the upper-most socioeconomic demographic, depending on the class model used. While most contemporary sociologists estimate that only 1% of households are members of the upper class, sociologist Leonard Beeghley asserts that all households with a net worth of $1 million or more are considered "rich. " He divides the rich into two sub-groups: the rich and the super-rich. The rich constitute roughly 5% of U.S. households and their wealth is largely in the form of home equity. Other contemporary sociologists, such as Dennis Gilbert, argue that this group is not part of the upper class but rather part of the upper middle class, as its standard of living is largely derived from occupation-generated income and its

affluence falls far short of that attained by the top percentile. The super-rich, according to Beeghley, are those able to live off their wealth without depending on occupation-derived income. This demographic constitutes roughly 0.9% of American households. Beeghley's definition of the super-rich is congruent with the definition of upper class employed by most other sociologists. The top.01% of the population, with an annual income of $9.5 million or more, received 5% of the income of the United States in 2007. These 15,000 families have been characterized as the "richest of the rich. "

The Upper Middle Class

The upper-middle class refers to people within the middle class that have high educational attainment, high salaries, and high status jobs.

Learning Objectives

Identify the central characteristics of the upper-middle class in the U.S.

Key Points

- Members of the upper-middle class have substantially less wealth and prestige than the upper class, but a higher standard of living than the lower-middle class or working class.
- The U.S. upper-middle class consists mostly of white-collar professionals who have a high degree of autonomy in their work. The most common professions of the upper-middle class tend to center on conceptualizing, consulting, and instruction.
- In addition to having autonomy in their work, above-average incomes, and advanced educations, the upper middle class also tends to be powerful; members are influential in setting trends and shaping public opinion.

Key Terms

- **educational attainment**: Educational attainment is a term commonly used by statisticians to refer to the highest degree of education an individual has completed.
- **salaried professionals**: White-collar employees whose work is largely self-directed and is compensated with an annual salary, rather than an hourly wage.

Sociologists use the term "upper-middle class" to refer to the social group consisting of higher-status members of the middle class. This is in contrast to the term "lower-middle class," which is used for the group at the opposite end of the middle class stratum, and to the broader term "middle class. " There is considerable debate as to how to define the upper-middle class. According to the rubric laid out by sociologist Max Weber, the upper-middle class consists of well-educated professionals with graduate degrees and comfortable incomes.

In 1951, sociologist C. Wright Mills conducted one of first major studies of the middle class in America. According to his definition, the middle class consists of an upper-middle class, made up of professionals distinguished by exceptionally high educational attainment and high economic security; and a lower-middle class, consisting of semi-professionals. While the groups overlap, differences between those at the center of both groups are considerable.

Among modern sociologists, the American upper-middle class is defined using income, education, and occupation as primary indicators. There is some debate over what exactly the term "upper-middle class" means, but in academic models, the term generally applies to highly educated, salaried professionals whose work is largely self-directed. The U.S. upper-middle class consists mostly of white-collar professionals who have a high degree of autonomy in their work. The most common professions of the upper-middle class tend to center on conceptualizing, consulting, and instruction. They include such occupations as lawyer, physician, dentist, engineer, professor, architect, civil service executive, and civilian contractor. Many members of the upper-middle class have graduate degrees, such as law, business, or medical degrees, which are often required for professional occupations. Educational attainment is a distinguishing feature of the upper-middle class. Additionally, household incomes in the upper-middle class commonly exceed $100,000, with some smaller one-income earners earning incomes in the high 5-figure range.

In addition to autonomy in their work, above-average incomes, and advanced educations, the upper middle class also tends to be powerful; members are influential in setting trends and shaping public opinion. Moreover, members of the upper-middle class are generally more economically secure than their lower-middle class counterparts. Holding advanced degrees and high status in corporations and institutions tends to insulate the upper-middle class from economic downturns. Members of this class are likely to be in the top income quintile, or the top 20% of the economic hierarchy.



University Campus: Advanced education is one of the most distinguishing features of the upper-middle class.

The Lower Middle Class

The lower-middle class are those with some education and comfortable salaries, but with socioeconomic statuses below the upper-middle class.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the differences between the lower and upper-middle class

Key Points

- The lower-middle class, also sometimes simply referred to as "middle class," includes roughly one third of U.S. households, and is thought to be growing.
- Individuals in the lower-middle class tend to hold low status professional or white collar jobs, such as school teacher, nurse, or paralegal.
- The lower-middle class is among the largest social classes, rivaled only by the working class, and it is thought to be growing.

Key Terms

- **college education**: Education beyond secondary school, usually culminating in a bachelor's degree and serving as a necessary credential for middle class occupations.
- **White Collar**: Describes a person who performs professional, managerial, or administrative work for a salary.
- **professional**: A person whose occupation is highly skilled, salaried, and requires high educational attainment.

In developed nations across the world, the lower-middle class is a sub-division of the middle class that refers to households and individuals who are somewhat educated and usually stably employed, but who have not attained the education, occupational prestige, or income of the upper-middle class.

In American society, the middle class is often divided into the lower-middle class and upper-middle class. The lower-middle class (also sometimes simply referred to as the middle class) consists of roughly one third of households—it is roughly twice as large as the upper-middle and upper classes. Lower-middle class individuals commonly have some college education or a bachelor's degree and earn a comfortable living. The lower-middle class is among the largest social classes, rivaled only by the working class, and it is thought to be growing.

Individuals in the lower-middle class tend to hold low status professional or white collar jobs, such as school teacher, nurse, or paralegal. These types of occupations usually require some education but generally do not require a graduate degree. Lower-middle class occupations usually provide comfortable salaries, but put individuals beneath the top third of incomes.



Elementary School Teacher: Primary school teachers are generally considered lower-middle class. They usually hold college degrees, but often do not hold graduate degrees; they make comfortable incomes, but have low accumulated wealth; their work is largely self-directed, but is not high status.

According to some class models the lower middle class is located roughly between the 52nd and 84th percentile of society. In terms of personal income distribution in 2005, that would mean gross annual personal incomes from about $32,500 to $60,000. Since 42% of all households had two income earners, with the majority of those in the top 40% of gross income, household income figures would be significantly higher, ranging from roughly $50,000 to $100,000 annually. In terms of educational attainment, 27% of persons had a bachelor's degree or higher. If the upper middle and upper class combined are to constitute 16% of the population, it becomes clear that some of those in the lower middle class boast college degrees or some college education.

The Working Class

The working class consists of individuals and households with low educational attainment, low status occupations, and below average incomes.

Learning Objectives

Explain how differences in class culture may affect working-class students who enter the post-secondary education system

Key Points

- Members of the working class usually have a high school diploma or some college education, and may work in low-skilled occupations like retail sales or manual labor.
- Due to differences between middle and working-class cultures, working-class college students may face "culture shock" upon entering the post-secondary education system, with its "middle class" culture.
- Working classes are mainly found in industrialized economies and in the urban areas of non-industrialized economies.

Key Terms

- **working class**: The social class of those who perform physical or low-skilled work for a living, as opposed to the professional or middle class, the upper class, or the upper middle class.
- **Blue Collar**: Describes working-class occupations, especially those involving manual labor.
- **manual labor**: Any work done by hand; usually implying it is unskilled or physically demanding.

Working class is a term used in the social sciences and in ordinary conversation to describe those employed in lower tier jobs (as measured by skill, education, and income), often extending to those who are unemployed or otherwise earning below-average incomes. Working classes are mainly found in industrialized economies and in the urban areas of non-industrialized economies.

In the United States, the parameters of the working class remain vaguely defined and are contentious. Since many members of the working class, as defined by academic models, are often identified in the vernacular as being middle class, there is considerable ambiguity over the term's meaning. In the class models devised by sociologists, the working class comprises between 30 percent and 35 percent of the population, roughly the same percentage as the lower middle class. Those in the working class are commonly employed in low-skilled occupations, including clerical and retail positions and blue collar or manual labor occupations. Low-level, white-collar employees are sometimes included in this class, such as secretaries and call center employees.

Education, for example, can pose an especially intransigent barrier in the United States. Members of the working class commonly have only a high school diploma, although some may have minimal college courses to their credit as well. Due to differences between middle and working-class cultures, working-class college students may face "culture shock" upon entering the post-secondary education system, with its "middle class" culture. Research showing that working-class students are taught to value obedience over leadership and creativity can partially account for the difficulties that many working-class individuals face upon entering colleges and universities.



Battle Strike: Class War: Workers battle with the police during the Minneapolis Teamsters Strike of 1934.

The Lower Class

The lower class consists of those at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy who have low education, low income, and low status jobs.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between the terms "lower class," "working poor," and "underclass"

Key Points

- Low educational attainment and disabilities are two of the main reasons individuals can either struggle to find work or fall into the lower class.
- Generally, the term lower class describes individuals working easily-filled employment positions. These positions typically have little prestige or economic compensation, and do not require workers to have a high school education.
- Lower class households are at the greatest risk of falling below the poverty line if a job holder suddenly becomes

unemployed.

Key Terms

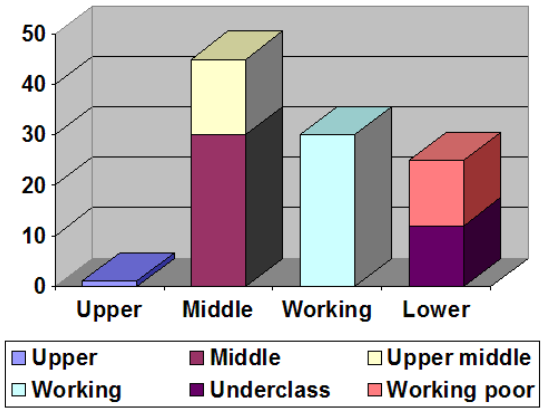
- **Poverty line**: This is the threshold of poverty used by the U.S. Census Bureau to define the minimum income one must earn to meet basic material needs.
- **public assistance**: the various forms of material aid provided by the government to those who are in need
- **underclass**: the poorest class of people in a given society
- **manual labor**: Any work done by hand; usually implying it is unskilled or physically demanding.

Defining the Lower Class

The lower class in the United States refers to individuals who are at, or near, the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy. As with all social classes in the United States, the lower class is loosely defined, and its boundaries and definitions are subject to debate. When used by social scientists, the lower class is typically defined as service employees, low-level manual laborers, and the unemployed. Those who are employed in lower class occupations are often colloquially referred to as the working poor. Those who do not participate in the labor force, and who rely on public assistance, such as food stamps and welfare checks, as their main source of income, are commonly identified as members of the underclass, or, colloquially, the poor. Generally, lower class individuals work easily-filled employment positions that have little prestige or economic compensation. These individuals often lack a high school education.

Unemployment and the Poverty Line

A number of things can cause an individual to become unemployed. Two of the most common causes are low educational attainment and disabilities, the latter of which includes both physical and mental ailments that preclude educational or occupational success. The poverty line is defined as the income level at which an individual becomes eligible for public assistance. While only about 12% of households fall below the poverty threshold at one point in time, the total percentage of households that will, at some point during the course of a single year, fall below the poverty line, is much higher. Many such households waver above and below the line throughout a single year. Lower class households are at the greatest risk of falling below this poverty line, particularly if a job holder becomes unemployed. For all of these reasons, lower class households are the most economically vulnerable in the United States.



Gilbert Model: This is a model of the socio-economic stratification of American society, as outlined by Dennis Gilbert.

Income Distribution

The United States has a high level of income inequality, with a wide gap between the top and bottom brackets of earners.

Learning Objectives

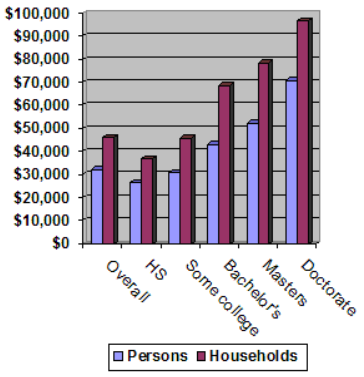
Explain the development of income distribution in the US since the 1970's and what is meant by the "Great Divergence"

Key Points

- Since the 1970s, inequality has increased dramatically in the United States.
- Different groups get different compensation for the same work. The discrepancy in wages between males and females is called the " gender wage gap," and the discrepancy between whites and minorities is called the "racial wage gap".
- While earnings from capital and investment are still a significant cause of inequality, income is increasingly segregated by occupation as well. Of earners, 60% in the top 0.1% are executives, managers, supervisors, and financial professionals.

Key Terms

- **Race Wage Gap**: The difference in earnings between racial or ethnic groups.
- **Gender Wage Gap**: The difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings.
- **great divergence**: Refers to the growth of economic inequality in America since the 1970s.



Income Distribution by Education: This graph illustrates the unequal distribution of income between groups with different levels of educational attainment. Education is an indicator of class position, meaning that unequal distribution of income by education points to inequality between the classes.

Unequal distribution of income between genders, races, and the population, in general, in the United States has been the frequent subject of study by scholars and institutions. Inequality between male and female workers, called the "gender wage gap," has decreased considerably over the last several decades. During the same time, inequality between black and white Americans, sometimes called the "race wage gap," has stagnated, not improving but not getting worse. Nevertheless, data from a number of sources indicate that overall income inequality in the United States has grown significantly since the late 1970s, widening the gap between the country's rich and poor.

A number of studies by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Congressional Budget Office (CBO), and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) have found that the distribution of income in the United States has become increasingly unequal since the 1970s. Economist Paul Krugman and journalist Timothy Noah have referred to this trend as the "Great Divergence." Since the 1970s, income inequality has grown almost continuously, with the exceptions being during the economic recessions in 1990-91, 2001, and 2007. The Great Divergence differs in some ways from the pre-Depression era inequality observed in the early 1900s (the last period of great inequality). Before 1937, a larger share of top earners' income came from capital (interest, dividends, income from rent, capital gains). Post-1970, a higher proportion of the income of high-income taxpayers comes predominantly from employment compensation–60% of earners in the top 0.1% are executives, managers, supervisors, and financial professionals, and the five most common professions among the top 1% of earners are managers, physicians, administrators, lawyers, and financial specialists. Still, much of the richest Americans' accumulated wealth is in the form of stocks and real estate.

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9.4: Social Mobility

Social Mobility

Social mobility is the movement of an individual or group from one social position to another over time.

Learning Objectives

Assess how different factors facilitate social mobility

Key Points

- A person's ability to move between social positions depends upon their economic, cultural, human, and social capital.
- The attributes needed to move up or down the social hierarchy are particular to each society; some countries value economic gain, for example, while others prioritize religious status.
- Social mobility typically refers to vertical mobility, movement of individuals or groups up or down from one socio-economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marriage.

Key Terms

- **Relative Social Mobility**: A measure of a person's upward or downward movement in the social hierarchy compared to the movement of other members of their inherited social class.
- **meritocratic**: Used to describe a type of society where wealth, income, and social status are assigned through competition.
- **social mobility**: the degree to which, in a given society, an individual's, family's, or group's social status can change throughout the course of their life through a system of social hierarchy or stratification
- **Intergenerational Mobility**: Refers to the phenomenon whereby a child attains higher or lower status than their parents.

Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups in social positions over time. Most commonly, social mobility refers to the change in wealth and social status of individuals or families. However, it may also refer to changes in health status, literacy rate, education, or other variables among groups, such as classes, ethnic groups, or countries.

Social mobility typically refers to vertical mobility, movement of individuals or groups up or down from one socio-economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marriage. Nonetheless, social mobility can also refer to horizontal mobility, movement from one position to another within the same social level, as when someone changes between two equally prestigious occupations.

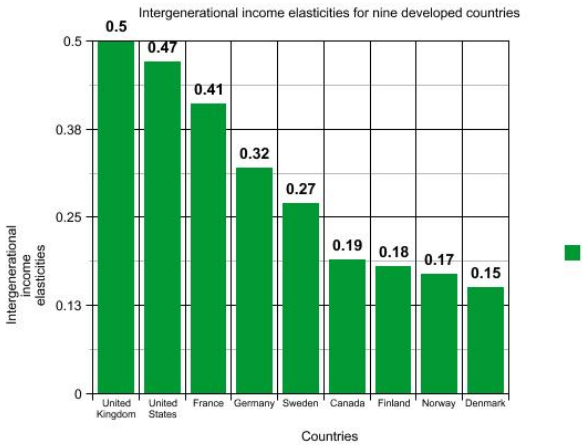
In some cases, social mobility is intergenerational, as when children attain a higher or lower status than their parents held. Other times, social mobility is intra-generational, meaning that a person changes status within their lifetime. A high level of intergenerational mobility is often considered praiseworthy and can be seen as a sign of equality of opportunity in a society.

A distinction can also be drawn between absolute social mobility, which refers to the total observed movement of people between classes, and relative social mobility, which is an estimate of the chance of upward or downward movement of a member of one social class in comparison with a member from another class. An example of absolute social movement is when a region's economic development provides quality education to a social group that previously did not have access to education, thus raising the group's literacy level and socioeconomic status. Relative social mobility might refer to the opportunities presented to a middle class child born in a particular area of the United States, who might be predicted to attain a college level education and a maximum income of $80,000, for example.

Social mobility can be enabled to varying extents by economic capital, cultural capital, human capital, and social capital. Economic capital includes a person's financial and material resources, such as income and accumulated wealth. Cultural capital includes resources ranging from holding a graduate degree to having a grasp of a group's customs and rituals, both of which may confer an advantage in job markets and social exchanges. Human capital refers to such individual traits as competence and work ethic, which may enable increased educational or professional attainment. Social capital includes the advantages conferred by one's social network, such as access to professional opportunities and insider knowledge. These types of capital facilitate mobility by providing access to opportunities and the tools to acquire wealth and status.

Societies present different opportunities for mobility depending on their systems of value. For example, Western capitalist countries are generally meritocratic. In such countries, social standing is based on such personal attributes as educational attainment, income, and occupational prestige. Thus, the degree of mobility in Western capitalist states depends on the extent to which individuals have access to educational and economic opportunity. By contrast, in countries where religious devotion is valued over economic standing, mobility may depend upon individuals' access to religious rituals and shows of piety. In

different countries or regions, the extent to which individuals have social mobility depends upon different factors.



Source: Economic Mobility Project, Corak, Miles. 2006. "Do Poor Children Become Poor Adults? Lessons from a Cross Country Comparison of Generational Earnings Mobility." Research on Economic Inequality, 13 no. 1: 143-188.

Intergenerational Mobility in a Sample of Developed Countries: This graph shows the results of a study on how much intergenerational social mobility there is in a sample of developed countries. Countries with higher intergenerational income elasticity have lower social mobility — in countries on the left of the graph, children are likely to attain the same social status as their parents.

Growing Gap Between Rich and Poor

Economic inequality (also known as the gap between rich and poor) consists of disparities in the distribution of wealth and income.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the causes of economic inequality

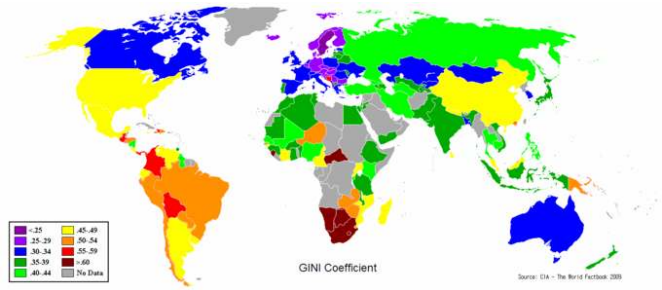
Key Points

- Economic inequality refers to inequality among individuals and groups within a society, but can also refer to inequality among countries.
- Inequality is most often measured using the Gini coefficient, a statistic used to demonstrate the dispersion of wealth in a group.
- Both the capitalist market and government interventions can increase or decrease the level of inequality in a society.

Key Terms

- **supply and demand**: An economic model of price determination in a market based on the relative scarcity or abundance of goods and services.
- **gini coefficient**: A measure of the inequality of a statistical distribution, ranging from zero (total equality) to one (maximal inequality), used in various disciplines but especially in economics to compare incomes or wealth.
- **Capitalist Market**: Refers to an economic system in which supply and demand determines the cost of goods and wages for services.

Economic inequality (also known as the gap between rich and poor, income inequality, wealth disparity, or wealth and income differences) consists of disparities in the distribution of wealth (accumulated assets) and income. The term typically refers to inequality among individuals and groups within a society, but can also refer to inequality among countries. The issue of economic inequality is related to the ideas of equity: equality of outcome and equality of opportunity. There are various numerical indices for measuring economic inequality, but the most commonly used measure for the purposes of comparison is the Gini coefficient (also known as the Gini index or Gini ratio for Italian statistician and sociologist Corrado Gini). The Gini coefficient is a statistical measure of the dispersion of wealth or income. A Gini coefficient of zero indicates that there is perfect equality—assets are equally divided between all people in the group. A Gini coefficient of one indicates that all of a group's wealth is held by one individual. Most countries fall toward the middle of this range.



Map of Global Gini Coefficients: Using Gini coefficients, this map illustrates the extent to which each country in the world has internal inequality, or a gap between its richest and poorest citizens.

There are many reasons for economic inequality within societies, and they are often interrelated. Acknowledged factors that impact economic inequality include, but are not limited to:

- Inequality in wages and salaries;
- The income gap between highly skilled workers and low-skilled or no-skills workers;
- Wealth concentration in the hands of a few individuals or institutions;
- Labor markets;
- Globalization;
- Technological changes;
- Policy reforms;
- Taxes;
- Education;
- Computerization and growing technology;
- Racism;

- Gender;
- Culture;
- Innate ability

A major cause of economic inequality within modern economies is the determination of wages by the capitalist market. In the capitalist market, the wages for jobs are set by supply and demand. If there are many workers willing to do a job for a great amount of time, there is a high supply of labor for that job. If few people need that job done, there is low demand for that type of labor. When there is high supply and low demand for a job, it results in a low wage. Conversely, if there is low supply and high demand (as with particular highly skilled jobs), it will result in a high wage. The gap in wages produces inequality between different types of workers.

Apart from market-driven factors that affect wage inequality, government sponsored initiatives can also increase or decrease inequality. Social scientists and policy makers debate the relative merits and effectiveness of each approach to regulating inequality. Typical government initiatives to reduce economic inequality include:

- Public education: Increasing the supply of skilled labor and reducing income inequality due to education differentials.
- Progressive taxation: The rich are taxed proportionally more than the poor, reducing the amount of income inequality in society.
- Minimum wage legislation: Raising the income of the poorest workers
- Nationalization or subsidization of products: Providing goods and services that everyone needs cheaply or freely (such as food, healthcare, and housing), governments can effectively raise the purchasing power of the poorer members of society.

Open vs. Closed Stratification Systems

In an open class system, people are ranked by achieved status, whereas in a closed class system, people are ranked by ascribed status.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between open and closed stratification systems

Key Points

- Social stratification describes the socioeconomic levels of a society as “layers,” with the wealthiest and most powerful citizens being at the top.
- An achievement-based economic system with social mobility and relations between classes is known as an open class system.
- By contrast, people in a closed class system have been confined to their ancestral occupations, and their social status has mostly been prescribed by birth. Most closed class systems are found in less industrialized countries.
- Ascribed status is the social position one is born into and personal characteristics beyond one’s control, such as race and gender. Achieved status is one’s social standing that depends on personal accomplishments.

Key Terms

- **achieved status**: A social status of a person that is acquired, such as being an Olympic athlete, being a criminal, or being a college professor.
- **structural mobility**: Opportunity for movement in social class that is attributable to changes in the social structure of a society, rather than to changes in an individual.
- **ascribed status**: The social status of a person that is given from birth or assumed involuntarily later in life.

Social stratification describes the socioeconomic levels of a society as “layers,” with the wealthiest and most powerful citizens being at the top. Typically, the top layer of society tends to have lots of property, as well as prestige and social influence.

Sociologists who study stratification have identified open class systems and compared them to closed class systems. The difference between these types of class systems are their structural mobility. In a class system that has high structural mobility, it’s easy to move around between social classes based on the way the society is structured, regardless of your individual achievements.

In an open class system, the hierarchical social status of a person is achieved through their effort. These types of class systems are achievement-based economic system with social mobility and relations between classes. Status based on family background, ethnicity, gender, and religion, which is also known as “ascribed status,” is less important. In an open class system, there is no distinct line between the classes, and there is a wide range of positions within each status level. Core industrial nations seem to have more of an ideal open class system than less industrialized countries, in which there are fewer opportunities for economic advancement.



Steve Jobs' Childhood Home: The United States exhibits an open stratification system, where individuals can move between social statuses based on achievement. Pictured is the middle class home of Steve Jobs' parents, where he founded the technology company that eventually made him one of the world's wealthiest people.

Compared with industrialized open systems, pre-industrial societies have mostly been found to be closed class systems where there is low social mobility. People in such societies may be confined to their ancestral occupations, and their social status is largely prescribed by status at birth. A society in which traditional or religious caste systems dominate, opportunity for social mobility is unlikely.

Achieved status is a position gained based on merit or achievement (used in an open system). An open system describes a society with mobility between different social classes. Individuals can move up or down in the social rankings; this is unlike closed systems, where individuals are set in one social position for life despite their achievements. Ascribed status is based on who a person is, not what they can do. In closed class systems, people tend to be ranked by ascribed status. When ascribed status is used to determine social position, fixed roles develop, such as those of lord and serf in feudal Europe. Roles are assigned at birth, and there is little change over one's lifetime. Social mobility is much more frequent in countries that use achievement as the basis for status.



The French Estates: This fifteenth-century woodcutting illustrates the closed stratification system of the three estates of the French Ancien Régime. People were divided into clergy, nobility, and commoners. These categories were discrete, and there was little interaction or mobility between them.

Types of Social Mobility

Social mobility can be vertical and horizontal, absolute and relative, and between generations.

Learning Objectives

Describe several types of social mobility

Key Points

- Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups in social position over time.
- Social mobility may refer to classes, ethnic groups, or entire nations, and may measure health status, literacy, or education; however, more commonly it refers to individuals or families, and to their change in income.
- Movement up or down the social hierarchy is called vertical social mobility.
- Movement between two equally ranked social positions is called horizontal mobility.
- Intra-generational mobility ("within" a generation) is defined as change in social status over a single lifetime.

- Absolute mobility measures whether (and by how much) living standards in a society have increased; this is often measured by what percentage of people have higher incomes than their parents.
- Relative mobility refers to how likely children are to move from their parents' place in the social hierarchy.

Key Terms

- **meritocratic**: Used to describe a type of society where wealth, income, and social status are assigned through competition.
- **vertical mobility**: Movement of individuals or groups up or down from one socioeconomic level to another, often by changing jobs or through marriage.
- **intra-generational mobility**: Change in social status over a single lifetime.

Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups in social position over time. Most commonly, social mobility refers to the change in wealth and social status of individuals or families. However, it may also refer to changes in health status, literacy rate, education, or other variables among groups such as classes, ethnic groups, or countries.

Social mobility typically refers to vertical mobility, which is the movement of individuals or groups up or down from one socioeconomic level to another, often by changing jobs or through marriage. In some instances though, social mobility is used to refer to horizontal mobility, which is the movement from one position to another within the same social level, as when someone changes between two equally prestigious occupations.

Social mobility can be intergenerational, such as when children attain a higher or lower status than their parents held. Other times, social mobility is intra-generational, meaning that a person changes status within their lifetime. A high level of intergenerational mobility is often considered praiseworthy, and can be seen as a sign of equality of opportunity in a society.

A distinction can be drawn between absolute social mobility, which refers to the total observed movement of people between classes, and relative social mobility, which is an estimate of the chance of upward or downward movement of a member of one social class in comparison with a member from another class. An example of absolute social mobility is when a region's economic development provides education to a social group that previously did not have access to education, thus raising the group's literacy level and socioeconomic status. Relative social mobility might refer to the opportunities presented to a middle class child born in a particular area of the United States, who might be predicted to attain a college level education and a maximum income of $80,000, for example.

Social mobility can be enabled to varying extents by economic capital, cultural capital, human capital, and social capital. Economic capital includes a person's financial and material resources, such as income and accumulated wealth. Cultural capital includes resources ranging from holding a graduate degree to having a grasp of a group's customs and rituals, both of which may confer an advantage in job markets and social exchanges. Human capital refers to such individual traits as competence and work ethic, which may enable increased educational or professional attainment. Social capital includes the advantages conferred by one's social network, such as access to professional opportunities and insider knowledge. These types of capital facilitate mobility by providing access to opportunities and the tools to acquire wealth and status.

Each society presents different opportunities for mobility depending on its system of values. For example, Western capitalist countries are generally meritocratic. In these countries, social standing is based on such personal attributes as educational attainment, income, and occupational prestige. Thus, the degree of mobility in Western capitalist states depends on the extent to which individuals have access to educational and economic opportunity. By contrast, in countries where religious devotion is valued over economic standing, mobility may depend upon individuals' access to religious rituals and shows of piety. In different countries or regions, the extent to which individuals are socially mobile depends upon different factors.

Social Mobility in the U.S.

Strong social and economic mobility is considered part of American Dream, though there is relatively low social mobility in the U.S.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the "glass ceiling" and other factors lower social mobility in the United States

Key Points

- Socioeconomic mobility in the United States refers to the movement of Americans from one social class or economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marrying.
- The " glass ceiling " effect is the upper limit on the mobility of minorities, such as African-Americans and women, that prevents them from occupying more than a very small percentage of high status positions.
- For women, another explanation for the glass ceiling effect in the American work force is the job- family trade off.

Key Terms

- **The American Dream**: The belief that with hard work, courage, and determination, anyone can prosper and achieve success.
- **Socioeconomic Mobility**: The movement of Americans from one social class or economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marrying.
- **glass ceiling**: An unwritten, uncodified barrier to further promotion or progression for a member of a specific demographic group.

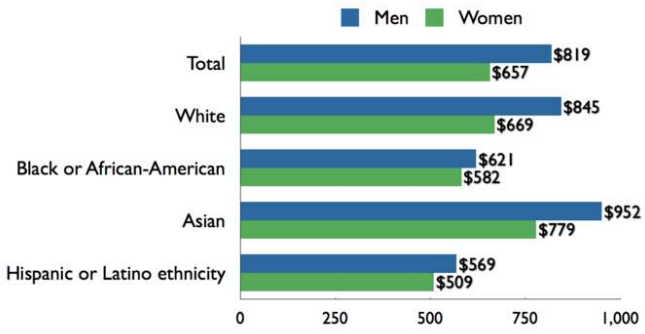
Socioeconomic mobility in the United States refers to the movement of Americans from one social class or economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marrying. This "vertical" mobility can be the change in socioeconomic status between parents and children ("inter-generational"), or over the course of a lifetime ("intra-generational"). It typically refers to "relative mobility"—the chance that an American's income or status will rise or fall compared to others in another income or status group; however, mobility can also be "absolute"—whether (and by how much) living standards in America have increased. The belief that there is significant social mobility in America, or in other words, that Americans can and do rise from humble origins to riches, is called the American Dream.

Researchers have found that in fact, there is relatively low social mobility in the United States. Explanations for this phenomenon include the following:

- The fact that affluent children have better access to superior schools in an economy where pay is higher for educated workers
- The low rate of unionization, which leads to lower wages among the least skilled workers
- Public health problems, like obesity and diabetes, which can limit education and employment
- The sheer size of the income gap between the rich and poor, which makes it harder to climb the proverbial income ladder because the rungs are far apart
- Poverty, since those with low income have significantly lower rates of mobility than middle and higher income individuals

Despite the increased presence of African Americans and women in the work force over the years, women and non-whites hold jobs with less rank, authority, opportunity for advancement, and pay than men and whites. The limit to women's and minorities' upward mobility is called the glass ceiling. The glass ceiling is thought to prevent women and minorities from occupying more than a very small percentage of top managerial positions. One reason for the persistence of the glass ceiling, even as explicitly discriminatory policies are eliminated, is the small proportion of high status individuals in the social networks of women and ethnic minorities. The more managers there are in an employee's immediate work environment, the higher the employee's chances of interacting and spending time with high status and high income employees. Consequently, the more likely these employees are to be drawn on for promotion.

For women, another explanation for the glass ceiling effect in the American work force is the job-family trade off. While both men and women feel that a conflict exists between work life and family life, women with children, particularly married women, are more likely to either temporarily leave the labor force or cut back on employment by using flex time, working part-time, or working only part of the year. Statistically, men have been willing to accept job conditions that women do not, such as working outside in extreme weather, working where you can become physically dirty on a regular basis, working extra hours, and other such undesirable conditions.



US Gender Pay Gap, by Race/Ethnicity: In the United States, white males have greater social mobility than women and racial/ethnic minorities, whose mobility is limited by the glass ceiling.

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9.5: The Impacts of Social Class

Consequences of Social Class

One's position in the the social class hierarchy has far-reaching effects on their health, family life, education, etc.

Learning Objectives

Describe how socioeconomic status (SES) relates to the distributiuon of social opportunities and resources

Key Points

- While sociologists debate exactly how social classes are divided, there is substantial evidence that socioeconomic status is tied to tangible advantages and outcomes.
- Social class in the United States is a controversial issue, with social scientists disagreeing over models, definitions, and even the basic question of whether or not distinct classes exist.
- Many Americans believe in a simple three-class model that includes the rich or upper class, the middle class, and the poor or working class.

Key Terms

- **hierarchy**: Any group of objects ranked so that everyone but the topmost is subordinate to a specified group above it.
- **socioeconomic**: Of or pertaining to social and economic factors.

In the United States, a person's social class has far-reaching consequences. Social class refers to the the grouping of individuals in a stratified hierarchy based on wealth, income, education, occupation, and social network (though other factors are sometimes considered). One's position in the social class hierarchy may impact, for example, health, family life, education, religious affiliation, political participation, and experience with the criminal justice system.

Social class in the United States is a controversial issue, with social scientists disagreeing over models, definitions, and even the basic question of whether or not distinct classes exist. Many Americans believe in a simple three-class model that includes the rich or upper class, the middle class, and the poor or working class. More complex models that have been proposed by social scientists describe as many as a dozen class levels. Regardless of which model of social classes used, it is clear that socioeconomic status (SES) is tied to particular opportunities and resources. Socioeconomic status refers to a person's position in the social hierarchy and is determined by their income, wealth, occupational prestige, and educational attainment.

While social class may be an amorphous and diffuse concept, with scholars disagreeing over its definition, tangible advantages are associated with high socioeconomic status. People in the highest SES bracket, generally referred to as the upper class, likely have better access to healthcare, marry people of higher social status, attend more prestigious schools, and are more influential in politics than people in the middle class or working class. People in the upper class are members of elite social networks, effectively meaning that they have access to people in powerful positions who have specialized knowledge. These social networks confer benefits ranging from advantages in seeking education and employment to leniency by police and the courts. Sociologists may dispute exactly how to model the distinctions between socioeconomic statuses, but the higher up the class hierarchy one is in America, the better health, educational, and professional outcomes one is likely to have.

Physical Health

Social class is a strong social determinant of health.

Learning Objectives

Describe how a low socioeconomic status (SES) can impact the health status of individuals

Key Points

- Social class is correlated to environmental hazards that increase one's risk of contracting a disease or sustaining an injury; low access to fresh produce, exercise facilities, and preventative health programs are all environmental hazards that negatively impact health outcomes.
- Health inequality refers to the unequal distribution of environmental hazards and access to health services between demographic groups, including social classes, as well as to the disparate health outcomes experienced by these groups.
- In addition to environmental hazards, lower socioeconomic classes have lower levels of health insurance than the upper class. Much of this disparity can be explained by the tendency for lower status occupations to not provide benefits to employees.

Key Terms

- **Environmental Hazards**: Risk factors related to social and economic conditions that may produce negative health outcomes, including pollution and distribution of grocery stores, for example.
- **health inequality**: The unequal distribution of environmental health hazards and access to health services

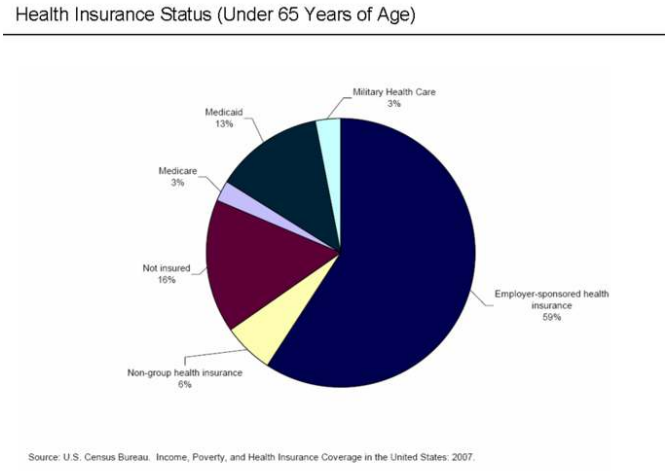
between demographic groups, including social classes.

- **social determinants of health**: The economic and social conditions that influence individual and group differences in health status.

A person's social class has a significant impact on their physical health, their ability to receive adequate medical care and nutrition, and their life expectancy. While gender and race play significant roles in explaining healthcare inequality in the United States, socioeconomic status (SES) is the greatest social determinant of an individual's health outcome. Social determinants of health are the economic and social conditions that influence individual and group differences in health status. Social determinants are environmental, meaning that they are risk factors found in one's living and working conditions (including the distribution of income, wealth, influence, and power), rather than individual factors (such as behavioral risk factors or genetics). Social determinants can be used to predict one's risk of contracting a disease or sustaining an injury, and can also indicate how vulnerable one is to the consequences of a disease or injury. Individuals of lower socioeconomic status have lower levels of overall health, less insurance coverage, and less access to adequate healthcare than those of higher SES.

Individuals with a low SES in the United States experience a wide array of health problems as a result of their economic position. They are unable to use healthcare as often as people of higher status and when they do, it is often of lower quality. Additionally, people with low SES tend to experience a much higher rate of health issues than those of high SES. Many social scientists hypothesize that the higher rate of illness among those with low SES can be attributed to environmental hazards. For example, poorer neighborhoods tend to have fewer grocery stores and more fast food chains than wealthier neighborhoods, increasing nutrition problems and the risk of conditions, such as heart disease. Similarly, poorer neighborhoods tend to have fewer recreational facilities and higher crime rates than wealthier ones, which decreases the feasibility of routine exercise.

In addition to having an increased level of illness, lower socioeconomic classes have lower levels of health insurance than the upper class. Much of this disparity can be explained by the tendency for middle and upper class people to work in professions that provide health insurance benefits to employees, while lower status occupations often do not provide benefits to employees. For many employees who do not have health insurance benefits through their job, the cost of insurance can be prohibitive. Without insurance, or with inadequate insurance, the cost of healthcare can be extremely high. Consequently, many uninsured or poorly insured individuals do not have access to preventative care or quality treatment. This group of people has higher rates of infant mortality, cancer, cardiovascular disease, and disabling physical injuries than are seen among the well insured.



Health Insurance Distribution (under 65 years): As seen in this graph, with insurance needed for most health services, access to healthcare is not evenly distributed among Americans. The largest group of insured Americans consists of middle and upper class employees who receive health insurance through employers. As of 2007, 16% of the population had no health insurance coverage and, thus, had greatly limited access to healthcare.

Health inequality refers to the unequal distribution of environmental health hazards and access to health services between demographic groups, including social classes. For example, poor and affluent urban communities in the United States are geographically close to each other and to hospitals. Still, the affluent communities are more likely to have access to fresh produce, recreational facilities for exercise, preventative healthcare programs, and routine medical visits. Consequently, affluent communities are likely to have better health outcomes than nearby impoverished ones. The role of socioeconomic status in determining access to healthcare results in heath inequality between the upper, middle, and lower or working classes, with the higher classes having more positive health outcomes.



Farmers Market: Farmers markets are visible sources of fresh produce and healthy foods. These markets are concentrated in middle to upper income neighborhoods and are not found in food deserts.

Mental Health

Different classes have different levels of access to treatment and encounter different mental health stressors.

Learning Objectives

Define mental health and explain why it is regarded as a socially constructed concept

Key Points

- Mental health describes a person's level of psychological well-being, or the presence/absence of mental disorder. Mental health can include one's ability to enjoy life and demonstrate psychological resilience.
- Mental health is socially constructed and defined; it is determined by both scientific and cultural knowledge, and it is understood differently by various groups, institutions, and professions.
- The evaluation of which mental states can be considered healthy and which require medical intervention also varies by class.

Key Terms

- **mental disorder**: A psychological pattern, potentially reflected in behavior, generally associated with distress or disability, not considered part of normal development in a person's culture.
- **mental health**: Emotional well-being, especially with reference to outlook on life, ability to cope with stress, or the absence of a mental disorder.

Mental health describes a level of psychological well-being or the presence/absence of a mental disorder. From the perspective of "positive psychology" or "holism," mental health may include an individual's ability to enjoy life and to demonstrate psychological resilience when confronted with challenges. The World Health Organization defines mental health as "a state of well-being in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community. "

What counts as healthy enjoyment and resilience depends upon one's class perspective. Members of different classes encounter different stressors—lower class people likely face more financial stress as it pertains to day-to-day sustenance and well-being, while upper class people might experience stress from the intense social pressures associated with elite circles. The evaluation of which mental states can be considered healthy and which require medical intervention also varies by class.

Mental health is a socially constructed and socially defined concept; different societies, groups, cultures, institutions, and professions have very different ways of conceptualizing its nature and causes, determining what is mentally healthy, and deciding what interventions are appropriate. Definitions of mental health depend on cultural understandings in addition to biological and neurological findings. Members of different social classes often hold different views on mental health. Similarly, different social classes have different levels of access to mental health interventions and to information about mental health. Thus, the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders varies widely by social class.



Mental Disorders (1837): To say that mental health is socially constructed means that its definition and criteria can change across time and culture. This lithograph illustrates the eight mental health disorders that were thought to be prominent in England during the early-19th century: dementia, megalomania, acute mania, melancholia, idiocy, hallucination, erotic mania, and paralysis. Since 1837, many of those disorders have been erased from medical textbooks or modified in light of changing social norms.

Family Life

Family life, including marriage, childbearing and household composition are strongly influenced by social class.

Learning Objectives

Give examples for effects of social class on marriage, birth rates, and family composition

Key Points

- In the United States, the probability of a first marriage ending is substantially higher for couples with low socioeconomic statuses than for those in the middle or upper class.
- Globally, the birth rate in countries with large impoverished populations is much higher than in wealthier countries.
- In nations with high levels of fertility, upper class individuals tend to have more children than their lower class peers, while in nations with low levels of fertility, upper class families exhibit even lower fertility than average.
- Social class has both a cause and an effect relationship with family composition, and lower social class is often correlated with one-parent households.

Key Terms

- **birth rate**: The birth rate is typically the rate of births in a population over time.
- **Family Life**: A general term that refers to marriage and childbearing patterns, household composition and home stability.
- **overpopulation**: A situation which occurs when the number of occupants of an area exceeds the ability of that area to provide for those occupants.

Family life – marriage and childbearing patterns, household composition, and home stability – are strongly influenced by social class. In the United States, the probability of a first marriage ending is substantially higher for couples with low socioeconomic statuses than for those in the middle or upper class. Research shows that the higher rates of divorce for individuals in lower social classes can often be attributed to the greater financial stress these couples face, though factors like class expectations can also play a role.

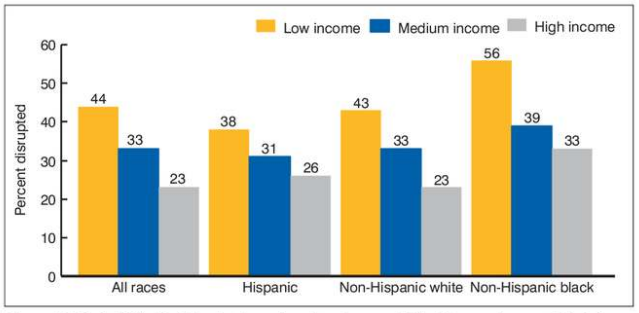


Figure 27. Probability that the first marriage breaks up within 10 years by race/ethnicity and median family income in the community: United States, 1995

Probability of First Marriage Dissolution by Race/Ethnicity and Income (1995): This graph shows that among all races and ethnicities, low income households are more likely to experience divorce than middle and high income households are. Thus, social class bears on rates of marriage dissolution.

Globally, the birth rate in countries with large impoverished populations is much higher than in wealthier countries, indicating that income and wealth play a role in shaping family structures. Demographers have identified a direct relationship between average number of children per household and the economic development of a nation. Today, less developed countries struggle with overpopulation while many governments in developed countries are instituting policies to deal with low birth rates. In nations with high levels of fertility, upper class individuals tend to have more children than their lower class peers. In nations with low levels of fertility, upper class families exhibit even lower fertility than average.

Social class has both a cause and an effect relationship with family composition. For example, single-parent households are likely to have a lower social class because they violate social norms. At the same time, single-parent families can contribute to financial and social instability. A single parent will often face higher costs (in the form of paid childcare), lower earnings (loss of the second parent's income or loss of time spent at work), or both.

Education

Educational attainment is tied to social class, with upper class individuals acquiring higher degrees from more prestigious schools.

Learning Objectives

Discuss three factors contributing to educational inequality

Key Points

- Those in high social classes are likely to have greater educational attainment than those in low social classes.
- Educational inequality is also perpetuated by legacy admission.

- Because members of high social classes tend to be better educated and have higher incomes, they are more able to provide educational advantages to their children as well.
- Educational inequality is one factor that perpetuates the class divide across generations.

Key Terms

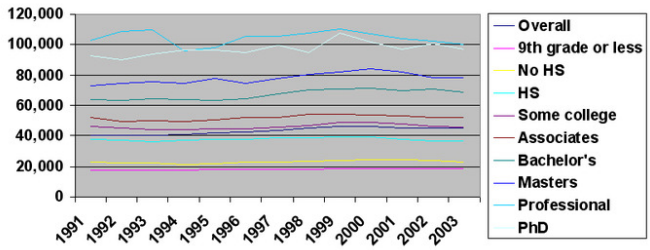
- **educational attainment**: Educational attainment is a term commonly used by statisticians to refer to the highest degree of education an individual has completed.
- **private school**: A fee-charging private or independent school.
- **legacy student**: A student who is admitted to a school (often a college or university), primarily because one or both of their parents are alumni of the same institution.

Education is a major component of social class, both directly and indirectly. Directly, individuals from higher social classes are more likely to have the means to attend more prestigious schools, and are therefore more likely to receive higher educations. Indirectly, individuals who benefit from such higher education are more likely to land prestigious jobs, and in turn, higher salaries. Just as education and social class are closely intertwined, stratification in education contributes to stratification in social class.

Educational attainment refers to the level of schooling a person completes — for instance, high school, some college, college, or a graduate degree. Upper class individuals are likely to attend schools of higher quality and of greater prestige than those attended by their lower class counterparts. Because members of high social classes tend to be better educated and have higher incomes, they are able to offer greater educational advantages, such as private schooling, to their children as well.

Upper-class parents are better able to send their children not only to exclusive private schools, but also to public state-funded schools. Such schools are likely to be of higher quality in affluent areas than in impoverished ones, since they are funded by property taxes within the school district. Wealthy areas will provide more property taxes as revenue, which leads to higher quality schools. Educational inequality is one factor that perpetuates the class divide across generations.

Such educational inequality is further reinforced by legacy admission, the preference given by educational institutions to applicants who are related to alumni of that institution. Germane to to university and college admissions (particularly in the United States), this practice emerged after World War I, primarily in response to the resulting immigrant influx. Ivy League institutions admit roughly 10% to 30% of students from each incoming class based on this factor.



Educational Attainment and Income (1991-2003): Households with higher educational attainment are likely to have higher incomes than those with low educational attainment — members of the lowest income bracket tend to have no more than a high school education, while the highest income bracket members tend to hold graduate degrees.

Religion

Social class is associated with individuals' religious affiliations and practices but not with religiosity itself.

Learning Objectives

Explain how social class relates to religious affiliation, denomination and religiosity

Key Points

- Social class is an indicator of religious affiliation, with upper class members concentrated in formal denominations and lower class members concentrated in informal denominations.
- Social class is not an indicator of religiosity; members of each social class practice their faiths with a range of intensities.
- Income, and therefore social class, is related to an individual's denomination. Religion is also strongly linked to level of education.

Key Terms

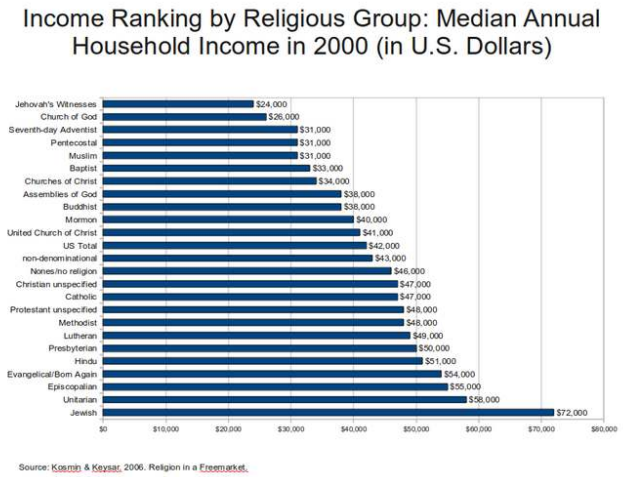
- **Religious Affiliation**: The measure of which religious denomination a person identifies with or practices
- **religiosity**: An index of how strongly religious a person is

Social class, measured by socioeconomic status, is associated with individuals' religious affiliations and practices. This affiliation has more to do with how religion is practiced rather than degree of religiosity. Members of lower classes tend to be affiliated with more fundamentalist religions and sect-like groups. Members of the middle class tend to belong to more formal churches. For example, American Presbyterians and Episcopalians (two highly formal Protestant denominations), tend to have above average socioeconomic statuses. Methodists and Lutherans (two moderately formal Protestant denominations) tend to have about average SES. Baptists and members of Protestant fundamentalist sects (which tend to be

decentralized and informal) have below average SES. Variations in SES across denomination reveal a correlation between religious affiliation and social class.

Social class is not significantly correlated to religiosity, an index of how strongly religious a person is. Religiosity is measured by tracking frequency of church attendance, church group involvement, frequency of prayer, and other such markers of strength of religious practice. Members of each social class show a range of religiosity.

On the other hand, income, and therefore social class, is related to an individual's denomination. When one looks at average income by religion, there are clear differences. The highest-earning religion on average is Judaism, with an average income of $72,000 in 2000. This is dramatically higher than average; the next highest-earning denomination is Unitarianism at $56,000. Jehovah's Witness, Church of God, and Seventh Day Adventists are at the bottom of the income distribution, with $24,000, $26,000, and $31,000 respectively.



Religious Affiliation by Median Household Income (2000): Household income, an indicator of social class, can also indicate what religious denomination a person is likely to embrace. America's top income bracket is more likely than other groups to be Jewish, while the lowest bracket is more likely to be Jehovah's Witnesses.

Religion is also linked with education. 72% of Unitarian and 67% of Hindu adherents are college graduates, while only 12% of Jehovah's Witness and 15% of Church of God members graduated from college.

Politics

The higher one's social class, the higher their levels of political participation and political influence.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate how social class impacts political participation and political influence

Key Points

- Political office holders tend to be of high socioeconomic status, furthering the impact of class on American politics.
- Wealthy, well-educated Americans are more likely to vote and to donate money to politicians than lower class individuals are.
- Those who vote as members of a social class can be said to be participating in identity politics.

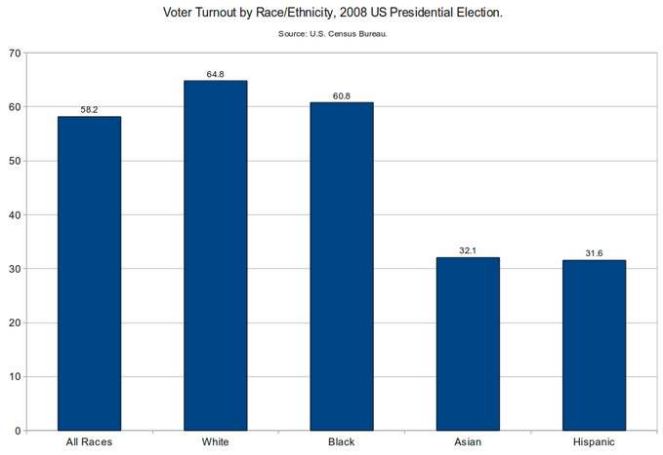
Key Terms

- **Political Influence**: The extent to which one's political participation achieves its desired results, or the amount of power a political actor has to achieve his or her will.
- **Political Participation**: A measure of whether or not a person votes in elections, donates to campaigns, or attends public forums where decisions are made.

Social class impacts one's level of political participation and political influence. Political participation refers to whether or not a person votes in elections, donates to campaigns, or attends public forums where decisions are made, such as town meetings or city council meetings, for example. Political influence refers to the extent to which one's political participation achieves its desired results. For example, if one attends a public forum, is their opinion likely to be heard, or if they donate money, is a politician likely to support their desired policy?

Wealthy, well-educated Americans are more likely to vote and to donate money to politicians than lower class individuals. This trend means that middle and upper class individuals have greater political participation and greater political influence than those in lower positions. Additionally, higher status people are more likely to hold political positions than lower class people. An illustration of this is the presidential election between George W. Bush and John Kerry in 2004. Both had millions of dollars of accumulated wealth, and they had higher degrees from Harvard and Yale, respectively.

Those who vote as members of a social class can be said to be participating in identity politics. Identity politics is a phenomenon that arose first at the radical margins of liberal democratic societies in which human rights are recognized, and the term is not usually used to refer to dissident movements within single-party or authoritarian states. Some groups have combined identity politics and Marxist social class analysis and class consciousness. During the 1980s, the politics of identity became very prominent and was linked with new social movement activism.



Voter Turnout by Educational Attainment –2008 Presidential Election: Educational attainment, an indicator of social class, can predict one's level of political participation. Those with high educational attainment are more likely to vote in elections than those with little education.

Crime and Criminal Justice

Criminal justice is the system of practices and institutions of governments directed at deterring and mitigating crime.

Learning Objectives

Describe how the administration of punishment has changed throughout history

Key Points

- When a person is suspected of violating a law, they are processed through the criminal justice system.
- The criminal justice system includes law enforcement (such as police or sheriffs), the courts, and corrections authorities (such as prison wardens and social workers).
- Legislation can attempt to refocus and restructure the criminal justice system in the United States, as when the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice issued recommendations to improve the efficacy of criminal justice.
- These reforms reflected a change in the purpose of the criminal justice system. Historically it had been used as a way to deter crime and punish criminals, but now has the added goal of rehabilitating offenders.

Key Terms

- **court**: A tribunal established for the administration of justice, through which legal issues are adjudicated.
- **adjudication**: The process of reaching a judgment or sentence in a legal proceeding.
- **law enforcement**: The various government agencies involved in the prevention of crime and the apprehension of criminals.

Criminal justice is the system of practices and government institutions directed at upholding social control, deterring, and mitigating crime, or sanctioning those who violate laws with criminal penalties and rehabilitation efforts. The American criminal justice system consists of three main parts: (1) enforcement; (2) adjudication; and (3) corrections. These distinct agencies are the principal means of maintaining the rule of law within society.

The first contact an offender has with the criminal justice system is usually with law enforcement, most often the police who investigate a suspected violation and make an arrest. Next, the courts carry out adjudication or the legal processing of offenders. The courts serve as the venue where disputes are settled and justice is administered. Depending on the offense, either a judge or a jury determines whether the suspect violated the law and what their punitive sentence will be. If found guilty by the court, offenders are then turned over to correctional authorities. Correctional authorities may include prison wardens or social workers, depending on the type of offense.



Courtroom: The criminal justice system includes adjudication, wherein the courts legally process suspects to determine their guilt or innocence and sentencing.

Like all other aspects of criminal justice, the administration of punishment has taken many different forms throughout history. Early on, when civilizations lacked the resources necessary to construct and maintain prisons, exile and execution were the primary forms of punishment. Historically shame punishments have also been used as forms of censure.

The most publicly visible form of punishment in the modern era is the prison. Prisons may serve as detention centers for prisoners after trial. Jails are used for containment of the accused before trial. Early prisons were used primarily to sequester criminals and little thought was given to living conditions within their walls. In America, the Quaker movement is commonly credited with establishing the idea that prisons

should be used to reform criminals. This can also be seen as a critical moment in the debate regarding the purpose of punishment.

In the United States, criminal justice policy has been guided by the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which issued a ground-breaking report titled "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. " This report made more than 200 recommendations as part of a comprehensive approach toward crime prevention. Some of those recommendations found their way into the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. The commission advocated a "systems" approach to criminal justice, with improved coordination among law enforcement, courts, and correctional agencies. The commission defined the criminal justice system as the means for society to "enforce the standards of conduct necessary to protect individuals and the community. "



Police Confiscate Gun: Police officers are the most visible members of the law enforcement branch of the criminal justice system, and are charged with maintaining social order by arresting offenders who violate the law.

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9.6: Poverty

Poverty

Poverty is the condition of not having access to material resources, income, or wealth.

Learning Objectives

Assess how poverty relates to social mobility

Key Points

- The United States officially defines poverty using the poverty line. The poverty line is set at an income level that is three times the approximate cost of a subsistence level food budget.
- Poverty can also refer to the lack of opportunity to improve one's standard of living (or poor life chances).
- The term " near poverty " refers to earnings that are above the poverty line, but by no more than 25%.
- Social mobility describes a person's flexibility to change their economic status.
- If there is a high level of social mobility, it is relatively easy for people to escape poverty; if social mobility is low, it is very challenging for people to escape poverty.

Key Terms

- **The Poverty Line**: The threshold of poverty, below which one's income does not cover necessities.
- **Near Poverty**: The classification "near poverty" describes a demographic group in the United States that earns 25% above the poverty line.

Poverty describes the state of not having access to material resources, wealth, or income. The United States officially defines poverty using the poverty line. The poverty line is set at an income level that is three times the approximate cost of a subsistence level food budget. This definition has been in use in the United States to track demographic changes and allocate welfare aid since the 1960s.

"Near poverty" is the term for an income level that is just above the poverty line; it refers to incomes that are no more than 25% above the poverty line.

"Relative poverty" refers to economic disadvantage compared to wealthier members of society, whereas " absolute poverty " refers to a family (or an individual) with an income so low that they cannot afford basic necessities of survival, such as food and shelter.

Poverty may correspond not only to lack of resources, but to the lack of opportunity to improve one's standard of living and acquire resources. "Life chances" is a term used to describe someone's access to marketplace resources—essentially, how likely it is in their environment that they might be able to find employment or have a social safety net. Someone who is living in poverty but has high life chances may be able to improve their economic standing, but someone with low life chances will likely have a consistently low standard of living. The term for a person's ability to change their economic status in a society is known as "social mobility. "

If there is a high level of social mobility, it is relatively easy for people to leave poverty. Easy access to higher education and prevalence of well-paying jobs contribute to social mobility. While some factors that contribute to poverty are the result of individual choices, such as dropping out of school or committing a crime, other factors affect poverty that are beyond individual control. In the United States, minorities and women are more likely to be living in poverty.

Measuring Poverty

Poverty is defined by deprivation, and can be measured with economic or social indicators.

Learning Objectives

Compare the differences between absolute and relative poverty

Key Points

- Economic measures of poverty include access to material needs, typically necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, and safe drinking water, measures of income, or measure of wealth.
- Social measures of poverty include access to information, education, health care, or political power.
- Absolute poverty refers to a fixed threshold based on access to income and material resources, while relative inequality is measured using a region's median income and standard of living and therefore reflects income inequality.
- Relative poverty explains poverty as socially defined and dependent on social context. Usually, relative poverty is measured as the percentage of the population with income less than some fixed proportion of median income.

Key Terms

- **World Bank**: A group of five financial organizations whose purpose is economic development and the elimination of poverty.
- **absolute poverty**: A measure of poverty based on a set standard that is consistent over time and between countries,

referring to the ability of individuals or groups to meet their basic needs.
- **relative poverty**: A measure of wealth inequality, describing an individual or group's wealth relative to an other individual or group.

Economic measures of poverty focus on material needs, typically including the necessities of daily living such as food, clothing, shelter, or safe drinking water. Poverty in this sense may be understood as a condition in which a person or community is lacking in the basic needs for a minimum standard of well-being, particularly as a result of a persistent lack of income.

Social measures of poverty may include lack of access to information, education, health care, or political power. Poverty may also be understood as an aspect of inequitable social relationships, experienced as social exclusion, dependency, and/or diminished capacity to participate in society.

According to the World Bank, definitions of poverty include low income and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice, and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one's life.

Poverty is usually measured as either absolute or relative poverty. Absolute poverty refers to a set standard which is consistent over time and between countries. The World Bank uses this definition of poverty to label extreme poverty as living on less than US $1.25 per day, and moderate poverty as less than $2 or $5 a day.

Relative poverty explains poverty as socially defined and dependent on social context. Usually, relative poverty is measured as the percentage of the population with income less than some fixed proportion of median income. Relative poverty measures are used as official poverty rates in several developed countries and are measured according to several different income inequality metrics, including the Gini coefficient and the Theil Index. Measurements are usually based on a person's yearly income and frequently take no account of total wealth.

Explaining Poverty: The Sociological Debate

Sociologists take two opposing approaches to explaining economic stratification: structural-functionalism and conflict theory.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the critiques of structural-functionalist approaches to social stratification

Key Points

- According to structural-functionalists, stratification and inequality are actually constructive phenomena that benefit society —specifically, that the privileges attached to high-status incentive motivated, qualified people to work to achieve those positions.
- According to this logic, inequality ensures that the most functionally important jobs are filled by the best qualified people.
- Conflict theorists argue that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful to society, and that it results in competition between the rich and the poor as individuals act for their own economic advantage.
- Conflict theorists hold that competition and inequality are not inevitable but are created and maintained by people trying to gain access to scarce resources.

Key Terms

- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.
- **structural-functionalist approach**: A sociological approach to poverty that maintains that all parts of society (even poverty) contribute in some way or another to the larger system's stability.
- **conflict-theory approach**: A sociological theory of poverty that argues that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful to society but persists because it benefits the rich and powerful.

Two classic sociological approaches to poverty and social stratification are structural-functionalism and conflict theory.

The structural-functionalist approach to stratification asks the question: what function or purpose does stratification serve? The theory's answer is that all parts of society, even poverty, contribute in some way or another to the larger system's stability. According to structural-functionalists, stratification and inequality are actually constructive phenomena that benefit society: they ensure that the best people are at the top of the hierarchy and those who are less worthy are at the bottom. Those at the top are given power and rewards because of high abilities, and the high rewards exist to provide incentive for qualified people to do the most important work in high status occupations. According to this logic, inequality ensures that the most functionally important jobs are filled by the best qualified people.

The conflict-theory approach offers a critique of structural-functionalism. First, the critique asserts that it is difficult to determine the functional importance of any job, as a system of

interdependence makes every position necessary to the functioning of society. Second, this approach assumes that the system of stratification is fair and rational, and that the 'best' people end up on top because of their superiority. But, according to conflict theorists, in reality the system does not work so easily or perfectly and there are barriers to qualified people ascending the hierarchy.

In contrast to structural-functionalists, conflict theorists argue that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society. According to this theory, stratification benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor—those in high-status positions continually build on their wealth, only further entrenching the gap between high-status and low-status people. For example, many wealthy families pay low wages to nannies to care for their children, gardeners to tend to their yards, and maids to clean their homes. Conflict theorists believe that this competitive system, together with structural barriers to upward mobility ends up creating and perpetuating stratification systems. Conflict theorists hold that competition and inequality are not inevitable but are created and maintained by people. Meanwhile, structural-functionalists rebut that people do not always act solely out of economic self-interest.



Surgeons: The job of a surgeon is highly regarded and well compensated but requires years of training, long work hours, and high stress. Structural-functionalists argue that the high status that comes with the job acts as incentive for highly qualified people to pursue it.

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion occurs when individuals and communities are blocked from rights and opportunities that are available to others.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the causes of social exclusion

Key Points

- Social exclusion is distinct from poverty. Poverty is a distributional outcome, whereas exclusion can be defined as the process of declining participation, solidarity, and access to opportunities.
- Unemployment or lack of transportation can be causes of social exclusion.
- The problem of social exclusion is usually tied to that of equal opportunity, as some people are more subject to such exclusion than others.
- Sociologists see strong links between crime and social exclusion in industrialized societies such as the United States.

Key Terms

- **equal opportunity**: equal opportunity is a stipulation that all people should be given access to opportunities for advancement and treated similarly when competing for jobs, housing, and other resources.
- **Social exclusion**: processes through which individuals and entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities, and resources that are normally available to members of society and that are key to social integration.
- **due process**: a legal concept where a person is ensured all legal rights when deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for a given reason.

Social exclusion is a concept used in many parts of the world to characterize forms of social disadvantage. It refers to processes through which individuals and entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities, and resources that are normally available to members of society and that are key to social integration. These include housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation, and legal due process.

Poverty and exclusion are two different concepts. Poverty is a distributional outcome, whereas exclusion can be defined as process of declining participation, solidarity, and access. It is quite difficult to measure social exclusion quantitatively, as social exclusion is relative, sensitive, and variable.

The causes of social exclusion vary from country to country, but there are general causes that social scientists have identified. In modern industrialized societies, paid work is not only the principal source of income with which to buy goods and services, but is also the fount of individuals' identity and feelings of self-worth. Therefore, unemployment is considered a cause of social exclusion. In some circumstances, lack of transportation can lead to social exclusion. For instance, if lack of access to public transport or a vehicle prevents a person from

getting to a job, training course, job center, school, or entertainment venue they may be shut out from opportunities.

The problem of social exclusion is usually tied to that of equal opportunity, as some people are more subject to exclusion than others. Marginalization of certain groups is a problem even in many economically developed countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, where the majority of the population enjoys considerable economic and social opportunities.

Sociologists see strong links between crime and social exclusion in industrialized societies including the United States. Growing crime rates may reflect the fact that an increasing number of people do not feel valued or included in the societies in which they live. Socially excluded populations may not benefit from the avenues for income and advancement that are open to others, so they resort to illegal means of obtaining resources.



Punk: Punk social groups are often considered marginal and are excluded from certain mainstream social spaces.

The Dynamics of Poverty

Poverty operates in a dynamic cycle, with the effects of poverty increasing the likelihood that it will be transferred between generations.

Learning Objectives

Explain the cyclical impact of the consequences of poverty

Key Points

- Poor people are less likely than others to have financial capital, education, and social capital (connections to people with specialized knowledge or in powerful positions). Without these resources, poverty -stricken individuals experience disadvantages which in turn increase their poverty.
- The cycle of poverty can trap families in poverty for generations, and often becomes widespread when economies undergo restructuring from manufacturing-based economies to service-based economies.
- Low-quality education, hunger, and homelessness can all perpetuate poverty by creating barriers to individual economic advancement.

Key Terms

- **economic restructuring**: Economic restructuring refers to the phenomenon of shifting between two types of economies, such as from a manufacturing to service economy or agricultural to manufacturing economy.
- **Cycle of poverty**: The idea that poverty operates in a dynamic cycle, with the effects of poverty increasing the likelihood that it will be transferred between generations.

The basic premise of the poverty cycle the idea that poverty is a dynamic process—its effects may also be its causes. In economics, the cycle of poverty has been defined as a phenomenon where poor families become trapped in poverty for at least three generations. These families have either limited or nonexistent social and economic resources. There are many disadvantages that collectively work in a circular process to make it virtually impossible for individuals to break the cycle of poverty. Definitionally, poor people are less likely to have financial capital, education, and social capital (connections to people with specialized knowledge or in powerful positions). Without these resources, poverty-stricken individuals experience disadvantages that, in turn, increase their poverty.

Sociologists have argued that the economic restructuring of the U.S. and other developed nations from manufacturing to service-based economies has led to chronic joblessness in inner cities. In a service economy, there is a higher proportion of high-skill jobs than in a manufacturing economy. Thus, people who have lost their manufacturing positions are unqualified for the jobs available in the new economy. This disparity between available jobs and workforce skill is a driver of cyclical poverty.

Research shows that schools with students who perform worse than the norm are also those hiring the least-qualified teachers, because teachers tend to work in schools in the area where they grew up—teachers who are educated in poor schools come back to teach in the same low quality schools, keeping the schools from improving. Students who attend these low quality schools graduate with little human capital (skills and knowledge), and are thus unqualified for high status occupations. In this way, inadequate or lack of education can perpetuate poverty.

Additionally, those living in poverty suffer disproportionately from hunger, or in extreme cases starvation, and also exhibit disproportionately high rates of disease. These illnesses can be disabling, preventing people in poverty from working in certain occupations or at certain capacities, thus reducing one's opportunities to improve their social and economic status.

Finally, poverty increases the risk of homelessness. Slum-dwellers, who make up a third of the world's urban population, live in poverty no better, if not worse, than rural people, who are the traditional victims of poverty in the developing world. People who are homeless or live in slums have low access to neighborhood resources, high status social contacts, or basic services such as a phone line. This limits their ability to improve their economic position, again perpetuating poverty.



Afghan Girl Begging: A young Afghan girl begging in the street in Kabul, 8 September 2008. Photo by Mikhail Evstafiev



Children in Poverty: Street Child, Srimangal Railway Station, Srimangal, Maulvi Bazar, Bangladesh.

The Feminization of Poverty

The feminization of poverty refers to the fact that women represent a disproportionate share of the world's poor.

Learning Objectives

Discuss three causes of female poverty

Key Points

- The feminization of poverty is not only a consequence of lack of income, but is also the result of the deprivation of opportunities and gender biases present in both societies and governments.
- Women's increasing share of poverty is related to the rising incidence of lone mother households.
- Women in poverty have reduced access to health care services and resources.
- The education of women and children, especially girls, can create greater opportunities for women to lift themselves out of poverty and increase their social position.
- Women's jobs are more likely than men's to be forms of informal employment, which takes place in small, unregistered enterprises and is not protected by government regulation.

Key Terms

- **informal employment**: Employment that takes place in small, unregistered enterprises without external regulation.
- **formal employment**: Employment that is government regulated, such that workers are insured a wage and certain rights.
- **lone mother households**: Households where a single female acts as the sole head of household; in lone mother households, there is usually no adult male present.
- **feminization of poverty**: a phenomenon in which women represent disproportionate percentages of the world's poor

The feminization of poverty describes a phenomenon in which women represent a disproportionate percentage of the world's poor. This trend is not only a consequence of lack of income, but also of lack of opportunities due to gender biases and fixed gender roles in some societies. Gender biases often deprive women of opportunities to independently pursue education or careers and are often linked to the expectation that women are responsible for childbearing and childrearing. Women's increasing share of poverty is related to the rising incidence of lone mother households.

Many factors place women at higher risk of poverty than their male counterparts. Though low income is the primary cause of female poverty, there are many interrelated sources of this problem. Lack of income deprives women of basic needs, such as food and shelter, and limits their opportunities for advancement. As women disproportionately earn less income than men, they are deprived of basic education and healthcare, which lowers their lifetime earning potential. The responsibilities associated with motherhood further limit women's economic attainment. Lone mother households, or households without a second parent or guardian, are the households with the highest risk of poverty. Female headed households (where no male is present) are most susceptible to poverty because they have fewer income earners to provide financial support within the household. Lone mother households relate to gender inequality issues as women are more susceptible to poverty and lack essential life needs in comparison to men.

Women in poverty also have reduced access to healthcare services and resources. Partly due to the toll of childbearing, women are disproportionately afflicted with poor health outcomes. Poor health reduced women's ability to earn income, and, thus, is a key factor increasing and perpetuating household poverty. Increasing health services to women could, therefore, mitigate the feminization of poverty. The education of women and children, especially girls, can create greater opportunities for women to lift themselves out of poverty and increase their social position. Countries with strong gender discrimination and social hierarchies limit women's access to basic education. Even within the household, girls' education is often sacrificed to allow male siblings to attend school.

Employment opportunities are limited for women worldwide. Women are often barred from materially controlling their environment due to unequal access to profitable and fulfilling occupational opportunities. Employment can be divided into informal and formal occupations. Formal employment is government regulated, and workers are insured a wage and certain rights. Informal employment takes place in small, unregistered enterprises. A large proportion of women are employed in informal workplaces, reducing the regulation of their employment. This makes it more difficult for women to address workplace grievances and ensure safe and legal working conditions.



Microcredit Lending to Women: Microcredit, a system of providing small loans to individuals and families in impoverished areas in an attempt to reverse the cycle of poverty, is almost always distributed to women.

Government Assistance Programs

Federal assistance is defined as any program that directly assists the public in areas, such as education, health, and public welfare.

Learning Objectives

Explain the organizational structure of federal assistance in the United States

Key Points

- The assistance is provided and administered by federal government agencies, such as the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, through special programs to recipients.
- Programs administer assistance by "granting" or "awarding" a portion of the assistance to recipients. These are called federal grants or awards.
- Recipients of federal grants include state governments, local governments, territories and possessions, Native American tribal governments, non-profit organizations and institutions, and private individuals.

Key Terms

- **Earmark Grants**: Federal funds that have been designated for specific projects in appropriations of funding for general programs.

- **Formula Grants**: Grants include a specified formula, as a rule, that tells potential recipient governments precisely how they can calculate the quantity of aid to which they are entitled under the provisions of law.
- **single audit**: An annual examination of an aid recipient's operations and records in order to determine whether or not the recipient complied with laws and regulations applicable to the assistance received.

In the United States, federal assistance is defined as any federal program, project, service, or activity provided by the federal government that directly assists or benefits the American public in the areas of education, health, public safety, public welfare, and public works, among others. The assistance is provided and administered by federal government agencies, such as the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, through special programs to recipients.



Department of Housing and Urban Development: In the U.S., the Department of Housing and Urban Development administers many government assistance programs, most notably federal public housing.

In order to provide federal assistance in an organized manner, the federal government provides assistance through federal agencies. It is the agency's responsibility to adequately provide assistance, as well as manage, account, and monitor the responsible use of federal funds which were utilized for that assistance. The agencies then supply the assistance to beneficiaries, such as states, hospitals, poverty-stricken families, etc., through hundreds of individual programs.

Programs administer assistance by "granting" or "awarding" a portion of the assistance to recipients. These are called federal grants or awards. Recipients must first apply for the award directly to the federal agency which administers the program. The agency must then determine the amount of assistance to be awarded and notifies the recipient of the award. Given the enormous size of federal assistance provided, the Federal government has designed different types of grants, each with its own unique way of awarding and operating. These include project grants, formula grants, and earmark grants.

Due to the extensive amount of assistance provided by the federal government, the Federal agencies rely on numerous monitoring activities performed by themselves, pass-through entities, and external sources. The most common monitoring procedure used is the single audit, which is an annual examination of a recipient's operations and records in order to determine whether or not the recipient complied with laws and regulations applicable to the assistance received.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: Race and Ethnicity

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10.2: Ethnicity
10.3: Minorities
10.4: Prejudice and Discrimination
10.5: Sociological Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity
10.6: Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.

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10.1: Race

Race

The idea of race refers to superficial physical differences that a particular society considers significant.

Learning Objectives

Interpret ”the ideology of race” based on examples from the text

Key Points

- Phenotype refers to the composite observable traits and behaviors of an individual or group.
- Geneotype refers to a person’s genetic makeup.
- Among humans, race has no taxonomic significance — all living humans belong to the same hominid subspecies, *Homo sapiens sapiens*.
- An ” ideology of race,” formed through the merging of folk beliefs about group differences with scientific explanations of those differences, argued that races are primordial, natural, enduring and distinct.

Key Terms

- **ideology of race**: The belief that races are primordial, natural, enduring, and distinct, derived from folk beliefs and scientific explanations generated during the 17th-19th centuries.
- **race**: A large group of people distinguished from others on the basis of a common heritage or common physical characteristics, such as skin color and hair type.
- **phenotype**: Any observable characteristic of an organism, such as its morphological, developmental, biochemical or physiological properties, or its behavior.

While many people conflate the terms “race” and ” ethnicity,” these terms have distinct meanings for sociologists. The idea of race refers to superficial physical differences that a particular society considers significant, while ethnicity is a term that describes shared culture.

Social and Scientific Conceptions of Race

Historically, the concept of race has changed across cultures and eras. Race has been used as a classification system to categorize humans in a variety of ways: as large and distinct populations, as groups distinguished by phenotype (observable traits and behaviors), and as groups of differing geographic ancestry and ethnicity. In the past, theorists have posited categories of race based on various geographic regions, ethnicities, skin colors, and more. Their labels for racial groups have connoted regions (Mongolia and the Caucus Mountains, for instance) or denoted skin tones (black, white, yellow, and red, for example). It was assumed for centuries that race was based in biology and genetically distinguishable among different subgroups (e.g., African Americans, Caucasians, American Indians, etc.).

However, this typology of race developed during early racial science has fallen into disuse; over time the concept has become less connected with ancestral and family ties and more concerned with superficial physical characteristics. While biologists sometimes use the concept of race to make distinctions among sets of traits, others in the scientific community suggest that this idea of race is often used in a naive or simplistic way.

Now, race is far more widely accepted to be a social construction and therefore not distinguishable based on biology alone. Among humans, race has no taxonomic significance — all living humans belong to the same hominid subspecies *Homo sapiens sapiens*. Social conceptions and groupings of races vary over time, according to different folk taxonomies that define essential types of individuals based on perceived traits. Many scientists consider this sort of biological essentialism obsolete, and generally discourage racial explanations in favor of other physical or behavioral distinctions.

Early Modern Conceptions of Race

The word “race” was originally used to refer to any nation or ethnic group. For example, the 13th century traveler Marco Polo used the term “Persian race”, to describe people inhabiting the territory of the nation-state Iran.

However, anthropologists only trace the current concept of “race,” along with many of the ideas now associated with the term, to the 16th and 17th centuries and the time of the Scientific Revolution. This era was one of European imperialism and colonization, during which new – often exploitive – political relations were established between Europeans and other cultures of the world. As Europeans encountered people from different parts of the world, they speculated about the physical, social, and cultural differences among various human groups.

According to historian Milton Meltzer, the rise of the Atlantic slave trade created a further incentive to categorize human groups in order to justify the subordination of African slaves. Similarly, the tradition of hostility between the English and Irish was a powerful influence on early European thinking of the Irish as an inferior “race. ”

As Europeans began to sort themselves and others into groups based on physical appearance, they attributed to individual members of these groups certain behaviors and capacities that

were supposedly deeply ingrained. These supposed physical, intellectual, behavioral, and moral differences soon became part of common folk belief.

From the 17th through the 19th centuries, the merging of folk beliefs about and scientific explanations of group differences produced what social anthropologist Audrey Smedley has called an "ideology of race. " According to this ideology, races are primordial, natural, enduring and distinct. During this time, it was further argued that some groups may be the result of mixture between formerly distinct populations, but that careful study could distinguish the ancestral races that had combined.

Contemporary Uses of Racial Categories

Contemporary conceptions of race illuminate how far removed modern race understanding is from biological qualities. In modern society, some people who consider themselves "white" actually have more melanin (a pigment that determines skin color) in their skin than other people who identify as "black. " In some countries, such as Brazil, class is more important than skin color in determining racial categorization. People with high levels of melanin in their skin may consider themselves "white" if they enjoy a middle-class lifestyle. On the other hand, someone with low levels of melanin in their skin might be assigned the identity of "black" if they have little education or money.

While race is largely understood to be a social construct, most scholars agree that race has real material effects in the lives of people through institutionalized practices of preference and discrimination. Socioeconomic factors, in combination with early but enduring views of race, have led to considerable suffering within disadvantaged racial groups. Racial discrimination often coincides with racist mindsets, whereby the individuals and ideologies of one group come to perceive the members of an outgroups as both racially defined and morally inferior. As a result, racial groups possessing relatively little power often find themselves excluded or oppressed. Racism today continues to contribute to the suffering of many people in the form of slavery, genocide, systemic oppression, and institutionalized discrimination.

Law enforcement officers often utilize race to profile suspects, a term commonly referred to as "racial profiling". This use of racial categories is frequently criticized for perpetuating an outmoded understanding of human biological variation, and promoting stereotypes.

Race and Genetics

Racial groups are sociologically, rather than biologically, different; that is to say, there is no "race" gene or set of genes.

Learning Objectives

Recall what recent discoveries in genetics has revealed about the concept of race

Key Points

- Genetic studies reveal that the existence of geographic ancestral origin is more valid than a claim that socially-defined categories of races each have a distinct biological basis.
- While a person's race can generally be visually determined, different racial groups do not in fact differ biologically in substantial ways.
- The significance of race is social, meaning that defining race in in biological terms is a product of cultural socialization.

Key Terms

- **race**: A large group of people distinguished from others on the basis of a common heritage or common physical characteristics, such as skin color and hair type.
- **endogamy**: The practice of marrying or being required to marry within one's own ethnic, religious, or social group.
- **allele**: One of a number of alternative forms of the same gene occupying a given position on a chromosome.

People's understanding of "race" emerged long before we knew anything about genetics. There are very few biological differences between the races and there is no "race" gene or set of genes to speak of.

Scientific Studies on Race and Genetics

The relationship between race and genetics has relevance for the ongoing controversies regarding race.

Ongoing genetic research has investigated how ancestral human populations migrated in the ancestral geographic environment into different geographic areas. Today it is possible to determine, by genetic analysis, the geographic ancestry of a person and the degree of ancestry from each region. Such analysis can pinpoint the migrational history of a person's ancestors with a high degree of accuracy. Often, due to practices of group endogamy, allele frequencies cluster locally around kin groups and lineages, or by national, cultural, or linguistic boundaries – giving a detailed degree of correlation between genetic clusters and population groups when considering many alleles simultaneously.

Recent discoveries in genetics offer a means of categorizing race which is distinct from past methods, which were often based on very broad criteria corresponding to physical characteristics, such as skin color, and which *do not* correlate reliably with geographic ancestry. Some anthropologists, particularly those working with forensics, consider race to be a

useful biological category as it is often possible to determine the racial category of a person by examining physical remains, although what is actually being identified is the geographical phenotype.

While a person's race can generally be visually determined, different racial groups do not in fact differ biologically in substantial ways. In a December, 2003, *Scientific American* article, Bamshad and Olson, two geneticists working on mapping the human genome, concluded that "race" does *not* exist genetically. Rather, race is a social construct and a product of culture, not biology.

Legal Definition of Race

Many governments provide legal definitions of race for purposes of census-taking and calculating budgets for governmental programs.

Learning Objectives

Paraphrase the legal definition of race and how it is used in government and law enforcement in the U.S., the U.K., and France

Key Points

- The use of " race " as a broad, non-scientific description of general appearance is a common practice in law enforcement agencies around the world.
- Racial profiling refers to the use of an individual's race or ethnicity by law enforcement personnel as a key factor in determining whether to engage in enforcement (e.g., make a traffic stop or arrest). The practice is controversial and is illegal in some nations.
- In an attempt to facilitate the job of law enforcement officers, the FBI employs the term "race" to summarize the general appearance of individuals whom they are attempting to apprehend.

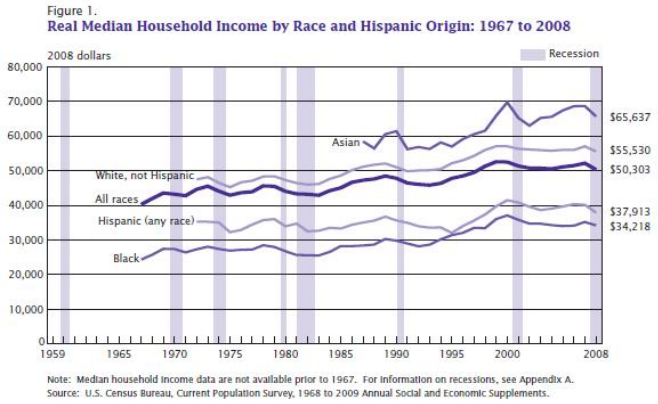
Key Terms

- **racial profiling**: Racial profiling refers to the use of an individual's race or ethnicity by law enforcement personnel as a key factor in deciding whether to engage in enforcement (e.g., make a traffic stop or arrest).

Legal Definition of Race

Many governments provide legal definitions of race for purposes of census-taking and calculating budgets for governmental programs such as those that promote equal opportunity employment. For instance, in the U.S. Federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the U.S. Census Bureau currently uses race and ethnicity as self-identification data items. In this system, the residents choose the race or races with which they most closely identify and indicate what their ethnic origin is (e.g., Latino).

The racial categories represent a social-political construct for the race or races that respondents consider themselves to be. OMB defines the concept of race as outlined for the U.S. census as not "scientific or anthropological" and takes into account "social and cultural characteristics as well as ancestry", using "appropriate scientific methodologies" that are not "primarily biological or genetic in reference. " The race categories include both racial and national-origin groups.



Governmental Use of Racial Categories: This image illustrates U.S. real median household income per year by race and ethnicity from 1967 to 2008, as compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau.

Race and Law Enforcement

In an attempt to provide general descriptions that may facilitate the job of law enforcement officers seeking to apprehend suspects, the FBI employs the term "race" to summarize the general appearance (skin color, hair texture, eye shape, and other such easily noticed characteristics) of individuals whom they are attempting to apprehend. From the perspective of law enforcement officers, it is generally more important to arrive at a description that will readily suggest the general appearance of an individual than to make a scientifically valid categorization by DNA or other such means. Thus, in addition to assigning a wanted individual to a racial category, such a description will include: height, weight, eye color, scars, and other distinguishing characteristics.

British Police use a classification based on the ethnic background of British society, for example W1 (White-British), M1 (White and black Caribbean), and A1 (Asian-Indian). Some of the characteristics that constitute these groupings are biological and some are learned (cultural or linguistic) traits that are easy to notice.

In many countries, such as France, the state is legally banned from maintaining data based on race, so the police issue wanted

notices to the public that include labels like “dark skin complexion. ”

Racial Profiling

Racial profiling refers to the use of an individual’s race or ethnicity by law enforcement personnel as a key factor in deciding whether to engage in enforcement (e.g. make a traffic stop or arrest). The practice is controversial and is illegal in some nations.

In the United States, the practice of racial profiling has been ruled to be both unconstitutional and a violation of civil rights. There is active debate regarding the cause of a marked correlation between the recorded crimes, punishments meted out, and the country’s populations. Many consider de facto racial profiling an example of institutional racism in law enforcement. The history of misuse of racial categories to impact adversely one or more groups and to offer protection and advantage to another has a clear impact on the larger debate. This debate is concerned with the legitimacy of the government using known phenotypical or genotypical characteristics tied to the presumed race of both victims and perpetrators.

Social Definition of Race

Most social scientists and biologists believe race is a social construct affecting sociopolitical, legal, and economic contexts.

Learning Objectives

Identify two ways, other than “race,” that social researchers conceptualize and analyze human variation

Key Points

- A social construct refers to something that does not have a basis in the natural world but is an artificial distinction created by humans.
- Some researchers now conceptualize and analyze human variation in terms of populations, dismissing racial classifications altogether.
- Many social scientists have replaced the word ” race ” with the word ” ethnicity ” to refer to groups that self-identify based on shared religion, nationality, or culture.
- Ethnicity refers to groups that self-identify based on shared beliefs, culture, ancestry, and history.

Key Terms

- **population**: A count of the number of residents within a political or geographical boundary, such as a town, a nation, or the world or of the number of individuals belonging to a particular group.
- **ethnicity**: The identity of a group of people having common racial, national, religious, or cultural origins.
- **social construct**: Social constructs are generally understood to be the by-products of countless human choices rather than laws resulting from divine will or nature.

Debates continue in and among academic disciplines as to how race should be understood. Most social scientists and biologists believe race is a social construct, meaning it does not have a basis in the natural world but is simply an artificial distinction created by humans.

As a result of this understanding, some researchers have turned from conceptualizing and analyzing human variation by race to doing so in terms of populations, dismissing racial classifications altogether. In the face of the increasing rejection of race as a valid classification scheme, many social scientists have replaced the word race with the word “ethnicity” to refer to self-identifying groups based on shared religion, nationality, or culture.

History

Following the World War II, alongside empirical and conceptual problems with “race,” evolutionary and social scientists were acutely aware of how beliefs about race had been used to justify discrimination, apartheid, slavery, and genocide. This questioning gained momentum in the 1960s during the United States ‘ civil rights movement and the emergence of numerous anti-colonial movements worldwide. Many academics and researchers across disciplines, therefore, came to the conclusion that race itself is a social construct.

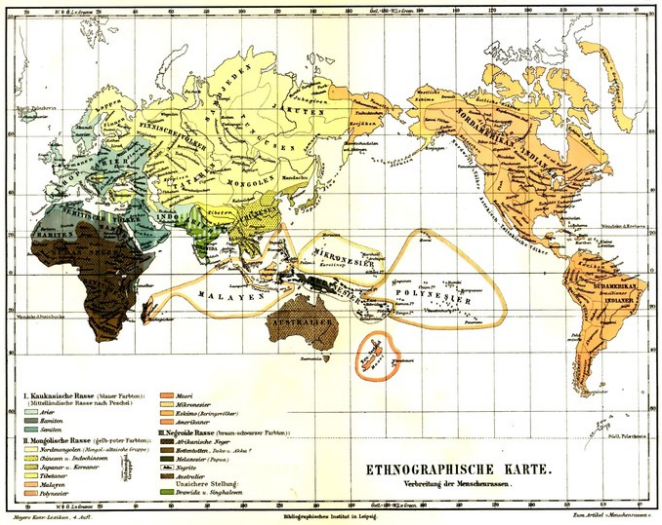
As anthropologists and other evolutionary scientists have shifted away from the language of race to the term “population” to talk about genetic differences, historians, cultural anthropologists and other social scientists have accordingly re-conceptualized the term “race” as exclusively a cultural category or social construct. Many social scientists have also replaced the word race with the word “ethnicity” to refer to self-identifying groups based on beliefs concerning shared culture, ancestry and history.

Race as a Social Construct

The social construction of race has developed within various legal, economic, and sociopolitical contexts, and may be the effect, rather than the cause of major race-related issues. While race is understood to be a social construct by many, most scholars agree that race has real, material effects in housing discrimination, in the legal process, in policing practices, in education, and many other domains of society.

Sociologists Omi and Winant’s theories of racial formation describe how “race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. ” The meanings and implications of race are

produced and invested in by social institutions, as well as through cultural representations.



Example of an early modern attempt at racial categorization: This map depicts the three great races, according to Meyers Konversationslexikon, of 1885-90. The subtypes of the Mongoloid race are shown in yellow and orange tones, those of the Europid race in light and medium grayish green-cyan tones, and those of the Negroid race in brown tones. Dravidians and Sinhalese are in olive green, and their classification is described as uncertain. The Mongoloid race sees the widest geographic distribution, including all of the Americas, North Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the entire inhabited Arctic.

Racism

Racism is the belief that different traits of racial groups are inherent and justify discrimination.

Learning Objectives

Identify four scenarios which separately illustrate individual-level racism, structural racism, cultural racism, and historical racism

Key Points

- Racism may be expressed individually and consciously, through explicit thoughts, feelings, or acts, or socially and unconsciously, through institutions that promote inequality between races.
- Individual-level racism is seen in prejudice, bias, or discrimination displayed between two or more people.
- Structural racism refers to inequalities built into an organization or system.
- Historical economic or social disparity caused by racism can adversely affect present generations.
- Historical economic or social disparity caused by racism can adversely affect present generations.
- Racial profiling involves the singling out of individuals based upon their race for differential treatment, often in the form of increased surveillance or enforcement by the criminal justice system.
- Color-blind racism involves the avoidance of racial language as a means to suggest that racism is no longer an issue when it actually is.
- Genocide refers to the attempt to completely destroy a racial or ethnic group, usual perpetrated by a dominant racial group against a persecuted one.

Key Terms

- **Structural Racism**: Unequal practices built into organizations or institutional systems that disproportionately benefit or disadvantage particular racial groups.
- **racism**: prejudice or discrimination based upon race; the belief that one race is superior to all others
- **Cultural Racism**: A variation of structural racism that occurs when the assumption of the inferiority of one or more races is embraced by the culture of a given society.

Racism is the belief that different inherent traits in racial groups justify discrimination. In the modern English language, the term “racism” is used predominantly as a pejorative epithet. It is applied especially to the practice or advocacy of racial discrimination of a pernicious nature, which is often justified by recourse to racial stereotyping or pseudo-science.

Racism can refer to any or all of the following beliefs and behaviors:

- Race is the primary determinant of human capacities (prejudice or bias).
- A certain race is inherently superior or inferior to others (prejudice or bias).
- Individuals should be treated differently according to their racial classification (prejudice or bias).

Racism is broadly recognized as an affront to basic human dignity and a violation of human rights. Racism is opposed by almost all mainstream voices in the United States. A number of international treaties have sought to end racism. The United Nations uses a definition of racist discrimination laid out in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted in 1965:

“…any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. ”

Expressions of Racism

Racism may be expressed individually and consciously, through explicit thoughts, feelings, or acts, or socially and unconsciously, through institutions that promote inequalities among races.

Individual-Level Racism

Individual-level racism is prejudice, bias, or discrimination displayed in an interaction between two or more people. An example of individual-level racism would be an employer firing someone because of his/her race, without regard to their skills or qualifications as an employee.

Children develop an awareness of race and racial stereotypes quite young (between the ages of 5 and 11), and these racial stereotypes affect behavior. For example, children who identify with a racial minority that is stereotyped as not doing well in school tend to perform worse academically when they learn about the stereotype associated with their race.

Structural Racism

Structural racism refers to inequalities built into an organization or system. An example of structural racism can be seen in recent research on workplace discrimination. There is widespread discrimination against job applicants whose names were merely perceived as "sounding black. " These applicants were 50 percent less likely than candidates perceived as having "white-sounding names" to receive callbacks for interviews, no matter what their level of previous experience was. The researchers view these results as strong evidence of unconscious biases rooted in the country's long history of discrimination. This is an example of structural racism as it shows a widespread established belief system that treats people differently based upon their race.

Additional examples of structural racism include apartheid in South Africa, the system of Jim Crow laws in the U.S., and the inequitable lending practices of banks (i.e., redlining).

Cultural Racism

Cultural racial discrimination, a variation of structural racism, occurs when the assumption of inferiority of one or more races is built into the a society 's cultural norms. Racism is an expression of culture, passed on through enculturation and socialization.

Historical Racism

Historical economic or social disparity caused by past racism affects the present generation of the victimized group. For example, racial deficits still exist in formal education, and unconscious racist attitudes still exist against certain members of the general population. This perspective seeks to explain how, for example, African Americans in the U.S. have had their opportunities in life adversely affected due to the enslavement of their ancestors. Disparities in wealth, net worth, and education lend credence to this idea.

One response to racial disparity in the U.S. has been affirmative action. Affirmative action is the practice of favoring or benefiting members of a particular race in areas such as college admissions and workplace advancement, in an attempt to create atmospheres of racial diversity and racial equality. Though lauded by many as a boon to society, giving the less privileged a chance at success and working to overcome historical social disparity, the practice is condemned as racially discriminatory by others.



Segregation as a Form of Racism: A "colored" drinking fountain from mid-20th century.

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10.2: Ethnicity

Ethnicity

An ethnic group is a group of people whose members identify with one another through a common cultural heritage.

Learning Objectives

Criticize the concept of ethnicity from the perspective of Max Weber's and Ronald Cohen's theories of social constructionism, referencing the approaches of primordialism, perennialism, and constructivism

Key Points

- An ethnicity is a socially constructed category, the traits and parameters of which can change depending on the prevailing social and political context.
- A situational ethnicity is an ethnic identity that is particular to a social setting or context.
- The various approaches to understanding ethnicity include primordialism, essentialism, perennialism, constructivism, modernism and instrumentalism.
- Ethnicity is distinct from race, because ethnicity is based on social traits, while race is based on the belief that a certain group of people share particular biological characteristics.
- Ethnicity is distinct from race, because ethnicity is based on social traits, while race is based on the belief that a certain group of people share particular biological characteristics.
- Ethnic nationalism is a political ideology which is the result of tying the concepts of cultural heritage and nationalism together.

Key Terms

- **instrumentalism**: A perspective towards ethnicity that sees ethnic classification as a mechanism of social stratification or as the basis for a social hierarchy.
- **modernism**: A school of thought with regards to ethnicity that ties the emergence of ethnic groups to the emergence of modern nation-states.

Ethnicity is a term that describes shared culture —the practices, values, and beliefs of a group. This might include shared language, religion, and traditions, among other commonalities. An *ethnic group* is a collection of people whose members identify with each other through a common heritage, consisting of a common culture which may also include a shared language or dialect. The group's ethos or ideology may also stress common ancestry, religion, or race. The process that results in the emergence of an ethnicity is known as *ethnogenesis*.

Conceptual History of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a constructed category, the characteristics and boundaries of which have been renegotiated and redefined over the years to suit different contexts and objectives.

Sociologist Max Weber asserted that ethnic groups were *künstlich* (artificial, i.e. a social construct) for three reasons. Firstly, they were based on a subjective believe in shared *Gemeinschaft* (community). Secondly, this belief in shared *Gemeinschaft* did not create the group; rather, the group created the belief. Thirdly, group formation resulted from the drive to monopolize power and status.

In 1978, Anthropologist Ronald Cohen claimed that the identification of "ethnic groups" in the usage of social scientists often reflected inaccurate labels more than indigenous realities:

> *… the named ethnic identities we accept, often unthinkingly, as basic givens in the literature are often arbitrarily, or even worse inaccurately, imposed.*

In this way, he pointed to the fact that identification of an ethnic group by outsiders, e.g. anthropologists, may not coincide with the self-identification of the members of that group. Cohen also suggested that claims concerning "ethnic" identity (like earlier claims concerning "tribal" identity) are often colonialist practices and effects of the relations between colonized peoples and nation-states.

Therefore, the socio-cultural and behavioral differences between peoples of different ethnicities do not necessarily stem from inherited traits and tendencies derived from common descent; rather, the identification of an ethnic groups is often socially and politically motivated.

"Ethnies" or Ethnic Categories

The following categories – "*ethnic categories*," "*ethnic networks*," "*ethnies*" or "*ethnic communities*," and "*situational ethnicity*" – were developed in order to distinguish the instances when ethnic classification is the labeling of others and when it is a case of self-identification.

- An "*ethnic category*" is a category set up by those who are outside of the category. The members of an ethnic category are categorized by outsiders as being distinguished by attributes of a common name or emblem, a shared cultural element and a connection to a specific territory.

- At the level of *"ethnic networks"*, the group begins to have a sense of collectiveness; at this level, common myths of origin and shared cultural and biological heritage begin to emerge, at least among the elites of that group.
- At the level of *"ethnies"* or *"ethnic communities"*, the members themselves have clear conceptions of being "a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, and one or more common elements of culture, including an association with a homeland, and some degree of solidarity, at least among the elites". In other words, an ethnie is self-defined as a group.
- A *"situational ethnicity"* is an ethnic identity that is chosen for the moment based on the social setting or situation.

Approaches to Understanding Ethnicity

Different approaches have been used by different social scientists to attempt to understand the nature of ethnicity as a factor in human life and society. Examples of such approaches include *primordialism*, *perennialism*, *constructivism*, *modernism*, and *instrumentalism*.

- *Primordialism* holds that ethnicity has existed at all times of human history and that modern ethnic groups have historical roots far into the past. According to this framework, the idea of ethnicity is closely linked to the idea of nations and is rooted in the pre-Weber understanding of humanity as being divided into primordially existing groups rooted by kinship and biological heritage.
- *Perennialism* holds that ethnicity is ever changing, and that while the concept of ethnicity has existed at all times, ethnic groups are generally short lived before the ethnic boundaries realign in new patterns.
- *Constructivism* sees both primordialist and perennialist views as basically flawed, and holds that ethnic groups are only products of human social interaction, maintained only in so far as they are maintained as valid social constructs in societies.
- Modernism
- Instrumentalism

Ethnicity and Race

Ethnicity, while related to race, refers not to physical characteristics but social traits that are shared by a human population. Some of the social traits often used for ethnic classification include nationality, religious faith and a shared language and culture.

Like race, the term ethnicity is difficult to describe and its meaning has changed over time. And like race, individuals may be identified or self-identify to ethnicities in complex, even contradictory, ways. For example, ethnic groups such as Irish, Italian American, Russian, Jewish, and Serbian might all be groups whose members are predominantly included in the racial category "white. " Conversely, the ethnic group British includes citizens from a multiplicity of racial backgrounds: black, white, Asian, and more, plus a variety of racial combinations. These examples illustrate the complexity and overlap of these identifying terms. Ethnicity, like race, continues to be an identification method that individuals and institutions use today —whether through the census, affirmative action initiatives, non-discrimination laws, or simply in personal day-to-day relations.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

A Tour of Chinese Ethnic Minorities (Preview) – YouTube: Provides a glimpse into the many and diverse ethnic groups to be found in China.



Modern meets Traditional: The women above are wearing an interesting fusion of modern and ethnic clothing.

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10.3: Minorities

Minority Groups

The term “minority” is applied to various groups who hold few or no positions of power in a given society.

Learning Objectives

Define a minority group

Key Points

- The term minority doesn’t necessarily refer to a numeric minority. Women, for example, make up roughly half the population but are often considered a minority group.
- Affirmative action refers to policies that take factors, such as race, religion, sexual orientation, or national origin into account in order to benefit an underrepresented group.

Key Terms

- **affirmative action**: A policy or program providing advantages for people of a minority group who are seen to have traditionally been discriminated against, with the aim of creating a more egalitarian society through preferential access to education, employment, health care, social welfare, etc.
- **minority group**: a sociological category that is differentiated, defined, and often discriminated against by those who hold the majority of positions of social power
- **minority**: Categories of persons who hold few or no positions of social power in a given society.

In the social sciences, “minority” does not just refer to a statistical measure and can instead refer to categories of persons who hold few or no positions of social power in a given society.

Sociologist Louis Wirth defined a minority group as “a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. ” This definition includes both objective and subjective criteria: membership of a minority group is objectively ascribed by society, based on an individual’s physical or behavioral characteristics, such as ethnicity and race or gender and sexuality. It is also subjectively applied by its members, who may use their status as the basis of group identity or solidarity.

Minority group status is also categorical in nature: an individual who exhibits the physical or behavioral characteristics of a given minority group will be accorded the status of that group and be subject to the same treatment as other members of that minority group.

Racial or Ethnic Minorities

Every large society contains ethnic minorities: subgroups that share a common heritage, which often consists of a shared language, culture (often including a religion), or ideology that stresses common ancestry or endogamy. In this case, while minority status can be conditioned by a clear numerical difference, more significantly it refers to issues of political power. In some places, subordinate ethnic groups may constitute a numerical majority, such as blacks in South Africa under apartheid.

In addition to long-established ethnic minority populations in various nation-states, ethnic minorities may consist of more recent migrant, indigenous, or landless nomadic communities residing within, or between, a particular national territory.

Gender and Sexuality Minorities

Recognition of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people as a minority group or groups has gained prominence in the Western world since the nineteenth century. The abbreviation “LGBT” is currently used to group these identities together. The term queer is sometimes understood as an umbrella term for all non-normative sexualities and gender expressions but does not always signify a minority; rather, as with many gay rights activists of the 1960s and 1970s, it sometimes represents an attempt to highlight sexual diversity in everyone.

While in most societies the numbers of men and women are roughly equal, the status of women as a oppressed group has led some, such as feminists and other participants in women’s rights movements, to identify them as a minority group.

Religious Minorities

Persons belonging to religious minorities have a faith which is different from that held by the majority population or the population group that is in power. It is now accepted in many multicultural societies around the world that people should have the freedom to choose their own religion, including not having any religion (atheism or agnosticism), and including the right to convert from one religion to another. However in some countries this freedom is still either formally restricted or subject to cultural bias from the majority population.

People with Disabilities

The disability rights movement has contributed to an understanding of people with disabilities as a minority or a coalition of minorities who are disadvantaged by society, not just as people who are disadvantaged by their impairments.

Advocates of disability rights emphasize differences in physical or psychological functioning, rather than inferiority: for example, some people with autism argue for acceptance of neuro-diversity, in the same way in which opponents of racism argue for acceptance of ethnic diversity. The deaf community is often regarded as a linguistic and cultural minority rather than a group with disabilities, and some deaf people do not see themselves as having a disability at all. Rather, they are disadvantaged by technologies and social institutions that are designed to cater to the dominant, hearing-unimpaired group.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is a controversial issue, which refers to policies that take factors including race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or national origin into consideration in order to benefit an underrepresented group. This is usually justified as countering the effects of a history of discrimination. Affirmative action can, for example, take the form of a government program to provide immigrant or minority groups who primarily speak a marginalized language with extra teaching in the majority language, so that they are better able to compete for places at university or for jobs.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Ethnic Minority Disparities in Cancer Treatment: Illinois Congressman Jesse Jackson discusses minority health research at the National Institute of Health.



Members of the Long-horn Tribe: This tribe is a small branch of ethnic Miao in the western part of Guizhou Province, China. In addition to their small numbers and distinctive ethnicity from the larger Han Chinese majority, they are considered a minority given their relative lack of power in China's larger political structure.

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10.4: Prejudice and Discrimination

Prejudice

Prejudice refers to a positive or negative evaluation of another person based on their perceived group membership (e.g., race, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and ability).

Learning Objectives

Apply the concepts of in-group favoritism and prejudice to a real-life situation

Key Points

- When we meet strangers we automatically process several pieces of information about them, including the social categories of race, gender, age, sexual orientation, and ability.
- First impressions are often based on stereotypes. For example, we may have different expectations of strangers depending on their race, gender, age, sexual orientation, and ability.
- Prejudice is a negative attitude and feeling toward an individual based solely on one's membership in a particular social group.
- Prejudice often begins in the form of a stereotype—that is, a specific belief or assumption about individuals based solely on their membership in a group, regardless of their individual characteristics. Stereotypes become overgeneralized and applied to all members of a group.

Key Terms

- **stereotype**: A conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image of a group of people or things.
- **prejudice**: A positive or negative evaluation of another person based on their perceived group membership (e.g., race, class, or gender).

When we meet strangers we automatically process three pieces of information about them: their race, gender, and age. Why are these aspects of an unfamiliar person so important? Why don't we instead notice whether their eyes are friendly, whether they are smiling, their height, the type of clothes they are wearing? Although these secondary characteristics are important in forming a first impression of a stranger, the social categories of race, gender, and age provide a wealth of information about an individual. This information, however, often is based on stereotypes. We may have different expectations of strangers depending on their race, gender, and age.

Prejudice is a negative attitude and feeling toward an individual based solely on one's membership in a particular social group (Allport, 1954; Brown, 2010). Prejudice is common against people who are members of an unfamiliar cultural group. Thus, certain types of education, contact, interactions, and building relationships with members of different cultural groups can reduce the tendency toward prejudice. In fact, simply imagining interacting with members of different cultural groups might affect prejudice. Indeed, when experimental participants were asked to imagine themselves positively interacting with someone from a different group, this led to an increased positive attitude toward the other group and an increase in positive traits associated with the other group.

Prejudice often begins in the form of a stereotype—that is, a specific belief or assumption about individuals based solely on their membership in a group, regardless of their individual characteristics. Stereotypes become overgeneralized and applied to all members of a group. For example, as Hodge, Burden, Robinson, and Bennett (2008) point out, black male athletes are often believed to be more athletic, yet less intelligent, than their white male counterparts. These beliefs persist despite a number of high profile examples to the contrary. Sadly, such beliefs often influence how these athletes are treated by others and how they view themselves and their own capabilities. Whether or not you agree with a stereotype, stereotypes are generally well-known within in a given culture.

Discrimination Against Individuals

Discrimination is the prejudicial treatment of an individual based on his or her membership (or perceived membership) in a certain group.

Learning Objectives

Give an example of discrimination and reverse discrimination using examples of religious, gender, or racial prejudice

Key Points

- A common type of discrimination is the exclusion or restriction of members of one group from opportunities that are available to another group.
- Racial, religious, and gender discrimination are common types of this phenomenon.
- Controversial attempts have been made to mitigate and rectify the negative effects of discrimination. These attempts in turn, however, have sometimes been called reverse discrimination.
- Reverse discrimination is a term referring to discrimination against members of a dominant or majority group, including

the city or state, or in favor of members of a minority or historically disadvantaged group.

Key Terms

- **reverse discrimination**: Discrimination against members of a dominant or majority group, including the city or state, or in favor of members of a minority or historically disadvantaged group.
- **discrimination**: The prejudicial treatment of an individual based on his or her membership, or perceived membership, in a certain group or category.

Discrimination is the prejudicial treatment of an individual based on his/her membership (or perceived membership) in a certain group or category, and involves actual actions taken towards that individual. A common example of discrimination is the exclusion or restriction of members of one group from opportunities that are available to another group, such as access to public facilities like bathrooms and water fountains.

Controversial attempts have been made to redress negative effects of discrimination. One example is the implementation of racial quotas, that is, establishing numerical requirements for hiring, promoting, admitting and/or graduating members of a particular racial group. These attempts in turn, however, have sometimes been called reverse discrimination (see below).

Racial and Ethnic Discrimination

Racial discrimination results in unequal treatment between individuals on the basis of real and perceived racial differences. It may manifest on every level of social life, from minor disregard or intense hostility in interpersonal interactions to much larger instantiations in public institutions (also called structural or institutional discrimination), such as the segregatory practices prominent in the Jim Crow era of the Unites States (1870s-1960s).

Sex, Gender and Gender Identity Discrimination

Though what constitutes sex discrimination varies between countries, it essentially refers to an adverse action taken against a person based on their perceived sex, gender, and/or gender identity. Historically, sexual differences have been used to justify different social roles for men and women. Unfair discrimination usually follows the gender stereotypes held by a society.

Religious Discrimination

Religious discrimination is prejudicial treatment of a person or group differently based on their spiritual or religious beliefs (or lack thereof).

In a 1979 consultation on the issue, the United States commission on civil rights defined religious discrimination in relation to the civil rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which deals with due process and equal fairness of all citizens under the law. According to the commission, religious discrimination occurs when someone is denied " the equal protection of the laws, equality of status under the law, equal treatment in the administration of justice, and equality of opportunity and access to employment, education, housing, public services and facilities, and public accommodation because of their exercise of their right to religious freedom. "

Reverse Discrimination

Reverse discrimination is a term referring to discrimination against members of a dominant or majority group, including the city or state, or in favor of members of a minority or historically disadvantaged group. Groups may be defined in terms of race, gender, ethnicity, or other factors. This discrimination may seek to redress social inequalities where minority groups have been denied access to the same privileges of the majority group. In such cases it is intended to remove discrimination that minority groups may already face.

Reverse discrimination may also be used to highlight the discrimination inherent in affirmative action programs.

Legislation in some nations, such as the UK, assert that identical treatment may sometimes act to preserve inequality rather than eliminate it, and therefore this so-called reverse discrimination is justified.



An Example of Discrimination: An African-American child at a segregated drinking fountain on a courthouse lawn, North Carolina, 1938

Institutional Prejudice or Discrimination

Institutionalized discrimination refers to discrimination embedded in the procedures, policies or objectives of large

organizations.

Learning Objectives

Examine the legal cases that had an impact on institutional discrimination

Key Points

- Usually institutional bias targets specific, easily stereotyped and generalizable attributes of individuals, such as race and gender.
- Institutionalized discrimination often exists within governments, though it can also occur in any other type of social institution including religion, education and marriage.
- The achievement gap in education is an example of institutionalized discrimination.
- Many countries around the world practice some form of institutionalized discrimination. For example, in some countries women cannot vote, drive or work certain jobs.

Key Terms

- **achievement gap**: The observed and persistent disparity between the performance of groups of students defined by gender, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status, based on a number of educational measures.
- **institutionalized discrimination**: The unfair, indirect methods of treatment of individuals that are embedded in the operating procedures, policies, laws or objectives of large organizations.

Institutionalized discrimination refers to the unfair, indirect treatment of certain members within a group. These practices are embedded in the operating procedures, policies, laws, or objectives of large organizations, such as governments and corporations, financial institutions, public institutions and other large entities.

Usually the bias targets specific, easily stereotyped and generalizable attributes, such as race, gender, nationality, sexual orientation and age. Though direct discrimination is illegal by United States law, many academics, activists, and advocacy organizations assert that indirect discrimination is still pervasive in many social institutions and daily social practices.

Examples

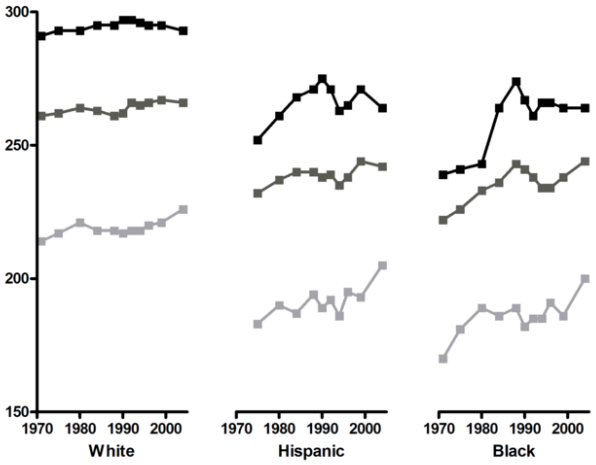
Examples of institutionalized discrimination include laws and decisions that reflect racism, such as the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson U.S. Supreme Court case, which ruled in favor of "separate but equal" public facilities between African Americans and non African Americans. This ruling was later rescinded in 1954 by the Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision.

Institutionalized discrimination often exists within governments, though it can also occur in any other type of social institution, including religion, education and marriage. For example, residential segregation is a product of discrimination that exists in the private real estate market. Housing in the United States can be valued differently based on the racial makeup of the neighborhood. There can be two identical houses, in terms of factors like amenities and size, but the value of each house can depend on the racial makeup of the people within the community. Homeowners would therefore have an incentive to prevent minorities from moving into white neighborhoods. Institutionalized discrimination within the housing market also includes practices like redlining and mortgage discrimination.

The achievement gap in education is another example of institutionalized discrimination. The achievement gap refers to the observed disparity in educational measures between the performance of groups of students, especially groups defined by gender, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status. This disparity include standardized test scores, grade point average, dropout rates and college enrollment and/or completion rates.

International Examples

Many countries around the world exhibit some form of institutionalized discrimination, such as Saudi Arabia where women and other oppressed groups cannot participate in some religious activities, and can neither vote nor work in government.



Trends in reading scores divided by race.: These figures show a long-term disparity in reading scores.

Assimilation

Assimilation describes the process of social, cultural, and political integration of a minority into a dominant culture and society.

Learning Objectives

Give a real life example for each of the four benchmarks of immigrant assimilation

Key Points

- Immigrant assimilation is one of the most common forms of assimilation, and is a very complex process.
- Social scientists rely on four primary benchmarks to assess immigrant assimilation: socioeconomic status, geographic distribution, second language attainment, and intermarriage.
- Socioeconomic status is defined by educational attainment, occupation, and income. Spatial concentration is defined by geography or residential patterns.
- Language attainment refers to the ability to speak English and the loss of the individual's mother tongue. Intermarriage involves marriage across racial, ethnic, or, occasionally, generational lines.
- Segmented assimilation states that there are three main paths of assimilation for second generation immigrants: some assimilate smoothly, others experience downward assimilation, and others experience rapid economic success while preserving the values of their immigrant community.
- Intermarriage involves marriage across racial, ethnic, or, occasionally, generational lines.

Key Terms

- **intermarriage**: a marriage between people belonging to different groups, ethnic, religious or otherwise.
- **spatial concentration**: A measure of how densely particular ethnic groups are situated in a geographic location.
- **socioeconomic status**: One's social position as determined by income, wealth, occupational prestige, and educational attainment.

Assimilation describes the process by which a minority integrates socially, culturally, and/or politically into a larger, dominant culture and society. The term assimilation is often used in reference to immigrants and ethnic groups settling in a new land. Immigrants acquire new customs and attitudes through contact and communication with a new society, while they also introduce some of their own cultural traits to that society.

Assimilation usually involves a gradual change of varying degree. Full assimilation occurs when new members of a society become indistinguishable from native members.

Any group (such as a state, immigrant population, or ethnicity) may choose to adopt a different culture for a variety of reasons such as political relevance or perceived advantage. However, a group may also be forced or feel compelled to do so as a result of imperialistic conquest, immigration, or drastic changes in population.

Assimilation of Immigrants

Immigrant assimilation is one of the most common forms of assimilation. It is a complex process through which an immigrant integrates themselves into a new country. Geography professor and human migration specialist William A. V. Clark says that immigrant assimilation is "a way of understanding the social dynamics of American society" and defines it as "the process that occurs spontaneously and often unintended in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups. "

Social scientists rely on four benchmarks, initially formulated when studying European immigrants in the U.S., to assess immigrant assimilation:

1. Socioeconomic status is defined by educational attainment, occupation, and income. By measuring socioeconomic status, researchers seek to determine whether immigrants eventually catch up to native-born people in matters of capital.
2. Spatial concentration is defined by geography or residential patterns. The spatial residential model states that increasing socioeconomic attainment, longer residence in the U.S, and higher generational status lead to decreasing residential concentration for a particular ethnic group.
3. Language attainment is defined as the ability to speak English and the loss of the individual's mother tongue. The three-generation model of language assimilation states that the first generation makes some progress in language assimilation but retains primary fluency in their native tongue, while the second generation is bilingual and the third generation speaks only English.
4. Intermarriage refers to marriage across racial, ethnic, or, occasionally, generational lines. High rates of intermarriage are considered to be an indication of social integration, as they suggest intimate and profound relations between people of different groups. Intermarriage reduces the ability of families to pass on to their children a consistent ethnic culture and thus is an agent of assimilation.

Naturalization and Immigrant Assimilation

Other than marriage, citizenship is one of the most significant factors in assimilation. Thus, immigration debates focus not only on the number of immigrants that should be admitted into a country and the processes of incorporation, but also on how citizenship should be extended and to whom. Proponents of immigration often argue that new residents will help to build and enrich American democracy, while opponents counter that the identity and legitimacy of the nation may be challenged and

perhaps even threatened by immigrants. Questions of citizenship in relation to illegal immigration is a particularly controversial issue and a common source of political tension.

New Immigrant Gateways and Immigrant Assimilation

The majority of immigrants have tended to settle in traditional gateway states such as Florida, New York, California, Illinois, Texas, and Massachusetts, where immigrants find large existing populations of foreign-born people. Recently, however, immigrants have increasingly been settling in areas outside these gateway states. Sociologists Mary Waters and Tomas R. Jimenez have suggested that these geographical shifts may change the way researchers assess immigrant assimilation, as immigrants settling in new areas may encounter different experiences than immigrants settling in more traditional gateways. Specifically, Waters and Jimenez identify three distinguishing characteristics in more recent, less traditional, immigration patterns: less established social hierarchies, smaller immigrant population size, and different institutional arrangements.

Segmented Assimilation

The theory of segmented assimilation for second generation immigrants is highly researched in the sociological arena. Segmented assimilation, researched by Min Zhou and Alejandro Portes, focuses on the notion that people take different paths in how they adapt to life in the United States. This theory states that there are three main different paths of assimilation for second generation immigrants. Some immigrants assimilate smoothly into the white middle class of America, others experience downward assimilation, and others experience rapid economic success while preserving the values of their immigrant community.

This theory also includes the concept of modes of incorporation, which are the external factors within the host community that affect assimilation. These factors are created by the underlying policies of the government, the strength of prejudice in the society, and the makeup of coethnic communities within the society. These modes of incorporation affect how a child will assimilate into U.S. society, and determine how vulnerable the child will be towards downward assimilation. Factors that enhance such vulnerability include racial discrimination, location, and changes in the economy that have made it harder for intergenerational mobility.

In addition, differing modes of incorporation make available certain resources that second generation immigrants can use to overcome challenges to the process of assimilation. If the child belongs to a group that has been exempt from the prejudice experienced by most immigrants, such as European immigrants, they will experience a smoother process of assimilation. A second generation immigrant can also make use of established networks in the coethnic community. These networks provide these children with additional resources beyond those offered by the government, such as gateways into well paying jobs in businesses established by the ethnic community. Children of middle class immigrants have a greater likelihood of moving up the social ladder and joining American mainstream society than children of lower class immigrants, as they have access to both the resources provided by their parents and to the educational opportunities afforded to the middle class in the U.S.



Assimilation of Native Americans: A collage of Native Americans dressed in European attire

Pluralism

Multiculturalism is an ideology that promotes the institutionalization of communities containing multiple cultures.

Learning Objectives

Reconstruct the crux of the debate about multiculturalism, including its different forms and opposition to it

Key Points

- Multiculturalism is seen by its supporters as a fairer system that allows people to truly express who they are within a society, that is more tolerant, and that adapts better to social issues.
- Critics of multiculturalism often debate whether the multicultural ideal of benignly co-existing cultures that

interrelate and influence one another, and yet remain distinct, is sustainable, paradoxical, or even desirable.
- Multiculturalism is often contrasted with the concepts of assimilationism and has been described as a “salad bowl” or “cultural mosaic” rather than an assimilationist “melting pot”.

Key Terms

- **multiculturalism**: A characteristic of a society that has many different ethnic or national cultures mingling freely. It can also refer to political or social policies which support or encourage such a coexistence. Important in this is the idea that cultural practices, no matter how unusual, should be tolerated as a measure of respect.

Multiculturalism is an ideology that promotes the institutionalization of communities containing multiple cultures. It is generally applied to the demographic make-up of a specific place, usually at the organizational level (e.g., schools, businesses, neighborhoods, cities, or nations).

In a political context, the term is used for a wide variety of meanings. These can range from the advocacy of equal respect for the various cultures in a society, to a policy of promoting the maintenance of cultural diversity, to policies in which people of various ethnic and religious groups are addressed by the authorities according to the definition of the group to which they belong. A common aspect of many such policies is that they avoid presenting any specific ethnic, religious, or cultural community values as central.

Multiculturalism is often contrasted with the concepts of assimilationism and has been described as a “salad bowl” or “cultural mosaic,” rather than an assimilationist “melting pot.”

Definition

There is no single, agreed-upon definition for multiculturalism and different countries approach the issue in a variety of manners. However two main different and seemingly inconsistent strategies have developed through varied government policies and strategies.

- The first focuses on interaction and communication between different cultures. By encouraging different cultures to interact, hopefully, cultural differences can be recognized and accepted rather than suppressed or ignored, thus promoting a sense of multiculturalism.
- The second centers on diversity and cultural uniqueness. Cultural isolation can protect the uniqueness of the local culture of a nation or area and also contribute to global cultural diversity.

Political scholar Andrew Heywood distinguishes between two forms of multiculturalism: descriptive and normative:

- As a descriptive term, it refers to general cultural diversity.
- As a normative term, multiculturalism “implies a positive endorsement, even celebration, of communal diversity, typically based on either the right of different groups to respect and recognition, or to the alleged benefits to the larger society of moral and cultural diversity”.

Multiculturalism as Government Policy

Multiculturalism has been an official policy in several Western nations since the 1970s, for reasons that vary from country to country, including the fact that many of the great cities of the Western world are increasingly made of a mosaic of cultures. The Canadian government has often been described as the instigator of multicultural ideology because of its public emphasis on the social importance of immigration. The Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is often refered to as the origins of modern political awareness of multiculturalism.

Support for Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is seen by its supporters as a fairer system that allows people to truly express who they are within a society, that is more tolerant, and adapts better to social issues. They argue that culture is not one definable thing based on one race or religion, but rather the result of multiple factors that change as the world changes.

Multiculturalism in Western countries was seen as a useful set of strategies to combat racism, protect minority communities of all types, and to undo policies that had prevented minorities from having full access to the opportunities for freedom and equality promised by the liberalism that have been the hallmark of Western societies since the Age of Enlightenment.

Opposition to Multiculturalism

Critics of multiculturalism often debate whether or not the multicultural ideal of benignly co-existing cultures that interrelate and influence one another, and yet remain distinct, is sustainable, paradoxical, or even desirable. It is argued that nation states, which would previously have been synonymous with a distinctive cultural identity of their own, lose out to enforced multiculturalism and that this ultimately erodes the host nations’ distinct culture.

Harvard professor of political science Robert D. Putnam conducted a nearly decade-long study of how multiculturalism affects social trust. He surveyed 26,200 people in 40 American communities, finding that when the data were adjusted for class, income, and other factors, the more racially diverse a

community is, the greater the loss of trust. People in diverse communities "don't trust the local mayor, they don't trust the local paper, they don't trust other people and they don't trust institutions," writes Putnam.



Multiculturalism: "Monument to Multiculturalism" by Francesco Pirelli, in front of Union Station, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Segregation

Segregation is the division of human beings into separate groups based on any number of criteria, such as race, ethnicity, or nationality.

Learning Objectives

Identify at least three key moments in the history of racial segregation in the U.S.

Key Points

- Racial segregation is one of the most common forms of segregation. Although it is illegal in many societies, it may still exist through social norms even when there is no strong individual preference for it.
- After the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in America, racial discrimination became regulated by the so called Jim Crow laws, which mandated strict segregation of the races.
- By 1968 all forms of segregation had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and by 1970 support for formal legal segregation had dissolved.

Key Terms

- **segregation**: People separating geographically, residentially, racially, religiously or by sex based on legal codes, happenstance, voluntary choice or cultural attitudes.
- **Racial Segregation**: The separation of humans into racial groups throughout aspects of daily life, sometimes enforced by law.

Segregation is the social division of human beings based on any number of factors, including race, ethnicity, or nationality. It may apply to various situations of daily life, such as eating in a restaurant, using a public restroom, attending school, or going to the movies

Racial segregation is one of the most common forms of segregation and is generally outlawed, but can still exist through social norms even when there is no strong individual preference for it.

Segregation often involves spatial separation of races and/or mandatory use of institutions, such as schools and hospitals, by people of different races—an exception being allowing for close contact in hierarchical situations, i.e., a person of one race working as a servant for a person of another race.

Racial segregation has appeared in all parts of the world where there are multiracial communities. Even where racial mixing has occurred on a large scale, as in Hawaii and Brazil, various forms of social discrimination have persisted despite the absence of official segregationist laws.

History of Racial Segregation

After the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in America, racial discrimination became regulated by the so-called Jim Crow laws—strict mandates on segregation of the races. Though such laws were instituted shortly after the war ended, in many cases they were not formalized until the end of Republican-enforced Reconstruction in the 1870s and 80s. This legalized form of segregation into the mid 1960s.

As an official practice, institutionalized racial segregation ended in large part due to the work of civil rights activists (Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King Jr., among others) primarily during the period from the end of World War II through the passage of the Voting Rights Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as supported by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Their efforts focused on acts of non-violent civil disobedience aimed at disrupting the enforcement of racial segregation rules and laws. Examples are holding sit-ins at all-white diners, or the widely publicized refusal of Rosa Parks to give up her seat on a bus to a white person.

By 1968 all forms of segregation had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and by 1970 support for formal legal segregation dissolved. The Fair Housing Act of 1968, administered and enforced by the Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, prohibited discrimination in the sale and rental of housing on the basis of race, color, nationality, religion, sex, familial status and disability. The civil rights movement gained the public's support, and formal racial discrimination and

segregation became illegal in schools, businesses, the military, and other civil and government services.

In the years since, African Americans have played a significant role throughout society, as leaders, public officials and heads of state. On the national level, they have worked in the Supreme Court, the House of Representatives, the Senate, and held top Presidential cabinet positions. In 2008, the United States elected its first African American President.

Contemporary Forms of Segregation

Columbia University economist Rajiv Sethi has observed that black-white segregation is declining fairly consistently in most metropolitan areas of the U.S. Despite these overall patterns, changes in individual areas remain small. Racial segregation or separation can lead to social, economic and political tensions.

In many areas, the United States remains a residentially segregated society. Blacks, whites, Hispanics and other racial groups inhabit different neighborhoods of vastly different quality.

Population Transfer

Population transfer is the movement of a large group of people from one region to another by state policy or international authority.

Learning Objectives

Analyze why population transfers went from being an acceptable solution to problems of ethnic conflict to being unacceptable

Key Points

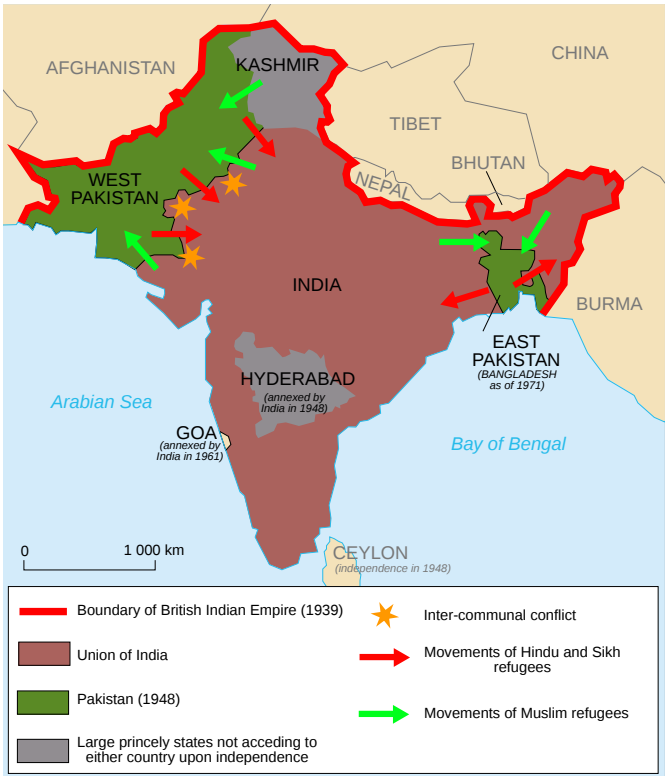
- Often the affected population is transferred by force to a distant, unfamiliar region, resulting in substantial harm to the population in question.
- Population exchange is the transfer of two populations in opposite directions at about the same time.
- Population transfer was considered an acceptable solution to the problems of ethnic conflict, up until around World War II. This attitude underwent substantial revision with the Charter of the Nuremberg Trials of Germany.
- Today, forced population transfers and exchanges are considered a violation of international law.

Key Terms

- **population transfer**: The movement of a large group of people from one region to another by state policy or international authority, most frequently on the basis of ethnicity or religion.
- **Population Exchange**: The transfer of two populations in opposite directions at about the same time.

Population transfer is the movement of a large group of people from one region to another by state policy or international authority, most frequently on the basis of ethnicity or religion. Often the affected population is transferred by force to a distant region, perhaps not suited to their way of life, causing them substantial personal and bodily harm and resulting in significant damage and loss of property.

Population exchange is the transfer of two populations in opposite directions at about the same time. These exchanges have taken place several times in the 20th century, such as during the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan.



1947 Partition of India: Figure showing the movement of refugees following the decision by colonial Britain to partition India based on religious demographics.

Issues Arising from Population Transfer

According to political scientist Norman Finkelstein, population transfer was considered as an acceptable solution to the problems of ethnic conflict up until around World War II and even a little afterward in certain cases. It was considered a drastic but “often necessary” means to end an ethnic conflict or ethnic civil war. The feasibility of population transfers was hugely increased by the creation of railroad networks in the mid-19th century.

Population transfer differs from individually motivated migration in more than just a technical sense, though at times of war the act of fleeing from danger or famine often blurs the differences.

Changing Status in International Law

The view of international law on population transfer underwent considerable evolution during the 20th century. Prior to World War II, a number of major population transfers were the result of bilateral treaties with the support of international bodies such as the League of Nations.

The tide started to turn when the Charter of the Nuremberg Trials of German Nazi leaders declared that forced deportation of civilian populations was both a war crime and a crime against humanity.This opinion was progressively adopted and extended through the remainder of the century. Underlying the change was the trend to assign rights to individuals, limiting the rights of states to make agreements which adversely affect them.

There is now little debate about the general legal status of involuntary population transfers, as forced population transfers are now considered violations of international law. No legal distinction is made between one-way and two-transfers, since the rights of each individual are regarded as independent of the experience of others.

Adopted in 1949 and now part of customary international law, Article 49 of Fourth Geneva Convention prohibits mass movement of people out of or into of occupied territory under what it calls "belligerent military occupation":

> *Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive…. The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.*

Genocide

Genocide is "the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group".

Learning Objectives

Match at least 4 of the 8 stages of genocide (according to Gregory Stanton) with a real life example

Key Points

- While some scholars claim that genocide develops identifiable stages and therefore action can be taken to stop them before they happen, critics of this approach assert that this is unrealistic.
- In 1996, Gregory Stanton presented a briefing paper called "The 8 Stages of Genocide" at the United States Department of State, in which he suggested that genocide develops in eight stages that are "predictable but not inexorable".
- Other authors have focused on the structural conditions leading up to genocide and the psychological and social processes that create an evolution toward genocide.

Key Terms

- **symbolization**: The act of symbolizing; the use of symbols to represent things, or the investing of things with a symbolic meaning
- **genocide**: The systematic killing of substantial numbers of people on the basis of ethnicity, religion, political opinion, social status, or other particularity.
- **extermination**: The act of exterminating; total destruction; eradication; excision; as, the extermination of inhabitants or tribes, of error or vice, or of weeds from a field.

Genocide is defined by the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) as "the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group," though what constitutes enough of a "part" to qualify as genocide has been subject to much debate by legal scholars. While a precise definition varies among genocide scholars, a legal definition is found in the 1948 United Nations CPPCG, which specifies that genocide entails:

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The preamble to the CPPCG states that instances of genocide have taken place throughout history, but it was not until Polish

lawyer Raphael Lemkin coined the term during World War II and the prosecution of perpetrators of the Holocaust at the Nuremberg trials that the United Nations agreed to the CPPCG, which defined the crime of genocide under international law.

The Stages of Genocide

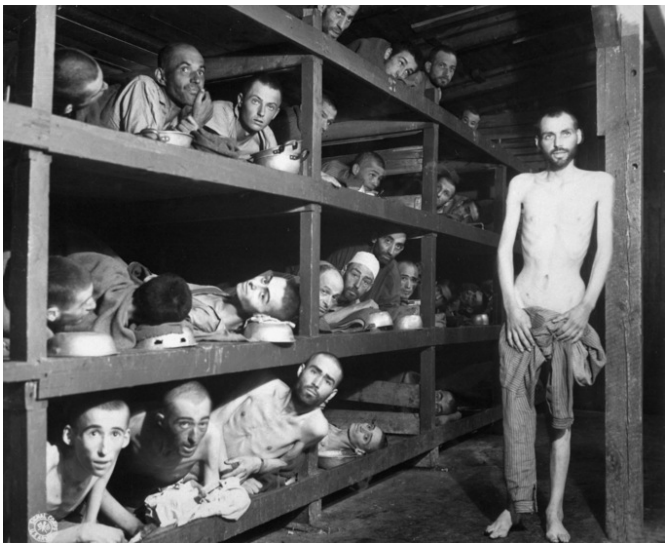
Genocide scholars such as Gregory Stanton have postulated various conditions and acts that often occur before, during, and after genocide.

In 1996, Stanton presented a briefing paper called "The 8 Stages of Genocide" at the United States Department of State. In it, he suggested that genocide develops in eight stages that are "predictable but not inexorable. " The stages are:

- Classification:People are divided into "us and them. " "The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend… divisions. "
- Symbolization:"When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups…""To combat symbolization, hate symbols can be legally forbidden as can hate speech".
- Dehumanization:"One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects, or diseases. ""Local and international leaders should condemn the use of hate speech and make it culturally unacceptable. Leaders who incite genocide should be banned from international travel and have their foreign finances frozen. "
- Organization:"Genocide is always organized… Special army units or militias are often trained and armed…""The U.N. should impose arms embargoes on governments and citizens of countries involved in genocidal massacres, and create commissions to investigate violations"
- Polarization:"Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda…""Prevention may mean security protection for moderate leaders or assistance to human rights groups… Coups d'tat by extremists should be opposed by international sanctions. "
- Preparation:"Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity…""At this stage, a Genocide Emergency must be declared…."
- Extermination:"It is 'extermination' to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human". "At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide. Real safe areas or refugee escape corridors should be established with heavily armed international protection. "
- Denial:"The perpetrators… deny that they committed any crimes…""The response to denial is punishment by an international tribunal or national courts"

While scholars, such as Stanton, claim that these stages can be identified, and actions can be taken to stop genocides before they happen, critics of this approach, such as Australian historian, Dirk Moses, assert that this is unrealistic.

Other authors have focused on the structural conditions leading up to genocide and the psychological and social processes that create an evolution toward genocide. Helen Fein showed that pre-existing anti-Semitism and systems that maintained anti-Semitic policies was related to the number of Jews killed in different European countries during the Holocaust.



Buchenwald Slave Laborers: These are slave laborers in the Buchenwald concentration camp, a German Nazi concentration camp established on the Ettersberg (Etter Mountain) near Weimar, Germany, in July 1937. It was one of the first and the largest of the concentration camps on German soil. Many prisoners had died from malnutrition when U.S. troops of the 80th Division entered the camp. The photograph was taken five days after the camp's liberation.

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10.5: Sociological Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity

The Functionalist Perspective

According to the functionalist perspective, race and ethnicity are two of the various parts of a cohesive society.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a functionalist approach to race

Key Points

- Classical functionalist theory did not develop specific analyses of race and ethnicity; it viewed them as constituent elements of society that contributed to its relatively smooth functioning.
- Functionalism emphasizes social unity and equilibrium and has been criticized for being unable to account for social conflict and systematic inequalities such as race, gender, and class.
- Since structural functionalism generally stresses the unifying role of culture, it is ill-equipped to understand divisive forces like discrimination.

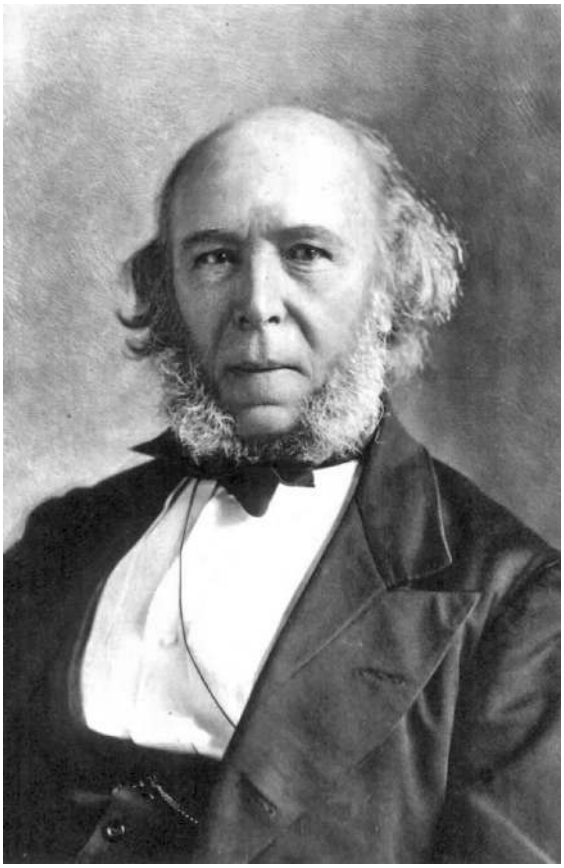
Key Terms

- **structural functionalism**: A sociological approach that looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole.

Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements; namely norms, customs, traditions, and institutions. In the 1960s, functionalism was criticized for being unable to account for social change, or for structural contradictions and conflict (and thus was often called "consensus theory"), and for ignoring systematic inequalities including race, gender, and class, which cause tension and conflict. As noted sociologist Michael Omi observes, "The structural-functionalist framework generally stressed the unifying role of culture, and particularly American values, in regulating and resolving conflicts. This approach was notably in evidence in respect to the sociology of race" (Coulhan 2007, Sociology in America, p.559). From this perspective, societies are seen as coherent, bounded, and fundamentally relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts (such as race) working together in an unconscious, quasi-automatic fashion toward achieving an overall social equilibrium.

Given this emphasis on equilibrium and harmony, the functionalist perspective easily allows for specific macro-analyses of more contentious power imbalances, such as race-related issues. It also allows for the micro-analyses that much of modern sociology is oriented around, such as identity formation and the socially constructed nature of race. It is less well-adapted to understanding individual discrimination because it ignores the inequalities that cause tension and conflict.

During the turbulent 1960s, functionalism was often called "consensus theory," criticized for being unable to account for social change or structural contradictions and conflict, including inequalities related to race, gender, class, and other social factors that are a source of oppression and conflict.



Herbert Spencer: Herbert Spencer was an English philosopher and social theorist.

The Conflict Perspective

For Karl Marx, class conflict was most prominent; other theorists saw racial and ethnic conflict as more significant.

Learning Objectives

Explain race and ethnicity from the perspective of different conflict theorists

Key Points

- The feminist theory of intersectionality suggests that different biological, social, and cultural categories, such as race, ethnicity, and gender, interact and intersect to form a system of oppression.
- Since the social, political, and cultural upheavals of the 1960s, there has been a wellspring of conflict theory-inspired analyses of race and ethnicity.
- W. E. B. Du Bois theorized that the intersectional paradigms of race, class, and nation might explain certain aspects of Black political economy.

Key Terms

- **Intersectionality**: The idea that various biological, social, and cultural categories– including gender, race, class, and ethnicity– interact and contribute towards systematic social inequality.

The classical conflict perspective pioneered by Karl Marx saw all forms of inequality subsumed under class conflict. For Marx, issues related to race and ethnicity are secondary to class struggle.

Other early conflict theorists saw racial and ethnic conflict as more central. Sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz, in *Grundriss der Soziologie* (*Outlines of Sociology*, 1884), described how civilization has been shaped by conflict between cultures and ethnic groups, theorizing that large complex human societies evolved from war and conquest.

Since the social, political, and cultural upheavals of the 1960s, there has been a wellspring of conflict theory-inspired analyses of race and ethnicity, many of which eventually developed into an overlapping focus on the intersectional nature of various forms of conflict and oppression.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a feminist sociological theory first highlighted by leading critical theorist thinker Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). The theory proposes that different biological, social, and cultural factors, such as as gender, race, and class, do not operate in isolation of one antoher. Rather, they are interrlated, forming a system of oppression that consists of different forms of discrimination. This theory will be further discussed under the feminist perspective of gender stratification in the chapter, "Understanding Gender Stratification and Inequality".

W. E. B. Du Bois theorized that the intersectional paradigms of race, class, and nation might explain certain aspects of Black political economy. Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins writes "Du Bois saw race, class, and nation not primarily as personal identity categories but as social hierarchies that shaped African American access to status, poverty, and power" (2000 Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment, 42).

The Interactionist Perspective

Race and ethnicity affect the meaning we attach to each other's actions.

Learning Objectives

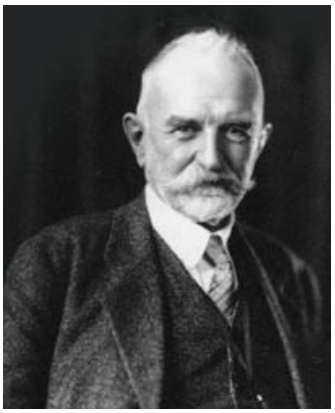
Describe how the interactionalist perspective views race and ethnicity

Key Points

- Robert Park, one of the most influential symbolic interactionist theorists on race and ethnic relations, formed his view on race and ethnicity —" human ecology," he called it—by drawing on natural ecology.
- Park's theory of the race relation cycle includes four stages: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.
- Park declared that race relations entail "a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself," also be seen in other social processes.

Key Terms

- **Race Relation Cycle**: A model of urban race relations consisting of a cycle with four stages: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.
- **Human Ecology**: Urban sociologist Robert Park's model of urban life, which borrowed concepts from symbiosis, invasion, succession, and dominance from the science of natural ecology.
- **Robert Park**: An urban sociologist from the Chicago School of Sociology who was one of the most influential symbolic interactionist theorists on race and ethnic relations.



George Herbert Mead: George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) was an American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist, primarily affiliated with the University of Chicago, where he was one of several distinguished pragmatists. He is regarded as one of the founders of social psychology and the American sociological tradition in general.

Following founding symbolic interactionist George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer claimed that people interact with each other by attaching meaning to each other's actions instead of merely reacting to them. Human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols and signification, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions.

One of the most influential symbolic interactionist theorists on race and ethnic relations was Robert Park. Evolving out of the mid-20th century "Chicago School" of urban sociology, Park created the term human ecology, which borrowed the concepts of symbiosis, invasion, succession, and dominance from the science of natural ecology.

Using the city of Chicago as an example, he proposed that cities were environments like those found in nature. Park and fellow sociologist Ernest Burgess suggested that cities were governed by many of the same forces of Darwinian evolution evident in ecosystems. They felt the most significant force was competition. Competition was created by groups fighting for urban resources, like land, which led to a division of urban space into ecological niches. Within these niches people shared similar social characteristics because they were subject to the same ecological pressure.

This theory served as a foundation for his influential theory of racial assimilation known as the "race relation cycle". The cycle has four stages: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The first step is contact, followed by competition. Then, after some time, a hierarchical arrangement can prevail—one of accommodation—in which one race is dominant and others dominated. In the end assimilation occurs. Park declared that it is "a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself," also seen in other social processes.

The Psychological Perspective

One crucial psychological finding is that members of stereotyped groups internalize those stereotypes and may suffer as a result.

Learning Objectives

Describe how the psychological perspective views race and ethnicity

Key Points

- Stereotype Threat is the experience of anxiety or concern in a situation where a person has the potential to confirm a negative stereotype about their social group.
- If negative stereotypes are present regarding a specific group, they are likely to become anxious about their performance which may hinder their ability to perform at their maximum level.
- Stereotype Threat is a potential contributing factor to long-standing racial and gender gaps in academic performance.
- Advocates of Stereotype Threat explanation have been criticized for exaggerating the importance of stereotype threat and for misrepresenting evidence as more conclusive than it is.

Key Terms

- **internalize**: To make something internal; to incorporate it in oneself.
- **stereotype threat**: The anxiety or stress a person experiences when they find themselves in a situation in which they could potentially confirm a negative stereotype about their social group.

One of the most important social psychological findings concerning race relations is that members of stereotyped groups internalize those stereotypes and thus suffer a wide range of harmful consequences.

Stereotype Threat is the experience of anxiety or concern in a situation where a person has the potential to confirm a negative stereotype about their social group. Since its introduction into the academic literature in 1995, Stereotype Threat has become one of the most widely studied topics in the field of social psychology. First described by social psychologist, Claude Steele and his colleagues, Stereotype Threat has been shown to reduce the performance of individuals who belong to negatively stereotyped groups. If negative stereotypes are present regarding a specific group, they are likely to become anxious about their performance, which in turn may hinder their ability to perform at their maximum level.

Stereotype Threat is a potential contributing factor to long-standing racial and gender gaps in academic performance. However, it may occur whenever an individual's performance might confirm a negative stereotype. This is because Stereotype Threat is thought to arise from the particular situation rather than from an individual's personality traits or characteristics. Since most people have at least one social identity which is negatively stereotyped, most people are vulnerable to Stereotype Threat if they encounter a situation in which the stereotype is relevant.

Situational factors that increase Stereotype Threat can include the difficulty of the task, the belief that the task measures their abilities, and the relevance of the negative stereotype to the task. Individuals show higher degrees of Stereotype Threat on tasks they wish to perform well on and when they identify strongly with the stereotyped group. These effects are also increased when they expect discrimination due to their identification with negatively stereotyped group. Repeated experiences of Stereotype Threat can lead to a vicious circle of diminished confidence, poor performance, and loss of interest in the relevant area of achievement.

The opposite of Stereotype Threat is known as Stereotype Enhancement, which entails an individual's potential to confirm a positive stereotype about their social group, and a subsequent increase in performance ability in the related task as compared to their ability prior to their exposure to the stereotype.

Advocates of Stereotype Threat explanation have been criticized for exaggerating it and for misrepresenting evidence as more conclusive than it is.



A Racist Campaign Poster: A racist political campaign poster from the 1866 Pennsylvania gubernatorial election. Psychological perspectives examine the effects of these kinds of propagated stereotypes.

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10.6: Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.

Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.

The U.S. has a diverse society, and its history is marked by attempts to concentrate power, wealth, and privilege into the hands of whites.

Learning Objectives

Describe the history and current situation of at least three minorities in the U.S.

Key Points

- The emphasis on racial distinctions often results in the failure to acknowledge the ethnic and national diversity that various racial groups encompass.
- The negative effects of unequal race relations can be seen to this day, albeit to different degrees, amongst all non-European American groups.
- A model minority is a stereotype of a minority group that is considered to have achieved educational, professional, and socioeconomic success without threatening the status quo.

Key Terms

- **Multi-Racial**: When a person's heritage comes from a variety of different races.
- **Model Minority**: A minority group that is seen as reaching significant educational, professional, and socioeconomic levels without challenging the existing establishment.

The United States is a very diverse, multi-racial and multi-ethnic country; people from around the world have been immigrating to the United States for several hundred years. While the first wave of immigrants came from Western Europe, the bulk of people entering North America were from Northern Europe, then Eastern Europe, followed by Latin America and Asia. There was also the forced immigration of African slaves. Native Americans, who did not immigrate but rather inhabited the land prior to immigration, experienced displacement as a result. Most of these groups also suffered a period of disenfranchisement and prejudice as they went through the process of assimilation.

Since its early history, Native Americans, African Americans, and European Americans were considered as different races in the United States. The differences attributed to each group, however, especially the differences used to designate European Americans as the superior race, had little to do with biology. Instead, these racial designations were a means to concentrate power, wealth, land, and privilege in the hands of the European Americans. Moreover, the emphasis on racial distinctions often led to the lack of acknowledgement or over-simplification of the great ethnic diversity of the country's population. For example, the racial category of "white" or European American fails to reflect that members of this group hail from very different countries. Similarly, the racial category of "black" does not distinguish people from the Caribbean from those who were brought to North America from various parts of Africa.

Today, the U.S. continues to see a significant influx of immigrants from all over the world. Race relations in the U.S. remain problematic, marked by discrimination, persecution, violence, and an ongoing struggle for power and equality.

Native Americans

The brutal confrontation between the European colonists and the Native Americans, which resulted in the decimation of the latter's population, is well known as an historical tragedy. Even after the establishment of the United States government, discrimination against Native Americans was codified and formalized in a series of laws intended to subjugate them and keep them from gaining any power. The eradication of Native American culture continued until the 1960s, when Native Americans were able to participate in, and benefit from, the civil rights movement. Native Americans still suffer the effects of centuries of degradation. Long-term poverty, inadequate education, cultural dislocation, and high rates of unemployment contribute to Native American populations falling to the bottom of the economic spectrum.

African Americans

African Americans arrived in North America under duress as slaves, and there is no starker illustration of the dominant-subordinate group relationship than that of slavery. Slaves were stripped of all their rights and privileges, and were at the absolute mercy of their owners. For African Americans, the civil rights movement was an indication that a subordinate group would no longer willingly submit to domination. The major blow to America's formally institutionalized racism was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act, which is still followed today, banned discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Some sociologists, however, would argue that institutionalized racism persists, especially since African Americans still fair poorly in terms of employment, insurance coverage, and incarceration, as well as in the areas of economics, health, and education.

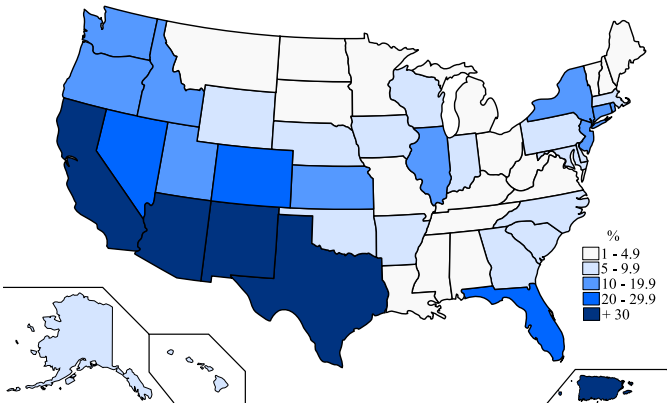
Asian Americans

Asian Americans come from a diversity of cultures, including Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese. They, too, have been

subjected to racial prejudice. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, for example, which was motivated by white workers blaming Chinese migrants for taking their jobs, resulted in the abrupt end of Chinese immigration and the segregation of Chinese already in America; this segregation resulted in the Chinatowns found in large cities. Nevertheless, despite a difficult history, Asian Americans have earned the positive stereotype of the model minority. The model minority stereotype is applied to a minority group that is seen as reaching significant educational, professional, and socioeconomic levels without challenging the existing establishment.

Hispanic Americans

Hispanic Americans come from a wide range of backgrounds and nationalities. Mexican Americans form the largest Hispanic subgroup, and also the oldest. Mexican Americans, especially those who are here illegally, are at the center of a national debate about immigration. Mexican immigrants experience relatively low rates of economic and civil assimilation, which is most likely compounded by the fact that many of them are illegally in the country. By contrast, Cuban Americans are often seen as a model minority group within the larger Hispanic group. As with Asian Americans, however, being a model minority can mask the issue of powerlessness that these minority groups face in U.S. society.



Hispanic Population Distribution in the US: This map shows data gathered in the 2010 US Census of Spanish-speaking populations around the US.

Racial Groups

The United States is a diverse country, racially and ethnically.

Learning Objectives

Explain what definitions of race are deployed by the U.S. census

Key Points

- The United States Census Bureau also classifies Americans as ” Hispanic or Latino” and “Not Hispanic or Latino. ” Hispanic and Latino Americans are a racially diverse ethnicity that composes the largest minority group in the nation.
- The one drop rule, a historical colloquial term, stated that any one considered to have even a drop of black blood was to be classified as being black. This was an effort to restore white supremacy during the post Civil War Reconstruction era.
- The Blood Quantum, or Indian Blood, Laws refers to legislation in the United States to establish a person’s membership in Native American tribes or nations.

Key Terms

- **One Drop Rule**: A historical colloquial term in the United States for the social classification as black of individuals with any African ancestry; meaning any person with “one drop of black blood” was considered black.
- **Other Pacific Islander**: A United States Census category referring to individuals from the Pacific Islands but not Hawaii.
- **ethnicity**: The identity of a group of people having common racial, national, religious, or cultural origins.

The United States is a diverse country, racially and ethnically. Six races are officially recognized: white, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, black or African American, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, and people of two or more races. A race called, “Some other race,” is also used in the census and other surveys but is not official.

The United States Census Bureau also classifies Americans as “Hispanic or Latino” and “Not Hispanic or Latino,” which identifies Hispanic and Latino Americans as a racially diverse ethnicity that composes the largest minority group in the nation.

History

The immigrants to the New World of the Americas came largely from ethnically diverse regions of the European Old World. In the Americas, the immigrant populations began to mix among themselves and with the indigenous inhabitants of the continent, as well as the enslaved Africans.

From the beginning of U.S. history, Native Americans, African Americans, and European Americans were classified as belonging to different races. For nearly three centuries, the criteria for membership in these groups were similar, comprising a person’s appearance, their fraction of known non-European ancestry and their social circle. This changed in the late nineteenth century.

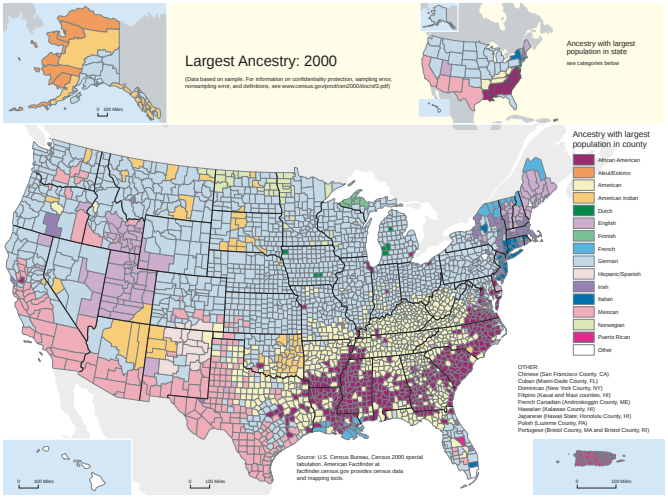
Throughout the post-Civil War Reconstruction era, in an effort to restore white supremacy in the South after the emancipation of slaves, the ruling white majority began to classify anyone considered to have “one drop” of “black blood,” or any known African ancestry, to be “black.” In most southern states, this definition was not put into law until the twentieth century. Many local governments established racial segregation of facilities during what came to be known as the Jim Crow era, which began in the late 1800s.

In the twentieth century, efforts to sort the increasingly mixed population of the United States into discrete categories generated many difficulties for the U.S. government (Spickard, 1992). By the standards used in past censuses, many millions of mixed-race children born in the United States have been classified as of a different race than one of their biological parents. Efforts to track mixing between groups led to a proliferation of categories (such as “mulatto” and “octoroon”) and so-called “blood quantum” distinctions, which refers to the degree of ancestry for an individual of a specific racial or ethnic group (e.g., saying someone is “1/4 Omaha tribe”).

These various distinctions became increasingly untethered from self-reported ancestry. Further complicating this fact is that a person’s racial identity can change over time, and self-ascribed race can differ from assigned race (Kressin et al., 2003).

Current Official Definitions of Race and Ethnicity

Aside from their varied social, culture, and political connotations, the idea of racial groups have been used in U.S. censuses as self-identification data items in which residents choose the race or, starting with the 2000 US Census, races with which they most closely identify. Respondents also indicate whether or not they are of Hispanic or Latino origin, which the census considers separately from race. While many see race and ethnicity as the same thing, ethnicity generally refers to a group of people whose members identify with each other through a common heritage and culture, as opposed to the implication of shared biological traits associated with the term “race.”



The American Public by Ancestry, 2000: Especially in the southwest United States, people of Latino origin make up a significant proportion of United States residents.

These categories, therefore, represent a social-political construct for the race or races that respondents consider themselves to be and “generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country. ” The concept of race, as outlined for the U.S. Census, has been described as not “scientific or anthropological” and takes into account “social and cultural characteristics as well as ancestry,” using “appropriate scientific methodologies” that are not “primarily biological or genetic in reference. ” The race categories include both racial and national-origin groups.

Ethnic Groups

An ethnic group is a group of people who share a common heritage, culture, and/or language; in the U.S., ethnicity often refers to race.

Learning Objectives

Explain why ethnic and racial categories tend to overlap in the U.S.

Key Points

- In the United States of America, the term “ethnic” carries a different meaning from how it is commonly used in some other countries, due to the historical and ongoing significance of racial distinctions that categorize together what might otherwise have been viewed as ethnic groups.
- Ethnicity in U.S. therefore usually refers to collectives of related groups, having more to do with physical appearance, specifically skin color, rather than political boundaries.
- The formal and informal inscription of racialized groupings into law and social stratification schemes has bestowed upon race a fundamental social identification role in the United States.

Key Terms

- **social stratification**: The hierarchical arrangement of social classes, or castes, within a society.
- **ethnic group**: A group of people who identify with one another, especially on the basis of racial, cultural, or religious grounds.

An ethnic group is a group of people who identify with each other through a common heritage, which generally consists of a common culture and shared language or dialect. The group's ethos or ideology may also stress common ancestry, religion, or race.

In the United States of America, the term "ethnic" carries a different meaning from how it is commonly used in some other countries. This is due to the historical and ongoing significance of racial distinctions that categorize together what might otherwise have been viewed as ethnic groups. For example, various ethnic, "national," or linguistic groups from Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands, Latin America, and Indigenous America have long been combined together as racial minority groups (currently designated as African American, Asian, Latino and Native American or American Indian, respectively).

While a sense of ethnic identity may coexist with racial identity (Chinese Americans among Asian or Irish American among European or White, for example), the long history of the United States as a settler, conqueror, and slave society, and the formal and informal inscription of racialized groupings into law and social stratification schemes has bestowed upon race a fundamental social identification role in the United States.

Examples of Overlapping Racial and Ethnic Categories in the U.S.

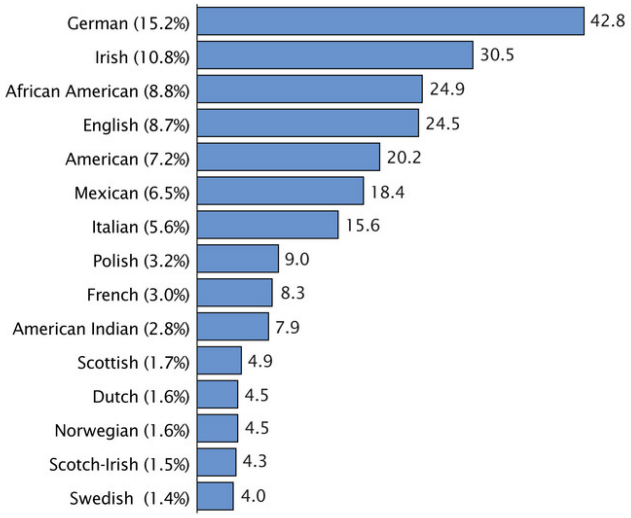
Ethnicity in U.S. therefore usually refers to collectives of related groups, having more to do with physical appearance, specifically skin color, rather than political boundaries. The word "nationality" is more commonly used for this purpose (e.g. Italian, Mexican, French, Russian, Japanese). Most prominently in the U.S., Latin American descended populations are grouped in a " Hispanic " or "Latino" ethnicity. The many previously designated "Oriental" ethnic groups are now classified as the "Asian" racial group for the census.

The terms "Black" and "African American," while different, are both used as ethnic categories in the U.S. In the late 1980s, the term "African American" came into prominence as the most appropriate and politically correct race designation. While it was intended as a shift away from the racial injustices of America's past often associated with the historical views of the "Black" race, it largely became a simple replacement for the terms Black, Colored, Negro and similar terms, referring to any individual of dark skin color regardless of geographical descent.

The term Caucasian generally describes some or all people whose ancestry can be traced to Europe, the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, North Africa, Central Asia, and South Asia. This includes European-colonized countries in the Americas, Australasia, and South Africa, among others. All the aforementioned are categorized as part of the "White" racial group, as per U.S. Census categorization. This category has been split into two groups: Hispanics and non-Hispanics (e.g. White non-Hispanic and White Hispanic.)

Figure 2.
Fifteen Largest Ancestries: 2000

(In millions. Percent of total population in parentheses.
Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see *www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf*)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 special tabulation.

Fifteen Largest Ancestries in the 2000 Census: Top ancestries recorded in 2000.

Immigration and Illegal Immigration

Immigration is the act of foreigners passing or coming into a country for the purpose of permanent residence.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the history and status of immigration (both legal and illegal) and the workforce in the United States

Key Points

- Immigration to the United States has been a major source of population growth and cultural change. Different historical periods have brought distinct national groups, races and ethnicities to the United States.
- In recent years, immigration has increased substantially.

- American attitudes toward immigration are markedly ambivalent. In general, Americans have more positive attitudes toward groups that have been visible for a century or more, and much more negative attitude toward recent arrivals.
- An illegal immigrant in the United States is an alien (non-citizen) who has entered the United States without government permission and in violation of United States Nationality Law, or stayed beyond the termination date of a visa, also in violation of the law.

Key Terms

- **immigration**: The act of immigrating; the passing or coming into a country for the purpose of permanent residence.
- **illegal immigration**: When a person enters the United States without governmental permission and in violation of the United States Nationality Law, or stayed beyond the termination date of a visa, also in violation of the law.

Immigration is the act of foreigners passing or coming into a country for the purpose of permanent residence. Immigration occurs for many reasons, including economic, political, family re-unification, natural disasters, or poverty. Many immigrants came to America to escape religious persecution or dire economic conditions. Most hoped coming to America would provide freedom and opportunity.

History

Immigration to the United States has been a major source of population growth and cultural change. Different historical periods have brought distinct national groups, races and ethnicities to the United States. During the 17th century, approximately 175,000 Englishmen migrated to Colonial America. Over half of all European immigrants to Colonial America during the 17th and 18th centuries arrived as indentured servants. The mid-nineteenth century saw mainly an influx from northern Europe; the early twentieth-century mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe; post-1965 mostly from Latin America and Asia.

Contemporary Immigration

In recent years, immigration has increased substantially. In 1965, ethnic quotas were removed; these quotas had restricted the number of immigrants allowed from different parts of the world. Immigration doubled between 1965 and 1970, and again between 1970 and 1990. Between 2000 and 2005, nearly 8 million immigrants entered the United States, more than in any other five-year period in the nation's history. In 2006, the United States accepted more legal immigrants as permanent residents than all other countries in the world combined.

Recent Immigration Demographics

Until the 1930s most legal immigrants were male. By the 1990s, women accounted for just over half of all legal immigrants. Contemporary immigrants tend to be younger than the native population of the United States, with people between the ages of 15 and 34 substantially over-represented Immigrants are also more likely to be married and less likely to be divorced than native-born Americans of the same age.

Immigrants come from all over the world, but a significant number come from Latin America. In 1900, when the U.S. population was 76 million, there were an estimated 500,000 Hispanics. The Census Bureau projects that by 2050, one-quarter of the population will be of Hispanic descent. This demographic shift is largely fueled by immigration from Latin America.

Immigrants are likely to move to and live in areas populated by people with similar backgrounds. This phenomenon has held true throughout the history of immigration to the United States.

Public Opinion Toward Immigrants

American attitudes toward immigration are markedly ambivalent. American history is rife with examples of anti-immigrant opinion. Benjamin Franklin opposed German immigration, warning Germans would not assimilate. In the 1850s, the nativist Know Nothing movement opposed Irish immigration, promulgating fears that the country was being overwhelmed by Irish Catholic immigrants.

In general, Americans have more positive attitudes toward groups that have been visible for a century or more, and much more negative attitude toward recent arrivals.According to a 1982 national poll by the Roper Center at the University of Connecticut, "By high margins, Americans are telling pollsters it was a very good thing that Poles, Italians, and Jews emigrated to America. Once again, it's the newcomers who are viewed with suspicion. This time, it's the Mexicans, the Filipinos, and the people from the Caribbean who make Americans nervous. "

One of the most important factors regarding public opinion about immigration is the level of unemployment; anti-immigrant sentiment is highest where unemployment is highest, and vice versa. In fact, in the United States, only 0.16 percent of the workforce are legal immigrants.

Illegal Immigration to the United States

An illegal immigrant in the United States is an alien (non-citizen) who has entered the United States without government permission and in violation of United States Nationality Law, or stayed beyond the termination date of a visa, also in violation of the law. Illegal immigrants continue to outpace the number of

legal immigrants—a trend that's held steady since the 1990s. The illegal immigrant population is estimated to be between 7 and 20 million. More than 50% of illegal immigrants are from Mexico.

While the majority of illegal immigrants continue to concentrate in places with existing large Hispanic communities, illegal immigrants are increasingly settling throughout the rest of the country. A percentage of illegal immigrants do not remain indefinitely but do return to their country of origin; they are often referred to as "sojourners", for "they come to the United States for several years but eventually return to their home country. "

The continuing practice of hiring unauthorized workers has been referred to as the magnet for illegal immigration. As a significant percentage of employers are willing to hire illegal immigrants for higher pay than they would typically receive in their former country, illegal immigrants have prime motivation to cross borders. But migration is expensive, and dangerous for those who enter illegally. Participants in debates on immigration in the early twenty-first century have called for increasing enforcement of existing laws governing illegal immigration to the United States, building a barrier along some or all of the 2,000-mile (3,200 km) U.S.-Mexico border, or creating a new guest worker program.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action refers refers to policies that take factors such as race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion into consideration.

Learning Objectives

Discuss arguments for and against affirmative action

Key Points

- Affirmative action measures are intended to prevent discrimination against employees or applicants for employment, on the basis of "color, religion, sex, or national origin".
- The controversy surrounding affirmative action's effectiveness is often based on the idea of class inequality.
- Other opponents of affirmative action call it reverse discrimination, saying affirmative action requires the very discrimination it is seeking to eliminate.

Key Terms

- **affirmative action**: A policy or program providing advantages for people of a minority group who are seen to have traditionally been discriminated against, with the aim of creating a more egalitarian society through preferential access to education, employment, health care, social welfare, etc.

In the United States, affirmative action refers to equal opportunity employment measures that Federal contractors and subcontractors such as public universities and government agencies are legally required to adopt. These measures are intended to prevent discrimination against employees or applicants for employment on the basis of "color, religion, sex, or national origin". Examples of affirmative action offered by the United States Department of Labor include outreach campaigns, targeted recruitment, employee and management development, and employee support programs.

The impetus towards affirmative action is to redress the disadvantages associated with overt historical discrimination. Further impetus is a desire to ensure that public institutions, such as universities, hospitals, and police forces, are more representative of the populations they serve.

Affirmative action is a subject of controversy. Some policies adopted as affirmative action, such as racial quotas or gender quotas for collegiate admission, have been criticized as a form of reverse discrimination, an implementation ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2003, though the Court also upheld affirmative action as a practice in a court case held simultaneously that year.

History of the Term

Affirmative action in the United States began as a tool to address the persisting inequalities for African Americans in the 1960s. This specific term was first used to describe US government policy in 1961. Directed to all government contracting agencies, President John F. Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 mandated "affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. "

Four years later, President Lyndon B. Johnson outlined the basic social science view that supports such policies:

> *"Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family that you live with, and the neighborhood you live in—by the school you go to and*

> *the poverty or the richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally the man."*

Arguments Against Affirmative Action

The controversy surrounding affirmative action's effectiveness is often based on the idea of class inequality. Opponents of racial affirmative action argue that the program actually benefits middle- and upper-class African Americans and Hispanic Americans at the expense of lower class European Americans and Asian Americans. This argument supports the idea of solely class-based affirmative action. America's poor is disproportionately made up of people of color, so class-based affirmative action would disproportionately help people of color. This would eliminate the need for race-based affirmative action as well as reducing any disproportionate benefits for middle and upper class people of color.

Other opponents of affirmative action call it reverse discrimination, saying affirmative action requires the very discrimination it is seeking to eliminate. According to these opponents, this contradiction makes affirmative action counter-productive. Other opponents say affirmative action causes unprepared applicants to be accepted in highly demanding educational institutions or jobs which result in eventual failure. Other opponents say that affirmative action lowers the bar, and so denies those who strive for excellence on their own merit and the sense of real achievement.

Some opponents further claim that affirmative action has undesirable side-effects and that it fails to achieve its goals. They argue that it hinders reconciliation, replaces old wrongs with new wrongs, undermines the achievements of minorities, and encourages groups to identify themselves as disadvantaged even if they are not. It may increase racial tension and benefit the more privileged people within minority groups at the expense of the disenfranchised within majority groups (such as lower-class whites). Some opponents believe, among other things, that affirmative action devalues the accomplishments of people who belong to a group it is supposed to help, therefore making affirmative action counter-productive.

Implementation in Universities

In the US, a prominent form of affirmative action centers on access to education, particularly admission to universities and other forms of higher education. Race, ethnicity, native language, social class, geographical origin, parental attendance of the university in question (legacy admissions), and/or gender are sometimes taken into account when assessing the meaning of an applicant's grades and test scores. Individuals can also be awarded scholarships and have fees paid on the basis of criteria listed above. In 1978, the Supreme Court ruled in Bakke v. Regents that public universities (and other government institutions) could not set specific numerical targets based on race for admissions or employment. The Court said that "goals" and "timetables" for diversity could be set instead.



John F. Kennedy: John F. Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, who established the concept of affirmative action by mandating that projects financed with federal funds "take affirmative action" to ensure that hiring and employment practices are free of racial bias.

A Multicultural Society

Multiculturalism is an ideology that promotes the institutionalization of communities containing multiple cultures.

Learning Objectives

Describe how multiculturalism is addressed in the U.S.

Key Points

- Multiculturalism is generally applied to the demographic make-up of a specific place, e.g. schools, businesses, neighborhoods, cities, or nations.
- In the United States, continuous mass immigration has been a feature of economy and society since the first half of the 19th century.
- The absorption of the stream of immigrants in itself became a prominent feature of America's national myth, inspiring its own narrative about its past that is centered around

multiculturalism and the embrace of newcomers from many different backgrounds.

Key Terms

- **national myth**: An inspiring narrative or anecdote about a nation's past that serves as an important national symbol and affirms a set of national values.
- **multiculturalism**: A characteristic of a society that has many different ethnic or national cultures mingling freely. It can also refer to political or social policies which support or encourage such a coexistence. Important in this is the idea that cultural practices, no matter how unusual, should be tolerated as a measure of respect.

Multiculturalism is an ideology that promotes the institutionalization of communities containing multiple cultures. It is generally applied to the demographic make-up of a specific place, usually at the organizational level, e.g. schools, businesses, neighborhoods, cities, or nations.

In a political context the term is used for a wide variety of meanings, ranging from the advocacy of equal respect for the various cultures in a society, to a policy of promoting the maintenance of cultural diversity, to policies in which people of various ethnic and religious groups are addressed by the authorities as defined by the group they belong to.

In the United States, multiculturalism is not clearly established in policy at the federal level. Instead, it has been addressed primarily through the school system with the rise of ethnic studies programs in higher education and attempts to make the grade school curricula more inclusive of the history and contributions of non-white peoples.

Multiculturalism and the National Myth

In the United States, continuous mass immigration has been a feature of economy and society since the first half of the 19th century. The absorption of the stream of immigrants in itself became a prominent feature of America's national myth, inspiring its own narrative about its past.

This found particular expression in America as a "Melting Pot," a metaphor that implies that all the immigrant cultures are mixed and amalgamated without state intervention. This metaphor also suggests that each individual immigrant, and each group of immigrants, assimilated into American society at their own pace. The Melting Pot tradition co-exists with a belief in national unity, dating from the American founding fathers:

"Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people—a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs… This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of Providence, that an inheritance so proper and convenient for a band of brethren, united to each other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties. " —John Jay, First American Supreme Court Chief Justice, Federalist Paper No. 2

Multiculturalism as a Philosophy

As a philosophy, multiculturalism began as part of the pragmatism movement at the end of the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States, then as political and cultural pluralism at the turn of the twentieth. It was partly in response to a new wave of European imperialism in sub-Saharan Africa and the massive immigration of Southern and Eastern Europeans to the United States and Latin America.

Philosophers, psychologists, historians, and early sociologists such as Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, George Santayana, Horace Kallen, John Dewey, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Alain Locke developed concepts of cultural pluralism, from which emerged what we understand today as multiculturalism. In *Pluralistic Universe* (1909), William James espoused the idea of a "plural society" and saw pluralism as "crucial to the formation of philosophical and social humanism to help build a better, more egalitarian society. "

Multiculturalism in Education

The educational approach to multiculturalism has recently spread to the grade school system, as school systems try to rework their curricula to introduce students to diversity at an earlier age. This is often on the grounds that it is important for minority students to see themselves represented in the classroom. Studies estimate that the 46.3 million Americans ages 14 to 24 are the most diverse generation in American society.

Controversy over Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a highly disputed topic in the United States. For example, in 2009 and 2010, controversy erupted in Texas as the state 's curriculum committee made several changes to the state's school cirriculum requirements, often at the expense of minorities: juxtaposing Abraham Lincoln's inaugural address with that of Confederate president Jefferson Davis; debating removing Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and labor-leader César Chávez; and rejecting calls to include more Hispanic figures, in spite of the high Hispanic population in the state.



New York City Circa 1900: Mulberry Street, along which Manhattan's Little Italy is centered. Lower East Side, New York City, United States, circa 1900.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

11: Gender Stratification and Inequality

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11.2: Gender and Socialization

11.3: Sociological Perspectives on Gender Stratification

11.4: Women as a Minority

11.5: Women in the Workplace

11.6: Gender-Based Violence

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11.1: Gender and Biology

The Role of Biology

Biology determines sex, while social norms determine gender.

Learning Objectives

Define and differentiate between sex and gender

Key Points

- Though males and females have biological differences, they are more similar than is usually expected. Difference arises from cultural expectations.
- Gender takes many forms and is shaped by religious, political, legal, philosophical, linguistic, and other traditions.
- Social constructs around gender often have a biological component. For example, historically in many cultures women are seen as the weaker sex, both because they have been relegated to less powerful social roles and because biologically, women tend to have less muscle mass.

Key Terms

- **gender**: The socio-cultural phenomenon of the division of people into various categories such as male and female, with each having associated roles, expectations, stereotypes, etc.
- **sex**: Either of two main divisions (female or male) into which many organisms can be placed, according to reproductive function or organs.

It is important to distinguish between sex and gender. Sex refers to a person's biological make-up as male or female. Typically, a person's genotype (genetic makeup) and phenotype (observable traits) are used to determine a person's sex. Males are defined as having an XY 23rd chromosome, while females are defined as having an XX 23rd chromosome (though tests have revealed variations in chromosomes, including XXY, XYY, and XXX). Scientists have linked a person's 23rd chromosome to the development of a sexed phenotype. Anatomically, males and females have different reproductive organs: a penis, testicles, and scrotum for males, and a vagina, uterus, and ovaries for females. Other anatomical differences include the development of breasts among females, and the presence of a menstrual cycle.

Male and female are generally understood as discrete categories, often referred to as "opposite" sexes. In fact, the majority of male and female biology is identical. Male and female reproductive systems are distinct, but otherwise most bodily systems function the same way. With regards to digestive, respiratory, circulatory, lymphatic, musculoskeletal, nervous, immune, sensory, endocrine, and integumentary systems, males and females have many more similarities than differences. Likewise, males and females have nearly all the same hormones present in their bodies, though the amount of certain hormones (such as estrogen and testosterone) varies.

While sex is the determination of whether a person is biologically male or female, gender is the sociocultural determination of

understanding of what it means to be a man or a woman. Sex is largely constant across different cultures; in virtually any country, a person with XY chromosomes and male reproductive organs is considered male. Gender, however, takes many forms and is shaped by religious, political, legal, philosophical, linguistic, and other traditions. For example, in some countries, wearing make-up is associated with women and is seen as feminine. Elsewhere, men routinely wear make-up and it is seen as masculine. Across history in most parts of the world, women have been denied access to economic independence and legal and political rights more often than men have. This oppression is based on cultural understandings of women as the weaker sex, but is often linked to females' biological capacity for bearing and nursing children.

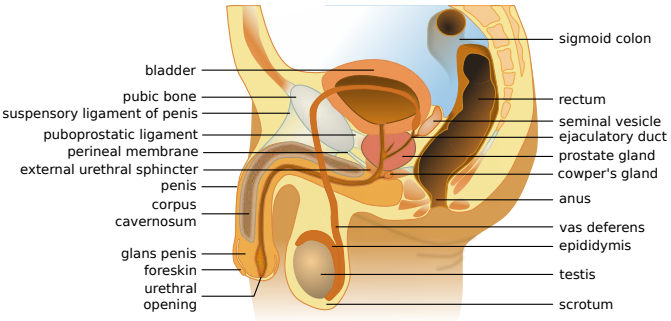


A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

The Trouble with Women! (1959): Are Brad's problems really the result of qualities that are innate to women? Is this a question of sex, gender or simply sexism?

Some physical differences between the male and female sexes are thought to occur as a result of both biological and cultural processes. For example, on average, males have more upper body strength than females. This difference is partially the result of differences in the biological development of the musculoskeletal system, but is exacerbated by the cultural tendency for men to use their upper body muscles more than

women through physical labor and athletics. Similarly, males have a shorter life expectancy than females do, on average. Again, this may partially result from different biological make-ups, but decreased life-expectancy gaps in developed countries proves that cultural institutions contribute to the gap. When men and women have similar careers and lifestyles, the life-expectancy gap decreases.



The Male Anatomy: The male reproductive system is clearly distinct from that of the female.

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11.2: Gender and Socialization

Gender Socialization

Gender socialization is the process by which males and females are informed about the norms and behaviors associated with their sex.

Learning Objectives

Explain the influence of socialization on gender roles and their impact

Key Points

- Gender socialization is the process by which individuals are taught how to socially behave in accordance with their assigned gender, which is assigned at birth based on their biological sex.
- Today it is largely believed that most gender differences are attributed to differences in socialization, rather than genetic and biological factors.
- Gender stereotypes can be a result of gender socialization: girls and boys are expected to act in certain ways that are socialized from birth. Children and adults who do not conform to gender stereotypes are often ostracized by peers for being different.
- While individuals are typically socialized into viewing gender as a masculine-feminine binary, there are individuals who challenge and complicate this notion. These individuals believe that gender is fluid and not a rigid binary.

Key Terms

- **Gender socialization**: The process of educating and instructing males and females as to the norms, behaviors, values, and beliefs of group membership as men or women.
- **gender**: The socio-cultural phenomenon of the division of people into various categories such as male and female, with each having associated roles, expectations, stereotypes, etc.
- **sex**: Either of two main divisions (female or male) into which many organisms can be placed, according to reproductive function or organs.

Sociologists and other social scientists generally attribute many of the behavioral differences between genders to socialization. Socialization is the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to group members. The most intense period of socialization is during childhood, when adults who are members of a particular cultural group instruct young children on how to behave in order to comply with social norms. Gender is included in this process; individuals are taught how to socially behave in accordance with their assigned gender, which is assigned at birth based on their biological sex (for instance, male babies are given the gender of "boy", while female babies are given the gender of "girl"). Gender socialization is thus the process of educating and instructing males and females as to the norms, behaviors, values, and beliefs of group membership.



Rosie the Riveter: "Rosie the Riveter" was an iconic symbol of the American homefront in WWII. The entrance of women into the workforce (and into traditionally male roles) marked a departure from gender roles due to wartime necessity.

Preparations for gender socialization begin even before the birth of the child. One of the first questions people ask of expectant parents is the sex of the child. This is the beginning of a social categorization process that continues throughout life. Preparations for the birth often take the infant's sex into consideration (e.g., painting the room blue if the child is a boy, pink for a girl). Today it is largely believed that most gender differences are attributed to differences in socialization, rather than genetic and biological factors.

Gender stereotypes can be a result of gender socialization. Girls and boys are expected to act in certain ways, and these ways are socialized from birth by many parents (and society). For example, girls are expected to be clean and quiet, while boys are messy and loud. As children get older, gender stereotypes become more apparent in styles of dress and choice of leisure activities. Boys and girls who do not conform to gender stereotypes are usually ostracized by same-age peers for being different. This can lead to negative effects, such as lower self-esteem.

In Western contexts, gender socialization operates as a binary, or a concept that is exclusively comprised of two parts. In other words, individuals are socialized into conceiving of their gender as either masculine (male) or feminine (female). Identities are therefore normatively constructed along this single parameter. However, some individuals do not feel that they fall into the gender binary and they choose to question or challenge the male-masculine / female-feminine binary. For example, individuals that identify as *transgender* feel that their gender identity does not match their biological sex. Individuals that identify as *genderqueer* challenge classifications of masculine and feminine, and may identify as somewhere other than male and female, in between male and female, a combination of male and female, or a third (or forth, or fifth, etc.) gender altogether. These identities demonstrate the fluidity of gender, which is so frequently thought to be biological and immutable. Gender fluidity also shows how gender norms are learned and either accepted or rejected by the socialized individual.

The Social Construction of Gender

Social constructivists propose that there is no inherent truth to gender; it is constructed by social expectations and gender performance.

Learning Objectives

Explain Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity

Key Points

- Social constructionism is the notion that people's understanding of reality is partially, if not entirely, socially situated.
- Gender is a social identity that needs to be contextualized.
- Individuals internalize social expectations for gender norms and behave accordingly.

Key Terms

- **Gender performativity**: Gender Performativity is a term created by post-structuralist feminist philosopher Judith Butler in her 1990 book Gender Trouble, which has subsequently been used in a variety of academic fields that describes how individuals participate in social constructions of gender.
- **social constructionism**: The idea that social institutions and knowledge are created by actors within the system, rather than having any inherent truth on their own.
- **essentialism**: The view that objects have properties that are essential to them.

Social Constructionism

The social construction of gender comes out of the general school of thought entitled social constructionism. Social constructionism proposes that everything people "know" or see as "reality" is partially, if not entirely, socially situated. To say that something is socially constructed does not mitigate the power of the concept. Take, for example, money. Money is a socially constructed reality. Paper bills are worth nothing independent of the value individuals ascribe to them. The dollar is only worth as much as value as Americans are willing to ascribe to it. Note that the dollar only works in its own currency market; it holds no value in

areas that don't use the dollar. Nevertheless, the dollar is extremely powerful within its own domain.

These basic theories of social constructionism can be applied to any issue of study pertaining to human life, including gender. Is gender an essential category or a social construct ? If it is a social construct, how does it function? Who benefits from the way that gender is constructed? A social constructionist view of gender looks beyond categories and examines the intersections of multiple identities and the blurring of the boundaries between essentialist categories. This is especially true with regards to categories of male and female, which are viewed typically as binary and opposite. Social constructionism seeks to blur the binary and muddle these two categories, which are so frequently presumed to be essential.

Judith Butler and Gender Performativity

Judith Butler is one of the most prominent social theorists currently working on issues pertaining to the social construction of gender. Butler is a trained philosopher and has oriented her work towards feminism and queer theory. Butler's most known work is *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, published in 1991, which argues for gender performativity. This means that gender is not an essential category. The repetitious performances of "male" and "female" in accordance with social norms reifies the categories, creating the appearance of a naturalized and essential binary. Gender is never a stable descriptor of an individual, but an individual is always "doing" gender, performing or deviating from the socially accepted performance of gender stereotypes. Doing gender is not just about acting in a particular way. It is about embodying and believing certain gender norms and engaging in practices that map on to those norms. These performances normalize the essentialism of gender categories. In other words, by doing gender, we reinforce the notion that there are only two mutually exclusive categories of gender. The internalized belief that men and women are essentially different is what makes men and women behave in ways that appear essentially different. Gender is maintained as a category through socially constructed displays of gender.

Doing gender is fundamentally a social relationship. One does gender in order to be perceived by others in a particular way, either as male, female, or as troubling those categories. Certainly, gender is internalized and acquires significance for the individual; some individuals want to feel feminine or masculine. Social constructionists might argue that because categories are only formed within a social context, even the affect of gender is in some ways a social relation. Moreover, we hold ourselves and each other for our presentation of gender, or how we "measure up." We are aware that others evaluate and characterize our behavior on the parameter of gender. Social constructionists would say that gender is interactional rather than individual—it is developed through social interactions. Gender is also said to be omnirelevant, meaning that people are always judging our behavior to be either male or female.



Judith Butler: Author of Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.

Gender Identity in Everyday Life

Gender identity is one's sense of one's own gender. It is the result of socialization, but it also has a biological basis.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the difference between biological and social construction of gender identity

Key Points

- Gender identity typically falls on a gender binary —individuals are expected to exclusively identify either as male or female. However, some individuals believe that this binary model is illegitimate and identify as a third, or mixed, gender.
- Individuals whose gender identity aligns with their sex organs are said to be cisgender. Transgender individuals are those whose gender identity does not align with their sex organs.
- Gender identity discourse derives from medical and psychological conceptions of gender. There is vigorous debate over biological versus environmental causes of the development of one's gender identity.
- As gender identities come to be more disputed, new legal frontiers are opening on the basis that a male/female gender binary, as written into the law, discriminates against individuals who either identify as the opposite of their biological sex or who do not identify as either male or female.
- The extreme cultural variation in notions of gender indicate the socially constructed nature of gender identity.

Key Terms

- **cisgender**: Identifying with or experiencing a gender the same as one's biological sex or that is affirmed by society, e.g. being both male-gendered & male-sexed.
- **transgender**: Not identifying with culturally conventional gender roles and categories of male or female; having changed gender identity from male to female or female to male, or identifying with elements of both, or having some other gender identity.
- **gender binary**: A view of gender whereby people are categorized exclusively as either male or female, often basing gender on biological sex.

Gender identity is one's sense of being male, female, or a third gender. Gender identity typically falls on a gender binary—individuals are expected to exclusively identify either as male or female. However, some individuals believe that this binary model is illegitimate and identify as a third, or mixed, gender. Gender identity is socially constructed, yet it still pertains to one's sense of self. Gender identity is not only about how one perceives one's own gender, but also about how one presents one's gender to the public.

Cisgender and Transgender

Individuals whose gender identity aligns with their sex organs are said to be cisgender. Transgender individuals are those whose gender identity does not align with their sex organs. These people generally dress according to how they feel but do not make an drastic change within their sexual organs. Transsexuals, however, take drastic measures to assume their believed identity. This includes hormone therapy and sexual reassignment operations. Recently, there has been a growing gender/queer movement consisting of individuals who do not feel that their sex organs are mismatched to their gender identity, but who still wish to trouble the notion of a gender binary, considering it overly simplistic and misrepresentative.

Causes of Confusion in Gender Identity

What causes individuals to sense a sort of confusion between their biological gender and their gender identity? This question is hotly contested, with no clear answer. Some scientists argue that the sense of confusion is a biological result of the pre- and post-natal swinging of hormone levels and genetic regulation. Sociologists tend to emphasize the environmental impetuses for gender identity. Certainly, socialization, or the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and

behaviors to group members, plays a significant part in how individuals learn and internalize gender roles and subsequently impact their gender identity.

Though the medical emphasis in some conversations about gender identity is frequently scrutinized by sociologists, there is clearly some biological basis to gender, even if it has more to do with appearances and social presentation than identity formation. Women have two X chromosomes, where men have one X and one Y chromosome. However, despite the deep relationship to biology, gender identity cannot only be biologically determined. However, gender identity has a larger social component that needs to be considered. For example, although a person may be biologically male, "he" may feel more comfortable with a female identity, which is a social construction based on how he feels, not his physical makeup.

Gender Identities and Law

As gender identities come to be more disputed, new legal frontiers are opening on the basis that a male/female gender binary, as written into the law, discriminates against individuals who either identify as the opposite of their biological sex or who identify as neither male nor female. On college campuses, gender-restrictive dorm housing is facing opposition by individuals who identify as neither a man nor a woman. Many public spaces and workplaces are instituting gender-neutral bathroom facilities. Gender identity has become a piece of international law as a branch of human rights doctrines. The Yogyakarta Principles, drafted by international legal scholars in 2006, provide a definition of gender identity in its preamble. In the Principles "gender identity" refers to each person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the biological sex assigned at birth, including the person's sense of the body and other expressions of gender.

Gender Identities across Cultures

Gender identities, and the malleability of the gender binary, vary across cultures. In some Polynesian societies, fa'afafine are considered to be a third gender alongside male and female. Fa'afafine are accepted as a natural gender and are neither looked down upon nor discriminated against. They are biologically male, but dress and behave in a manner that Polynesians typically consider female. Fa'afafine are often physiologically unable to reproduce. Fa'afafine also reinforce their femininity by claiming to be only attracted to and receiving sexual attention from heterosexual men.

In the Indian subcontinent, a hijra is usually considered to be neither male nor female. The hijra form a third gender, although they do not enjoy the same acceptance and respect as individuals who identify along the gender binary.

The xanith form an accepted third gender in Oman, a society that also holds a gender binary as a social norm. The xanith are male, homosexual prostitutes whose dressing is male, featuring pastel colors rather than the white clothes traditionally worn by men, but their mannerisms are coded as female. Xanith can mingle with women where men cannot. However, similar to other men in Oman, xanith can marry women and prove their masculinity by consummating the marriage. This extreme cultural variation in notions of gender indicate the socially constructed nature of gender identity.



Men in Montreal Dressed in Drag: The image above exemplifies the subjective and personal understanding people have of their own gender identities.

Gender Roles in the U.S.

Gender roles refer to the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered to be appropriate for people of a specific sex.

Learning Objectives

Describe how gender roles in the U.S. have changed since the 1950's

Key Points

- Gender roles are never universal, even within a single country, and they are always historically and culturally contingent.
- Gender role theory emphasizes environmental conditions and the influence of socialization, or the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to group members, in learning how to behave as a male or female.
- Current trends toward a total integration model of gender roles is reflected in women's education, professional achievement, and family income contributions.

Key Terms

- **nuclear family**: a family unit consisting of at most a father, mother and dependent children.
- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **Division of labor**: A division of labour is the dividing and specializing of cooperative labour into specifically circumscribed tasks and roles.

Gender roles refer to the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex. There has been significant variation in gender roles over cultural and historical spans, and all gender roles are culturally and historically contingent. Much scholarly work on gender roles addresses the debate over the environmental or biological causes for the development of gender roles. The following section seeks to orient the reader to the sociological theorization of the gender role and discuss its application in an American context.

Gender and Social Role Theory

Gender role theory posits that boys and girls learn to perform one's biologically assigned gender through particular behaviors and attitudes. Gender role theory emphasizes the environmental causes of gender roles and the impact of socialization, or the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to group members, in learning how to behave as a male or a female. Social role theory proposes that the social structure is the underlying force in distinguishing genders and that sex-differentiated behavior is driven by the division of labor between two sexes within a society. The division of labor creates gender roles, which in turn, lead to gendered social behavior.

Gender Roles in the United States

With the popularization of social constructionist theories of gender roles, it is paramount that one recognize that all assertions about gender roles are culturally and historically contingent. This means that what might be true of gender roles in the United States for one cultural group likely is not true for another cultural group. Similarly, gender roles in the United States have changed drastically over time. There is no such thing as a universal, generalizable statement about gender roles.

One main thread in discussions about gender roles in the United States has been the historical evolution from a single-income family, or a family unit in which one spouse (typically the father) is responsible for the family income, to a dual-income family, or a family unit in which both spouses generate income. Before the rise of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s and the influx of women into the workforce in the 1980s, women were largely responsible for dealing with home matters, while men worked and earned income outside the home. While some claim that this was a sexist structure, others maintain that the structure simply represented a division of labor, or a social system in which a particular segment of the population performs one type of labor and another segment performs another type.

Nuclear Family Models

In 1955, sociologist Talcott Parsons developed a model of nuclear families in the United States that addressed gender roles. Family structures vary across cultures and history, and the term *nuclear family* refers to a family unit of two parents and their children. Parsons developed two models of gender roles within the nuclear family. His first model involved total role segregation; men and women would be trained and educated in gender-specific institutions, and high professional qualifications and the workplace would be intended for men. Women would be primarily focused on housekeeping, childcare, and children's education. Male participation in domestic activity would be only partially desired and socially acceptable. Further, in the case of conflict, the man would have the final say. Parsons contrasted this first model with a second that involved the total integration of roles. In the second model, men and women would be educated in the same institutions and study the same content in classes. Outside the educational milieu, women and men would both perceive career to be important, and equal professional opportunities for men and women would be considered socially necessary. Both parties in a marriage would bear responsibility for housework and child rearing. Finally, neither gender would systematically dominate decision making.

Current Trends

Of course, neither of Parsons's models accurately described the United States in the 1950s, and neither model accurately describes the United States in the present day. However, total role segregation was closer to the reality of the United States in the 1950s, whereas a total integration of roles is increasingly common in the United States today.

The national trend toward a total integration of gender roles is reflected in women's education, professional achievement, and family income contributions. Currently, more women than men are enrolled in college, and women are expected to earn more graduate degrees than men over the next several years. In 2005, 22% of American households had two income earners, which suggests the presence of women in the workforce. However, in most contexts, women are still expected to be the primary homemakers, even if they are contributing to household income by working outside the home.

The Cross-Cultural Perspective

Gender roles vary widely across different cultural contexts.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast gender roles in different cultures

Key Points

- It is impossible to generalize what life is like for one woman from assumptions about gender roles in different countries.
- To assess what daily life is like for women, one must learn the particulars about the cultural and historical moment she occupies.
- In Sweden, all working parents are entitled to sixteen months paid leave per child. To encourage greater paternal involvement in childrearing, a minimum of two months out of the sixteen is required to be used by the "minority" parent, usually the father.
- 62% of Chileans are opposed to full gender equality and believe that women should limit themselves to the roles of mother and wife. Until recently, women lost their right to administer their own assets once they were married, and were required by law to obey their husbands.
- Women in Japan are usually well-educated and employed, though gender dynamics emerge in regards to social pressure to find a husband. Historically, gender has been an important principle of Japanese social stratification, but gender differences have varied over time and within social class.

Key Terms

- **Michelle Bachelet**: Chile's first female president (2006-2010).
- **parental leave**: A leave of absence from a job for a parent to take care of a baby.

Gender roles vary significantly across cultures. Indeed, all gender roles are culturally and historically contingent, meaning that they cannot be analyzed outside of their cultural and historical contexts. This section attempts to provide a few examples of variation in gender roles and the lives of women in various places around the world. These small glimpses are not universal by any means, but this overview should provide a brief summary of just how much women's lives vary and how much women's lives seem similar across national boundaries.

Gender Roles in Sweden

Governments in Europe are typically more active in governing the lives of their citizens than the U.S. government. As such, European governments have used their social powers to encourage equality between men and women. In Sweden, for example, all working parents are entitled to sixteen months paid leave per child, with the cost shared by the government and the employer. To encourage greater paternal involvement in childrearing, a minimum of two months out of the sixteen is required to be used by the "minority" parent, usually the father. Through policies such as parental leave, European states actively work to promote equality between genders in childrearing and professional lives.

Gender Roles In Chile

As is the case for many women in the United States and in Europe, many women in Chile feel pressure to conform to traditional gender roles. A 2010 study by the United Nations Development Programme found that 62% of Chileans are opposed to full gender equality and expressed the belief that women should limit themselves to the roles of mother and wife. These social barriers to gender equality exist in the face of legal equality.

Chilean law has recently undergone some drastic changes to support gender equality. Until recently, women lost their right to administer their own assets once they were married, with their husbands receiving all of their wealth. Now, a woman is allowed to maintain her own property. Previously, women were legally required to live with and be faithful and obedient to her husband, but now it is not law.

Chile grants both men and women the right to vote and had one of the first female presidents in the world. From 2006 until 2010, Michelle Bachelet served as Chile's first female president. Women are gaining increasingly prominent positions in various aspects of government. The prominence of female politicians is working to undo traditional stereotypes of women belonging only in the domestic sphere.

Gender Roles in Japan

Women in Japan are usually well-educated and employed, though gender dynamics emerge in regards to social pressure to find a husband. Historically, gender has been an important principle of Japanese social stratification but the cultural elaboration of gender differences has, of course, varied over time and within social class. After World War II, the legal position of women was redefined by the occupation authorities. Individual rights were given precedence over obligation to family. Women were guaranteed the right to choose spouses and occupations, to inherit and own property in their own names, and to retain custody of their children. Women were granted the right to vote in 1946. Legally, few barriers to women's equal participation in social and professional life remain in Japan.

However, gender inequality continues in family life, the workplace, and popular values. A common Japanese proverb that continues to influence gender roles is "good wife, wise mother. " The proverb reflects the still common social belief, encouraged by men and women alike, that it is in the woman's, her children's, and society's best interests for her to stay home and devote herself to her children. In most households, women are responsible for family budgets and make independent decisions about the education, careers, and life styles of their families.

Better educational prospects are improving women's professional prospects. Immediately after World War II, the common image of womanhood was that of a secretary who becomes a housewife and mother after marriage. But a new generation of educated woman is emerging who wishes to establish a career in the workforce. Japanese women are joining the labor force in unprecedented numbers

such that around 50% of the workforce is comprised of women. One important change is that married women have begun to participate in the work force. In the 1950s, most female employees were young and single; 62% of the female labor force had never been married. By 1987, 68% of the female workforce was married and only 23% had never been married.

Despite changes in the workforce, women are still expected to get married. It is common for unmarried women to experience anxiety and social pressure as a result of her unwed status.

These examples from Sweden, Chile, and Japan hardly scratch the surface of demonstrating some of the extreme variation in gender roles worldwide.



"The World Turned Upside Down": Gender roles are reversed in this picture wh holds the scepter, while the man is spinning

Childhood Socialization

Gender roles are taught from infancy through primary socialization, or the type of socialization that occurs in childhood and adolescence.

Learning Objectives

Describe how society socializes children to accept gender norms

Key Points

- Gender is instilled through socialization immediately from birth. Consider the gender norms with which society imbues infants. The most archetypal example is the notion that male babies like blue things while female babies like pink things.
- The example set by an individual's family is also important for socialization. For example, children who grow up in a family with the husband a breadwinner and the wife a homemaker will tend to accept this as the social norm.
- Children sometimes resist gender norms by behaving in ways more commonly associated with the opposite gender.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: The process of learning one's culture and how to live within it.
- **primary socialization**: The socialization that takes place early in life, as a child and adolescent.
- **secondary socialization**: The socialization that takes place throughout one's life, both as a child and as one encounters new groups that require additional socialization.

Social norms pertaining to gender are developed through socialization, the lifelong process of inheriting, interpreting, and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies.The process of socialization continues throughout one's life and is constantly renegotiated, but socialization begins as soon as one is born. Sociologists divide socialization into two different parts. Primary socialization takes place early in life, as a child and adolescent. Secondary socialization refers to the socialization that takes place throughout one's life, both as a child and as one encounters new groups that require additional socialization.

Gender is instilled through socialization immediately from birth. Consider the gender norms with which society imbues infants: The most archetypal example is the notion that male babies like blue things while female babies like pink things. When a boy gets a football for his birthday and a girl receives a doll, this also socializes children to accept gender norms. The example set by an individual's family is also important for socialization; children who grow up in a family with the husband a breadwinner and the wife a homemaker will tend to accept this as the social norm, while those who grow up in families with female breadwinners, single parents, or same-sex couples will develop different ideas of gender norms.

Because gender norms are perpetuated immediately upon birth, many sociologists study what happens when children fail to adopt the expected gender norms rather than the norms themselves. This is the standard model of studying deviance in order to understand the norm that undergirds the deviant activity. Children can resist gender norms by insisting on dressing in clothing more typically associated with the other gender, playing with toys more typically associated with the other gender, or having opposite-sex playmates.



Halloween Costumes can be Revealing!: Notice how the little girls are dressed in ", including a princess and queen, while the boy's costume has more masculine including the bow and arrow as a symbol of aggression.

Adolescent Socialization

Adolescence is a transitional stage of biological, cognitive and social development that prepares individuals for taking on adult roles.

Learning Objectives

Describe the three general approaches to understanding identity development

Key Points

- Identity development is a normative process of change in both the content and structure of how people think about themselves. Identity development encompasses the following notions: self-concept, sense of identity and self-esteem.
- Self-concept is the awareness of the self in relation to a variety of different characteristics and concepts.
- A sense of identity is much more integrated and less conflicting than the self-concept, as an identity is a coherent sense of self that is consistent across different contexts and circumstances past, present and future.
- Self-esteem is one's perception of and feelings toward one's self-concept and identity.
- Familial, peer and sexual/romantic relationships exert a siginficant influence over adolescent development and can encourage either positive or negative outcomes.

Key Terms

- **identity**: A coherent sense of self stable across circumstances and including past experiences and future goals.

Adolescence is a transitional stage of physical and psychological human development. The period of adolescence is most closely associated with the teenage years, although its physical, psychological and cultural expressions can begin earlier and end later. In studying adolescent development, adolescence can be defined biologically as the physical transition marked by the onset of puberty and the termination of physical growth; cognitively, as changes in the ability to think abstractly and multi-dimensionally; and socially as a period of preparation for adult roles. Major pubertal and biological changes include changes to the sex organs, height, weight and muscle mass, as well as major changes in brain structure and organization. Cognitive advances encompass both increases in knowledge and the ability to think abstractly and to reason more effectively. This is also a time when adolescents start to explore gender identity and sexuality in depth.

Identity Development

Among the most common beliefs about adolescence is that it is the time when teens form their personal identities. Empirical studies confirm a normative process of change in both the content and structure of one's thoughts about the self. Researchers have used three general approaches to understanding identity development: self-concept, sense of identity and self-esteem.

Self-Concept

Early in adolescence, cognitive developments result in greater self-awareness, greater awareness of others and their thoughts and judgments, the ability to think about abstract, future possibilities, and the ability to consider multiple possibilities at once. While children define themselves with physical traits, adolescents define themselves based on their values, thoughts and opinions. Adolescents can now conceptualize multiple "possible selves" they could become and long-term possibilities and consequences of their choices. Exploring these possibilities may result in abrupt changes in self-presentation as the adolescent chooses or rejects qualities and behaviors, trying to guide the actual self toward the ideal self (who the adolescent wishes to be) and away from the feared self (who the adolescent does not want to be). In terms of gender socialization, boys and girls start to gravitate toward traditional roles. For example, girls may take more liberal art type classes while boys are more physical. Boys and girls tend to socialize together, although dating starts to occur. Girls generally look to their mothers or female role models for guidance, while boys tend to identify more with their fathers or male role models.

Sense of Identity

Unlike the conflicting aspects of self-concept, identity represents a coherent sense of self stable across circumstances and including past experiences and future goals. Development psychologist Erik Erikson describes adolescence as the period during which individuals ponder the questions: who am I and what can I be? As they make the transition from childhood to adulthood, adolescents ponder the roles they will play in the adult world. Initially, they are apt to experience some role confusion—mixed ideas and feelings about the specific ways in which they will fit into society—and may experiment with a variety of behaviors and activities. For example, a girl may want to pursue a career that is predominantly male, and if she is stifled by her sense of female identity, she may end up with a lifetime of regret. The same is true of males wishing to pursue a female-dominated career. Erikson proposed that most adolescents eventually achieve a sense of identity regarding who they are and where their lives are headed.

Self-Esteem

The final major aspect of identity formation is self-esteem, which is one's thoughts and feelings about one's self-concept and identity. Contrary to popular belief, there is no empirical evidence for a significant drop in self-esteem over the course of adolescence. "Barometric self-esteem" fluctuates rapidly and can cause severe distress and anxiety, but baseline self-esteem remains highly stable across adolescence.The validity of global self-esteem scales has been questioned, and many suggest that more specific scales might reveal more about the adolescent experience. For girls, they are most likely to enjoy high self-esteem when engaged in supportive relationships with friends, as the most important function of friendship to them is having someone who can provide social and moral support. In contrast, boys are more concerned with establishing and asserting their independence and defining their relation to authority. As such, they are more likely to derive high self-esteem from their ability to successfully influence their friends.

Relationships

Peers

Peer groups are especially important during adolescence, a period of development characterized by a dramatic increase in time spent with peers and a decrease in adult supervision. Adolescents also associate with friends of the opposite sex much more than in childhood and tend to identify with larger groups of peers based on shared characteristics. Peer groups offer members the opportunity to develop various social skills like empathy, sharing and leadership.

Romance and Sexual Activity

Romantic relationships tend to increase in prevalence throughout adolescence. The typical duration of relationships increases throughout the teenage years as well. This constant increase in the likelihood of a long-term relationship can be explained by sexual maturation and the development of cognitive skills necessary to maintain a romantic bond, although these skills are not strongly developed until late adolescence. Overall, positive romantic relationships among adolescents can result in long-term benefits. High-quality romantic relationships are associated with higher commitment in early adulthood and are positively associated with self-esteem, self-confidence and social competence.



Hanging Out: Peer relationships play a significant role in adolescent socialization.

Gender Differences in Social Interaction

Masculine and feminine individuals generally differ in how they communicate with others.

Learning Objectives

Explain and illustrate gender differences in social interactions

Key Points

- Differences between " gender cultures " influence the way that people of different genders communicate. These differences begin at childhood.
- Traditionally, masculine people and feminine people communicate with people of their own gender in different ways.
- Through communication we learn about what qualities and activities our culture prescribes to our sex.

Key Terms

- **gender**: The socio-cultural phenomenon of the division of people into various categories such as male and female, with each having associated roles, expectations, stereotypes, etc.
- **gender culture**: The set of behaviors or practices associated with masculinity and femininity.

Social and cultural norms can significantly influence both the expression of gender identity, and the nature of the interactions between genders.

Differences between "gender cultures" influence the way that people of different genders communicate. These differences begin at childhood. Maltz and Broker's research showed that the games children play contribute to socializing children

into masculine and feminine cultures. For example, girls playing house promotes personal relationships, and playing house does not necessarily have fixed rules or objectives. Boys, however, tend to play more competitive team sports with different goals and strategies. These differences as children cause women to operate from assumptions about communication, and use rules for communication that differ significantly from those endorsed by most men.

Gender Differences in Social Interaction

Masculine and feminine cultures and individuals generally differ in how they communicate with others. For example, feminine people tend to self-disclose more often than masculine people, and in more intimate details. Likewise, feminine people tend to communicate more affection, and with greater intimacy and confidence than masculine people. Generally speaking, feminine people communicate more and prioritize communication more than masculine people.

Traditionally, masculine people and feminine people communicate with people of their own gender in different ways. Masculine people form friendships with other masculine people based on common interests, while feminine people build friendships with other feminine people based on mutual support. However, both genders initiate opposite-gender friendships based on the same factors. These factors include proximity, acceptance, effort, communication, common interests, affection and novelty.

Context is very important when determining how we communicate with others. It is important to understand what script it is appropriate to use in each respective relationship. Specifically, understanding how affection is communicated in a given context is extremely important. For example, masculine people expect competition in their friendships.They avoid communicating weakness and vulnerability. They avoid communicating personal and emotional concerns. Masculine people tend to communicate affection by including their friends in activities and exchanging favors. Masculine people tend to communicate with each other shoulder-to-shoulder (e.g., watching sports on a television).

In contrast, feminine people are more likely to communicate weakness and vulnerability. In fact, they may seek out friendships more in these times. For this reason, feminine people often feel closer to their friends than masculine people do. Feminine people tend to value their friends for listening and communicating non-critically, communicating support, communicating feelings of enhanced self-esteem, communicating validation, offering comfort and contributing to personal growth. Feminine people tend to communicate with each other face-to-face (e.g., meeting together to talk over lunch).

Communication and Gender Cultures

A communication culture is a group of people with an existing set of norms regarding how they communicate with each other. These cultures can be categorized as masculine or feminine. Gender cultures are primarily created and sustained by interaction with others. Through communication we learn about what qualities and activities our culture prescribes to our sex. While it is commonly believed that our sex is the root source of differences and how we relate and communicate to others, it is actually gender that plays a larger role. Whole cultures can be broken down into masculine and feminine, each differing in how they get along with others through different styles of communication. Julia T. Wood's studies explain that "communication produces and reproduces cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. " Masculine and feminine cultures differ dramatically in when, how, and why they use communication.

Communication Styles

Deborah Tannen's studies found these gender differences in communication styles (where men more generally refers to masculine people, and women correspondingly refers to feminine people):

- Men tend to talk more than women in public situations, but women tend to talk more than men at home.
- Women are more inclined to face each other and make eye contact when talking, while men are more likely to look away from each other.
- Men tend to jump from topic to topic, but women tend to talk at length about one topic.
- When listening, women make more noises such as "mm-hmm" and "uh-huh", while men are more likely to listen silently.
- Women are inclined to express agreement and support, while men are more inclined to debate.



Feminine Interaction: Women adhering to a feminine gender culture often feel m with one another.

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11.3: Sociological Perspectives on Gender Stratification

The Functionalist Perspective

The functionalist perspective of gender roles suggests that gender roles exist to maximize social efficiency.

Learning Objectives

Describe gender inequality from the view of the functionalist perspective

Key Points

- The functionalist perspective sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation and broadly focuses on the social structures that shape society as a whole.
- This theory suggests that gender inequalities exist as an efficient way to create a division of labor, or as a social system in which a particular segment of the population is clearly responsible for certain acts of labor and another segment is clearly responsible for other labor acts.
- The feminist movement takes the position that functionalism neglects the suppression of women within the family structure.

Key Terms

- **functionalist perspective of gender inequality**: A theory that suggests that gender inequalities exist as an efficient way to create a division of labor, or a social system in which a particular segment of the population is clearly responsible for certain acts of labor and another segment is clearly responsible for other labor acts.
- **The Functionalist Perspective**: A broad social theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.
- **Division of labor**: A division of labour is the dividing and specializing of cooperative labour into specifically circumscribed tasks and roles.

The functionalist perspective sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole, and looks at both social structure and social functions. Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements, namely: norms, customs, traditions, and institutions. A common analogy, popularized by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as “organs” that work toward the proper functioning of the “body” as a whole.

The functionalist perspective of gender inequality was most robustly articulated in the 1940s and 1950s, and largely developed by Talcott Parsons’ model of the nuclear family. This theory suggests that gender inequalities exist as an efficient way to create a division of labor, or as a social system in which particular segments are clearly responsible for certain, respective acts of labor. The division of labor works to maximize resources and efficiency. A structural functionalist view of gender inequality applies the division of labor to view predefined gender roles as complementary: women take care of the home while men provide for the family. Thus gender, like other social institutions, contributes to the stability of society as a whole.

In sociological research, functional prerequisites are the basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, and money) that an individual requires to live above the poverty line. Functional prerequisites may also refer to the factors that allow a society to maintain social order. According to structural functionalists, gender serves to maintain social order by providing and ensuring the stability of such functional prerequisites.

This view has been criticized for reifying, rather than reflecting, gender roles. While gender roles, according to the functionalist perspective, are beneficial in that they contribute to stable social relations, many argue that gender roles are discriminatory and should not be upheld. The feminist movement, which was on the rise at the same time that functionalism began to decline, takes the position that functionalism neglects the suppression of women within the family structure.



A Female Indian Construction: While the structural-functionalist perspective argues that gender inequalities exist as a form of the division of labor, the photograph above clearly illustrates that women need not be restricted to certain activities.

The Conflict Perspective

Conflict theory suggests that men, as the dominant gender, subordinate women in order to maintain power and privilege in society.

Learning Objectives

Describe gender from the view of the conflict perpective

Key Points

- Conflict theory asserts that social problems occur when dominant groups mistreat subordinate ones, and thus advocates for a balance of power between genders.
- Frederich Engels compared the family structure to the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, suggesting that women had less power than men in the household because they were dependent on them for wages.
- Men, like any other group with a power or wealth advantage in Conflict Theory, fought to maintain their control over resources (in this case, political and economic power). Conflict between the two groups caused things like the Women's Suffrage Movement and was responsible for social change.

Key Terms

- **subordinate**: To make subservient.
- **dominant**: Ruling; governing; prevailing; controlling.
- **proletariat**: the working class or lower class
- **dominant group**: a sociological category that holds the majority of authority and power over other social groups

According to conflict theory, society is defined by a struggle for dominance among social groups that compete for scarce resources. In the context of gender, conflict theory argues that gender is best understood as men attempting to maintain power and privilege to the detriment of women. Therefore, men can be seen as the dominant group and women as the subordinate group. While certain gender roles may have been appropriate in a hunter-gatherer society, conflict theorists argue that the only reason these roles persist is because the dominant group naturally works to maintain their power and status. According to conflict theory, social problems are created when dominant groups exploit or oppress subordinate groups. Therefore, their approach is normative in that it prescribes changes to the power structure, advocating a balance of power between genders.

In most cultures, men have historically held most of the world's resources. Until relatively recently, women in Western cultures could not vote or hold property, making them entirely dependent on men. Men, like any other group with a power or wealth advantage, fought to maintain their control over resources (in this case, political and economic power). Conflict between the two groups caused things like the Women's Suffrage Movement and was responsible for social change.

Friedrich Engels, a German sociologist, studied family structure and gender roles from a Marxist perspective. Engels suggested that the same owner-worker relationship seen in the labor force could also be seen in the household, with women assuming the role of the proletariat. This was due to women's dependence on men for the attainment of wages. Contemporary conflict theorists suggest that when women become wage earners, they gain power in the family structure and create more democratic arrangements in the home, although they may still carry the majority of the domestic burden.



"And the villain still pursues her! ": A satirical postcard from the Victorian era commenting on a society that is structured so that women are bound by convention to fulfill certain roles and obligations.

The Interactionist Perspective

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, gender is produced and reinforced through daily interactions and the use of symbols.

Learning Objectives

Describe gender from the view of the interactionalist perspective

Key Points

- Scholars of interactionism study how individuals act within society and believe that meaning is produced through interactions.
- According to interactionists, gender stratification exists because people act toward each other on the basis of the meanings they have for each other, and that these meanings are derived from social interaction.
- According to Cooley's concept of the "looking-glass self," an individual's understanding of their gender role is based on how society perceives them. Thus, if society views a man as masculine, he will also perceive himself to be masculine.
- "Doing gender" is the notion that masculinity and feminity are performed gender identities. Gender is something we do

or perform, not something we are.

Key Terms

- **femininity**: the sum of all attributes that convey (or are perceived to convey) womanhood
- **masculinity**: the degree or property of being masculine or manly; manliness
- **Charles H. Cooley**: an early twentieth century sociologist who developed the idea of the "looking-glass self"

Interactionism

In sociology, interactionism is a theoretical perspective that understands social processes (such as conflict, cooperation, identity formation) as emerging from human interaction. Scholars of this perspective study how individuals act within society, and believe that meaning is produced through the interactions of individuals. According to interactionists, gender stratification exists because people act toward each other on the basis of the meanings they have for one another. Interactionists believe that these meanings are derived through social interaction, and that these meanings are managed and transformed through an interpretive process that people use to make sense of, and handle, the objects that constitute their social worlds.

Goffman and Control

Social interaction is a face-to-face process that consists of actions, reactions, and mutual adaptation between two or more individuals. The goal of social interaction is to communicate with others. Social interaction includes all language, including body language and mannerisms. Erving Goffman, one of the forefathers of this theoretical perspective, emphasized the importance of *control* in social interactions. According to Goffman, during an interaction, individuals will attempt to control the behavior of the other participants, in order to attain needed information, and in order to control the perception of one's own image. If the interaction is in danger of ending before an individual wants it to, it can be conserved through several steps. One conversational partner can conform to the expectations of the other, he or she can ignore certain incidents, or he or she can solve apparent problems.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism aims to understand human behavior by analyzing the critical role of symbols in human interaction. This is certainly relevant to the discussion of masculinity and femininity, because the characteristics and practices of both are socially constructed, reproduced, and reinforced through daily interactions. Imagine, for example, that you walk into a bank, hoping to get a small loan for school, a home, or a small business venture. If you meet with a male loan officer, you might state your case logically, listing all of the hard numbers that make you a qualified applicant for the loan. This type of approach would appeal to the analytical characteristics typically associated with masculinity. If you meet with a female loan officer, on the other hand, you might make an emotional appeal, by stating your positive social intentions. This type of approach would appeal to the sensitive and relational characteristics typically associated with femininity.

Gender as Performance

The meanings attached to symbols are socially created and fluid, instead of natural and static. Because of this, we act and react to symbols based on their current assigned meanings. Both masculinity and feminity are performed gender identities, in the sense that gender is something we do or perform, not something we are . In response to this phenomena, the sociologist Charles H. Cooley's developed the theory of the "looking-glass self" (1902). In this theory, Cooley argued that an individual's perception of himself or herself is based primarily how society views him or her. In the context of gender, if society perceives a man as masculine, that man will consider himself as masculine. Thus, when people perform tasks or possess characteristics based on the gender role assigned to them, they are said to be *doing gender* (rather than "being" gender), a notion first coined by West and Zimmerman (1987). West & Zimmerman emphasized that gender is maintained through accountability. Men and women are expected to perform their gender to the point that it is naturalized, and thus, their status depends on their performance.



Confounding Expectation: The woman in this picture blurs the boundaries between the symbols that are traditionally considered masculine or feminine. While she has long hair and is wearing makeup, typically feminine markers, her clothes are much more masculine in nature.

The Feminist Perspective

Feminist theory analyzes gender stratification through the intersection of gender, race, and class.

Learning Objectives

Explain gender stratification from the feminist perspective

Key Points

- Gender stratification occurs when gender differences give men greater privilege and power over women, transgender and gender-non-conforming people.
- Feminist theory uses the conflict approach to examine the reinforcement of gender roles and inequalities, highlighting the role of patriarchy in maintaining the oppression of women.
- Feminism focuses on the theory of patriarchy as a system of power that organizes society into a complex of relationships based on the assertion of male supremacy.
- Intersectionality suggests that various forms of oppression– such as racism, classism, and sexism — are interrelated to form a system of oppression in which various forms of discrimination intersect. The theory was first highlighted by Kimberlé Krenshaw.
- Intersectionality suggests that various biological, social, and cultural categories– including gender, race, class, and ethnicity — interact and contribute towards systematic social inequality. Therefore, various forms of oppression do not act independently but are interrelated.
- Mary Ann Weathers drew attention to the ways in which white women face a different form of discrimination than working class women of color, who additionally must fight racism and class oppression.

Key Terms

- **patriarchy**: The dominance of men in social or cultural systems.
- **Intersectionality**: The idea that various biological, social, and cultural categories– including gender, race, class, and ethnicity– interact and contribute towards systematic social inequality.
- **conflict theory**: A social science perspective that holds that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor.

In sociology, social stratification occurs when differences lead to greater status, power, or privilege for some groups over others. Simply put, it is a system by which society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy. Members of society are socially stratified on many levels, including socio-economic status, race, class, ethnicity, religion, ability status, and gender. Gender stratification occurs when gender differences give men greater privilege and power over women, transgender, and gender-non-conforming people.

Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical discourse. It aims to understand the nature of gender inequality, and examines women's social roles, experiences, and interests. While generally providing a critique of social relations, much of feminist theory also focuses on analyzing gender inequality and the promotion of women's interests.



"Women! The same rights, the same duties. ": This 1919 German social democratic election poster advocates for the rights of women. However, did white women face the same challenges that women of other races and ethnic groups did?

Feminist theory uses the conflict approach to examine the reinforcement of gender roles and inequalities. Conflict theory posits that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor. Radical feminism, in particular, evaluates the role of the patriarchy in perpetuating male dominance. In patriarchal societies, the male's perspective and contributions are considered more valuable, resulting in the silencing and marginalization of the woman. Feminism focuses on the theory of patriarchy as a system of power that organizes society into a complex of relationships based on the assertion of male supremacy.

The feminist perspective of gender stratification more recently takes into account intersectionality, a feminist sociological theory first highlighted by feminist-sociologist Kimberlé Crenshaw. Intersectionality suggests that various biological, social and cultural categories, including gender, race, class and ethnicity, interact and contribute towards systematic social inequality. Therefore, various forms of oppression, such as racism or sexism, do not act independently of one another; instead these forms of oppression are interrelated, forming a system of oppression that reflects the "intersection" of multiple forms of discrimination. In light of this theory, the oppression and marginalization of women is thus shaped not only by gender, but by other factors such as race and class.

Mary Ann Weathers demonstrates intersectionality in action in *"An Argument for Black Women's Liberation as a Revolutionary Force."* In this publication, Weathers reveals that in the twentieth century, working-class women of color embodied the notion of intersectionality. The first and second waves of the feminist movement were primarily driven by white women, who did not adequately represent the feminist movement as a whole. It was– and continues to be– important to recognize that white women faced a different form of discrimination than working class women of color, who not only had to deal with sexism, but also fought against racism and class oppression.

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11.4: Women as a Minority

Women as a Minority

Women are considered a minority group, because they do not share the same power, privileges, rights, and opportunities as men.

Learning Objectives

Criticize the notion that sexism does not exist in the contemporary United States based on the text

Key Points

- Sexism is discrimination or prejudice based on sex. In a patriarchal society, sexism is discrimination against women specifically.
- Women's rights encompasses the entitlements and freedoms for women and girls of all ages in many societies around the world.
- Although women have made great strides in gaining access to education and employment, to this day they continue to face significant hurdles that men generally do not confront.

Key Terms

- **women's rights**: Entitlements and freedoms claimed by women and girls of all ages in many societies in the pursuit of equality with men.
- **patriarchal**: relating to a system run by males, rather than females

Women are not a statistical minority, as in most societies — they are roughly equal in number to men — but they do qualify as a minority group because they tend to have less power and fewer privileges than men. Underlying this unequal treatment of women is sexism, which is discrimination based on sex — in the context of a patriarchal society, discrimination against women in particular. Discrimination against women is evident in a number of different spheres of society, whether political, legal, economic, or familial. It must, however, be noted that the issue is rarely as simple as that of men versus women. Societies today are home to a variety of different classes, ethnicities, races, and nationalities, and some groups of women may enjoy a higher status and more power relative to select groups of men, depending on factors, such as what racial and ethnic groups they are associated with.

It should be noted that gender discrimination also ties in with race and class discrimination — a concept known as " intersectionality," first named by feminist sociologist Kimberlé Crenshaw. For example, the intersectionality of race and gender has been shown to have a visible impact on the labor market. "Sociological research clearly shows that accounting for education, experience, and skill does not fully explain significant differences in labor market outcomes. " The three main domains on which we see the impact of intersectionality are wages, discrimination, and domestic labor. Most studies have shown that people who fall into the bottom of the social hierarchy in terms of race or gender are more likely to receive lower wages, to be subjected to stereotypes and discriminated against, or be hired for exploitive domestic positions. Through the study of the labor market and intersectionality we gain a better understanding of economic inequalities and the implications of the multidimensional impact of race and gender on social status within society.

Sexism

Sexism can refer to three subtly different beliefs or attitudes:

- The belief that one sex is superior to the other
- The belief that men and women are very different and that this should be strongly reflected in society, language, the right to have sex, and the law
- It can also refer to simple hatred of men (misandry) or women (misogyny)

There a number of examples, both historical and contemporary, of women not being granted the same rights and access as men, both historically and in the present day. For instance, U.S. and English law, until the twentieth century, subscribed to the system of coverture, where "by marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage. " Not until 1875 were women in the United States legally defined as persons (Minor v Happersett, 88 U.S. 162).

In the United States, women were treated as second-class citizens and not given the right to vote until 1920, when the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provided: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. "

Although women have made great strides in gaining access to education and employment, to this day they continue to face significant hurdles that men generally do not confront. In economics, the term " glass ceiling " refers to institutional barriers that prevent minorities and women from advancing beyond a certain point in the corporate world, despite their qualifications and successes. The existence of a glass ceiling indicates that women, even today, do not enjoy the same opportunities as men.

Women's Rights

Women's rights are entitlements and freedoms claimed for women and girls of all ages in many societies. In some places, these rights are institutionalized or supported by law, local custom, and behavior, whereas in others, they may be ignored or suppressed. They differ from broader notions of human rights through claims of an inherent historical and traditional bias against the exercise of rights by women and girls in favor of men and boys.

Issues commonly associated with notions of women's rights include, though are not limited to, the rights to: bodily integrity and autonomy; vote (suffrage); hold public office; work; fair wages or equal pay; own property; be educated; serve in the military or be conscripted; enter into legal contracts; and to have marital, parental, and religious rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, advocates "the equal rights of men and women," and addresses issues of equality. In 1979, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) for legal implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Described as an international bill of rights for women, it went into effect on September 3, 1981. The UN member states that have not ratified the convention are Iran, Nauru, Palau, Somalia, Sudan, Tonga, and the United States. Niue and the Vatican City, which are non-member states, also have not ratified it.

The Convention defines discrimination against women as follows:

> *Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field.*

The Origins of Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a social structure in which men are considered to have a monopoly on power and women are expected to submit.

Learning Objectives

Argue in favor of either a sociobiological or social constructionist explanation of patriarchy

Key Points

- There are both sociobiological and social constructionist explanations of patriarchy.
- Sociobiological explanations use human biology and genetics to explain male control, while social constructionist explanations say that individuals, male and female, actively construct gender roles.
- According to social constructionist theories, gender roles are created by individuals within a society who choose to imbue a particular structure with meaning.

Key Terms

- **gender roles**: Sets of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship.
- **social constructionism**: The idea that social institutions and knowledge are created by actors within the system, rather than having any inherent truth on their own.
- **patriarchy**: The dominance of men in social or cultural systems.

The origins of patriarchy are closely related to the concept of gender roles, or the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex. Much work has been devoted to understanding why women are typically thought to inhabit a domestic role while men are expected to seek professional satisfaction outside of the home. This division of labor is frequently mapped onto a social hierarchy in which males' freedom to venture outside of the home and presumed control over women is perceived as superior and dominant. As such, rather than working to destablize the historical notion of patriarchy, much literature assess the origins of patriarchy, or a social system in which the male gender role acts as the primary authority figure central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege and entails female subordination.

Though less popular in modern academic circles, there has been a traditional search for biological explanations of gender roles. Before the nineteenth century, this conversation was primarily theological and deemed patriarchy to be the "natural order. " This took on a biological trope with Charles Darwin's ideas

about evolution in *The Origin of Species*. In this work, Darwin explained evolution from the biological understanding that is now the accepted scientific theory. Biologists such as Alfred Russel Wallace quickly applied his theory to mankind. To be clear, though, the line of thought called Social Darwinism, or the application of evolutionary principles to the development of human beings and our social practices, was never promoted by Darwin himself. With the popularization of the idea of human evolution, what had previously been explained as a "natural order" for the world morphed into a "biological order. "

The modern term for using biological explanations to explain social phenomena is sociobiology. Sociobiologists use genetics to explain social life, including gender roles. According to the sociobiologists, patriarchy arises more as a result of inherent biology than social conditioning. One such contemporary sociobiologist is Steven Goldberg, who, until retirement, was a sociologist at the City College of New York. In 1973, Goldberg published *The Inevitability of Patriarchy*, which advanced a biological interpretation of male dominance. Goldberg argued that male dominance is a human universal as a result of our biological makeup. One evolutionary sociobiological theory for the origin of patriarchy begins with the view that females almost always invest more energy into producing offspring than males and, as a result, females are a resource over which males compete. This theory is called Bateman's principle. One important female preference in selecting a mate is which males control more resources to assist her and her offspring. This, in turn, causes a selection pressure on men to be competitive and succeed in gaining resources in order to compete with other men.

These sociobiological theories of patriarchy are counterbalanced by social constructionist theories that emphasize how certain cultures manufacture and perpetuate gender roles. According to social constructionist theories, gender roles are created by individuals within a society who choose to imbue a particular structure with meaning. Gender roles are constantly toyed with and negotiated by actors subscribing to and questioning them. Since the feminist movement in the 1970s and the flood of women into the workforce, social constructionism has gained even greater traction.



A Family Portrait from the early 1900s: In a patriarchal family, the male acts as the primary authority figure.

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11.5: Women in the Workplace

Women in the Workplace

While women are succeeding in a number of professions, they continue to face significant barriers to entry and participation.

Learning Objectives

Illustrate two barriers to women's equal participation in the workforce

Key Points

- A gender role comprises a set of social and behavioral norms that are attritibuted to men and women and that are expected to be adhered to in social settings and interpersonal relationships.
- Historically, the division of labor has been organized according to gender roles and, consequently, certain types of activity are considered more appropriate for men while others are allotted to women.
- Some significant barriers to participation in the workforce women face include network discrimination and access to education, training and capital.

Key Terms

- **Network Discrimination**: A form of discrimination in which groups hire individuals from their same group, or network, rather than reaching outside to new networks.
- **Gender Role**: A set of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship.

Historically, the division of labor has been organized along gender lines. Gender roles – a set of social and behavioral norms about what is considered appropriate for either a man or woman in a social or interpersonal relationship – have affected the specialization of work in both agricultural and industrial societies.

A number of factors over the past few decades have resulted in women entering and flourishing in a variety of different professions. Despite the enormous progress women around the world have made in pursuing careers, there remain significant obstacles women confront in the workplace. The glass ceiling and occupational sexism reflect the restrictions on women as they try to enter and rise in the ranks of the workforce. While occupational sexism and the glass ceiling will be explored in the section ‘ Inequalities of work," what follows is a discussion of barriers to equal participation in the work force, including access to education and training, access to capital, network discrimination and other factors.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aq_6BEn4NMA

How to Supervise Women (1944): A film to teach men how to supervise women in the workplace in the 1940s.

Access to Education and Training

A number of occupations became "professionalized" through the 19th and 20th centuries, gaining regulatory bodies and requiring particular higher educational requirements. As women's access to higher education was often limited, this effectively restricted women's participation in these professionalizing occupations. For instance, women were completely forbidden access to Cambridge University until 1868, and were encumbered with a variety of restrictions until 1987 when the university adopted an equal opportunity policy. Numerous other institutions in the United States and Western Europe began opening their doors to women over the same period of time, but access to higher education remains a significant barrier to women's full participation in the workforce. Even where access to higher education is formally available, women's access to the full range of occupational choices can be limited.

Access to Capital

Women's access to occupations requiring capital outlays is also hindered by their unequal access (statistically) to capital; this affects individuals who want to pursue careers as entrepreneurs, farm owners and investors. Numerous micro-loan programs attempt to redress this imbalance, targeting women for loans or grants to establish start-up businesses or farms. For example, while research has shown that women cultivate more than half the world's food, most of the work is family subsistence labor, with family property often legally owned by men in the family.

Network Discrimination

Part of the problem keeping women out of the highest paying, most prestigious positions is that they have historically not held these positions. As a result, recruiters for high- status jobs are predominantly white males, and tend to hire similar people in their networks. Their networks are made up of mostly white males from the same socio-economic status, which helps perpetuate their over-representation in the best jobs.

Other Social and Structural Factors

Through a process known as "employee clustering," employees tend to be grouped both spatially and socially with those of a similar status job. Women are no exception and tend to be grouped with other women making comparable amounts of money. They compare wages with women around them and

believe their salaries are fair because they are average. Some women may be unaware of just how vast the inequality is.

Furthermore, women tend to be less assertive and confrontational than men. Some have suggested that one of the factors contributing to the higher proportion of raises going to men is the simple fact that men tend to ask for raises more often than women, and are more aggressive when doing so. Women and me are socialized at young ages into these roles. School-age boys and girls have been noted as enacting the same aggressive and passive characteristics in educational settings that we see in adults in the workplace.

An additional issue that contributes to income inequality by gender is that women are much more likely than men to take "breaks" in their careers to have children (due to personal choice or as a result of circumstances). When a woman in this scenario re-enters the workforce, she may be offered a smaller salary or a lower position that she might have merited had she remained in the workforce.



Working Women: The Women into Building Housing Showcase is an Australian project designed to promote women in the construction business. The Building Housing Showcase site was constructed by an all-female team.

Inequalities of Work

Women are frequently treated unequally at work, often through sexual harassment and/or wage discrimination.

Learning Objectives

Describe two typical manifestations of occupational sexism

Key Points

- Occupational sexism includes any discriminatory practices or statements based on a person's sex.
- One typical manifestation of occupational sexism is sexual harassment —the intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature or the unwelcome or inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual favors.
- Wage discrimination, also known as the gender pay gap, is a phenomenon in which women are consistently paid less for performing the same tasks as men.
- The glass ceiling is an institutional barrier that prevents both women and minorities from advancing beyond a certain point in the workplace.

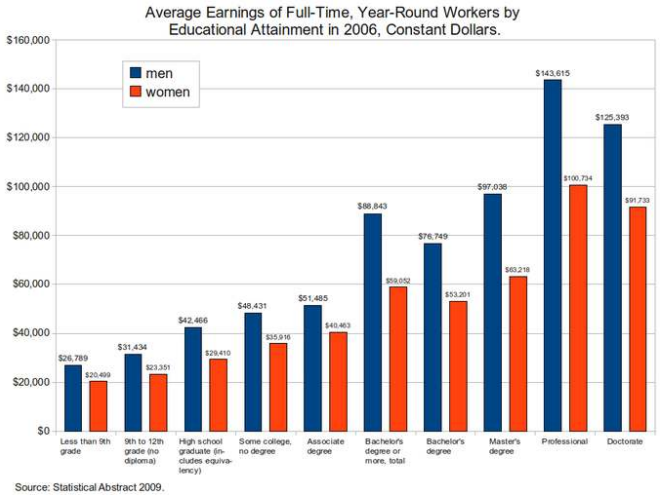
Key Terms

- **gender pay gap**: The gap in wages between women and men, even when women perform the same tasks as men.
- **glass ceiling**: An unwritten, uncodified barrier to further promotion or progression for a member of a specific demographic group.
- **pink-collar worker**: A worker who performs work in the service sector that is considered to be stereotypically female.

Despite flooding the workplace since the 1970s and 1980s, women still face many institutional challenges to equality in the workplace. The most obvious and publicly condemned example of inequality in the workplace is the prevalence of occupational sexism, or any discriminatory practice, statement, or action based on a person's sex that occur in a place of employment. One typical manifestation of occupational sexism is sexual harassment—the intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature, or the unwelcome or inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual favors. Sexual harassment may be a particular offer extended to an individual (i.e., a promotion in return for sexual rewards) or the general atmosphere created within a workplace. If a workplace engenders an environment that is hostile to women, that workplace is in violation of employment law that bans sexual harassment. However, sexual harassment is not synonymous with workplace inequality. Legally, sexual harassment can be directed by one person of either gender towards another person of either gender. However, inequalities in the workplace typically refer to institutional barriers placed in the way of professional success for women.

Beyond sexual harassment, the most obvious instance of inequality in the workplace is wage discrimination. Frequently referred to as the gender pay gap, this phenomenon observes that women are consistently paid less for performing the same tasks as men. While the exact figure varies in response to a variety of factors, there is little debate that women earn less than men. Women are estimated to earn 76% of what men earn for the same work. In other words, women make 76 cents for every dollar men earn for performing the same task. Part of the pay gap can be attributed to the fact that, more often than men, women tend to engage in part-type work or work in lower-paid industries. This explanation of the pay gap invokes the notion of the pink-collar worker. A "pink-collar worker" is a term for designating the types of jobs in the service industry that are

considered to be stereotypically female, such as working as a waitress, nurse, teacher, or secretary. The term attempts to distinguish this type of work from blue-collar and white-collar work. However, not even this acknowledgement explains the entirety of the wage gap, for even women working full time in higher-paid industries earn less than their male colleagues.



Earning Disparities between Men and Women: The above graph shows the average earnings of workers by education and sex.

The larger schema into which the gender pay gap fits is the notion of a “glass ceiling” for women in the workplace. The term refers to institutional barriers for which there is little hope for legal redress and, thus, appear to be as invisible as glass but that nevertheless limit the rise of women in the workplace. Certainly, the pay gap and other economic issues play into the notion of a glass ceiling, but the term also refers to more general power dynamics. During the 2008 American presidential election, Senator Hillary Clinton’s campaign was considered to contribute to helping shatter the glass ceiling for women in the United States.

Family and Gender Issues

Social expectations that women manage childcare contribute to the gender pay gap and other limitations in professional life for women.

Learning Objectives

Recall at least three reasons why there might be a gender pay gap

Key Points

- Because women are expected to handle childcare, they choose jobs with greater flexibility and lower pay.
- The gender pay gap has been attributed to differences in personal and workplace characteristics between women and men (education, hours worked, occupation etc.), as well as direct and indirect discrimination in the labor market (gender stereotypes, customer and employer bias etc.).
- Health care for children and flexible scheduling that can help women with the childcare for which they are still overwhelmingly responsible, may take priority over pay.

Key Terms

- **gender pay gap**: The gap in wages between women and men, even when women perform the same tasks as men.

In the United States, there is an observable gender pay gap, such that women are compensated at lower rates for equal work as men. The gender pay gap is measured as the ratio of female to male median yearly earnings among full-time, year-round (FTYR) workers. The female-to-male earnings ratio was 0.77 in 2009, meaning that, in 2009, female FTYR workers earned 77% as much as male FTYR workers. Women’s median yearly earnings relative to men’s rose rapidly from 1980 to 1990 (from 60.2% to 71.6%), and less rapidly from 1990 to 2000 (from 71.6% to 73.7%) and from 2000 to 2009 (from 73.7% to 77.0%).

This discrepancy is frequently attributed to women’s desire to have a family life. Inequalities in professional success are sometimes attributed to women taking maternity leave after having children. Further, women are accused of intentionally seeking out jobs with fewer hours and lower pay in order to be more flexible for their children. Economists who have investigated the gender pay gap have also noted that women are more likely to choose jobs based on factors other than pay. The gender pay gap has also been attributed to differences in personal and workplace characteristics between women and men (education, hours worked, occupation etc.) as well as direct and indirect discrimination in the labor market (gender stereotypes, customer and employer bias etc.).

Health care for children and a flexible schedule that enables women to take care of their children for which they are still overwhelmingly responsible, may take priority over pay. Moreover, many women are disinclined to take jobs that that require travel or are hazardous. On average, women take more time off and work fewer hours, often due to the unequal distribution of childcare and domestic labor. Family obligations tend to pull down on women’s earnings as they proceed through the life course and have more children. The earnings gap tends to widen considerably when men and women are in their early to mid-thirties, or when people start to have children, and reaches its widest point when men and women are in their fifties. The demands of women having to manage work and family lives have become an obsession of American popular culture.



Mother and Ssons from the Akha Hill Tribe: Traditionally, women are expected to stay at home and take care of the children, while men earn wages to financially support their families.

Education and Unequal Treatment in the Classroom

Women have historically been disadvantaged in education, and learning has often been segregated along gender lines.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the role of women in the classroom, both in the past and in the present

Key Points

- Disparities in education have shifted in response to various historical factors, and women are now earning more graduate degrees than men.
- Women's colleges were established in order to educate women, and many of these colleges later merged with male universities.
- Since the early 1990s, more women have been enrolled in college than men.

Key Terms

- **coordinate colleges**: Women's colleges paired with men's colleges, creating a link between the two schools, but keeping education gender segregated.
- **coeducational (coed)**: A college that has both male and female students.
- **Seven Sisters colleges**: A group of the most famous women's colleges in the United States, including Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, and Barnard Colleges.

Higher education has historically been regarded as a male domain. In early American history, women were sent to tutors and then to female seminaries, though training largely emphasized ladylike accomplishments, such as piano-playing, needlepoint, and literature, over serious academic education. Even as women's education became more robust, it was considered to be distinct from men's education. By the mid-1800s, several women's colleges had been established, and many were coupled with men's universities as coordinate colleges. In the 1970s and 1980s, some of these coordinate colleges were absorbed into the larger university to create coeducational (coed) universities with both men and women. The most famous women's colleges in the United States were known as the Seven Sisters colleges and included Mount Holyoke College, Vassar College, Wellesley College, Smith College, Radcliffe College, Bryn Mawr College, and Barnard College. Today, five still operate as women's-only colleges, Radcliffe no longer accepts students, and Vassar is coeducational.

Despite the integration of men and women in university classrooms, women continue to face gender -based disparities and biases. To this day, math and science are often thought to be, "male" fields, while subjects in the humanities are considered to be the more natural province of women. Of course, particular subjects are not inherently "male" or "female. " However, gender norms are often informally inculcated at an early age, when elementary school teachers may encourage boys to pursue math and science and not do the same for girls. Further, boys generally receive more positive and negative attention in the classroom than do girls; as a result, the school environment can unintentionally become male-centered.

All of this, however, is changing. As has long been acknowledged, females now earn higher grades than males, and since the early 1990s, more women than men have been enrolled in college. Recently, women have also begun to outnumber men in graduate schools.



Women in Science: A group of girls and boys working on a science project together at Cheltenham Elementary School, Cheltenham, PA, USA

Gender Inequality in Politics

Women have had to fight for equal treatment in politics in the United States by winning the right to vote and a seat at the political table.

Learning Objectives

Infer, from the historical struggle for womens' equal treatment in politics, why gender stereotypes and barriers to equal political participation still exist in the United States

Key Points

- The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution gave women the right to vote.
- Gender stereotypes about female politicians and voters still exist.
- Since gaining the right to vote in 1920, women have worked in many levels of government in the United States. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan named Sandra Day O'Connor as the first female Supreme Court justice. Currently, three of the nine sitting justices are women.
- Despite the increasing presence of women in American politics, gender stereotypes still exist. Data from the 2006 American National Election Studies Pilot Study showed that voters of both sexes, regardless of their political persuasions, expected men to perform better as politicians than women.
- Because gender is considered to be a master status, "women" are considered to be a political demographic. In other words, "women" are supposed to have certain political priorities (usually those having to do with children and education) that unite all women as a voting bloc.

Key Terms

- **voting bloc**: A group of voters that are strongly motivated by a specific common concern or group of concerns to the point that such specific concerns tend to dominate their voting patterns, causing them vote together in elections.
- **women's suffrage**: The right of women to vote.
- **master status**: A social status that is the primary, socially-identifying characteristic of an individual, such as being the queen.

Political Gender Inequality

Even in democratic societies in which gender equality is legally mandated, gender discrimination occurs in politics, both in regards to presumptions about political allegiances that fall along gender lines, and disparate gender representation within representative democracies. Historically, this was even more true when women were neither considered full citizens, nor could not vote.

This section will trace the historical development of women achieving the right to vote and will then consider recent developments as women have achieved political power as representatives, in addition to being members of the voting public. Finally, we will consider assumptions made about women's political leanings on the basis of gender.

Voting Rights for Women

Before 1920, women did not have a national right to vote in the United States. Women's suffrage, the movement to achieve the female vote, was won gradually at state and local levels during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified, which provided:

> *"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."*

To appreciate the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment, one must look back to the mid-nineteenth century. The Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 was a single step in a broad and continuous effort by women to gain a greater proportion of social, civil, and moral rights for themselves; but was viewed by many as a revolutionary beginning to the struggle for women's equality.

Women's suffrage took a back seat to the Civil War and Reconstruction, but America's entry into World War I re-initiated a vigorous push. When President Woodrow Wilson announced that America needed to enter the European battlefield in order to protect democracy, women were up in arms. The National Women's Party became the first cause to picket outside of the White House, with banners comparing President Wilson to his German adversary, Kaiser Wilhelm. The Nineteenth Amendment was passed the year following the Treaty of Paris, which ended World War I.

Women in Recent Politics

Since gaining the fundamental right to vote in 1920, women have worked in many levels of government in the United States. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan named Sandra Day O'Connor as the first female Supreme Court justice. She was later joined by Ruth Bader Ginsburg and has been succeeded by Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan. Currently, three of the nine sitting justices are women. In 1996, President Bill Clinton appointed Madeline Albright to be the first female Secretary of State, a post later given to Condoleezza Rice by President George W. Bush in 2005. Hillary Clinton is the current Secretary of State.

Women in politics took center stage in the 2008 election. In the primary season, New York Senator Hillary Clinton ran against future President Barack Obama for the Democratic nomination. Although Clinton was the twenty-fifth woman to run for U.S. President, she was the first female candidate to have a significant chance of winning the nomination of a major party and the general election.

As such, remarks about her gender and appearance came to the fore. Commentators noted that because she was a woman, Clinton had a sexual power that would make her too intimidating to win the national election. Comments about Clinton's body, cleavage, choice of pantsuit, and speculation about cosmetic surgery popped up over airwaves. Many wondered if the same fixation on a candidate's body and style would happen to a male candidate. Commentary about the role of gender in the 2008 presidential election further snowballed when Republican presidential nominee John McCain chose female Alaska Governor Sarah Palin as his vice-presidential running mate.

Gender Stereotyping

Despite the increasing presence of women in American politics, gender stereotypes still exist. Data from the 2006 American National Election Studies Pilot Study confirmed that both male and female voters, regardless of their political persuasions, expected men to perform better as politicians than women. The only deviation in this data had to do with competency in areas such as education that are typically perceived as women's domains and voters therefore trusted women politicians more.

Because gender is considered to be a master status, or a primary trait around which individuals identify, "women" are considered to be a political demographic. In other words, "women" are supposed to have certain political priorities (usually those having to do with children and education) that unite all women as a voting bloc, or a group of individuals who tend to vote in the same way.

For this reason, political strategists see the "female vote" as one to be won. As such, one will see organizations uniting the female demographic and political priorities, such as "Women for Obama" or "Women for Romney. "



Lucretia Coffin Mott: Mott, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, organized the Seneca Falls Convention in 1948, effectively launching the women's civil rights movement in the United States.

Job Discrimination

Despite legal protections, job discrimination against women still exists in the workplace.

Learning Objectives

List the forms of discrimination that women may face on the job

Key Points

- Some women are subjected to sexual harassment and a gender pay gap.
- Stereotypes about the type of work that women can do are commonplace.
- Pink-collar work is a term designating the types of jobs in the service industry that are considered to be stereotypically female, such as working as a waitress, nurse, teacher or secretary.

Key Terms

- **sexual harassment**: intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature, or the unwelcome or inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual favors.

- **pink-collar worker**: A worker who performs work in the service sector that is considered to be stereotypically female.
- **wage discrimination**: When women earn less than men for performing the same tasks.

Even though there are regulations that are used to promote equality within the workplace, occupational sexism, or any discriminatory practice, statement, or action based on a person's sex that occurs in a place of employment, is still rampant. The most archetypical manifestation of occupational sexism is sexual harassment, or the intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature, or the unwelcome or inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual favors. Sexual harassment may be a particular offer extended to an individual (i.e., a promotion in return for sexual rewards) or the generally atmosphere created within a workplace. If a workplace engenders an environment that is hostile to women, that workplace is in violation of the employment law that bans sexual harassment. However, sexual harassment is not synonymous with workplace inequality. Legally, sexual harassment can be directed by one person of either gender towards another person of either gender. Thus, sexual harassment is broader than the simple creation of a professional environment that is not welcoming to women. Women can perpetrate sexual harassment; men can be victims of sexual harassment. However, inequalities in the workplace typically refer to institutional barriers placed in the way of professional success for women.

Beyond sexual harassment, the most obvious instance of inequality in the workplace is wage discrimination. Frequently referred to as the gender pay gap, this phenomenon observes that women are consistently paid less for performing the same tasks as men. Women are estimated to earn 76% of what men earn for the same work. In other words, women make 76 cents for every dollar men earn for performing the same task.

Part of the pay gap can be attributed to the fact that, more often than men, women tend to engage in part-time work or work in lower paid industries. This explanation of the pay gap invokes the notion of the pink-collar worker. A pink-collar worker is a term for designating the types of jobs in the service industry that are considered to be stereotypically female, such as working as a waitress, nurse, teacher or secretary. The term attempts to distinguish this type of work from blue-collar and white-collar work. However, not even this acknowledgement explains the entirety of the wage gap, for even women working full-time in higher paid industries earn less than their male colleagues.



Restoring the Right to Equal Pay between Men and Women: President Obama signs the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 into law.

Gender Inequality in Health Care

Gender discrimination in health care manifests itself primarily as the difference that men and women pay for their insurance premium.

Learning Objectives

Identify three ways in which gender inequality in health care manifests itself in the United States

Key Points

- Gender inequality in health care presents itself as women have to pay higher insurance premiums than men.
- Another form of gender inequality in health care is the different rates at which men and women are insured; more women than men are insured in the United States.
- Gender inequalities in health care also revolve around different medicines are covered by insurance companies. For example, the contraceptive mandate demonstrates gender inequities in the different medicine that insurance companies are willing to cover for male and female patients.
- Gender inequality in health care might be reduced under President Obama's Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, which outlaws gender discrimination in health care. It would require insurance companies to charge men and women the same rate for health insurance.

Key Terms

- **contraceptive mandate**: A government requirement that health plans—including those offered by religious institutions—offer contraception to policy holders.
- **insurance premium**: The amount charged to a policy holder for a certain amount of insurance coverage.

Assessing gender equity in the health care systems, particularly in the United States, depends heavily upon what factors one considers best to analyze equality.

The Insured

More women than men are insured in the United States. In one study of a population group in a low-income urban community, 86 percent of women reported having access to health insurance through publicly assisted or private options, while only 74 percent of men reported having any health insurance at all. Trends in which women report higher rates of health insurance coverage is not unique to urban, low-income, American populations.

Studies that address percentages of each gender covered by insurance only speak to one measure of inequality in health care.

Insurance Premiums

Gender discrimination in health care manifests primarily as the amount of money one pays for insurance premiums—the amount paid per month in order to be covered by insurance. Women statistically pay far higher premiums than men. This is largely due to regulations of private insurance companies. Fewer than ten state governments prohibit gender discrimination in insurance premiums. For the rest of the union, insurance companies consistently charge their female policy owners more than their male counterparts.

Gender discrimination in health care could be changing in the United States. Under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (informally called "Obamacare"), passed under President Barack Obama in 2010, insurance companies would be prohibited from charging men and women differently. To rationalize gendered rates, insurance companies claim that women use more medical services than men because of pregnancy visits.

Women's Health

The Obama administration faced another controversy over gender equity in healthcare in 2012 with the administration's contraceptive mandate. In January of 2012, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Kathleen Sebelius, announced that all health care plans were required to provide coverage for contraceptives approved by the Food and Drug Administration. The effective meaning of Secretary Sebelius' announcement was that contraceptives are considered by the Obama administration to be a requisite component of health care.

The premise of the contraceptive mandate demonstrates present inequities in the American health care industry for male and female patients. Whereas services for male reproductive health, such as Viagra, are considered to be a standard part of health care, women's reproductive health services are called into question. In the context of the 2012 contraceptive mandate debate, health care professionals ' assessments that contraception is an integral component for women's health care, regardless of sexual activity, went largely unaddressed. Instead, insurance coverage of contraception was framed as a government subsidy for sexual activity.This framing revealed inherent social inequalities for women in the domain of sexual health.



Obama Responds to the Passing of the Health Care Bill: President Barack Obama, along with Vice President Joe Biden and senior staff, respond in the Roosevelt Room of the White House as the House passes the health care reform bill. This bill is seen as a vital step in combating gender inequalities in the health care system.

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11.6: Gender-Based Violence

Rape

The definition of rape and its effects on victims have evolved historically alongside ideas about gender and sexuality.

Learning Objectives

Describe the influence of the feminist movement on public attitudes toward rape and the notion of consent

Key Points

- Rape has serious psychological and physical consequences for the victim.
- The definitions of rape and consent are culturally and historically contingent upon the particular sexual mores of a time. Recently, the definition or rape has been expanded to include any gender, and now contains stricter definitions of consent.
- Victim blaming and self-blame are rooted in public beliefs that a victim is at least partially responsible for rape. Rape shield laws prohibit legal testimony regarding a victim's sexual behavior, in order to prevent victims from being placed on trial along with defendants.
- International law defines rape as a crime against humanity and a potentially genocidal act.
- Rape shield laws prohibit legal testimony regarding a victim's sexual behavior in order to prevent the victim from being placed on trial along with the defendant.

Key Terms

- **victim blaming**: when the victim of a crime, an accident, or any type of abusive maltreatment is held entirely or partially responsible for the transgressions committed against him or her (regardless of whether the victim actually had any responsibility for the incident)
- **date rape**: non-consensual sexual activity between a victim and perpetrator that know one another
- **self-blame**: when one holds oneself responsible for a negative experience

Rape is a type of sexual assault in which one or more individuals forces sexual contact on another individual without consent. Rape can cause devastating physical and psychological trauma. In the aftermath of an attack, many victims develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a severe anxiety disorder. Rape victims may also confront a number of emotions related to shame. Often, victims blame themselves for rape. Some victims come to believe they somehow deserved the assault, while others become preoccupied thinking about how the rape could have been avoided.

Although self-blame might seem like an unusual, intensely individual response to rape, it is rooted in social conceptions of rape and victimhood. In the case of rape, victim blaming generally refers to the belief that certain behaviors on the part of the victim, like flirting or wearing provocative clothing, encourage assault. Legal systems may perpetuate victim blaming. For example, in the United States, defendants are guaranteed an opportunity to explain their actions and motivations, which may allow them to instigate conversations about their victims' sexual past or physical presentation. Lawyers and activists are aware of the negative consequences of this type of conversation in courtrooms, and many have encouraged state legislators to enact rape shield laws, which would prohibit testimony about a victim's sexual behavior. Nevertheless, victims are often reluctant to report rape because of these social pressures.

Consent

The definition of rape rests on the notion of consent, which has changed over the course of history as sexual mores and understandings of gender have changed. For example, in medieval Europe, a woman could be legally married by her parents to a stranger without her consent and, once married, she could no longer refuse to consent to sex. The medieval concept of rape did not allow for the possibility of being raped by one's husband. It was only in middle of the 16th century that European courts began to recognize a minimum age of consent, though this figure was typically set around six or seven years. In modern legal understanding, consent may be explicit or implied by context, but the absence of objection never itself constitutes consent, and consent can be withdrawn at any time. Consent cannot be forced and it cannot be given by certain categories of people considered incapable of consent (e.g., minors and the cognitively disabled).

Rape and Gender

Rape is often thought of as a crime committed by a man against a woman, but increasingly, social and legal definitions of rape recognize that this does not have to be the case. In 2012, the Federal Bureau of Investigation updated its definition of rape, which had originally been instituted in 1972, and which previously limited rape to a crime against women. This definition, considered outdated and overly narrow, was replaced by a new definition, which recognizes that rape can be perpetrated by a person of any gender against a victim of any gender. The new definition also broadens the instances in which a victim is unable to give consent. These instances now include

temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity, and incapacity caused by the use of drugs or alcohol.

The FBI's new definition continues a trend that gained traction with the feminist movement of the 1970s, when rape was publicly characterized as a crime of power and control rather than a sexual act. Leaders of the feminist movement started some of the first rape crisis centers, which not only provided basic services to victims, but also advanced the idea of rape as a criminal act with a victim who was not to be blamed. Feminist leaders also encouraged the codification of marital rape, or forced sexual contact between spouses. Currently, the struggle continues with efforts to bring attention to date rape, which is embedded in the gendered expectation that women engage in sexual activity following a date with a man. Conversations about date rape work to undo this social expectation and to reinforce the idea that consensual sex requires the explicit permission of both partners.

International Law

International law is changing to recognize rape as a weapon of war. The Rome Statute included rape in its definition of a crime against humanity, a definition first put into practice in the mid-1990s by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. This judicial body recognized that Serbian soldiers and policemen had systematically raped Muslim women during the Balkan War. In 1998, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda found that systematic rape was a crime against humanity. It also ruled that rape was an aspect of genocide, because of the use of rape to impregnate women in order to weaken or eliminate a particular gene pool.



"Rape is a Real Crime, give Simmons Jail Time! ": Women at NOW-NYC's Take Rape Seriously Rally protest against the inadequate sentence of Tony Simmons, a confessed rapist of three teenage girls.

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is any sexual act or sexual advance directed at one individual without their consent.

Learning Objectives

Explain why sexual violence is difficult to track

Key Points

- An act is deemed sexually violent if the individual to whom the attention is directed does not consent to the sexual activity, if they are members of a class of persons who cannot consent (the severely cognitively impaired, etc.), or if consent is due to coercion or duress.
- Sexual violence has a profound impact on physical and mental health.
- Sexual violence is particularly difficult to track because it is severely under reported.

Key Terms

- **sexual assault**: A physical attack of a sexual nature on another person or a sexual act committed without explicit consent.
- **coercion**: Actual or threatened force for the purpose of compelling action by another person; the act of coercing.
- **sexual violence**: Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.

Sexual violence is any sexual act or sexual advance directed at one individual without their consent. The most commonly discussed form of sexual violence is rape. Rape is a form of sexual assault involving one or more persons who force sexual penetration with another individual without that individual's consent. Sexual violence is not limited to rape; it is a broad category that can include everything from verbal harassment to physical assault.

Forms of sexual violence include: rape by strangers, marital rape, date rape, war rape, unwanted sexual harassment, demanding sexual favors, sexual abuse of children, sexual abuse of disabled individuals, forced marriage, child marriage, denial of the right to use contraception, denial of the right to take measures to protect against sexually-transmitted diseases, forced abortion, genital mutilation, forced circumcision, and forced prostitution.

An act is deemed sexually violent if the individual to whom the attention is directed does not consent to the sexual activity, if

they are members of a class of persons who cannot consent (the severely cognitively impaired, individuals who are inebriated, minors, etc.), or if consent is due to coercion or duress. Coercion can cover a whole spectrum of degrees of force. Apart from physical force, it may involve psychological intimidation, blackmail, or any other type of threat, like the threat of physical harm or of being dismissed from a job.

Sexual violence has a profound impact on physical and mental health. Sexual violence can cause severe physical injuries, including an increased risk of sexual and reproductive health problems, with both immediate and long-term consequences. Additionally, sexual violence can impact mental health, which can be as serious as its physical impact, and may be even longer lasting.

Acts of Power

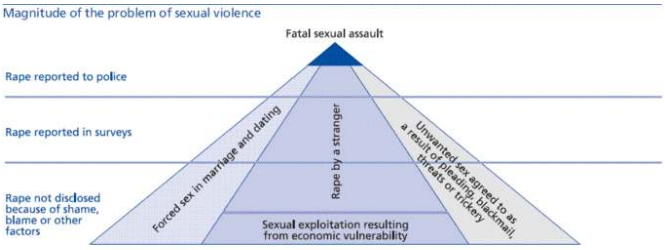
Sexually violent acts are acts of power, not of sex. This can be seen most clearly when considering war rape and prison rape. War rape is the type of sexual pillaging that occurs in the aftermath of a war, typically characterized by the male soldiers of the victorious military raping the women of the towns they have just taken over. Prison rape is the type of rape that is common (and seriously under reported) in prisons all over the world, including the United States, in which inmates will force sex upon one another as a demonstration of power.

Tracking Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is particularly difficult to track because it is severely under reported. Records from police and government agencies are often incomplete or limited. Most victims of sexual violence do not report it because they are ashamed, afraid of being blamed, concerned about not being believed, or are simply afraid to relive the event by reporting it. Most countries and many NGOs are undertaking efforts to try to increase the reporting of sexual violence as it so obviously has serious physical and psychological impacts on its victims.

On a global scale, international sexual violence is difficult to track because of extreme variation in sexual mores. A good example of cultural variation with regards to sexual violence is the differing views associated with the practice of female circumcision/female genital mutilation (FGM). Female circumcision and FGM refer to the same practice, but the practice is called “female circumcision” by those who condone its usage. FGM has violent connotations and is used by individuals who conceive of the practice as a violation of human rights.

Female circumcision/FGM is a practice used in many parts of Africa in which parts of the female’s vagina, usually the clitoris, are removed in order to decrease sexual pleasure. The operation is performed most commonly on young females. The practice has been the target of many human rights campaigns as a serious affront to the fundamental human rights of the girls undergoing the operation. However, many individuals in Africa view the practice as an acceptable component of their cultures. Neither vantage point is simple; some women in Africa accept the practice, while others have been vocal in speaking out against the practice. Nevertheless, the case demonstrates that cultural norms associated with sex / sex organs (and therefore sexual violence) can vary widely across cultures.



Sexual Violence Reporting: Sexual violence is severly under reported. This graphic illustrates the magnitude of the underreporting of sexual violence

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature.

Learning Objectives

Explain when and how sexual harassment is prosecuted in the U.S.

Key Points

- Sexual harassment is common in the workplace.
- Sexual harassment happens any time intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature occurs.
- Sexual harassment is rarely formally charged in a legal context and individuals who do make such charges official are frequently ridiculed.

Key Terms

- **sexual harassment**: intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature, or the unwelcome or inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual favors.

Sexual harassment is intimidation, bullying, teasing, or coercion of a sexual nature, or the unwelcome or inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual favors. In most legal contexts this type of behavior is criminalized. The person intimidating a victim about his or her sexuality could be male or female; men and women can both be perpetrators of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment does not have to be only of a sexual nature;

indeed, sexual harassment includes unwelcome and offensive comments about a person's gender. Regardless of whether the content of the sexual harassment is about sex or gender, both victim and harasser can be either male or female and the victim and the harasser can be the same gender.

Though broad, the legal definition of sexual harassment does not include every injurious statement pertaining to sex or gender. The law does not prohibit simple teasing, offhand comments, or isolated incidents that are not very serious. Sexual harassment is illegal when it is so frequent or severe that it creates a hostile or offensive work environment or when it results in adverse employment, such as the victim being fired or demoted. Rather than being a component of criminal law, sexual harassment is typically adjudicated as an issue of employment law. As one might guess, most of these cases turn on whether or not the offensive comment was "serious" or "offhand. " It is the law's job to decide if a comment that the victim clearly found serious and offhand is considered so legally.

Even though sexual harassment is less violent than other forms of sexual violence such as rape, victims still suffer serious consequences. Victimhood for individuals subjected to sexual harassment can take a different and equally complicated form as victimhood for individuals who suffer from attacks for physical violence. Sexual violence that is expressed in terms of some sort of physical assault against a victim has become a condemnable act; victims of physical violence are more likely to find others who are sympathetic to their understandable distress. However, sexual harassment is more socially acceptable. Victims will often encounter opposition who claim that the harassment was mere teasing. As such, victimhood in response to sexual harassment has some unique properties. Nevertheless, sexual harassment may lead to temporary or prolonged anxiety, depending on the nature of the harassment and the type of support system in place. Given that harassment is a common problem in the workplace, anxiety on the victim's part is usually tied into concerns about ramifications for one's career if one reports the harassment.



Black Noise: Intervention against sexual harassment: Black Noise, an Indian project countering sexual harassment on the streets of India, stages an intervention in a bus.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: Family

12.1: Family

12.2: Marriage

12.3: Sociological Perspectives on Family

12.4: Recent Changes in Family Structure

12.5: Divorce

12.6: Family Violence

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12.1: Family

The Nature of a Family

In human context, a family is a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity, or co-residence.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between conjugal family and consanguineal family

Key Points

- As a unit of socialization, the family is an object of analysis for sociologists, and is considered to be the agency of primary socialization.
- A conjugal family includes only the husband, wife, and unmarried children who are not of age. This is also referred to as a nuclear family.
- Consanguinity is defined as the property of belonging to the same kinship as another person.
- A matrilocal family consists of a mother and her children, independent of a father. This occurs in cases when the mother has the resources to independently rear children, or in societies where males are mobile and rarely at home.
- The model of the family triangle, husband-wife-children isolated from the outside, is also called the Oedipal model of the family and it is a form of patriarchal family.
- A matrilocal family consists of a mother and her children.
- The model, common in the western societies, of the family triangle, husband-wife-children isolated from the outside, is also called the Oedipal model of the family and it is a form of patriarchal family.

Key Terms

- **matrilocal**: living with the family of the wife; uxorilocal
- **A conjugal family**: a family unit consisting of a father, mother, and unmarried children who are not adults
- **consanguinity**: a consanguineous or family relationship through parentage or descent; a blood relationship

Families

In human context, a family is a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity, or co-residence. In most societies, it is the principal institution for the socialization of children. Occasionally, there emerge new concepts of family that break with traditional conceptions of family, or those that are transplanted via migration, but these beliefs do not always persist in new cultural space. As a unit of socialization, the family is the object of analysis for certain scholars. For sociologists, the family is considered to be the agency of primary socialization and is called the first focal socialization agency. The values learned during childhood are considered to be the most important a human child will learn during its development.

Conjugal and Consanguineal Families

A “conjugal” family includes only a husband, a wife, and unmarried children who are not of age. In sociological literature, the most common form of this family is often referred to as a nuclear family. In contrast, a “consanguineal” family consists of a parent, his or her children, and other relatives. Consanguinity is defined as the property of belonging to the same kinship as another person. In that respect, consanguinity is the quality of being descended from the same ancestor as another person.

Other Types of Families

A “matrilocal” family consists of a mother and her children. Generally, these children are her biological offspring, although adoption is practiced in nearly every society. This kind of family is common where women independently have the resources to rear children by themselves, or where men are more mobile than women.

Common in the western societies, the model of the family triangle, where the husband, wife, and children are isolated from the outside, is also called the oedipal model of the family. This family arrangement is considered patriarchal.



Adults and Child: As a unit of socialization, the family is the object of analysis for sociologists of the family.

The Functions of a Family

The primary function of the family is to perpetuate society, both biologically through procreation, and socially through socialization.

Learning Objectives

Describe the different functions of family in society

Key Points

- From the perspective of children, the family is a family of orientation: the family functions to locate children socially.
- From the point of view of the parents, the family is a family of procreation: the family functions to produce and socialize children.
- Marriage fulfills many other functions: It can establish the legal father of a woman's child; establish joint property for the benefit of children; or establish a relationship between the families of the husband and wife. These are only some examples; the family's function varies by society.

Key Terms

- **family**: A group of people related by blood, marriage, law or custom.
- **Sexual division of labor**: The delegation of different tasks between males and females.

The primary function of the family is to ensure the continuation of society, both biologically through procreation, and socially through socialization. Given these functions, the nature of one's role in the family changes over time. From the perspective of children, the family instills a sense of orientation: The family functions to locate children socially, and plays a major role in their socialization. From the point of view of the parents, the family's primary purpose is procreation: The family functions to produce and socialize children. In some cultures marriage imposes upon women the obligation to bear children. In northern Ghana, for example, payment of bride wealth signifies a woman's requirement to bear children, and women using birth control face substantial threats of physical abuse and reprisals.



Family Background Matters: From the perspective of children, the family is a family of orientation: The family functions to locate children socially, and plays a major role in their socialization. From the point of view of the parents, the family is a family of procreation: The family functions to produce and socialize children

Other Functions of the Family

Producing offspring is not the only function of the family. Marriage sometimes establishes the legal father of a woman's child or the legal mother of a man's child; it oftentimes gives the husband or his family control over the wife's sexual services, labor, and property. Marriage, likewise, often gives the wife or her family control over the husband's sexual services, labor, and property. Marriage also establishes a joint fund of property for the benefit of children and can establish a relationship between the families of the husband and wife. None of these functions are universal, but depend on the society in which the marriage takes place and endures. In societies with a sexual division of labor, marriage, and the resulting relationship between a husband and wife, is necessary for the formation of an economically productive household. In modern societies marriage entails particular rights and privilege that encourage the formation of new families even when there is no intention of having children.



Chilean Family: In societies with a sexual division of labor, marriage, and the resulting relationship between a husband and wife, is necessary for the formation of an economically productive household.

Family Structures

The traditional family structure consists of two married individuals providing care for their offspring, but this is becoming more uncommon.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the statistical data regarding types of family composition and living arrangements

Key Points

- The nuclear family is considered the ” traditional ” family. The nuclear family consists of a mother, father, and their biological children.
- A single parent is a parent who cares for one or more children without the assistance of the other biological parent.
- Step families are becoming more familiar in America. Divorce rates, along with the remarriage rate are rising, therefore bringing two families together as step families.
- The extended family consists of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

Key Terms

- **nuclear family**: a family unit consisting of at most a father, mother and dependent children.
- **Family Structure**: a family support system involving two married individuals providing care and stability for their biological offspring.
- **extended family**: A family consisting of parents and children, along with either grandparents, grandchildren, aunts or uncles, cousins etc.

The traditional family structure in the United States is considered a family support system which involves two married individuals providing care and stability for their biological offspring. However, this two-parent, nuclear family has become less prevalent, and alternative family forms have become more common. The family is created at birth and establishes ties across generations. Those generations, the extended family of aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins, can all hold significant emotional and economic roles for the nuclear family.

Nuclear Family

The nuclear family is considered the “traditional” family and consists of a mother, father, and the children. The two-parent nuclear family has become less prevalent, and alternative family forms such as, homosexual relationships, single-parent households, and adopting individuals are more common. The nuclear family is also choosing to have fewer children than in the past. The percentage of married-couple households with children under 18 has declined to 23.5% of all households in 2000 from 25.6% in 1990, and from 45% in 1960. However, 64 percent of children still reside in a two-parent, household as of 2012.

Single Parent

A single parent is a parent who cares for one or more children without the assistance of the other biological parent. Historically, single-parent families often resulted from death of a spouse, for instance during childbirth. Single-parent homes are increasing as married couples divorce, or as unmarried couples have children. Although widely believed to be detrimental to the mental and physical well-being of a child, this type of household is tolerated. The percentage of single-parent households has doubled in the last three decades, but that percentage tripled between 1900 and 1950. In fact, 24 percent of children live with just their mother, and 4 percent live with just their father. The sense of marriage as a “permanent” institution has been weakened, allowing individuals to consider leaving marriages more readily than they may have in the past. Increasingly single parent families are a result of out of wedlock births, especially those due to unintended pregnancy.

Step Families

Step families are becoming more common in America. Divorce rates, along with the remarriage rate are rising, therefore bringing two families together as step families. Statistics show that there are 1,300 new step families forming every day. Over half of American families are remarried, that is 75% of marriages ending in divorce, remarry.

Extended Family

The extended family consists of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. In some circumstances, the extended family comes to live either with or in place of a member of the nuclear family.

About 4 percent of children live with a relative other than a parent. For example, when elderly parents move in with their children due to old age, this places large demands on the caregivers, particularly the female relatives who choose to perform these duties for their extended family.



The traditional family in the U.S.: An American family composed of the mother, father, children, and extended family.

Kinship Patterns

Kinship refers to the web of social relationships that form an important part of the lives of most humans in most societies.

Learning Objectives

Explain how the concept of kinship is used in anthropolgy

Key Points

- In biology, kinship typically refers to the degree of genetic relatedness or coefficient of relationships between individual members of a species.
- One of the founders of the anthropological relationship research was Lewis Henry Morgan, in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (1871). The most lasting of Morgan's contributions was his discovery of the difference between descriptive and classificatory kinship.
- Ideas about kinship in sociology and anthropology do not necessarily assume any biological relationship between individuals, rather just close associations.
- A unilineal society is one in which the descent of an individual is reckoned either from the mother's or the father's line of descent.
- With matrilineal descent individuals belong to their mother's descent group. Similarly, with patrilineal descent, individuals belong to their father's descent group.
- The Western model of a nuclear family consists of a couple and its children.
- With patrilineal descent, individuals belong to their father's descent group.
- The Western model of a nuclear family consists of a couple and its children.

Key Terms

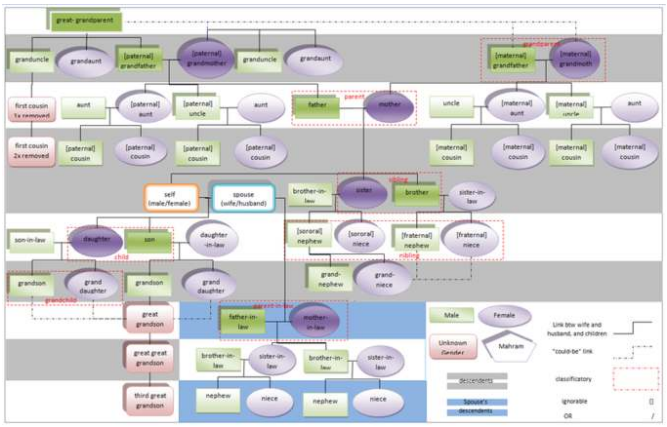
- **affinity**: A natural attraction or feeling of kinship to a person or thing.
- **descent**: Lineage or hereditary derivation.
- **kinship**: relation or connection by blood, marriage, or adoption

Kinship is a term with various meanings depending upon the context. In anthropology, kinship refers to the web of social relationships that form an important part of human lives. In other disciplines, kinship may have a different meaning. In biology, it typically refers to the degree of genetic relatedness or coefficient of relationships between individual members of a species. In a more general sense, kinship may refer to a similarity or affinity between entities on the basis of some or all of their characteristics.

System of Kinship

One of the founders of anthropological relationship research was Lewis Henry Morgan, who wrote Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (1871). Members of a society may use kinship terms without being biologically related, a fact already evident in Morgan's use of the term "affinity" within his concept of the "system of kinship. " The most lasting of Morgan's contributions was his discovery of the difference between descriptive and classificatory kinship, which situates broad kinship classes on the basis of imputing abstract social patterns of relationships having little or no overall relation to genetic closeness.

Kinship systems as defined in anthropological texts and ethnographies were seen as constituted by patterns of behavior and attitudes in relation to the differences in terminology for referring to relationships as well as for addressing others. Many anthropologists went so far as to see, in these patterns of kinship, strong relations between kinship categories and patterns of marriage, including forms of marriage, restrictions on marriage, and cultural concepts of the boundaries of incest.



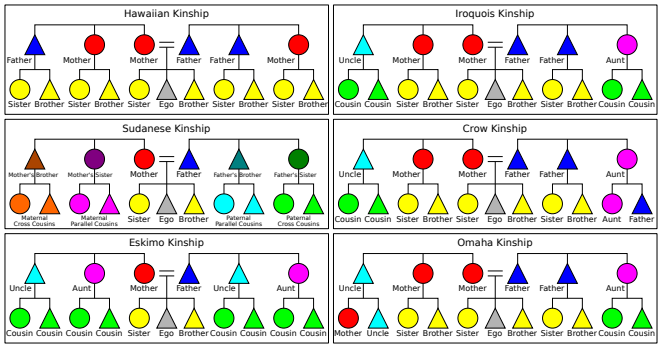
Mahrams Chart: Family chart. Note that not all relatives are shown in the chart (specially at step-relatives).

Biological Relationships

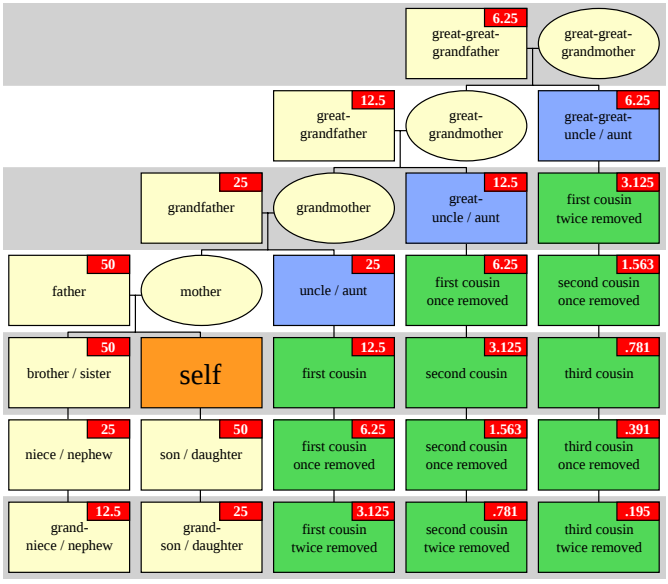
Ideas about kinship do not necessarily assume any biological relationship between individuals, rather just close associations. Malinowski, in his ethnographic study of sexual behavior on the Trobriand Islands, noted that the Trobrianders did not believe pregnancy to be the result of sexual intercourse between the man and the woman, and they denied that there was any physiological relationship between father and child. Nevertheless, while paternity was unknown in the "full biological sense," for a woman to have a child without having a husband was considered socially undesirable. Fatherhood was therefore recognized as a social role; the woman's husband is the "man whose role and duty it is to take the child in his arms and to help her in nursing and bringing it up"; "Thus, though the natives are ignorant of any physiological need for a male in the constitution of the family, they regard him as indispensable socially. "

Descent and the Family

Descent, like family systems, is one of the major concepts of anthropology. Cultures worldwide possess a wide range of systems of tracing kinship and descent. Anthropologists break these down into simple concepts about what is thought to be common among many different cultures. A descent group is a social group whose members have common ancestry. An unilineal society is one in which the descent of an individual is reckoned either from the mother's or the father's line of descent. With matrilineal descent, individuals belong to their mother's descent group. Matrilineal descent includes the mother's brother, who in some societies may pass along inheritance to the sister's children or succession to a sister's son. With patrilineal descent, individuals belong to their father's descent group. Societies with the Iroquois kinship system are typically uniliineal, while the Iroquois proper are specifically matrilineal. The Western model of a nuclear family consists of a couple and its children. The nuclear family is ego-centered and impermanent, while descent groups are permanent and reckoned according to a single ancestor.



Kinship Systems: A broad comparison of (left, top-to-bottom) Hawaiian, Sudanese, Eskimo, (right, top-to-bottom) Iroquois, Crow and Omaha kinship systems.



Cousin Tree kinship: Family tree showing the relationship of each person to the orange person. Cousins are colored green. The genetic kinship degree of relationship is marked in red boxes by percentage (%).

Authority Patterns

The three main parenting styles in early child development are authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive.

Learning Objectives

Describe the four different styles of parenting

Key Points

- Parenting is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child, from infancy to adulthood.
- Authoritarian parenting styles can be very rigid and strict.
- Authoritative parenting relies on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment.

- Permissive parenting is a parenting style in which a child's freedom and their autonomy are valued and parents tend to rely mostly on reasoning and explanation.
- An uninvolved parenting style is when parents are often emotionally absent and sometimes even physically absent.

Key Terms

- **Uninvolved Parenting**: The parenting style used when parents are often emotionally absent and sometimes even physically absent.
- **Authoritarian parenting**: Parenting that relies on a rigid set of rules.
- **Authoritative parenting**: Parenting that relies on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment. Parents are more aware of a child's feelings and capabilities, and support the development of a child's autonomy within reasonable limits.

Parenting is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood. Parenting refers to the aspects of raising a child, aside from the biological relationship. Parenting is usually done by the biological parents of the child in question, although governments and society take a role as well. In many cases, orphaned or abandoned children receive parental care from non-parent blood relations. Others may be adopted, raised in foster care, or placed in an orphanage.

Parenting Styles

Developmental psychologist Diana Baumrind identified three main parenting styles in early child development: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. These parenting styles were later expanded to four, including an uninvolved style. These four styles of parenting involve combinations of acceptance and responsiveness on the one hand, and demand and control on the other. Authoritarian parenting styles can be very rigid and strict. Parents who practice authoritarian style parenting have a strict set of rules and expectations and require rigid obedience. If rules are not followed, punishment is most often used to ensure obedience. There is usually no explanation of punishment except that the child is in trouble and should listen accordingly. Authoritative parenting relies on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment. Parents are more aware of a child's feelings and capabilities and support the development of a child's autonomy within reasonable limits. There is a give-and-take atmosphere involved in parent-child communication, and both control and support are exercised in authoritative style parenting.

Permissive parenting is most popular in middle class families. In these family settings a child's freedom and their autonomy are valued and parents tend to rely mostly on reasoning and explanation. There tends to be little, if any, punishment or rules in this style of parenting and children are said to be free from external constraints.

An uninvolved parenting style is when parents are often emotionally absent and sometimes even physically absent. They have little to no expectation of the child and regularly have no communication. They are not responsive to a child's needs and do not demand anything of them in terms of behavioral expectations. They provide everything the child needs for survival with little to no engagement.



Father and Child: Parenting is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child, from infancy to adulthood.

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12.2: Marriage

The Nature of Marriage

Marriage is a social union or legal contract between people called spouses that creates kinship.

Learning Objectives

Analyze different types of marriage and the similarities and differences between polygamy and polyandry

Key Points

- The reasons people marry vary widely and include, to publicly and formally declare their love, to form a single household unit, social and economic stability, and for the education and nurturing of children.
- Same- sex marriage is marriage between two persons of the same biological sex or gender identity.
- A civil union, also referred to as a civil partnership, is a legally recognized form of partnership similar to marriage.
- Group marriage is a form of polyamory in which more than two persons form a family unit. All the members of the group marriage are considered to be married to all the other members of the group marriage.
- Cohabitation is an arrangement where two people who are not married live together in an intimate relationship, particularly an emotionally and sexually intimate one, on a long-term or permanent basis.

Key Terms

- **group marriage**: a form of polygamous marriage in which more than one man and more than one woman form a family unit
- **cohabitation**: An emotionally and physically intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without legal or religious sanction.
- **civil union**: a legal union similar to marriage, established to allow similar rights to same-sex couples, and in some jurisdictions opposite-sex couples, as partners in traditional marriages have.

Marriage is a social union or legal contract between spouses that creates kinship. The most frequently occurring form of marriage is between a woman and a man, where the feminine term ‘wife’ and the masculine term ‘husband’ are generally used to describe the parties of the contract. Other forms of marriage also exist, however. For example polygamy, in which a person takes more than one spouse, exists in many societies. Currently, the legal concept of marriage is expanding to include same-sex marriage in some areas as well.



Bride and groom signing the book: The most frequently occurring form of marriage is between a woman and a man, where the feminine term ‘wife’ and the masculine term ‘husband’ are generally used to describe the parties of the contract.

Wedding Ceremony

The reasons people marry vary widely, but usually include the desire to publicly and formally declare their love, to form a single household unit, to legitimize sexual relations and procreation, for social and economic stability, and for the education and nurturing of children. A marriage can be declared by a wedding ceremony, which may be performed either by a religious officiator or through a similar government-sanctioned secular process. The act of marriage creates obligations between the individuals involved, and, in some societies, between the parties’ extended families.

Types of Marriage

Outside of the traditional marriage between monogamous heterosexual couples, other forms of marriage exist. Same-sex is marriage between two persons of the same biological sex or gender identity. Supporters of legal recognition for same-sex marriage typically refer to such recognition as marriage equality. It is believed that same-sex unions were celebrated in Ancient Greece and Rome, some regions of China, such as Fujian, and at certain times in ancient European history. In the United States, although same-sex marriages are not recognized federally, same-sex couples can legally marry in six states (Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont) and the District of Columbia and receive state-level benefits.

A civil union, also referred to as a civil partnership, is a legally recognized form of partnership similar to marriage. Group marriage is a form of polyamory in which more than two persons form a family unit. All the members of the group marriage are considered to be married to all the other members

of the group marriage. All members of the marriage share parental responsibility for any children arising from the marriage. In some jurisdictions, such as Brazil, New Zealand, Uruguay, France and the U.S. states of Hawaii and Illinois, civil unions are also open to opposite-sex couples.

Polygamy and polyandry are two less recognized (or supported) forms of marriage. In polygamy, a man usually takes on a number of different wives, although the literal translation of the term means marriage "between two or more partners". Polyandry is specific to a woman taking on two or more husbands at a time, although it can more loosely mean having multiple sexual partners.

Cohabitation

Marriage is an institution which can join together people's lives in a variety of emotional and economic ways. In many Western cultures, marriage usually leads to the formation of a new household comprising the married couple, with the married couple living together in the same home, often sharing the same bed, but in some other cultures this is not the tradition. Conversely, marriage is not a prerequisite for cohabitation. Cohabitation is an arrangement where two people who are not married live together in an intimate relationship, particularly an emotionally and sexually intimate one, on a long-term or permanent basis.

Romantic Love

Romance is the expressive and pleasurable feeling from an emotional attraction to another person, and is associated with love.

Learning Objectives

Describe the origins of the conception of romantic love

Key Points

- In the context of romantic love relationships, romance usually implies an expression of one's strong romantic love, or one's deep and strong emotional desires to connect with another person intimately.
- The conception of romantic love was popularized in Western culture by the concept of courtly love.
- Courtship is the period in a couple's relationship which precedes their engagement and marriage, or establishment of an agreed relationship of a more enduring kind.
- Romantic love may also be classified according to two categories, "popular romance" and " divine or spiritual" romance.
- The "tragic" contradiction between romance and social expectations is forcibly portrayed in art.

Key Terms

- **courtship**: The act of wooing in love; solicitation of individuals to marriage
- **courtly love**: A mediaeval European conception of noble and chivalrous love, generally secret and between members of the nobility.
- **intimacy**: Feeling or atmosphere of closeness and openness towards someone else, not necessarily involving sexuality.

Romance is the expressive and pleasurable feeling from an emotional attraction to another person associated with love. In the context of romantic love relationships, romance usually implies an expression of one's strong romantic love, or one's deep and strong emotional desires to connect with another person intimately.

During the initial stages of a romantic relationship, there is more often more emphasis on emotions—especially those of love, intimacy, compassion, appreciation, and affinity—rather than physical intimacy. Within an established relationship, romantic love can be defined as a freeing or optimizing of intimacy in a particularly luxurious manner, or perhaps in greater spirituality, irony, or peril to the relationship. In culture, arranged marriages and betrothals are customs that may conflict with romance due to the nature of the arrangement. It is possible, however, that strong romance and love can exist between the partners in an arranged marriage.

Romantic Practices

The conception of romantic love was popularized in Western culture by the concept of courtly love. Chevaliers, or knights in the Middle Ages, engaged in what were usually non-physical and non-marital relationships with women of nobility of whom they served. These relations were highly elaborate and ritualized in a complexity that was steeped in a framework of tradition, which stemmed from theories of etiquette derived out of chivalry as a moral code of conduct. Currently, courtship is the period in a couple's relationship which precedes their engagement and marriage, or establishment of an agreed relationship of a more enduring kind. In courtship, a couple gets to know each other and decides if there will be an engagement or other such agreement. A courtship may be an informal and private matter between two people, or it may be a public affair or formal arrangement with family approval.



Courting: The conception of romantic love was popularized in Western culture by the concept of courtly love.

Types of Romantic Love

Romantic love is contrasted with platonic love which in all usages precludes sexual relations, yet only in the modern usage does it take on a fully asexual sense, rather than the classical sense in which sexual drives are sublimated. Unrequited love can be romantic in different ways: comic, tragic, or in the sense that sublimation itself is comparable to romance, where the spirituality of both art and egalitarian ideals is combined with strong character and emotions. Unrequited love is typical of the period of romanticism, but the term is distinct from any romance that might arise within it.

Romantic love may also be classified according to two categories: “popular romance” and “divine or spiritual” romance. Popular romance may include but is not limited to the following types: idealistic, normal intense, predictable as well as unpredictable, consuming, intense but out of control, material and commercial, physical and sexual, and finally grand and demonstrative. Divine romance may include, but is not limited to these following types: realistic, as well as plausible unrealistic, optimistic as well as abiding.

Tragedy and Other Social Issues

The “tragic” contradiction between romance and society is most forcibly portrayed in literature, in Tolstoy’s Anna Karenina, in Flaubert’s Madame Bovary, and William Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet. The female protagonists in such stories are driven to suicide as if dying for a cause of freedom from various oppressions of marriage. Reciprocity of the sexes appears in the ancient world primarily in myth where it is in fact often the subject of tragedy, for example in the myths of Theseus and Atalanta. Noteworthy female freedom or power was an exception rather than the rule, though this is a matter of speculation and debate.

Marital Residence

Marriage is an institution which can join together people’s lives in a variety of emotional and economic ways.

Learning Objectives

Describe cohabitation trends in the U.S.

Key Points

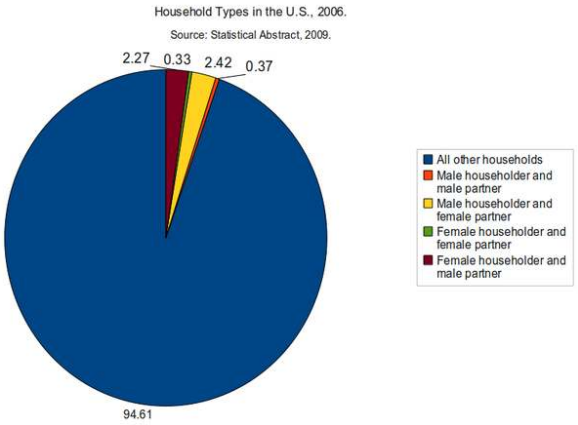
- Cohabitation is an arrangement where two people who are not married live together in an physically and emotionally intimate relationship on a long-term or permanent basis.
- Over the years, evidence indicating cohabiting increases the likelihood of split has always been more prevalent than evidence that suggests it is helpful.
- Cohabitation in the United States became common in the late 20th century.
- Some places, including the state of California, have laws that recognize cohabiting couples as ” domestic partners “.

Key Terms

- **cohabitation**: An emotionally and physically intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without legal or religious sanction.
- **Domestic Partners**: Two individuals who live together and share a common domestic life but are neither joined by marriage nor a civil union, yet may have other legal guarantees.
- **Likelihood of Split**: The probability that a romantic union will dissolve.

Marriage is an institution which can join together people’s lives in a variety of emotional and economic ways. In many Western cultures, marriage usually leads to the married couple living together in the same home, often sharing the same bed. In some other cultures, this is not the tradition.

Conversely, marriage is not a prerequisite for cohabitation. Cohabitation is an arrangement where two people who are not married live together in an physically and emotionally intimate relationship on a long-term or permanent basis.



Household types in the United States in 2006: This figure shows that roughly 5% of households in the United States are made up of cohabiting couples of various types: heterosexual, gay, or, lesbian.

Conflicting studies on the effect of cohabitation on marriage have been published. But over the years, evidence indicating cohabiting increases the likelihood of split has always been more prevalent than evidence that suggests it is helpful. For married couples, the percentage of the relationship ending after five years is 20%, for cohabitators the percentage is 49%. The percentage of the relationship ending after 10 years is 33% for married couples and 62% for cohabitators.

The parenting role of cohabiting partners could also have a negative effect on the child. The partner that is not the parent, usually the father, does not have "explicit legal, financial, supervisory or custodial rights or responsibilities regarding the children of his partner" according to Waite. This can cause an unstable living arrangement for a child in which he or she acts out because the partner is "not their real parent. "

Cohabitation in the United States became common in the late 20th century. Although it is illegal in five states, a total of 4.85 million couples live together. A scientific survey of over 1,000 married men and women in the United States found that those who moved in with a lover before engagement or marriage reported significantly lower quality marriages and a greater possibility for splitting up than other couples. About 20% of those who cohabited before getting engaged had since suggested divorce, as compared with only 12% of those who only moved in together after getting engaged and 10% who did not cohabit prior to the marriage.

Some places, including the state of California, have laws that recognize cohabiting couples as domestic partners. In California, such couples are defined as people who "have chosen to share one another's lives in an intimate and committed relationship of mutual caring," including having a "common residence, and are the same sex or persons of opposite sex if one or both of the persons are over the age of 62. "

Mate Selection

There is wide cross-cultural variation in the social rules governing the selection of a partner for marriage.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between arranged marriages and forced marriages

Key Points

- An arranged marriage is an agreement in which both parties consent to the assistance of their parents or a third party.
- Endogamy refers to the rule that a marital partner must be selected from an individual's own social group. This is common in caste-based societies.
- Exogamy refers to the rule that a marital partner must be chosen from a different group than one's own. This is common in totemic societies.
- In other cultures, a partner can be chosen through courtship. Marriage can also be arranged by the couple's parents through an outside party, a matchmaker.
- Forced marriage is a term used to describe a marriage in which one or both of the parties is married without consent.
- In some societies ranging from Central Asia to the Caucasus to Africa, the custom of bride kidnapping still exists, in which a woman is captured by a man and his friends.
- In some societies ranging from Central Asia to the Caucasus to Africa, the custom of bride kidnapping still exists, in which a woman is captured by a man and his friends.

Key Terms

- **matchmaker**: someone who finds suitable marriage partners
- **courtship**: The act of wooing in love; solicitation of individuals to marriage
- **shotgun wedding**: This refers to a forced wedding that occurs because a bride is already pregnant.

There is wide cross-cultural variation in the social rules that govern the selection of marriage partners. In some communities, partner selection is an individual decision, while in others, it is a collective decision made by the partners' kin groups. Among different cultures, there is also variation in the rules regulating whom individuals can choose to marry.

Arranged Marriages

An arranged marriage is an agreement in which both parties consent to the assistance of their parents or a third party. Arranged marriage has deep roots in the behavior of royal and aristocratic families around the world. Today, arranged marriage is largely practiced in South Asia (India, Nepal, Pakistan,

Bangladesh, Sri Lanka), Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. To some extent, it also occurs in parts of East Asia.

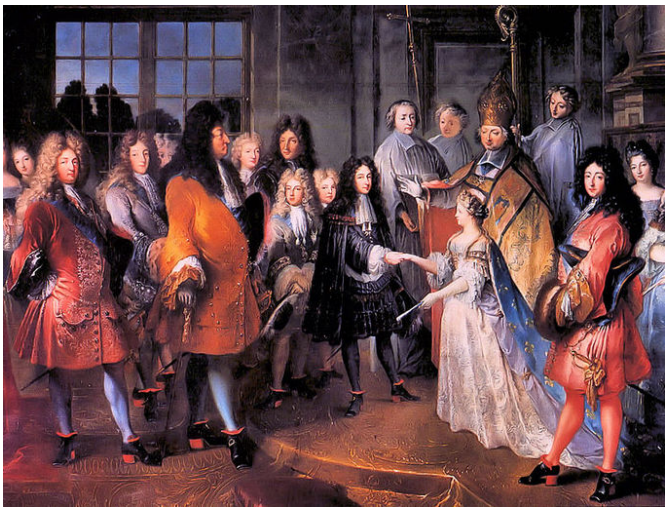
In many societies, the choice of partner is limited to suitable persons from specific social groups. In some of these societies, individuals are only allowed to select partners from the individual's social group. This is a practice called endogamy, and is common in many class and casted-based societies, like India. In other societies, on the other hand, partners can be selected from a different social group than one's own. This is called exogamy, and is common in societies that practice totemic religion, in which society is divided into a number of distinct, exogamous, totemic clans.

In cultures with fewer rules governing mate selection, the process of finding a partner might include courtship. It might also be arranged by an individual's parent through an outside party, called a matchmaker.

Forced Marriages

Forced marriage is a term used to describe a marriage in which one or both parties is married without consent, against his or her will. In a shotgun wedding, a marriage between two people is forced because of an unplanned pregnancy. Some cultures and religions consider it a moral imperative to marry in such a situation. This is based on the reasoning that premarital sex, and out-of-wedlock births, are sinful, and should be outlawed or stigmatized. As the stigma associated with out-of-wedlock births has faded over the years, and the number of such births has increased, shotgun weddings have become less common. They have also become less common because of the increasing availability of birth control, abortions, and welfare support for unwed mothers. Fewer people perceive shotgun weddings to be necessary in order to support the woman and the child.

In some societies, ranging from Central Asia to Africa, the custom of bride kidnapping still exists, in which a woman is captured by a man and his friends. This practice occasionally exists to conceal an elopement, but it also occasionally represents sexual violence.



Arranged Marriages in Europe: an arranged marriage between Louis XIV of France and Maria Theresa of Spain

Child Rearing

Child rearing is the process of supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child.

Learning Objectives

Apply Baumrind's parenting style categories to families in your own environment.

Key Points

- Parenting is usually done by the biological parents of the child in question, although governments and society play roles as well.
- Authoritarian parents have a strict set of rules and expectations. This approach controls, but also intimidates, and can inhibit a child. Rigid obedience is required.
- Authoritative parents also create clear behavioral guidelines, but this approach balances discipline with warmth. It promotes positive reinforcement, learning from mistakes, and infrequent use of punishment.
- Permissive or Indulgent parents espouse autonomy without consequences, in the name of granting a child freedom. This approach relies mostly on affection, reasoning, and explanation, and does not factor in personal responsibility.
- Uninvolved parents eschew limits altogether, and may ignore a child to the point of neglect. This is often the default approach when parents are emotionally and/or physically absent.
- The ideology of "motherhood" portrays mothers as the ultimate caregivers, however, fathers have begun to spend more caregiving time with their children.

Key Terms

- **Authoritative parenting**: Parenting that relies on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment.
- **Authoritarian parenting**: A parenting style that relies on a strict set of rules and rigid obedience.
- **Uninvolved Parenting**: Often applies when parents are emotionally absent and sometimes even physically absent.

Child rearing is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood. Parenting refers to aspects of raising a child aside from the biological relationship. Parenting is usually done by the biological parents of the child in question, with governments and society playing ancillary roles. Orphaned or abandoned children are often reared by non-parent blood relations.

Parenting Styles

Developmental psychologist Diana Baumrind identified three main parenting styles in early child development: Authoritative, Authoritarian, and Permissive. These parenting styles were later expanded to four, including an Uninvolved style. They involve combinations of acceptance and responsiveness on the one hand, and demand and control on the other.

Authoritarian parenting is very rigid and strict. Parents who practice it have a set of rules and expectations, and they require rigid obedience. If rules are not followed, punishment is most often used to ensure obedience.

Authoritative parenting relies on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment. These parents are more aware of a child's feelings and capabilities, and support the development of a child's autonomy within reasonable limits. There is a give-and-take atmosphere involved in parent-child communication, and both control and support are exercised.

With Permissive or Indulgent parenting, a child's freedom and autonomy are valued above all. These parents rarely find fault with their child and when they do, they tend to rely mostly on reasoning and explanation. There are few rules, few consequences, and children are said to be free from external constraints.

In Uninvolved families, parents are often emotionally absent and sometimes even physically absent. Expectations and regular communication are minimal. These parents are not responsive to a child's needs and do not demand anything of them behaviorally. They provide for basic survival, but offer little to no engagement.

Parental Roles and Responsibilities

The ideology of "motherhood" portrays mothers as the ultimate caregivers. They invest copious time in their children, which may affect their job and role in the labor market. Although stay-at-home moms are less common in today's economy, women statistically spend more time nurturing children than men do.

However, fathers are beginning to spend more hands-on time with their children as parenting roles evolve. Couples are now more likely to share household and child-rearing responsibilities, such as bathing, dressing, feeding, changing diapers, and comforting children, along with cooking and cleaning.



Motherhood: A Nepalese woman and her infant child.

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12.3: Sociological Perspectives on Family

The Functionalist Perspective

Functionalists view the family unit as a construct that fulfills important functions and keeps society running smoothly.

Learning Objectives

Explain the social functions of the family through the perspective of structural functionalism

Key Points

- Functionalists identify a number of functions families typically perform: reproduction; socialization; care, protection, and emotional support; assignment of status; and regulation of sexual behavior through social norms.
- For functionalists, the family creates well-integrated members of society by instilling the social culture into children.
- Radcliffe-Brown proposed that most stateless, "primitive" societies, lacking strong centralized institutions, are based on an association of descent groups. These clans emerge from family units.

Key Terms

- **family**: A group of people related by blood, marriage, law or custom.
- **Radcliffe-Brown**: A British social anthropologist from the early twentieth century who contributed to the development of the theory of structural-functionalism.
- **institution**: An established organization, especially one dedicated to education, public service, culture, or the care of the destitute, poor etc.

Structural functionalism is a framework that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. In this way, society is like an organism and each aspect of society (institutions, social constructs, etc.) is like an organ that works together to keep the whole functioning smoothly. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole. Functionalism addresses society in terms of the function of its constituent elements: norms, customs, traditions and institutions. Functionalists, in general, identify a number of functions families typically perform: reproduction; socialization; care, protection, and emotional support; assignment of status; and regulation of sexual behavior through the norm of legitimacy.

The Family

Radcliffe-Brown proposed that most stateless, "primitive" societies that lack strong centralized institutions are based on an association of corporate-descent groups. Structural functionalism also took on the argument that the basic building block of society is the nuclear family, and that the clan is an outgrowth, not vice versa. Durkheim was concerned with the question of how certain societies maintain internal stability and survive over time. Based on the metaphor above of an organism in which many parts function together to sustain the whole, Durkheim argued that complicated societies are held together by organic solidarity.



Nuclear Family: Structural functionalism also took on the argument that the basic building block of society is the nuclear family, and that the clan is an outgrowth, not vice versa.

Functions of the Family

For functionalists, the family creates well-integrated members of society and instills culture into the new members of society. It provides important ascribed statuses such as social class and ethnicity to new members. It is responsible for social replacement by reproducing new members, to replace its dying members. Further, the family gives individuals property rights and also affords the assignment and maintenance of kinship order. Lastly, families offer material and emotional security and provides care and support for the individuals who need care.



Expectant Family: Family expecting an additional family member.



Family in the 1970s: For functionalists, the family creates well-integrated members of society and teaches culture to the new members of society.

The Conflict Perspective

The conflict perspective views the family as a vehicle to maintain patriarchy (gender inequality) and social inequality in society.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the family from the perspective of conflict theory

Key Points

- The conflict perspective describes the inequalities that exist in all societies globally, and considers aspects of society as ways for those with power and status to maintain control over scare resources.
- According to conflict theorists, the family works toward the continuance of social inequality within a society by maintaining and reinforcing the status quo.
- Through inheritance, the wealthy families are able to keep their privileged social position for their members.
- Conflict theorists have seen the family as a social arrangement benefiting men more than women.

Key Terms

- **family**: A group of people related by blood, marriage, law or custom.
- **inheritance**: The passing of title to an estate upon death.
- **Conflict Perspective**: A perspective in the social sciences that emphasizes the social, political or material inequality of a social group; critiques the broad socio-political system; or otherwise detracts from structural functionalism and ideological conservativism.

The Conflict perspective refers to the inequalities that exist in all societies globally. Conflict theory is particularly interested in the various aspects of master status in social position—the primary identifying characteristic of an individual seen in terms of race or ethnicity, sex or gender, age, religion, ability or disability, and socio-economic status. According to the Conflict paradigm, every society is plagued by inequality based on social differences among the dominant group and all of the other groups in society. When we are analyzing any element of society from this perspective, we need to look at the structures of wealth, power and status, and the ways in which those structures maintain social, economic, political and coercive power of one group at the expense of others.

The Family

According to conflict theorists, the family works toward the continuance of social inequality within a society by maintaining and reinforcing the status quo. Because inheritance, education and social capital are transmitted through the family structure, wealthy families are able to keep their privileged social position for their members, while individuals from poor families are denied similar status.

Conflict theorists have also seen the family as a social arrangement benefiting men more than women, allowing men to maintain a position of power. The traditional family form in most cultures is patriarchal, contributing to inequality between the sexes. Males tend to have more power and females tend to have less. Traditional male roles and responsibilities are valued more than the traditional roles done by their wives (i.e., housekeeping, child rearing). The traditional family is also an inequitable structure for women and children. For example, more than 60 percent of all mothers with children under six are

in the paid workforce. Even though these women spend as much (or more) time at paid jobs as their husbands, they also do more of the housework and child care.



Chinese Family in Suriname: According to conflict theorists, the family works toward the continuance of social inequality within a society by maintaining and reinforcing the status quo.

The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

Symbolic interactionists view the family as a site of social reproduction where meanings are negotiated and maintained by family members.

Learning Objectives

Analyze family rituals through the symbolic interactionalist perspective

Key Points

- Symbolic interactionism is a theory that analyzes patterns of communication, interpretation, and adjustment between individuals in society. The theory is a framework for understanding how individuals interact with each other and within society through the meanings of symbols.
- Role-taking is a key mechanism that permits an individual to appreciate another person's perspective and to understand what an action might mean to that person. Role-taking emerges at an early age through activities such as playing house.
- Symbolic interactionists explore the changing meanings attached to family. Symbolic interactionists argue that shared activities help to build emotional bonds, and that marriage and family relationships are based on negotiated meanings.
- The interactionist perspective emphasizes that families reinforce and rejuvenate bonds through symbolic rituals such as family meals and holidays.

Key Terms

- **family**: A group of people related by blood, marriage, law or custom.
- **ritual**: Rite; a repeated set of actions
- **bonds**: Ties and relationships between individuals.

Symbolic interactionism is a social theory that focuses on the analysis of patterns of communication, interpretation, and adjustment between individuals in relation to the meanings of symbols. According to the theory, an individual's verbal and nonverbal responses are constructed in expectation of how the initial speaker will react.

This emphasis on symbols, negotiated meaning, and the construction of society as an aspect of symbolic interactionism focuses attention on the roles that people play in society. Role-taking is a key mechanism through which an individual can appreciate another person's perspective and better understand the significance of a particular action to that person. Role-taking begins at an early age, through such activities as playing house and pretending to be different people. These activities have an improvisational quality that contrasts with, say, an actor's scripted role-playing. In social contexts, the uncertainty of roles places the burden of role-making on the people in a given situation.

Ethnomethodology, an offshoot of symbolic interactionism, examines how people's interactions can create the illusion of a shared social order despite a lack of mutual understanding and the presence of differing perspectives. Harold Garfinkel demonstrated this situation through so-called experiments in trust, or breaching experiments, wherein students would interrupt ordinary conversations because they refused to take for granted that they knew what the other person was saying.

The Family

Symbolic interactionists also explore the changing meanings attached to family. They argue that shared activities help to build emotional bonds among family members, and that marriage and family relationships are based on negotiated meanings. The interactionist perspective emphasizes that families reinforce and rejuvenate bonds through symbolic mechanism rituals such as family meals and holidays.



The Family: Symbolic interactionists explore the changing meanings attached to family. They argue that shared activities help to build emotional bonds and that marriage and family relationships are based on negotiated meanings.

The Feminist Perspective

Feminists view the family as a historical institution that has maintained and perpetuated sexual inequalities.

Learning Objectives

Describe the goals of first and second-wave feminism

Key Points

- Feminism is a broad term that is the result of several historical social movements attempting to gain equal economic, political, and social rights for women.
- First-wave feminism focused mainly on legal equality, such as voting, education, employment, the marriage laws, and the plight of intelligent, white, middle-class women.
- Second-wave feminism went a step further is seeking equality in family, employment, reproductive rights, and sexuality.
- Both feminist and masculinist authors have decried predetermined gender roles as unjust.

Key Terms

- **gender**: The socio-cultural phenomenon of the division of people into various categories such as male and female, with each having associated roles, expectations, stereotypes, etc.

Feminism is a broad term that is the result of several historical social movements attempting to gain equal economic, political, and social rights for women. First-wave feminism focused mainly on legal equality, such as voting, education, employment, marriage laws, and the plight of intelligent, white, middle-class women. Second-wave feminism went a step further by seeking equality in family, employment, reproductive rights, and sexuality. Although there was great improvements with perceptions and representations of women that extended globally, the movement was not unified and several different forms of feminism began to emerge: black feminism, lesbian feminism, liberal feminism, and social feminism.

Sociology of Motherhood

In many cultures, especially in a traditional western one, a mother is usually the wife in a married couple. Her role in the family is celebrated on Mother's Day. Some often view mothers' duties as raising and looking after their children every minute of every day. Mothers frequently have a very important role in raising offspring, and the title can be given to a non-biological mother that fills this role. This is common in stepmothers (female married to biological father). In most family structures, the mother is both a biological parent and a primary caregiver.

However, this limited role has increasingly been called into question. Both feminist and masculist authors have decried such predetermined roles as unjust. In the United States, 82.5 million women are mothers of all ages, while the national average age of first child births is 25.1 years. In 2008, 10% of births were to teenage girls, and 14% were to women ages 35 and older.



Women's Rights: International Women's Day rally in Dhaka, Bangladesh, organized by the National Women Workers Trade Union Centre on March 8, 2005.

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12.4: Recent Changes in Family Structure

The Decline of the Traditional Family

One parent households, cohabitation, same sex families, and voluntary childless couples are increasingly common.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the prevalence of single parents, cohabitation, same-sex couples, and unmarried individuals

Key Points

- One recent trend illustrating the changing nature of families is the rise in prevalence of single-parent families.
- Cohabitation is an intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without the benefit of legal, cultural, or religious sanction.
- While homosexuality has existed for thousands of years among human beings, formal marriages between homosexual partners is a relatively recent phenomenon.
- Voluntary childlessness in women is defined as women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children.

Key Terms

- **cohabitation**: An emotionally and physically intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without legal or religious sanction.
- **Voluntary Childlessness**: Women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children, women who have chosen sterilization, or women past childbearing age who were fertile but chose not to have children.

Family structures of some kind are found in every society. Pairing off into formal or informal marital relationships originated in hunter-gatherer groups to forge networks of cooperation beyond the immediate family. Intermarriage between groups, tribes, or clans was often political or strategic and resulted in reciprocal obligations between the two groups represented by the marital partners. Even so, marital dissolution was not a serious problem as the obligations resting on marital longevity were not particularly high.

One Parent Households

One recent trend illustrating the changing nature of families is the rise in prevalence of single-parent families. While somewhat more common prior to the twentieth century due to the more frequent deaths of spouses, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nuclear family became the societal norm in most Western nations. But what was the prevailing norm for much of the twentieth century is no longer the actual norm, nor is it perceived as such.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the change in the economic structure of the United States –-the inability to support a nuclear family on a single wage–-had significant ramifications on family life. Women and men began delaying the age of first marriage in order to invest in their earning power before marriage by spending more time in school. The increased levels of education among women, with women now earn more than 50% of bachelor's degrees, positioned women to survive economically without the support of a husband. By 1997, 40% of births to unmarried American women were intentional and, despite a still prominent gender gap in pay, women were able to survive as single mothers.

Cohabitation

Cohabitation is an intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without the benefit of legal, cultural, or religious sanction. It can be seen as an alternative form of marriage, in that, in practice, it is similar to marriage, but it does not receive the same formal recognition by religions, governments, or cultures. The cohabiting population, although inclusive of all ages, is mainly made up of those between the ages of 25 and 34. In 2005, the U.S. Census Bureau reported 4.85 million cohabiting couples, up more than 1,000% from 1960, when there were 439,000 such couples. More than half of couples in the United States lived together, at least briefly, before walking down the aisle.

Same- Sex Unions

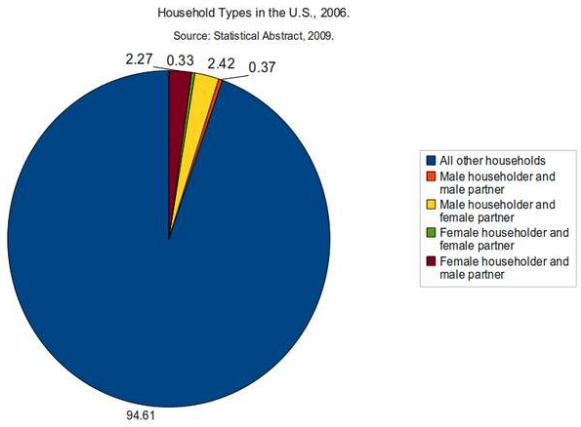
While homosexuality has existed for thousands of years among human beings, formal marriages between homosexual partners is a relatively recent phenomenon. As of 2009, only two states in the United States recognized marriages between same-sex partners, Massachusetts and Iowa, where same-sex marriage was formally allowed as of May 17, 2004 and April 2009, respectively. Three additional states allow same-sex civil unions, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Vermont. Between May 2004 and December 2006, 7,341 same-sex couples married in Massachusetts. Assuming the percentage of homosexuals in Massachusetts is similar to that of the rest of the nation, the above number indicates that 16.7% of homosexuals in Massachusetts married during that time. Massachusetts is also the state with the lowest divorce rate.

Same sex couples, while becoming increasingly more common, still only account for about 1 percent of American households, according to 2010 Census data. About 0.5 percent of American households were same-sex couples in 2000, so this number has

doubled, and it is expected to continuing increasing by the next Census data.

Childfree Couples

Voluntary childlessness in women is defined as women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children, women who have chosen sterilization, or women past childbearing age who were fertile but chose not to have children. Individuals can also be “temporarily childless” or do not currently have children but want children in the future. The availability of reliable contraception along with support provided in old age by systems other than traditional familial ones has made childlessness an option for some people in developed countries. In most societies and for most of human history, choosing to be childfree was both difficult and undesirable. To accomplish the goal of remaining childfree, some individuals undergo medical sterilization or relinquish their children for adoption.



Household types in the United States in 2006: This figure shows that roughly 5% of households in the United States are made up of cohabiting couples of various types: heterosexual, gay, or, lesbian.

Change in Marriage Rate

Over the past three decades, marriage rates in the United States have increased for all racial and ethnic groups.

Learning Objectives

Recognize changes in marriage patterns

Key Points

- Marriage is a social union or legal contract between people, called spouses, that creates kinship.
- Marriage laws have changed over the course of United States history, including the removal of bans on interracial marriage.
- Of all racial categories considered by the U.S. Census, African-Americans have married the least.
- Of all racial categories considered by the U.S. Census, Hispanics have married the most.
- The average family income for married households is higher than the average family income of unmarried households. However, marriage rates have increased for poverty -stricken populations as well.

Key Terms

- **wedding**: Marriage ceremony; a ritual officially celebrating the beginning of a marriage.
- **Marriage Laws**: The legal requirements that determine the validity of a marriage.

Marriage is a social union or legal contract between people, called spouses, that creates kinship. The definition of marriage varies according to different cultures, but is usually an institution in which interpersonal relationships, usually intimate and sexual, are acknowledged. Such a union is often formalized through a wedding ceremony.

Marriage Rates in the United States

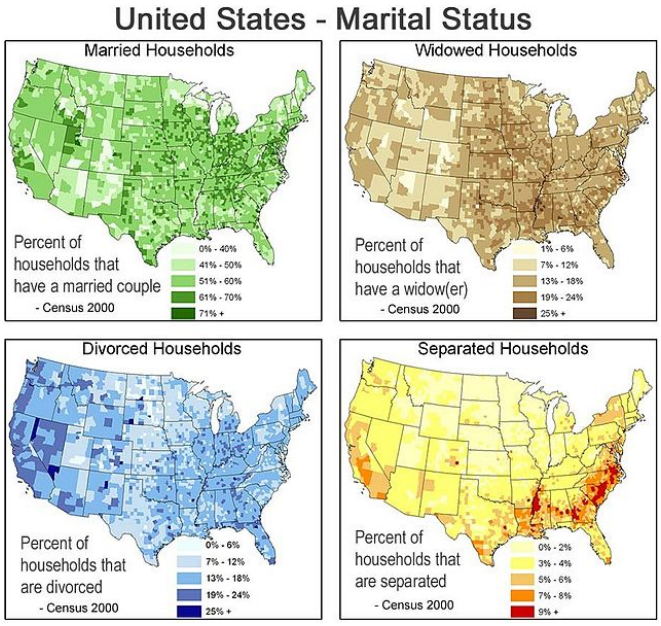
Marriage laws have changed over the course of United States history, including the removal of bans on interracial marriage. In the twenty-first century, laws have been passed enabling same-sex marriages in several states. According to the United States Census Bureau, 2,077,000 marriages occurred in the United States in 2009. The median age for the first marriage of an American has increased in recent years; the median age in the early 1970s was 21 for women and 23 for men, and rose to 26 for women and 28 for men by 2009. As of 2006, 55.7% of Americans age 18 and over were married. According to the 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, males over the age of 15 have married at a rate of 51.5%. Females over the age of 15 have married at a rate of 47.7%. The separation rate is 1.8% for males and 0.1% for females.

Marriage Trends

African Americans have married the least of all of the major ethnic groups in the U.S., with a 29.9% marriage rate, but have the highest separation rate which is 4.5%. This results in a high percentage of single mother households among African Americans compared with other ethnic groups (White, African American, Native Americans, Asian, Hispanic). This can lead a child to become closer to his/her mother, the only caregiver. Yet one parent households are also more susceptible to economic difficulties. Native Americans have the second lowest marriage rate at 37.9%. Hispanics have a 45.1% marriage rate, with a 3.5% separation rate.

In the United States, the two ethnic groups with the highest marriage rates included Asians with 58.5%, and Whites with 52.9%. Asians have the lowest rate of divorce among the main

groups with 1.8%. Whites, African Americans, and Native Americans have the highest rates of being widowed, ranging from 5%-6.5%. They also have the highest rates of divorce among the three, ranging from 11%-13%, with Native Americans having the highest divorce rate.



Marital Status in the United States Chart: This image depicts marital status in the U.S.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau, the average family income is higher than previous years, at $62,770. Nevertheless, the percentage of family households below the poverty line in 2011 was 15.1%, higher than in 2000 when it was 11.3%.

Unmarried Mothers

With the rise of single-parent households, unmarried mothers have become more common in the United States.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the factors involved in the increasing number of single-parent households

Key Points

- One recent trend illustrating the changing nature of families is the rise in prevalence of single-parent household.
- The expectation of single mothers as primary caregiver is a part of traditional parenting trends between mothers and fathers.
- In the United States, 27% of single mothers live below the poverty line, as they lack the financial resources to support their children when the birth father is unresponsive.

Key Terms

- **nuclear family**: a family unit consisting of at most a father, mother and dependent children.
- **Primary Caregiver**: The person who takes primary responsibility for someone who cannot care fully for themselves.

One recent trend illustrating the changing nature of families is the rise in prevalence of the single-parent household. While somewhat more common prior to the 20th century due to the more frequent deaths of spouses, the nuclear family became the societal norm in most Western nations. But what was the prevailing norm for much of the 20th century is no longer the actual norm, nor is it perceived as such.

Since the 1960s, there has been a marked increase in the number of children living with a single parent. The 1960 United States Census reported that 9% of children were dependent on a single parent; this number that has increased to 28% by the 2000 US Census. The spike was caused by an increase in unmarried pregnancies, which 36% of all births by unmarried women, and to the increasing prevalence of divorces among couple.

The prevalence of single mothers as primary caregiver is a part of traditional parenting trends between mothers and fathers. In the United States, 27% of single mothers live below the poverty line, as they lack the financial resources to support their children when the birth father is unresponsive. Although the public is sympathetic with low-wage single mothers, government benefits are fairly low. Many seek assistance by living with another adult, such as a relative, fictive kin, or significant other. Divorced mothers who re-marry have fewer financial struggles than unmarried single mothers, who cannot work for longer periods of time without shirking their child-caring responsibilities. Unmarried mothers are thus more likely to cohabit with another adult. In the United States, the rate of unintended pregnancy is higher among unmarried couples than among married ones. In 1990, 73% of births to unmarried women were unintended at the time of conception, compared to about 44% of births overall.



Single Motherhood: Marisa Beagle, sophomore history major, and her daughter, Noelle, sit in the parking lot of the Salem Campus, where she attends school 45 minutes away from her home in East Palestine, near the Pennsylvania border. Marisa and Noelle, 18 months, live with Marisa's parents. A single parent, Beagle says it's tough to attend school and raise a daughter simultaneously, but with the support of her family, she's able to make it work.

The "Sandwich Generation" and Elder Care

Elderly care is the fulfillment of the special needs and requirements that are unique to senior citizens.

Learning Objectives

Describe the challenges of elderly care in the U.S.

Key Points

- The Sandwich generation is a generation of people who care for their aging parents while supporting their own children.
- Elderly care encompasses such services as assisted living, adult day care, long-term care, nursing homes, hospice care, and in-home care, as well as less formalized caretaking, such as by an elder's grown child.
- Given the choice, most elders would prefer to continue to live in their own homes rather than move to an elder home or caretaking facility.
- Respite care allows caregivers the opportunity to go on vacation or a business trip and know that their elder has good quality temporary care. Without this help, the elder might have to move permanently to an outside facility.

Key Terms

- **sandwich generation**: The generation of persons who are the children of baby boomers, whose lifestyle is governed by the fact that they must simultaneously care for the needs of their children and their own elderly parents.
- **Respite Care**: Temporary care that allows caregivers the opportunity to go on vacation or a business trip and know that their elder has good quality temporary care, for without this help the elder might have to move permanently to an outside facility.

Elderly care is the fulfillment of the special needs and requirements that are unique to senior citizens. This broad term encompasses such services as assisted living, adult day care, long-term care, nursing homes, hospice care, and in-home care. Because of the wide variety of elderly care found globally, as well as different cultural perspectives on elderly citizens, the subject cannot be limited to any one practice. For example, many countries in Asia use government-established elderly care quite infrequently, preferring the traditional methods of being cared for by younger generations of family members.

Elderly Care in the United States

The form of elderly care provided varies greatly among countries and is changing rapidly. According to the U.S Department of Health and Human Services, the older population —persons 65 years or older—numbered 39.6 million in 2009. They represented 12.9% of the U.S. population, or about one in every eight Americans. By 2030, there will be about 72.1 million older persons, more than twice their number in 2000. In the United States, most of the large multi-facility providers are publicly owned and managed as for-profit businesses. Given the choice, most elders would prefer to continue to live in their own homes. Unfortunately, the majority of elderly people gradually lose functioning ability and require either additional assistance in the home or a move to an eldercare facility. The adult children of these elders often face a difficult challenge in helping their parents make the right choices.

One relatively new service in the United States that can help keep the elderly in their homes longer is respite care. This type of care allows caregivers the opportunity to go on vacation or a business trip and know that their elder has good quality temporary care. Without this help, the elder might have to move permanently to an outside facility. Another unique type of care cropping in U.S. hospitals is called acute care of elder units, or ACE units, which provide "a homelike setting" within a medical center specifically for the elderly.

The Sandwich Generation

The Sandwich generation is a generation of people who care for their aging parents while supporting their own children. According to the Pew Research Center, just over 1 of every 8 Americans aged 40 to 60 is both raising a child and caring for a parent, in addition to between 7 to 10 million adults caring for their aging parents from a long distance.



Elderly Care: Wishaw General Hospital

Childless Couples

Voluntary childlessness in women is defined as women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the factors involved in voluntary childlessness

Key Points

- To accomplish the goal of remaining childfree, some individuals undergo medical sterilization or relinquish their children for adoption.
- The factors involved in voluntary childlessness include age, income, unmarried status, and higher education.
- Most societies place a high value on parenthood in adult life, so that people who remain childless intentionally are sometimes stereotyped as being "individualistic" people who avoid social responsibility and are less prepared to commit themselves to helping others.

Key Terms

- **Childfree**: Childfree (sometimes spelled child-free), also known as voluntary childlessness, is a form of childlessness. Voluntary childlessness in women is defined as women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children, women who have chosen sterilization, or women past childbearing age who were fertile but chose not to have children.
- **sterilization**: A procedure to permanently prevent an organism from reproducing.

Childless Couples

Voluntary childlessness in women is defined as women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children, women who have chosen sterilization, or women past childbearing age who were fertile but chose not to have children. Individuals can also be "temporarily childless" but want children in the future. The availability of reliable contraception along with support provided in old age by systems other than traditional familial ones has made childlessness an option for some people in developed countries. In most societies and for most of human history, choosing to be childfree was both difficult and undesirable. To accomplish the goal of remaining childfree, some individuals undergo medical sterilization or relinquish their children for adoption.

Factors Involved in Voluntary Childlessness

First, while younger women are more likely to be childless, older women are more likely to state that they intend to remain childless in the future. Thus age plays a significant role in the decision. Further, according to 2004 U.S. Census Bureau data, the proportion of childless women 15 to 44 years old was 44.6%, up from 35% in 1976. The higher a woman's income, the less likely she is to have children: Nearly half of women with annual incomes over $100,000 are childless. Third, being unmarried is one of the strongest predictors of childlessness.

Research also suggests that married individuals who were concerned about the stability of their marriages were more likely to remain childless. Most studies on this subject find that higher income predicted childlessness. However, some women report that the lack of financial resources was a reason why they decided to remain childless. Childless women in the developed world often express the view that women ultimately have to make a choice between motherhood and having a career. Lastly, the chance of being childless was far greater for never married women (35 to 44 yrs old), 82.5% vs. ever-married (12.9%). Chance of childlessness (age 35 to 44) by education level: graduate or professional degree (27.6%) vs non high school graduate (13.5%), high school graduate (14.3%), some college but no degree (24.7%), associate degree (11.4%), and bachelor's degree (18.2%). The higher the level of education, the more likely a woman is to remain childless.

Social Attitudes to Remaining Childless

Most societies place a high value on parenthood in adult life, so that people who remain childless intentionally are sometimes stereotyped as being "individualistic" people who avoid social responsibility and are less prepared to commit themselves to helping others. With the advent of environmentalism and concerns for stewardship, those choosing to not have children are also sometimes recognized as helping reduce our impact, such as members of the voluntary human extinction movement. Some childless individuals are sometimes applauded on moral

grounds, such as members of philosophical or religious groups, like the shakers.



Voluntary Human Extinction Movement: With the advent of environmentalism and concerns for stewardship, those choosing to not have children are also sometimes recognized as helping reduce our impact, such as members of the voluntary human extinction movement.

Some opponents of the childfree choice consider such a choice to be "selfish." The rationale of this position is the assertion that raising children is a very important activity. Proponents of child freedom posit that choosing not to have children is no more or less selfish than choosing to have children. In fact, choosing to have children may be the more selfish choice, especially when poor parenting risks creating many long-term problems for both the children themselves and society at large.

Organizations and Political Activism

Childfree individuals do not necessarily share a unified political or economic philosophy, and most prominent childfree organizations tend to be social in nature. Childfree social groups first emerged in the 1970s, most notable among them The National Organization for Non-Parents and No Kidding! in North America. Numerous books have been written about childfree people and a range of social positions related to childfree interests have developed along with political and social activism in support of these interests. The term "childfree" was used in a July 3, 1972 Time article on the creation of the National Organization for Non-Parents. It was revived in the 1990s when Leslie Lafayette formed a later childfree group, the Childfree Network.

Change in Household Size

Household models include the single family and blended family home, shared housing, and group homes for people with special needs.

Learning Objectives

Describe different household models

Key Points

- A shared house is a household in which a group of usually unrelated people reside together.
- A group home is a private residence designed to serve children or adults with chronic disabilities or special needs. This type of home usually has a maximum of six residents and a trained caregiver available 24 hours a day.
- A boarding house is a house in which lodgers rent one or more rooms for one or more nights, and sometimes for extended periods of weeks, months and years.
- People who live together in a shared house are called roommates.
- A single room occupancy is a single room dwelling or a multiple-tenant building that houses one or two people in individual rooms.

Key Terms

- **Single Room Occupancy**: A multiple-tenant building that houses one or two people in individual rooms (or to the single room dwelling itself).
- **roommate**: A person with whom one shares an apartment or house (UK: flatmate or housemate).
- **Group Home**: A private residence designed to serve children or adults with chronic disabilities. Typically there are no more than six residents and there is a trained caregiver there twenty-four hours a day.

Household models in Anglophone culture include the single family and varieties of blended families, shared housing, and group homes for people with support needs. Other models of living situations that may meet definitions of a household include boarding houses, a house in multiple occupations in Great Britain, and a single room occupancy in the United States.

Shared Houses

A shared house is a household in which a group of often-unrelated people reside together. The term generally applies to people living together in rental properties rather than in properties in which any resident is an owner-occupier. A shared house is formed when a group of people move into a rental property; typically, one or more of these people has applied to rent the property through a real estate agent, been accepted, and signed a lease. People who live together in a shared house are called *roommates*. In both developed and developing countries, shared housing is an increasingly popular household model. This is due to a variety of economic and social changes, such as the declining affordability of home ownership, as well as delayed marriage and decreasing marriage rates.

Group Homes

A group home is a private residence designed to serve children or adults with chronic disabilities. Group homes typically have a maximum of six residents and a trained, on-site caregiver available 24 hours a day. Residents of group homes usually have either a chronic mental disorder or a physical disability that prevents them from living independently. They need regular assistance in order to complete daily tasks, such as taking medication or bathing. Other residents may be developmentally disabled, recovering from alcohol or drug addiction, or abused, troubled, or neglected youths. Some residents have behavioral problems that are potentially dangerous to themselves or others and require constant supervision. Since the 1970s, group homes have assumed the role of earlier institutions such as asylums, poorhouses, and orphanages.

Boarding Houses

In a boarding house, lodgers rent one or more rooms for a period ranging from one night to weeks, months, or even years. Common areas of the house are maintained and services like laundry and cleaning may be provided. Boarding houses usually offer *bed and board*, or at least some meals as well as accommodation. Formerly, boarders would typically share washing, breakfast, and dining facilities; in recent years, individual rooms have tended to have their own washing and toilet facilities.

Single Room Occupancy

A single room occupancy is a single room dwelling or multiple-tenant building that houses one or two people in individual rooms. As the value of urban land has increased, many of these properties have been renovated and made available at higher prices. This has played a role in the displacement of lower-income people who once lived in these properties; it has also been cited as a reason for the visible rise in homelessness across America since the early 1980s.



Boott Boardinghouse Store: Boott Mills Boardinghouse and Storehouse, now restored and part of Lowell National Historic Park. Lowell, Massachusetts

Women in the Labor Force

Women in the workforce have faced barriers, though they have greater access to education and employment in the contemporary era.

Learning Objectives

Discuss three factors that restrict women's access to certain occupations

Key Points

- Women have participated in the workforce for as long as men have, yet women have been challenged by inequality in the workforce.
- Historically, women's lack of access to higher education effectively excluded them from the practice of well-paid and high status occupations.
- Access to higher education remains a significant barrier to women's full participation in the workforce in developing countries.
- The gender pay gap is the difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings.
- The feminization of the workplace is a label given to the trend towards greater employment of women and of men willing and able to operate with these more 'feminine' modes of interaction.

Key Terms

- **Wage Gap**: The difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings.
- **occupation**: A regular activity performed in exchange for payment, including jobs and professions.
- **Feminization of the Workplace**: A label given to the trend towards greater employment of women and of men willing

and able to operate with these more 'feminine' modes of interaction.

Women in the workforce earning wages or a salary are part of a modern phenomenon, one that developed at the same time as the growth of paid employment for men; yet women have been challenged by inequality in the workforce. Until modern times, legal and cultural practices, combined with the inertia of longstanding religious and educational conventions, restricted women's entry and participation in the workforce. Economic dependency upon men has had the same impact, particularly as occupations have become professionalized over the 19th and 20th centuries.

Historically, women's lack of access to higher education had effectively excluded them from the practice of well-paid and high status occupations. Entry of women into the higher professions like law and medicine was delayed in most countries due to women being denied entry to universities and qualification for degrees; for example, Cambridge University only fully validated degrees for women late in 1947, and even then only after much opposition and acrimonious debate.

Barriers to Equal Participation

As gender roles have followed the formation of agricultural and then industrial societies, newly developed professions and fields of occupation have been frequently inflected by gender. Some examples of the ways in which gender affects a field include: prohibitions or restrictions on members of a particular gender entering a field or studying a field; discrimination within a field, including wage, management, and prestige hierarchies; expectation that mothers, rather than fathers, should be the primary childcare providers.

Access to Education and Training

A number of occupations became "professionalized" through the 19th and 20th centuries, gaining regulatory bodies, and passing laws or regulations requiring particular higher educational requirements. As women's access to higher education was often limited, this effectively restricted women's participation in these professionalizing occupations. For instance, women were completely forbidden access to Cambridge University until 1868, and were encumbered with a variety of restrictions until 1987, when the university adopted an equal opportunity policy. Numerous other institutions in the United States and Western Europe began opening their doors to women over the same period of time, but access to higher education remains a significant barrier to women's full participation in the workforce in developing countries.

Access to Capital

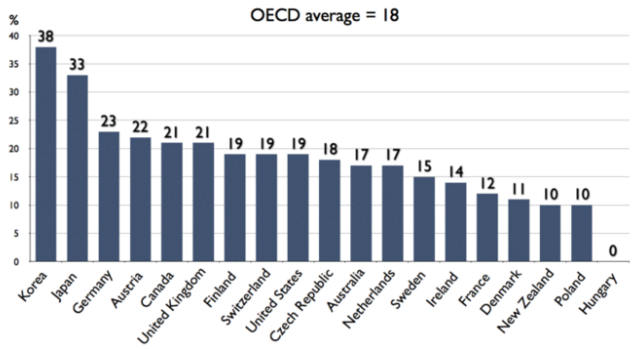
Women's access to occupations requiring capital outlays is also hindered by their unequal access to capital; this affects occupations such as entrepreneur and small business owner, farm ownership, and investor. Numerous microloan programs attempt to redress this imbalance, targeting women for loans or grants to establish start-up businesses or farms, having determined that aid targeted to women can disproportionately benefit a nation's economy.

Discrimination within Occupations

The gender pay gap is the difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings, according to the OECD. The European Commission defines it as the average difference between men and women's hourly earnings. There is a debate to what extent this is the result of gender differences, implicit discrimination due to lifestyle choices (e.g., number of hours worked, need for maternity leave), or because of explicit discrimination. The 2008 edition of the Employment Outlook report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that, while female employment rates have expanded considerably and the gender employment and wage gaps have narrowed virtually everywhere, women still have 20% less chance to have a job than men, on average, and they are paid 17% less than their male counterparts.

Feminization of the Workplace

In response to the pressure from feminism and cultural trends highlighting characteristics in workers that have culturally been associated with women, feminization of the workplace is a label given to the trend towards greater employment of women, and of men willing and able to operate with these more 'feminine' modes of interaction.



OECD Gender Pay Gap: Gender Pay Gap in 19 OECD countries according to the 2008 OECD Employment Outlook report

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12.5: Divorce

Divorce and Its Legal Ramifications

Divorce is the final termination of a marital union, canceling the legal duties and responsibilities of marriage between the parties.

Learning Objectives

Describe fault-based and no-fault divorce systems

Key Points

- Though divorce laws vary among jurisdictions, there are two basic approaches to divorce: fault based and no-fault based.
- Under a no-fault divorce system, divorce requires no allegation or proof of fault of either party; spouses can divorce simply because they no longer wish to remain married.
- Fault-based divorce systems require proof by one party that the other party has committed an act incompatible to the marriage.
- A summary divorce is used when spouses meet certain eligibility requirements or can agree on key issues beforehand. When a summary divorce is issued, the divorce does not go to trial.
- In a divorce mediation session, a mediator facilitates the discussion between the two parties by assisting with communication and providing information and suggestions to help resolve differences.
- For same-sex couples, divorce law is in its infancy and is less than clear on how such unions may be legally dissolved.
- For same-sex couples, divorce law is in its infancy and is less than clear on how such unions may be legally dissolved.

Key Terms

- **Divorce Mediation Session**: When a mediator facilitates the discussion between the two parties by assisting with communication and providing information and suggestions to help resolve differences. At the end of the mediation process, the separating parties have typically developed a tailored divorce agreement that can be submitted to the court.
- **Uncontested Divorces**: When the parties can agree and present the court with a fair and equitable agreement, approval of the divorce is almost guaranteed.
- **Summary Divorce**: When spouses meet certain eligibility requirements or can agree on key issues beforehand to avoid having a trial to dissolve a marriage.

Divorce is the final termination of a marital union, canceling the legal duties and responsibilities of marriage, and dissolving the bonds of matrimony between the parties. Divorce laws vary considerably around the world, but in most countries it requires the sanction of a court or other authority in a legal process. The legal process of divorce may also involve issues of alimony, child custody, child support, distribution of property, and division of debt. Between 1971 and 2011, several countries legalized divorce, the last one being Malta in 2011.

Types of Divorce

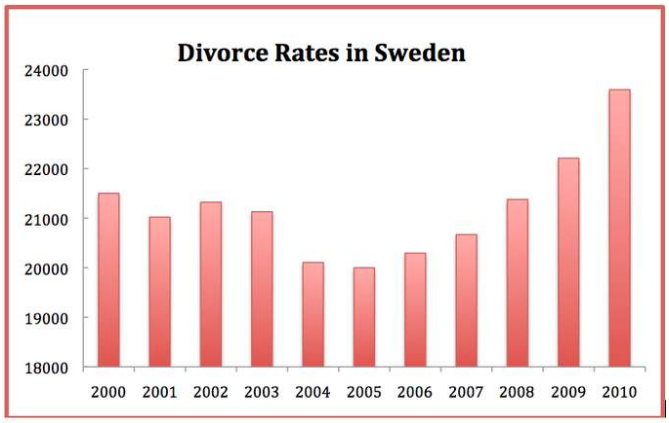
Though divorce laws vary among jurisdictions, there are two basic approaches to divorce: fault based, and no-fault based. Under a no-fault divorce system, divorce requires no allegation or proof of fault of either party. The barest of assertions suffice. For example, in countries that require “irretrievable breakdown,” the mere assertion that the marriage has broken down will satisfy the judicial officer. By contrast, fault-based divorce systems require proof by one party that the other party has committed an act incompatible to the marriage. This is termed “grounds” for divorce (popularly called “fault”) and is the only way to terminate a marriage under a fault-based system.

A summary divorce, available in some jurisdictions, is used when spouses meet certain eligibility requirements, or can agree on key issues beforehand. Key factors include a short marriage, no children, and minimal property. When the parties can agree and present the court with a fair and equitable agreement, approval of the divorce is almost guaranteed. These are termed uncontested divorces. If the two parties cannot come to an agreement, they may ask the court to decide how to split property and deal with the custody of their children. Finally, divorce mediation is an alternative to traditional divorce litigation. In a divorce mediation session, a mediator facilitates the discussion between the two parties by assisting with communication and providing information and suggestions to help resolve differences. At the end of the mediation process, the separating parties have typically developed a tailored divorce agreement that can be submitted to the court.

Divorce of Same-Sex Married Couples in the United States

Although marriage was previously defined as a legal union between one man and one woman in the United States, over the past decades several states have begun to consider adopting, or have adopted, legislation which legalizes same-sex marriage. Once legally married, same-sex couples are entitled to the same degree of financial security as their hetero-sexual counterparts, including, but not limited to, the right to receive their spouse’s death benefits, health insurance, life insurance and other protections. For same-sex couples, divorce law is in its infancy

and is less than clear on how such unions may be legally dissolved. For example, if a same-sex couple is married in a state that recognizes gay marriage but returns to reside in a state that does not, they might find themselves in a situation where their own state, in failing to recognize their union, will also fail to enable them to divorce.



Divorce Rates in Sweeden: This graph depicts divorce rates in Sweden from 2000 to 2010.

Child Custody Laws

Child custody laws describe the legal and practical relationship between a parent and his or her child.

Learning Objectives

Contrast different types of custody

Key Points

- Physical custody involves the day-to-day care of a child and establishes where a child will live.
- If a child lives with both parents, each parent shares "joint physical custody" and each parent is said to be a "custodial parent".
- Shared custody is an arrangement in which the child lives for an extended period of time with one parent and then for a similar amount of time with the other parent.
- Alternating custody is an arrangement in which the child lives for an extended period of time with one parent and then for a similar amount of time with the other parent.
- A custodial parent is a parent who is given physical and/or legal custody of a child by court order.
- A non-custodial parent is a parent who does not have physical and/or legal custody of his/her child by court order.
- In Troxel v. Granville (2000), the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that a biological parent holds a fundamental right in choosing how to raise one's children as they see fit.

Key Terms

- **Parenting Schedule**: A schedule of which divorced parent is responsible for the child at any given point in time.
- **Troxel v. Granville**: A U.S. Supreme Court case (2000) that affirmed that a biological parent holds a fundamental right in choosing how to raise one's children as they see fit.

Child custody and guardianship are legal terms, which are used to describe the legal and practical relationship between a parent and his or her child, such as the right of the parent to make decisions for the child, and the parent's duty to care for the child. Following ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in most countries, terms such as "residence" and "contact" have superseded the concepts of "custody" and "access. " Instead of a parent having "custody" of or "access" to a child, a child is now said to "reside" or have "contact" with a parent. For a discussion of the new international nomenclature, see "parental responsibility. "

Residence and contact issues typically arise in proceedings involving divorce, annulment, and other legal proceedings where children may be involved. In most jurisdictions the issue of which parent the child will reside with is determined in accordance with the best interests of the child standard. Family law proceedings which involve issues of residence and contact often generate the most acrimonious disputes. While most parents cooperate when it comes to sharing their children and resort to mediation to settle a dispute, not all do. For those that engage in litigation, there seem to be few limits.

Types of Custody

Under family law, there are different types of custody. Alternating custody is an arrangement whereby the child lives for an extended period of time with one parent, and then for a similar amount of time with the other parent. While the child is with the parent, that parent retains sole authority over the child. Further, shared custody is an arrangement whereby the child lives for an extended period of time with one parent, and then for a similar amount of time with the other parent. Physical custody involves the day-to-day care of a child, and establishes where a child will live. A parent with physical custody has the right to have his/her child live with him/her. If a child lives with both parents, each parent shares "joint physical custody" and each parent is said to be a "custodial parent. " Thus, in joint physical custody, neither parent is said to be a "non-custodial parent. "

Custodial and Non-Custodial Parents

A custodial parent is a parent who is given physical and/or legal custody of a child by court order. A child-custody determination means a judgment, decree, or other order of a court providing

for the legal custody, physical custody, or visitation with respect to a child. The term includes a permanent, temporary, initial, and modification order. The term does not include an order relating to child support or other monetary obligation of an individual. A non-custodial parent is a parent who does not have physical and/or legal custody of his/her child by court order.

Child Custody Laws in the United States

In Troxel v. Granville (2000), the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that a biological parent holds a fundamental right in choosing how to raise one's children as they see fit. Later in the case of O'Donnell-Lamont (2004), the court affirmed an Oregon statute requiring a presumption that the parent acts in the child's best interests, to be met prior to applying the best interests of the child standard, placing both parties on equal footing.

A New Terminology?

In some places, courts and legal professionals are beginning to use the term "parenting schedule" instead of "custody and visitation. " The new terminology eliminates the distinction between custodial and noncustodial parents and also attempts to build upon the best interests of the children by crafting schedules that meet the developmental needs of the children. For example, younger children need shorter, more frequent time with parents, whereas older children and teenagers may demand less frequent shifts yet longer blocks of time with each parent.



Child Custody: Residence and contact issues typically arise in proceedings involving divorce, annulment and other legal proceedings where children may be involved.In most jurisdictions the issue of which parent the child will reside with is determined in accordance with the best interests of the child.

Statistical Trends in Divorce

Divorce statistics vary across the world, but on average, first marriages that end in divorce last about eight years.

Learning Objectives

Name three important statistical trends in divorce in the U.S.

Key Points

- Success in marriage has been associated with higher education and higher age.
- The growth of divorce rates in the United States have been dropping during the last few decades.
- One study estimated that legal reforms accounted for about 20% of the increase in divorce rates in Europe between 1960 and 2002.

Key Terms

- **Divorce Statistics**: Quantitative measures of marriage and marital dissolution.

Divorce statistics vary across the world. On average, first marriages that end in divorce last about eight years. Of the first marriages for women from 1955 to 1959, about 79% marked their 15th anniversary, compared with only 57% for women who married for the first time from 1985 to 1989. The median time between divorce and a second marriage was about three and a half years.

Successful Marriages

Success in marriage has been associated with higher education and higher age. 81% of college graduates, over 26 years of age, who wed in the 1980's, were still married 20 years later. 65% of college graduates under 26, who married in the 1980's, were still married 20 years later. 49% of high school graduates under 26 years old, who married in the 1980's, were still married 20 years later. Population studies have found that in 2004 and 2008, liberal -voting states have lower rates of divorce than conservative-voting states, possibly because people in liberal states tend to wait longer before getting married. In 2009, 2.9% of adults 35–39 without a college degree were divorced, compared with 1.6% with a college education.

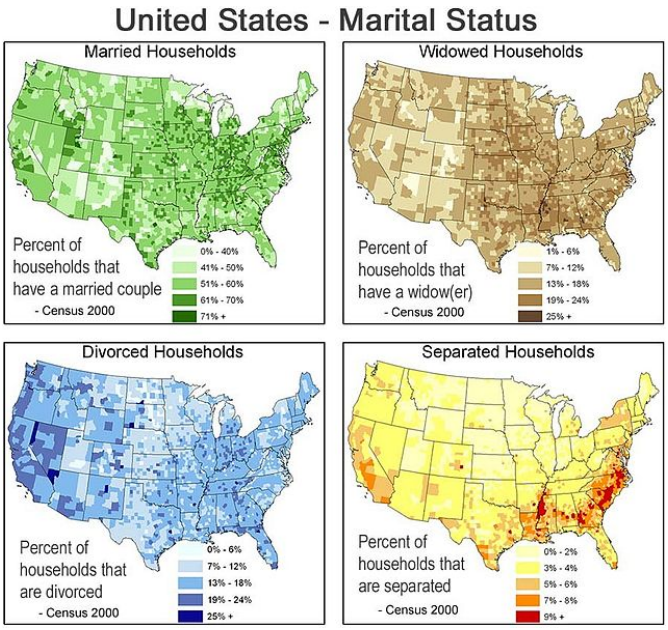
Divorce in the United States

Divorce rates in the United States have been dropping during the last few decades. Data indicates that marriages have lasted longer in the 21st century than they did in the 1990's. The National Center for Health Statistics reports that from 1975 to 1988, in families with children present, wives file for divorce in approximately two-thirds of cases. In 1975, 71.4% of the cases were filed by women, and in 1988, 65% were filed by women. It is estimated that upwards of 95% of divorces in the U.S. are "uncontested," because the two parties are able to come to an agreement without a hearing about the property, children, and support issues. A 2011 study found a 1% increase in the unemployment rate correlated with a 1% decrease in the divorce

rate, presumably because more people were financially challenged to afford the legal proceedings.

Divorce around the World

One study estimated that legal reforms accounted for about 20% of the increase in divorce rates in Europe between 1960 and 2002. In Australia, nearly every third marriage ends in divorce. After reaching a peak divorce rate of 2.7 per 1,000 residents in 2001, the Australian rate declined to 2.3 per 1,000 in 2007. In Japan, divorces were on a generally upward trend from the 1960's until 2002 when they hit a peak of 290,000. Since then, both the number of divorces and the divorce rate have declined for six years straight.



Marital Status in the United States Chart: This image depicts marital status in the U.S.

Factors Associated with Divorce

Factors that may lead marriages to end in divorce are infidelity, adultery domestic violence, midlife crises, inexperience, and addictions.

Learning Objectives

Discuss five factors that may lead marriages to end in divorce

Key Points

- Adultery is voluntary sexual intercourse between a married person and someone other than the lawful spouse.
- Infidelity most commonly refers to a breach of the expectation of sexual exclusivity that is expressed or implied in intimate relationships in many cultures.
- Domestic violence is defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors by one partner against another in an intimate relationship such as marriage.
- A midlife crisis is a term that was coined by Elliott Jaques in 1965 that suggests it is a time when adults come to realize their own mortality and how much time is left in their lives, prompting a sudden change in behavior.
- Alcoholism is a broad term for problems with alcohol and is generally used to mean compulsive and uncontrolled consumption of alcoholic beverages
- Problem gambling is an urge to continuously gamble despite harmful negative consequences or a desire to stop.

Key Terms

- **domestic violence**: Violence against another in an intimate relationship such as marriage or domestic partnership.
- **Midlife Crisis**: A term coined by Elliott Jaques in 1965 that suggests it is a time when adults come to realize their own mortality and how much time is left in their lives, prompting a sudden change in behavior
- **infidelity**: Unfaithfulness in marriage or other moral obligation.

Numerous studies have tried to determine why 50 percent of marriages in the United States end in divorce within the first 25 years. While not conclusive, the predominate factors that lead marriages to end in divorce are infidelity, adultery domestic violence, midlife crises, inexperience, and addictions such as alcoholism and gambling.

Causes of Divorce

Adultery

Adultery is voluntary sexual intercourse between a married person and someone other than the lawful spouse. Historically, adultery has been considered a serious offense in many cultures. Even in jurisdictions where adultery is not a criminal offense itself, it may still have legal consequences, particularly in divorce cases.

Infidelity

More narrowly, infidelity most commonly refers to a breach of the expectation of sexual exclusivity that is expressed or implied in intimate relationships in many cultures.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors by one partner against another in an intimate relationship such as marriage or domestic partnership.

Midlife Crisis

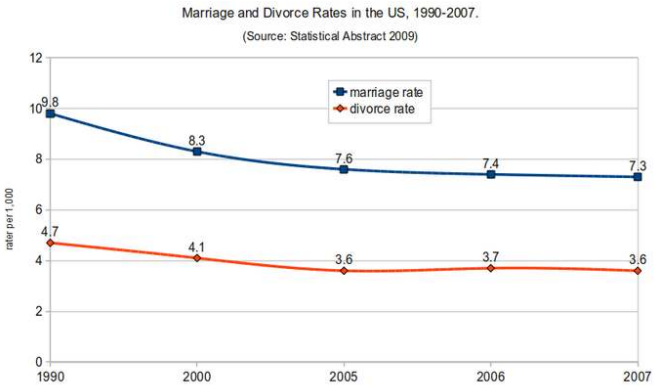
A midlife crisis is a term that was coined by Elliott Jaques in 1965 that suggests it is a time when adults come to realize their own mortality and how much time is left in their lives. A midlife crisis is experienced by many people during the midlife transition when they realize that life may be more than halfway over, prompting a sudden change in behavior.

Marrying Too Young

The age at which a person gets married is also believed to influence the likelihood of divorce. Delaying marriage until one is older or more experienced may provide more opportunity to choose a more compatible partner

Addictions

Alcoholism is a broad term for problems with alcohol, and is generally used to mean compulsive and uncontrolled consumption of alcoholic beverages, usually to the detriment of the drinker's health, personal relationships, and social standing. Problem gambling is an urge to continuously gamble despite harmful negative consequences or a desire to stop. Problem gambling often is defined by whether harm is experienced by the gambler or others, rather than by the gambler's behavior.



Marriage and Divorce Rates in the U.S. 1990-2007: This graph illustrates marriage and divorce rates in the U.S. 1990-2007. Source: Statistical Abstract, 2009.

Children of Divorce and Impact of Divorce

Sociologists and psychologists have found that the effects of divorce heavily depend on the child's age at the time the divorce occurs.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast the effects of divorce on infants and adolescents

Key Points

- Although infants may not understand the exact conflict, they do react to the difference in their parents' mood and energy change.
- Pre-school aged children often mistake the divorce as their own fault.
- School-aged children have more of a difficult time adjusting to the parental divorce than younger or older children.
- Teens experience some of the same feelings as school-aged children. They feel anger, fear, depression, loneliness, and guilt.
- Sociologists believe that the rise in the number of older Americans who are not married is a result of factors such as longevity and economics.
- Elder women are becoming more and more financially independent which allows them to feel more secure with being alone.

Key Terms

- **longevity**: The quality of being long-lasting, especially of life.

Sociologists and psychologists have conducted research that shows the effects of divorce heavily depend on the child's age at the time the divorce occurs. The child's gender, personality, the amount of conflicts with the parents, and support of family and friends all contribute to the effects of divorce on a child.

Infants and Pre-School Children

Although infants may not understand the exact conflict, they do react to the difference in their parent's mood and energy change. Some effects an infant may have include a loss of appetite and an increase in spit up. Pre-school children range from three to five years old and may often mistake the divorce as their own fault. Some of the effects for children at this age may include baby-like behavior such as old toys, a baby blanket, or even wetting the bed. They also may become depressed, uncooperative, or angry.

School-Aged Children and Adolescents

Children at this age have more of a difficult time adjusting to the parental divorce than younger or older children. At this age, children are able to understand the pain they feel due to the separation of their parents, but they are too young to control how they respond to the pain. Often children experience feelings of anger, grief, and embarrassment. In order to deal with the situation and cope, it is important that children become involved in activities with other kids. It is very common for children this age to hope that parents will eventually get back together.

Teens experience some of the same feelings as school-aged children. They feel anger, fear, depression, loneliness, and guilt. Some teens feel as though they must take on new responsibilities such as new chores and taking care of siblings.

Teens may also doubt his or her ability to get married or stay married.

Children of divorced parents (those entirely from unhappy families) are reported to have a higher chance of behavioral problems than those of non-divorced parents (a mix of happy and unhappy families). Studies have also reported the former to be more likely to suffer abuse than children in intact families, and to have a greater chance of living in poverty. A 2002 article in Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review discusses a variety of health consequences for children of the unhappy couples that do divorce. Constance Ahron, who has published books suggesting there may be positive effects for children, interviewed ninety-eight divorced families' children for *We're Still Family: What Grown Children Have to Say About Their Parents' Divorce.* Data from this study, in which she describes the *binuclear family*, is available at the Harvard Library and online.

Although divorce may be beneficial in some instances, high-conflict divorce (especially during transition periods) is harmful to children. Children who are shuffled back and forth between households, and those who hear their parents bickering and fighting, are likely to suffer the most. The best practice to avoid problems for children is to spend more or equal time with them while minimizing the amount of transitions for the children.

Divorced and Unmarried Elderly

Sociologists believe that the rise in the number of older Americans who are not married is a result of factors such as longevity and economics. Women, especially, are becoming more and more financially independent which allows them to feel more secure with being alone. In previous generations, being divorced or single was seen differently than it is now. This has resulted in less pressure for baby boomers to marry or stay married. Demographers estimate that baby boomers who remain unmarried will face more financial struggles than those who are married.

The Absent Father and Serial Fatherhood

Involved fathers contribute to their children's development.

Learning Objectives

Contrast the role of fathers in different cultures

Key Points

- According to the anthropologist Maurice Godelier, the parental role assumed by human males is a critical difference between human society and that of humans' closest biological relatives—chimpanzees and bonobos—who appear to be unaware of their "father" connection.
- Stepfathers are males married to biological mothers of children whom they did not create.
- The father complex in psychology is a complex pertaining to a group of unconscious associations, or strong unconscious impulses, which specifically pertain to the image or archetype of the father. These impulses may be either positive or negative.

Key Terms

- **Father Complex**: A complex pertaining to a group of unconscious associations, or strong unconscious impulses, which specifically pertain to the image or archetype of the father.
- **Maurice Godelier**: An anthropologist who studies the differences in fatherhood between humans and apes.

A father is defined as a male parent or individual progenitor of human offspring. The adjective "paternal" refers to a father and comparatively to "maternal" for a mother. Traditionally, fathers act in a protective, supportive and responsible way toward their children. Involved fathers offer developmentally specific provisions to their sons and daughters throughout the life cycle, and are impacted themselves by doing so. According to the anthropologist Maurice Godelier, the parental role assumed by human males is a critical difference between human society and that of humans' closest biological relatives—chimpanzees and bonobos—who appear to be unaware of their "father" connection.

In many cultures, especially traditional Western, a father is usually the husband in a married couple. Many times, fathers have a very important role in raising offspring, and the title can be given to a non-biological father that fills this role. This is common in stepfathers, or males married to biological mothers. In East Asian and Western traditional families, fathers are the heads of the families, which means that their duties include providing financial support and making critical decisions, some of which must be obeyed without question by the rest of the family members.

The Father complex in psychology is a complex pertaining to a group of unconscious associations, or strong unconscious impulses, which specifically pertain to the image or archetype of the father. These impulses may be either positive or negative. Whereas the idea of the father complex had originally evolved to deal with the heavy Victorian patriarch, by the new millennium there had developed instead a postmodern preoccupation with the loss of paternal authority, or the absence of the father. Alongside the shift from a Freudian emphasis on the role of the father to object relations theory's stress upon the mother, psychoanalysis tended to single out the search for the father, and the negative effects of the switched-off father.



Father: Many fathers are married to the biological mothers of their children.

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12.6: Family Violence

Family Violence

Family violence is defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors by one family member against another.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the various types of domestic violence, such as physical or economic, as well as the effects on all people involved

Key Points

- Physical abuse is abuse involving contact intended to cause feelings of intimidation, pain, injury, or other physical suffering or bodily harm.
- Sexual abuse is any situation in which force or threat is used to obtain participation in unwanted sexual activity.
- Verbal abuse is a form of emotionally abusive behavior involving the use of language.
- Economic abuse is a form of abuse when one intimate partner has control over the other partner's access to economic resources.

Key Terms

- **domestic violence**: Violence against another in an intimate relationship such as marriage or domestic partnership.
- **Economic Abuse**: When one intimate partner has control over the other partner's access to economic resources.
- **Verbal Abuse**: A form of emotionally abusive behavior involving the use of language.

Domestic violence is defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors by one partner against another in an intimate relationship such as marriage, dating, family, or cohabitation. In this definition, domestic violence takes many forms, including physical aggression or assault, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, controlling or domineering behaviour, intimidation, stalking, passive/covert abuse, and economic deprivation. Alcohol consumption and mental illness can be co-morbid with abuse, presenting additional challenges in eliminating domestic violence. In general, awareness, perception, definition, and documentation of domestic violence differ widely from country to country, and from era to era.

Forms of Domestic Violence

All forms of domestic abuse have one purpose: to gain and maintain control over the victim. Abusers use many tactics to exert power over their spouse or partner: dominance, humiliation, isolation, threats, intimidation, denial, and blame. Physical abuse is abuse involving contact intended to cause feelings of intimidation, pain, injury, or other physical suffering or bodily harm. Physical abuse includes hitting, slapping, punching, choking, pushing, burning, and other types of contact that result in physical injury to the victim. Physical abuse can also include behaviors such as denying the victim of medical care when needed, depriving the victim of sleep or other functions necessary to live, or forcing the victim to engage in drug/alcohol use against his/her will. Sexual abuse is any situation in which force or threat is used to obtain participation in unwanted sexual activity. Coercing a person to engage in sexual activity against his or her will, even if that person is a spouse or intimate partner with whom consensual sex has occurred, is an act of aggression and violence.

Emotional abuse can include humiliating the victim privately or publicly, controlling what the victim can and cannot do, withholding information from the victim, deliberately doing something to make the victim feel diminished or embarrassed, isolating the victim from friends and family, implicitly blackmailing the victim by harming others when the victim expresses independence or happiness, or denying the victim access to money or other basic resources and necessities. Degradation in any form can be considered psychological abuse.

Verbal abuse is a form of emotionally abusive behavior involving the use of language. Verbal abuse can also be referred to as the act of threatening. Through threatening a person can blatantly say they will harm you in any way and will also be considered as abuse.

Economic abuse is a form of abuse when one intimate partner has control over the other partner's access to economic resources. Economic abuse may involve preventing a spouse from resource acquisition, limiting the amount of resources to use by the victim, or by exploiting economic resources of the victim.

Effects of Domestic Abuse

3.3 million children witness domestic violence each year in the US. There has been an increase in acknowledgment that children exposed to domestic abuse during their upbringing will suffer in their developmental and psychological welfare. Because of the awareness of domestic violence that some children have to face, it also generally impacts how the child develops emotionally, socially, behaviorally as well as cognitively. Some emotional and behavioral problems that can result due to domestic violence include increased aggressiveness, anxiety, and changes in how a child socializes with friends, family, and authorities. Bruises, broken bones, head injuries, lacerations, and internal bleeding are some of the

acute effects of a domestic violence incident that require medical attention and hospitalization.

High amounts of stress, fear, and anxiety are commonly reported by victims still living with their perpetrators. These are known as the psychological effects of domestic violence. Depression is also common, as victims are made to feel guilty for 'provoking' the abuse and are frequently subjected to intense criticism. A reported 60 percent of victims meet the diagnostic criteria for depression, either during or after termination of the relationship, and have a greatly increased risk of suicide. Once victims leave their perpetrator, they can be stunned with the reality of the extent to which the abuse has taken away their autonomy. Due to economic abuse and isolation, victims usually have very little money of their own and few people on whom they can rely when seeking help. These are the financial effects of domestic violence. This has been shown to be one of the greatest obstacles facing victims of DV, discouraging them from leaving their abusers.



Family Violence: Kalighat Painting, "Woman Striking Man With Broom," Calcutta, India, 1875.

Child Abuse

Child abuse is the physical, sexual or emotional mistreatment, or neglect of a child.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the differences between and prevalence of each type of abuse against children

Key Points

- Physical abuse involves physical aggression directed at a child by an adult.
- Child sexual abuse is a form of child abuse in which an adult or older adolescent abuses a child for sexual stimulation.
- Neglect is a passive form of abuse in which a perpetrator is responsible to provide care for a victim who is unable to care for himself or herself, but fails to provide adequate care.
- Emotional abuse includes things such as name-calling, ridicule, degradation, destruction of personal belongings, torture or killing of a pet, etc.

Key Terms

- **child abuse**: The physical, sexual, or emotional mistreatment of a child.
- **Child Sexual Abuse**: A form of child abuse in which an adult or older adolescent abuses a child for sexual stimulation.

Child abuse is the physical, sexual, or emotional mistreatment or neglect of a child or children. Different jurisdictions have developed their own definitions of what constitutes child abuse for the purposes of removing a child from his/her family and/or prosecuting a criminal charge. There are four major categories of child abuse: neglect, physical abuse, psychological/emotional abuse, and sexual abuse. Neglect is the most common type of abuse in the United States and accounts for over 60 percent of child abuse cases.

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse involves physical aggression directed at a child by an adult. Most nations with child-abuse laws consider the deliberate infliction of serious injuries, or actions that place the child at obvious risk of serious injury or death, to be illegal. Beyond this, there is considerable variation. The distinction between child discipline and abuse is often poorly defined. Cultural norms about what constitutes abuse vary widely among professionals as well as the wider public. Some professionals claim that cultural norms that sanction physical punishment are one of the causes of child abuse, and have undertaken campaigns to redefine such norms.

Sexual Abuse

Child sexual abuse is a form of child abuse in which an adult or older adolescent abuses a child for sexual stimulation. Effects of child sexual abuse include guilt and self-blame, flashbacks, nightmares, insomnia, and fear of things associated with the abuse. Approximately 15 percent to 25 percent of women and 5 percent to 15 percent of men were sexually abused when they were children.

Emotional Abuse

Out of all the possible forms of abuse, emotional abuse is the hardest to define. It could include name-calling, ridicule, degradation, destruction of personal belongings, torture or killing of a pet, excessive criticism, inappropriate or excessive demands, withholding communication, and routine labeling or humiliation.

Neglect

Neglect is a passive form of abuse in which a perpetrator is responsible to provide care for a victim who is unable to care for himself or herself, but fails to provide adequate care. Neglect may include the failure to provide sufficient supervision, nourishment, or medical care, or the failure to fulfill other needs for which the victim is helpless to provide for himself or herself. The term is also applied when necessary care is withheld by those responsible for providing it from animals, plants, and even inanimate objects. Neglect can have many long-term side effects, such as physical injuries, low self-esteem, attention disorders, violent behavior, and even death. In the U.S., neglect is defined as the failure to meet the basic needs of children: housing, clothing, food, and access to medical care. Researchers found over 91,000 cases of neglect in one year using information from a database of cases verified by protective services agencies.



Child Abuse: Child abuse is the physical, sexual or emotional mistreatment, or neglect of a child.

Spousal Abuse

Spousal abuse can be defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors by one or both partners in an intimate relationship.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the gender differences in domestic violence against both men and women in heterosexual and homosexual relationships

Key Points

- Determining how many instances of domestic violence actually involve male victims is difficult. Male domestic violence victims may be reluctant to get help for a number of reasons, including feeling ashamed because their victimhood negates their masculinity.
- Gender roles and expectations play a role in abusive situations.
- Domestic violence also occurs in same-sex relationships.
- Domestic violence also occurs in same-sex relationships.

Key Terms

- **Violence against Women**: Violence perpetrated against a female victim for reasons having to do with gender expectations.
- **Violence against Men**: Violence perpetrated against a male victim for reasons having to do with gender expectations.

The relationship between gender and domestic violence is a controversial topic. Debate revolves around the rates at which each gender is subjected to domestic violence and whether abused men should be provided the same resources and shelters that exist for female victims. Some studies suggest that men are less likely to report being victims of domestic violence due to social stigmas. Other sources argue that the rate of domestic violence against men is often inflated due to the practice of including self-defense as a form of domestic violence.

A problem in conducting studies that seek to describe violence in terms of gender is the amount of silence, fear, and shame that results from abuse within families and relationships. Another problem is that abusive patterns can tend to seem normal to those who have lived in them for a length of time. Similarly, subtle forms of abuse can be transparent even as they set the stage for normalizing further abuse. Finally, inconsistent definition of what constitutes domestic violence makes definite conclusions difficult to reach when compiling research.

Violence Against Women

Although the exact rates are widely disputed, especially within the United States, there is a large body of cross-cultural evidence that women are subjected to domestic violence significantly more often than men. In addition, there is broad consensus that women are more often subjected to severe forms of abuse and are more likely to be injured by an abusive partner. According to a report by the United States Department of Justice, a survey of 16,000 Americans showed 22.1 percent of women and 7.4 percent of men reported being physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner, boyfriend, girlfriend, or date in their lifetime.

Violence Against Men

Determining how many instances of domestic violence actually involve male victims is difficult. Male domestic violence victims may be reluctant to get help for a number of reasons.

Another study has demonstrated a high degree of acceptance by women of aggression against men. Some researchers have found a relationship between the availability of domestic violence services, improved laws and enforcement regarding domestic violence, increased access to divorce, and higher earnings for women with declines in intimate partner homicide by women.

Gender roles and expectations play a role in abusive situations, and exploring these roles and expectations can be helpful in addressing abusive situations. Likewise, it can be helpful to explore factors such as race, class, religion, sexuality, and philosophy. However, studies investigating whether sexist attitudes are correlated with domestic violence have shown conflicting results

Same-Sex Relationships

Domestic violence also occurs in same-sex relationships. Gay and lesbian relationships have been identified as a risk factor for abuse in certain populations. In an effort to be more inclusive, many organizations have made an effort to use gender-neutral terms when referring to the act of perpetrating and victimhood.

Historically, little interest has been directed at domestic violence in same-sex relationships. As the gay rights movement has brought gay and lesbian issues into public attention, more research has been conducted on same-sex relationships. A 1999 analysis of 19 different studies of partner abuse concluded that "lesbians and gay men are just as likely to abuse their partners as heterosexual men," although the study also noted the uncertain nature of much of the contemporary research.



Spousal Violence in Same-sex Relationships: Domestic violence also occurs in same-sex relationships.



Let's Talk, Not Fight: Colin Henderson's winning design were displayed on T-shirts and other items at the 2012 Domestic Violence Awareness Rally.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

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13.1: Education and the Global Perspective

Education and the Global Perspective

In today's world, some degree of education is necessary for people in most countries.

Learning Objectives

Discuss recent worldwide trends in education, including mass schooling, the emergence of secondary education in the U.S., indigenous education, higher education, and online learning

Key Points

- Education is the means through which the aims and habits of a group of people are passed from one generation to the next.
- Location contributes to a child's lack of access to primary education. In certain areas of the world, children have difficulty getting to school.
- Gender often factors into a child's access to education.
- Costs contribute to a child's lack of access to primary education. High opportunity costs are often influential in the decision to attend school.
- Mass schooling has perpetuated the idea that everyone has a right to be educated regardless of his/her cultural background and gender.
- A lack of access to education is one of the primary barriers to human development.

Key Terms

- **Mass Schooling**: The phenomenon that describes the rise in school attendance worldwide.
- **Internationalization of Education**: The increased emphasis on international cultural exchange in the course of education.

Education Today

In today's world, some degree of education is necessary for people in most countries. Due to population growth and the proliferation of compulsory education, UNESCO has calculated that in the next 30 years, more people will receive formal education than in any prior period of human history. In fact, illiteracy and the percentage of populations without any schooling have already decreased, from 36% in 1960 to 25% in 2000.

Education in its broadest, most general sense is a means through which the aims and habits of a group of people is passed from one generation to the next. Generally, education results from any experience that affects the way in which one thinks, feels, or acts. In its narrowest, most technical sense, education is the formal process (e.g., instruction in schools) by which society deliberately passes accumulated knowledge, skills, customs, and values from one generation to the next.

Education in the Developing World

India is developing technologies that bypass land-based telephone and internet lines. The country recently launched EDUSAT, an education satellite that can reach a great number of people at a significantly reduced cost. Another initiative, started by the OLPC foundation, involving a group from the MIT Media Lab, and supported by several major corporations, has developed a $100 laptop for the delivery of educational programs. As of 2008, the laptops were already widely available.

In Africa, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has launched an e-school program. The goal is to provide 600,000 primary and high schools with computer equipment, learning materials, and internet access within 10 years. Private groups, like Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, are also working to improve access to education through such programs as the Perpetual Education Fund.

Internationalization (Globalization and Education)

Education is becoming increasingly international, and mass schooling has promoted the fundamental idea that everyone has a right to be educated regardless of his/her cultural background. In Europe, for example, the Socrates-Erasmus Program fosters exchanges between European universities, while the Soros Foundation provides educational opportunities to students from central Asia and eastern Europe. Programs such as the International Baccalaureate have also contributed to the internationalization of education. Some scholars argue that, regardless of the perceived quality of different educational systems, experiencing a different system of education can be an important and enriching aspect of an international learning experience. Meanwhile, the global online campus, led by American universities, has promoted free access to class materials and lectures recorded during actual classes. This project further facilitates the globalization of education.

Recent Worldwide Trends

The emergence of secondary education in the United States did not occur until 1910, when a rise in big business and technological advances in factories (for instance, the emergence of electrification) required skilled workers. In order to meet new job requirements, high schools were created with curriculums focused on practical job skills that would prepare students for white- or blue-collar work. This emerging system proved to be

beneficial for both the employer and the employee; improved job skills increased efficiency and lowered costs for employers, while skilled employees received higher wages.

Indigenous education refers to the inclusion of indigenous knowledge, models, methods, and content within formal and non-formal educational systems. Often in a post-colonial context, the growing recognition and use of indigenous education methods has been a response to the erosion and loss of indigenous knowledge and language through earlier processes of colonialism. It has also enabled indigenous communities to strengthen links to their traditional languages and cultures, a process that has also been linked to increased academic success.

Higher education generally involves work towards a degree-level or foundation degree qualification. In most developed countries, a high proportion of the population (up to 50%) now obtain higher education at some point in their lives. Higher education is therefore important to national economies as both a significant industry in its own right and a source of trained and educated personnel.

As a result of the Internet, higher education is increasingly open and accessible. Online learning gives students flexibility and choice in terms of what, when, and at what pace they learn. Many universities and organizations are creating open educational resources that self-motivated students can access anywhere and at any time. Unlike traditional forms of higher education, open, online education generally does not take the form of recognized degree programs.



Education in South Africa: School children at Imperial Primary School in Eastridge, Mitchell's Plain (Cape Town, South Africa)



Education in the Middle East: Students from the Hala Bint Khuwaylid secondary girl's school in the Amil district of Baghdad, pictured with new school bags containing pens, pencils, notebooks, calculators, and other school supplies: USAID is funding the purchase and distribution of 1.5 million school bags through a partnership with Creative Associates International. All Iraqi secondary students will receive bags.

Education and Industrialization

It has been argued that high rates of education are essential for countries to be able to achieve high levels of economic growth.

Learning Objectives

Define education economics, human capital, human capital flight, and educational technology

Key Points

- In the developing world, there is economic pressure from those parents who prioritize sending their children to work to make money in the short term over any long-term benefits of education.
- Education economics is the study of economic issues relating to education, including the demand for education and the financing and provision of education.
- The central idea of human capital is that undertaking education is investment in the acquisition of skills and knowledge which will increase earnings.
- Human capital flight, more commonly referred to as the " brain drain," is the large-scale emigration of a large group of individuals with technical skills or knowledge.
- Educational technology is the study and ethical practice of facilitating learning and improving performance by creating, using, and managing appropriate technological processes and resources.

Key Terms

- **human capital**: The stock of competencies, knowledge, social, and personality attributes, including creativity,

embodied in the ability to perform labor so as to produce economic value.

- **brain drain**: The migration of educated or talented people from less- economically advanced areas to more economically advanced areas, especially to large cities or richer countries.
- **Education Economics**: The study of economic issues relating to education, including the demand for education and the financing and provision of education.

In developing countries, the number and seriousness of the problems faced is naturally greater. People are sometimes unaware of the importance of education, and there is economic pressure from those parents who prioritize their children's making money in the short term over any long-term benefits of education. Recent studies on child labor and poverty have suggested, however, that when poor families reach a certain economic threshold where families are able to provide for their basic needs, parents return their children to school. This has been found to be true, once the threshold has been breached, even if the potential economic value of the children's work has increased since their return to school.

Education and Economic Growth

It has been argued that high rates of education are essential for countries to be able to achieve high levels of economic growth. Empirical analyses tend to support the theoretical prediction that poor countries should grow faster than rich countries because they can adopt cutting edge technologies already tried and tested by rich countries. Education economics is the study of economic issues relating to education, including the demand for education and the financing and provision of education. The dominant model of the demand for education is based on human capital theory. The central idea is that undertaking education is investment in the acquisition of skills and knowledge, which will increase earnings or provide long-term benefits, such as an appreciation of literature. An increase in human capital can follow technological progress as knowledgeable employees are in demand due to the need for their skills, whether it be in understanding the production process or in operating machines. Human capital flight, more commonly referred to as the "brain drain," is the large-scale emigration of a large group of individuals with technical skills or knowledge. The reasons usually include two aspects which respectively come from countries and individuals. The brain drain is often associated with de-skilling of emigrants in their country of destination, while their country of emigration experiences the draining of skilled individuals.

Educational Technology

Educational technology is the study and ethical practice of facilitating learning and improving performance by creating, using, and managing appropriate technological processes and resources. Technology of education is most simply and comfortably defined as an array of tools that might prove helpful in advancing student learning and may be measured in how and why individuals behave. There are various types of technologies currently used in traditional classrooms. Among these are computers in the classroom; a website for every class; class blogs and wikis; wireless classroom microphones; and online media and interactive whiteboards.

Educational technology is intended to improve education over what it would be without technology. Its benefits include easy-to-access course materials; increased student motivation; improved student writing; subjects made easier to learn; and differentiated instruction.



Education Technology: There are various types of technologies currently used in traditional classrooms. Having a computer in the classroom is an asset to any teacher. With a computer in the classroom, teachers are able to demonstrate a new lesson, present new material, illustrate how to use new programs, and show new websites

Education and Liberty in the Developing World

A lack of access to education is one of the primary limits on human development.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the factors that impact education in societies worldwide

Key Points

- International development is a concept that refers to the development of greater quality of life for humanity.

- In 2000, the United Nations signed the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which includes eight Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015 or 2020, one of which is Universal Primary Education.
- Location contributes to a child's lack of access and attendance to primary education. In certain areas of the world, it is more difficult for children to get to school.
- Gender contributes to a child's lack of access and attendance to education.
- Costs contribute to a child's lack of access and attendance to primary education. High opportunity costs are often influential in the decision to attend school.

Key Terms

- **Mass Schooling**: The phenomenon that describes the rise in school attendance worldwide.
- **Internationalization of Education**: The increased emphasis on international cultural exchange in the course of education.
- **Universal Primary Education**: One of the eight Millennium Development Goals developed by the United Nations; An attempt to give all primary school aged children access to education.

International development is a concept that lacks a universally accepted definition, but it is most used in a holistic and multi-disciplinary context of human development–the development of greater quality of life for humans. In 2000, the United Nations signed the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which includes eight Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015 or 2020. This represented the first time that a holistic strategy to meet the development needs of the world had been established, with measurable targets and defined indicators. Universal Primary Education is one of the eight Millennium Development Goals, and great improvements have been achieved in the past decade, yet a great deal remains to be done. The provision of education often focuses on providing free primary level education but also covers secondary and higher education. A lack of access to education is one of the primary limits on human development and is closely related to every one of the other sectors. Almost every development project includes an aspect of education, as development by its very nature requires a change in the way people live.

Universal Primary Education

There has been great progress achieved since 1999 in the achievement of the millennium development goal. UNESCO has found that the number of children enrolled in primary schools worldwide rose by more than 40 million between 1999 and 2007; the net primary enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa rose from 58% to 74% over the same period; and international aid commitments to basic education almost doubled from $2.1 billion in 2002 to $4.1 billion in 2007. However, despite all these important achievements, the world is currently not on course to achieve its target of universal primary education by 2015. Currently, there are more than 75 million children around the world of primary school age who are not in school. The majority of these children are in regions of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia and within these countries, girls are at the greatest disadvantage in receiving access to education at the primary school age. Moreover, it is estimated that there is a $16.2 billion annual external financing gap between available domestic resources and what is needed to achieve the basic education goals in low income countries. This is due to current aid levels which address only 15% of that gap, resources often not provided to those countries who need it the most, and the amounts pledged not fully honored.

Factors Contributing to Lack of Access and Poor Attendance

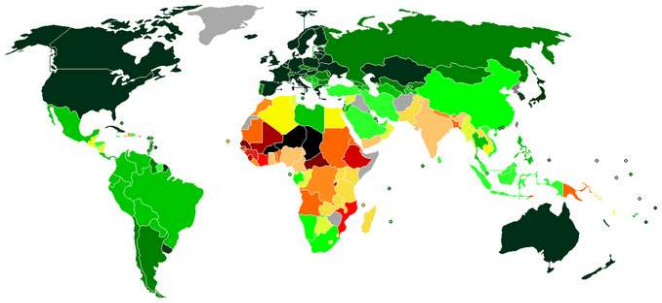
Location contributes to a child's lack of access and attendance to primary education. In certain areas of the world, it is more difficult for children to get to school. For example, in high-altitude areas of India, severe weather conditions for more than seven months of the year make school attendance erratic and force children to remain at home. Gender contributes to a child's lack of access and attendance to education. Although it may not be as an obvious a problem today, gender equality in education has been an issue for a long time. Currently, there is a gender discrepancy in education. Enrollment is low for both boys and girls in sub-Saharan Africa, with rates of just 27% and 22%. Today, some 78% of girls drop out of school, compared with 48% of boys. Therefore, a child's gender continues to contribute to access and attendance today.

Costs contribute to a child's lack of access and attendance to primary education. High opportunity costs are often influential in the decision to attend school. For example, according to UNICEF, an estimated 121 million primary-school-age children are being kept out of school to work in the fields or at home. For many families in developing countries the economic benefits of no primary schooling are enough to offset the opportunity cost of attending.

Internationalization of Education

Education is becoming increasingly international. The most represented case is the spread of mass schooling. Mass schooling has implanted the fundamental concepts that everyone has a right to be educated regardless of his/her cultural background and gender differences. The system has also promoted the global rules and norms of how the school should operate and what is education. In Europe, for example, the Socrates-Erasmus Program stimulates exchanges across

European universities. Also, the Soros Foundation provides many opportunities for students from Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Programs, such as the International Baccalaureate, have contributed to the internationalization of education. Some scholars argue that, regardless of whether one system is considered better or worse than another, experiencing a different way of education can often be considered to be the most important, enriching element of an international learning experience.



Education Index: Countries fall into three broad categories based on their Education Index: high, medium, and low human development.

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13.2: Education and Inequality

Savage Inequalities

Savage inequalities, written by Jonathan Kozol, is a book that examines inequality in education.

Learning Objectives

Reproduce Kozol's argument in "Savage Inequalities," using a real life illustration

Key Points

- Kozol argues that racial- and class-based disparities in American education are the result of low spending by the federal government.
- Across cities in the U.S., Kozol observed students in schools with the lowest and highest spending per student. His observations illustrated the huge disparities between schools.
- According to Kozol, property taxes are an unjust funding basis for schools because they fail to challenge the status quo of racial-based inequality.
- Kozol concludes that the disparities in school quality perpetuate inequality and constitute de facto segregation.

Key Terms

- **de facto segregation**: When races are separated not by any law, but by everyday practices.
- **property tax**: An (usually) ad valorem tax charged on the basis of the fair market value of property. The scope of taxable property varies by jurisdiction, and it may include personal property in addition to real estate.

Savage Inequalities, a 1991 book by Jonathan Kozol, examines the class- and race-based disparities in education. The book is based on Kozol's observations of classrooms in the public school systems of East St. Louis, Chicago, New York City, Camden, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C. Kozol observed students in schools with the lowest and highest spending per student, ranging from just $3,000 per student in Camden, New Jersey, to up to $15,000 per student, per year in Great Neck, Long Island.



Jonathan Kozol at Pomona College: Savage Inequalities, a 1991 book by Jonathan Kozol, examines the class- and race-based disparities in education.

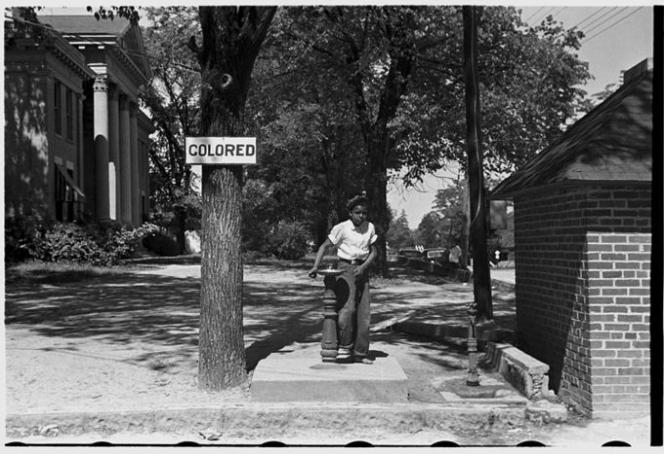
Kozol's observations illustrated the disparities between schools. In poor schools, students face overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and understaffed buildings where even basic tools and textbooks might be missing. These schools tend to be located in areas with large proportions of minorities, high rates of poverty, and high taxation rates. But high taxation rates on low-value property do not generate much revenue, and these schools remain underfunded. Kozol argues that property taxes are an unjust funding basis for schools, one that fails to challenge the status quo of racial-based inequality. Even when state funding is used to partially equalize the funding between districts, inequalities aren't erased. In Kozol's words, "Equal funding for unequal needs is not equality. "

Kozol concludes that these disparities in school quality perpetuate inequality and constitute de facto segregation. He argues that racial segregation is still alive and well in the American educational system; this is due to the gross inequalities that result from unequal distribution of funds collected through both property taxes and funds distributed by the state in an attempt to "equalize" the expenditures of schools.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Savage Inequalities by Jonathan Kozol, East St. Louis: Savage Inequalities, a 1991 book by Jonathan Kozol, examines the class- and race-based disparities in education. The book is based on Kozol's observations of classrooms in the public school systems of East St. Louis, Chicago, New York City, Camden, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C.



De Facto Segregation: Although segregation is officially illegal, unequal school funding can create de facto segregation.

Coleman's Study of Between-School Effects in American Education

In 1966, the Coleman Report launched a debate about "school effects," desegregation and busing, and cultural bias in standardized tests.

Learning Objectives

Identify three key points of the Coleman report

Key Points

- The ways in which outcomes differ based on school characteristics is called "between school effects. " The Coleman report found that these effects existed but were less important that student backgrounds.
- The Coleman Report found that school funding levels do not significantly affect student achievement, but student background and teacher effectiveness do.
- Sociologist James Coleman found that black students perform better in racially-integrated classrooms, which led to desegregated busing programs. Later, Coleman found that white flight undermined the advantages of busing.
- Sociologist James Coleman also found that standardized tests measured cultural knowledge, not intelligence, which put minority students at a disadvantage.

Key Terms

- **white flight**: The large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries, from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban areas.
- **desegregation busing**: Programs designed to mix races in public education by busing children from predominantly African-American neighborhoods into white neighborhood schools.
- **Racially-Mixed Classrooms**: Classrooms that contain pupils from a variety of racial backgrounds.

In the 1960s, the U.S. Department of Education commissioned a group of social scientists to write a report on educational equality in the United States. The group was led by sociologist James Coleman, and the report was one of the largest studies in history, surveying more than 150,000 students. In 1966, the finished report was published and was over 700 pages in length. The report, titled "Equality of Educational Opportunity," came to be known as the "Coleman Report. " At the time, it launched widespread debate on school effects, or the ways in which school-level characteristics influence student achievement. It also helped define debates over desegregation, busing, and cultural bias in standardized tests.

Findings

The Coleman Report was commonly presented as evidence that school funding has little effect on student achievement. In fact, the report did not deny that funding or other school effects matter, but it did argue that other factors are more important. Specifically, the report found that student background and socioeconomic status are much more important in determining educational outcomes than are measured differences in school resources. But it also affirmed that differences in schools—and particularly teachers—have a very significant impact on student outcomes. Thus, the report supplied evidence that different conditions in different schools could lead to different outcomes for different groups of students.

Although Coleman found that, on average, black schools were funded on a nearly equal basis by the 1960s, he also found that socially-disadvantaged black students profited from schooling in racially-mixed classrooms. This latter finding was a catalyst for the implementation of desegregated busing systems, which bused black students from racially segregated neighborhoods to integrated schools. Following up on this conclusion, Coleman found in later research in 1975, that desegregated busing programs had led to white flight from the higher-class, mixed-race school districts. When black students were bused in to these schools, white parents began to move their children out of such schools in large numbers. Thus, the mass busing system had failed: Black students would only benefit from integrated schooling if there was a majority of white students in the classroom.



Desegregation and Busing: The Coleman Report led to busing programs to help integrate schools.

Relevance for Standardized Testing

The Coleman Report also fed the debate over the validity of standardized testing. The report showed that, in general, white students scored higher than black students, but it also showed significant overlap in scores: 15 percent of black students fell within the same range of academic accomplishment as the upper 50 percent of white students. This same group of blacks, however, scored higher than the other 50 percent of whites. Importantly, though, the report pointed out that the tests administered in these schools were not measuring intelligence, but rather an ability to learn and perform in the American environment. The report states: “These tests do not measure intelligence, nor attitudes, nor qualities of character. Furthermore they are not, nor are they intended, to be ‘ culture free. ‘ Quite the reverse: they are culture bound. What they measure are the skills which are among the most important in our society for getting a good job and moving to a better one, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world. ”

Tracking and Within-School Effects

Tracking separates students within a school into different tracks based on their skills and abilities.

Learning Objectives

Argue for or against tracking in classrooms based on the information in the text

Key Points

- Proponents of tracking argue that it allows teachers to better direct lessons toward the specific ability level of the students in each class.
- Critics worry that by keeping students separate, tracking tends to reinforce class- and race-based disparities and worsen educational inequalities.
- Detracking occurs when students are deliberately positioned into classes of mixed ability. As opposed to tracking, students are no longer placed in groups based upon academic achievement or ability.
- While tracking separates students according to their skills and abilities, critics point out that it reinforces disparities and worsens educational inequalities.

Key Terms

- **within school effects**: Ways in which inequality may be produced or maintained among students in the same school.
- **tracking**: An educational system in which the entire school population is assigned to classes according to whether the students’ overall achievement is above average, normal, or below average and in which students attend academic classes only with students whose overall academic achievement is the same as their own.

Whereas the Coleman Report focused on between school effects, or inequality between different schools, other research has looked at within school effects, or ways in which inequality may be produced or maintained among students in the same school. One of the primary mechanisms for creating and maintaining inequality within schools is tracking. Tracking was once popular in English-speaking countries, but is less used now.

Advantages

Tracking consists of separating pupils into groups by academic ability. Student can be tracked for all subjects or for certain classes and curriculum within a school. Proponents of tracking argue that it allows teachers to better direct lessons toward the specific ability level of the students in each class. Another positive aspect of tracking is that since it separates students by ability, students’ work is only compared to that of similar-ability peers. Supporters of tracking also note that it allows for higher achievement of high-ability students. A 1992 study by Kulik and Kulik found that high-ability students in tracked classes

achieved more highly than similar-ability students in non-tracked classes.

Disadvantages

Studies show that, while tracking for regular instruction makes no real difference in scholastic achievement for low and average ability students, it does produce substantial gains for gifted students in tracks specially designed for the gifted and talented. In other words, tracking can promote even higher achievement among high-achieving students, but it does little to improve the achievement of lower achieving students. Additionally, some studies suggest that tracking can influence students' peer groups and attitudes regarding other students. A 1992 study by Gamoran showed that students are more likely to form friendships with other students in the same tracks than students outside of their tracks.



Students Using Laptops in Classroom: Critics argue that tracking can promote even higher achievement among high-achieving students, but it does little to improve the achievement of lower achieving students.

Critics worry that by keeping students separate, tracking tends to reinforce rather than overcome educational inequalities. This may be particularly true since low-track classes tend to have higher proportions of low-income and minority students, while upper-track classes are often dominated by students from high socioeconomically backgrounds. In this respect, tracking may not only reinforce academic inequalities, but also reinforce class- and race-based disparities in educational quality. Students from more privileged backgrounds gain access to higher quality instruction in upper-level tracks, while, even within the same school, poorer students are relegated to lower-level, less challenging tracks.

The 2010 HBO documentary, A Small Act, documented Kenyan students' difficulty affording secondary schools. These elite schools were viewed as pathway to law school, medical school, and other forms of advanced education. Students who were kicked out of school for insufficient funds were essentially fated to lives of poverty. In Kenya, having only a primary school education prepared one for menial labor, while secondary school equated to future social mobility for poor Kenyan children.

Detracking

Detracking occurs when students are deliberately positioned into classes of mixed ability. As opposed to tracking, students are no longer placed in groups based upon academic achievement or ability. Tracking can be associated with giving students in low-track classes less resources, fewer experienced teachers, low expectations, and non-challenging curricula. Proponents for detracking believe that low-track students will greatly benefit in school achievement if they are mixed in with high-track students.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Ability grouping, tracking and grouping alternatives: This video explores the history, practice, perils and alternatives to grouping students for classroom instruction according to their perceived abilities.



A Navy technician welding: Vocational tracks may teach skills such as welding or encourage students to join the armed forces

The Social Reproduction of Inequality

Conflict theorists argue that the democratic mission of education has failed because it has reproduced social and economic inequalities.

Learning Objectives

Explain, using conflict theory, how inequality is socially reproduced

Key Points

- In democratic societies, education is meant to be a path to opportunity, and public education is meant to ensure society continues to strive for equality.
- Persistent evidence indicates that education's democratic mission has failed; rather than overcoming inequality, the educational system appears to reinforce it.
- Inequality is continually socially reproduced because the whole education system serves the interests of the dominant classes.
- According to conflict theorists, the myth of individual success through education obscures an important social fact: the individual failures of many students are in fact explained by large-scale social forces.
- Conflict theorists maintain that schools are a means to convey to students what constitutes knowledge and appropriate behavior as determined by the state—those in power.
- According to conflict theorists, children from lower-class backgrounds face a much tougher time in school; they must learn the standard curriculum as well as the hidden curriculum of middle class values.

Key Terms

- **Lower-Class Backgrounds**: Upbringings that are lower on the socioeconomic hierarchy.
- **social reproduction of inequality**: The idea that inequality is continually socially reproduced because the whole education system is overlain with ideology provided by the dominant group.

In democratic societies, education is meant to be a path to opportunity, and public education is meant to ensure society continues to strive for equality. Students who work hard in school should be able to land good jobs and advance themselves, climbing the latter to social and economic success. Yet persistent evidence indicates that education's democratic mission has failed; rather than overcoming inequality, the educational system appears to reinforce it. According to conflict theorists, this is a predictable result of capitalism and other forces of domination and inequality.

Social Reproduction of Inequality

Conflict theorists believe that educational institutions operate as mechanisms for the social reproduction of inequality. Inequality is continually socially reproduced because the whole education system is overlain with a dominant group 's ideology. The premise that education fosters equal opportunity is regarded as a myth, perpetuated to serve the interests of the dominant classes. According to this myth, those who fail to achieve success have only themselves to blame. According to conflict theorists, this myth obscures an important social fact—the individual failures of many students can be explained by large-scale social forces.

Conflict theorists argue that schools, like society in general, are based on exploitation, oppression, domination, and subordination. From teaching style to the formal curriculum, schools are a means to convey what constitutes knowledge and appropriate behavior as determined by the state—those in power. Thus, students must learn not only basic skills such as reading, writing, and math, but also skills useful in a capitalist economy and behaviors appropriate to the work environment, especially docility and obedience to a manager or boss—the teacher.

Class and Education

Some students may realize the perverse but unacknowledged goals of education, as they begin to see that much of what they learn seems, from their perspective, pointless. Anti-school values displayed by these children are often derived from their

consciousness of their real interests. For example, working class students may begin to understand that they are in a double-bind: either they must strive to succeed, and in doing so abandon their own culture in order to absorb the school's middle class values, or they will fail. Children from lower-class backgrounds face a much tougher time in school, where they must learn the standard curriculum as well as the hidden curriculum of middle class values. For those who aim to succeed and advance, they must confront the material inequalities created by unequal funding arrangements.

On the other hand, for middle and especially upper-class children, maintaining their superior position in society requires little effort. These students have the benefit of learning middle class values at home, meaning they come to school already having internalized the hidden curriculum. They also have access to higher quality instruction. In this way, the continuation of privilege and wealth for the elite is made possible.

Intelligence and Inequality

Educational capital can produce or reproduce inequality and also serve as a leveling mechanism that fosters equal opportunity.

Learning Objectives

Devise two separate scenarios, one in which educational capital serves as a leveling mechanism and one in which academic capital reproduces inequality

Key Points

- The term educational capital is a concept that expands upon the theoretical ideas of French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu.
- Bourdieu's perspective reveals how objective structures play an important role in determining individual achievement in school, but allows for the exercise of an individual's own free will and abilities to overcome these barriers, although this choice is not without its penalties.
- Academic capital is a term used by sociologists to represent how an individual's amount of education and other academic experience can be used to gain a more esteemed place in society.

Key Terms

- **sociability**: The skill, tendency or property of being sociable or social, and interacting well with others.
- **Academic Capital**: A term referring to how an individual's amount of education and other academic experience can be used to gain a more esteemed place in society.
- **Educational Capital**: The social standing one achieves by succeeding in academia and achieving academic credentials.

Although schools' manifest function is to educate and train intelligence, they also have latent functions like socializing students. Students who do best in school are not always the most intelligent, but are usually culturally competent and sociable. The manifest function of education is to transmit knowledge to students. However, education also offers several latent functions, one of which is to foster social skills. Like the academic skills learned there, the social skills learned in school turn out to be quite important to a student's future success in life. Students who score high on measures of sociability earn more money and get more education than equally intellectually gifted students who achieve lower scores in social skills.



Children Playing: Inequality can arise from students' different levels of social skills.

Manifest and Latent Functions

Manifest functions involve things people expect or can observe. In the above paragraph, it is the purpose of and people expect a school to teach or transmit knowledge. Latent functions are not generally recognized or intended; rather, they are a secondary effect of manifest functions. For example, it is not stated in the curriculum that children learn social skills at school, but as a result of being around and working with other children, socialization occurs. Socialization is slowly transforming into a manifest function, especially within special education and working with children on the autism spectrum, who suffer from serious social skill deficits. In these cases, social skills training *is* part of the curriculum for those particular children.

Educational Capital

The term educational capital is a concept that expands upon the theoretical ideas of French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu who applied the notion of capital to social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein explored how the cultural capital of the dominant classes has been viewed throughout history as the "most legitimate knowledge. " How schools choose the content and organization of curriculum and instructional practices connects

scholastic knowledge to dynamics of class, gender, and race both outside and inside our institutions of education. Educational capital refers to educational goods that are converted into commodities to be bought, sold, withheld, traded, consumed, and profited from in the educational system. Educational capital can be utilized to produce or reproduce inequality, and it can also serve as a leveling mechanism that fosters social justice and equal opportunity. Therefore Bourdieu's perspective reveals how objective structures play an important role in determining individual achievement in school, but allows for the exercise of an individual's own free will and abilities to overcome these barriers, although this choice is not without its penalties.

Academic Capital

Academic capital is a term used by sociologists to represent how an individual's amount of education and other academic experience can be used to gain a place in society. On an individual level, academic capital influences and informs several important aspects of life. In the most basic sense, academic capital is strongly tied to earning potential. Individuals with only a high school diploma, on average, make $20,000 less annually than individuals with an undergraduate degree, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. For individuals who do not have a high school degree, opportunities for monetary earning fall further, $30,000 less than those with a degree.

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13.3: Schools as Formal Organizations

Bureaucratization of Schools

The bureaucratization of schools has some advantages but has also led to the perpetuation of discrimination and an aversion to change.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the critical issues and historial origins of school bureaucratization, particularly in relation to educational reform and deliverance of service

Key Points

- A bureaucracy is a large, formal, secondary organization characterized by a hierarchy of authority, a clear division of labor, explicit rules, and impersonal interactions between its members.
- In theory, bureaucracies are meritocracies that improve efficiency, ensure equal opportunities, and increase efficiency. In reality, some individuals benefit from structural privileges and social origins like a dominant race, language, or culture to which some other individuals may not have access.
- The foundations of the current educational system originated in the Industrial Revolution. The school environment became structured around hierarchy, standardization, and specialization.
- The bureaucratization of schools makes it difficult to instigate appropriate and immediate change when it is required by the changing needs of a society.
- In a pluralistic society, disseminating the dominant culture through public education is a topic of heated social debate. Religious, cultural, and ethnic groups can feel marginalized and alienated when they are forced to conform to bureaucratic structures.
- Advances in information technologies provide constant connectivity to the virtual world. Schools have begun to take advantage of these virtual tools as enhancements and replacements of physical school structures and face-to-face learning experiences.

Key Terms

- **"one best system"**: The idea that there is one uniform, standardized approach that forms the best strategy to educate all children.
- **hierarchy**: Any group of objects ranked so that everyone but the topmost is subordinate to a specified group above it.
- **Education reform**: The process of improving public education.

A bureaucracy is an organization of non-elected officials of a government or organization who implement the rules, laws, and functions of their institution. In modern society, all formal organizations are, or likely will become, bureaucracies.

According to Weber

The German sociologist and political economist Max Weber (1864-1920) began to study bureaucracy and popularize the term in academic literature and discourse during the mid 1800s and early 1900s. Weber believed that bureaucracy was the most efficient and rational way of organizing. For Weber, bureaucratization was the key process in his theory on rationalization of Western society. Weber popularly characterized a bureaucracy as having a hierarchy of authority, a clear division of labor, explicit rules, and impersonality.

Critical Issues of School Bureaucratization

There are several positive aspects of bureaucracies. They are intended to ensure equal opportunities and increase efficiency based on a meritocratic structure. Meritocracy means that hiring and promotion should be based on proven and documented skills, rather than on nepotism or random choice. For example, in order to get into a prestigious college, you need to perform well on the SAT and have an impressive transcript. In order to become a lawyer and represent clients, you must graduate from law school and pass the state bar exam. However, the theory of meritocracy becomes convoluted when it is applied to schools because some individuals have access to privileges that give them advantages over other individuals. For example, wealthy families can hire tutors, interview coaches, test-prep services, and consultants to help their kids gain the valued skills that will ultimately help them get into the best schools.

Despite good intentions and abundant rhetoric about "equal educational opportunity," schools have rarely taught the children of the poor effectively. This failure has been systematic, not idiosyncratic. Talk about "keeping the schools out of politics" has often served to obscure actual alignments of power and patterns of privilege. For example, before the Emancipation Proclamation, many black people sought education through private, voluntary schools, which shows that they had a strong desire for education, generally believing that they could improve their social status through the equalizing power of schooling. However, they were excluded from the school system by segregation laws. Even after desegregation, black students faced intense racism in mixed schools, and minority students continue to face institutional racism and discrimination on the level of micro-interactions.



Protest Against the Racial Segregation of U.S. Schools: School bureaucracies struggle with the political challenge of defining a valuable educational curriculum and regulating the constituency that has access to those educational opportunities.

Historical Origins of School Bureaucratization

In order to understand the bureaucratization of schools, we must understand the historical development of the school system. When the U.S. transformed into an urban, industrial nation, corporations flourished, potential employees needed an education for a decent job, child labor laws were enforced, and the urban school system changed. During the Industrial Revolution, bureaucracies developed alongside the educational foundations for the current school model. Young workers were trained and organizations were built for mass production, assembly line work, and factory jobs. In schools, students learned to value hierarchical command, standardized outcomes, and specialized skills. These needs formed the basis for school bureaucracies today.

Various interest groups have continually called for education reform. However, bureaucratic authority often perpetuates positions and outworn practices of bureaucracy at the expense of timely change and appropriate education for children's needs. City councils, school boards, superintendents, principals, and government officials from different interest groups and standpoints disagree about the "one best system" for the reproduction of American society. Most critics of school bureaucracies do not question the aim of transmitting the dominant culture through public education, but some dissenters oppose this strategy precisely because they fear children will lose valuable cultural differences through their socialization in the American system. Immigration trends have posed serious concerns for public school education systems because immigrants often bring religious, ethnic, and cultural differences to the classroom that differ from the protocol and ideology of "one best system. " School bureaucracies seek to assimilate foreigners by teaching them English, indoctrinating them in American civics, and providing them with skills and habits needed in the urban job market.

Modern Society and School Bureaucratization

The assumption that there is "one best system" for educating children has been especially problematic within the context of a pluralistic American society, a globalized world, and advances in information technology. Now, in the information age, this kind of rigid training and adherence to protocol can actually decrease both productivity and efficiency. The model of American education based upon the industrial factory is undergoing a revolution based upon emerging technologies that redefine school organization as a virtual as well as a physical learning environment. In the twenty-first century teaching, learning, and the educational system itself have been buffeted by forces that challenged the traditional bureaucratic arrangement of schools with tall administrative hierarchies, centralized decision-making, and tightly controlled structures.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=txMLMjwb4II

Towards the Virtual K-12 Educational Organization: An Emerging Framework with Technology: From this case study, researchers predicted that the educational system of the future will be designed around software capabilities that personalize the curriculum and make learning more meaningful to students. This case study outlines how one K-12 school district is managing change related to teaching, leading, and learning as it shifts to a more student-centered approach to education within a bureaucratic and virtually enhanced structure of schooling.



Ford Assembly Line 1913: The Industrial Revolution altered the purpose of the education system. Young workers were trained and organizations were built for mass production, assembly line work, and factory jobs. In schools, students learned to value hierarchical command, standardized outcomes, and specialized skills.

Teachers: Employees and Instructors

A teacher is a person who provides education for pupils and students.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the purpose and roles of teachers in society, as well as the objectives of teaching

Key Points

- Teachers, like other professionals, may have to continue their education after they qualify, a process known as continuing professional development.
- In education, teachers facilitate student learning, often in a school or academy, but also in other environments such as outdoors. A teacher who teaches on an individual basis may be described as a tutor.
- The relationship between children and their teachers tends to be closer in the primary school, where they act as form tutor, specialist teacher, and surrogate parent during the course of the day.

Key Terms

- **primary school**: The first formal, obligatory school. Usually begins with kindergarten or first grade and ends at fifth or sixth grade.
- **Professional Development**: The means by which people maintain their knowledge and skills related to their professional lives.
- **lesson plan**: A teachers' document used to plan a lesson.

A teacher is a person who provides education for pupils and students. The role of teacher is often formal and ongoing, carried out at a school or other place of formal education. In many countries, a person who wishes to become a teacher must first obtain specified professional qualifications or credentials from a university or college. These professional qualifications may include the study of pedagogy, the science of teaching. Teachers, like other professionals, may have to continue their education after they qualify, a process known as continuing professional development. Teachers may use a lesson plan to facilitate student learning, providing a course of study that is called the curriculum.

Objectives

Teachers facilitate student learning, often but not always in a school or academy. A teacher who teaches on an individual basis may be described as a tutor. The objective is typically a course of study, lesson plan, or a practical skill. A teacher may follow standardized curricula as determined by the relevant authority. The teacher may interact with students of different ages (from infants to adults), students with different abilities, and students with learning disabilities.

Perhaps the most significant difference between primary school and secondary school teaching in the United States is the relationship between teachers and children. In primary schools, each class has a teacher who stays with them for most of the week and will teach them the whole curriculum. In secondary schools, they will be taught by different subject specialists each session during the week and may have ten or more different teachers. The relationship between children and their teachers tends to be closer in the primary school where they act as form tutor, specialist teacher, and surrogate parent during the course of the day.

Education in the United States

In 2010, there were 3,823,142 teachers in public, charter, private, and Catholic elementary and secondary schools. They taught a total of 55,203,000 students, who attended one of 132,656 schools. In 2011, American teachers worked 1,097 hours in the classroom, the most for any industrialized nation measured by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. They spend 1,913 hours a year total on their work, just shy of the national average of 1,932 hours for all workers.



Teacher in Laos: Teacher in primary school in northern Laos.



Teacher British Museum: A teacher and young pupils at the British Museum Duveen Gallery.

Student Subcultures

A youth subculture is a group characterized by distinct styles, behaviors and interests that offer an identity outside the mainstream.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the definition and purpose of a subculture, especially for youth in society

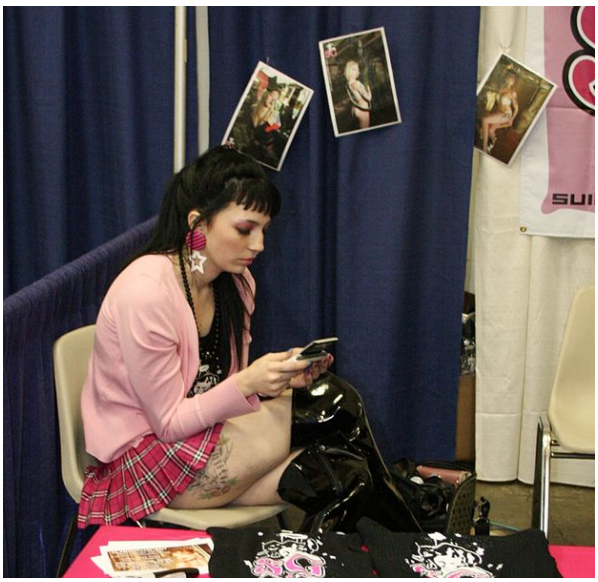
Key Points

- The study of subcultures often consists of the study of symbolism attached to clothing, music or other visible affections by members of the subculture. It also studies the ways these same symbols are interpreted by members of the dominant culture.
- The term “scene” refers to an exclusive subculture or faction. It may also be geographically based, i.e. the London punk scene.
- Early studies in youth culture were mainly produced by functionalist sociologists and focus on youth as a single form of culture. In explaining the development of the culture, they utilized the concept of anomie.
- Marxists of the Frankfurt School of social studies argue that youth culture is inherently consumerist and integral to the divide-and-rule strategy of capitalism.

Key Terms

- **faction**: A group of people, especially within a political organization, who express a shared belief or opinion different from people who are not part of the group.
- **Marxist theories**: An economic and sociopolitical worldview and method of socioeconomic inquiry centered upon a materialist interpretation of history, a dialectical view of social change, and an analysis–critique of the development of capitalism.
- **Functional sociology**: A framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.

A youth subculture is group of young people defined by distinct styles, behaviors and interests. Youth subcultures offer participants an identity outside of that prescribed by social institutions like family, work, home and school. Youth subcultures that show a systematic hostility to the dominant culture are sometimes described as countercultures. Youth music genres are associated with many youth subcultures, and include punks, emos, ravers, Juggalos, metalheads and goths. The study of subcultures often consists of the study of the symbolism attached to clothing, music and other visible affections by members of the subculture. It also studies the ways these same symbols are interpreted by members of the dominant culture.



Emo Subculture: Example of a participant in emo subculture.

The term “scene” can refer to an exclusive subculture or faction. Scenes are distinguished from the broad culture through either fashion, identification with specific (sometimes obscure or experimental) musical genres or political perspectives, and a strong in-group or tribal mentality. The term can be used to describe geographic subsets of a subculture, like the Detroit drum and bass scene or the London goth scene.

Theories about Subcultures

Early studies in youth culture were mainly produced by those interested in functional sociology and focus on youth as a single form of culture. In explaining the development of the culture, they utilized the concept of anomie – a lack of social norms. Talcott Parsons argued that as we move from the family and corresponding values to another sphere with differing values, we would experience an “anomie situation. ”

Marxist theories account for some diversity, as they focus on classes and class-fractions rather than youth as a whole. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson described youth subcultures as symbolic or ritualistic attempts to resist the power of bourgeois hegemony by consciously adopting behavior that appears threatening to the establishment. Conversely, Marxists of the Frankfurt School of social studies argue that youth culture is inherently consumerist and integral to the divide-and-rule strategy of capitalism.

Subcultures may also be seen as extensions of crowds. Certain crowds are found in many, even most, high schools across the United States, although the particular terms used by adolescents in them vary (nerds instead of geeks, goths instead of emos, etc.). Most of these can be found in other western countries as well, with the exception of jocks.



Ravers: Ravers adorned in reflective Phat Pants.

Homeschooling

Homeschooling is the education of children at home, rather than in other formal settings of public or private school.

Learning Objectives

Examine the various reasons people homeschool children, as well as the pros and cons of choosing to homeschool

Key Points

- Homeschooling is a legal option for parents in many countries, allowing them to provide their children with a learning environment as an alternative to public or private schools.
- There are a few common reasons parents homeschool their children. Parents might be concerned about the traditional school social environment, they might want to provide a religious or moral education, or they might simply be dissatisfied with the academic quality of schools.
- A homeschool cooperative is a cooperative of families who homeschool their children.
- Unschooling is a range of educational philosophies and practices centered on allowing children to learn through their natural life experiences, including play, gameplay, household responsibilities, work experience, and social interaction. This is a very controversial method.

Key Terms

- **homeschooling**: teaching children at home instead of sending them to school
- **unschooling**: a range of educational philosophies and practices centered on allowing children to learn through their natural life experiences, including play, games, household responsibilities, work experience, and social interaction, rather than through a more traditional school curriculum
- **e-learning**: learning conducted via electronic media, especially via the Internet

Homeschooling

Homeschooling is the education of children at home, rather than in the formal settings of public or private school. Typically, homeschool instruction is delivered by parents, but sometimes tutors are hired for this job. Historically, before the advent of compulsory school attendance laws, most childhood education occurred at home or in the community. Today however, homeschooling is very much an alternative to attending public or private schools. Homeschooling is a legal option for parents in many countries. It allows them to provide their children with a learning environment if they are dissatisfied with offerings at public or private schools.

Motivations

Parents can have a number of motivations for wanting to homeschool their children. Among these, three of the most common are the following. Parents might be concerned about the traditional school environment, they might want to provide a particular type of religious or moral instruction, or they might simply be dissatisfied with the academic quality of traditional public or private schools.

Homeschooling may also reflect an individual's parenting style. It can be used as a form of supplementary education, geared towards helping children succeed in specific circumstances. For example, children that attend poorly funded schools might benefit greatly from certain homeschool methods, like using the internet. In conjunction with this e-learning, homeschooling could theoretically be combined with a traditional school curriculum to produce more well-rounded results.

Homeschooling Communities

A homeschool cooperative is a cooperative of families who homeschool their children. These co-ops provide homeschooled children the opportunity to learn from other parents who might be more specialized in certain areas or subjects. Co-ops also provide critical opportunities for social interaction among homeschooled children. In these co-ops, children might take lessons or go on field trips together. Some co-ops also offer events like prom and graduation, to simulate certain seminal moments of a traditional educational experience. Through the use of the Internet, homeschoolers are beginning to simulate these cooperative activities online. Using social networking software, homeschoolers can chat, discuss threads in forums, share information, and even participate in online classes via blackboard systems similar to those used by colleges.

Unschooling

Unschooling refers to a range of educational philosophies and practices centered on allowing children to learn through their natural life experiences. These methods can include play, games, household responsibilities, work experience, and social interaction, and form a distinct alternative to a more traditional school curriculum. There are many who find this method of education controversial and potentially unethical. In unschooling, children are encouraged to utilize their own initiative to explore activities, with parental facilitation. The unschooling philosophy of education differs from conventional schooling because it believes that standard curricula and conventional grading methods are counterproductive to the educational growth of a child.

Comparative Studies

Numerous studies have found that homeschooled students, on average, outperform their peers on standardized tests. "Homeschooling Achievement," a study conducted by National Home Education Research Institute (NHERI), an advocacy group, revealed the academic integrity of homeschooling. Among students who took the tests, the average homeschooled student outperformed his public school peers by 30 to 37 percentile points in every subject. Importantly, the study also indicated that public school performance gaps, such as those between races and genders, were virtually non-existent among homeschooled students.

In the 1970s, Raymond S. Moore and Dorothy N. Moore conducted four federally funded analyses of more than 8,000 early childhood studies. They eventually published their findings in 1975, and concluded that, "where possible, children should be withheld from formal schooling until at least ages eight to ten. "



Homeschooler with Project: Homeschooler challenging The Leaning Tower of Pasta project, to build a tower using only pasta and marshmallows and measure its height and strength.

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13.4: The Functionalist Perspective on Education

Socialization

According to functionalists, the socialization process is coercive, forcing us to accept to the values and norms of society.

Learning Objectives

Examine socialization in three ways – the functionalist perspective, and according to Merton and Parsons

Key Points

- Structural functionalists view the socialization process as one where the values and norms of society are agreed upon by all members of society because there is a "social contract" in effect which protects us from one another and keeps society stable and balanced.
- Socialization refers to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society.
- The values and norms of society are agreed upon by all members of society because there is a "social contract" in effect which protects us from one another and keeps society stable and balanced.
- Robert K. Merton coined the term "role model" and hypothesized that individuals compare themselves with reference groups of people who occupy the social role to which the individual aspires.
- The key processes for Talcott Parsons for system reproduction are socialization and social control.
- Socialization is supported by the positive and negative sanctioning of role behaviors that do or do not meet these expectations.

Key Terms

- **Reference Groups**: Groups to which a person may compare himself to.
- **social contract**: An implicit agreement or contract among members of a society that dictates things that are considered acceptable conduct.

Socialization is a term that refers to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society. Socialization describes a process that may lead to desirable or moral outcomes. Individual views on certain issues, such as race or economics, may be socialized within a society.



Toddler Socialization: Three-year-old female toddler showing signs of healthy socialization: Having lifted her shirt, she is concentrating on playing at attaching an under-nourished doll to her breast. Her sister is four months old and breast fed on demand.

Functionalist Perspective on Socialization

The Functionalist paradigm describes society as stable and describes all of the various mechanisms that maintain social stability. Functionalism argues that the social structure is responsible for all stability and instability, and that that the social structure is continuously attempting to maintain social equilibrium among all the components of society.

According to functionalists, the socialization process is coercive, forcing us to accept the values and norms of society. The values and norms of society are agreed upon by all members of society because there is a "social contract" in effect which protects us from one another and keeps society stable and balanced. People follow and accept the values and norms of society in order to maintain their own safety as well as maintaining social order.

Robert K. Merton

The term role model generally means any "person who serves as an example, whose behavior is emulated by others. " The term first appeared in Robert K. Merton's socialization research of medical students. Merton hypothesized that socialization happens when individuals compare themselves with reference groups of people who occupy the social role to which the individual aspires. Beginning with Merton, sociologists call any group that individuals use as a standard for evaluating themselves and their own behavior a reference group. For example, an individual in the U.S. with an annual income of $80,000, may consider himself affluent if he compares himself to those who earn roughly $35,000 a year. If, however, the same person considers the relevant reference group to be those in the top 0.1 percent of households in the U.S., those making $1.6

million or more, then the individual's income of $80,000 would make him or her seem rather poor.

Talcott Parsons

Talcott Parsons was heavily influenced by Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, synthesizing much of their work into his action theory, which he based on the system-theoretical concept and the methodological principle of voluntary action. The key processes for Parsons for system reproduction are socialization and social control. Socialization is important because it is the mechanism for transferring the accepted norms and values of society to the individuals within the system. Parsons never spoke about "perfect socialization"—in any society socialization was only partial and "incomplete" from an integral point of view. Socialization is supported by the positive and negative sanctioning of role behaviors that do or do not meet these expectations. A punishment could be informal, like a snicker or gossip, or more formalized, through institutions such as prisons and mental institutions.



Socialization of Direct Marketing: The concept of socialization being used for advertising.

Cultural Transmission

Cultural transmission is the way a group of people within a society or culture tend to learn and pass on new information.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the importance of cultural transmission, particularly in terms of learning styles

Key Points

- Learning styles are greatly influenced by how a culture socializes with its children and young people.
- The process by which a child acquires his or her own culture is referred to as enculturation.
- On the basis of cultural learning, people create, remember, and deal with ideas. They understand and apply specific systems of symbolic meaning.
- A meme is "an idea, behavior or style that spreads from person to person within a culture. " The term was coined by the British evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene* (1976).
- Intercultural competence is the ability to communicate successfully with people of other cultures.

Key Terms

- **Intercultural Competence**: The ability to communicate successfully with people of other cultures.
- **Cultural Transmission**: The way a group of people or animals within a society or culture tend to learn and pass on new information.
- **Symbolic Meaning**: Meaning that is conveyed through language; when one knows that X means Y.

Cultural transmission is the way a group of people or animals within a society or culture tend to learn and pass on new information. Learning styles are greatly influenced by how a culture socializes with its children and young people. The key aspect of culture is that it is not passed on biologically from the parents to the offspring, but rather learned through experience and participation. The process by which a child acquires his or her own culture is referred to as "enculturation. " Cultural learning allows individuals to acquire skills that they would be unable to independently over the course of their lifetimes.

Cultural Transmission for Humans

Cultural learning is believed to be particularly important for humans. Humans are weaned at an early age compared to the emergence of adult dentition. The immaturity of dentition and the digestive system, the time required for growth of the brain, the rapid skeletory growth needed for the young to reach adult height and strength means that children have special digestive needs and are dependent on adults for a long period of time. This time of dependence also allows time for cultural learning to occur before passage into adulthood.

On the basis of cultural learning, people create, remember, and deal with ideas. They understand and apply specific systems of symbolic meaning. Cultures have been compared to sets of control mechanisms, plans, recipes, rules, or instructions. Cultural differences have been found in academic motivation, achievement, learning style, conformity, and compliance. Cultural learning is dependent on innovation or the ability to create new responses to the environment and the ability to communicate or imitate the behavior of others. A meme is "an idea, behavior or style that spreads from person to person within a culture. " A meme acts as a unit for carrying cultural ideas, symbols or practices, which can be transmitted from one mind to another through writing, speech, gestures, rituals, or other

imitable phenomena. The term was coined by the British evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene* (1976).

Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence is the ability to communicate successfully with people of other cultures. In interactions with people from foreign cultures, a person who is interculturally competent understands culture-specific concepts in perception, thinking, feeling, and acting. The interculturally competent person considers earlier experiences free from prejudices, and has an interest in, and motivation towards, continued learning.

The development of intercultural competence is mostly based on the individual's experiences while communicating with different cultures. While interacting with people from other cultures, the individual generally faces certain obstacles, which are caused by differences in cultural understanding between the two people in question. Such experiences motivate the individual to work on skills that can help him communicate his point of view to an audience belonging to a completely different cultural ethnicity and background. For example, showing the thumb held upwards in certain parts of the world means "everything's okay," while it is understood in some Islamic countries as a rude sexual sign. Additionally, the thumb is held up to signify "one" in France and certain other European countries, where the index finger is used to signify "one" in other cultures. In India and Indonesia, it is often regarded as wishing "all the best."

Academic Skills and Knowledge

In academia, an individual's educational level and other academic experience can be used to gain a place in society.

Learning Objectives

Examine the implications of academia in society, especially in terms of structure, qualifications and academic capital

Key Points

- Academia is the community of students and scholars engaged in higher education and research.
- Academia is usually conceived of as divided into disciplines or fields of study.
- The degree awarded for completed study is the primary academic qualification. Typically these are, in order of accomplishment, associate's degree, bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate.
- In the United States, "professors" commonly occupy any of several positions in academia, typically the ranks of assistant professor, associate professor, or full professor.
- Academic capital is a term used by sociologists to represent how an individual's amount of education and other academic experience can be used to gain a place in society.

Key Terms

- **Academic Capital**: A term referring to how an individual's amount of education and other academic experience can be used to gain a more esteemed place in society.
- **academia**: The scientific and cultural community engaged in higher education and research, taken as a whole.

Academia is the community of students and scholars engaged in higher education and research. In Western Europe, universities were founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the European institution of Academia took shape. Monks and priests moved out of monasteries to cathedral cities and other towns where they opened the first schools dedicated to advanced study. In the United States, the term "academic" is approximately synonymous with that of the job title professor, although in recent decades a growing number of institutions include librarians in the category of "academic staff. "

Structure

Academia is usually conceived of as divided into disciplines or fields of study. The disciplines have been much revised, and many new disciplines have become more specialized, researching smaller and smaller areas. Because of this, interdisciplinary research is often prized in today's academy, though it can also be made difficult both by practical matters of administration and funding and by differing research methods of different disciplines. In fact, many new fields of study have initially been conceived as interdisciplinary, and later become specialized disciplines in their own right. On recent example is cognitive science.

Qualifications

The degree awarded for completed study is the primary academic qualification. Typically, these are, in order of completion, associate's degree, bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate. In the United States, "professors" commonly occupy any of several positions in academia, typically the ranks of assistant professor, associate professor, or full professor. Research and education are among the main tasks of professors with the time spent in research or teaching depending strongly on the type of institution. Publication of articles in conferences, journals, and books is essential to occupational advancement. As of August 2007, teaching in tertiary educational institutions is one of the fastest growing occupations, topping the U.S. Department of Labor's list of "above average wages and high projected growth occupations,"

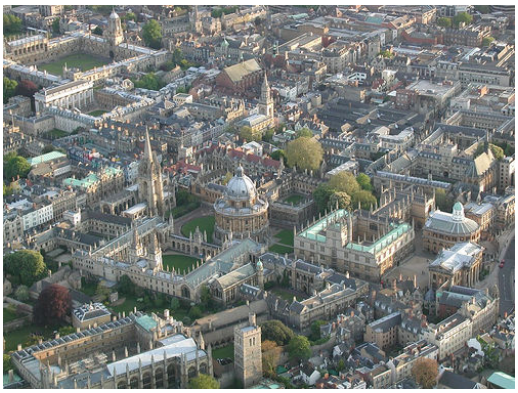
with a projected increase of 524,000 positions between 2004 and 2014.

Academic Capital

"Academic capital" is a term used by sociologists to represent how an individual's amount of education and other academic experience can be used to gain a place in society. The term originated in 1979 when Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), a prominent French sociologist, used the term in his book, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. The book attempts to show how individuals are not defined by social class, but instead by their "social space," which is dependent on each type of capital the individual has.

Much like other forms of capital, social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital, academic capital doesn't depend on one sole factor but instead is made up of many different factors, including the individual's academic transmission from his/her family, status of the academic institutions attended, and publications produced by the individual. Since Bourdieu first coined the term, it has been used widely to discuss many of the implications involved with schooling and the rise of individuals in academia. Numerous studies have been done involving the idea of academic capital, and scholars have disagreed on what counts as academic capital.

Bourdieu's definition of the term is applicable to any individual. However, it seems that most references to academic capital point solely to professional teachers and researchers within higher education. For example, in 2009, Michael Burawoy defined academic capital as being estimated from an individual's curriculum vitae, but admitted that it was subjective because some fields of study seem to value certain academic qualities more than others—research.



Oxford University: Academia is the community of students and scholars engaged in higher education and research

Innovation

Innovation is the creation of better or more effective products, processes, services, technologies, or ideas.

Learning Objectives

Compare the difference between innovation and invention, as well as the pros and cons of each

Key Points

- Innovation differs from invention in that innovation refers to the use of better and, as a result, novel idea or method, whereas invention refers more directly to the creation of the idea or method itself.
- Innovation differs from improvement in that innovation refers to the notion of doing something different rather than doing the same thing better.
- In society, innovation aids in comfort, convenience, and efficiency in everyday life.
- In the organizational context, innovation may be linked to positive changes in efficiency, productivity, quality, competitiveness, market share, and others.
- When an innovative idea requires a better business model, or radically redesigns the delivery of value to focus on the customer, a real-world experimentation approach increases the chances of market success.
- Once innovation occurs, innovations may be spread from the innovator to other individuals and groups. This process can be described using the "s-curve" or diffusion curve. This is known as the process of diffusion.

Key Terms

- **organization**: A group of people or other legal entities with an explicit purpose and written rules.
- **business model**: The particular way in which a business organization ensures that it generates income, one that includes the choice of offerings, strategies, infrastructure, organizational structures, trading practices, and operational processes and policies.
- **improvement**: Increase; growth; progress; advance.

Innovation is the creation of better or more effective products, processes, services, technologies, or ideas that are readily available to markets, governments, and society. Innovation differs from invention in that innovation refers to the use of better and, as a result, a novel idea or method, whereas invention refers more directly to the creation of the idea or method itself. Innovation differs from improvement in that innovation refers to the notion of doing something different rather than doing the same thing better.

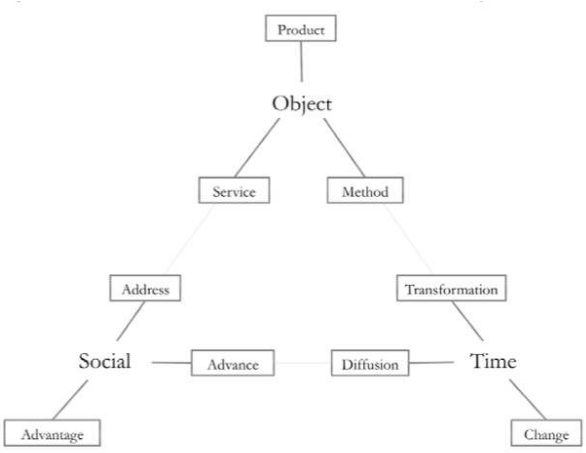
Due to its widespread effect, innovation is an important topic in the study of economics, business, entrepreneurship, design, technology, sociology, and engineering. In society, innovation aids in comfort, convenience, and efficiency in everyday life. For instance, the benchmarks in railroad equipment and

infrastructure added to greater safety, maintenance, speed, and weight capacity for passenger services. These innovations included wood to steel cars, iron to steel rails, stove-heated to steam-heated cars, gas lighting to electric lighting, diesel-powered to electric-diesel locomotives. By mid-twentieth century, trains were making longer, more comfortable, and faster trips at lower costs for passengers

Organization

In the organizational context, innovation may be linked to positive changes in efficiency, productivity, quality, competitiveness, market share, and others. All organizations can innovate, including hospitals, universities, and local governments. For instance, former Mayor Martin O'Malley pushed the City of Baltimore to use CitiStat, a performance-measurement data and management system that allows city officials to maintain statistics on crime trends to condition of potholes. This system aids in better evaluation of policies and procedures with accountability and efficiency in terms of time and money. In its first year, CitiStat saved the city $13.2 million.

There are several sources of innovation. According to the Peter F. Drucker the general sources of innovations are different changes in industry structure, in market structure, in local and global demographics, in human perception, mood and meaning, in the amount of already available scientific knowledge, etc. When an innovative idea requires a better business model, or radically redesigns the delivery of value to focus on the customer, a real-world experimentation approach increases the chances of market success. Potentially, innovative business models and customer experiences can't be tested through traditional market research methods. Programs of organizational innovation are typically tightly linked to organizational goals and objectives, the business plan, and to market competitive positioning. One driver for innovation programs in corporations is to achieve growth objectives. Once innovation occurs, innovations may be spread from the innovator to other individuals and groups. This process can be described as using the "s-curve" or diffusion curve. This is known as the process of diffusion.



Innovation Diagram: Innovation 3D – The Innovation Triangle

Child Care

Child care involves caring for and supervising a child or children, usually from infancy to age thirteen.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the different types of child care in the United States, from parental care to center-based care

Key Points

- It is traditional in Western society for children to be taken care of by their parents or their legal guardians.
- If a parent or extended family is unable to care for the children, orphanages and foster homes are a way of providing for children's care, housing, and schooling.
- The two main types of child care options are center-based care and home-based care.
- Home-based care typically is provided by nannies, au-pairs, or friends and family.
- In 1995, over thirty-six percent of families of preschoolers with working mothers primarily relied on child care in the home of a relative, family day care provider or other non relative. Almost twenty-six percent of families used organized child care facilities as their primary arrangement.

Key Terms

- **Home-based care**: Child care that occurs in the child's home as opposed to in a preschool or external institution.
- **Center-based care**: Child care that occurs outside of the child's home, such as in a preschool.
- **extended family**: A family consisting of parents and children, along with either grandparents, grandchildren, aunts or uncles, cousins etc.

Child care involves supervising a child or children, usually from infancy to age thirteen, and typically refers to work done by

somebody outside the child's immediate family. Child care is a broad topic covering a wide spectrum of contexts, activities, social and cultural conventions, and institutions. The majority of child care institutions that are available require that child care providers have extensive training in first aid and are CPR certified. In addition, background checks, drug testing, and reference verification are normally required.

It is traditional in Western society for children to be cared for by their parents or their legal guardians. In families where children live with one or both of their parents, the child care role may also be taken on by the child's extended family. If a parent or extended family is unable to care for the children, orphanages and foster homes are a way of providing for children's care, housing, and schooling.

Types of Child Care

The two main types of child care options are center-based care and home-based care. In addition to these licensed options, parents may also choose to find their own caregiver or arrange child care exchanges/swaps with another family. In-home care typically is provided by nannies, au-pairs, or friends and family. The child is watched inside their own home or the caregiver's home, reducing exposure to outside children and illnesses. Depending on the number of children in the home, the children utilizing in-home care enjoy the greatest amount of interaction with their caregiver, forming a close bond. There are no required licensing or background checks for in-home care, making parental vigilance essential in choosing an appropriate caregiver. Nanny and au-pair services provide certified caregivers and the cost of in-home care is the highest of child care options per child, though a household with many children may find this the most convenient and affordable option.

Child Care in the United States

State legislation may regulate the number and ages of children allowed before the home is considered an official daycare program and subject to more stringent safety regulations. Often the nationally recognized Child Development Associate credential is the minimum standard for the individual leading this home care program. Each state has different regulations for teacher requirements. In some states, teaching in a day care center requires an Associates Degree in child development. States with quality standards built into their licensing programs may have higher requirements for support staff, such as teacher assistants. And for Head Start Teachers, by 2012 all lead teachers must have a bachelors degree in Early Childhood Education. States vary in other standards set for daycare providers, such as teacher to child ratios.

According to the 1995 U.S. Census Bureau Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), over thirty-six percent of families of preschoolers with working mothers primarily relied on child care in the home of a relative, family day care provider, or other non relative. Almost twenty-six percent of families used organized child care facilities as their primary arrangement.

Postponing Job Hunting

Job hunting is the act of looking for employment, due to unemployment or discontent with a current position.

Learning Objectives

Examine the reasons why a person would job hunt and the common methods used

Key Points

- The immediate goal of job seeking is usually to obtain a job interview with an employer which may lead to getting hired.
- Common methods of job hunting are finding a job through a friend or an extended business network, personal network, online social network service, or employment website.
- Many job seekers research the employers to which they are applying. Some employers see evidence of this as a positive sign of enthusiasm for the position or the company.

Key Terms

- **outplacement**: The process of helping to find new employment for redundant workers, especially executives.
- **social networking**: The use of Internet communities to network and communicate using shared interests, related skills, or geographical location between consumers and businesses.

Job hunting is the act of looking for employment, due to unemployment or discontent with a current position. The immediate goal of job seeking is usually to obtain a job interview with an employer which may lead to getting hired. The job hunter typically first looks for job vacancies or employment opportunities. As of 2010, less than 10% of U.S. jobs are filled through online ads.

Common methods of job hunting are finding a job through a friend or an extended business network, personal network, or online social network service; using an employment website; looking through the classifieds in newspapers; using a private or public employment agency or recruiter; looking on a company's web site for open jobs, typically in its applicant tracking system; going to a job fairs; using professional guidance such as outplacement services that give training in writing a résumé, applying for jobs, and how to be successful at an interview.



Jobseekers in Ethiopia: Job seekers in central Addis Ababa, Ethiopia review advertised opportunities.

Many job seekers research the employers to which they are applying, and some employers see evidence of this as a positive sign of enthusiasm for the position or the company, or as a mark of thoroughness. Information collected might include open positions, full name, locations, web site, business description, year established, revenues, number of employees, stock price if public, name of the chief executive officer, major products or services, major competitors, and strengths and weaknesses.

Contacting as many people as possible is a highly effective way to find a job. It is estimated that 50% or higher of all jobs are found through networking. Job recruiters and decision makers are increasingly using online social networking sites to gather information about job applicants, according to a mid-2011 Jobvite survey of 800 employers in the U.S. Job seekers need to begin to pay more attention to what employers and recruiters find when they do their pre-interview information gathering about applicants, according to this 2010 study by Microsoft, “Online Reputation in a Connected World.”

Gatekeeping

Gatekeeping is the process through which information in publications, broadcasting, and the Internet is filtered for dissemination.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the concept and implications of the gatekeeping process and censorship

Key Points

- Originally focused on the mass media with its few-to-masses dynamic, theories of gatekeeping also now include the workings of face-to-face communication and the many-to-many dynamic now easily available via the Internet.
- Gatekeeping was formally identified in Kurt Lewin’s publication, *Forces Behind Food Habitsand Methods of Change* (1943).
- Censorship is the suppression of speech or other public communication that may be considered objectionable, harmful, sensitive, or inconvenient as determined by a government, media outlet, or other controlling body.

Key Terms

- **information**: Things that are or can be known about a given topic; communicable knowledge of something.
- **Gatekeeping**: Gatekeeping is practiced by gatekeepers, people who control access to something, for example, via a city gate. In the late twentieth century, the term came into metaphorical use, referring to individuals who decide whether a given message will be distributed by a mass medium.
- **censorship**: The use of state or group power to control freedom of expression, such as passing laws to prevent media from being published or propagated.

Gatekeeping is the process through which information is filtered for dissemination, be it publication, broadcasting, the Internet, or some other type of communication. As an academic theory, it is found in several fields, including communication studies, journalism, political science, and sociology. Originally focused on the mass media with its few-to-masses dynamic, theories of gatekeeping also now include the workings of face-to-face communication and the many-to-many dynamic now easily available via the Internet.

The Gatekeeping Process

According to Pamela Shoemaker and Tim Vos, gatekeeping is the “process of culling and crafting countless bits of information into the limited number of messages that reach people everyday. ” Gatekeeping as a news process was identified in the literature as early as 1922, though not yet given a formal theoretical name. Gatekeeping was formally identified in Kurt Lewin’s publication, *Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change* (1943).



Kurt Lewin: Lewin was an influential behavioral and organizational psychologist who proposed the Phases of Change Model.

Lewin identified several parts of the gatekeeping process in his 1943 article. These parts include:

1. Information moves step by step through channels. The number of channels varies and the amount of time in each channel can vary.

2. Information must pass a “gate” to move from one channel to the next.

3. Forces govern channels. There may be opposing psychological forces causing conflict that creates resistance to movement through the channel.

4. There may be several channels that lead to the same end result.

5. Different actors may control the channels and act as gatekeepers at different times.

Censorship

Censorship is the suppression of speech or other public communication that may be considered objectionable, harmful, sensitive, or inconvenient as determined by a government, media outlet, or other controlling body. It can be done by governments and private organizations or by individuals who engage in self-censorship. It occurs in a variety of different contexts including speech, books, music, films and other arts, the press, radio, television, and the Internet. Censorship occurs for a variety of reasons including national security; to control obscenity, child pornography, and hate speech; to protect children; to promote or restrict political or religious views; to prevent slander and libel; and to protect intellectual property.

Replacing Family Functions

Family types that are replacing the traditional nuclear family include single parent families, cohabitation, and gay and lesbian families.

Learning Objectives

Examine the different types of families and the changing face of family roles

Key Points

- Single parent families usually refers to a parent who has most of the day to day responsibilities in the raising of the child or children who is not living with a spouse or partner, or those who are not married.
- Cohabitation is an arrangement where two people who are not married live together in an intimate relationship, particularly an emotionally and/or sexually intimate one, on a long-term or permanent basis.
- Gay and lesbian couples are categorized as same sex relationships. In 1989 Demark was the first nation allow same sex couples to get married to provide equal rights to all citizens.
- Singlehood is a family that contains a person who is not married or in a common law relationship.

Key Terms

- **cohabitation**: An emotionally and physically intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without legal or religious sanction.
- **Single Parent Families**: Families in which the children are primarily raised by one parent rather than by both parents.
- **singlehood**: The state of being single (unattached or unmarried).

The sociology of the family examines the family as an institution and a unit of socialization. Sociological studies of the family look at demographic characteristic of the family members: family size, age, ethnicity and gender of its members, social class of the family, the economic level and mobility of the family, professions of its members, and the education levels of the family members.

Current Studies

Currently, one of the biggest issues that sociologists study are the changing roles of family members. Often, each member is restricted by the gender roles of the traditional family. These roles, such as the father as the breadwinner and the mother as the homemaker, are declining. Now, the mother is often the supplementary provider while retaining the responsibilities of child rearing. In this scenario, females’ role in the labor force is

"compatible with the demands of the traditional family. " Sociology studies the adaptation of males' role to caregiver as well as provider. The gender roles are increasingly interwoven.

Alternate Family Forms

The number of married couples raising children has decreased over the years. In Canada, married and common law couples with children under the age of 25 represented 44% of all families in 2001. This statistic has lowered since 1991, when married and common law couples raising children under the age of 25 represented 49% of all Canadian families. There are various other family forms that are becoming increasingly common.

A single parent family usually refers to a parent who has most of the day-to-day responsibilities in the raising of the child or children, who is not living with a spouse or partner, or who is not married. The dominant caregiver is the parent with whom the children reside the majority of the time; if the parents are separated or divorced, children live with their custodial parent and have visitation with their noncustodial parent. In western society in general, following separation a child will end up with the primary caregiver, usually the mother, and a secondary caregiver, usually the father.

Cohabitation is an arrangement where two people who are not married live together in an intimate relationship, particularly an emotionally and/or sexually intimate one, on a long-term or permanent basis. Today, cohabitation is a common pattern among people in the Western world. More than two-thirds of married couples in the U.S. say that they lived together before getting married.

Gay and lesbian couples are categorized as same sex relationships. In 1989, Demark became the first nation to allow same sex couples to get married. After this, many nations, such as Canada and Spain, began to allow same sex marriage. Some states in the United States have changed their laws to allow same sex marriages, but 30 states have yet to amend their laws.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

ACLU Freedom Files: Lesbian & Gay Parents | Florida: "Freedom to Parent: Lesbian & Gay Families" shows how bans on adoptions and fostering by same-sex couples end up hurting thousands of children who are desperate for good homes. The program looks at the impact of a Florida law that prevents needy children from being adopted by loving gay families.



Lesbian Couple: Gay and lesbian couples are categorized as same sex relationships.

A singlehood family contains a person who is not married or in a common law relationship. He or she may share a relationship with a partner, but lead a single life style.

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13.5: The Conflict Perspective on Education

Social Control

The conflict theory perspective towards education focuses on the role school systems may play in implementing social control.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the use of school system and media as a means of exercising social control within a given society

Key Points

- Conflict theory assumes that the ideas of a society are the ideas of the ruling class.
- Social control refers generally to societal and political mechanisms or processes that regulate individual and group behavior, leading to conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group.
- Schools can further goals of social control by socializing students into behaving in socially acceptable ways. By means of social control, students are taught the boundaries of acceptable behavior.
- Informal social control is exercised by a society without explicitly stating these rules, and is expressed through customs, norms, and mores.
- Social control may be enforced using informal sanctions, which may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism and disapproval. Social control may also be enforced using formal sanctions.
- Education may maintain social control through various mechanisms, such as indoctrination, informal sanctions and formal sanctions.
- By means of social control, students are taught the boundaries of acceptable behavior.
- Education may maintain social control through various mechanisms, such as indoctrination, informal sanctions and formal sanctions.

Key Terms

- **indoctrination**: Instruction in the rudiments and principles of any science or belief system; information.
- **Formal social control**: Societal and political mechanisms or processes that regulate individual and group behavior, leading to conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group undertaken by the state through legal action.
- **Acceptable behavior**: Behavior that conforms to social mores and norms.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory assumes that the ideas held by a society are the ideas of the ruling class. The ruling class uses schools, along with the media and other means of communication, to disseminate ideas that will support its continued rule. Given this assumption, the conflict perspective often focuses on the role school systems may play in influencing public opinion, or implementing social control.

Social control refers generally to societal and political mechanisms or processes that regulate individual and group behavior, leading to conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group. Schools can further goals of social control by socializing students into behaving in socially acceptable ways. Some may consider this type of socialization a form of indoctrination. In any case, the social values that are present in individuals are products of informal social control. It is exercised by a society without explicitly stating these rules and is expressed through customs, norms, and mores. Individuals are socialized consciously or subconsciously.



Schools as Agents of Socialization: Schools can further goals of social control by socializing students into behaving in socially acceptable ways.

Enforcement

Social control may be enforced using informal sanctions, which may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism and disapproval. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion. For example, schoolmates may enforce gender norms by ridiculing boys who undertake actions considered feminine, such as writing poetry or dancing. Informal sanctions can have a powerful effect; individuals internalize the norm, which becomes an aspect of personality.

Social control may also be enforced using formal sanctions. Formal sanctions may be used in a large group in which an individual can choose to ignore the sanctions of other

individuals. This form of control usually takes the form of government action. Government and organizations use law enforcement mechanisms and other formal sanctions, such as fines and imprisonment. In schools, formal sanctions may include detention, suspension, or other formal punishments.

By means of social control, students are taught the boundaries of acceptable behavior. They carry these lessons with them into everyday life and, later, into careers. Thus, the social control lessons learned in school may prepare students, for example, to be a docile proletariat in a capitalist economy.



Social Control: Signs warning of prohibited activities; an example of social control

Tracking Systems

Tracking sorts students into different groups depending on academic ability; however, other factors often influence placement.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the characteristics, advantages, and disadvantages of tracking systems for students

Key Points

- According to the conflict perspective, capitalism requires that many students be trained to join the working class while a few must be trained to join the ruling capitalist class. One way schools screen and allocate classes of students is by sorting them into different tracks.
- In a tracking system, students are educated with other students of the same ability level and their education differs depending on the track to which they are assigned.
- Tracking systems vary by extent, specificity, and flexibility. Traditionally, students were divided into academic, general, and vocational tracks.
- Advantages of tracking may include the ability of teachers to focus instruction, the potential for students only to be compared to others of similar ability, and the opportunity for high-achieving students to advance more quickly.
- Disadvantages of tracking may include tracking based on student background instead of ability, poor quality of instruction in lower tracks, and stigmatization of students in lower tracks.
- Detracking has been proposed as a more equitable alternative to tracking.

Key Terms

- **Conflict Perspective**: perspectives in social science based on Conflict Theory, that emphasize the social, political, or material inequality of a social group.
- **tracking**: An educational system in which the entire school population is assigned to classes according to whether the students' overall achievement is above average, normal, or below average and in which students attend academic classes only with students whose overall academic achievement is the same as their own.
- **allocating**: setting aside for a purpose

From the conflict perspective, schools play a role in screening and allocating people and their abilities. Advanced capitalist economies require that many students be trained to join the working class while a few must be trained to join the ruling capitalist class. One way schools may begin to sort and differently train classes of students is by sorting them into different tracks.

Tracking sorts and separates students by academic ability. In a tracking system, the entire school population is assigned to classes according to whether the students' overall achievement is above, at, or below what is average. Students attend academic classes only with students whose overall academic achievement is the same as their own. Tracking is one of the predominant organizing practices of American public schools, and has been an accepted feature in the country's schools for nearly a century.

Characteristics

Defined tracks often mirror class divisions in society. Thus, traditionally, students were tracked into academic, general, and vocational tracks. Academic tracks prepare students for advanced study and professions such as medicine or law, whereas general and vocational tracks were meant to prepare students for middle or working class life. Students in

academically advanced tracks study higher mathematics, more foreign languages, and literature. Students in less academic tracks acquire vocational skills such as welding or cosmetology, or business skills, such as typing or bookkeeping. Students are usually not offered the opportunity to take classes deemed more appropriate for another track, even if the student has a demonstrated interest and ability in the subject. Today, few schools use tracking systems that so overtly differentiate upper, middle, and working class skills. Instead, many secondary schools now base track levels on course difficulty, with tracks such as basic, honors, or college-prep.

Tracking systems vary widely in their characteristics. Some may extend to the entire school system so that students follow a track that begins in elementary school and continues until high school graduation. Other schools may use tracking only for certain classes or subjects. Systems may also vary in their flexibility and the opportunities for mobility given to students. In some cases, placement is based entirely on student preferences. In other cases, test scores may be used to determine a student's track. Counselors may also work with students to choose a particular class that in turn puts them on a given track. Parents and peers may influence academic choices even more than guidance counselors by encouraging students with similar backgrounds (academic, vocational, ethnic, religious, or racial) to stay together. Other times, students are placed into tracks without any knowledge or input into the process.

Advantages

Proponents of tracking say that tracking allows teachers to better direct lessons toward the specific ability level of the students in each class. Research suggests that tracking produces substantial gains for gifted students in tracks specially designed for the gifted and talented, meeting the need for highly gifted students to be with their intellectual peers in order to be appropriately challenged. However, average and low achieving students may benefit more from being in a mixed ability classroom.

Since tracking separates students by ability, students' work is only compared to that of similar-ability peers. Thus, tracking may have emotional benefits for students: it may prevent damage to self-esteem that could result from comparisons with the work of higher ability students or inflating the egos of the high-ability students when compared to low-ability students. Tracking can also encourage low-ability students to participate in class. Since high self-esteem is correlated with high academic achievement, tracking should, theoretically, promote academic success. However, the awareness by the student of being placed into a low track might lower self-esteem, counteracting this benefit.

Disadvantages

From the conflict perspective, tracking's primary function is not necessarily to promote learning; it is the allocation of students into specific areas of the labor market. Although track assignment is theoretically based on academic ability, other factors often influence placement. When tracking is based not on ability but instead on student background, it becomes a form of segregation and discrimination. Students in lower tracks may receive poorer quality instruction, with less-experienced teachers being assigned to low-track classes. Lessons taught in low-track classes often lack the engagement and comprehensiveness of the high-track lessons, putting low-track students at a disadvantage for college because they do not gain the knowledge and skills of the upper-track students.

Tracking can also result in a stigmatization of low-track students. This stigmatization can have a negative impact on students' academic performance; for example, students placed in low tracks may lose confidence in their abilities, and their low confidence may be reinforced by teachers' low expectations and their stigmatization by peers. Some research suggests that students in lower tracks are more likely to drop out of school or participate in criminal activities.



Vocational track: Students in a vocational track may learn skills such as wood working.

The Credentialized Society

Credentialism refers to the common practice of relying on earned credentials when hiring staff or assigning social status.

Learning Objectives

Explain the use of credentialism in today's society as a means of social mobility and job security

Key Points

- Credentialism is common in employment decisions, especially for white collar jobs.

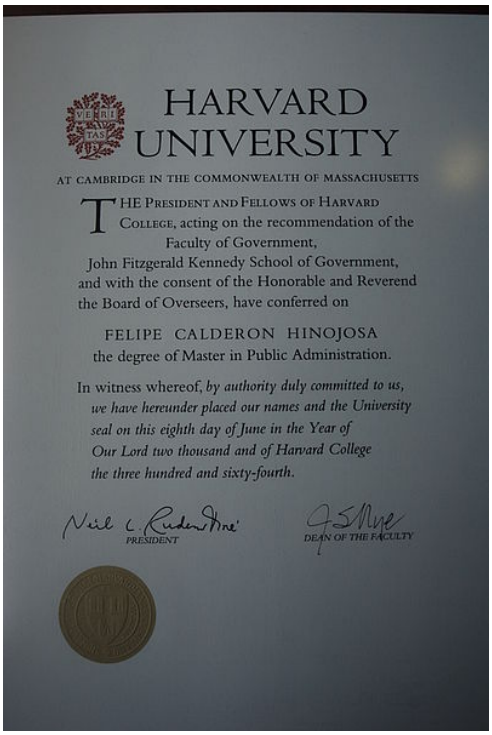
- Credential inflation occurs when the value of a credential declines because too many potential employees possess the credential.
- In his 1979 book The Credential Society, sociologist Randall Collins examined the connection between credentialism and stratification.

Key Terms

- **society**: a long-standing group of people sharing cultural aspects such as language, dress, norms of behavior and artistic forms
- **credential inflation**: The process by which credentials lose value as more and more people earn a particular credential.
- **credentialism**: The common practice of relying on earned credentials when hiring staff or assigning social status.
- **The Credential Society**: A 1979 book by Randall Collins which argues that public schools are social institutions that teach and reward middle class values of competition and achievement.

Credentialism refers to the common practice of relying on earned credentials when hiring staff or assigning social status. Instead of directly evaluating an individual's abilities, evaluators study that person's credentials as a shortcut to estimate their competencies. Besides attesting to one's abilities, credentials may also grant the holder access to restricted areas, information, or activities. For example, security clearances and press passes are credentials that grant access to otherwise restricted areas. A medical license is a credential that grants the ability to practice an otherwise restricted activity.

Credentials are attestations of qualification, competence, or authority issued to an individual by a third party with a relevant or de facto authority to do so. Common examples of credentials are academic diplomas, academic degrees, certifications, security clearances, and licenses. Credentials are often represented by documents, such as diplomas, certificates, or membership cards.


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THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE, acting on the recommendation of the Faculty of Government, John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government, and with the consent of the Honorable and Reverend the Board of Overseers, have conferred on

FELIPE CALDERON HINOJOSA

the degree of Master in Public Administration.

In witness whereof, *by authority duly committed to us, we have hereunder placed our names and the University seal on this eighth day of June in the Year of Our Lord two thousand and of Harvard College the three hundred and sixty-fourth.*

PRESIDENT

DEAN OF THE FACULTY

A diploma: A diploma is a type of credential.

The academic world makes very extensive use of credentials, such as diplomas, certificates, and degrees, in order to attest to the completion of specific training or education programs by students, and to attest to their successful completion of tests and exams. Receiving these credentials often leads to increased economic mobility and work opportunity.

Employers also commonly use credentials. For example, an employer may require a diploma, professional license, or academic degree. In a credential society, such certifications may become more important than actual skills or abilities. In some cases, employers may require formal credentials, such as an advanced academic degree, for a job that can be done perfectly well by applying skills acquired through experience or informal study. This type of credentialism is common in white-collar jobs, which require workers to have difficult-to-measure skills such as critical thinking. Rather than measure or evaluate those skills directly, employers assume that anyone able to earn a credential must possess those skills.

Credential Inflation

Over time, credentials may lose value, especially as more and more people earn that credential. This process is referred to as credential inflation. When credentials are inflated, they give individuals less advantage on the job market. A good example of credential inflation is the decline in the value of the U.S. high school diploma since the beginning of the twentieth century, when it was held by less than 10% of the population. At the time, high school diplomas attested to middle- class

respectability, and for many years even provided access to managerial level jobs. More recently, however, the high school diploma barely qualifies the graduate for manual or menial service work.

Another indicator of credential inflation is the relative decline in the wage differential between those with college degrees and those with only high school diplomas. Jobs that were open to high school graduates a century ago now routinely require not just a bachelor's degree, but a master's degree as well—without an appreciable change in required skills.

The Credential Society

According to sociologist Randall Collins, understanding credentialism can help explain class-based differences in educational attainment. In his 1979 book The Credential Society, Collins argued that public schools are socializing institutions that teach and reward middle class values of competition and achievement. In this system, Anglo-Protestant elites are selectively separated from other students and placed into prestigious schools and colleges, where they are trained to hold positions of power. By teaching middle class culture through the public education system, the elite class ensures a monopoly over positions of power, while others acquire the credentials to compete in a subordinate job market and economy. In this way, schools of medicine, law, and elite institutions have remained closed to members of lower classes.

The Hidden Curriculum

To succeed in college, students must learn a second, hidden curriculum to meet unstated academic and social norms.

Learning Objectives

Examine Synder's idea of hidden curriculum and the effects it has on students and professors in higher education

Key Points

- In 1970, Benson Snyder, a dean at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published a book called *The Hidden Curriculum*.
- According to Snyder, the hidden curriculum goes beyond the explicit demands of the formal curriculum.
- Creativity and wonder are stifled as students shift their exclusive focus to earning high grades and giving correct answers.
- As a result of conflict over the hidden curriculum, students experience intense personal anxiety, depression, and alienation.

Key Terms

- **curriculum**: The set of courses, coursework, and content, offered at a school or university.
- **The Hidden Curriculum**: A book published in 1970 by Benson Snyder, a dean at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, that argues that the college experience is inherently marked by conflict between students and instructors as students struggle to meet unstated academic goals.
- **selective negligence**: A strategy adopted by students to succeed in education, in which they selectively neglect portions of their formal schoolwork in order to glance at all of it.

In 1970, Benson Snyder, a dean at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published a book called *The Hidden Curriculum*. In it, he argued that the college experience is inherently marked by conflict between students and instructors. In this conflict, students struggle to meet unstated academic and social norms, or a hidden curriculum. Those who master the hidden curriculum excel while those who do not often fail, no matter their academic abilities.

According to Snyder, the hidden curriculum goes beyond the explicit demands of the formal curriculum. The goals and requirements of the hidden curriculum are unstated, but inflexible. They concern not what students learn but how and when they learn. The hidden curriculum is rooted in professors' assumptions and values, students' expectations, and the social context in which both professors and students find themselves. To succeed, students must adapt and often resort to ploys and stratagems to cope with the requirements they face. For example, students may adopt a strategy of selective negligence. Within the first month of classes, many students discover they cannot conceivably complete all the work assigned them; consequently, they must selectively neglect portions of the formal schoolwork. Education becomes a grueling competition rather than an enjoyable quest for knowledge. Creativity and wonder are stifled as students shift their exclusive focus to earning high grades and giving correct answers. Students, Snyder maintains, increasingly view their education as a type of game they must master.

As a result of conflict over the hidden curriculum, students experience intense personal anxiety, depression, and alienation. Some, even the most gifted, are turned off to education altogether. Students may feel frustration and anger at professors who deny them high grades, who object to creativity, and who demand that students fall in line with the hidden curriculum. But typically students must contain this anger or direct it inward.

Students may judge themselves harshly, and those judgments may be reinforced by peers and professors.

No part of the university community, writes Snyder, desires the end result created by this process. The professors, too, are distracted and pressured, whether by the need to maintain institutional prestige or by the sheer frenzy of activity interrupting their creative cycles. Yet everyone, professors included, becomes locked into the competition.



Opening Convocation at Brown University: These students are just beginning their college education, where they may also have to learn a hidden curriculum.

Tilting the Tests: Discrimination by IQ

IQ is meant to measure intelligence but its validity as a measure of intelligence has been debated.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the various explanations for the IQ gap, ranging from genetic to environmental factors

Key Points

- The concept of intelligence itself may be culturally variable.
- Although some find evidence of a race -based IQ gap, others argue that race is not a causal variable and that race-based IQ differences are in fact caused by other differences correlated with race, such as health, wealth, and educational disparities.
- Socioeconomic status can affect many aspects of life, and therefore seems like a likely environmental influence on intelligence.
- Systemically disadvantaged minorities, such as the blacks in the United States, generally perform worse in the educational system and in intelligence tests than the majority groups or less disadvantaged minorities.
- Several studies have proposed that a large part of the IQ gap can be attributed to differences in quality of education.
- Peer groups and family can influence behavior and values.
- Peer groups and family can influence behavior and values.

Key Terms

- **IQ gap**: The gap in average IQ scores between populations, usually measured along racial lines, though with much disagreement.
- **Environmental factors**: Factors that come from one's environment, upbringing, or social situation, rather than biology.
- **intelligence**: Capacity of mind, especially to understand principles, truths, facts or meanings, acquire knowledge, and apply it to practice; the ability to learn and comprehend.

Intelligence is commonly measured using intelligence quotient (IQ) tests, which are meant to be a general measure of intelligence. However, IQ tests only measure a narrow band of the broad spectrum of intelligence, excluding factors such as creativity or emotional intelligence. Some researchers have raised more serious questions about the validity of IQ tests for measuring intelligence, especially across cultures. For example, IQ tests may be inappropriate for measuring intelligence in non-industrialized communities, because they focus on modern, rational-style thinking, a type of reasoning that is common in the modern industrial West but may be alien to other cultures. Although some find evidence of a race-based IQ gap, others argue that race is not a causal variable and that race-based IQ differences are in fact caused by other differences such as health, wealth, and educational disparities.

The IQ Gap

In the United States, IQ tests have consistently demonstrated a significant degree of variation between different racial groups. On average, IQ scores are highest among Asian Americans, lower among whites, and lowest among blacks. Yet these IQ gaps are only observed in average scores and say very little about individuals. Plus, IQ scores show considerable overlap between these group scores, and individuals of each group can be found at all points on the IQ spectrum. Thus, the implications of the IQ gaps are unclear. And while the existence of racial IQ gaps is well-documented, researchers have not reached a consensus as to their cause. In general, explanations fall into one of two camps: genetic explanations and environmental explanations.

Genetic Explanations

Explanations of ethnically innate intelligence were fairly common early in the twentieth century, with the rise of the American eugenics movement. But after World War II, they

quickly fell out of favor over fear of being associated with Nazism. Today, even those who believe intelligence may have some genetic component tend to acknowledge the importance of environmental effects as well.

Many researchers are reluctant to adopt genetic explanations of the IQ gap because of their historical and political implications. The connection between race and intelligence has been a subject of debate in both popular science and academic research since the inception of intelligence testing in the early twentieth century. But even before IQ tests were invented, claims of race-based intelligence gaps were used to justify colonialism, slavery, and racial eugenics. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of the "scientific" evidence for racial intelligence gaps came from measurements such as brain size or reaction times.



Alfred Binet: Alfred Binet was a French psychologist who invented the IQ test.

The first IQ test was created between 1905 and 1908 and revised in 1916, during a time when Americans were quite concerned about an influx of new immigrants. Different nationalities were sometimes thought to comprise different races, especially nationalities newer to the United States, such as the Irish, the Slavs, and the Italians. Alfred Binet, the developer of these tests, warned that they should not be used to measure innate intelligence or to label individuals. Despite his warnings, the tests were used to evaluate draftees for World War I, and researchers found that people of southern and eastern European backgrounds scored lower than native-born Americans. At the time, such data was used to construct an ethnically based social hierarchy, one in which immigrants were rejected as unfit for service and mentally defective. It was not until later that researchers realized that lower language skills by new English speakers affected their scores on the tests.

Environmental Explanations

Researchers have suggested a wide array of environmental factors that might influence intelligence. In general, these factors are not mutually exclusive with one another: more than one of them may come into play at the same time. In fact, some may even directly contribute to others. Furthermore, the relationship between genetics and environmental factors is likely complicated. For example, the differences in socioeconomic environment for a child may be due to differences in genetic IQ for the parents, and the differences in average brain size between races could be the result of nutritional factors.

Socioeconomic Environment

Socioeconomic status can affect many aspects of life, and therefore seems like a likely environmental influence on intelligence. People who grow up in a community with lower socioeconomic status may have fewer enrichment opportunities (like going to museums) or a less stimulating home environment, as well as unequal access to health care, nutritious food, and quality education. But research suggests that differences in socioeconomic status cannot entirely explain the IQ gap. In part, this is because the effects of socioeconomic status are hard to isolate and measure, and are probably not independent of intelligence itself.

Staking the Desk: Unequal Funding

Because schools are funded by property taxes, schools in poor areas receive less funding then schools in wealthier areas.

Learning Objectives

Examine the inequality in public school systems and the implications for a student's future

Key Points

- In the United States, most public schools are funded primarily through local property taxes.
- According to the American dream, children should be able to use their education to achieve upward mobility.
- Educational deficits resulting from inequality also affect future life trajectories.
- Colleges tend to draw students from a relatively advantaged background because of their high costs and stiff academic requirements for enrollment.
- Because colleges want to maintain their rankings in various college ranking systems, colleges favor students with higher

standardized test scores and aggressively recruit them using "merit" scholarships.

Key Terms

- **property taxes**: Taxes levied by the government on landowners' property.
- **Upward mobility**: A change in a person's social status resulting in that person rising to a higher position in the status system.
- **public school**: A publicly administered school.

In the United States, most public schools are funded primarily through local property taxes. As a result, schools in wealthier neighborhoods have substantially larger budgets, which translates into better facilities, better teachers, and better resources. Whereas some people laud education as the great equalizer, others observe the effects of school funding schemes and conclude that they actually reinforce inequality and stratification. According to the American dream, children should be able to use their education to achieve upward mobility. But unequal school funding may afford students from poorer families fewer opportunities, reinforcing the status quo.

Educational deficits resulting from inequality also affect future life trajectories. Colleges tend to draw students from a relatively advantaged background because of their high costs and stiff academic requirements for enrollment. What's more, because colleges want to maintain their rankings in various college ranking systems, colleges favor students with higher standardized test scores and aggressively recruit them using "merit" scholarships. In 2000, affluent students, students who could otherwise afford to pay for college, received "merit" scholarships worth 82% of the need-based aid received by students with the lowest family incomes. In other words, affluent students who can pay for college often do not have to because the advantages they received attending better elementary, middle, and high schools translated into higher standardized test scores, which are attractive to universities when it comes to recruiting. As a result, there is less funding available for students who actually need it. This ends up reinforcing the existing status hierarchy by keeping the affluent wealthy, and the poor unable to attend college.



Property Tax and School Funding: Since school funding is often based on property taxes, poorer neighborhoods may have less money available for schools.

The Bottom Line: Family Background

Student achievement is highly correlated with family characteristics, including household income and parental educational attainment.

Learning Objectives

Examine the various factors within family background that give students an advantage in the educational realm

Key Points

- Wealthy students benefit from family background characteristics.
- The monetary advantages of unequal school funding are frequently coupled with the advantage of having a safe, supportive, and intellectually enriching home environment that comes with wealth.
- Educational deficits resulting from inequality also affect future life trajectories. Colleges tend to draw students from a relatively advantaged background because of their high costs and stiff academic requirements for enrollment.

Key Terms

- **parental educational attainment**: The level of education achieved by one's parents.
- **household income**: The total income of all members of a household.

Not only do wealthier students tend to attend better-funded schools, but they often also benefit from family background characteristics. The monetary advantages of unequal school funding are frequently coupled with the advantage of having a safe, supportive, and intellectually enriching home environment that comes with wealth. So it is not surprising that children who

attend better-funded public schools tend to be more successful than those who attend more poorly funded public schools.

In fact, family background may be even more important than school funding. Evidence suggests that the lifetime educational possibilities of most kids are set by the time they are six years old. This is due to the fact that several family background characteristics are very strong predictors of future educational attainment, including parental support, parental expectations for schooling, household income, and parental educational attainment, with the last two being the most important factors. Researchers can actually predict a child's lifetime educational attainment by using background characteristics observed when the child is in the first grade, and these predictions turn out to be just as good, or even better, at predicting educational attainment as similar predictions based on observations made when the student is in high school.

Educational deficits resulting from inequality also affect future life trajectories. Colleges tend to draw students from a relatively advantaged background because of their high costs and stiff academic requirements for enrollment. What's more, because colleges want to maintain their rankings in various college ranking systems (e.g., U.S. News & World Report), colleges favor students with higher standardized test scores and aggressively recruit them using "merit" scholarships. In 2000, affluent students, students who could otherwise afford to pay for college, received "merit" scholarships worth 82% of the need-based aid received by students with the lowest family incomes.

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13.6: The Symbolic-Interactionist Perspective on Education

Ray Rist's Research

Ray Rist, a sociologist, found that social class contributed to the perceptions of teachers and was a predictor of scholastic success.

Learning Objectives

Examine the relationship between social class and academic achievement

Key Points

- In 1970, Ray Rist published a study on the relationship between the socioeconomic status of children and their educational evaluation.
- In his study, Rist observed how a classroom teacher placed her students in three learning groups. The "fast learners" were grouped at the front of the class, while the "slow learners" sat at the back.
- Interestingly, Rist noticed that social class was a predictor of placement. Middle class students made up the group of "fast learners," while lower class students made up the other two groups.
- From his data, Rist concluded that each child's journey through school was determined by the eighth day of kindergarten. The labels given to these children by their kindergarten teacher set them on a course of action that could possibly affect the rest of their lives.

Key Terms

- **self-fulfilling prophecy**: a prediction that, by being voiced, causes itself to come true
- **Ray Rist**: a sociologist who, in 1970, published a study on the how the socioeconomic statuses of school children could affect their educations

Ray Ristwas a sociologist who, in 1970, published a report linking the socioeconomic status of children to their educational achievement. Through observations of classrooms, Rist demonstrated that a student's socioeconomic status affected how teachers perceived that student's aptitude at very early ages. These early perceptions came to inform how the students viewed themselves, and had impacts on their eventual educational success.

Social Class and Academic Success

Although public schools are free and open to all children, there are still educational setbacks for children of a lower social class. In his 1970 article, "Student Social Class and Teachers' Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy of Ghetto Education," Ray Rist observed an African American classroom with an African American teacher. He discovered that after only eight days in the classroom, the teacher felt that she knew her students' abilities well enough to assign them to separate worktables. To Table One, she assigned those she considered "fast learners." These students sat at the front of the class, closest to her. "Average" students were placed at Table Two, and the "slow learners" were placed at Table Three in the back of the classroom.

Interestingly, Rist found that social class was the underlying basis for assigning the children to the different tables. Middle class students were placed at Table One, while children from poorer homes were placed at the other two tables. During class, the teacher paid the most attention to the children closest to her, less to Table Two, and least to Table Three. As the year went on, the children at Table One perceived that they were treated better and started viewing themselves as smarter than their peers. They emerged as leaders in class activities and even ridiculed the children at the other tables, calling them "dumb." Eventually, the children at Table Three stopped participating in classroom activities. By the end of the year, the only children who were satisfactorily completing the daily lessons were those at Table One.

The Eighth Day of Kindergarten

Following the initial year, Rist continued to observe this group of students as they advanced in school. The children's reputations followed them into second grade, where another teacher reviewed their scores and also divided her class into three groups, the "Tigers," "Cardinals," and "Clowns." These groups were constituted the exact same way, and with the exact same breakdown, as Tables One, Two, and Three. From this research, Rist made the startling conclusion that each child's journey through school was determined by the eighth day of kindergarten. According to Rist, the labels given to children by their kindergarten teachers set them on a course of action that could possibly affect the rest of their lives.



Students with teacher: Rist's research showed that teachers judge their students' abilities after only eight days in the classroom.

Teachers' Expectations

Teachers' perception of students' knowledge and abilities influences classroom processes and student achievement.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how a teacher's perception influences student performance, in terms of expectations and gender stereotypes

Key Points

- The Pygmalion effect refers to the phenomenon in which the greater the expectation placed upon people (such as children, students, or employees) the better they perform.
- The Pygmalion effect is a form of self-fulfilling prophecy.
- Within sociology, the effect is often cited with regard to education and social class.
- Gender stereotyping within classrooms can also lead to differences in academic achievement and representation for female and male students.

Key Terms

- **Pygmalion effect**: The phenomenon in which the greater the expectation placed upon people (often children, students, and employees), the better they perform.
- **Gender Stereotyping**: When one believes that an individual will behave in a particular way simply because of his or her sex.
- **self-fulfilling prophecy**: a prediction that, by being voiced, causes itself to come true

How teachers perceive students' knowledge and abilities influences classroom processes and student achievement. In other words, when teachers believe students will be high achievers, those students achieve more; conversely, when teachers believe students will be low achievers, those students tend to achieve less. This is a case of a self-fulfilling prophecy, or the Pygmalion effect.

The Pygmalion Effect

The Pygmalion effect refers to the phenomenon in which the greater the expectation placed upon people (often children or students and employees) the better they perform. The effect is named after Pygmalion, a Cypriot sculptor in a narrative by Ovid in Greek mythology, who fell in love with a female statue he had carved out of ivory after it became human due to his wishes. The Pygmalion effect is a form of self-fulfilling prophecy, and, in this respect, people will internalize their negative label, and those with positive labels succeed accordingly. Within sociology, the effect is often cited with regard to education and social class.

The Pygmalion effect was famously applied to the classroom in the Rosenthal-Jacobson study, published in 1968. In this study, Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson showed that if teachers were led to expect enhanced performance from some children, then the children did indeed show that enhancement. This influence can be beneficial as well as detrimental depending on which label an individual is assigned. The purpose of their study was to support the hypothesis that reality can be influenced by the expectations of others. Rosenthal posited that biased expectancies can essentially affect reality and create self-fulfilling prophecies as a result. In this experiment, Rosenthal predicted that, when given the information that certain students had higher IQs than others, elementary school teachers may unconsciously behave in ways that facilitate and encourage the students' success.

Gender Stereotyping

How might teachers' expectations create a Pygmalion effect? Teachers usually have higher expectations for students they view as higher achievers, and treat these students with more respect. For example, studies have found that when students are split into ability-based groups, the students in the higher-ability groups are more likely to demonstrate positive learning behaviors and higher achievement. Teachers' expectations may also be gendered, perhaps explaining some of the gender achievement gap. Gender stereotyping within classrooms can also lead to differences in academic achievement and representation for female and male students. Math and science are often perceived as "masculine" subjects because they lead to success in "masculine" fields, such as medicine and engineering. English and history, on the other hand, are often perceived as "feminine" subjects because they are more closely aligned with "feminine" jobs, such as teaching or care work. Research on the stereotype threat has shown that gender stereotypes decrease the mathematical self-esteem of many

female students, and that this lack of academic confidence leads to anxiety and poorer performance on math exams. Therefore, these stereotypes can influence student achievement in these areas.

Gender-specific evaluations from teachers are implicit; usually the teachers have no idea that they are favoring one gender over the other until they are shown concrete evidence, such as a video recording of their classroom. However, even though the discrimination is implicit, it still has negative effects on both male and female students.



Teacher-student Monument: The teacher-student monument in Rostock, Germany honors teachers.

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13.7: Issues in the U.S. Education System

Unequal Access to Education

Access to education varies by geographic location, race, gender, and class.

Learning Objectives

Describe the upsides and downsides to the current educational system in the U.S.

Key Points

- In the United States, as in most countries, people with more education tend to enjoy higher economic status, power, prestige, and levels of income.
- Dropout rates are higher in certain locations and among minorities.
- In some areas, the best high schools are private high schools that may be out of reach for poorer students who cannot afford the tuition.
- U.S. public schools lag behind the schools of other developed countries in the areas of reading, math, and science.

Key Terms

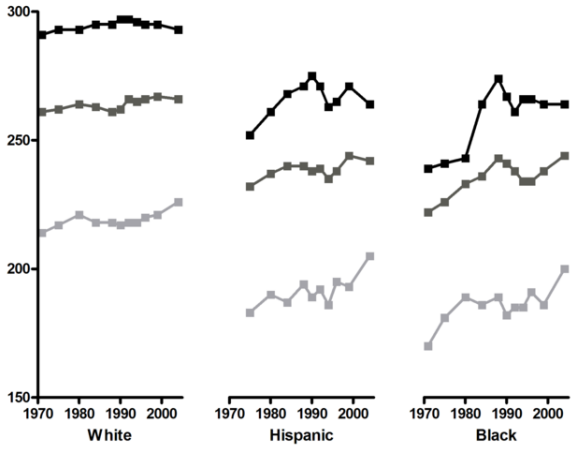
- **dropout rates**: Dropout rates are a measurement of the proportion of students who drop out, that is, who leave a school for practical reasons, necessities, or disillusionment with the system from which the individual in question leaves.
- **minority**: Categories of persons who hold few or no positions of social power in a given society.

In the United States, as in most countries, people with more education tend to enjoy higher economic status, power, prestige, and levels of income. One might expect, then, that all people would try to maximize their education. After all, education is meant to be the great equalizer by which anyone can climb the rungs of the social hierarchy. However, evidence suggests that certain groups have unequal access to education.

In the United States, public schools provide free education through 12th grade, but post-secondary college education is not free. Costs include tuition and room and board, even at public institutions. Those who are unable to afford the expense of college, therefore, have unequal access. According to a 2005 report from the OECD, the United States is tied for first place with Switzerland when it comes to annual spending per student on its public schools, with each of those two countries spending more than $11,000. However, the United States is ranked 37th in the world in education spending as a percentage of gross domestic product. All but seven of the leading countries are in the third world, ranked high because of a low GDP. U.S. public schools lag behind the schools of other developed countries in the areas of reading, math, and science.

Even in high school, economic, family, and social demands may lead some students to drop out before finishing. Thus, sociologists have observed that dropout rates vary among different social groups. For instance, dropout rates are lowest among Asian Americans, followed closely by whites. But Hispanic, black, and Native American students drop out at rates nearly double those of Asian and white students. Overall, the dropout rate has been declining for decades, since at least the 1970s, yet it remains disproportionately high for minority students.

School funding varies by geographic location. In part, the disparities in dropout rates may be a symptom of disparities in access to high quality education. In some areas, the best high schools are private high schools that may be out of reach for poorer students who cannot afford the tuition. Even public schools may receive different rates of funding; in particular, schools in poorer areas tend to receive less funding because school funding is often tied to property taxes. Thus, students who live in poorer areas may have less access to high quality education. One of the biggest debates in funding public schools is funding by local taxes or state taxes. The federal government supplies around 8.5% of the public school system funds, according to a 2005 report by the National Center for Education Statistics. The remaining split between state and local governments averages 48.7% from states and 42.8% from local sources. However, the division varies widely. In Hawaii local funds make up 1.7%, while state sources account for nearly 90.1%.



Trends in reading scores by race, 1970–2004: Reading- ages 9 (light gray), 13 (dark gray), and 17 (black). Trends in reading scores collected by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), with the light-gray line indicating data collection at age 9, dark-gray at age 13, and black at age 17. White, hispanic, and black students all improved their reading scores as they aged. Notably, however, the achievement gap between white vs. black and hispanic students has narrowed over time but has by no means disappeared; white students still show the highest achievement in reading.

English as a Second Language

English as a second language (ESL) refers to the use or study of English by speakers with different native languages.

Learning Objectives

Describe some of the difficulties and challenges facing ELL students in the U.S.

Key Points

- English language learners (ELL) must learn to speak and write English in addition to learning substantive content in schools.
- ELL students are often tracked with lower ability students because they have lower standardized test scores, which may inaccurately measure their academic ability.
- ELL students are more likely to drop out. In the U.S., schools may let ELL and other low-scoring students drop out in order to raise average test scores.
- ELL students may have trouble earning the English credits necessary to be accepted into college.
- On average, ELL students come from poorer families than native speakers, which presents an additional barrier to college.
- ESL programs may help ELL students form friendships and encourage social interaction, tolerance, and multicultural values.

- ESL programs may help ELL students form friendships and encourage social interaction, tolerance, and multicultural values.

Key Terms

- **tolerance**: The ability or practice of tolerating; an acceptance or patience with the beliefs, opinions or practices of others; a lack of bigotry.
- **native speaker**: A person who grew up with a particular language as their mother tongue.
- **Standardized Test Scores**: A standardized test is a test that is administered and scored in a consistent, or “standard”, manner.

English as a second language (ESL), English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) all refer to the use or study of English by speakers with different native languages. Generally, English Language Learners (ELL) are refugees, immigrants, or their children. They must learn English as a Second Language (ESL) in order to function in their new host country. In the U.S. over the last twenty years, more than 70% of non-English-speaking school-age immigrants have arrived in the U.S. before they were 6 years old. At this age, they could have been taught English in school, and achieved a proficiency indistinguishable from a native speaker. In other countries, such as the Russia, France, Spain, and Germany this approach has dramatically improved reading and math test scores for linguistic minorities. Supporters of ESL programs claim they play an important role in the formation of peer networks and adjustment to school and society in their new homes. Having class among other students learning English as a second language relieves the pressure of making mistakes when speaking in class or to peers. ESL programs also allow students to meet and form friendships with other non-native speakers from different cultures, promoting racial tolerance and multiculturalism.

Potential Academic Barriers for ELL Students

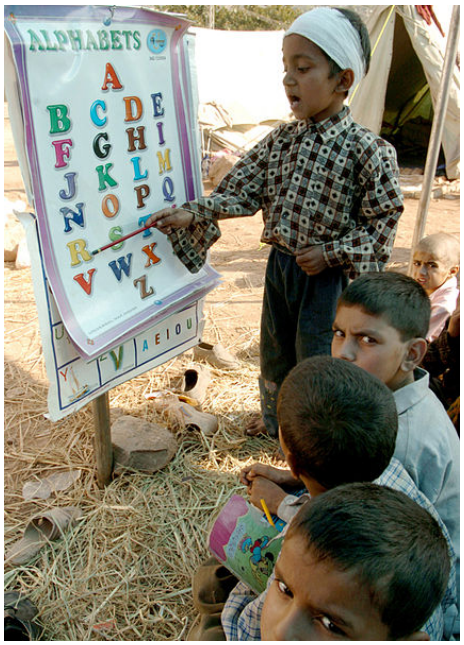
Nevertheless, ELL students face predictable difficulties in learning English. Those whose native languages are drastically different from English may find it especially difficult to learn the sounds and grammar of English, while others whose native languages are more similar may have less trouble. But these students also face difficulties unrelated to learning the language itself, including the possibility of having their abilities underestimated, a higher probability of dropping out, difficulty paying for and succeeding in college, and social problems connecting with native speakers. ELL students are often tracked with lower ability students because they have lower standardized test scores, which may inaccurately measure their academic ability.

ELL students are also more likely to drop out of high school. Their higher dropout rates may be due to difficulties in keeping up in mainstream classes or to prior interruptions in their formal education. For example, some ELL students may have spent time in refugee camps where they had no opportunity to attend school. Further, some have speculated that school administrators may actually encourage ELL students to drop out because it may increase the school's overall average test scores, which may in turn benefit the school (e.g., by ensuring continued funding).

ELL students face additional barriers to pursuing higher education. Most colleges and universities require four years of English in high school, but many will accept only one year of ESL English. ELL students who arrive in the United States relatively late may find it difficult to meet this requirement because they must spend a longer time in ESL English classes in high school, or because they might not arrive early enough to complete four years of English in high school. Consequently, some ELL students lack the required credits to apply for college.

ELL students can also face financial barriers to higher education. Those who do not place high enough on college placement exams often have to enroll in ESL courses at their universities. Often, they must pay fees for these courses in addition to tuition, and these courses may not count as credit towards graduation. These additional fees add to the financial burden faced by ELL students who often come from families of lower socioeconomic status. The latest statistics show that the median household income for school-age ELL students is $36,691 while that of non-ELL students is $60,280.

ELL students often have difficulty interacting with native speakers. ELL students may avoid interactions with native speakers because they are frustrated with or embarrassed by their English ability. Immigrant students often also lack knowledge about popular U.S. culture, which limits their conversations with native speakers to academic topics. In classroom group activities with native speakers, ELL students often do not participate, again because of embarrassment of their English, but also because of cultural differences which value silence and individual work at school over social interaction and talking in class. These interactions have been found to extend to teacher-student interactions as well. In most mainstream classrooms, teacher-led discussion is the most common form of lesson. In this setting, ELL students will fail to participate, and often have difficulty understanding teachers because they talk too fast, do not use visual aids, or use native colloquialisms. ELL students also have trouble getting involved with extracurricular activities with native speakers for similar reasons. Students fail to join extra-curricular activities because of the language barrier, cultural emphasis of academics over other activities, or failure to understand traditional pastimes in their new country.



Displaced Pakistani children learn English as a second language: Displaced Pakistani children located at the Dewan Tent Village attend school in Muzaffarabad, Pakistan. Children are taught English as their second language in the 3rd grade. The United States is participating in a multi-national assistance and support effort led by the Pakistani Government to bring aid to the victims of the devastating earthquake that struck the region on October 8th, 2005. U.S. Navy photo by Photographer's Mate 2nd Class Eric S. Powell

High School Dropouts

While education can improve life chances, not everyone has equal access to education.

Learning Objectives

Recall some of the reasons why students in the U.S. may drop out of high school and the potential consequences of dropping out

Key Points

- The more education people have, the higher their income, the better their life chances, and the higher their standard of living.
- Dropout rates also vary geographically, with the lowest rates in northern states.
- The relationships students have with their peers also influence a student's likelihood of dropping out.

Key Terms

- **Academic Risk Factors**: Academic risk factors refer to the performance of students in school and are highly related to school-level problems. These factors include absenteeism,

grade retention, special education placement, low performance and grades, and low educational expectations.

- **life chances**: Life chances (Lebenschancen in German) is a political theory of the opportunities each individual has to improve his or her quality of life. The concept was introduced by German sociologist Max Weber. It is a probabilistic concept, describing how likely it is, given certain factors, that an individual's life will turn out a certain way.

Life Chances

The more education people have, the higher their income, the better their life chances, and the higher their standard of living. In general, people with more education tend to earn higher incomes and enjoy a higher standard of living. High school dropouts are much less likely to be employed than those with high school and college degrees. Even earning a four-year degree can raise average weekly income by nearly $400.



Bobby Fischer 1960 in Leipzig: Chess legend Bobby Fischer never finished high school; however, most high school dropouts do not achieve his level of success.

Max Weber used the concept of "life chances" to express an individual's access to employment opportunities and other resources. In part, life chances are determined by birth. An individual born into a wealthy family will have higher life chances than average because they will have access to greater opportunities from the moment they are born.

Education also offers a means to improve one's life chances by improving employment opportunities and making social connections. Thus, the consequences to dropping out can be high, as they significantly decrease the opportunity to improve one's life chances. In addition to personal costs, dropping out has social costs. Dropouts have a greater likelihood of being arrested. Ultimately, this can lower the average standard of living for society as a whole. According to estimates, the average high school dropout will cost the government over $292,000.

Academic Risk Factors

Not all students have an equal risk of dropping out. Students at risk for dropout based on academic risk factors are those who often have a history of absenteeism and grade retention, academic trouble, and more general disengagement from school life. Students may also be at risk for dropout based on social risk factors. Members of racial and ethnic minority groups drop out at higher rates than white students, as do those from low-income families, from single-parent households, and from families in which one or both parents also did not complete high school. Dropout rates also vary geographically, with the lowest rates in northern states. The highest dropout rates occur in the south and southwestern United States.

Why else might students drop out? Sociologists tend to group dropout risk factors into different categories, including academic risk factors and school-level risk factors. Academic risk factors relate to the performance of students in school. School structure, curriculum, and size may increase the exposure of students to academic risk factors. For example, students are more likely to drop out when they attend schools with less rigorous curriculum, when they attend large schools, or when they attend schools with poor student-teacher interactions.

The relationships students have with their peers also influence a student's likelihood of dropping out. Students who build relationships with anti-social peers or who have deviant friends were more likely to drop out of school early regardless of their achievement in school. Relationships with parents can also influence a student's decision to stay in school. The better the relationship, as demonstrated through positive interaction and parental involvement, the more likely the student will stay in school. If a student does not have a good relationship with her parents, the student is more likely to drop out even if she has good grades and good behavior.

Students who drop out of school may identify different motivations, including uninteresting classes (a lack of engagement with school life and classes), feeling unmotivated (especially by teachers who did not demand enough or were not inspirational), personal reasons (had to get a job, became a parent, had to support or care for a family member), and academic challenges (felt like they could not keep up, felt unprepared for high school, had to repeat a grade, or graduation requirements seemed out of reach).

Finally, some education researchers have noted that dropout rates may have been exacerbated by policies such as the U.S. No Child Left Behind Act that required schools to use high-stakes standardized testing as an accountability measure. These policies may have inadvertently encouraged students to drop out

of high school, since teachers and administrators utilize grade retention as a strategy to improve test scores and ensure positive ratings for the school. As mentioned above, grade retention increases the likelihood that a student will drop out of school.

Violence in Schools

School violence is a serious problem in the United States, and attempts to explain it identify both individual and social risk factors.

Learning Objectives

Recall the risk factors for school violence in the U:S. and the two types of bullying

Key Points

- Individual risk factors for school violence include a tendency to externalize problems, or act out, as well as developmental delays, low IQ, and reading problems.
- Social risk factors for school violence include an unstable home environment, violent neighborhoods, and certain characteristics of a school environment.
- A neighborhood environment may contribute to school violence when a community ‘s high rates of crime or drug use spills over into the classroom.
- Bullying may be committed by one student or a group of students.
- Physical bullying is the most easily identified and includes unwanted physical contact such as pushing, kicking, and tickling. It may also include the use of weapons.
- Verbal bullying is any slanderous statements or accusations that cause the victim undue emotional distress, such as insulting someone’s appearance, laughing at someone, or directing foul language toward someone.
- Emotionally bullying is any form of bullying that damages a victim’s emotional well-being, such as spreading malicious rumors, giving someone the silent treatment, or harassment.

Key Terms

- **School Violence**: School violence is widely considered to have become a serious problem in recent decades in many countries, particularly violence involving weapons. This includes violence between school students as well as physical attacks by students on school staff.
- **bullying**: an act of physically or emotionally intimidating a weaker person to do something, especially through repeated coercion

School violence is a serious problem in the United States. This refers to violence between students as well as physical attacks by students on school staff. In 2007, a nationwide survey conducted by the Centers of Disease Control and Prevention found that, during the 30 days before they took the survey, 5.9% of students had carried a weapon to school, and 5.5% of students had skipped school because they did not feel safe. In the 12 months before they took the survey, 12.4% of students had been in a physical fight on school property at least once. Between 1996 and 2003, at least 46 individuals were killed in 27 school incidents involving the use of firearms.

While these numbers are alarming, data also shows that most crimes at school are not violent. In 2001, students between the ages of 12 and 18 were the victims of two million crimes at school, but 62% of those crimes were thefts. In part, violence receives more attention because it draws media coverage. For example, school shootings account for less than 1% of violent crimes in public schools, yet nearly every school shooting makes national headlines. Nevertheless, because school violence can have such serious consequences, educators and policymakers take the issue very seriously.

Explanations of School Violence

Attempts to explain school violence have identified several individual and social risk factors. Individual risk factors include a tendency to externalize problems, or “act out,” as well as developmental delays, low IQ, and reading problems. Social risk factors include an unstable home environment, violent neighborhoods, and certain characteristics of a school environment. A home environment may contribute to school violence if, at home, students are exposed to gun violence, parental alcoholism, domestic violence, physical abuse, sexual abuse, or harsh parental discipline. All of these may teach children that criminal and violent activities are acceptable and may increase a child’s tendency to respond to frustration with aggression. A neighborhood environment may contribute to school violence if a community has high rates of crime or drug use. A neighborhood may also expose students to deviant peers or to gangs who contribute to violence inside schools. Finally, school violence tends to be higher in certain types of schools, the characteristics of which are listed below:

- a large male population
- higher grade levels
- a history of disciplinary problems
- a high student-to-teacher ratio
- urban location

Prevention and intervention strategies may target individual students, families, the school community, or society in general. Individual-level strategies target at-risk or aggressive students and teach these students conflict resolution, problem solving, and social skills. Family-based solutions attempt to improve family relationships in order to improve students’ experiences while they are at home. School-wide strategies are designed to

modify school characteristics associated with violence. Examples of this would be classroom practices that encourage student cooperation and close interaction with teachers, or the presence of police and law enforcement in schools to discourage violence. Finally, society-level prevention strategies attempt to change social and cultural conditions in order to reduce violence, regardless of where it occurs. For example, society-level strategies might try to reduce the violence portrayed in movies or music.

Bullying

In recent years, one particular type of school violence, bullying, has garnered special attention. Bullying can be committed by one student or a group of students. Typically, a group of bullies takes advantage of, or isolates, one student in particular and gains the loyalty of bystanders who, in many cases, want to avoid becoming victims themselves. Bullies typically taunt and tease their target before physically bullying their target. The targets of bullying are often students who are considered strange or different by their peers to begin with, making the situation harder for them to deal with. Often, victims are targeted based on their appearance, their gender, or their sexual orientation.

Bullying is a common occurrence in most schools. According to the American Psychological Association, “approximately 40% to 80% of school-age children experience bullying at some point during their school careers. ” Bullying can be physical, verbal, and emotional. Physical bullying is the most easily identified and includes unwanted physical contact such as pushing, kicking, tickling, or the like, and may also include the use of weapons. Verbal bullying is any slanderous statements or accusations that cause the victim undue emotional distress. This can include insulting someone’s appearance, laughing at someone, or directing foul language toward someone. Emotionally bullying is any form of bullying that damages a victim’s emotional well-being, such as spreading malicious rumors, giving someone the silent treatment, or harassment. Bullying can also take place over the internet with text messaging. This “cyber-bullying” is particularly pernicious because it can be done anonymously, without detection by parents or authorities.



Bullying: Bullying is an increasingly recognized problem in schools.

Homeschooling

Homeschooling is the education of children at home rather than in the setting of a school.

Learning Objectives

Sketch generally the different regulations regarding homeschooling which can be found in the United States

Key Points

- Motivations for home schooling vary, but may include dissatisfaction with the school environment, religious or moral reasons, or dissatisfaction with the quality of academic instruction provided in local schools.
- The legal status of home schooling varies by states, but in all cases, homeschooled students must meet certain requirements and are subject to certain assessments to ensure the quality of education.
- Homeschooled students have varying access to resources, including extracurricular activities.

Key Terms

- **home schooling**: Homeschooling or home school (also called home education or home-based learning) is the education of children at home, typically by parents but sometimes by tutors, rather than in other formal settings of public or private school.

Homeschooling is the education of children at home, typically by parents but sometimes by tutors, rather than in other formal settings of public or private school. In the United States, about 2.9% of students, or about 1.5 million children, are homeschooled. Most homeschooled children are homeschooled only, but about one in five are also enrolled in public or private schools, which they may attend for 25 hours or less each week. By enrolling part-time at a school, homeschooled students can

study subjects such as foreign languages and sciences, which may be more difficult to teach at home. They may also be eligible to participate in academic and athletic extracurricular activities.

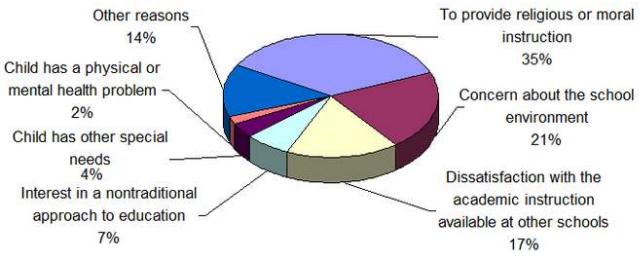
Motivations for homeschooling vary, but may include dissatisfaction with the school environment, religious or moral reasons, or dissatisfaction with the quality of academic instruction provided in local schools. Surveys suggest that the most common motivations for homeschooling are concern about the school environment (e.g., safety, drugs, or negative peer pressure), a desire to provide religious or moral instruction, and dissatisfaction with academic instruction at other schools. Parents may also choose to homeschool children with special needs that the parent feels the school cannot or will not meet. Other, less common motivations include concerns about family time, finances, travel, and distance.

In the United States education is compulsory. Every state has some form of a compulsory attendance law that requires children in a certain age range to spend a specific amount of time being educated. The most common way for parents to meet these requirements is to have their children attend public school. However, parents have always had some degree of choice in where and how children are educated. Thus, the legality of homeschooling has been debated, and that debate has focused largely on whether it is legal for parents to withhold children from school and educate them in a home setting. Since the 1980s, the focus of the debate has shifted to questions about the distribution of resources and state control over homeschooling. The legality of homeschooling is generally accepted, but debate continues over whether homeschooling communities can access state school funds, facilities, and resources and whether the state can regulate areas like curricula and standardized testing.

Today, homeschooling is legal in all 50 states, although it is regulated in different ways by each state. Homeschooling laws can be divided into three categories. First, in some states, homeschooling is treated like a type of private school. In these states, homeschools are generally required to comply with the same laws that apply to other schools. Homeschools in California, Indiana, and Texas, for example, fall into this category. In other states, the requirements for homeschooling are set by the particular parameters of the compulsory attendance statute. These states' compulsory attendance laws do not make any specific reference to "homeschooling. " Homeschools in New Jersey, Maryland, for example, fall into this category. Third, in other states homeschool requirements are based on a statute or group of statutes that specifically applies to homeschooling. In these states, the requirements for homeschooling are set out in the relevant statutes. Often, these statutes refer to homeschooling by another name. For example, in Virginia it is "home instruction," in South Dakota it is "alternative instruction," and in Iowa it is "competent private instruction. "

States also differ in the level of resources they make available to homeschooled students. A minority of states require public schools to give homeschooled students access to district resources, such as school libraries, computer labs, extracurricular activities, or even academic courses. In some communities, homeschoolers may meet with a teacher periodically for curriculum review and suggestions. Other states give districts the option of giving homeschooled students access to such resources.

Access to interscholastic athletic competition varies from state to state. Some state athletic associations ban homeschoolers from interscholastic competition, both by prohibiting homeschoolers to compete for a state federation member school as well as by prohibiting member schools to compete against independent teams made up of homeschoolers. In such states, homeschoolers may only compete amongst other homeschoolers or against schools that are not members of the state's interscholastic athletic federation. Other states allow homeschoolers to compete for the public schools that they would otherwise attend by virtue of their residence. Still other state interscholastic athletic associations allow homeschoolers to organize teams that compete against other established schools, but do not allow homeschoolers to compete on established school teams.



Motivations for homeschooling: Motivations regarded most important for homeschooling among parents in 2007

Standardized Tests

A standardized test is a test that is administered and scored in a consistent manner.

Learning Objectives

Argue for or against standardized testing based on the key points attributed to proponents and critics in the text

Key Points

- Standardized tests are one common method by which schools measure students' academic achievement, and they may also be used to measure students' progress and teachers'

effectiveness, or in order to assess whether students are ready to progress to the next stage in their education.
- One of the main advantages of standardized testing is that the results can be empirically documented.
- Critics point out that standardized tests actually evaluate three things: what students learn in school, what they learn outside of school, and their innate intelligence.
- Critics worry that standardized tests lead teachers to "teach to the test".
- Testing bias occurs when a test systematically favors one group over another, even though both groups may be equal on the trait the test measures.
- No Child Left Behind required that states assess educational achievement and allocate resources using standardized tests.
- Testing bias occurs when a test systematically favors one group over another, even though both groups are equal on the trait the test measures.

Key Terms

- **standardized tests**: A standardized test is a test that is administered and scored in a consistent, or "standard", manner.
- **No Child Left Behind**: The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) is a United States Act of Congress that came about as wide public concern about the state of education. NCLB is a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which included Title I, the government's flagship aid program for disadvantaged students. NCLB supports standards-based education reform based on the premise that setting high standards and establishing measurable goals can improve individual outcomes in education.
- **Testing Bias**: Testing bias occurs when a test systematically favors one group over another, even though both groups are equal on the trait the test measures.

Standardized tests are one common method by which schools measures students' academic achievement. These tests may be given periodically and repeatedly to measure students' progress and teachers' effectiveness, or they may be given at key points during students' careers to assess whether they are ready to progress to the next stage in their education—often, the next grade level or college. A standardized test is a test that is administered and scored in a consistent manner. They are designed so that the questions, conditions for administering, scoring procedures, and interpretations are purportedly without bias.

Proponents of Standardized Tests

One of the main advantages of standardized testing is that the results can be empirically documented; the test scores can be shown to have a relative degree of validity and reliability, being generalizable and replicable. Standardized tests allow educators, policymakers, and admissions committees easily and fairly compare results from different students. It may be difficult to account for differences in educational culture across schools, difficulty of a given teacher's curriculum, differences in teaching style, and techniques and biases that affect grading. This makes standardized tests useful for admissions purposes in higher education, where a school is trying to compare students from across the nation or across the world.

Opponents of Standardized Tests

Critics worry that standardized tests lead teachers to "teach to the test. " Standardized tests can be useful tools for assessing student achievement, and they can be used to focus instruction on desired outcomes, such as reading and math skills. However, critics feel that overuse and misuse of these tests harms teaching and learning by narrowing the curriculum. While it is possible to use a standardized test without letting its contents determine curriculum and instruction, frequently what is not tested is not taught, and how the subject is tested often becomes a model for how to teach the subject.

Further, standardized tests tend to measure only one sort of knowledge, while discounting creativity and diverse modes of expression. In essence, standardized tests use a one-size-fits-all theory, which is not always an effective way to measure students' knowledge and comprehension. Students who fail standardized tests may be diagnosed with learning disabilities or disorders instead of recognized for the skills they have, which are consequently left unchallenged and undeveloped.

Finally, critics have expressed concern that standardized tests may create testing bias. Testing bias occurs when a test systematically favors one group over another, even though both groups are equal on the trait the test measures. Critics allege that test makers and facilitators tend to represent a middle class, white background and standardized testing matches the values, habits, and language of the test makers. Students who share that background may have an advantage on standardized tests that has nothing to do with academic achievement or aptitude but is due to shared cultural background.

No Child Left Behind

In 2001, the United States passed the No Child Left Behind Act, which requires all states to test students in public schools statewide to ensure that they are achieving the desired level of minimum education. Although some states already had statewide standardized testing requirements, for many states, this act required them to create new systems. The act

reinvigorated debate over the accuracy, efficacy, and justice of relying on standardized tests to measure student achievement.

However, critics charge that standardized tests have become a mandatory curriculum placed into schools without public debate and without any accountability measures of its own. Many feel this ignores basic democratic principles in that control of schools' curricula is removed from local school boards, which are the nominal curricular authority in the U.S.

The act is especially controversial because it ties funding to standardized test schools. Under the act, students and schools must demonstrate "adequate yearly progress. " That is, they must show some improvement every year. When a student fails to make adequate yearly progress, schools must provide tutoring or other interventions to help the student improve. When schools fail to show adequate yearly progress, they may lose funding or be taken over by the school board or state.

GED, SAT and ACT

In many places the United States, standardized tests are also used as a graduation requirement. Students must pass a standardized test in order to graduate from high school. The General Educational Development (GED) test, is often used as an alternative to a high school diploma. During high school, students may also take standardized tests as a requirement for applying to college. The most common standardized tests for applying to college are the SAT and ACT.



Multiple Choice Test: Some standardized testing uses multiple-choice tests, which are relatively inexpensive to score, but any form of assessment can be used.

Gender Bias in the Classroom

Gender-based achievement gaps suggest the existence of gender bias in the classroom.

Learning Objectives

Analyze both the possible root causes of gender-based achievement gaps and its proposed solutions

Key Points

- Boys outscore girls on most high-stakes tests, including both the math and verbal sections of the SAT.
- Girls may receive negative attention bias from teachers, though much of it may be unintentional.
- Teachers may reinforce gender bias when they give more attention to boys or excuse boys' behavior with the excuse that "boys will be boys."
- Single-sex classrooms have been proposed as a solution to gender bias.
- Despite evidence of gender bias, girls outperform boys in reading and writing and have made steady gains in career access.

Key Terms

- **The SAT**: SAT Reasoning Test (formerly Scholastic Aptitude Test and Scholastic Assessment Test): a national exam taken annually by high school juniors and seniors.
- **achievement gap**: The observed and persistent disparity between the performance of groups of students defined by gender, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status, based on a number of educational measures.
- **gender bias**: A prejudicial stance towards males or females

Gender-based achievement gaps (especially in math and science) suggest the existence of gender bias in the classroom.

Although most people would like to believe gender bias in the classroom is no longer a problem, evidence points to a persistent achievement gap between boys and girls. Although girls tend to stay in school longer, have better attendance records, and earn better report card grades, boys outscore girls on most high-stakes tests, including both the math and verbal sections of the SAT. Men also outscore women on standardized tests for graduate school, law school, and medical school.

Dissecting Classroom Gender Bias

If test score gaps are evidence of gender bias, where does that gender bias come from? Numerous explanations have been proposed:

- Women and girls may choose to take fewer advanced math or science courses, or they may be discouraged from doing so.
- Cultural norms could influence girls to prepare for their expected role of keeping a home and nurturing children, though such norms are less stringently enforced than in the past.

- Teachers may interact with boys and girls in ways that reinforce gender roles and gender inequality.

Of course, few teachers would admit to bringing gender bias into the classroom, and much of their influence may be unintentional. Nevertheless, teachers may reinforce gender bias when they give more attention to boys or excuse boys' behavior with the excuse that "boys will be boys. " Teachers may also reinforce gender bias simply by drawing distinctions between boys and girls. For example, lining up students or seating them by gender affirms the idea that boys and girls should be treated differently. Teachers may also influence students by the way they give praise, encourage a student to correct or expand an answer, criticize, or accept without evaluating a response. Research suggests teachers are more likely to respond to boys with praise or encouragement, whereas they are more likely to respond to girls by simply accepting or acknowledging a response without evaluating it. Because girls are typically socialized to be quiet and passive, teachers may need to actively encourage their participation in class in order to avoid boy-dominated discussion, or a situation in which boys receive more feedback from and interaction with teachers because they more actively participate in class.

One proposed solution to gender bias in the classroom is to separate boys and girls in single-sex classrooms. Theoretically, single-sex classrooms would help students focus without distracting interactions with children of the opposite gender. They could also decrease pressure on girls who feel nervous participating in boy-dominated class discussion. However, empirical studies give mixed evidence as to the efficacy of single-sex schooling, and critics worry that it constitutes a separate-but-equal form of discrimination.

Career Access

Despite evidence of gender bias, female career access has made steady gains in recent years, due largely to the women's rights movement. More women are now able to work outside the home; although some may be driven to work not as an expression of liberty or equality, but out of economic necessity. Still, women earn only about 75 cents for every dollar earned by men, and many work in low status, sex-stereotyped occupations. In part, that may be due to the college majors women choose. But why, one might ask, would women be more likely to choose college majors that will not benefit them in careers? Sociologists would point to social influences and cultural expectations.

The "Boy Code"

Further, though most research and debate about gender bias in the classroom focuses on bias against girls, recent evidence suggests that boys may be falling behind girls, especially in literacy. In fact, the latest national test scores, collected by the National Assessment of Educational Progress, show that girls have met or exceeded the reading performance of boys at all age levels; by fourth grade, boys have fallen two years behind girls in their reading and writing skills. The male literacy gap has been attributed to sex-based differences in brain function as well as to social factors like the expectations set by an unwritten "boy code" to discourages boys from expressing emotions. This boy code may make male students less likely to share opinions about literature or express frustrations or difficulties to teachers. Thus, just as social pressures may convince some girls they cannot excel at science or math, social pressures may convince some boys they cannot succeed in reading and writing.

The gendering of school subjects may, in itself, lead to gender bias in the classroom, and, further down the line, gender inequality in the workforce.



Children in a Classroom: Boys and girls learn together in a classroom.

The Gifted

There is no standard definition of "gifted," nor a standard way of implementing gifted education.

Learning Objectives

List the various forms of education for the gifted and the controversies around gifted education

Key Points

- Common forms of education for the gifted have included acceleration, pull-out, cluster grouping and summer enrichment.
- According to the 1972 Marland Report, gifted youth are more likely than average to experience academic failure and develop social and emotional problems.
- Gifted education received federal support during the Cold War, but that support has recently been eroded.

- Controversies exist over the appropriateness of different forms of gifted education and their emotional effects on students.

Key Terms

- **cluster grouping**: Cluster grouping is the gathering of four to six gifted and talented or high achieving students in a single classroom for the entire school day.
- **gifted**: Endowed with special, in particular intellectual, abilities.
- **pull-out**: Gifted students are pulled out of a heterogeneous classroom to spend a portion of their time in a gifted class.

Though gifted education programs are widespread, there is no standard definition of "gifted," nor a standard way of implementing gifted education. Gifted education programs are justified by a two-pronged argument: First, gifted and talented youth are not adequately challenged by the standard curriculum and therefore require accelerated curricula or enrichment activities to reach their full potential. Second, gifted and talented youth are inherently at-risk.

This second argument may seem counter-intuitive, but it has gained general credibility. This argument was formally articulated by the 1972 Marland Report by then U.S. Commissioner of Education S. P. Marland. According to the report, gifted youth are more likely than average to experience academic failure and to develop social and emotional problems. Gifted students may experience social rejection and difficulty making friends, as well as grapple with fear of failure and perfectionism. They may intentionally play down their abilities in order to make friends. They are also more prone to depression, anxiety and disengagement, as well as to behavior problems and drug and alcohol abuse. This may be in part due to a need for stimulation beyond what they receive in a typical classroom.

Since the early 20th century, definitions of "gifted" have been based on IQ, or intelligence quotient. Different schools may set different cut-offs for defining giftedness, but a common standard is the top 2% of students with an IQ score of about 140 or above. More general definitions of giftedness may also evaluate students' capability in areas like intellectual, creative, artistic, or leadership capacity, or in specific academic fields. Evaluations may be based on portfolios of student work, classroom observations, and achievement measures.

The 2002 No Child Left Behind law shifted attention away from gifted students. The law aims to bring proficiency of all students to grade level, but critics note it does not address the needs of gifted students who perform above grade level. The act imposes punishments on schools, administrators and teachers when students do not achieve to the plan's designs, but does not address any achievement standards for high functioning students. This forces schools and teachers to spend their time with low achieving students. As a result of this law, many fear, gifted services have been eroding

Forms of Gifted Education

Gifted education programs take many forms, including a combination of acceleration, pull-out or cluster grouping, and enrichment activities. Acceleration programs may compact curriculum or allow students to self-pace. In compacting, students are pre-tested to determine which skills or content they have already mastered, thus allowing students to skip repetitive practice. This reduces boredom and frees time to work on more challenging material. In self-pacing, students advance at their own speeds. In general, acceleration programs advance students to higher-level material suited to their abilities and preparedness – students may skip grades, skip ahead in particular subjects, or enroll at local community colleges.



Gifted Class: Laura Bush listens to a student talk about sea turtles during a 2006 visit to Banyan Elementary School in Miami, FL, in support of education about parks and the environment.

An alternative to acceleration is pull-out or cluster grouping, in which gifted students are removed from regular classrooms. In pull-out programs, gifted students spend most of the school day with a regular classroom of mixed abilities, but may be pulled out for an hour or part of a day to practice critical thinking drills, creative exercises, or subjects not introduced in standard curriculums. Pull-out programs are generally ineffective at promoting academic achievement since they do not align with the regular curriculum.

Finally, summer enrichment presents gifted students with extra material above and beyond the standard curriculum. Students spend school days with a regular classroom, but also complete enrichment activities given as a modified assignment by the regular classroom teacher. These could include formal programs like Odyssey of the Mind or academic competitions like National History Day. Summer enrichment programs typically operate like summer camps, as students pay a fee to attend and

may enroll in programs that typically focus on one subject. In any case, enrichment work is done in addition to regular school work.

Controversy

Controversies concerning gifted education are varied and often highly politicized. They are as basic as agreeing upon the appropriateness of the term "gifted" or the definition of "giftedness. " For example, does "giftedness" refer to performance or potential? Many students do not exhibit both at the same time. Measures of general intelligence also remain controversial. Early IQ tests were notorious for producing higher IQ scores for privileged races and classes and lower scores for disadvantaged subgroups. Although IQ tests have changed substantially over the past half century, and many objections to the early tests have been addressed by "culture neutral," IQ testing remains controversial.



Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy: Schools like the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy cater to the needs of gifted students.

Educational Reform in the U.S.

Education reforms aim at redressing some societal ills, such as gender-, and class-based inequities, or instructional ineffectiveness.

Learning Objectives

Outline the main motivations for educational reform and the timeline of its various manifestations

Key Points

- Educational reform has been closely tied to efforts to promote democracy.
- Another motivation for reform is the desire to address socioeconomic problems, such as health, wealth and well being, which many people see as having roots in unequal access to education.
- In the 1980s, conservative reformers tried to limit federal involvement in education, and E.D. Hirsch argued education must teach cultural literacy.
- In the 1990s and 2000s, reformers pushed for outcomes-based education with an emphasis on assessment.
- Teachers' unions are considered by many to be the major barrier to continued reform.
- Persistent issues in educational reform include school funding, school choice, and alternatives to public education.
- Teachers' unions are considered by many to be the major barrier to continued reform.

Key Terms

- **school choice**: School choice is a term used to describe a wide array of programs aimed at giving families the opportunity to choose the school their children will attend.
- **cultural literacy**: Knowledge of and ability to discuss the history of and major concepts underlying a culture, particularly one's own and those of one's peers.
- **outcomes-based education**: Outcome-based education (OBE) is a student-centered learning philosophy that focuses on empirically measuring student performance, which are called outcomes. OBE contrasts with traditional education, which primarily focuses on the resources that are available to the student, which are called inputs.

Education reform has been pursued for a variety of specific reasons, but, generally, most reforms aim at redressing some societal ills, such as poverty-, gender-, or class-based inequities, or perceived ineffectiveness.

The idea that all children should be provided with a high level of education is a relatively recent idea, and has arisen largely in the context of Western democracy in the twentieth century. In fact, educational reform has been closely tied to efforts to promote democracy. Many students of democracy desire to improve education in order to improve the quality of governance in democratic societies. The necessity of good public education follows logically if one believes that the quality of democratic governance depends on the ability of citizens to make informed, intelligent choices, and education can improve these abilities. In the United States, for example, democratic education was promoted by Thomas Jefferson, who advocated ambitious reforms for public schooling in Virginia.

Another motivation for reform is the desire to address socioeconomic problems, which many people see as having roots in unequal access to education. Starting in the twentieth century, people have attempted to argue that small improvements in education can have large returns in such areas as health, wealth and well being. For example, in developing countries, increases in women's literacy rates were correlated

with increases in women's health, and increasing primary education was correlated with increasing farming efficiencies and income. Even in developed countries, an individual's level of education may predict the type of career and level of income that person can expect to achieve.

Other education reforms have been motivated by attempts to improve the effectiveness of instruction. Many modern reforms have attempted to move away from a model of education in which a teacher lectures and delivers facts to a passive student audience. For example, M. Montessori argued that education must take into account the individual needs of each child. John Dewey suggested that effective education poses problems and puzzles that motivate children to learn.

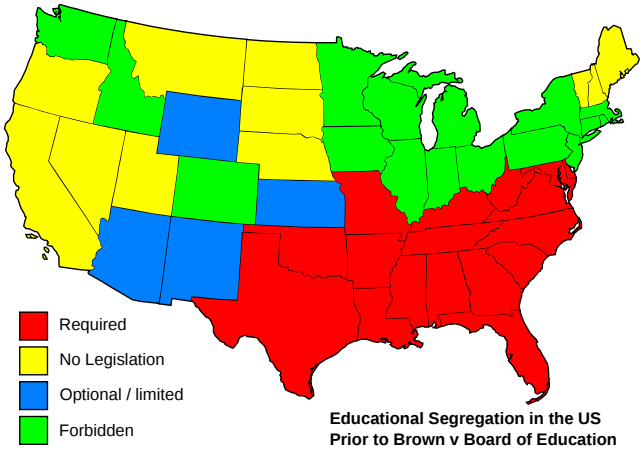
Over the years, education reform has focused on different goals. From the 1950s to the 1970s, many of the proposed and implemented reforms in U.S. education stemmed from the Civil Rights Movement and related trends; examples include ending racial segregation and busing for the purpose of desegregation, affirmative action, and banning of school prayer. In general, these reforms gave more students from more diverse backgrounds access to education.

In the 1980s, the momentum of education reform moved from the left to the right. For example, E.D. Hirsch put forth an influential attack on progressive education. He argued that progressive education failed to teach "cultural literacy," the facts, phrases, and texts that Hirsch asserted every American had once known and were still essential for decoding basic texts and maintaining communication. Hirsch's ideas remain significant through the 1990s and into the twenty-first century and are incorporated into classroom practice through textbooks and curricula published under his own imprint.

In the 1990s, most states and districts adopted Outcome-Based Education (OBE) in some form or another. Under OBE, a state would create a committee to adopt standards and choose a quantitative instrument (often, a standardized test) to assess whether the students knew the required content or could perform the required tasks. During this period, the U.S. Congress also set the standards-based National Education Goals (Goals 2000). Many of these goals were based on the principles of outcomes-based education, and not all of the goals were attained by the year 2000 as was intended. The standards-based reform movement culminated in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. In general, OBE reforms attempt to increase accountability in education. Rather than reforming the educational process, they focus on the effects that process achieves by measuring outcomes (e.g., student achievement).

A central issue for educational reform advocates today is school choice. Debates over school choice focus on advocates' claim that school choice can promote excellence in education through competition. A highly competitive "market" for schools would eliminate the need to otherwise enforce accountability from the top down. According to advocates, schools would naturally regulate themselves and attempt to raise standards in order to attract students. Most proposals for school choice call for vouchers. Public education vouchers would permit guardians to select and pay any school, public or private, with public funds currently allocated to local public schools. In theory, children's guardians will naturally shop for the best schools, much as is already done at the college level.

Many attribute the purportedly slow pace of reform in the United States to the strength of teachers' unions. In some school districts, labor agreements with teachers' unions may restrict the ability of school systems to implement merit pay and other reforms. In general, union contracts are more restrictive in districts with high concentrations of poor and minority students.



Education Segregation in the U.S. Prior to Brown v. Board of Education: Educational reforms during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s focused on civil rights, especially desegregation and affirmative action.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

14: Religion

14.1: The Nature of Religion
14.2: Types of Religions
14.3: The Functionalist Perspective on Religion
14.4: The Conflict Perspective on Religion
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14.1: The Nature of Religion

The Nature of Religion

Religion is a collection of cultural systems, belief systems, and worldviews that relate humanity to spirituality and to moral values.

Learning Objectives

Define religion and its essential features

Key Points

- The sociologist Emile Durkheim defined religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things. " By sacred things he meant things "set apart and forbidden — beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them".
- The development of religion has taken different forms in different cultures. Some religions emphasize belief while others emphasize practice. Some religions focus on subjective experience of the religious individual while others consider activities of the religious community to be most important.
- Social constructionism says that religion is a modern concept that suggests all spiritual practice and worship follows a model similar to the Abrahamic religions and thus religion, as a concept, has been applied inappropriately to non-Western cultures.

Key Terms

- **belief system**: The basis of a set of beliefs
- **hierarchy**: Any group of objects ranked so that everyone but the topmost is subordinate to a specified group above it.
- **sacred**: Set apart by solemn religious ceremony; especially, in a good sense, made holy; set apart to religious use; consecrated; not profane or common; as, a sacred place; a sacred day; sacred service

Religion is a collection of cultural systems, belief systems, and worldviews that relate humanity to spirituality and, sometimes, to moral values. Many religions have narratives, symbols, traditions, and sacred histories that are intended to give meaning to life or to explain the origin of life or the universe.

Many languages have words that can be translated as "religion," but they may use them in a very different way, and some have no word for religion at all. For example, the Sanskrit word "dharma," sometimes translated as "religion," also means law. Throughout classical South Asia, the study of law consisted of concepts such as penance through piety and ceremonial and practical traditions. Medieval Japan at first had a similar union between "imperial law" and universal or "Buddha law," but these later became independent sources of power.

The typical dictionary definition of religion refers to a "belief in, or the worship of, a god or gods" or the "service and worship of God or the supernatural. " However, many writers and scholars have noted that this basic "belief in god" definition fails to capture the diversity of religious thought and experience. Edward Burnett Tylor defined religion as simply "the belief in spiritual beings. " He argued, in 1871, that narrowing the definition to mean the belief in a supreme deity or judgment after death would exclude many peoples from the category of religious and thus "has the fault of identifying religion rather with particular developments than with the deeper motive which underlies them. " He also argued that the belief in spiritual beings exists in all known societies.

The sociologist Emile Durkheim, in his seminal book *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, defined religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things. " By sacred things he meant things "set apart and forbidden — beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them. " Sacred things are not, however, limited to gods or spirits. On the contrary, a sacred thing can be "a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word, anything can be sacred. " Religious beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends are the representations that express the nature of these sacred things and the virtues and powers that are attributed to them.

The development of religion has taken different forms in different cultures. Some religions place an emphasis on belief while others emphasize practice. Some religions focus on the subjective experience of the religious individual while others consider the activities of the religious community to be most important. Some religions claim to be universal, believing their laws and cosmology to be binding for everyone, while others are intended to be practiced only by a closely-defined or localized group. In many places religion has been associated with public institutions such as education, hospitals, the family, government, and political hierarchy.

One modern academic theory of religion, social constructionism, says that religion is a modern concept that has been defined relative to the Abrahamic religions and that thus, religion as a concept has been applied inappropriately to non-Western cultures that are not based upon such systems.



Sacred Buddhist Ritual in Nepal: His Holiness Jigdal Dagchen Sakya leading the empowerment into practice at Tharlam Monastery, Boudha, Kathmandu, Nepal.

The Elements of Religion

A conventional social scientific view understands religion as a group's collective beliefs and rituals relating to the supernatural.

Learning Objectives

Identify the different elements that comprise religion

Key Points

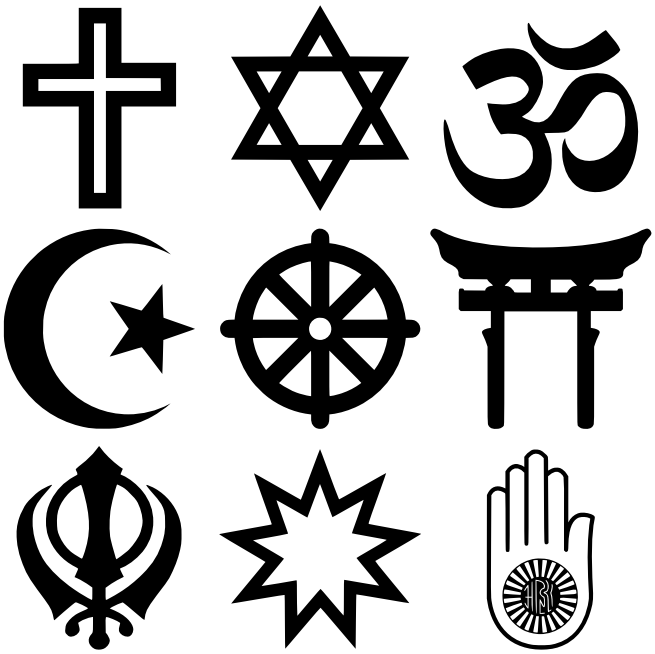
- Sacred refers to collective interests within different religious practices. Profane acts include individual concerns that are not part of religious rituals.
- Emile Durkheim argues that religion is composed of the sacred elements of social life. However, many see this definition as too broad, since there are many collective interests that most do not consider religious.
- Ritual is an everyday practice that resembles symbolic meaning in different religions.
- Other social scientists view religion as any attempt to answer existential questions. Many also consider this too broad a definition.
- A third social scientific perspective views religion as the collective beliefs and rituals of a group relating to the supernatural. Though not without criticisms, this categorization most closely adheres to the traditional and popular view of what constitutes a religion.

Key Terms

- **supernatural**: Above nature; that which is beyond or added to nature, often so considered because it is given by God or some force beyond that which humans are born with. In Roman Catholic theology, sanctifying grace is considered to be a supernatural addition to human nature.
- **profane**: Not sacred or holy, unconsecrated; relating to non-religious matters, secular.
- **sacred**: Set apart by solemn religious ceremony; especially, in a good sense, made holy; set apart to religious use; consecrated; not profane or common; as, a sacred place; a sacred day; sacred service

Emile Durkheim argues that religion is comprised of the sacred elements of social life. Durkheim also identifies collective interests and group unity as part of the sacred, whereas individual concerns fall into the profane category. This distinction makes sense when we think about western religious traditions where, for example, the Torah and Bible are considered holy books treated with reverence and respect. Problems quickly emerge, however, when we think about nationalism or consumerism. Under Durkheim's distinction, both nationalism and consumerism would be considered sacred practices.

The reverence afforded to the U.S. constitution, cars, shoes and former presidents clearly constitutes the sacred and thus religious, though the vast majority of U.S. religious practitioners would disagree that they are members of multiple faith traditions. As a result, some have argued Durkheim's distinction is not sufficiently narrow to capture the essence of religion. If we want to examine the difference between collective and individual interests, Durkheim's distinction steers us in the right direction.



Religious Symbols: Symbols for Major Religions of the World

Other social scientists view religion as any attempt to answer existential questions, i.e. "is there life after death" and "how does the universe work and what's my role in it." This categorization of religion highlights its functional role as serving specific social ends. In doing so, however, this

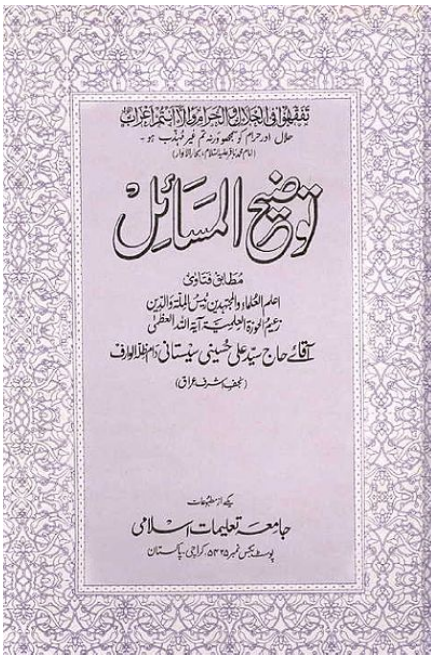
perspective also attracts criticisms for being overly encompassing. Many branches of scientific investigation, for instance, would be considered religious, and even atheism would fit into the frame of attempting to answer existential questions.

A third social scientific perspective views religion as the collective beliefs and rituals of a group relating to the supernatural. If we simply focus on beliefs relating to the supernatural, this too may be broad enough to include atheism. However, when belief and rituals of a group relating to the supernatural are coupled together, the scope seems appropriately narrowed. Though not without criticisms, this categorization most closely adheres to the traditional and popular view of what constitutes a religion.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Hindu Rituals in a Kashmiri Wedding: The Joyful Rhythms of a Kashmiri Wedding



Islamic Text: BookTauzeeh ul Masail

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14.2: Types of Religions

Magic and Supernaturalism

Supernaturalism refers to any belief system with supernatural forces, such as magic, and, in general, is prevalent in all societies.

Learning Objectives

Give examples which help distinguish between the very similar concepts of religion and magic

Key Points

- Supernatural forces are not bound to laws of nature; they work outside of them.
- Mana is a classic example of a supernatural force that imbues objects with powers of authority.
- The term religion is reserved for an organized cult with a priesthood and dedicated sites of worship or sacrifice, while magic is prevalent in all societies, regardless of whether they have organized religion or more general systems of animism or shamanism.

Key Terms

- **mana**: A form of supernatural energy in Polynesian religion that inheres in things or people.
- **Supernatural Forces**: The supernatural is that which is not subject to the laws of nature, or more figuratively, that which is said to exist above and beyond nature.
- **supernaturalism**: A belief in the doctrine of supernatural or divine agency as manifested in the world, in human events, religious revelation, miracles, etc.

Supernaturalism

Supernaturalism is perhaps the broadest classification of religious practices, encompassing any belief system dealing with supernatural forces. Supernaturalism asserts the existence of forces beyond human comprehension that frequently interfere, for better or worse, in human affairs. Most simply, the laws of nature do not bind the supernatural. These forces are considered impersonal because they are thought to come and go as they see fit, and can inhabit human and non-human objects alike. In popular culture and fiction, the supernatural is whimsically associated with the paranormal and the occult, which differs from traditional concepts in some religions, such as Catholicism, where divine miracles are considered supernatural.

The concept ‘mana’ is a classic example of a supernatural force that imbues objects with powers and authority. For example, in Polynesian cultures, mana is the force that allows efficacy, or the ability to have an influence in the world. Similarly for Melanesians, mana primarily inhabits objects, like charms or amulets, which confer good fortune to whoever possesses them (though mana can also inhabit people or animals). Mana is not inherently good or evil; its impact depends on how it is used.

Magic

In many cases, it becomes difficult or impossible to draw any meaningful line between beliefs and practices that are magical versus those that are religious. In general, The term religion is reserved for an organized cult with a priesthood and dedicated sites of worship or sacrifice, while magic is prevalent in all societies, regardless of whether they have organized religion or more general systems of animism or shamanism. Religion and magic became conceptually separated with the development of western monotheism, where the distinction arose between supernatural events sanctioned by mainstream religious doctrine (“miracles”) and mere magic rooted in folk belief or occult speculation. In pre-monotheistic religious traditions, there is no fundamental distinction between religious practice and magic; tutelary deities concerned with magic are sometimes called “hermetic deities” or “spirit guides. ”



Woman floating above bed: Supernatural force allows this woman to float.

Animism

Animism is the belief that non-human entities are spiritual beings, either intrinsically or because spirits inhabit them.

Learning Objectives

Identify some of the key elements of animism and at least one real life instantiation

Key Points

- Pantheism is the belief that everything shares the same spiritual essence—individuals do not have distinct spirits or

souls. Animism puts more emphasis on the uniqueness of each individual soul.
- In animist societies, ritual is considered essential to win the favor of the spirits that ward off other malevolent spirits and provide food, shelter, and fertility.
- Shamans, also sometimes called medicine men or women, serve as mediums between the physical world and the world of spirits.

Key Terms

- **animism**: A belief that spirits inhabit some or all classes of natural objects or phenomena.
- **shaman**: A member of certain tribal societies who acts as a religious medium between the concrete and spirit worlds.
- **spirits**: The undying essence of a human. The soul.

Animism refers to the belief that non-human entities are spiritual beings, either intrinsically or because spirits inhabit them for a period of time. Unlike supernatural forces, animist spirits may be inherently good or evil. Often, these spirits are thought to be the souls of deceased relatives, and they are not worshiped as deities.

While animists believe everything to be spiritual in nature, they do not necessarily see the spiritual nature of everything in existence as being united (monism), the way pantheists do. Animism puts more emphasis on the uniqueness of each individual soul. In pantheism, everything shares the same spiritual essence—there are no distinct spirits and/or souls. Because humans are considered a part of nature, rather than superior to, or separate from it, animists see themselves on roughly equal footing with other animals, plants, and natural forces, and subsequently have a moral imperative to treat these agents with respect.

In animist societies, ritual is considered essential to win the favor of the spirits that ward off other malevolent spirits and provide food, shelter, and fertility. Shamans, also sometimes called medicine men or women, serve as mediums between the physical world and the world of spirits.

Animism is thought to be the belief system that laid the groundwork for the notion of a soul and the animation of traditionally inanimate objects, allowing every world religion to take those basic principles in other directions. Though earlier philosophers such as Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas discussed animism, the formal definition was postulated by Sir Edward Taylor late in the 19th century. Examples of Animism can be seen in forms of Shinto, Hinduism, Buddhism, pantheism, Paganism, and Neopaganism.



Shinto Shrine: Shinto is an animistic religion in Japan.

Theism and Monotheism

Theism refers to any belief system that incorporates a deity.

Learning Objectives

Create a short sketch in which a monotheist, a deist, a polytheist, and Emile Durkheim enter into a debate about their views on god(s)

Key Points

- Since theism is so common throughout human history, Emile Durkheim saw deities as an extension of human social life.
- Monotheistic traditions conceive of God as omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent and active in the governance and organization of the world and universe. Judaism, Christianity and Islam are monotheistic.
- Deism holds that religious beliefs must be founded on human reason and observed features of the natural world, and that these sources reveal the existence of a supreme being as creator.
- Polytheism is the belief that multiple gods exist. Hard polytheism recognizes multiple gods as being distinct and separate beings, while soft polytheism views multiple gods as being connected under the umbrella of a greater whole.
- Panentheism is the belief that the universe is a part of a deity, but that the deity is greater than the universe.
- Polytheism is the belief that multiple gods exist, but do not intervene with the universe.
- Monolatrism refers to the belief that there may be more than one deity, but that only one is worthy of being worshiped.

Key Terms

- **polytheism**: The belief of the existence of many gods.
- **monotheism**: The belief in a single god; especially within an organized religion.

- **deity**: A preternatural or supernatural human or non-human being or entity, or an object that possesses miraculous or supernatural attributes, powers or superpowers (e.g. a god or goddess).

The term theism, first introduced by Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), derives from the Greek word *theos* meaning "god". It refers to any belief system that incorporates the existence of a deity. A deity is a supernatural being thought of as holy, divine or sacred. Though they take a variety of forms, deities are often expressed as taking human form. They are usually immortal, and are commonly assumed to have personalities, consciousness and intellects comparable (albeit superior) to those of humans. Typically, deities do not reveal themselves directly to humans, but make themselves known through their effects in the world. They are thought to dwell mainly in otherworldly or holy places like Heaven, Hell, the sky, the under-world, or in a supernatural plane or celestial sphere.

Due to the ubiquity of theistic traditions, Emilee Durkheim saw the deities as an extension of human social life. In line with this reasoning, psychologist Matt Rossini contends that when humans began living in larger groups, they may have created gods as a means of enforcing morality. In small groups, morality can be enforced by social forces like gossip or reputation. However, it is much harder to enforce morality using social forces in larger groups. He indicates that by including ever watchful gods and spirits, humans discovered an effective strategy for restraining selfishness and building more cooperative groups.

When only one deity is recognized, the faith tradition is called monotheistic. Typically, monotheistic traditions conceive of God as omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent and active in governance and organization of the world and the universe. The most prominent modern day monotheistic religions include Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

In contrast to monotheism, deism is the belief that at least one deity exists and created the world, but that the creator(s), though transcendent and supreme, does/do not alter the original plan for the universe. Deism typically rejects supernatural events (prophecies, miracles and divine revelations) prominent in organized religion. Instead, deism holds that religious beliefs must be founded on human reason and observed features of the natural world, and that these sources reveal the existence of a supreme being as creator.

Faith traditions involving more than one deity are called polytheistic. Hard polytheism recognizes multiple gods as being distinct and separate beings. Examples include the Egyptian and Greek religions, as well as certain schools of Hinduism. Soft polytheism views multiple gods as being connected under the umbrella of a greater whole. Some forms of Hinduism like Smartism/Advaita Vedanta are considered soft polytheistic traditions. Polytheism can also be subdivided according to how individual deities are regarded: Henotheism is the belief that while only one deity is worshiped other deities may exist and other people are justified in worshiping those other deities. Monolatrism refers to the belief that there may be more than one deity, but that only one is worthy of being worshiped.



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Birth of monotheism, modern Judaism and finalizing the Torah: The beginnings of modern religion and the origins of the Hebrew Bible



Muslim woman in tradition attire: Muslim Culture

The Sacred and the Profane

Emile Durkheim posited the sacred–profane dichotomy as central to all religion, but critics suggest this theory is too eurocentric.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the role of the sacred–profane dichotomy in religion

Key Points

- The sacred – profane dichotomy is an idea posited by French sociologist Émile Durkheim.
- Durkheim considered the sacred–profane dichotomy to be the central characteristic of religion.
- The sacred represented the interests of the group, especially unity.
- Sacred group symbols are called totems.
- The profane involves mundane individual concerns.
- According to Durkheim, sacred/profane is not equivalent to good/evil; the sacred could be good or evil, and the profane could be either as well.
- Durkheim's claim of the universality of the sacred–profane dichotomy has come under criticism as too centered on European thought.

Key Terms

- **profane**: Not sacred or holy, unconsecrated; relating to non-religious matters, secular.

The sacred–profane dichotomy is an idea posited by French sociologist Émile Durkheim, who considered it to be the central characteristic of religion: "religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden." In Durkheim's theory, the sacred represented the interests of the group, especially unity, which were embodied in sacred group symbols, or totems. The profane, on the other hand, involved mundane individual concerns. Durkheim explicitly stated that the sacred/profane dichotomy was not equivalent to good/evil. The sacred could be good or evil, and the profane could be either as well.

Durkheim's claim of the universality of this dichotomy for all religions/cults has been criticized by scholars such as British anthropologist Jack Goody. Goody also noted that "many societies have no words that translate as sacred or profane and that ultimately, just like the distinction between natural and supernatural, it was very much a product of European religious thought rather than a universally applicable criterion."

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14.3: The Functionalist Perspective on Religion

Functions of Religion

The functionalist perspective, which originates from Emile Durkheim's work on religion, highlights the social role of religion.

Learning Objectives

Explain how functionalists view the purpose of religion in society

Key Points

- The positivist tradition encourages the study of society using dispassionate and scientific methods.
- Emile Durkheim argued that religion provides social cohesion and social control to maintain society in social solidarity.
- Collective consciousness, which is the fusion of all of our individual consciousnesses, creates a reality of its own.
- Critics of the functionalist approach point out that religion can be dysfunctional. For example, religion may incite violence by a fundamentalist religious group.

Key Terms

- **social control**: any control, either formal or informal, that is exerted by a group, especially by one's peers
- **social cohesion**: The bonds or "glue" that maintain stability in society.

Functions of Religion

The structural-functional approach to religion has its roots in Emile Durkheim's work on religion. Durkheim argued that religion is, in a sense, the celebration and even (self-) worship of human society. Given this approach, Durkheim proposed that religion has three major functions in society: it provides social cohesion to help maintain social solidarity through shared rituals and beliefs, social control to enforce religious-based morals and norms to help maintain conformity and control in society, and it offers meaning and purpose to answer any existential questions. Further, Durkheim placed himself in the positivist tradition, meaning that he thought of his study of society as dispassionate and scientific. He was deeply interested in the problem of what held complex modern societies together. Religion, he argued, was an expression of social cohesion.

Religion, for Durkheim, is not imaginary, although he does deprive it of what many believers find essential. Religion is very real; it is an expression of society itself, and indeed, there is no society that does not have religion. We perceive as individuals a force greater than ourselves and give that perception a supernatural face. We then express ourselves religiously in groups, which for Durkheim makes the symbolic power greater. Religion is an expression of our collective consciousness, which is the fusion of all of our individual consciousness, which then creates a reality of its own.

It follows, then, that less complex societies, such as the Australian Aborigines, have less complex religious systems, involving totems associated with particular clans. The more complex a particular society is, the more complex the religious system. As societies come in contact with other societies, there is a tendency for religious systems to emphasize universalism to a greater and greater extent. However, as the division of labor makes the individual seem more important, religious systems increasingly focus on individual salvation and conscience.

The primary criticism of the structural-functional approach to religion is that it overlooks religion's dysfunctions. For instance, religion can be used to justify terrorism and violence. Religion has often been the justification of, and motivation for, war. In one sense, this still fits the structural-functional approach as it provides social cohesion among the members of one party in a conflict. For instance, the social cohesion among the members of a terrorist group is high, but in a broader sense, religion is obviously resulting in conflict without questioning its actions against other members of society.



Catholic Church Gathering for Mass: Congregation Gathering Service for the Virgin Mary

Religion and Social Support

According to many social science studies, psychological well-being is positively correlated with religious engagement.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the relationship between religion and social and individual well-being

Key Points

- Many studies suggest that religious people are happier and less stressed than their non-religious counterparts.
- The Legatum Prosperity Index reflects the research that there is a positive link between religious engagement and well-being.
- Religiosity has a salutary relationship with psychological adjustment, because it is related to less psychological distress, more life satisfaction, and better self-actualization.

Key Terms

- **well-being**: a state of health, happiness and/or prosperity
- **self-actualization**: Self-actualization is a term that has been used in various psychology theories, often in slightly different ways. The term was originally introduced by the organismic theorist Kurt Goldstein for the motive to realize one's full potential. However, the concept was brought most fully to prominence in Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory, in which "self-actualization" was the final level of psychological development that can be achieved when all basic and mental needs are fulfilled. In such a case, the "actualization" of full personal potential takes place.
- **religiosity**: An index of how strongly religious a person is

Religion and Health

There is now extensive research suggesting that religious people are happier and less stressed than their non-religious counterparts. Social scientists have identified a number of mechanisms that might explain why religion might make an individual happier, none of which rest on the explanation of divine intervention or supernatural phenomenon. Certain features of religious practice may facilitate greater well-being for members. These include the following:

- basic social contact
- a large, non-family network of social support
- the positive mental health one derived from optimism and volunteering,
- coping strategies to enhance one's ability to deal with stress
- a worldview that prevents existential questions from arising

Scientific Studies of Religion and Health

The Legatum Prosperity Index reflects the research that suggests that there is a positive link between religious engagement and well-being. People who report that God is very important in their lives are on average more satisfied with their lives, after accounting for their income, age and other individual characteristics that might bias results. A 1993 study by Kosmin & Lachman indicated that people without a religious affiliation appeared to be at greater risk for depressive symptoms than individuals affiliated with a religion. Surveys by Gallup, the National Opinion Research Center and the Pew Organization conclude that spiritually committed people are twice as likely to report being "very happy" than the least religiously committed people. An analysis of over 200 studies contends that high religiousness predicts a lower risk of depression, a lower risk of drug abuse, fewer suicide attempts. Those same studies associate religious involvement with reports of higher satisfaction with sex life and a sense of well-being. A review of 498 peer-review academic studies revealed that a large majority of them showed a positive correlation between religious commitment and higher levels of perceived well-being of self-esteem. These same studies revealed a positive correlation between religious involvement and lower levels of hypertension, depression, and clinical delinquency. A meta-analysis of 34 recent studies published between 1990 and 2001 found that religiosity has a salutary relationship with psychological adjustment. Religious involvement was related to less psychological distress, more life satisfaction, and better self-actualization. Finally, as signaled in a recent review of 850 research papers, the majority of well-conducted studies suggest that higher levels of religious involvement are positively associated with indicators of psychological well-being (life satisfaction, happiness, positive affect, and higher morale). In these studies, religious involvement was associated with less depression, fewer suicidal thoughts, and less drug alcohol abuse.



Tharlam Monastery of Tibetan Buddhism: An apparently happy man wears the 5 Dhyani Buddhas Crown and holds a Flower and Dorje (vajra).

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14.4: The Conflict Perspective on Religion

Marx and the “Opiate of the Masses”

Karl Marx argues that religion works to calm uncertainty over our role in the universe and in society, and to maintain the status quo.

Learning Objectives

Give an example which either supports or contradicts Marx’s idea that ”religion is the opium of the people”

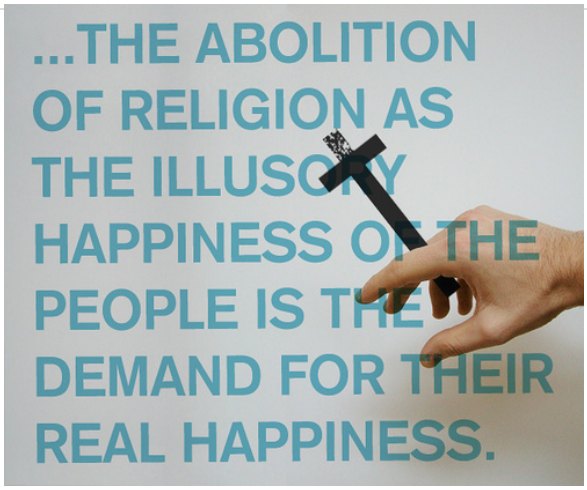
Key Points

- One of the most frequently paraphrased statements of Karl Marx is, *religionis the opium of the people*.
- Karl Marx argues that religion plays a significant role in maintaining the status quo by promising rewards in the after-life rather than in this life.
- Social inequalities result from the differences inherent in class structures, such as the inequality between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Key Terms

- **proletariat**: the working class or lower class
- **status quo**: the current state of things; the way things are, as opposed to the way they could be; the existing state of affairs.
- **bourgeoisie**: The capitalist class.

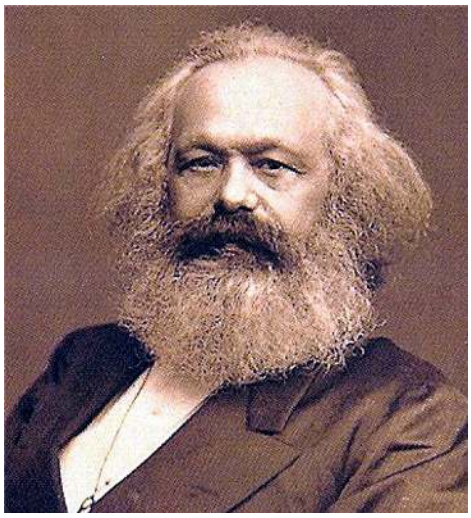
One of the most frequently paraphrased statements of Karl Marx is, *religion is the opium of the people*. It was translated from the German original, “Die Religion… ist das Opium des Volkes,” and is often referred to as “religion is the opiate of the masses. ” Taken in context, Marx is arguing that religion was constructed by people to calm uncertainty over our role in the universe and in society.



Religion as opium of the people: Abolition of Religion as the Illusory Happiness of the People.

Early social theorists offered explanations and analysis of religion in terms of the function of religion in society, the role of religion in the life of the individual, and the nature (and origin) of religion. With ‘the social-conflict approach,’ Karl Marx argues that religion plays a significant role in maintaining the status quo. Marx argues that religion accomplishes this by promising rewards in the after-life rather than in this life. By focusing attention on otherworldly rewards, religion pacifies members by providing a worldview that deflects attention that would otherwise be directed at the inequalities of this world.

Marx’s approach to sociology was critical in the sense that, in contrast to the knowledge for knowledge’s sake approach, it advocated change. Criticism of the system in place when he was writing was inherent in Marx’s approach; because of this, he took a particular stand on the existence of religion, namely, that it should be done away with. His efforts were, in his mind, based solely on what can be called applied science. Marx saw himself as doing sociology and economic theory for the sake of human development. As Christiano states, “Marx did not believe in science for science’s sake…he believed that he was also advancing a theory that would be a useful tool in effecting a revolutionary upheaval of the capitalist system in favor of socialism” (2008, 124). As such, the crux of his arguments was that humans are best guided by reason. Religion, Marx held, was a significant hindrance to reason, inherently masking the truth and misguiding followers. Marx viewed social alienation as the heart of social inequality. The antithesis to this alienation is freedom. Thus, to propagate freedom means to present individuals with the truth and give them a choice to accept or deny it. In this, “Marx never suggested that religion ought to be prohibited” (Christiano 2008, 126).



Karl Marx: Religion, Marx held, was a significant hindrance to reason, inherently masking the truth and misguiding followers.

Religion and Social Control

Marx viewed religion as a tool of social control used by the bourgeoisie to keep the proletariat content with an unequal status quo.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate Karl Marx's critical approach to religion

Key Points

- The social-conflict approach to religion highlights how religion, as a phenomenon of human behavior, maintains social inequality by advancing a worldview that justifies oppression.
- Karl Marx's critical approach demanded that action be taken to resolve social inequalities. This was in stark contrast to his scholarly peers, many of whom pursued scholarship for the sake of knowledge, and did not attach to these academic projects overt political goals.
- Karl Marx viewed religion as a social control used to maintain the status quo in a given society.

Key Terms

- **status quo**: the current state of things; the way things are, as opposed to the way they could be; the existing state of affairs.

Marxist Theory of Religion

The social-conflict approach is rooted in Karl Marx's critique of capitalism. According to Marx, in a capitalist society, religion plays a critical role in maintaining an unequal status quo, in which certain groups of people have radically more resources and power than other groups of people. Marx argued that the bourgeoise used religion as a tool to keep the less powerful proletariat pacified. Marx argued that religion was able to do this by promising rewards in the after-life, instead of in this life. It was in this sense that Marx asserted the following. "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the feeling of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless circumstances. It is the opium of the people…The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness" (p.72). In this passage, Marx is calling for the proletariat to discard religion and its deceit about other-worldly events. Only then would this class of people be able to rise up against the bourgeoisie and gain control of the means of production, and only then would they achieve real rewards, in this life. Thus, the social-conflict approach to religion highlights how religion, as a phenomenon of human behavior, functions to maintain social inequality by providing a worldview that justifies oppression.

It should be reiterated here that Marx's approach to sociology was critical in the sense that it advocated for change in the world. This is in stark contrast to other scholars, many of whom pursue knowledge for knowledge's sake, and lack overt political aims. Because Marx was committed to criticizing the prevailing organization of society during his time, he took a particularly aggressive stance towards religion. He believed that it was a tool of social control used to maintain an unequal status quo, and that it should be abolished.



Religious Buddhist Gathering in Tibetan Monastery: Tharlam Monastery of Tibetan Buddhism

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14.5: The Symbolic-Interactionist Perspective on Religion

Religious Symbols

Religious symbolism is the use of acts, artwork, and events to create a mythos expressing the teachings of the religion.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the use of religious symbols as means of representing the ideals and values of a particular religion

Key Points

- Christianity has borrowed from the common stock of significant symbols known to most periods and to all regions of the world.
- Universalism refers to religious, theological and philosophical concepts with universal application or applicability.
- Comparative religion is the systematic comparison of the doctrines and practices of the world's religions.

Key Terms

- **Universalism**: The theological belief that all souls can attain salvation.
- **comparative religion**: Comparative religion compares the doctrines and practices of the worlds religions.

Religious symbolism is the use by a religion of symbols including archetypes, acts, artwork, events, or natural phenomena. Religions view religious texts, rituals and works of art as symbols of compelling ideas or ideals. Symbols help create a resonant mythos expressing the moral values of the society or the teachings of the religion, foster solidarity among adherents, and bring adherents closer to their object of worship.

The symbolism of the early Church was characterized as being understood by initiates only. After the legalization of Christianity in the 4th-century, more recognizable symbols were put in use. Christianity has borrowed from the common stock of significant symbols known to most periods and to all regions of the world.



Hindu Symbol: Aum Hindu symbol

The study of religious symbolism is either universalist, a component of comparative religion and mythology, or seen in a localized scope within the confines of a religion's limits and boundaries. Universalism refers to religious, theological and philosophical concepts with universal application or applicability. Religion in this context is defined as a set of beliefs concerning the cause, nature and purpose of the universe. This is especially true when religion is considered the creation of a superhuman agency or agencies, usually involving devotional and ritual observances containing a moral code governing the conduct of human affairs.

Comparative religion concerns the systematic comparison of the world's religions. There are many benefits to such a course of inquiry, but in general the comparative study of religion yields a deeper understanding of the fundamental philosophical concerns of religion, including ethics, metaphysics and the nature and form of salvation.

Religious symbolism is effective when it appeals to both the intellect and the emotions. The choice of suitable acts and objects is narrow enough that it would not be easy to avoid the appearance of an imitation of other traditions, even if there had been a deliberate attempt to invent an entirely new ritual.

Rituals

A ritual is a set of actions performed mainly for their symbolic value, that may be prescribed by the traditions of a community.

Learning Objectives

Identify the types of and purposes of rituals in various contexts of society, such as religion or politics

Key Points

- The term ritual usually refers to actions which are stylized, while excluding actions which are arbitrarily chosen by the performers.
- In religion, a ritual can comprise the prescribed outward forms observation within a religion or religious denomination.
- The purposes of rituals are varied and may include fulfillment of religious obligations or ideals, satisfaction of spiritual or emotional needs of the practitioners, strengthening of social bonds, social and moral education, etc.
- The social function of rituals has often been exploited for political ends. Alongside the personal dimensions of worship and reverence, rituals can have a more basic social functions

in expressing, fixing, and reinforcing the shared values and beliefs of a society.
- Many animal species use ritualized actions to court or to greet each other or to fight.

Key Terms

- **ritual**: Rite; a repeated set of actions
- **social function**: Rituals may serve a social function in that they express, fix, and reinforce the shared values and beliefs of a society.

Rituals

A ritual is a set of actions performed mainly for their symbolic value. It may be prescribed by the traditions of a community, including by a religious community. The term usually refers to actions which are stylized, and usually excludes actions which are arbitrarily chosen by the performers. The purposes of rituals are varied. Rituals can fulfill religious obligations or ideals, satisfy spiritual or emotional needs of the practitioners, strengthen of social bonds, provide social and moral education, demonstrate of respect or submission, allow one to state one's affiliation, obtain social acceptance or approval for some event —or rituals are sometimes performed just for the pleasure of the ritual itself.

Rituals of various kinds are a feature of almost all known human societies, past or present. They include not only the various worship rites and sacraments of organized religions and cults, but also the rites of passage of certain societies, atonement and purification rites, oaths of allegiance, dedication ceremonies, coronations and presidential inaugurations, marriages and funerals, school "rush" traditions and graduations, club meetings, sports events, Halloween parties, veterans parades, Christmas shopping and more.

In religion, a ritual can comprise the prescribed outward forms of observation within a religion or religious denomination. Although ritual is often used in conjunction with worship performed in a church, the actual relationship between any religion's doctrine and its ritual(s) can vary considerably from organized religion to non-institutionalized spirituality.

Social Uses of Ritual

The social function of rituals has often been exploited for political ends. Alongside the personal dimensions of worship and reverence, rituals can have social functions that express, fix and reinforce the shared values and beliefs of a society. Rituals can help create a firm sense of group identity. Humans have used rituals to create social bonds and even to nourish interpersonal relationships. For example, nearly all fraternities and sororities have rituals incorporated into their structure, from elaborate and sometimes secret initiation rites, to the formalized structures used to convene a meeting. Thus, numerous aspects of ritual and ritualistic proceedings are ingrained into the workings of those societies.

Ritual actions are not only characteristic of human cultures; animal rituals exist as well. Many animal species use ritualized actions to court or to greet each other, or to fight. At least some ritualized actions have very strong selective purpose in animals. For example, ritualized fights often help avoid or limit strong physical violence between conflicting animals.



Devotees tie red crimson threads on making a wish fulfilled.: The temple dedicated to Mata Chintpurni Devi is located in District Una of Himachal Pradesh.

Beliefs

Religious belief is a strong belief in a supernatural power or powers that control human destiny.

Learning Objectives

Examine the complexity of belief and the categories of belief within society

Key Points

- Religious adherents often distinguish religious belief from superstition. The term superstition refers to what are seen as

excessive or false religious behaviors as opposed to proper or accepted religious standards.
- People with pluralist beliefs make no distinction between faith systems, viewing each one as valid within a particular culture.
- People with syncretistic views blend the views of a variety of different religions or traditional beliefs into a unique fusion which suits their particular experience and context.
- People with exclusivist beliefs typically explain other religions as either in error, or as corruptions or counterfeits of the true faith. In monotheistic faiths, references to God are used in constructs such as "God's Chosen People".
- People with inclusivist beliefs recognize some truth in all faith systems, highlighting agreements and minimizing differences, but see their own faith as in some way ultimate.

Key Terms

- **pluralist beliefs**: Religious pluralism is an attitude or policy regarding the diversity of religious belief systems co-existing in society.
- **superstition**: A belief, not based on human reason or scientific knowledge, that future events may be influenced by one's behaviour in some magical or mystical way.
- **supernatural power**: The supernatural is that which is not subject to the laws of nature, or more figuratively, that which is said to exist above and beyond nature.

Belief

Religious belief is a strong belief in a supernatural power or powers that control human destiny. Such a state may relate to the existence, characteristics, and worship of a deity or deities; divine intervention in the universe and human life; or values and practices centered on the teachings of a spiritual leader. In contrast to other belief systems, religious beliefs are usually codified.

Belief and Superstition: a Matter of Perspective

Religious adherents often distinguish their own religious beliefs from superstition. Both superstition and many traditional religions are non-materialistic, do not see the world as being subject to laws of cause and effect, and presume that there are immaterial forces influencing our lives. Both religion and superstition seek meaning in otherwise random and chaotic events. However, the term "superstition" refers to what the speaker sees as excessive or false religious behavior as opposed to belief or behavior within a proper or accepted religious standard.



Praying Hands: Praying is an act of belief in many religious faiths.

Categories of Belief

People with *pluralist* beliefs make no distinction between faith systems, viewing each one as valid within a particular culture. People with *syncretistic* views blend the views of a variety of different religions or traditional beliefs into a unique fusion which suits their particular experience and context. Adherents of particular religions deal with the differing doctrines and practices espoused by other religions in a variety ways.

People with *exclusivist* beliefs typically explain other religions as either in error, or as corruptions or counterfeits of the true faith. Throughout history, various groups of people have considered themselves as chosen by a deity for a purpose, such as to act as the deity's agent on earth. In monotheistic faiths, like Abrahamic religions, references to God are often used in constructs such as "God's Chosen People. " By contrast, people with *inclusivist* beliefs recognize some truth in all faith systems, highlighting agreements and minimizing differences, but often see their own faith as in some way ultimate.

Religious Experience

A religious experience is usually an uncommon occurrence in which an individual encounters what he or she considers to be the divine.

Learning Objectives

Identify the different types of religious experiences a person can have and the impact of each for the person

Key Points

- The German thinker Rudolf Otto argued that all religious experiences are "numinous" experiences. For Otto, this meant that they invoked the mysterium tremendum, which is the tendency to invoke fear and trembling, and the mysterium fascinas, which is the tendency to attract, fascinate, and compel.

- In ecstasy, the believer is understood to have a soul or spirit which can leave the body.
- In enthusiasm, God is understood to be outside, other than, or beyond the believer. In such a belief system, this outer deity is believed to occasionally inhabit and possess the bodies of people. Those who are possessed in this way are often called mediums.
- In the mystical experience, all otherness disappears and the believer becomes one with the transcendent. The believer discovers that he or she is not distinct from other objects, other people, the cosmos, the deity, but part of an interconnected whole.
- The term spiritual awakening can refer to any of a wide range of experiences, including being born again, having a near-death experience, or achieving mystical liberation or enlightenment.

Key Terms

- **mystical experience**: In the mystical experience, all otherness'disappears and the believer becomes one with the transcendent. The believer discovers that he or she is not distinct from the cosmos, the deity, or the other reality, but one with all of these, as part of an interconnected whole.
- **ecstasy**: a trance, frenzy, or rapture associated with mystic or prophetic exaltation
- **numinous experiences**: Numinous is is an English adjective describing the power or presence of a divinity. The numinous experience has both a quality of tremendum, which is the tendency to invoke fear and trembling, and a quality of fascinans, the tendency to attract, fascinate and compel. The numinous experience also has a personal quality to it, in that the person feels to be in communion with a wholly other. The numinous experience can lead in different cases to belief in deities, the supernatural, the sacred, the holy, and/or the transcendent.

Studying Religious Experience

Religious experience is the subjective experience in which an individual reports that he or she has either contacted a transcendent reality, or encountered, in some fashion, the divine. A religious experience is usually uncommon, because it rarely involves everyday activities and life experiences, and because it is enmeshed with a particular individual's perception of the divine. Studying religious experience objectively is a difficult task, because it is entirely a subjective phenomenon. Definitions of what exactly is divine, and what is not, might differ from person to person. However, scholars have identified certain features that seem to be either common or patterned among many religious experiences. This has allowed them to study religious experience objectively.

Numinous Experience

Rudolf Otto, a German thinker, attempted to theorize a single term that could explain the structure of all religious experience independent of cultural background. In his book, *The Idea of the Holy*, he identified this and called it the "numinous" experience. For an experience to be numinous, in Otto's opinion, it needed to involve two things. First, it had to include the mysterium tremendum, which is the tendency to invoke fear and trembling. Secondly, it had to include the mysterium fascinas, which is the tendency to attract, fascinate or compel. According to Otto, a numinous experience also has a personal quality to it, because individuals typically feel that they are opening some unique communication chain with the divine.

Communicating with the Divine

Communication with the divine can express itself in two ways, the first of which relates to ectsasy, the second to enthusiasm. In ecstasy, believers are understood to have a soul or spirit which can leave the body. Characteristic of the shaman, the goal of this type of experience is to leave one's body and experience transcendental realities. In enthusiasm, on the other hand, God is understood to be outside, other than, or beyond the believer. In this type of experience, a sacred power is believed to enter people occasionally, and gain possession of their bodies. A person capable of being possessed is sometimes called a medium.

Mystical Experience

Mystical experiences are in many ways the opposite of numinous experiences. In mystical experiences, all 'otherness' disappears, and the believer recognizes that they are one with the transcendent. The believer discovers that he or she is not distinct from other objects, the cosmos, the deity, or other realities, but part of a grand interconnected whole. This type of experience often comes into tension with institutional religion. Conventional religions, by definition, have strong institutional structures, including formal hierarchies and mandated sacred texts and/or creeds. Adherents of these institutional faiths are expected to respect or follow these mandates closely, all of which rely on demarcations and rigid hierarchies. Because mysticism emphasizes radical unity, which is the opposite of hierarchy, it is often deprecated or persecuted by members of these institutional faiths.

Spiritual Awakening

A spiritual awakening usually involves a person realizing, or becoming aware of, a sacred dimension of reality. While this may or may not be considered a religious experience, a spiritual awakening often has lasting effects upon an individual's life. The term "spiritual awakening" can refer to a wide range of

experiences, including being born again, having a near-death experience, or achieving mystical liberation or enlightenment.



Catholic Religious Experience: Religious experience in Catholicism is accomplished by praying to Catholic religious symbols.

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14.6: Religious Organizations

Cult

Cult refers to a religious movement or group whose beliefs or practices are considered abnormal or bizarre.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate cults from sects, according to sociologists

Key Points

- In the 1930s, cults became the object of sociological study in the context of the study of religious behavior.
- American sociologist Howard P. Becker created four categories by splitting church into “ecclesia” and “denomination,” and sect into “sect” and “cult”.
- Cults, for Becker, were small religious groups lacking in organization and emphasizing the private nature of personal beliefs. Unlike sects, which are products of religious schism that maintain continuity with traditional beliefs, cults arise spontaneously around novel beliefs and practices.
- Those critical of cults share the assumption that some form of coercive persuasion or mind control is used by cult leaders to recruit and maintain members.

Key Terms

- **apostate**: A person who has renounced a religion or faith.
- **denomination**: A class, or society of individuals, called by the same name; a sect; as, a denomination of Christians.
- **ecclesia**: The congregation, the group of believers, symbolic body or building.

The word “cult” in current popular usage usually refers to a new religious movement or other group whose beliefs or practices are considered abnormal or bizarre. Originally denoting a system of ritual practices, the word was introduced into sociological classification in 1932 by American sociologist Howard P. Becker. In the 1930s, cults became the object of sociological study in the context of the study of religious behavior. They have been criticized by mainstream Christians for their unorthodox beliefs.



Rev. Jim Jones: Jim Jones was the leader of the Peoples Temple, a cult that committed a mass murder-suicide in 1978.

Becker’s Typology

Becker created four categories by splitting church into “ecclesia” and “denomination”, and sect into “sect” and “cult.” Cults, for Becker, were small religious groups lacking in organization and emphasizing the private nature of personal beliefs. Sociologists still maintain that unlike sects, which are products of religious schism that maintain continuity with traditional beliefs and practices, cults arise spontaneously around novel beliefs and practices.

While most scholars no longer refer to any new religious movements as cults, some sociologists still favor retaining the word as it was used in church-sect typologies. Other scholars and non-academic researchers who use the word do so from explicitly critical perspectives, focusing on the relationship between cult groups and the individuals who join them. These perspectives share the assumption that some form of coercive persuasion or mind control is used to recruit and maintain members by suppressing their ability to reason, think critically, and make choices in their own best interest. Mind control refers to a process in which a group or individual “systematically uses unethically manipulative methods to persuade others to conform to the wishes of the manipulator(s), often to the detriment of the person being manipulated. ”

Opponents

Secular cult opponents like those belonging to the anti-cult movement tend to define a cult as a group that tends to manipulate, exploit, and control its members. Specific factors in cult behavior are said to include manipulative and authoritarian mind control over members, communal and totalistic organization, aggressive proselytizing, systematic programs of indoctrination, and perpetuation in middle-class communities. The role of former members, or ” apostates,” has been widely

studied by social scientists. At times, these individuals become outspoken public critics of the groups they leave. Their motivations, the roles they play in the anti-cult movement, the validity of their testimony, and the narratives they construct, are controversial. According to researchers who have studied apostates, there are several cases where hostile ex-members shade the truth and blow minor incidents out of proportion.

Sect

A sect is a group with distinctive religious, political, or philosophical beliefs.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the varying ways that sects have been understood over time.

Key Points

- Although in the past the term "sect" was mostly used to refer to religious groups, it has since expanded and in modern culture can refer to any organization that breaks away from a larger one to follow a different set of rules and principles.
- The historical usage of the term sect in Christianity has had pejorative connotations, referring to a group or movement with heretical beliefs or practices that deviate from those of groups considered orthodox.
- Among the first to define sects were the sociologists Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch.
- There are differences between sects and cults in the degree that members are recruited and kept. A sect may also have members who choose to leave later, whereas a cult uses any means necessary to keep its members, including coercion.
- Sectarianism is sometimes defined in the sociology of religion as a worldview that emphasizes the unique legitimacy of believers' creed and practices and that heightens tension with society.
- Sectarian violence refers to violence inspired by sectarianism. Some of the possible inputs for sectarian violence include power struggles, political climate, social climate, cultural climate, and economic landscape.

Key Terms

- **cult**: A group of people with a religious, philosophical or cultural identity sometimes viewed as a sect, often existing on the margins of society or exploitative towards its members.
- **sectarian violence**: Sectarian violence or sectarian strife is violence inspired by sectarianism, that is, between different sects of one particular mode of ideology or religion within a nation or community.
- **sectarianism**: Rigid adherence to a particular sect, party, or denomination.

A sect is a group with distinctive religious, political, or philosophical beliefs. Although in the past it was mostly used to refer to religious groups, it has since expanded and in modern culture can refer to any organization that breaks away from a larger one to follow a different set of rules and principles. The term is occasionally used in a malicious way to suggest the broken-off group follows a more negative path than the original. The historical usage of the term "sect" in Christianity has had pejorative connotations, referring to a group or movement with heretical beliefs or practices that deviate from those of groups considered orthodox.

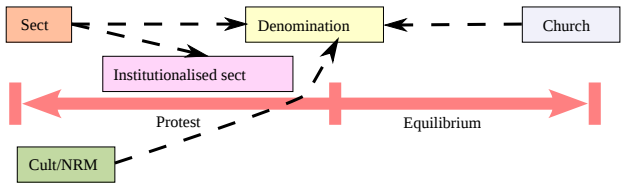
There are several different sociological definitions and descriptions for the term. Among the first to define them were the sociologists Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch. In the church-sect typology, sects are described as newly formed religious groups that form to protest elements of their parent religion. A sect differs from cults in the degree that members are recruited and kept. Whereas the cult is able to enforce its norms and ideas against members, a sect has followers, sympathizers, supporters, or believers. A sect may also have members who choose to leave later, whereas a cult uses any means necessary to keep its members, including coercion.

Sectarianism is sometimes defined in the sociology of religion as a worldview that emphasizes the unique legitimacy of believers' creed and practices and that heightens tension with the larger society by engaging in boundary-maintaining practices. Wherever people of different religions live in close proximity to each other, religious sectarianism can often be found in varying forms and degrees. In some areas, religious sectarians (for example Protestant and Catholic Christians in the United States) now exist peacefully side-by-side for the most part. Within Islam, there has been conflict at various periods between Sunnis and Shias. Shi'ites consider Sunnis to be damned, due to their refusal to accept the first Caliph as Ali and accept all following descendants of him as infallible and divinely guided. Many Sunni religious leaders, including those inspired by Wahhabism and other ideologies have declared Shias to be heretics and apostates.

The ideological underpinnings of attitudes and behaviors labeled as sectarian are extraordinarily varied. Members of a religious or political group may believe that their own salvation, or the success of their particular objectives, requires aggressively seeking converts from other groups. Adherents of a given faction may believe that for the achievement of their own political or religious project their internal opponents must be purged. Sectarian violence refers to violence inspired by

sectarianism. Some of the possible inputs for sectarian violence include power struggles, political climate, social climate, cultural climate, and economic landscape.

The Church-sect continuum



Church-sect continuum: Before describing these different religions, it is important for the reader to understand that these classifications are a good example of what sociologists refer to as ideal types. Ideal types are pure examples of the categories. Because there is significant variation in each religion, how closely an individual religion actually adheres to their ideal type classification will vary.

The Christian Church

The Christian Church is the assembly of followers of Jesus Christ; in Christianity, a church is the building where its members meet.

Learning Objectives

Describe the Church as the assembly of followers of Jesus Christ, and the building where its members meet.

Key Points

- The early Church originated in Roman Judea in the first century AD, founded on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who is believed by Christians to be the Son of God and Christ the Messiah.
- The Eastern Orthodox Church and Oriental Orthodoxy each claim to be the original Christian Church. The Eastern Orthodox Church bases its claim primarily on its traditions and beliefs of the original Christian Church.
- The Roman Catholic Church teaches in its doctrine that it is the original Church founded by Christ and the Apostles in the 1st century AD.
- State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination which are given official status or operated by a state.
- Churches of Christ are autonomous Christian congregations associated with one another through common beliefs and practices. Members of the Churches of Christ believe that Jesus founded only one church, that the current divisions between Christians are not God's will, and that the only basis for restoring Christian unity is the Bible.
- Protestants believe that the Church, as described in the Bible, has a twofold character that can be described as the visible and invisible church. The invisible church consists of all those from every time and place who are vitally united to Christ through regeneration and salvation and who will be eternally united to Jesus Christ in eternal life. The visible church refers to the institutional body on earth which preaches the gospel and administers the sacrament.
- State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination which are given official status or operated by a state.

Key Terms

- **Invisible Church**: The invisible church or church invisible is a theological concept of an "invisible" body of the elect who are known only to God, in contrast to the "visible church"—that is, the institutional body on earth which preaches the gospel and administers the sacraments.
- **assembly**: A legislative body; e.g., the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- **state churches**: State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination which are given official status or operated by a state.
- **church**: a Christian religious institution or building

The Christian Church is the assembly or association of followers of Jesus Christ. The four traditional notes of the Christian Church are unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. In the New Testament, the term "church," which in Greek meant "assembly," is used for local communities, and in a universal sense to mean all believers. In the Christian religion, a church is the building or structure used to facilitate the meeting of its members.

The "Original" Church

The early Church originated in Roman Judea in the first century AD, founded on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who is believed by Christians to be the Son of God and Christ the Messiah. It is usually thought of as beginning with Jesus' Apostles. The Eastern Orthodox Church and Oriental Orthodoxy each claim to be the original Christian Church. The Eastern Orthodox Church bases its claim primarily on its traditions and beliefs of the original Christian Church. By contrast, the Catholic Church teaches in its doctrine that it is the original Church founded by Christ on the Apostles in the 1st century AD. Since the Protestant Reformation, most Protestant denominations interpret "catholic," especially in its creedal context, as referring to the Protestant concept of an eternal, invisible church of Christ and the Elect. Anglicans generally understand their tradition as a a middle path between Roman Catholicism and Eastern Christianity on one hand, and Protestantism on the other.

Churches of Christ

Churches of Christ are autonomous Christian churches associated with one another through common beliefs and practices. They seek to base doctrine and practice on the Bible alone, and seek to be New Testament congregations as originally established by the authority of Christ. Members of Churches of Christ believe that Jesus founded only one church, that the current divisions between Christians are not God's will —the only basis for restoring Christian unity is the Bible. Many Protestants believe that the Church, as described in the Bible, has a twofold character that can be described as the visible and invisible church. The invisible church consists of all those from every time and place who are vitally united to Christ through regeneration and salvation and who will be eternally united to Jesus Christ in eternal life. The visible church—the institutional body on earth which preaches the gospel and administers the sacrament—consists of all those who visibly join themselves to a profession of faith and gathering together to know and serve the Head of the Church, Jesus Christ.

Political Significance

Churches can also have political significance around the world. State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination, given official status or operated by a state. State churches are not necessarily national churches in the ethnic sense of the term, but the two concepts may overlap in a nation state where the state boundary largely corresponds to the distribution of a single ethnic group defined by a specific denomination. State churches, by contrast, may also be minority denominations which are given political recognition by the state.



Holy Ascension Orthodox Church in Mount Pleasant: Different Christian Sects construct their own Churches, which are their places of worship

The Ecclesia

Ecclesias are different from churches because they typically must compete with other religious voices in a community.

Learning Objectives

Distinguish ecclesia from churches and denominations.

Key Points

- While a church is an institution that acts as the religious guardian for all members of a community, and that tolerates no competition, an ecclesia is less successful at garnering absolute adherence among all members.
- State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination that are either given official status by a state, or operated directly by a state. State churches in Western Europe are generally ecclesias.
- An ecclesial community is, in Roman Catholic terminology, a Christian religious group that does not meet the Roman Catholic definition of a church.
- In Catholic canon law, a church is an ecclesial community headed by a bishop or someone recognized as the equivalent of a bishop.

Key Terms

- **particular church**: In Catholic canon law, a particular church is an ecclesial community headed by a bishop or someone equivalent to a bishop.
- **ecclesial community**: An ecclesial community is, in Roman Catholic terminology, a Christian religious group that does not meet the Roman Catholic definition of a "Church".
- **state churches**: State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination which are given official status or operated by a state.

Church is a classificatory term used to describe the institutional expression of religion. Churches typically tolerate no religious competition, and serve as the guardians and guides of spiritual life for a particular group of people. Churches can be contrasted with denominations, which do involve competition between religions. A church, through its institutional presence, typically strives to provide an all-encompassing worldview for its adherents. It is also almost always enmeshed with the political and economic structures of a society. A striking historical example of this is the Holy Roman Empire.

A slight modification of the church type is that of ecclesia. Ecclesias include the above characteristics of churches, but they are generally less successful at garnering absolute adherence among all of the members of the society. Ecclesias are also typically not the sole religious body in a particular societal space. The state churches of some European nations would fit this type. State churches are organizational bodies within a Christian denomination that have been given official status by a state, or are directly operated by a state. The Anglican Church of England, for example, is a state church that does not have the

adherence of all English citizens. Because of this, it is considered an ecclesia.

An ecclesial community is, in Roman Catholic terminology, a Christian religious group that does not meet the Roman Catholic definition of a church. Although the word "ecclesial" itself stems from the Greek word for "church" or "gathering," ecclesias are not necessarily churches. The Catholic Church applies the word "Church" only to Christian communities that, in the view of the Catholic Church, "have true sacraments in light of Apostolic succession" and that possess a priesthood and the Eucharist. In this way, certain ecclesia fail to meet the requirements for a church. In Catholic canon law, a particular church is an ecclesial community headed by a bishop or an equivalent figure.



Choir of an Ecclesia: Catholic Mass

Religious Denominations

A religious denomination is a subgroup within a religion that operates under a common name, tradition, and identity.

Learning Objectives

Explain why denominations form within religions.

Key Points

- Christian denominations include Eastern Orthodox, Anglicanism, and the many varieties of Protestantism.
- The four branches of Judaism include Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist.
- The two main branches of Islam are Sunni and Shia.
- Denominationalism is the division of one religion into separate groups, sects, schools of thought, or denominations.
- In Christianity, non-denominational institutions or churches are those not formally aligned with an established denomination, or that remain otherwise officially autonomous.
- Ecumenism mainly refers to initiatives aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation.
- The term interfaith dialogue refers to cooperative, constructive, and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions and spiritual or humanistic beliefs

Key Terms

- **interfaith dialogue**: The term interfaith dialogue refers to cooperative, constructive, and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions (i.e., "faiths") or spiritual or humanistic beliefs, at both the individual and institutional levels. It is distinct from syncretism or alternative religion; this dialogue often promotes understanding between different religions to increase acceptance of others, rather than attempting to synthesize new beliefs.
- **ecumenism**: Ecumenism mainly refers to initiatives aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation.
- **denominationalism**: The division of one religion into separate groups, sects, schools of thought, or denominations.

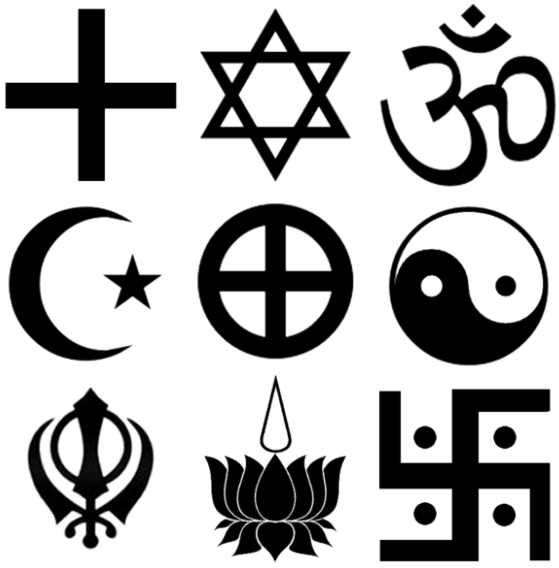
A religious denomination is a subgroup within a religion that operates under a common name, tradition, and identity. The term describes various Christian denominations (for example, Eastern Orthodox, Anglicanism, and the many varieties of Protestantism). The term also describes the four branches of Judaism (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist), and describes the two main branches of Islam (Sunni and Shia). Denominationalism is the division of one religion into separate groups, sects, schools of thought, or denominations.

Denominations often form slowly over time for many reasons. Due to historical accidents of geography, culture and influence between different groups, members of a given religion slowly begin to diverge in their views. Members of a religion may find that they have developed significantly different views on theology, philosophy, religious pluralism, ethics, and religious practices and rituals. Consequently, different denominations may eventually form. In other cases, denominations form very rapidly, from a split or schism in an existing denomination, or if people share an experience of spiritual revival or spiritual awakening and subsequently choose to form a new denomination.

In Christianity, non-denominational institutions or churches are those not formally aligned with an established denomination or those that remain otherwise officially autonomous. Non-denominational congregations may establish a functional denomination via mutual recognition by other congregations with commonly held doctrine, policy, and worship—without formalizing external direction or oversight in such matters. Some non-denominational churches explicitly reject the idea of

a formalized denominational structure as a matter of principle, holding that each congregation is better off being autonomous.

In a similar but different vein, ecumenism mainly refers to initiatives aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation. It is used predominantly with reference to Christian denominations and churches separated by doctrine, history, and practice. Within this particular context, the term ecumenism refers to the idea of a Christian unity in the literal meaning: that there should be a single Christian Church. At a broader level, the term "interfaith dialogue" refers to cooperative, constructive, and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions and spiritual or humanistic beliefs—at both an individual and institutional level.



Religious Symbols: Symbols of Various Faiths

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14.7: The Structure of Religion in the U.S.

Religion in the U.S.

Due to the First Amendment, which grants freedom of religion, there is a diversity of religious beliefs and practices in the U.S.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the relationship between religion and government in the United States

Key Points

- The First Amendment specifically denies the Federal Government the power to enact any law respecting either an establishment of religion or prohibiting its free exercise, thus protecting any religious organization, institution, or denomination from government interference.
- European Rationalist and Protestant ideals influenced the development of separation between state and religious affairs.
- The majority of Americans (76% to 80%) identify themselves as Protestants or Catholics, accounting for 51% and 25% of the population respectively.

Key Terms

- **First Amendment**: The First Amendment (Amendment I) to the United States Constitution is part of the Bill of Rights. The amendment prohibits the making of any law respecting an establishment of religion, impeding the free exercise of religion, abridging the freedom of speech, infringing on the freedom of the press, interfering with the right to peaceably assemble or prohibiting the petitioning for a governmental redress of grievances.
- **Religious Organization**: Religious activities generally need some infrastructure to be conducted. For this reason, there generally exist religion-supporting organizations, which are some form of organization that manage the upkeep of places of worship, e.g., mosques, prayer rooms, other similar edifices or meeting places, and the payment of salaries to priests, ministers, or religious leaders. In addition, such organizations usually have other responsibilities, such as the formation, nomination, or appointment of religious leaders; the establishment of a corpus of doctrine; the disciplining of priests or other people with respect to religious law; and the determination of qualification for membership.
- **creed**: That which is believed; accepted doctrine, especially religious; a particular set of beliefs; any summary of principles or opinions professed or adhered to.

Religion in the United States is characterized by both a diversity of religious beliefs and practices, and by a high adherence level. A wide variety of religious choices have been available to the U.S. population due to the First Amendment of the Constitution, which allows freedom of religion.

Separation of Church and State in the United States

The framers of the Constitution modeled the provisions concerning religion within the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom and rejected any religious test for office. The First Amendment specifically denies the Federal Government the power to enact any law respecting either an establishment of religion or prohibiting its free exercise. This amendment protects any religious organization, institution, or denomination from government interference. The decision was mainly influenced by European Rationalist and Protestant ideals, but was also a consequence of the pragmatic concerns of minority religious groups and small states that did not want to be under the power or influence of a national religion that did not represent their beliefs.

Robert N. Bellah has argued that although the separation of church and state is grounded firmly in the Constitution of the United States, this does not mean that there is no religious dimension in the political society of the United States. He used the term “civil religion” to describe the specific relation between politics and religion in the United States. His 1967 article, “Civil religion in America,” analyzes the inaugural speech of John F. Kennedy: “Considering the separation of church and state, how is a president justified in using the word ‘God’ at all? The answer is that the separation of church and state has not denied the political realm a religious dimension. ”

Robert S. Wood has argued that the United States is a model for the world in terms of how a separation of church and state—no state-run or state-established church—is good for both the church and the state, allowing a variety of religions to flourish. Speaking at the Toronto-based Center for New Religions, Wood said that the freedom of conscience and assembly allowed under such a system has led to a “remarkable religiosity” in the United States that isn’t present in other industrialized nations. Wood believes that the United States operates on “a sort of civic religion,” which includes a generally shared belief in a creator who “expects better of us.” Beyond that, individuals are free to decide how they want to believe and fill in their own creeds and express their conscience. He calls this approach the “genius of religious sentiment in the United States. ”

Religious Affiliation in the United States

The majority of Americans (76% to 80%) identify themselves as Protestants or Catholics, accounting for 51% and 25% of the population respectively, according to one survey by Trinity

College. Non-Christian religions (including Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.) collectively make up about 5% of the adult population. Another 15% of the adult population claims no religious affiliation. When asked, about 5.2% said they did not know or refused to reply. According to the American Religious Identification Survey, religious belief varies considerably by region. The lowest rate is in the West, with 59% reporting a belief in God, and the highest rate is in the South (the "Bible Belt") at 86%.



Islamic Center: Islamic Center of Washington located at 2551 Massachusetts Avenue NW in Washington, D.C.

Religious Diversity

Religion in the United States is characterized by both a wide diversity in religious beliefs and practices and by a high adherence level.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the scope of religious diversity in the United States

Key Points

- According to the U.S. Census, the most common religions in the United States are Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and unaffiliated religions, including atheists or agnostics.
- Religious pluralism is an attitude or policy regarding the diversity of religious belief systems co-existing in society.
- Interfaith dialogue refers to dialogue between members of different religions for the goal of reducing conflicts between their religions and to achieve agreed-upon, mutually desirable goals.
- Freedom of religion encompasses all religions acts within the law in a particular region.

Key Terms

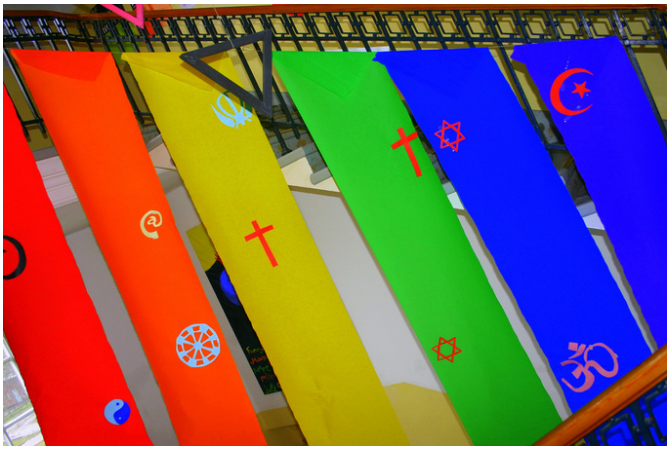
- **interfaith dialogue**: The term interfaith dialogue refers to cooperative, constructive, and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions (i.e., "faiths") or spiritual or humanistic beliefs, at both the individual and institutional levels. It is distinct from syncretism or alternative religion; this dialogue often promotes understanding between different religions to increase acceptance of others, rather than attempting to synthesize new beliefs.
- **religious pluralism**: The peaceful coexistence of multiple religions in a community.
- **freedom of religion**: The right of citizens to hold any religious or non-religious beliefs, and to carry out any practices in accordance with those beliefs, so long as they do not interfere with another person's legal or civil rights, or any reasonable laws, without fear of harm or prosecution.

Religion in the United States is characterized by both a wide diversity in religious beliefs and practices and by a high adherence level. A majority of Americans report that religion plays a "very important" role in their lives, a proportion unique among developed nations. Many faiths have flourished in the United States, including those spanning the country's multicultural immigrant heritage, as well as those founded within the country; these have led the United States to become one of the most religiously diverse countries in the world.

The U.S. Census does not ask about religion. Various groups have conducted surveys to determine approximate percentages of those affiliated with each religious group. Some surveys ask people to self-identify, while others calculate church memberships. According to the census, religion in the United States is comprised of Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and the unaffiliated, including atheists or agnostics.

The largest religion in the United States is Christianity, practiced by the majority of the population. Due to its large population and history, the United States has numerically more Christians (and more Protestants) than any other country in the world. After Christianity and no-religion, Judaism is the third-largest religious affiliation in the United States, though this identification is not necessarily indicative of religious beliefs or practices. A significant number of people identify themselves as American Jews on ethnic and cultural grounds, rather than religious ones. On the other hand, American Islam effectively began with the arrival of African slaves. It is estimated that about 10% of African slaves transported to the United States were Muslim. Research indicates that Muslims in the United States are generally more assimilated and prosperous than Muslims in Europe.

Religious pluralism is an attitude or policy regarding the diversity of religious belief systems co-existing in society. Religious pluralism is sometimes used as a synonym for interfaith dialogue. Interfaith dialogue refers to dialogue between members of different religions for the goal of reducing conflicts between their religions and to achieve agreed upon mutually desirable goals. Freedom of religion encompasses all religions acting within the law in a particular region, whether or not an individual religion accepts that other religions are legitimate or that freedom of religious choice and religious plurality, in general, are good things.



Religious Diversity: Religious symbols represented in this picture reflect the religious diversity in the United States. Among the symbols one can recognize Islam, Judaism, Christianity, and Buddhism.

Widespread Belief

Christianity is the largest religion in the United States, with around 77% of the population identifying itself as Christian.

Learning Objectives

Identify the most common and popular religions in the United States

Key Points

- Christian denominations in the U.S. are usually divided into three large groups: Evangelical, Mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic.
- The mainline Protestant Christian denominations were brought to the U.S. by its historic immigrant groups; for this reason they are sometimes referred to as heritage churches.
- Other parts of the world have different widespread beliefs. Islam, for example, dominates the Middle East.

Key Terms

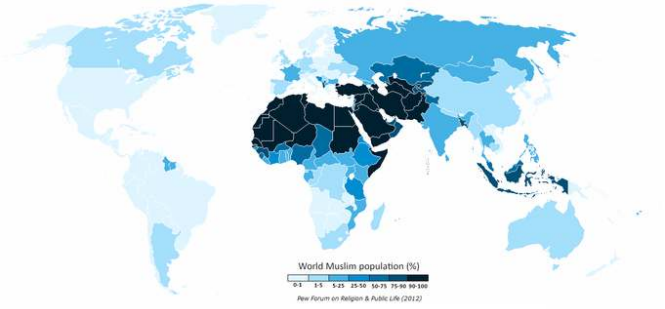
- **Roman Catholicism**: The Catholic Church, also known as the Roman Catholic Church, is the world's largest Christian church, with more than one billion members worldwide.
- **Mainline Protestantism**: Mainline Protestant (also sometimes called "mainstream American Protestant") are certain Protestant churches in the United States that comprised a majority of Americans from the colonial era until the early 20th century.
- **evangelicalism**: Protestant movement basing its theology almost entirely on Scripture, which is held to be inerrant.

It is common for many societies to be dominated by a single widespread belief. For example, Christianity is the largest and most popular religion in the United States, with around 77% of those polled identifying themselves as Christian as of 2009. Protestant denominations accounted for 51.3%, while Roman Catholicism, at 23.9%, was the largest individual denomination. One study categorizes white evangelicals, 26.3% of the population, as the country's largest religious cohort, while another study estimates evangelicals of all races at 30–35%. Christianity was introduced to the Americas in the 16th and 17th centuries by European colonization.

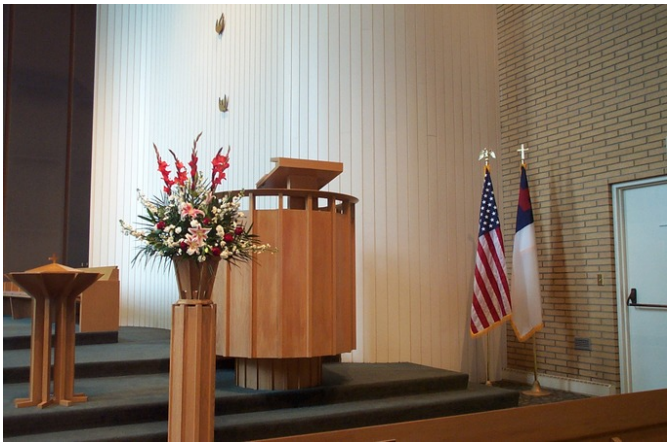
Today, most Christian denominations in the United States are divided into three large groups: Evangelicalism, Mainline Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Christian denominations that do not fall within either of these groups are mostly associated with ethnic minorities, i.e. the various denominations of Eastern Orthodoxy. Evangelicalism is a Protestant Christian movement. In typical usage, the term mainline is contrasted with evangelical. Most adherents consider its key characteristics to be:

- a belief in the need for personal conversion (or being "born again")
- some expression of the gospel
- a high regard for Biblical authority
- an emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus.

Other parts of the world have different widespread beliefs. Islam, for example, dominates the Middle East, with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, and Niger having 90% or more of their population identifying as Muslim. Islam is also the state religion in areas of Asia, the Middle East and North Africa.



Worldwide Muslim Population: As the map shows, certain regions are dominated by widespread beliefs.



Christian Flag at Covenant Presbyterian Church: The Christian flag displayed with the flag of the USA; note the finials on the flag poles. This is next to the pulpit and baptismal font in Covenant Presbyterian Church, Long Beach, California, USA;

Ecumenism

Ecumenism mainly refers to initiatives aimed at creating greater Christian unity or cooperation.

Learning Objectives

Define ecumenism and its central features

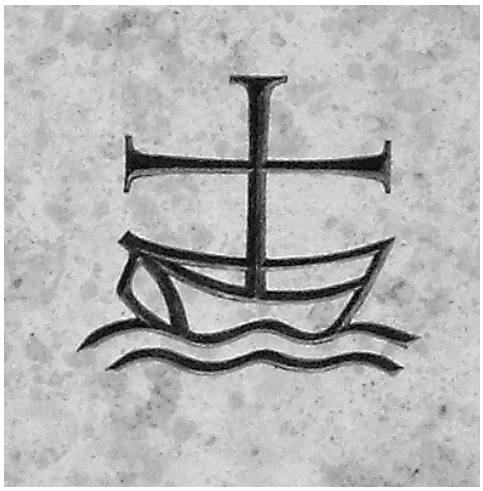
Key Points

- Ecumenism contrasts with interfaith dialogue, which aims at unity, respect, and cooperation among diverse religions, under the auspices of a shared sense of spirituality.
- Despite many disagreements over ecumenism and how to approach interfaith dialogue, there exists a sizable group of Orthodox Christians who are vehemently opposed to any kind of interfaith dialogue.
- The general understanding of the ecumenical movement is that it came from the Roman Catholic Church ‘s attempts to reconcile with Christians who had become separated over theological issues.

Key Terms

- **Orthodox Christians**: The Eastern Orthodox Church, officially called the Orthodox Catholic Church and commonly referred to as the Orthodox Church, is the second largest Christian church in the world, with an estimated 300 million adherents mainly in the countries of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Cyprus, all of which — except Bosnia — are majority Eastern Orthodox. It teaches that it is the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church established by Jesus Christ and his Apostles almost 2,000 years ago.
- **interfaith dialogue**: The term interfaith dialogue refers to cooperative, constructive, and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions (i.e., “faiths”) or spiritual or humanistic beliefs, at both the individual and institutional levels. It is distinct from syncretism or alternative religion; this dialogue often promotes understanding between different religions to increase acceptance of others, rather than attempting to synthesize new beliefs.
- **ecumenism**: Ecumenism mainly refers to initiatives aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation.

Ecumenism refers to initiatives aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation. As a term, it usually only refers to predominantly Christian denominations and churches separated by doctrine, history, and practice. Within this particular context, ecumenism refers to the idea that Christians should literally unify under a single Christian church. Ecumenism contrasts with the practice of interfaith dialogue, which is aimed at unity, respect, and cooperation among diverse religions. Interfaith dialogue, also known as interfaith pluralism, refers to “religious unity” not in the sense of a single church, but instead by the advocacy of a greater sense of shared spirituality.



Ecumenism Symbol: Ecumenism mainly refers to initiatives aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation.

The ecumenical movement is understood to have emerged from the Roman Catholic Church's attempts reconcile with other Christians who had separated over theological issues. Although this is not the case with all Catholics, most ecumenical Catholics have the goal of reconciling all those with a Christian faith in a single, visible organization, through a union with the Roman Catholic Church. For some Protestants, spiritual unity, and unity in how a church teaches central issues, sufficiently represents this general movement.

The Oriental Orthodox and Eastern Orthodox churches are two distinct bodies of local churches. Within each body, the churches share full communion, although there is not official communion between the two bodies. Many theologians of the Eastern and Oriental Orthodoxies engage in theological dialogue with each other and with some Western churches, but this stops short of full communion.

Members of the Anglican Communion, in the United Kingdom, have generally embraced the Ecumenical Movement, and actively participate in organizations like the World Council of Churches and the NCCC. Within the Anglican Communion, each member church is allowed to make its own decision with regard to intercommunion.

Despite many disagreements over ecumenism and how to approach interfaith dialogue, there exists a sizable group of Orthodox Christians who are vehemently opposed to any kind of interfaith dialogue, whether with other Christian denominations or with religions outside Christianity. In the Eastern Orthodox world, the monastic community of Mount Athos has voiced its concerns regarding the ecumenist movement. They do not want the Orthodox church to play a part in this more general movement.



Taize Prayer: Ecumenical worship service at the monastery of Taizé

Characteristics of Members of Different Religions

Religion plays a "very important" role in the lives of most Americans; a proportion unique among developed nations.

Learning Objectives

Identify the characteristics and defining features of members belonging to different religions in the United States

Key Points

- The most prevalent religion in the U.S. is Christianity. Northern European peoples introduced Protestantism, while the Spanish, French, and English introduced Catholicism.
- The Jewish community in the United States is composed predominantly of Ashkenazi Jews who emigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as their U.S.-born descendants.
- American Islam effectively began with the arrival of African slaves. Research indicates that Muslims in the U.S. are generally more assimilated and prosperous than Muslims in Europe.
- Buddhism entered the U.S. during the 19th century with the arrival of the first immigrants from Eastern Asia.
- Sikhs have been a part of the American populace for more than 130 years.
- Buddhism entered the U.S. during the 19th century with the arrival of the first immigrants from Eastern Asia.
- The first time Hinduism entered the U.S. is not clearly identifiable.
- Sikhs have been a part of the American populace for more than 130 years.

Key Terms

- **American Islam**: From the 1880s to 1914, several thousand Muslims immigrated to the United States from the Ottoman Empire and from parts of South Asia; they did not form distinctive settlements, and probably mostly assimilated into the wider society.
- **Protestantism**: Protestantism is one of the major groupings within Christianity. It has been defined as "any of several church denominations denying the universal authority of the Pope and affirming the Reformation principles of justification by faith alone, the priesthood of all believers, and the primacy of the Bible as the only source of revealed truth. " More broadly, it means Christianity outside "of a Catholic or Eastern church. "
- **Judaism**: A world religion tracing its origin to the Hebrew people of the ancient Middle-East, as documented in religious writings known as the Torah or Old Testament.

Religion plays a “very important” role in the lives of most Americans, a proportion unique among developed nations. Many faiths have flourished in the United States, including later imports spanning the country’s multicultural immigrant heritage and those founded within the country, These disparate faiths have led the U.S. to become one of the most religiously diverse countries in the world.

The largest religion in the U.S. is Christianity, practiced by the majority of the population. From those queried, roughly 51.3% of Americans are Protestants, 25% are Catholics, 1.7% are Mormons, and 1.7% are of various other Christian denominations. Northern European peoples introduced Protestantism. Among Protestants, Anglicans, Baptists, Puritans, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Quaker, and Moravians were the first to settle to the U.S. The Spanish, French and English introduced Catholicism. The religion came with the arrival of Hispanics/Latinos, Irish, Highland Scots, Italians, Dutch, Flemish, Polish, French, Hungarians, German, and Lebanese immigrants.

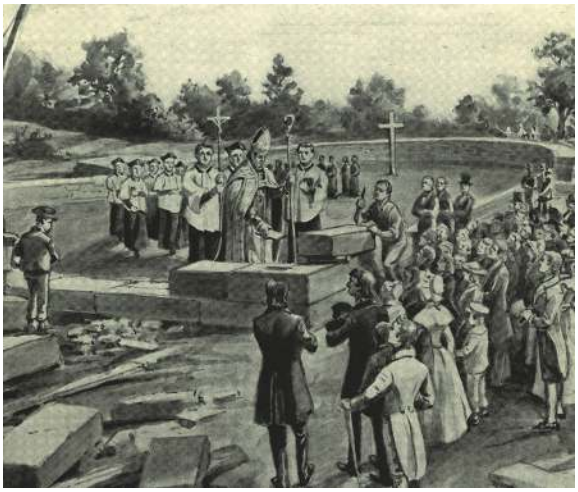
American Jews are citizens of the Jewish faith or ethnicity. The Jewish community in the U.S. is composed predominantly of Ashkenazi Jews who emigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as their U.S.-born descendants. Depending on religious definitions and varying population data, the U.S. is home to the largest or second largest Jewish community in the world, after Israel. In 2007, the population of American adherents of Judaism was estimated to be approximately 5,128,000, or 1.7% of the total population.



Hayley Fields at the Beth Israel Torah Dedication Ceremony: Two weeks after Hurricane Katrina struck the Gulf Coast, volunteers with an Israeli charity rescued seven Torah scrolls from the synagogue.

American Islam effectively began with the arrival of African slaves. It is estimated that about 10% of African slaves transported to the U.S. were Muslim. Research indicates that Muslims in the U.S. are generally more assimilated and prosperous than Muslims in Europe. Like other subcultural and religious communities, the Islamic community has generated its own political organizations and charity organizations.

Buddhism entered the U.S. during the 19th century with the arrival of the first immigrants from Eastern Asia. The first Buddhist temple was established in San Francisco in 1853 by Chinese Americans. The first time Hinduism entered the U.S. is not clearly identifiable. During the 1960s and 1970s, Hinduism exercised a fascination that contributed to the development of New Age thought. Sikhs have been a part of the American populace for more than 130 years. Around 1900, the state of Punjab of British India was hit hard by British practices of mercantilism. Many Sikhs emigrated to the United States, and began working on farms in California.



Baltimore Cornerstone: John Carroll, bishop of Baltimore, lays the cornerstone for the Cathedral of the Assumption in Baltimore, the first cathedral in the United States.

Secularism and the Future of Religion

Most modern Western societies are recognized as secular because they enjoy near-complete freedom of religion.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the rise of secularism and its response in the West

Key Points

- The secularization of a society refers to the process it undergoes when it shifts away from closely identifying with religious values and institutions towards affiliating with nonreligious values and institutions.
- The term secularization was coined by the British writer George Jacob Holyoake in 1851 and is most closely associated with the Age of Enlightenment in Europe.
- In a political context, secularization is the separation of the state from the church.
- When speaking of social structures, secularization refers to the increasing division of labor and occupational

specialization in society (differentiation).
- Evidence suggests that “no religion ” is becoming an increasingly prevalent religious status in the United States.

Key Terms

- **Age of Enlightenment**: A period of time ranging from part of the 17th Century through much of the 18th Century, characterized particularly by the importance of logic and reason.
- **separation of church and state**: The separation of church and state is the distance in the relationship between organized religion and the nation state.

In studies of religion, modern Western societies are generally recognized as secular. This is due to the near-complete freedom of religion, the fact that beliefs on religion generally are not subject to legal or social sanctions. Some societies become increasingly secular as the result of social processes, rather than through the actions of a dedicated secular movement; this process is known as secularization. Secularization is the transformation of a society from close identification with religious values and institutions toward nonreligious values and secular institutions. The secularization thesis refers to the belief that as societies “progress,” particularly through modernization and rationalization, religion loses its authority in all aspects of social life and governance.

Secularism

Coined by the British writer George Jacob Holyoake in 1851, secularism is often associated with the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, and it now plays a major role in Western society. In political terms, secularism is a movement towards the separation of church and state. This can refer to reducing ties between a government and a state religion, replacing laws based on scripture with civil laws, and eliminating discrimination on the basis of religion. This is said to add to democracy by protecting the rights of religious minorities. Due in part to the belief in the separation of church and state, secularists tend to prefer that politicians make decisions for secular rather than religious reasons. In this respect, policy decisions pertaining to topics like abortion, contraception, embryonic stem cell research, same-sex marriage, and sex education are the prominent issues many secularist organizations focus on.

Secularization in Different Realms

When discussing social structures, secularization can refer to differentiation. Differentiation refers to the increasing division of labor and occupational specialization in society. When discussing institutions, secularization can refer to the transformation of an institution that had once been considered religious in character into something not thought of as religious. When discussing activities, secularization refers to the transfer of activities from institutions of a religious nature to others without that character. Finally, when discussing religion, secularization can only be used unambiguously to refer to religion in a generic sense. For example, a reference to Christianity is not clear unless one specifies exactly which denominations of Christianity are being discussed.

Responses to Secularization

Because religion continues to be recognized in Western thought as a universal impulse, many religious practitioners have aimed to band together in interfaith dialogue, cooperation, and religious peace-building. Recent interfaith initiatives include “A Common Word,” launched in 2007, which is focused on bringing Muslim and Christian leaders together, the “C1 World Dialogue,” the “Common Ground” initiative between Islam and Buddhism, and a United Nations sponsored “World Interfaith Harmony Week. ”

Some evidence suggests that the fastest growing religious status in the United States is “no religion” Irreligion is the absence of religion, an indifference towards religion, a rejection of religion, or hostility towards religion. When characterized as the rejection of religious belief, it includes atheism and secular humanism. When characterized as hostility towards religion, it includes antitheism, anticlericalism and antireligion.



Sacred and Secular: The secularization thesis refers to the belief that as societies "progress," particularly through modernization and rationalization, religion loses its authority in all aspects of social life and governance.

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14.8: Major Religions in the U.S.

Protestantism

Protestantism is one of the major umbrella religions in the U.S., and is constantly evolving in response to political and social changes.

Learning Objectives

Describe the various sects of Protestantism and four key moments in their history in the U.S., including any resitance to those moments

Key Points

- Evangelicalism is the conversion of individuals, through the preaching of the Word. from a state of sin to a "new birth".
- The Great Awakening refers to a northeastern Protestant revival movement that took place in the 1730s and 1740s.
- The Second Great Awakening has been called the central and defining event in the development of Afro-Christianity. It began after many African Americans became dissatisfied with their treatment in white churches, and disappointed by their fellow believers' disinterest in abolishing slavery.
- The Federal Council of Churches, founded in 1908, marked the first major expression of a growing, modern ecumenical movement among Christians in the United States.
- The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States represented, in the 1950s, an extension and expansion of the Federal Council of Churches, the International Council of Religious Education, and several other interchurch ministries.
- Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was but one of many notable black ministers involved in the Civil Rights Movement.
- Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was but one of many notable black ministers involved in the Civil Rights Movement.

Key Terms

- **National Council of the Churches of Christ**: The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (usually identified as National Council of Churches or NCC) is an ecumenical partnership of 37 Christian faith groups in the United States. Its member denominations, churches, conventions, and archdioceses include Mainline Protestant, Orthodox, African American, Evangelical, and historic peace churches.
- **Civil Rights Movement**: The civil rights movement was a worldwide political movement for legal equality that occured between approximately 1950 and 1980.

The Movement of Christianity to North America

Christianity was introduced to North America when Europeans began colonizing the continent in the 16th and 17th centuries. Spanish, French and British colonists brought Roman Catholicism to the colonies of New Spain, New France and Maryland, respectively. Colonists from Northern Europe, primarily from Great Britain, introduced Protestantism to a number of areas, including Massachusetts Bay Colony, New Netherlands, the Virginia colony, the Carolina Colony, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Lower Canada. These early Protestant settlers represented a diversity of Protestant sects, including Anglicanism, Baptism, Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Lutheranism, Quakerism, the Mennonite Church and the Moravian Church.

Evangelicalism and the Great Awakening

Evangelicalism in Protestantism is difficult to both date and define. Scholars have argued that, as a self-conscious movement, evangelicalism did not arise until the mid-17th century, perhaps not until the Great Awakening. The fundamental premise of evangelicalism is that individuals can be converted, through preaching the Word, from a state of sin to a "new birth. " The Great Awakening refers to a northeastern Protestant revival movement that took place in the 1730s and 1740s.

The first generation of New England Puritans required that church members undergo a conversion experience that they could then describe publicly. While initially popular, their descendants were not as successful in reaping the harvests of redeemed souls. The initial movement began with Jonathan Edwards, a Massachusetts preacher who sought to return to the Pilgrims' strict Calvinist roots. British preacher George Whitefield, as well as other itinerant preachers, spread the movement, traveling across the colonies and preaching in a dramatic and emotional style. Followers of Edwards, and other preachers of similar religiosity, called themselves the "New Lights" in contrast to the "Old Lights," who disapproved of their movement. To promote their viewpoints, the two sides established academies and colleges, including Princeton and Williams College. The Great Awakening has been called the first truly American event.

The supporters of the Awakening and its evangelical thrust, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, became the largest American Protestant denominations by the first decades of the 19th century. By the 1770s, the Baptists were growing rapidly both in the North (where they founded Brown University), and

in the South. Opponents of the Awakening or those split by it, Anglicans, Quakers, and Congregationalists, were left behind.

Christianity and Black Populations

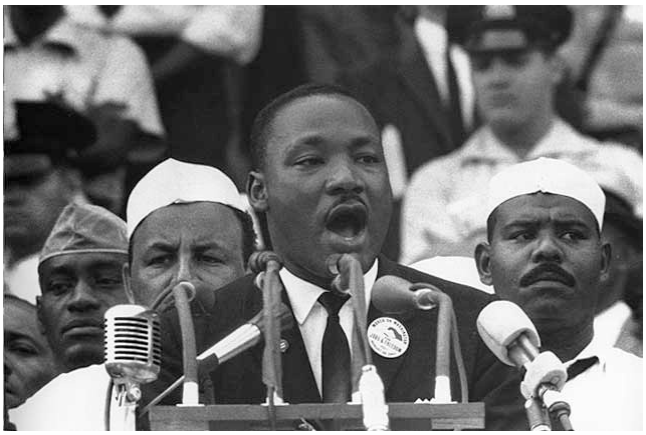
The Christianity of the black population was grounded in evangelicalism. The Second Great Awakening has been called the "central and defining event in the development of Afro-Christianity. " During this movement, Baptists and Methodists converted large numbers of blacks. However, many were disappointed at the treatment they received from their fellow believers. They were also disappointed that Baptists and Methodists, many of whom had advocated for abolition after the American Revolution, ended up backsliding on that commitment. When their discontent could not be contained, forceful black leaders followed what was becoming an American habit, and they formed new denominations. In 1787, Richard Allen and his colleagues in Philadelphia broke away from the Methodist Church and, in 1815, they founded the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. This church, along with independent black Baptist congregations, flourished as the century progressed.

Coalitions of Churches

The Federal Council of Churches, founded in 1908, marked the first major expression of a growing, modern ecumenical movement among Christians in the United States. It was active in advocating for the reform of public and private policies, particularly as they impacted the lives of impoverished people. This council developed a comprehensive and widely debated Social Creed, which served as a humanitarian "bill of rights" for those seeking improvements in American life.

In 1950, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (usually identified as National Council of Churches, or NCC) represented a dramatic expansion in the development of ecumenical cooperation. It was a merger of the Federal Council of Churches, the International Council of Religious Education, and several other interchurch ministries. Today, the NCC is a joint venture of 35 Christian denominations in the United States. It has 100,000 local congregations and 45,000,000 adherents.

As the center of community life, Black churches played a leadership role in the Civil Rights Movement. Their history, as a focal point for the Black community, and as a link between the Black and White worlds, made them natural for this purpose. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was but one of many notable Black ministers involved in the movement. He helped found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1957), serving as its first president. King received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to end segregation and racial discrimination through non-violent civil disobedience. He was assassinated in 1968.



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivering his famous "I Have a Dream" speech



Methodist Church in Mississippi: Louise United Methodist Church, Louise, Mississippi

Catholicism

Catholicism has a long history in the U.S., with the Catholic Church the single largest religious denomination in the United States.

Learning Objectives

Describe why Catholics in the U.S. were initially perceived as a threat by some Protestants and how that bias was more or less overcome

Key Points

- The Pope is the head of the Catholic Church and faith.
- Immigrants in the 19th century made Catholicism the largest religion in the United States.
- Acquisition of territories in the 19th century, formerly possessions of France, Spain, and Mexico, added to the Catholic population in the United States.

Key Terms

- **parish**: An administrative part of a diocese that has its own church; found in the Anglican, Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Church and certain civil government entities.

The Catholic Church in the United States is part of the worldwide Catholic Church, or the Christian Church that is in full communion with the Pope. It is the largest single religious denomination in the U.S., comprising about 25% of the population. According to a 2011 study by the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate at Georgetown University, the U.S. Catholic population is currently 77.7 million. The U.S. has the fourth largest Catholic population in the world after Brazil, Mexico and the Philippines.

Catholicism arrived in what is now the U.S. during the earliest days of the European colonization of the Americas. The first Catholic missionaries were Spanish, having come with Christopher Columbus to the New World on his second voyage in 1493. They established missions in what are now Florida, Georgia, Texas, New Mexico, California, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. French colonization came in the early 18th century, with the French establishing missions in the Louisiana Territory districts – St. Louis, New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alabama, Natchez, Yazoo, Natchitoches, Arkansas, Illinois, and Michigan.

Catholicism's Growth and Prosecution

Catholicism has grown during the country's history. It started slowly in the early 19th century through immigration and acquisition of territories with predominately Catholic populations. In the mid-19th century, a rapid influx of Irish and German immigrants made Catholicism the largest religion in the U.S. This increase of Catholics was met by widespread prejudice and hostility, often resulting in riots and the burning of churches. The nativist Know Nothing party was first founded in the early 19th century in an attempt to restrict Catholic immigration. This party believed that the U.S. was a Protestant nation and the influx of Catholics threatened its purity and mission..

Since the 1960s, the percentage of Americans who are Catholic has stayed roughly the same, at around 25%, due in large part to increases in the Latino population over the same period.



Assumption Catholic Church: The oldest Catholic Church in St. Paul.

By far, most Catholics in the U.S. belong to the Latin Church and the Latin Rite of the Catholic Church. Rite generally refers to the form of worship "liturgical rite" in a church, community owing to cultural and historical differences as well as differences in practice. However, the Vatican II document Orientalium Ecclesiarum "Of the Eastern Churches" acknowledges that these Eastern Catholic communities are "true Churches" and not just rites within the Catholic Church. There are 14 other Churches in the U.S. (23 within the global Catholic Church) that are in communion with Rome and fully recognized in the eyes of the Catholic Church. They have their own bishops and eparchies. The largest of these communities in the U.S. is the Chaldean Catholic Church. Most of these Churches are of Eastern European and Middle Eastern origin. Eastern Catholic Churches are distinguished from Eastern Orthodox, identifiable by their usage of the term Catholic.

By 1850, Catholics had become the country's largest single denomination. Between 1860 and 1890, their population in the U.S. tripled through immigration; by the end of the decade it would reach seven million. This influx would eventually bring increased political power for the Catholic Church and a greater cultural presence. This led to a growing fear of the Catholic "menace" among America's Protestants. Some anti-Catholic political movements like the Know Nothings, as well as organizations like the Orange Institution, American Protective Association, and the Ku Klux Klan, were active in the U.S. during this period. Indeed, for most of the country's history, Catholics have been victims of discrimination and persecution. It was not until the presidency of John F. Kennedy that Catholics lived largely free of suspicion.

There are 68,503,456 registered Catholics in the U.S. (22% of the US population), according to the American Bishops' count

in their Official Catholic Directory 2010. This count primarily rests on the parish assessment tax that pastors evaluate yearly according to the number of registered members and contributors. Estimates of the overall American Catholic population from recent years generally range from 20% to 28%.

Judaism

Judaism is the religion, philosophy, and way of life of the Jewish people.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the similarities and differences between Judaism and other religions, such as Christianity and Islam, and identify characteristics of the American Jewish population

Key Points

- The Jewish community in the United States is composed predominantly of Ashkenazi Jews who emigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, and their U.S.-born descendants.
- Jewish ethnic divisions are also represented, including Sephardi Jews, Mizrahi Jews, and a number of converts.
- American Jews are more likely to be atheist or agnostic than most Americans, especially so compared with Protestants or Catholics.
- The Holocaust was the genocide of approximately six million European Jews during World War II.

Key Terms

- **Sephardi**: a Jew of Iberian ancestry, whose native language was Ladino
- **agnostic**: Doubtful or uncertain about the existence or demonstrability of God or other deity.

Judaism is the religion, philosophy, and way of life of the Jewish people. It is a monotheistic religion originating in the Hebrew Bible (also known as the Tanakh) and explored in later texts such as the Talmud. Judaism is considered by religious Jews to be the expression of the covenantal relationship God established with the Children of Israel. Rabbinic Judaism holds that God revealed his laws and commandments to Moses on Mount Sinai in the form of both the Written and Oral Torah. The sacred texts of Judaism tends to overlap with many of the stories from Christianity and Islam. The Tanakh consists of the same books as the Christian Old Testament, with minor changes in the order of stories.

Judaism in the United States

American Jews, also known as Jewish Americans, are American citizens of the Jewish faith or Jewish ethnicity. The Jewish community in the United States is composed predominantly of Ashkenazi Jews who emigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, and their U.S.-born descendants. Minorities from all Jewish ethnic divisions are also represented, including Sephardi Jews, Mizrahi Jews, and a number of converts. The American Jewish community manifests a wide range of Jewish cultural traditions, as well as encompassing the full spectrum of Jewish religious observance.

Depending on religious definitions and varying population data, the United States is home to the largest or second largest (after Israel) Jewish community in the world. The population of American adherents of Judaism was estimated to be approximately 5,128,000 or 1.7% of the total population in 2007 (301,621,000); including those who identify themselves culturally as Jewish (but not necessarily religiously), this population was estimated at 6,489,000 (2.2%) as of 2008. As a contrast, Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics estimated the Israeli Jewish population was 5,664,000 in 2009 (75.4% of the total population).

Jews have been present in what is today the United States of America as early as the 17th century. Large scale Jewish immigration, however, did not begin until the nineteenth century, when, by mid-century, many secular Ashkenazi Jews from Germany arrived in the United States, primarily becoming merchants and shop-owners. There were approximately 250,000 Jews in the United States by 1880, many of them being the educated, and largely secular, German Jews, although a minority population of the older Sephardic Jewish families remained influential.

Jewish immigration to the United States increased dramatically in the early 1880s, as a result of persecution and economic difficulties in parts of Eastern Europe. Most of these new immigrants also were Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews, though most came from the poor rural populations of the Russian Empire and the Pale of Settlement, located in modern-day Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova. During the same period, a great number of Ashkenazi Jews arrived also from Galicia, at that time the most impoverished region of Austro-Hungarian Empire with heavy Jewish urban population, driven out mainly by economic reasons. Most settled in the New York metropolitan area, establishing what became one of the world's major concentrations of Jewish population.

American Jews are more likely to be atheist or agnostic than most Americans, especially so compared with Protestants or Catholics. A 2003 poll found that while 79% of Americans believe in God, only 48% of American Jews do, compared with 79% and 90% for Catholics and Protestants respectively. While 66% of Americans said they were "absolutely certain" of God's existence, 24% of American Jews said the same. And though 9

percent of Americans believe there is no God (8% Catholic and 4% Protestant), 19 percent of American Jews believe God does not exist.

Though Jewish views on evolution are varied, most schools of Jewish thought have reconciled Judaism with evolution. A 2009 Harris Poll showed American Jews as the religious group most accepting of evolution, with 80% believing in evolution, compared to 51% for Catholics, 32% for Protestants, and 16% of Born-again Christians. They were also less likely to believe in supernatural phenomena such as miracles, angels, or heaven.



A Haredi Jew in New York CIty: The Haredi Jews are the most conservative of Orthodox Jews.

Islam

The American Muslim population is a racially diverse group that has been present in the U.S. since before the Civil War.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the history and characteristics of the American Muslim population in the U.S., including periods of arrival and religious affiliations

Key Points

- Many of the slaves brought to colonial America from Africa were Muslims. By 1800, some 500,000 Africans arrived in what became the United States. Historians estimate that between 15 to 30 percent of all enslaved African men, and less than 15 percent of the enslaved African women, were Muslims.
- American Muslims come from various backgrounds, and are one of the most racially diverse religious groups in the United States according to a 2009 Gallup poll. Native-born American Muslims are mainly African Americans who make up about a quarter of the total Muslim population.
- Unlike many Muslims in Europe, American Muslims do not tend to feel marginalized or isolated from political participation. Several organizations were formed by the American Muslim community to serve as 'critical consultants' on U.S. policy regarding Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Mosques are places of worship for Islamic religions.
- In the United States there exist a number of different traditions. As in the rest of the world, the Sunni Muslims are in the majority. Shia Muslims, especially those in the Iranian immigrant community, are also active in community affairs.

Key Terms

- **Muslim**: A person who is a follower and believer of the Islamic faith.
- **mosque**: A place of worship for Muslims, corresponding to a church or synagogue in other religions, often having at least one minaret; a masjid.
- **Nation of Islam**: A religious and political organization with the declared aim of "resurrecting" the spiritual, mental, social and economic condition of the black people of America and the world.

Islam in the United States

Once very small, the Muslim population of the U.S. increased greatly in the 20th century, with much of the growth driven by rising immigration and conversion, and a comparatively high birth rate. In 2005, more people from Islamic countries became legal permanent United States residents than in any year in the previous two decades (nearly 96,000). In 2009, more than 115,000 Muslims became legal residents of the United States.

American Muslims come from various backgrounds, and are one of the most racially diverse religious groups in the United States according to a 2009 Gallup poll. Immigrant communities of Arab and South Asian descent make up the majority of American Muslims. Native-born American Muslims are mainly African-Americans who make up about a quarter of the total Muslim population. Many of these have converted to Islam during the last seventy years. Conversion to Islam in prison and in large urban areas has also contributed to its growth over the years.

Slavery and Islam

Many of the slaves brought to colonial America from Africa were Muslims. By 1800, some 500,000 Africans arrived in what became the United States. Historians estimate that between 15 to 30 percent of all enslaved African men, and less than 15 percent of the enslaved African women, were Muslims. These enslaved Muslims stood out from their compatriots because of their "resistance, determination, and education".

Modern Migration

Small-scale migration to the U.S. by Muslims began in 1840, with the arrival of Yemenis and Turks, and lasted until World

War I. Most of the immigrants, coming from Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire, came with the purpose of making money and returning to their homeland. However, the economic hardships of 19th century America prevented them from prospering. As a result, the immigrants settled in the United States permanently. These immigrants settled primarily in Dearborn, Michigan; Quincy, Massachusetts; and Ross, North Dakota. Ross, North Dakota is the site of the first documented mosque and Muslim cemetery, but it was abandoned and later torn down in the mid-1970s. A new mosque was built in its place in 2005.

Demographics

According to the U.S. Department of State, the largest ethnic groups of American Muslims are those of South Asian, Arab and African-American descent.

There are 1,209 mosques in the United States and the nation's largest mosque, the Islamic Center of America, is in Dearborn, Michigan. It caters mainly to the Shi'a Muslim congregation; however, all Muslims may attend this mosque. It was rebuilt in 2005 to accommodate over 3,000 people for the increasing Muslim population in the region. Approximately half (50%) of the religious affiliations of Muslims is Sunni, 16% Shia, 22% non-affiliated and, 16% other/non-response. Muslims of Arab decent are mostly Sunni (56%) with minorities who are Shi'a (19%). Bangladeshis (90%), Pakistanis (72%), and Indians (82%) are mainly Sunni, while Iranians are mainly Shi'a (91%). Of African-American Muslims, 48% are Sunni, 34% are unaffiliated (mostly part of the Community of W. Deen Mohammed), 16% other (mostly Nation of Islam and Ahmadiyya) and 2% Shi'a.

Since the arrival of South Asian and Arab communities during the 1990s, there have been divisions with African Americans due to racial and cultural differences. However, since 9/11, the two groups joined together when the immigrant communities looked towards the African Americans for advice on civil rights.

Comparison to Other Religions

Islam has similarities with other American-practiced religions, including Protestantism and Christianity. Some of the similarities include a belief in a single God, who is supreme to all other gods. Many of the religious stories told in these religions share a similar thread, although certain details or the order of the story may be slightly different, depending upon the religious text it comes from. Also, these religious all believe in an afterlife, promoting good behaviors and adherence to religious doctrine in order to ensure entrance to this revered place.

American Islamic Culture

Muslims in the United States have increasingly contributed to American culture; there are various Muslim comedy groups, rap groups, Scout troops and magazines.

Some Muslims in the U.S. are also adherents of certain global movements within Islam such as the Salafi, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Gulen Movement, and the Tablighi Jamaat.

Muslim Integration into American Society

Unlike many Muslims in Europe, American Muslims do not tend to feel marginalized or isolated from political participation. Several organizations were formed by the American Muslim community to serve as 'critical consultants' on U.S. policy regarding Iraq and Afghanistan. Other groups have worked with law enforcement agencies to point out Muslims within the United States that they suspect of fostering 'intolerant attitudes'. Still others have worked to invite interfaith dialogue to improve relations between Muslim and non-Muslim Americans.

A Pew report released in 2009 noted that nearly six-in-ten American adults see Muslims as being subject to discrimination, more than Mormons, Atheists, or Jews. While Muslims comprise less than two percent of the American population, they accounted for approximately one quarter of the religious discrimination claims filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during 2009.



Masjid Malcolm Shabazz Mosque: Mosque in New York City.

Social Correlates of Religion

There are correlations between the degree of religious belief in society and social factors like mortality rates, wealth and happiness.

Learning Objectives

Identify what might be a tension in understanding highly religious nations and highly religious people

Key Points

- Some sociological research indicates that highly religious, developed nations have higher rates of homicide, mortality, sexually transmitted infections, teen pregnancies, and abortions, whereas so-called "Godless" developed nations have significantly lower mortality rates.
- A BBC research study on religion in Europe suggests that religious belief has declined over the years.
- A study by sociologist Lisa A. Keister found that adherents of Judaism and Episcopalianism attained the most wealth; believers of Catholicism and mainline Protestants were in the middle; and conservative Protestants accumulated the least wealth.
- Surveys by Gallup, the National Opinion Research Center and the Pew Organization conclude that spiritually committed people are twice as likely to report being "very happy" than the least religiously committed people.

Key Terms

- **National Opinion Research Center**: NORC at the University of Chicago, established in 1941 as the National Opinion Research Center, is one of the largest and most highly respected social research organizations in the United States.

Religion's Impact on Societies

Research indicates that in prosperous democracies, higher rates of belief in and worship of a creator correlate with higher rates of homicide, juvenile and early adult mortality, STD infection rates, teen pregnancy, and abortion. As author Stephen Law paraphrases in his book "War For the Children's Mind," "The most theistic prosperous democracy, the U.S., is exceptional, but not in the manner Franklin predicted. The United States is almost always the most dysfunctional of the developed democracies, sometimes spectacularly so…The view of the U.S. as a 'shining city on the hill' to the rest of the world is falsified when it comes to basic measures of societal health. " In other words, the U.S., a theistic and prosperous nation, demonstrates that religiosity doesn't necessarily correlate with creating cultures that reduce death.

The study also notes that more secular, pro-evolution societies come closer to "cultures of life. " Although these countries are far from perfect, they have, for example, low rates of lethal crime. The authors conclude that the reasonable success of non-religious democracies like Japan, France and Scandinavia has refuted the idea that Godless societies suffer disaster. They add, "Contradicting these conclusions requires demonstrating a positive link between theism and societal conditions in the first world with a similarly large body of data – a doubtful possibility in view of the observable trends. "

BBC news reported on a study that attempted to use mathematical modeling to predict future religious orientations of populations. The study suggests that religion is headed towards "extinction" in various nations where it has been on the decline: Australia, Austria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Switzerland. The model considers not only the changing number of people with certain beliefs, but also attempts to assign utility values of a belief as per each nation.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Americans and Religion: A recent Pew survey reveals that, although the majority of Americans may consider themselves to be religious, many are in fact unaware of basic tenets concerning their faith. Byron Pitts reports.

Wealth and Organized Religion

A U.S. study conducted by sociology researcher Lisa A. Keister found that Jewish and Episcopalian adherents attained the most wealth. Believers of Catholicism and mainline Protestants were in the middle, and conservative Protestants accumulated the least wealth. In general, people who attend religious services achieved more wealth than those who do not (taking into account variations of education and other factors). The researcher suggests that wealth accumulation is shaped by family processes.

The median net worth of people believing in the Jewish religion is calculated at $150,890, while the median net worth of conservative Protestants (including Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventists, and Christian Scientists) was found at $26,200. The overall median in the dataset was $48,200.

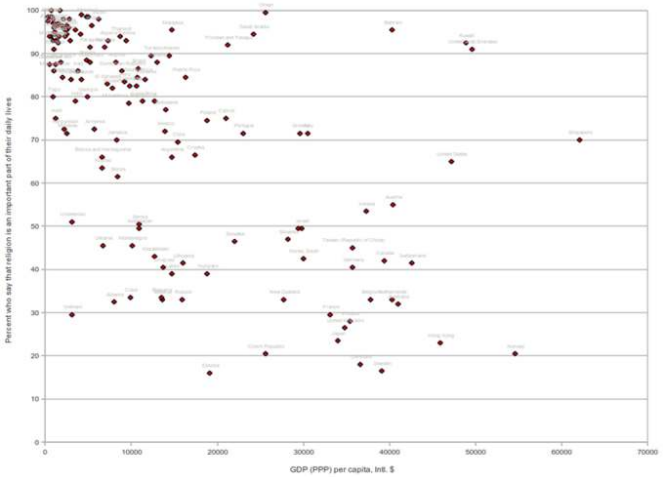
Another study by Keister found that "religion affects wealth indirectly through educational attainment, fertility and female labor force participation. " The study also found evidence of direct effects of religion on wealth attainment.

Religion and Happiness

Religion and happiness have been studied by a number of researchers. The science of positive psychology has identified many components of happiness, and religion seems adapted to satisfy many of them. Some research suggests that both non-religious and religious meaning systems can be quite effective when it comes to managing death anxiety, and that the latter have a few additional advantages.

Surveys by Gallup, the National Opinion Research Center and the Pew Organization conclude that spiritually committed people are twice as likely to report being “very happy” than the least religiously committed people. An analysis of over 200 social studies contends that “high religiousness predicts a lower risk of depression and drug abuse and fewer suicide attempts, and more reports of satisfaction with sex life and a sense of well-being. ” A review of 498 studies published in peer-reviewed journals concluded that a large majority of them showed a positive correlation between religious commitment and higher levels of perceived well-being and self-esteem and lower levels of hypertension, depression, and clinical delinquency.

A meta-analysis of 34 recent studies published between 1990 and 2001 found that religiosity has a salutary relationship with psychological adjustment related to less psychological distress, more life satisfaction and better self-actualization. Finally, a recent systematic review of 850 research papers concluded that “the majority of well-conducted studies found that higher levels of religious involvement are positively associated with indicators of psychological well-being (life satisfaction, happiness, positive affect and higher morale) and less with depression, suicidal thoughts and behavior, and drug/alcohol use/abuse. ”



Religion versus GDP per Capita: Wealth and religion



Religion and happiness: The science of positive psychology has identified many components of happiness, and religion seems adapted to satisfy many of them. Some research suggests that both non-religious and religious meaning systems can be quite effective when it comes to managing death anxiety, and that the latter have a few additional advantages.

Affiliation

The main religious preferences in the Unites States include (in order): Christianity, unaffiliate, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism.

Learning Objectives

Diagram religious and non-religious beliefs in the U.S. according to popularity

Key Points

- The U.S. is a very religiously diverse country. People who identify as Christians in the U.S. encompass the majority of the population, although there are a wide variety of denominations that have developed since the introduction of Christianity in colonial times.
- Unaffiliated beliefs, including atheism and agnosticism, are the second largest group. Judaism is the third largest group, and Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and other beliefs are less than one percent of the population.
- According to recent surveys, 83% of Americans identify with a religious denomination. A majority of Americans report that religion plays a “very important” role in their lives, a proportion unique among developed nations.
- The First Amendment guarantees the free exercise of religion while also preventing the government from

establishing a state religion.

Key Terms

- **agnosticism**: The view that the existence of God or of all deities is unknown, unknowable, unproven, or unprovable.
- **denomination**: A class, or society of individuals, called by the same name; a sect; as, a denomination of Christians.

Religion in the United States is characterized by both a wide diversity of religious beliefs and practices and by a high adherence level. According to recent surveys, 83% of Americans identify with a religious denomination, 40% state that they attend services nearly every week or more, and 58% say that they pray at least weekly. A majority of Americans report that religion plays a "very important" role in their lives, a proportion unique among developed nations. Many faiths have flourished in the United States, including both later imports spanning the country's multicultural immigrant heritage, as well as those founded within the country; these have led the United States to become one of the most religiously diverse countries in the world.

The majority of Americans (76% to 80%) identify themselves as Protestants or Catholics, accounting for 51% and 25% of the population respectively. Non-Christian religions (including Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.), collectively make up about 5% of the adult population. Another 15% of the adult population claims no religious affiliation. When asked, about 5.2% said they did not know or refused to reply. According to the American Religious Identification Survey, religious belief varies considerably by region. The lowest rate is in the West with 59% reporting a belief in God, and the highest rate in the South (the "Bible Belt") at 86%.

Despite a high level of religious adherence, only 9% of Americans in a 2008 poll said religion was the most important thing in their life, compared with 45% who said family was paramount in their life and 17% who said money and career was paramount. Mark Chaves, a Duke University professor of sociology, religion, and divinity, found that 92% of Americans believed in God in 2008, but that they have significantly less confidence in their religious leaders than they did a generation ago.

From the early colonial days, when some English and German settlers came in search of religious freedom, America has been profoundly influenced by religion. That influence continues in American culture, social life, and politics. Several of the original 13 colonies were established by settlers who wished to practice their own religion within a community of like-minded people: the Massachusetts Bay Colony was established by English Puritans (Congregationalists), Pennsylvania by British Quakers, Maryland by English Catholics, and Virginia by English Anglicans.

The U.S. Census does not ask about religion. Various groups have conducted surveys to determine approximate percentages of those affiliated with each religious group. Some surveys ask people to self-identify, while others calculate church memberships. Christianity comprises 59.9% to 78.4% of affiliation, unaffiliated, including atheist or agnostic are 15.0% to 37.3%, Judaism are 1.2 % to 2.2 %, Islam about.6%, Buddhism 0.5 % to 0.9%, Hinduism 0.4% and other religions 1.2% to 1.4% in the United States.



Salt Lake Temple, Utah: It is the sixth temple completed by the church, requiring 40 years to complete, and the fourth operating temple built since the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois.



Lightmatter Hsi Lai Temple in Los Angeles, California: The Hsi Lai Temple is the largest Buddhist temple in the United States.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

15: Government

15.1: Politics, Power, and Authority
15.2: Government and the State
15.3: Types of States
15.4: Democracy
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15.1: Politics, Power, and Authority

Politics

Political sociology studies the relation between state and society, authority and power, and the methods used to formulate social policy.

Learning Objectives

Diagram the three major traditional theoretical frameworks of political sociology, plus trends in contemporary sociology

Key Points

- The term ” politics ” is generally applied to behavior within civil governments, but politics has been observed in all human group interactions. It consists of social relations involving authority or power, the regulation of political units, and the methods used to formulate and apply social policy.
- Traditionally there have been four main areas of research: the socio-political formation of the modern state; how social inequality influences politics; how social movements outside of the formal institutions affect formal politics; and power relationships within and between social groups.
- There are three major theoretical frameworks: pluralism, elite or managerial theory, and class analysis.
- Pluralism sees politics primarily as a contest among competing interest groups. It holds the view that politics and decision making are located mostly in the framework of government, but many non-governmental groups use their resources to exert influence.
- Elite or managerial theory is sometimes called a state-centered approach. It posits that a small minority—consisting of members of the economic elite and policy-planning networks—holds the most power and that this power is independent of a state’s democratic elections process.
- Social class theory analysis emphasizes the political power of capitalist elites.

Key Terms

- **social policy**: Guidelines, principles, legislation and activities that affect the living conditions conducive to human welfare.
- **politics**: the art or science of influencing people on a civic, or individual level, when there are more than 2 people involved
- **state**: Any sovereign polity. A government.

Politics is the process by which groups of people make decisions. The term is generally applied to behavior within civil governments, but politics has been observed in all human group interactions, including corporate, academic, and religious institutions. It consists of social relations involving authority or power, the regulation of political units, and the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply social policy.

Contemporary political sociology involves the study of relations between state and society.

In the past, a typical research question in political sociology might have been: “Why do so few American citizens choose to vote? ” or “What difference does it make if women get elected? ”

Modern political sociologists are now focused on questions such as: “How is the body a site of power? “, “How are emotions relevant to global poverty? “, or “What difference does knowledge make to democracy? ”

Traditional Political Sociology

Traditionally there have been four main areas of research in political sociology:

- The socio-political formation of the modern state
- “Who rules? ” How social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, etc.) influences politics
- How public personalities, social movements, and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect formal politics
- Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g. families, workplaces, bureaucracy, media, etc.).

Political sociology was traditionally concerned with how social trends, dynamics, and structures of domination affect formal political processes. It also explored how various social forces work together to change political policies. From this perspective there are three major theoretical frameworks: pluralism, elite or managerial theory, and class analysis (which overlaps with Marxist analysis).

Pluralism

Pluralism sees politics as a contest between competing interest groups. It holds the view that politics and decision making are located mostly in the framework of government, but many non-governmental groups use their resources to exert influence. Groups of individuals try to maximize their interests. There are multiple lines of power that shift as power is a continuous bargaining process between competing groups. Any change under this view will be slow and incremental—groups have

different interests and may act as “veto groups” to destroy legislation that they do not agree with.

Elite/Managerial Theory

Elite or managerial theory is sometimes called a state-centered approach. It also seeks to describe and explain power relationships in contemporary society. The theory posits that a small minority—consisting of members of the economic elite and policy-planning networks—holds the most power. This power is independent of a state’s democratic elections process. Through positions in corporations, corporate boards, and policy-planning networks, members of the “elite” are able to exert significant power over the policy decisions of corporations and governments.

Class Analysis

Social class analysis emphasizes the political power of capitalist elites. It can be split into two parts. One is the ‘power structure’ or ‘instrumentalist’ approach; the other is the ‘structuralist’ approach. The power structure approach focuses on determining who rules, while the structuralist approach emphasizes the way a capitalist economy operates, allowing and encouraging the state to do some things but not others.

Contemporary Political Sociology

Contemporary political sociology is concerned with the play of power and politics across societies, which includes, but is not restricted to relations between the state and society. In part, this is a product of the growing complexity of social relations, the impact of social movement organizing, and the relative weakening of the state via globalization. Political sociology is as much focused on micro questions (the formation of identity through social interaction; the politics of knowledge), as it is on macro questions (how to capture and use state power).



President Bush’s 2003 State of the Union Address: Politics is a decision making process, which often takes place in legislative bodies such as the U.S. Congress.

Power

Power is frequently defined as the ability to influence the behavior of others with or without resistance.

Learning Objectives

Differentiate between power and constraint, using real life examples

Key Points

- Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. The use of power need not involve coercion, force or the threat of force.
- The sociological examination of power concerns itself with discovering and describing the relative strengths: equal or unequal; stable or subject to periodic change.
- Power may derive from a number of sources, including social class (material wealth can equal power), resource currency (material items such as money, property, food), personal or group charisma, or social influence of tradition (compare ascribed power).
- Researchers have documented the bystander effect: they found that powerful people are three times as likely to first offer help to a stranger in distress.

Key Terms

- **unilateralism**: A tendency of nations to act on their own, or with only minimal consultation and involvement with other nations.
- **bystander effect**: When someone is less likely to help another if other potential helpers are present.
- **power elite**: a small group of people who control a disproportionate amount of wealth or political power
- **power**: The ability to get one’s way even in the face of opposition to one’s goals.

Power is frequently defined by political scientists as the ability to influence the behavior of others with or without resistance. The term authority is often used for power perceived as legitimate by the social structure. Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. The use of power need not involve coercion, force or the threat of force. At one extreme, power closely resembles what English speakers call “influence”, although some authors make a distinction between the two.

The sociological examination of power involves discovering and describing the relative strengths: equal or unequal; stable or subject to periodic change. Sociologists usually analyze relationships in which parties have relatively equal or nearly equal power in terms of constraint rather than of power. Thus

power has a connotation of unilateralism. If this were not so, then all relationships could be described in terms of power, and its meaning would be lost.

Power may derive from a number of sources, including social class (material wealth can equal power), resource currency (material items such as money, property, food), personal or group charisma, ascribed power (acting on perceived or assumed abilities, whether these bear testing or not), social influence of tradition (compare ascribed power), etc.

People use more than rewards, threats and information to influence others. In everyday situations, people use a variety of power tactics to push or prompt others into particular action. There are many examples of power tactics that are quite common and employed everyday. Some of these tactics include bullying, collaboration, complaining, criticizing, demanding, disengaging, evading, humor, inspiring, manipulating, negotiating, socializing and supplicating. Recent experimental psychology suggests that the more power one has the less one takes on the perspective of others, implying that the powerful have less empathy.

Powerful people are also more likely to take action. In one example, more powerful people turned off an irritatingly close fan twice as much as less powerful people. Researchers have documented the "bystander effect" and found that powerful people are three times as likely to first offer help to a stranger in distress.



A rally of the trade union UNISON in Oxford during a strike: Labor unions attempt to bring more balance into the relationship between employers and employees by forming large coalitions of employees who, by working together, can exert power of their own.

Authority

Authority refers to the use of power that is seen as legitimate or socially approved/recognized.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of the three types of authority as defined by Max Weber and what distinguishes all of them from coercion or force

Key Points

- Power can be exerted by the use of force or violence. Authority, by contrast, depends on subordinate groups consenting to the use of power wielded by superior groups.
- Weber defined domination (authority) as the chance of commands being obeyed by a specifiable group of people. Legitimate authority is that which is recognized as legitimate and justified by both the ruler and the ruled.
- Weber states that legitimacy distinguishes authority, from coercion, force, power, leadership, persuasion and influence. Superiors, he states, feel that they have a right to issue commands; subordinates perceive an obligation to obey.
- Authoritarianism primarily differs from totalitarianism in that social and economic institutions exist that are not under governmental control.
- The three attributes of authority are status, specialist skills, and social position.

Key Terms

- **power**: The ability to get one's way even in the face of opposition to one's goals.
- **authority**: The power to enforce rules or give orders.

Authority is the legitimate or socially approved use of power that a person or a group holds over another. Legitimacy is vital to the notion of authority; legitimacy is the main means by which authority is distinguished from more general notions of power. Power can be exerted by the use of force or violence. Authority, by contrast, depends on subordinate groups consenting to the use of power wielded by superior groups.

Max Weber, in his sociological and philosophical work, identified and distinguished three types of legitimate domination (*Herrschaft* in German, which generally means 'domination' or 'rule'). These have sometimes been translated to English as types of authority, because domination is not seen as a political concept. Weber defined domination (authority) as the chance of commands being obeyed by a specifiable group of people. Legitimate authority is that which is recognized as legitimate and justified by both the ruler and the ruled.

The first type discussed by Weber is rational-legal authority. It is a form of authority with legitimacy that depends on formal rules and established laws of the state, which are usually written down and are often very complex.

The second type of authority is traditional authority, which derives from long-established customs, habits, and social

structures. When power passes from one generation to another, it is known as traditional authority.

The third form of authority is charismatic authority. Here, the charisma of the individual or the leader plays an important role.

Weber states that legitimacy distinguishes authority from coercion, force, power, leadership, persuasion, and influence. Superiors, he states, feel that they have a right to issue commands; subordinates perceive an obligation to obey. The degree to which these rights and obligations are felt is based on the perceived legitimacy of the authority. A well-established, respected, democratically elected government typically wields more authority than an ad hoc, temporary, or corrupt government.



A Teacher's Authority: Teachers have authority because students recognize that their power over the classroom is legitimate.

Authority and Legitimate Violence

Max Weber conceived of the state as a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force.

Learning Objectives

Assess Weber's argument about the state's relationship to physical force

Key Points

- Weber defines the state as a community successfully claiming authority over legitimate use of physical force in a given territory.
- Besides the police and the military, private force can be used too, as long as it has legitimacy derived from the state.
- The right of self-defense is the right by which civilians acting on their own behalf may engage in violence for the sake of defending one's own life or the lives of others.

Key Terms

- **right of self-defense**: The right of self-defense (according to U.S. law) is the right by which civilians acting on their own behalf may engage in violence for the sake of defending one's own life or the lives of others, including the use of deadly force.
- **the state**: A state is a political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly over the legitimate use of force within a certain territory.
- **Max Weber**: (1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.
- **monopoly**: a situation in which one party or company exclusively provides a particular product or service, dominating that market and generally exerting powerful control over it

Max Weber, in *Politicsas a Vocation*, conceived of the state as a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force. According to Weber, the state is that entity that "upholds the claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order. " The state's authority is derived from this: the state can enforce its precepts through force without losing its legitimate authority. This definition of the state has figured prominently in philosophy of law and in political philosophy throughout the twentieth century.

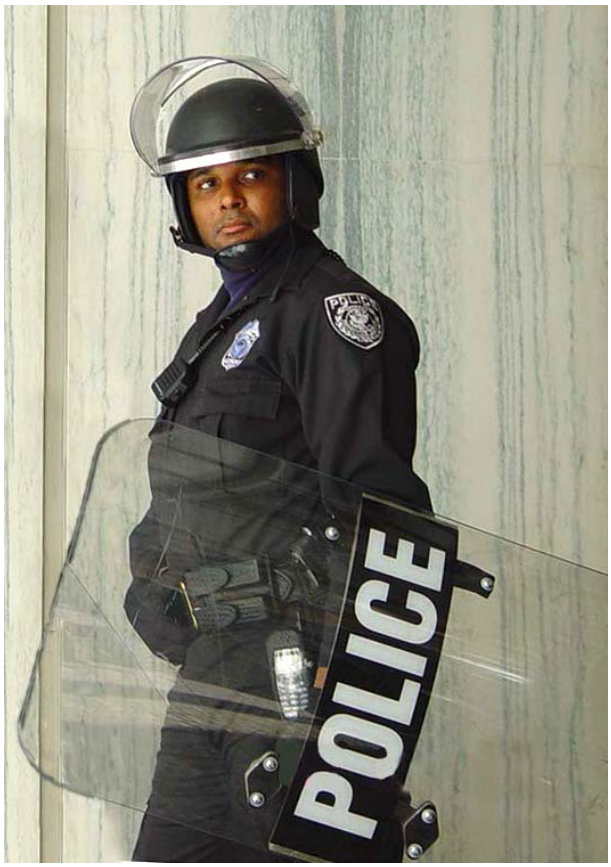
Ownership of territory is another characteristic that Weber deemed prerequisite for a state. Territory is necessary because it defines the scope of the state's authority: use of force is acceptable, but only in the jurisdiction specified by the state's lands. Such a monopoly, according to Weber, must occur via a process of legitimation.

The police and the military are the state's main instruments of legitimate violence, but this does not mean that only public force can be used: private force can be used, too, as long as it has legitimacy derived from the state. The right of self-defense is the right by which civilians acting on their own behalf may engage in violence for the sake of defending one's own life or the lives of others, including the use of deadly force. In any

instance where an individual uses force to defend a third party, it must be demonstrated that the third party was in a position that required another individual's intervention. The right of self-defense is a private form of legitimate violence that is recognized by the state.



A Helicopter Operated by Blackwater Worldwide: Blackwater Worldwide is private military company that contracts with the United States to provide military services. States may maintain a monopoly on legitimate violence but outsource its execution by contracting with private parties such as Blackwater.



A police officer: States maintain a monopoly on violence, exercised by police officers.

Traditional Authority

Traditional authority refers to a form of leadership in which authority derives from tradition or custom.

Learning Objectives

Compare patrimonial government with feudalism within the context of traditional authority

Key Points

- Weber traced traditional domination back to patriarchs, their households, and the ancient tradition of family. In such systems, the master is designated in accordance with the rules of inheritance.
- Patrimonial government occurs when the ruler's household expands to governmental offices. All officials are personal dependents or favorites of the ruler, and are appointed by him.
- Feudalism replaced the paternal relationship of patrimonalism with a contract of allegiance based on knightly militarism.

Key Terms

- **feudalism**: A social system that is based on personal ownership of resources and personal fealty between a suzerain (lord) and a vassal (subject). Defining characteristics of feudalism are direct ownership of resources, personal loyalty, and a hierarchical social structure reinforced by religion.
- **patrimonial government**: A form of governance in which all power flows directly from the leader. The leaders of these countries typically enjoy absolute personal power.
- **tradition**: A part of culture that is passed from person to person or generation to generation, possibly differing in detail from family to family, such as the way holidays are celebrated.

Traditional Authority

Traditional authority is a type of leadership in which the authority of a ruling regime is largely tied to tradition or custom. In sociology, the concept of traditional authority comes from Max Weber 's tripartite classification of authority. In addition to traditional authority, Weber claimed that the other two styles of authority were charismatic authority and rational-legal authority. Weber noted that, in history, these ideal types of domination always seemed to occur in combinations.

Weber traced traditional domination back to patriarchs, their households, and the ancient tradition of the family. In such systems, the master, almost exclusively an older father, is designated in accordance with the rules of inheritance. He has

no administrative staff, nor any machinery to enforce his will by force alone. Instead, he depends on the willingness of subservient group members to respect his authority. They obey him based on the belief that this is their duty, sanctioned by tradition.

Patrimonial government is related to this model, but is slightly different. This occurs when a patriarchal ruler's household expands to governmental offices. In this style of leadership, all officials are personal dependents or favorites of the ruler, and are appointed by the ruler. Their interactions with the ruler are based on paternal authority and filial dependence. Military force is an important instrument of patrimonial rule. Patrimonial dominance has often prevailed in the Orient.

Patrimonalism and Feudalism

In comparison to patrimonalism, feudalism has one major similarity and several important differences. The similarity is that both are based on tradition and have powerful rulers who grant rights in return for military and administrative services. There are two important differences. First, feudalism replaced the paternal relationship of patrimonalism with a contract of allegiance based on knightly militarism. Second, in a patrimonial government, officials are personally dependent on the patriarch. In feudalism, these individuals are replaced with vassals, who have contractual freedom, personal allegiance, and socioeconomic prominence.



Louis XIV of France: Historically, kings have derived their authority from tradition.



King Abdullah bin Abdul al-Saud of Saudi Arabia: King Abdullah bin Abdul al-Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, derived his authority from tradition.

Rational-Legal Authority

Rational-legal authority is a form of leadership in which authority is largely tied to legal rationality, legal legitimacy, and bureaucracy.

Learning Objectives

Recall the three characteristics of the modern state, according to Weber

Key Points

- Unlike charismatic authority and traditional authority, rational-legal authority derives its powers from the system of bureaucracy and legality.
- Weber defined legal order as a system wherein the rules are enacted and obeyed as legitimate because they are in line with other laws on how they can be enacted and how they should be obeyed.
- The modern state based on rational-legal authority emerged from the patrimonial and feudal struggle for power uniquely in Western civilization.
- A modern state exists where a political community has created an administrative and legal order, binding authority over citizens, and the legitimate use of physical force.

Key Terms

- **authority**: The power to enforce rules or give orders.
- **legal order**: A system where the rules are enacted and obeyed as legitimate because they are in line with other laws on how they can be enacted and how they should be obeyed. Further, they are enforced by a government that monopolizes their enactment and the legitimate use of physical force.
- **bureaucracy**: Structure and regulations in place to control activity. Usually in large organizations and government operations.



Max Weber: Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey introduced verstehen—understanding behaviors—as goal of sociology.

Rational-legal authority is a form of leadership in which the authority of an organization or a ruling regime is largely tied to legal rationality, legal legitimacy, and bureaucracy. It is the second of Max Weber 's tripartite classification of authority. The majority of the modern states of the twentieth century are rational-legal authorities, according to those who use this form of classification.

Unlike charismatic authority and traditional authority, rational-legal authority derives its powers from the system of bureaucracy and legality. Weber defined legal order as a system wherein the rules are enacted and obeyed as legitimate because they are in line with other laws on how they can be enacted and how they should be obeyed. These rules are enforced by a government that monopolizes their enactment, while holding the legitimate use of physical force.

Weber wrote that the modern state based on rational-legal authority emerged from the patrimonial and feudal struggle for power uniquely in Western civilization. The prerequisites for the modern Western state are the monopoly by a central authority of the means of administration and control; the monopoly of legislative authority; and the organization of officialdom, dependent upon the central authority.

According to Max Weber, a modern state exists where a political community has three elements. First, an administrative and legal order that has been created and can be changed by legislation that also determines its role. Second, it must have binding authority over citizens and actions in its jurisdiction. Lastly, it must possess the right to legitimately use the physical force in its jurisdiction.



A FEMA Employee Fills Out Paperwork: Ration-legal authority depends on routinized administration, which often involves a lot of paperwork.



President Barack Obama: Barack Obama, President of the United States, derives his authority from a rational-legal system of laws outlined in a formal document, the Constitution of the United States of America.



Max Weber on Rational-Legal Authority: According to Weber, rational-legal authority is a form of leadership in which the authority of an organization or a ruling regime is largely tied to legal rationality, legal legitimacy, and bureaucracy.

Charismatic Authority

Charismatic authority is power legitimized by a leader's exceptional personal qualities, which inspire loyalty and obedience from followers.

Learning Objectives

Create a model of a hypothetical charismatic leader in a hypothetical government which describes the charisma and explains in detail how it is legitimized, used, and maintained

Key Points

- For Weber, charisma applies to "a certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural powers ".
- In contrast to the current popular use of the term charismatic leader, Weber saw charismatic authority not so much as character traits of the charismatic leader, but as a relationship between the leader and his followers.
- A cult of personality refers to when an individual uses mass media, propaganda, or other methods to create an idealized and heroic public image, often through unquestioning flattery and praise.
- The methods of charismatic succession are search, revelation, designation by original leader, designation by qualified staff, hereditary charisma, and office charisma.

Key Terms

- **routinization**: Charismatic authority almost always endangers the boundaries set by traditional or rational (legal) authority. It tends to challenge this authority, and is thus often seen as revolutionary. Usually this charismatic authority is incorporated into society. Hereby the challenge that it presents to society will subside. The way in which this happens is called routinization.
- **cult of personality**: A situation where a leader (often a dictator) has been falsely idolized and made into a national or group icon and is revered as a result.
- **revelation**: A manifestation of divine truth.

Charismatic authority is one of three forms of authority laid out in Max Weber's tripartite classification of authority. Weber defined charismatic authority as "resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him".



Max Weber: Weber defined charismatic authority as "resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him."

Charismatic authority is power legitimized on the basis of a leader's exceptional personal qualities, or the demonstration of extraordinary insight and accomplishment, which inspire loyalty and obedience from followers. In contrast to the current popular use of the term charismatic leader, Weber saw charismatic authority not so much as character traits of the charismatic leader but as a relationship between the leader and his followers. For Weber, charisma applies to "a certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. "

Charismatic authority almost always evolves in the context of boundaries set by traditional or rational-legal authority, but by its nature tends to challenge this authority, and is thus often seen as revolutionary. However, the constant challenge that charismatic authority presents to a particular society will eventually subside as it is incorporated into that society through routinization. Routinization is the process by which "charismatic authority is succeeded by a bureaucracy controlled by a rationally established authority or by a combination of traditional and bureaucratic authority. "

In politics, charismatic rule is often found in various authoritarian states, autocracies, dictatorships, and theocracies. In order to help to maintain their charismatic authority, such regimes will often establish a vast cult of personality, which is signaled when an individual uses mass media, propaganda, or other methods to create an idealized and heroic public image, often through unquestioning flattery and praise. When the leader of such a state dies or leaves office and a new charismatic leader does not appear, such a regime is likely to fall shortly thereafter unless it has become fully routinized.



Lenin, a charismatic leader: Bolshevik political cartoon poster from 1920 depicting Lenin sweeping away monarchists and capitalists; the caption reads, "Comrade Lenin Cleanses the Earth of Filth."

According to Max Weber, the methods of charismatic succession are search, revelation, designation by original leader, designation by qualified staff, hereditary charisma, and office charisma. These are the various ways in which an individual and a society can contrive to maintain the unique energy and nature of charisma in their leadership.



Mussolini and Hitler: According to Weber, charismatic leaders gain authority not because they are necessarily kind, but because they are seen as superhuman.

The Transfer of Authority

In the United States, transfers of authority generally occur after presidential elections.

Learning Objectives

Compare presidential transitions with transitional justice using real-life examples

Key Points

- A presidential transition refers to the period of time between the end of a presidential election and the inauguration of a new president.
- In the United States, during a presidential transition, the outgoing, “lame duck” president has lost many of the intangible benefits of a presidency, but the incoming president-elect is not yet legally empowered to enforce policy.
- Transitional justice refers to a range of efforts, on the part of the state, to address past human rights violations. These efforts include both judicial and non-judicial methods.
- In the context of transitional justice, memorialization is used to honor the victims of human rights abuses.

Key Terms

- **president-elect**: a person who has been elected to a presidency but has not yet been inducted into office
- **transitional justice**: Transitional justice generally refers to a range of approaches that states may use to address past human rights violations. This includes both judicial and non-judicial approaches.
- **Presidential transition**: A presidential transition or presidential interregnum refers to the period of time between the end of a presidential election and the inauguration of a new president.

Presidential Transitions

A presidential transition refers to the period of time between the end of a presidential election and the inauguration of a new president. During this time, the incoming president usually designates new governmental personnel, including those individuals who will either serve in the cabinet or lead governmental agencies.

In the United States, the presidential transition extends from the date of the presidential election, in early November, until the twentieth day of January in the following year. This was specified in the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution. During a presidential transition, the outgoing president, also known as the “lame duck,” has lost many of the intangible benefits of a presidency. That being said, the incoming president-elect is not yet legally empowered to enforce policy. This ambiguity, between the president-elect and outgoing president, creates the potential for a leadership vacuum, which may be most acutely felt during wartime or times of economic crisis.

Transitional Justice

In other nations, many of which have experienced undemocratic governments and dictators, transitional justice refers to a state’s efforts to address past human rights violations. These efforts can be both judicial and non-judicial, and refer to actions, policies or institutions that are enacted at a point of political transition from violence or repression to societal stability. As a project, transitional justice has a number of goals, including rebuilding social trust, repairing a fractured judicial system, and building a democratic system of governance.

In the context of transitional justice, memorialization is used to honor the victims of human rights abuses. By demonstrating respect and acknowledging the past, national memorials can help governments reconcile tensions with victims. They can also help to establish a record of history and to prevent the recurrence of abuse.



Presidential Inauguration, 2005: In the United States, elaborate inauguration ceremonies mark the transfer of authority.

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15.2: Government and the State

Functions of the State

Various schools of thought consider the state to be either a neutral entity separated from society or an immoral partisan instrument.

Learning Objectives

Classify the different political theories concerning the function of the state in society

Key Points

- Liberal and conservative theories of the state tend to see the state as a neutral entity separated from society and the economy. These theories treat the economic system of capitalism as a given.
- Marxist theories see the state as a partisan instrument that primarily serves the interests of the upper class. These theories emphasize the relationship between political power and economic power.
- Anarchists believe that the state apparatus should be completely dismantled and an alternative set of social relations created. These social relations would not be based on state power at all.
- Pluralists view the state as a neutral body that simply enacts the will of whichever groups dominate the electoral process.
- A polyarchy, a concept developed by Robert Dahl, refers to the idea that the modern democratic state's acts in response to the pressures applied to it by a variety of organized interests.

Key Terms

- **polyarchy**: a government by many persons, of whatever order or class
- **pluralist**: an advocate of pluralism (in all senses)
- **anarchist**: One who believes in or advocates the absence of hierarchy and authority in most forms (compare anarchism), especially one who works toward the realization of such.

The State

A state is an organized political community acting under a government. States may be classified as sovereign if they are not dependent on, or subject to, any other power or state. States are considered to be subject to external sovereignty, or hegemony, if their ultimate sovereignty lies in another state. A federated state is a territorial, constitutional community that forms part of a federation. Such states differ from sovereign states, in that they have transferred a portion of their sovereign powers to a federal government.



The United States: Americans live in a federal system of 50 states that, together, make up the United Sates of America.

Theories of the State

Most political theories of the state can roughly be classified into two categories. The first, which includes liberal or conservative theories, treats capitalism as a given, and concentrates on the function of states in a capitalist society. Theories of this variety view the state as a neutral entity distinct from both society and the economy.

Marxist Theory

Marxist theory, on the other hand, sees politics as intimately intermingled with economic relations, and emphasizes the relationship between economic power and political power. Marxists view the state as a partisan instrument that primarily serves the interests of the upper class. Marx and Engels were clear that communism's goal was a classless society in which the state would have "withered away. " For Marxist theorists, the role of the non-socialist state is determined by its function in the global capitalist order. Marx's early writings portrayed the state as "parasitic," built upon the superstructure of the economy and working against the public interest. He believed that the state mirrored societal class relations, that it regulated and repressed class struggle, and that it was a tool of political power and domination for the ruling class.

Anarchism

Anarchism is a political philosophy that considers states immoral and instead promotes a stateless society, anarchy. Anarchists believe that the state is inherently an instrument of domination and repression, no matter who is in control of it. Anarchists believe that the state apparatus should be completely dismantled and an alternative set of social relations created, which would be unrelated to state power.



Anarchists at the G20 Summit in London, 2009: Anarchists oppose state control.

Pluralism

Pluralists view society as a collection of individuals and groups competing for political power. They then view the state as a neutral body that simply enacts the will of whichever group dominates the electoral process. Within the pluralist tradition, Robert Dahl developed the theory of the state as a neutral arena for contending interests. He also viewed governmental agencies as simply another set of competing interest groups. The pluralist approach suggests that the modern democratic state acts in response to pressures that are applied by a variety of organized interests. Dahl called this kind of state a polyarchy. Pluralism has been challenged on the ground that it is not supported by empirical evidence.

Characteristics of the State

A state is an organized political community acting under a government. States differ in sovereignty, governance, geography, and interests.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the central characteristics that define the state

Key Points

- Federated states differ from sovereign states in that they have transferred a portion of their sovereign powers to a federal government.
- Under the rule of law, no one person can rule and even top government officials are bound by the law.
- The “nation” refers to a large geographical area and the people living there who perceive themselves as having a common identity.
- The nation state is a state that self-identifies as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit.
- Civil society is the arena outside of the family, the state, and the market where people associate to advance common interests.

Key Terms

- **civil society**: All of the institutions, voluntary organizations, and corporate bodies that are less than the state but greater than the family.
- **nation state**: a political entity (a state) associated with a particular cultural entity (a nation)
- **Sovereign states**: A sovereign state is a political organization with a centralized government that has supreme independent authority over a geographic area.

States may be classified as sovereign if they are not dependent on, or subject to, any other power or state. Other states are subject to external sovereignty or hegemony where ultimate sovereignty lies in another state. A federated state is a territorial and constitutional community forming part of a federation. Such states differ from sovereign states, in that they have transferred a portion of their sovereign powers to a federal government.

The concept of the state is different from the concept of government. A government is the particular group of people that controls the state apparatus at a given time. In other words, governments are the means through which state power is employed; for example, by applying the rule of law. The rule of law is a legal maxim whereby governmental decisions are made by applying known legal principles. The rule of law is rule not by one person, as in an absolute monarchy, but by laws, as in a democratic republic; no one person can rule and even top government officials are under and ruled by the law.

The concept of the state is also different from the concept of a nation, which refers to a large geographical area, and the people therein who perceive themselves as having a common identity. The state is a political and geopolitical entity; the nation is a cultural or ethnic entity. The nation state is a state that self-identifies as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit. The term nation state implies that the two geographically coincide.

In classical thought, the state was identified with political society and civil society as a form of political community. In contrast, modern thought distinguishes the nation state as a political society from civil society as a form of economic society. Civil society is the arena outside of the family, the state, and the market where people associate to advance common interests. It is sometimes considered to include the family and the private sphere and then referred to as the third sector of society, distinct from government and business.



Heads of State: In the United States, the state is governed by a government headed by an elected president. Pictured here are, from left to right, Presidents George H.W. Bush, Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Jimmy Carter.

Citizenship Rights

Citizenship carries both rights and responsibilities, as it describes a person with legal rights within a given political order.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the rights and responsibilities of citizenship held by individuals

Key Points

- Citizenship is the state of being a member of a particular social, political, national, or human resource community. The term describing all citizens as a whole is citizenry.
- Citizenship generally carries with it the right of political participation in a community, including voting, participating in government, and receiving state protection.
- A person who does not have citizenship in any state is stateless.
- Many people are presumed to be citizens of a nation if they were born within the physical geographic territory of the nation. This policy is called, by the Latin legal term. jus soli, meaning “right of soil. ” A jus sanguinis policy grants citizenship based on ancestry or ethnicity.
- Nationalization is the acquisition of citizenship by somebody who was not a citizen of that country at the time of birth.
- The term “citizen of the world” has been applied to people who have fewer ties to a particular nation and more of a sense of belonging to the world in general.

Key Terms

- **nationalization**: Nationalization is the process of taking an industry or assets into government ownership by a national government or state
- **jus soli**: A right by which nationality or citizenship can be recognized to any individual born in the territory of the related state.
- **jus sanguinis**: Jus sanguinis (Latin: right of blood) is a social policy by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth, but rather by having one or both parent who are citizens of the nation. It contrasts with jus soli (Latin for “right of soil”).

Legally, citizenship denotes a link between an individual and a state. Under international law, citizenship is synonymous to nationality, although the two may have different meanings under national law. A person who does not have citizenship in any state is stateless.

A person is generally presumed to be a citizen of a nation if one or both of their parents are also a citizen of said nation; this is often called jus sanguinis (Latin legal term), meaning “right of blood. ” A jus sanguinis policy means grants citizenship based on ancestry or ethnicity, and is related to the concept of a nation state common in Europe. Many people are presumed to be citizens of a nation if they were born within the physical geographic territory of the nation. This policy is called by jus soli (Latin legal term), meaning “right of soil. ” These first two factors are usually lumped together under the term birthright citizenship.



Dual Citizenship: Some people may be citizens of more than one country.

Nationalization is the acquisition of citizenship by somebody who was not a citizen of that country at the time of birth. In general, basic requirements for nationalization are that the applicant hold a legal status as a full-time resident for a minimum period of time, and that the applicant promises to obey and uphold that country’s laws, to which an oath or pledge of allegiance is sometimes added. Citizenship can also be obtained by marrying a citizen, which is termed jure matrimonii.

Citizenship status, under social contract theory, carries with it both rights and responsibilities. In this sense, citizenship was described as “a bundle of rights — primarily, political

participation in the life of the community, the right to vote, and the right to receive certain protection from the community, as well as obligations. ” Citizenship is a status in society. It generally describes a person with legal rights within a given political order. It almost always has an element of exclusion, meaning that some people are not citizens; this distinction can sometimes be very important, or not important, depending on a particular society.

More generally, citizenship is seen as the relation between an individual and a particular nation. Certain entities, however, cross national boundaries, such as trade organizations, non-governmental organizations, and multi-national corporations, and sometimes the term “citizen of the world” has been applied in to people who have fewer ties to a particular nation and more of a sense of belonging to the world in general.



Naturalization Ceremony, Salem, MA, Citizenship Day 2007: New citizens are welcomed during a naturalization ceremony in Salem, MA.

State Formation

Theories explaining the origins and formation of states all revolve around the ability to centralize power in a sustainable way.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the formation of states and centralization of authority in modern history

Key Points

- States first arose when agriculture and writing made centralized power possible.
- In hydraulic civilizations, water and irrigation were centrally controlled, which consequently led to the general centralization of power in a despotic state.
- According to the coercion theory of state formation, states formed in order to handle the burden of fighting and defending against wars.
- States have continued to grow more rational and bureaucratic, with expanding executive bureaucracies, such as the extensive cabinet system in the United States. Thus, states have evolved from relatively simple but powerful central powers to complex and highly organized institutions.

Key Terms

- **Hydraulic civilization**: A hydraulic empire (also known as a hydraulic despotism, or water monopoly empire) is a social or government structure which maintains power and control through exclusive control over access to water. It arises through the need for flood control and irrigation, which requires central coordination and a specialized bureaucracy.
- **Centralization of power**: Centralization of power occurs in governments in which power or legal authority is exerted or coordinated by a de facto political executive to which federal states, local authorities, and smaller units are considered subject. In a national context, centralization occurs in the transfer of power to a typically sovereign nation state.

State Formation and the Centralization of Power

Today we take it for granted that different societies are governed by different states, but this has not always been the case. Since the late nineteenth century, virtually the entirety of the world’s inhabitable land has been parceled up into areas with more or less definite borders claimed by various states. Earlier, quite large land areas had been either unclaimed or uninhabited, or inhabited by nomadic peoples who were not organized as states. In fact, for most of human history, people have lived in stateless societies, characterized by a lack of concentrated authority, and the absence of large inequalities in economic and political power.

The first known states were created in Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, the Americas (e.g., Aztec civilization, Inca civilization). Most agree that the earliest states emerged when agriculture and writing made it possible to centralize power in a durable way. Agriculture allowed communities to settle and also led to class division: some people

devoted all their time to food production, while others were freed to specialize in other activities, such as writing or ruling. Thus, states, as an institution, were a social invention. Political sociologists continue to debate the origins of the state and the processes of state formation.

Competing Theories of State Formation

Hydraulic Civilization

According to one early theory of state formation, the centralized state was developed to administer large public works systems (such as irrigation systems) and to regulate complex economies. This theory was articulated by German American historian Karl August Wittfogel in his book 1957 Oriental Despotis. Wittfogel argued that most of the earliest states were formed in hydraulic civilizations, by which he meant civilizations where leaders controlled people by controlling the water supply. Often, these civilizations relied on complex irrigation systems that had to be centrally managed. The people, therefore, had good reason to give control to a central state, but in giving up control over the irrigation system, they also gave up control over their own livelihoods and, thus, the central state gained immense control over people in general. Although Wittfogel's theory is well known, it has also been criticized as inaccurate. Modern archaeological and anthropological evidence shows that many early societies were not as centralized, despotic, or unequal as the hydraulic theory would suggest.

Coercion, War, and the State

An alternative theory of state formation focuses on the rise of more modern nation-states and explains their rise by arguing they became necessary for leveraging the resources necessary to fight and defend against wars. Sociologist Charles Tilly is the best known theorist in this tradition. Tilly examined political, social, and technological change in Europe from the Middle Ages to the present and attempted to explain the unprecedented success of the nation-state as the dominant form of state on Earth. In other words, instead of asking (like Wittfogel) where the very first states came from, Tilly asked where the types of states with which we're most familiar came from, and why they became so common.

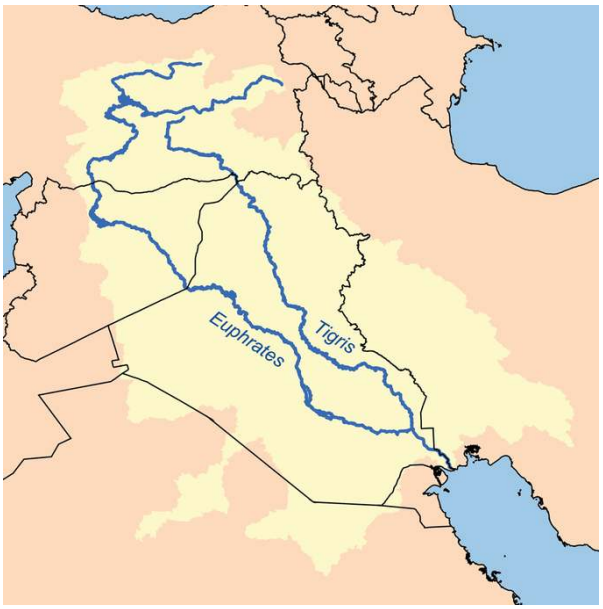
According to Tilly's theory, military innovation in pre-modern Europe (especially gunpowder and mass armies) made war extremely expensive. As a result, only states with a sufficient amount of capital and a large population could afford to pay for their security and ultimately survive in the hostile environment. Thus, the modern states and its institutions (such as taxes) were created to enable war making.



Ancient Persian and Greek Warriors: States may have formed to help societies organize for war.

Rationalization and Bureaucracy

Yet another theory of state formation focuses on the long, slow, process of rationalization and bureaucratization that began with the invention of writing. The Greeks were the first people known to have explicitly formulated a political philosophy of the state, and to have rationally analyzed political institutions. In Medieval Europe, feudalism furthered the rationalization and formalization of the state. Feudalism was based on the relationship between lord and vassal, which became central to social organization and, indeed to state organization. The Medieval state was organized by Estates, or parliaments in which key social groups negotiated with the king about legal and economic matters. Since then, states have continued to grow more rational and bureaucratic, with expanding executive bureaucracies, such as the extensive cabinet system in the United States. Thus, states have evolved from relatively simple but powerful central powers to complex and highly organized institutions.



The Tigris-Euphrates Watershed in Mesopotamia: In hydraulic civilizations, control over water concentrated power in central despotic states.

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15.3: Types of States

Types of States

States vary based on who holds power, who elects the empowered, and how authority is maintained.

Learning Objectives

Identify the central features that distinguish different types of states

Key Points

- One way to classify these governments is by looking at how leaders gain power. Under this system, governments fall into general categories of authoritarianism, oligarchy, and democracy.
- Authoritarian governments differ in who holds power and in how much control they assume over those that they govern, but all are marked by the fact that the empowered are unelected individuals. One well-known example of this type of government is a monarchy.
- An oligarchy is a form of government in which power effectively rests with a small elite segment of society distinguished by royalty, wealth, family, military, or religious hegemony. One common example is theocracy.
- Democracy is a form of government in which the right to govern is held by the majority of citizens within a country or a state. All members of the society have equal access to power and all members enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties.

Key Terms

- **oligarchy**: A government run by only a few, often the wealthy
- **Democratic presidential republic**: A system of government where an executive branch is led by a president who serves as both head of state and head of government; in such a system, this branch exists separately from the legislature, to which it is not responsible and which it cannot, in normal circumstances, dismiss.
- **theocracy**: Government under the control of a Church or state-sponsored religion

States come in a variety of forms that vary based on who holds power, how positions of leadership are obtained, and how authority is maintained. The United States is a democratic presidential republic: a democratic government headed by a powerful elected executive, the president. The United States originally won its independence from Britain, which was a monarchy, in which power was concentrated in an individual king. Other forms of government include oligarchy and dictatorship or totalitarianism. One way to classify these governments is by looking at how leaders gain power. Under this system, governments fall into general categories of authoritarianism, oligarchy, and democracy.

Authoritarian Governments

Authoritarian governments differ in who holds power and in how much control they assume over those that they govern, but all are marked by the fact that the empowered are unelected individuals. One well-known example of this type of government is a monarchy.

A monarchy is a form of government in which supreme power is absolutely or nominally lodged with an individual, who is the head of state, often for life or until abdication. The person who heads a monarchy is called a monarch. There is no clear definition of monarchy. Some monarchs hold unlimited political power while many constitutional monarchies, such as the United Kingdom and Thailand, have monarchs with limited political power. Hereditary rule is often a common characteristic, but elective monarchies are also considered monarchies (e.g., The Pope) and some states have hereditary rulers, but are considered republics (e.g., the Dutch Republic). Currently, 44 nations in the world have monarchs as heads of state.

Totalitarianism (or totalitarian rule) is a political system that strives to regulate nearly every aspect of public and private life. Totalitarian regimes or movements maintain themselves in political power by means of an official all-embracing ideology and propaganda disseminated through the state -controlled mass media, a single party that controls the state, personality cults, control over the economy, regulation and restriction of free discussion and criticism, the use of mass surveillance, and widespread use of state terrorism.

Oligarchic Governments

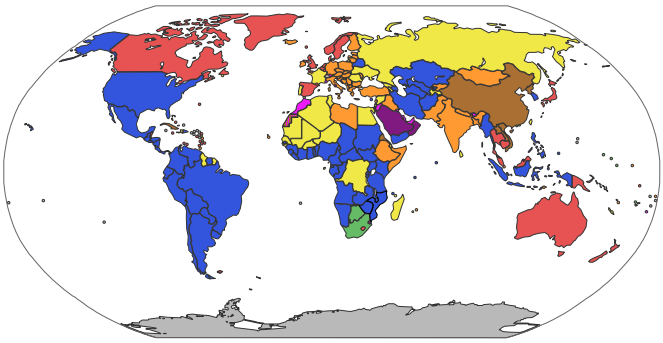
An oligarchy is a form of government in which power effectively rests with a small elite segment of society distinguished by royalty, wealth, family, military, or religious hegemony. An oligarchy is different from a true democracy because very few people are given the chance to change things. An oligarchy does not have to be hereditary or monarchic. An oligarchy does not have one clear ruler, but several powerful people who rule. One common example is that of theocracy.

Theocracy is a form of government in which a god or deity is recognized as the state's supreme civil ruler, or in a broader sense, a form of government in which a state is governed by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided. Theocratic governments enact theonomic laws.

Theocracies are distinguished from other secular forms of government that have a state religion, or are merely influenced by theological or moral concepts, and monarchies held "by the Grace of God. "

Democratic Governments

Democracy is a form of government in which the right to govern is held by the majority of citizens within a country or a state. The two principles of a democracy are that all citizens have equal access to power and that all citizens enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties. There are several varieties of democracy, some of which provide better representation and more freedoms for their citizens than others. However, if any democracy is not carefully legislated with balances, such as the separation of powers, to avoid an uneven distribution of political power, then a branch of the system of rule could accumulate power and become harmful to the democracy itself. Freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are essential so that citizens are informed and able to vote in their personal interests.



Countries of the World, by Type of Government in 2011: This map shows all the countries of the word, colored according to their type of government. Blue represents full presidential republics, while green and yellow are presidential republics with less powerful presidents. Orange represents parliamentary republics. Red and pink are parliamentary constitutional monarchies, and purple represents absolute monarchies. Brown represents single-party republics, green shows countries where government has been suspended (e.g., military dictatorships), and grey countries do not fit any of the above categories.

Monarchy

A monarchy is a form of government in which supreme power is absolutely or nominally lodged with an individual, who is the head of state.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of monarchies in the contemporary world

Key Points

- Monarchy was a common form of government in the world during the ancient and medieval times. It is less common today, although several monarchies still exist.
- Modern monarchies often takes the form of a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarch retains a unique legal and ceremonial role, but exercises limited or no political power pursuant to a constitution or tradition which allocates governing authority elsewhere.
- Most states only have a single person acting as monarch at any given time, although two monarchs have ruled simultaneously in some countries, a situation known as diarchy.

Key Terms

- **diarchy**: A form of government where power is shared between two joint authorities.
- **hereditary rule**: Hereditary rule is a form of government in which all the rulers come from the same family, and the crown is passed down from one member to another member of the family.

A monarchy is a form of government in which supreme power is absolutely or nominally lodged with an individual, who is the head of state, often for life or until abdication. The person who heads a monarchy is called a monarch.



Queen Elizabeth II: Queen Elizabeth II is the monarch of the United Kingdom.

Monarchy was the most common form of government into the 19th century, but it is no longer prevalent, at least at the national level. Monarchy now often takes the form of a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarch retains a unique legal and ceremonial role, but exercises limited or no political power pursuant to a constitution or tradition which allocates governing authority elsewhere. Currently, 44 nations in the world have

monarchs as heads of state. Of these, 16 are Commonwealth realms such as Canada and Australia that recognize the monarch of the United Kingdom as their head of state.

There is no clear definition of monarchy. Even characteristics most commonly associated with monarchies are not universal. For example, monarchies are often though of as highly centralized forms of absolute power. But holding unlimited political power in the state is not the defining characteristic, as many constitutional monarchies such as the United Kingdom and Thailand are considered monarchies yet their monarchs have limited political power. Hereditary rule is often a common characteristic, but some monarchs are elected (e.g., the Pope), and some states with hereditary rulers are nevertheless considered republics (e.g., the Dutch Republic).

Most states only have a single person acting as monarch at any given time, although two monarchs have ruled simultaneously in some countries, a situation known as diarchy. Historically, this was the case in the ancient Greek city-state of Sparta or 17th-century Russia, and there are examples of joint sovereignty of spouses or relatives (such as William and Mary in the Kingdoms of England and Scotland).

Oligarchy

An oligarchy is a form of government in which power effectively rests with a small elite segment of society.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast the different types of oligarchical governments that exist

Key Points

- Like monarchies, oligarchies may depend on blood relations, but they may also depend on wealth, religion, or military hegemony.
- In de jure oligarchies, an elite group is given power by the law. For example, the law may give only nobility the right to vote, or a theocracy may be ruled by a group of religious leaders.
- In de facto oligarchies, those with more resources are able to gain political power, despite laws that ostensibly treat all citizens equally.
- Some contemporary authors have characterized the United States ‘ current state of affairs as being oligarchic in nature.

Key Terms

- **elite**: A special group or social class of people which have a superior intellectual, social or economic status as, the elite of society.

An oligarchy is a form of government in which power effectively rests with a small elite segment of society distinguished by royalty, wealth, family, military, or religious hegemony. Oligarchies are often controlled by politically powerful families whose children are heavily conditioned and mentored to be heirs of the power of the oligarchy. These types of states have been tyrannical throughout history, relying on public servitude and complacency in order to exist.

States may be oligarchies de jure or de facto. In de jure oligarchies, an elite group is given power by the law. The law may give only nobility the right to vote, or a theocracy may be ruled by a group of religious leaders. In de facto oligarchies, those with more resources are able to gain political power, despite laws that ostensibly treat all citizens equally. One example of this is a corporate oligarchy, or corporatocracy—a system in which power effectively rests with a small, elite group of inside individuals, sometimes from a small group of educational institutions, or influential economic entities or devices, such as banks, commercial entities, lobbyists that act in complicity with, or at the whim of the oligarchy, often with little or no regard for constitutionally protected prerogative. Monopolies are sometimes granted to state-controlled entities, such as the Royal Charter granted to the East India Company, or privileged bargaining rights to unions (labor monopolies) with very partisan political interests. Today’s multinational corporations function as corporate oligarchies with influence over democratically elected officials.

Some contemporary authors have characterized the United States’ current state of affairs as being oligarchic in nature. Jeffrey A. Winters argues that “oligarchy and democracy operate within a single system, and American politics is a daily display of their interplay. ” Bernie Sanders (I-VT) opined in a 2010 article from *The Nation* that an “upper-crust of extremely wealthy families are hell-bent on destroying the democratic vision of a strong middle-class which has made the United States the envy of the world. In its place they are determined to create an oligarchy in which a small number of families control the economic and political life of our country. ”



Nelson Mandela: In 1994, Nelson Mandela became the first president of South Africa elected in a fully representative election, which marked the end of oligarchic apartheid in that country.



Alexander Lebedev and President Putin: Alexander Lebedev represents a new class of Russian oligarchs, which arose after the fall of communism by taking control of major industries. He is one of the richest people in the world.

Dictatorship and Totalitarianism

Dictatorships govern without consent of the people and in totalitarian dictatorships the power to govern extends to all aspects of life.

Learning Objectives

Compare and contrast dictatorships with totalitarian governments

Key Points

- Dictatorship is a form of government in which the ruler has the power to govern without consent of those being governed.
- Totalitarian governments are those that regulate nearly every aspect of public and private behavior.
- Dictatorship concerns the source of the governing power (where the power comes from, the people or a single leader) and totalitarianism concerns the scope of the governing power (what is the government and how extensive is its power).

Key Terms

- **totalitarianism**: A system of government in which the people have virtually no authority and the state wields absolute control, for example, a dictatorship.
- **dictatorship**: A type of government where absolute sovereignty is allotted to an individual or a small clique.

Dictatorship and totalitarianism are often associated, but they are actually two separate phenomena. Dictatorship is a form of government in which the ruler has the power to govern without consent of those being governed. Dictatorship can also be defined simply as “a system that does not adhere to democracy,” where democracy is defined as a form of government where those who govern are selected through contested elections. A dictator’s power can originate in his or her family, political position, or military authority.

Many dictatorships are also totalitarian. Totalitarian governments are those that exert total control over the governed; they regulate nearly every aspect of public and private behavior. Totalitarianism entails a political system where the state recognizes no limits to its authority, and it strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible. Totalitarian regimes stay in political power through all-encompassing propaganda campaigns (disseminated through the state-controlled mass media), a single party that is often marked by political repression, personality cultism, control over the economy, regulation and restriction of speech, mass surveillance, and widespread use of terror.

In other words, dictatorship concerns the source of the governing power (where the power comes from—the people or a single leader) and totalitarianism concerns the scope of the governing power (what is the government and how extensive is its power). In this sense, dictatorship (government without people’s consent) exists in contrast with democracy (government whose power comes from people) and totalitarianism (where government controls every aspect of people’s lives) exists in contrast with pluralism (where government allows multiple lifestyles and opinions).



President Nixon and Mao Zedong, 1972: In 1972, Nixon traveled to China and met with Mao Zedong, the leader of the totalitarian Chinese Communist Party.

Democracy

Democracy is a form of government in which sovereignty is held by the majority of citizens within a country or a state.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the central features of democratic governments

Key Points

- Democracies come in several forms, though all have competitive elections and freedoms of expression.
- Democracies must balance conflicting obligations to try to maximize freedom and protect individual rights.
- In most democracies, citizens are represented by elected lawmakers charged with drafting and voting on laws.

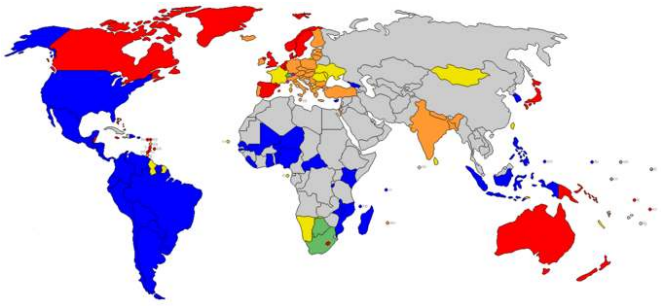
Key Terms

- **representative democracy**: A policy under the rule of people acting on the behalf of and, to a lesser extent, in the interests of the voting blocks by which they were elected.
- **separation of powers**: A theoretical model for governance, common in democratic states, which features the division of sovereign power into at least three (but sometimes up to six) organs of state in order to forestall tyranny, by preventing the acquisition of a monopoly of power by a monarch or oligarchy; also, such an arrangement.
- **tyranny of the majority**: A situation in which a government or other authority democratically supported by a majority of its subjects makes policies or takes actions benefiting that majority, without regard for the rights or welfare of the rest of its subjects.

Democracy is a form of government in which the power of government comes from the people. More formally, we might say that in democracy, the right to govern, or sovereignty, is held by the majority of citizens within a country or state. Even though there is no universally accepted definition of democracy, all definitions include two fundamental principles: First, in a democracy, all citizens have equal access to power. Second, all citizens enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties.

Democracies come in several forms, some of which provide better representation and more freedoms for their citizens than others. An essential process in representative democracies is competitive elections that are fair both substantively and procedurally. Furthermore, freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are essential so that citizens are informed and able to vote in their personal interests.

Democracies must balance conflicting obligations to try to maximize freedom and protect individual rights. For example, many democracies limit representation. In a full, direct, democracy, every citizen would be able to vote on every law. But in reality, in most democracies, citizens are represented by elected lawmakers charged with drafting and voting on laws. Many also institute measures such as the separation of powers, which divides executive, judicial, and legislative authority among different branches of government to protect against the possibility that a single government or branch of government could accumulate too much power and become harmful to democracy itself. Although such measures may limit representation, they make lawmaking more efficient and help guard against dangers such as the tyranny of the majority. Although majority rule is often described as a characteristic feature of democracy, without responsible government it is possible for the rights of a minority to be abused by the tyranny of the majority, in which a majority institutes policies abusive to a minority (for example, a racial majority may deny a racial minority access to education, housing, jobs, or other resources).



Electoral Democracies: This map depicts electoral democracies around the world, as judged by Freedom House in 2006. Different colors indicate different forms of democracy. Orange countries are parliamentary republics. Green, yellow, and blue are presidential republics with less (green) or more (blue) presidential power. Red are parliamentary constitutional monarchies in which the monarch does not personally exercise power.

New State Spaces

States are not necessarily the same as nations. New state spaces are redefining borders, and they may not be ruled by national governments.

Learning Objectives

Explain how political boundaries are changing due to globalization

Key Points

- A global city is a city that is central to the global economic or cultural system, such as New York or London.
- Not only are global cities important economically, but they are also politically unique. In some ways, global cities are more intimately connected to the global economic system and to other global cities than they are to surrounding regions or national settings.
- Another example of a new state space is seen in regional and international governments such as the European Union.
- State power is not restricted to the national level. New state spaces are evolving at both the local level (global cities) and the international level (the European Union).

Key Terms

- **European Union**: A supranational organization created in the 1950s to bring the nations of Europe into closer economic and political connection. At the beginning of 2007, 27 member nations were Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, The Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.
- **Global city**: A global city (also called world city or sometimes alpha city or world center) is a city generally considered to be an important node in the global economic system.
- **Political borders**: A border is a geographical boundary of political entities or legal jurisdictions.

For the last couple centuries, states have been largely coterminous with nations: the two tend to overlap. But states are not necessary the same as nations, and state boundaries will not necessarily always be the same as national boundaries. Recent sociological work has argued that, with globalization, relevant political borders are changing. This branch of sociology defines new state spaces as geographical spaces that are not governed simply by national governments. Instead, they may be more directly influenced by local, regional, or even international governmental bodies. One of the most prominent theories in this field is that of global cities.

Global Cities

A global city is a city that is central to the global economic system, such as New York or London. According to global cities theory, globalization is not a process that affects all places evenly. Globalization is carried out by certain cities, which can be arranged in a hierarchy of importance. Some of these cities are absolutely central to the operation of the global economic system, and some are more peripheral. The most complex and central cities are known as global cities.

Not only are global cities important economically, but they are also politically unique. In some ways, global cities are more intimately connected to the global economic system and to other global cities than they are to surrounding regions or national settings. In general, global cities tend to actively influence and participate in international effents and world affairs. They may be national capitals, or they may host the headquarters of international organizations such as the World Bank, NATO, or the UN. They also tend to have large expatriate communities, groups of people from other countries, who give the cities a cosmpolitan flair and also increase the relevance of foreign political events for global cities.

Regional and International Government

Another example of a new state space is seen in regional and international governments such as the European Union. The European Union is a confederation of 27 European states. It was originally formed to encourage and enable economic cooperation, but has grown to have a good deal of political power, most notably directing a Common Agricultural Policy for member states. Thus, citizens of European countries are governed not only by local and national states, but also by the European Union.

State power is not restricted to the national level. New state spaces are evolving at both the local level (global cities) and the international level (the European Union).



New York Stock Exchange – Wall Street: New York is global city, central to the global economy.

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15.4: Democracy

Democracy

Democracy is an egalitarian form of government in which all the citizens of a nation together determine policy, laws, and state actions.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the definition of democracy: its core qualities, and any controversy over those qualities

Key Points

- The most common system that is deemed democratic in the modern world is parliamentary democracy in which the voting public takes part in elections and chooses politicians to represent them in a legislative assembly.
- A purer form is direct democracy in which the voting public makes direct decisions or participates directly in the political process.
- Elements considered essential to democracy include freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, so that citizens are adequately informed and able to vote according to their own best interests as they see them.
- Majority rule is often listed as a characteristic of democracy. However, it is also possible for a minority to be oppressed by a tyranny of the majority in the absence of governmental or constitutional protections of individual or group rights.

Key Terms

- **egalitarian**: Characterized by social equality and equal rights for all people.
- **civil society**: All of the institutions, voluntary organizations, and corporate bodies that are less than the state but greater than the family.
- **Parliament**: A democratic government's legislature.

Democracy is an egalitarian form of government in which all the citizens of a nation together determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state. It requires that all citizens (meeting certain qualifications) have an equal opportunity to express their opinion. In practice, democracy is the extent to which a given system approximates this ideal. A given political system is referred to as a democracy if it allows a certain approximation to ideal democracy. Although no country has ever granted all its citizens (i.e. including minors) the vote, most countries today hold regular elections based on egalitarian principles, at least in theory.

The most common system that is deemed democratic in the modern world is parliamentary democracy in which the voting public takes part in elections and chooses politicians to represent them in a legislative assembly. The members of the assembly then make decisions with a majority vote. A purer form is direct democracy in which the voting public makes direct decisions or participates directly in the political process. Elements of direct democracy exist on a local level and in exceptions on the national level in many countries, although these systems coexist with representative assemblies.

The term democracy comes from the Greek word δ (dēmokratía), "rule of the people," which was coined from δ (dēmos), "people," and κ (kratia), "rule," in the middle of the 5th-4th century BCE to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens following a popular uprising in 508 BCE. Other cultures since Greece have significantly contributed to the evolution of democracy, such as Ancient Rome, Europe, and North and South America. The concept of representative democracy arose largely from ideas and institutions that developed during the European Middle Ages and the Age of Enlightenment and in the American and French Revolutions. The right to vote has been expanded in many jurisdictions over time from relatively narrow groups (such as wealthy men of a particular ethnic group), with New Zealand the first nation to grant universal suffrage for all its citizens in 1893.

Elements considered essential to democracy include freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, so that citizens are adequately informed and able to vote according to their own best interests as they see them. The term "democracy" is often used as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include elements such as political pluralism, equality before the law, the right to petition elected officials for redress of grievances, due process, civil liberties, human rights, and elements of civil society outside the government. Democracy is often confused with the republic form of government. In some definitions of republic, a republic is a form of democracy. Other definitions make republic a separate, unrelated term.

While there is no universally accepted definition of democracy, equality and freedom have both been identified as important characteristics of democracy since ancient times. These principles are reflected in all citizens being equal before the law and having equal access to legislative processes. For example, in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight, no unreasonable restrictions can apply to anyone seeking to become a representative, and the freedom of its citizens is

secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are generally protected by a constitution.

According to some theories of democracy, popular sovereignty is the founding principle of such a system. However, the democratic principle has also been expressed as "the freedom to call something into being which did not exist before, which was not given … and which therefore, strictly speaking, could not be known. " This type of freedom, which is connected to human natality, or the capacity to begin anew, sees democracy as "not only a political system… [but] an ideal, an aspiration, really, intimately connected to and dependent upon a picture of what it is to be human—of what it is a human should be to be fully human. "

In the United States, separation of powers is often cited as a central attribute, but in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, the dominant principle is that of parliamentary sovereignty (whilst maintaining judicial independence). In other cases, democracy is used to mean direct democracy. Though the term "democracy" is typically used in the context of a political state, the principles are applicable to private organizations and other groups as well.

Majority rule is often listed as a characteristic of democracy. However, it is also possible for a minority to be oppressed by a tyranny of the majority in the absence of governmental or constitutional protections of individual or group rights. An essential part of an ideal representative democracy is competitive elections that are fair both substantively and procedurally.



The French Revolution and the Birth of Democracy: This painting, called Le bivouac des sans-coulottes, depicts a scene from the French Revolution, which ushered in democracy in France.

Participatory Democracy

Participatory democracy emphasized the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems.

Learning Objectives

List the key qualities of participatory democracy and some of its historical manifestations

Key Points

- Participatory democracy tends to advocate more involved forms of citizen participation than traditional representative democracy.
- Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all members of a population to make meaningful contributions to decision making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities.
- In 8th and 7th century Ancient Greece, the informal distributed power structure of the villages and minor towns began to be displaced with collectives of Oligarchs seizing power as the villages and towns coalesced into city states.
- Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of a law's legitimacy.

- Demarchy is a hypothetical system where government is heavily decentralized into smaller independent groups and where randomly selected decision makers have been chosen to govern, and each group is responsible for one or several functions in society.
- Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of a law's legitimacy.
- Demarchy is a hypothetical system where government is heavily decentralized into smaller independent groups. Each group is responsible for one or several functions in society.

Key Terms

- **Demarchy**: Demarchy (or lottocracy) is a form of government in which the state is governed by randomly selected decision makers who have been selected by sortition (lot) from a broadly inclusive pool of eligible citizens.
- **Occupy movement**: The Occupy movement is an international protest movement against social and economic inequality; its primary goal is to to make economic structure and power relations in society more fair.
- **deliberative democracy**: Deliberative democracy or discursive democracy is a form of democracy in which deliberation is central to decision making. Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of legitimacy for the lawmaking processes.

Participatory democracy is a process emphasizing the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. The etymological roots of democracy (Greek *demos* and *kratos*) imply that the people are in power and, thus, that all democracies are participatory. However, participatory democracy tends to advocate more involved forms of citizen participation than traditional representative democracy. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all members of a population to make meaningful contributions to decision making and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities.

Participatory democracy has been a feature of human society since at least classical times. It is believed to have been a common practice of undeveloped people and hunter-gatherer tribes. In seventh and eighth century ancient Greece, the informal distributed power structure of the villages and minor towns began to be displaced with collectives of oligarchs seizing power as the villages and towns coalesced into city-states. A brief period where a region was governed almost totally by participatory democracy occurred during the Spanish civil war, from 1936-1938, in the parts of Spain controlled by anarchist Republicans. In the 1960s, the promotion and use of participatory democracy was a major theme for elements of the American Left. In 2011, participatory democracy became a notable feature of the Occupy movement, with Occupy camps around the world making decisions based on the outcome of working groups where every protestor gets to have his say, and by general assemblies where the decisions taken by working groups are effectively aggregated together.



Occupy Wall Street, Washington Square Park 2011: The Occupy Wall Street General Assembly meets in Washington Square Park for the first time on Saturday, October 8.

Political variants of participatory democracy include consensus democracy, deliberative democracy, demarchy, and grassroots democracy. Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of a law's legitimacy. It adopts elements of both consensus decision making and majority rule. When practiced by small groups, it is possible for decision making to be both fully participatory and deliberative. But for large political entities, the democratic reform dilemma makes it difficult for any system of decision making based on political equality to involve both deliberation and inclusive participation. Demarchy is a hypothetical system where government is heavily decentralized into smaller independent groups and where randomly selected decision makers have been chosen to govern, and each group is responsible for one or several functions in society. The system seeks to avoid problems with centralized and electoral governance, while still providing a stable democratic system.

Some scholars argue for refocusing the term on community-based activity within the domain of civil society, based on the belief that a strong non-governmental public sphere is a precondition for the emergence of a strong liberal democracy.

Monarchies and Liberal Democracies

Monarchies, in which sovereignty embodied in a single individual, eventually gave way to liberal democracies.

Learning Objectives

Distinguish between an absolute monarchy and a constitutional monarchy

Key Points

- When the monarch has no or few legal restraints in state and political matters, it is called an absolute monarchy and is a form of autocracy.
- Monarchies are associated with political or sociocultural hereditary rule, in which monarchs rule for life (although some monarchs do not hold lifetime positions).
- An absolute monarchy refers to when the monarch has no or few legal restraints in state and political matters.
- In a constitutional monarchy, the monarch retains a unique legal and ceremonial role.
- Throughout history, monarchies have been abolished, either through revolutions, legislative reforms, coups d'état, or wars.
- Liberal democracy traces its origins—and its name—to the European 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment.

Key Terms

- **Enlightenment**: A 17th and 18th-century philosophical movement in European history; the Age of Enlightenment or Age of Reason emphasizing rationalism.
- **constitutional monarchy**: A monarchy in which the monarch's power is limited by a written constitution.
- **absolute monarchy**: A state over which a sole monarch has absolute and unlimited power.

A monarchy is a form of government in which sovereignty is actually or nominally embodied in a single individual, the monarch. A monarch that has few or no legal restraints in state and political matters is referred to as an absolute monarchy, a form of autocracy. Monarchies are associated with political or sociocultural hereditary rule, in which monarchs rule for life (although some monarchs do not hold lifetime positions). Throughout history, monarchies have been abolished, either through revolutions, legislative reforms, coups d'état or wars. The twentieth century saw a major escalation of this process, with many monarchies violently overthrown by revolution or war, or abolished as part of the process of decolonization. The 21st century has already seen several monarchies abolished, usually by peaceful means in a referendum.

Monarchy was the most common form of government into the 19th century, but it is no longer prevalent, at least at the national level. Where it exists, it now often takes the form of constitutional monarchy, in which the monarch retains a unique legal and ceremonial role, but exercises limited or no political power pursuant to a constitution or tradition which allocates governing authority elsewhere. Currently, 44 sovereign nations in the world have monarchs acting as heads of state—16 of those are Commonwealth realms that recognize Queen Elizabeth II as their head of state.

Liberal democracy traces its origins, and its name, to the European 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. At the time, the vast majority of European states were monarchies, with political power held either by the monarch or the aristocracy. Near the end of the 18th century, these ideas inspired the American and French Revolutions, the latter giving birth to the ideology of liberalism, and instituting forms of government that attempted to apply the principles of the Enlightenment philosophers into practice. Reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy. Liberalism ceased being a fringe opinion and joined the political mainstream.

The Spread of Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy requires universal suffrage, competitive politics, and the rule of law and is currently the dominant world political ideology.

Learning Objectives

Defend the notion of liberal democracy using examples from its enlightenment origins

Key Points

- Liberal democracy is a common form of representative democracy.
- According to the principles of liberal democracy, elections should be free and fair, with the presence of multiple and distinct political parties.
- The liberal democracies usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender, or property ownership.
- Liberal democracy traces its origins to the European 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment.
- The Enlightenment intellectuals believed that human affairs should be guided by reason and principles of liberty and equality. They were opposed to the rule of undemocratic and illegitimate monarchies and aristocracies.
- Liberal democracies are currently the dominant form of political ideology in the modern world.
- The rule of law refers to the concept that laws should apply to those who govern as well as to the governed.
- The ideas of the Enlightenment inspired the American Revolution and the French Revolution, which gave birth to the ideology of liberalism.

- Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy.

Key Terms

- **the rule of law**: The rule of law is a legal maxim whereby governmental decisions are made by applying known legal principles.
- **Enlightenment**: A 17th and 18th-century philosophical movement in European history; the Age of Enlightenment or Age of Reason emphasizing rationalism.
- **liberalism**: Any political movement founded on the autonomy and personal freedom of the individual, progress and reform, and government by law with the consent of the governed.

Liberal democracy is a common form of representative democracy. According to the principles of liberal democracy, elections should be free and fair, with the presence of multiple and distinct political parties. Liberal democracies also usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote.

Liberal democracy traces its origins—and its name—to the European 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. At the time, the vast majority of European states were monarchies, with political power held either by the monarch or the aristocracy. The possibility of democracy had not been seriously considered in political theory since classical antiquity, and the widely held belief was that democracies would be inherently unstable and chaotic in their policies due to the changing whims of the people. It was further believed that democracy was contrary to human nature, as human beings were seen to be inherently evil, violent, and in need of a strong leader to restrain their destructive impulses.

The Enlightenment

These conventional views were first challenged by a relatively small group of Enlightenment intellectuals who believed that human affairs should be guided by reason and principles of liberty and equality. They argued that all people are created equal, and therefore political authority cannot be justified on the basis of so-called noble blood, a supposed privileged connection to God, or any other characteristic alleged to make one person superior to others. They further argued that governments exist to serve the people, not vice versa, and that laws should apply to those who govern as well as to the governed, a concept known as the rule of law.

Reform and Revolution

Near the end of the 18th century, these ideas inspired the American Revolution and the French Revolution, the pair of which gave birth to the ideology of liberalism and instituted forms of government that attempted to apply the principles of Enlightenment philosophy in practice. The dominions of the British Empire became laboratories for liberal democracy from the mid-19th century onward. In Canada, responsible government began in the 1840s and in Australia and New Zealand parliamentary government elected by male suffrage and secret ballot was established from the 1850s and female suffrage achieved from the 1890s.

Reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy. Liberalism ceased to be a fringe opinion and joined the political mainstream. The political spectrum changed; traditional monarchy became more and more a fringe view and liberal democracy became more and more mainstream. By the end of the 19th century, liberal democracy was no longer only a liberal idea, but an idea supported by many different ideologies. After World War I and especially after World War II, liberal democracy achieved a dominant position among theories of government and is now endorsed by the vast majority of the political spectrum.



Electoral Democracies: Countries highlighted in blue are designated “electoral democracies” in Freedom House’s 2010 survey Freedom in the World.

Democracy in the U.S.

The United States is a federal constitutional republic in which the federal government shares sovereignty with the state governments.

Learning Objectives

Diagram the basic form of the United States government, focusing on its branches and electoral system

Key Points

- The executive branch is headed by the President and is independent of the legislature.
- Legislative power is vested in the two chambers of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives.
- The Judicial branch, which is composed of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts, exercises judicial power.

- Suffrage is nearly universal for citizens 18 years of age and older.
- On a national level, the President is elected indirectly by the people through an Electoral College.
- The modern political party system in the United States is a two-party system dominated by the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.
- Special interest groups advocate the cause of their specific constituency.

Key Terms

- **legislative power**: Legislative power refers to the power of a legislature, or deliberative assembly to pass, amend and repeal laws.
- **electoral college**: The Electoral College consists of individual state appointed electors who formally elect the President and Vice President of the United States.
- **suffrage**: The right or chance to vote, express an opinion or participate in a decision.

The United States is a federal constitutional republic in which the President of the United States (the head of state and government), Congress, and judiciary share powers reserved to the national government, and the federal government shares sovereignty with the state governments. The executive branch is headed by the President and is independent of the legislature.

Legislative power is vested in the two chambers of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The judicial branch, composed of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts, exercises judicial power. The judiciary's function is to interpret the United States Constitution and federal laws and regulations. This includes resolving disputes between the executive and legislative branches. The federal government's organization is explained in the Constitution.

In the United States, suffrage is nearly universal for citizens 18 years of age and older. All states and the District of Columbia contribute to the electoral vote for president. Unlike the United Kingdom and other similar parliamentary systems that directly choose a particular political party, Americans vote for a specific candidate. Within the federal government, officials are elected at the federal (national), state and local levels. On a national level, the President is elected indirectly by the people through an Electoral College. People vote for electors who pledge, in turn, to cast their electoral votes for a particular candidate. In modern times, the electors virtually always vote with the popular vote of their state. All members of Congress and offices at the state and local levels are directly elected.



The United State Capitol Building: The United States congress meets in the Capitol.

The modern political party system in the United States is a two-party system dominated by the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. These two parties have won every United States presidential election since 1852, and have controlled the United States Congress since at least 1856. Periodically, several other third parties achieve relatively minor representation at the national and state levels. Among the two major parties, the Democratic Party generally positions itself as left-of-center in American politics and supports a liberal platform, while the Republican Party generally positions itself as right-of-center and supports a conservative platform.

Special interest groups advocate the social, economic, and political causes of their specific constituencies. Business organizations will favor low corporate taxes and restrictions of the right to strike, whereas labor unions will support minimum wage legislation and protection for collective bargaining. Other private interest groups, such as churches and ethnic groups, are more concerned about broader policy issues that can impact their organizations or their beliefs. The amount of money spent by these special interests continues to grow, as campaigns become increasingly expensive. Many Americans have the feeling that these wealthy interests, whether corporations, unions, or specially organized campaign finance organizations called Political Action Committees (PACs), are so powerful that ordinary citizens can do little to counteract their influence.

The Political Participation of Women

Women's political participation has increased due to landmark events—women's suffrage and the election of women to public office.

Learning Objectives

Break down the achievements and shortcomings of the battle for women's rights in the U.S.

Key Points

- Women's rights are entitlements and freedoms claimed for women and girls of all ages in many societies.
- In some places these rights are institutionalized or supported by law, local custom, and behavior, whereas in others they may be ignored or suppressed.
- Woman suffrage in the United States was achieved gradually, at state and local levels, during the 19th century and early 20th century, culminating in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.
- The Nineteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution states that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex".
- The Equal Rights Amendment was a proposed measure that stated that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." The amendment died in 1982 because not enough states had ratified it.
- While women are generally as likely to vote as men in developed countries, women are underrepresented in political positions. Women make up a very small percentage of elected officials, both at local and national levels.

Key Terms

- **Equal Rights Amendment**: The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was a proposed amendment to the United States Constitution designed to guarantee equal rights for women.
- **Nineteenth Amendment**: The amendment to the United States Constitution, passed in 1920, that gave women the right to vote.
- **suffrage**: The right or chance to vote, express an opinion or participate in a decision.

Women's rights are entitlements and freedoms claimed for women and girls of all ages in many societies. In some places these rights are institutionalized or supported by law, local custom, and behavior, whereas in others they may be ignored or suppressed. The women's rights movement functions in response to an inherent historical and traditional bias against the exercise of rights by women and girls in favor of men and boys.

Women's suffrage in the United States was achieved gradually, at state and local levels, during the 19th century and early 20th century, culminating in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The amendment stated, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Politicians responded to the newly enlarged electorate by emphasizing issues of special interest to women—prohibition, child health, public schools, and world peace. Women responded to these issues, but in terms of general voting, they shared the same outlook and the same voting behavior as men.

In the United States, the National Organization for Women (NOW) was created in 1966 with the purpose of bringing about equality for all women. NOW was one important group that fought for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). This amendment stated that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." But there was disagreement on how the proposed amendment would be understood. Supporters believed it would guarantee women equal treatment. But critics feared it might deny women the right be financially supported by their husbands. The amendment died in 1982 because not enough states had ratified it. ERAs have been introduced in subsequent sessions of Congress, but they have never been ratified.

While women are generally as likely to vote in developed countries, they are underrepresented in political positions. Women make up a very small percentage of elected officials, both at local and national levels. In the U.S., for instance, in the 109th Congress (2005-2007) there were only 14 female Senators (out of 100) and 70 Congressional Representatives (out of 435).



Voting Women: Women standing in line to vote in Bangladesh.

Theories of Democracy

Theories of democracy advocate different degrees of participation by the people with the government.

Learning Objectives

Distinguish between parliamentary democracy, minimal democracy, direct democracy, radical democracy and deliberative democracy, and relate them to the concept of "true" democracy and freedom

Key Points

- Democracy, or "rule by the people," is an egalitarian form of government in which all the citizens of a nation determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state together,

requiring that all citizens have an equal opportunity to express their opinion.

- The most common system that is deemed "democratic" in the modern world is parliamentary democracy, in which the voting public takes part in elections and chooses politicians to represent them in a legislative assembly.
- Theoretically, Aristotle contrasted rule by the many (democracy/polity) with rule by the few (oligarchy/aristocracy) and with rule by a single person (tyranny or today autocracy/monarchy).
- Under minimalism, democracy is a system of government in which citizens give teams of political leaders the right to rule in periodic elections.
- Direct democracy holds that citizens should participate directly in making laws and policies, and not do so through their representatives.
- Deliberative democracy is based on the notion that democracy is government by discussion.
- Deliberative democracy is based on the notion that democracy is government by discussion.
- Radical democracy is based on the idea that there are hierarchical and oppressive power relations that exist in society

Key Terms

- **democracy**: a system of rule by the people, especially as a form of government; either directly or through elected representatives
- **autocracy**: A form of government in which unlimited power is held by a single individual.
- **deliberative democracy**: Deliberative democracy or discursive democracy is a form of democracy in which deliberation is central to decision making. Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of legitimacy for the lawmaking processes.
- **direct democracy**: Direct democracy (or pure democracy) is a form of government in which people vote on policy initiatives directly, as opposed to a representative democracy in which people vote for representatives who then vote on policy initiatives.

What Is A Democracy?

Democracy, or rule by the people, is an egalitarian form of government in which all the citizens of a nation determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state together. Democracy requires that all citizens have an equal opportunity to express their opinion. In practice, democracy is the extent to which a given system approximates this ideal, and a given political system is referred to as a democracy if it allows a certain approximation to ideal democracy. Although no country has ever granted all its citizens the right to vote, most countries today hold regular elections based on egalitarian principles, at least in theory.

The most common system that is deemed democratic in the modern world is parliamentary democracy, in which the voting public takes part in elections and chooses politicians to represent them in a legislative assembly. The members of the assembly then make decisions with a majority vote. A purer form is direct democracy in which the voting public makes direct decisions or participates directly in the political process. Elements of direct democracy exist on a local level and, in exceptions, on the national level in many countries, though these systems coexist with representative assemblies.

Theoretically, Aristotle contrasted rule by the many (democracy/polity) with rule by the few (oligarchy/aristocracy) and with rule by a single person (tyranny or autocracy/monarchy). He also thought that there was a good and a bad variant of each system (he considered democracy to be the degenerate counterpart to polity). For Aristotle, the underlying principle of democracy is freedom, since only in a democracy can the citizens have a share in freedom. There are two main aspects of freedom: (1) being ruled and ruling in turn, since everyone is equal according to number, not merit, and; (2) to be able to live as one pleases.

Among political theorists, there are many contending conceptions of democracy:

Minimalist Democracy

Under minimalism, democracy is a system of government in which citizens give teams of political leaders the right to rule in periodic elections. According to this minimalist conception, citizens cannot and should not rule because, for example, on most issues, most of the time, they have no clear views *or* their views are not well-founded.

Direct Democracy

Direct democracy, on the other hand, holds that citizens should participate directly in making laws and policies, and not do so through their representatives. Proponents of direct democracy offer varied reasons to support this view, declaring that political activity can be valuable in itself, since it socializes and educates citizens, and popular participation can check powerful elites. Most importantly, according to this theory, citizens do not really rule themselves unless they directly decide laws and policies for themselves.

Deliberative Democracy

Deliberative democracy is based on the notion that democracy is government by discussion. Deliberative democrats contend that laws and policies should be based upon reasons that all citizens can accept. The political arena should be one in which leaders and citizens make arguments, listen, and change their minds.

Radical Democracy

Radical democracy is based on the idea that there are hierarchical and oppressive power relations that exist in society. Democracy's role is to make visible and challenge those relations by allowing for difference, dissent, and antagonisms in the decision making processes.



Aristotle: Aristotle was one of the first theorists of democracy.

Public Sphere and Civil Society

The public sphere is composed of voluntary associations that promote social capital and social cohesion while enhancing democracy.

Learning Objectives

Formulate an argument which advocates for a strong civil society based on the definitions of civil society in this text

Key Points

- Civil society is the arena outside of the family, the state, and the market where people associate to advance common interests.
- Voluntary associations build social capital, trust, and shared values, which are transferred into the political sphere and help to hold society together, facilitating an understanding of the interconnectedness of society and interests within it.
- Critics argue that the public sphere can be undemocratic, noting that civil society actors have now obtained a remarkable amount of political power without anyone directly electing or appointing them.
- The public sphere is an area in social life where individuals can come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action.
- The basic belief in public sphere theory is that political action is steered by the public sphere and that the only legitimate governments are those that listen to the public sphere.
- The basic belief in public sphere theory is that political action is steered by the public sphere and that the only legitimate governments are those that listen to the public sphere.

Key Terms

- **Sphere of Public Authority**: The Sphere of Public Authority is that of the state, the realm of the police, and the ruling class.
- **Public sphere**: The public sphere is an area in social life where individuals can come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action. It mediates between the private sphere and the Sphere of Public Authority.
- **Third sector**: The voluntary sector or community sector (also non-profit sector or "not-for-profit" sector) is the sphere of social activity undertaken by organizations that are for non-profit and non-governmental. This sector is also called the third sector, in reference to the public sector and the private sector. Civic sector is another term for the sector, emphasizing the sector's relationship to civil society.

Civil society is the arena outside of the family, the state, and the market where people associate to advance common interests. It is sometimes considered to include the family and the private sphere and then referred to as the third sector of society, distinct from government and business. Dictionary.com's 21st Century Lexicon defines civil society as 1) the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens, or 2) individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.

Sometimes the term is used in the more general sense of "the elements such as freedom of speech, an independent judiciary, etc, that make up a democratic society. "

Civil Society and Democratic Political Society

The literature on relations between civil society and democratic political society have their roots in early liberal writings like those of Alexis de Tocqueville. However, they were developed in significant ways by 20th century theorists like Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, who identified the role of political culture in a democratic order as vital. They argued that the political element of many voluntary organizations facilitates better awareness and a more informed citizenry, who make better voting choices, participate in politics, and hold government more accountable as a result. The statutes of these organizations have often been considered micro-constitutions because they accustom participants to the formalities of democratic decision making.

More recently, Robert D. Putnam has argued that even non-political organizations in civil society are vital for democracy. This is because they build social capital, trust, and shared values, which are transferred into the political sphere and help to hold society together, facilitating an understanding of the interconnectedness of society, and interests within it.

Others, however, have questioned how democratic civil society actually is. Some have noted that the civil society actors have now obtained a remarkable amount of political power without anyone directly electing or appointing them. It has also been argued that civil society is biased towards the global north. Partha Chatterjee has argued that, in most of the world, "civil society is demographically limited. " For Jai Sen, civil society is a neo-colonial project driven by global elites in their own interests. Finally, other scholars have argued that, since the concept of civil society is closely related to democracy and representation, it should in turn be linked with ideas of nationality and nationalism.

The Public Sphere

The public sphere is an area in social life where individuals can come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action. It is "a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment. " The public sphere can be seen as "a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk" and "a realm of social life in which public opinion can be formed. "

The public sphere mediates between the private sphere and the Sphere of Public Authority, "The private sphere comprised civil society in the narrower sense, that is to say, the realm of commodity exchange and of social labor. " Whereas the Sphere of Public Authority dealt with the state, or realm of the police and the ruling class, the public sphere crossed over both these realms and "through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society. " "This area is conceptually distinct from the state: it [is] a site for the production and circulation of discourses that can in principle be critical of the state. " The public sphere "is also distinct from the official economy; it is not an arena of market relations but rather one of discursive relations, a theater for debating and deliberating rather than for buying and selling. " These distinctions between "state apparatuses, economic markets, and democratic associations…are essential to democratic theory. " The people themselves came to see the public sphere as a regulatory institution against the authority of the state. The study of the public sphere centers on the idea of participatory democracy, and how public opinion becomes political action.

The basic belief in public sphere theory is that political action is steered by the public sphere and that the only legitimate governments are those that listen to the public sphere. "Democratic governance rests on the capacity of and opportunity for citizens to engage in enlightened debate. " Much of the debate over the public sphere involves what is the basic theoretical structure of the public sphere, how information is deliberated in the public sphere, and what influence the public sphere has over society.



Elks Lodge in Ashland, Wisconsin: Voluntary associations, such as Elks Clubs, make up the public sphere.

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15.5: The U.S. Political System

The U.S. Political System

The United States is a representative federal democracy driven by elections in which citizens' and lobbyists' diverse interests compete.

Learning Objectives

List three defining characteristics of the U.S. political system

Key Points

- U.S. politics are shaped by two major political parties: Democrats and Republicans.
- Citizens have competing interests that differ based on their different backgrounds—the types of jobs they have, their race or age, whether they have children, etc.
- Politics are also shaped by special interest groups, lobbyists, and the media.

Key Terms

- **lobbyist**: A person remunerated to persuade (to lobby) politicians to vote in a certain way or otherwise use their office to affect a desired result.

The U.S. federal government is composed of three distinct branches—legislative, executive, and judicial—whose powers are vested by the U.S. Constitution in the Congress, the President, and the federal courts, including the Supreme Court, respectively.



Congress: The legislative branch of the U.S. government.

The United States is a representative democracy. Citizens elect representatives to national, state, and local government; those representatives create the laws that govern U.S. society. Although nothing in U.S. law requires it, in practice, the political system is dominated by political parties. With rare exceptions, elections are decided between the two major parties: Democrats and Republicans. Although citizens vote for individual candidates, most candidates are affiliated with one part or another. Therefore, much of U.S. politics boils down to party politics.

The United States is also a diverse society, and citizens' competing interests are reflected in politics. Citizens may have different voting preferences depending on their family backgrounds, the types of jobs they have, their race or age, whether they have children, and so on. To understand the electoral process, we must understand how different interests come into play.

Individual citizens are not the only players in U.S. politics. Although individual citizens are the only ones who can cast votes, special interest groups and lobbyists may influence elections and law-making with money and other resources. At times, this influence has grown so noticeable that some have called into question whether the U.S. is truly a democracy of the people or something more like an oligarchy of special interest groups. The media also play an important role in politics by influencing public sentiment and acting as an information filter.

Political Parties and Elections

Political parties seek to influence government policy by nominating select candidates to hold seats in political offices.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the party system, both in proportional representation voting systems and two-party systems

Key Points

- Parties participate in electoral campaigns and educational outreach or protest actions.
- Parties often espouse an expressed ideology or vision bolstered by a written platform with specific goals, forming a coalition among disparate interests.
- The type of electoral system is a major factor in determining the type of political party system.
- In countries that have a proportional representation voting system, three or more parties are often elected to parliament in significant proportions, and thus may have more access to public office.
- In two-party systems, two political parties dominate to such an extent that electoral success under the banner of any other party is almost impossible.
- Political parties, still called factions by some, are lobbied vigorously by organizations, businesses, and special interest groups such as trades unions.
- Multi-party systems are systems in which more than two parties are represented and elected to public office.

- Political parties, still called factions by some, are lobbied vigorously by organizations, businesses, and special interest groups such as trades unions.

Key Terms

- **faction**: A group of people, especially within a political organization, who express a shared belief or opinion different from people who are not part of the group.
- **two-party system**: A two-party system is a system where two major political parties dominate voting in nearly all elections at every level of government and, as a result, all or nearly all elected offices are members of one of the two major parties.
- **proportional representation**: A voting principle aimed at securing a close match between the percentage of votes that groups of candidates (usually political parties) obtain in elections, and the percentage of seats they receive in the elected body.

Typically, a political party is a political organization seeking to influence government policy by nominating its own select candidates to hold seats in political office, via the process of electoral campaigning. Parties often espouse an expressed ideology or vision, bolstered by a written platform with specific goals that form a coalition among disparate interests.

The type of electoral system is a major factor in determining the type of party political system. In countries with a simple plurality voting system there can be as few as two parties elected in any given jurisdiction. In countries that have a proportional representation voting system, as exists throughout Europe, or a preferential voting system, such as in Australia or Ireland, three or more parties are often elected to parliament in significant proportions, allowing more access to public office. In a nonpartisan system, no official political parties exist, sometimes due to legal restrictions on political parties. In nonpartisan elections, each candidate is eligible for office on his or her own merits. In nonpartisan legislatures, no formal party alignments within the legislature is common.

In two-party systems, such as in Jamaica and Ghana, the two political parties dominate to such an extent that electoral success under the banner of any other party is virtually impossible. Multi-party systems are systems in which more than two parties are represented and elected to public office. Australia, Canada, Pakistan, India, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Norway are examples of countries with two strong main parties, along with smaller or "third" parties that have also obtained representation. The smaller parties may form part of a coalition government together with one of the larger parties, or act independently.

Political parties, still called factions by some, are lobbied vigorously by organizations, businesses and special interest groups such as trades unions. Money and gifts-in-kind to a party, or its leading members, may be offered as incentives. Such donations are the traditional source of funding for all right-of-center cadre parties. In the late 19th century, these parties faced opposition by the newly founded left-of-center workers' parties, who formed a new party type—the mass membership party—and a new source of political fundraising—membership dues.



Republican Party, 1985: Ronald Reagan giving his Acceptance Speech at the Republican National Convention, Detroit, MI.

Voting Behavior

Voter turnout depends on socioeconomic factors such as education, income, gender, age, and race.

Learning Objectives

Describe a few factors that determine voter turnout

Key Points

- Voter turnout is the percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election. "Eligible voters" are defined differently in different countries, and the term should not be confused with the total adult population.
- Socioeconomic factors significantly affect how likely individuals are to vote. The most important socioeconomic factor in voter turnout is education. The more educated a person is, the more likely he or she is to vote.
- While women are generally as likely to vote as men in developed countries, women are underrepresented in political positions.
- Age is another crucial factor determining voter turnout. Young people are much less likely to vote than are older people, and they are less likely to be politicians.
- Generally, racial and ethnic minorities are less likely to vote in elections and are underrepresented in political positions.
- Political power is also stratified through income and education. Wealthier and more educated people are more

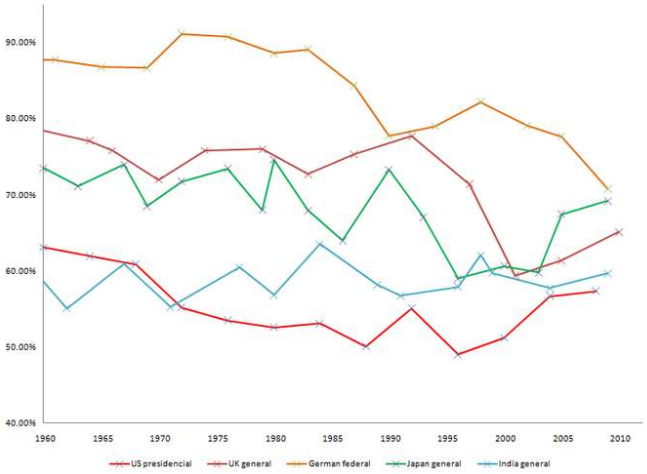
likely to vote.

Key Terms

- **voter turnout**: Voter turnout is the percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election.
- **socioeconomic factors**: Socioeconomic factors include education, income, ethnicity, race, and gender.
- **racial and ethnic minorities**: A group of people who have a different ethnicity, religion, language, or culture than that of the majority of people in the place where they live.

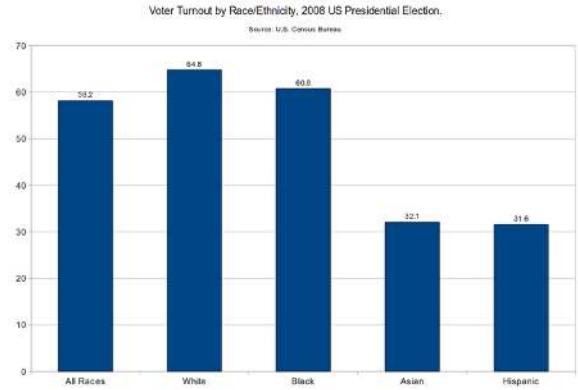
Voter Turnout

Voter turnout is the percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election. “Eligible voters” are defined differently in different countries, and the term should not be confused with the total adult population. After increasing for many decades, there has been a trend of decreasing voter turnout in most established democracies since the 1960s. In general, low turnout may be due to disenchantment, indifference, or contentment. Low turnout is often considered to be undesirable, and there is much debate over the factors that affect turnout and how to increase it. In spite of significant study devoted to the issue, scholars are divided on reasons for the decline. The causes of decreasing turnout have been attributed to a wide array of economic, demographic, cultural, technological, and institutional factors. There have been many efforts to increase turnout and encourage voting.



Voter turnout over time for five countries: Change in voter turnout over time for five selected countries.

In each nation, some parts of society are more likely to vote than others. In high-turnout nations, these differences tend to be limited: as turnout approaches 90 percent, it becomes difficult to find differences of much significance between voters and nonvoters. In low turnout nations, however, the differences between voters and non-voters can be quite marked. Socioeconomic factors significantly affect whether or not individuals voting tendencies. The most important socioeconomic factor in voter turnout is education. The more educated a person is, the more likely he or she is to vote, even when controlling for other factors such as income and class that are closely associated with education level.



Voter Turnout by Educational Attainment –2008 Presidential Election: Educational attainment, an indicator of social class, can predict one’s level of political participation. Those with high educational attainment are more likely to vote in elections than those with little education.

Gender, Age, Ethnicity, Race, Income

There is some debate over the effects of ethnicity, race, and gender on voter turnout. While women are generally as likely as men to vote in developed countries, women are underrepresented in political positions. Women make up a very small percentage of elected officials, both at local and national levels. In the U.S., for instance, in the 109th Congress (2005-2007) there were only 14 female Senators (out of 100) and 70 Congressional Representatives (out of 435).

Age is another crucial factor determining voter turnout. Young people are much less likely to vote than are older people, and they are less likely to be politicians. The lower voting rates of young people in the U.S. help explain why things like Medicare and Social Security in the U.S. are facing looming crises: the elderly will retain many of the benefits of these programs and are unwilling to allow them to be changed even though young people will be the ones to suffer the consequences of these crises.

Generally, racial and ethnic minorities are less likely to vote in elections and are also underrepresented in political positions. If blacks were represented in proportion to their numbers in the U.S., there should be 12 Senators and 52 Members of the House. In 2009, there was 1 black Senator (Roland Burris) and 39 Members of the House. In 2010, the number in the House increased slightly to 41 (7.8 percent), but remained at just 1 percent of the Senate.

Political power is also stratified through income and education. Wealthier and more educated people are more likely to vote. Additionally, wealthier and more educated people are more likely to hold political positions. In the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election, the candidates, John Kerry, and George W. Bush, were both Yale University alumni. John Kerry was a lawyer and George W. Bush had an MBA from Harvard. Both were white, worth millions of dollars, and came from families involved in politics.

Lobbyists and Special Interest Groups

Lobbying describes paid activity in which special interest groups argue for specific legislation in decision-making bodies.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the significance of lobbying according to its multiple instantiations

Key Points

- Lobbying in the United States describes paid activity in which special interests hire well-connected, professional advocates, often lawyers.
- Lobbying happens at every level of government, including federal, state, county, municipal, and local governments.
- A lobbyist, according to the legal sense of the word, is a professional, often a lawyer.
- Pro bono clients offer activities like fundraisers and awards ceremonies on neutral territory to meet and socialize with local legislators.
- Corporations which lobby actively tend to be few in number, large, and often sell to the government.

Key Terms

- **corporations**: Plural of corporation.
- **lobbyist**: A person remunerated to persuade (to lobby) politicians to vote in a certain way or otherwise use their office to effect a desired result.

Lobbying in the United States describes paid activity in which special interests hire well-connected professional advocates, often lawyers, to argue for specific legislation in decision-making bodies such as the United States Congress. It is a highly controversial phenomenon, often seen in a negative light by journalists and the American public, and frequently misunderstood. The current pattern suggests much lobbying is done by corporations although a wide variety of coalitions representing diverse groups are possible. Lobbying happens at every level of government, including federal, state, county, municipal, and even local governments.

Lobbyists are intermediaries between client organizations and lawmakers: They explain to legislators what their organizations want, and they explain to their clients what obstacles elected officials face. Many lobbyists work in lobbying firms or law firms, some of which retain clients outside of lobbying. Others work for advocacy groups, trade associations, companies, and state and local governments. Lobbyists can also be one type of government official, such as a governor of a state, who presses officials in Washington for specific legislation.

While the bulk of lobbying happens by business and professional interests who hire paid professionals, some lobbyists represent non-profits and work pro bono for issues in which they are personally interested. Pro bono clients offer activities like fundraisers and awards ceremonies on neutral territory to meet and socialize with local legislators.

Corporations which lobby actively tend to be large corporations, few in number, and often they sell to the government. Most corporations do not hire lobbyists. One study found that the actual number of firms which do lobbying regularly is fewer than 300, and that the percent of firms engaged in lobbying was 10 percent from 1998-2006. Corporations considering lobbying run into substantial barriers to entry: Corporations have to research the relevant laws about lobbying, hire lobbying firms, and cultivate influential people and make connections. For example, when an issue regarding a change in immigration policy arose, large corporations that were currently lobbying switched focus somewhat to take account of the new regulatory world, but new corporations—even ones likely to be affected by any possible rulings on immigration—stayed out of the lobbying fray, according to the study.



The Defense Lobby: Defense contractors such as Boeing and Lockheed Martin sell extensively to the government and must, of necessity, engage in lobbying to win contracts.

African Americans as a Political Force

Collectively, African Americans are more involved in the American political process than other minority groups.

Learning Objectives

Sketch an outline of the general African-American influence on U.S. politics from the mid 1800s to today

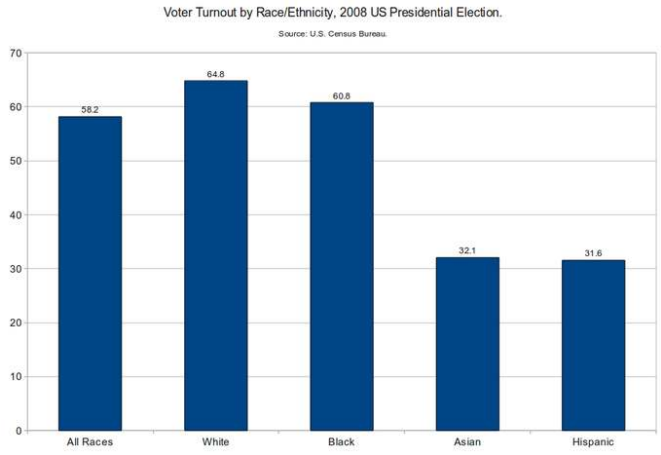
Key Points

- African Americans have the highest level of Congressional representation of any minority group in the U.S., though this doesn't extend to the senate.
- Historically, African Americans were supporters of the Republican Party because it was Republican President Abraham Lincoln who granted freedom to American slaves.
- The African American trend of voting for Democrats can be traced back to the 1930s during the Great Depression, when Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program provided economic relief for African Americans.
- African Americans tend to be conservative on issues related to the family but progressive on questions of social justice and social spending. They tend to hold far more conservative opinions on abortion, extramarital sex, and raising children out of wedlock than Democrats as a whole.

Key Terms

- **conservative**: A person who favors maintenance of the status quo or reversion to some earlier status.
- **Great Depression**: A major economic collapse that lasted from 1929 to 1940 in the US and a similar period in many other countries.
- **Republican Party**: The Republican Party is one of the two major political parties in the United States, along with the Democratic Party. Founded by anti-slavery activists in 1854, it dominated politics nationally for most of the period 1860-1932. Currently the party's platform generally reflects American conservatism in the U.S. political spectrum.

Collectively, African Americans are more involved in the American political process than other minority groups, indicated by the highest level of voter registration and participation in elections among these groups in 2004. African Americans collectively attain higher levels of education than immigrants to the United States. African Americans also have the highest level of Congressional representation of any minority group in the U.S, though this doesn't extend to the senate.



Voter Turnout by Race, 2008 Presidential Election: This is a chart illustrating voter turnout by race for the 2008 Presidential Election using data from the U.S. Census Bureau.



Senator Roland Burris: Although African Americans have high political participation rates, they are underrepresented in political office. Senator Roland Burris, of Illinois, is currently the only African American senator.

The large majority of African Americans support the Democratic Party. In the 2004 Presidential Election, Democrat John Kerry received 88 percent of the African American vote, compared to 11 percent for Republican George W. Bush. Although there is an African American lobby in foreign policy, it has not had the impact that African American organizations have had in domestic policy.

Historically, African Americans were supporters of the Republican Party because it was Republican President Abraham Lincoln who granted freedom to American slaves; at the time, the Republicans and Democrats represented the sectional interests of the North and South, respectively, rather than any specific ideology—both right and left were represented equally in both parties.

The African American trend of voting for Democrats can be traced back to the 1930s during the Great Depression, when Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program provided economic relief for African Americans. Roosevelt's New Deal coalition turned the Democratic Party into an organization of the working class and their liberal allies, regardless of region. The African American vote became even more solidly Democratic when Democratic presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson pushed for civil rights legislation during the 1960s.

African Americans tend to hold far more conservative opinions on abortion, extramarital sex, and raising children out of wedlock than Democrats as a whole. On financial issues, they are in line with Democrats, generally supporting a more progressive tax structure to provide more services and reduce injustice and as well as more government spending on social services.

Hispanics as a Political Force

Hispanics have the ability to be an influential force in politics, a fact that is especially true in areas with high Hispanic populations.

Learning Objectives

Explain the nuances within the so-called "Hispanic vote"

Key Points

- The term Hispanic is used in the United States to refer to people with origins in Spanish-speaking countries, like Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Costa Rica.
- The majority of Hispanics either identify themselves as Democrats or support the Democratic party.
- Due to the homogeneity among Hispanic voters, they have the ability to be an influential force in American politics. This is especially true in areas with high Hispanic populations, and, based on demographic predictions, will continue to be important throughout the 21st century.
- Depending on their ethnicity and background, Hispanics differ on voting trends. For example, Cuban Americans and Colombian Americans tend to favor conservative political ideologies. In contrast, Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and Dominican Americans tend to favor liberal views.
- The Presidency of George W. Bush had a significant impact on the political leanings of Hispanics and Latinos.
- In the 2006 midterm election, however, due to the unpopularity of the Iraq War, the heated debate concerning illegal immigration, and Republican-related Congressional scandals, Hispanics and Latinos went as strongly Democratic as they have since the Clinton years.

Key Terms

- **Hispanic**: of or relating to a Spanish-speaking people or culture, as in Latin America.
- **midterm election**: an election, held every four years, to elect members of Congress; during midterm elections, the president is not elected
- **Democratic Party**: The Democratic Party is one of two major contemporary political parties in the United States, the other of which is the Republican Party.

The term Hispanic, as defined by the Office of Management and Budget, is used in the United States to identify people with origins in Spanish-speaking countries, like Mexico, Peru, Cuba, or Costa Rica.

Hispanic Party Affiliation

Depending on their location and background, Hispanics differ on their political views. While Hispanics have a diversity of views, they disproportionately identify themselves as Democratic and/or support Democratic candidates. Only 23% of Hispanics identify as Republicans. For example, in the 2010 midterm elections, in spite of general Republican victories, 60% of Hispanics voted Democratic, while only 38% voted Republican. In 2008, 67% of Hispanics supported Obama. In 2006, 69% of Hispanic voters supported Democratic candidates in congressional races, while only 30% supported Republican candidates.

Demographic Trends

Due to the homogeneity among Hispanic voters, they have the ability to be an influential force in American politics. This is especially true in areas with high Hispanic populations. Statistics indicate that the American Hispanic population is increasing and will continue to do so steadily over the ensuing decades of the 21st century. A 2012 study, conducted by the Center for Immigration Studies, projected that in November 2012, Hispanics would comprise 17.2% of the total U.S. population. The same study showed that, in the United States, Hispanics now constitute 15% of adults, 11.2% of adult citizens, and 8.9% of actual voters. In comparison, the same study showed that in 2012, non-Hispanic whites were expected to constitute 73.4% of the national vote. Non-Hispanic blacks were only expected to represent 12.2% of the national vote.



An Immigration Rally in Chicago, 2006: Immigration is an important issue for may Hispanic and Latino voters.

Political Differences in the Hispanic Community

Hispanics are often classified as a unitary voting bloc, but there are differences in political preferences within this community. For example, Cuban Americans and Colombian Americans tend to favor conservative political ideologies and to support the Republican Party. Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and Dominican Americans, on the other hand, tend to favor liberal views and to support the Democratic party. That being said, because the latter groups are far more numerous (Mexican Americans account for 64% of Hispanics in the U.S.) the Democratic Party is considered to be in a far stronger position with Hispanics overall.



President Clinton's Latino Appointees, 1998: Hispanics and Latinos made political gains under the Clinton Administration. This 1998 photograph shows President Bill Clinton and his Hispanic and Latino appointees.

The Role of the Media

Media are means of transmitting information, which is important for a democracy in which citizens must make their own informed decisions.

Learning Objectives

Give a concrete example of gatekeeping that may have political consequences

Key Points

- In communications, media are the storage and transmission channels or tools used to store and deliver information or data.
- Media of the United States consist of several different types of communications media: television, radio, cinema, newspapers, magazines, and Internet-based Web sites.
- Ninety-nine percent of American households have at least one television, and the majority of households have more than one.

- A central method in which the media influences the U.S. political system is through gatekeeping, a process through which information is filtered for dissemination, be it publication, broadcasting, the Internet, or some other type of communication.
- The Internet has provided a means for newspapers and other media organizations to deliver news and, significantly, the means to look up old news. Some organizations only make limited amounts of their output available for free and charge for access to the rest.
- The U.S. has three leading weekly newsmagazines: Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report.
- The Internet has provided a means for newspapers and other media organizations to deliver news and, significantly, the means to look up old news. Some organizations only make limited amounts of their output available for free and charge for access to the rest.

Key Terms

- **media**: In communications, media (singular medium) are the storage and transmission channels or tools used to store and deliver information or data.
- **Gatekeeping**: Gatekeeping is practiced by gatekeepers, people who control access to something, for example, via a city gate. In the late twentieth century, the term came into metaphorical use, referring to individuals who decide whether a given message will be distributed by a mass medium.

In communications, media are the storage and transmission channels or tools used to store and deliver information or data. Media are often referred to as synonymous with mass media or news media, but may refer to a single medium used to communicate any data for any purpose. Media of the United States consist of several different types of communications media: television, radio, cinema, newspapers, magazines, and Internet-based Web sites. American media conglomerates tend to be leading global players, generating large revenues, as well as large opposition in many parts of the world.

A central method in which the media influences the U.S. political system is through gatekeeping, a process through which information is filtered for dissemination, be it publication, broadcasting, the Internet, or some other type of communication. Gatekeeping occurs at all levels of the media structure, from a reporter deciding which sources are included in a story to editors deciding which stories are printed or covered, and includes media outlet owners and even advertisers. This, in turn, determines to a great extent which issues will be important to Americans and on the agendas of their elected officials.

The Internet has provided a means for newspapers and other media organizations to deliver news and, significantly, the means to look up old news. Some organizations only make limited amounts of their output available for free, and charge for access to the rest. Other organizations allow their archives to be freely browsed. It is possible that the latter type obtain more influence, as they are true to the spirit of freedom of information by virtue of making it free. Anyone who has followed external links only to be confronted with a pay-to-view banner might attest that the reputations of organizations that charge is not enhanced by their charging policy, particularly when the same information is available from sources that don't charge.

The Role of Age

There is a correlation between age and political activity/organization.

Learning Objectives

Explain the ways in which age can influence political participation

Key Points

- Age influences rates of political participation, and it is a determining factor in the issues people care about.
- Older people tend to be more politically active and better organized. They are seen as being more influential in politics.
- Young people are less likely to vote than older people.
- The 2008 election of President Obama illustrated that young people can be organized and mobilized. Obama's ability to mobilize young people was seen as a crucial factor in his electoral success.

Key Terms

- **new media**: Interactive digital media, such as the Internet, as opposed to traditional media such as print and television.
- **AARP**: AARP, formally the American Association of Retired Persons, is a United States-based non-governmental organization and interest group, founded in 1958 by Ethel Percy Andrus, PhD, a retired educator from California. The organization is based in Washington, D.C. According to its mission statement, it is "a nonprofit, nonpartisan membership organization for people age 50 and over… dedicated to enhancing quality of life for all as we age, [providing] a wide range of unique benefits, special products, and services for our members. "

Age and Politics

Age is an important factor in U.S. politics because there is a correlation between age and rates of political participation and

because it is a determining factor in the issues people care about.

Young people are much less likely to vote than are older people and are less likely to be politicians. The lower voting rates of young people in the U.S. help explain why things like Medicare and Social Security in the U.S. are facing looming crises—the elderly will retain many of the benefits of these programs and are unwilling to allow them to be changed even though young people will be the ones to suffer the consequences of these crises. Older people are also more organized, through organizations like the AARP, and they are more likely to vote as a block on issues that affect them directly. As a result, older individuals in the U.S. are seen as having more political power than younger people.

Mobilization According to Age

Given that there is a correlation between age and the issues relevant to those populations, some organizations have capitalized on these relationships in order to push political agendas.

Mobilizing the Elderly

The AARP, formerly the American Association of Retired Persons, is a United States -based, non-governmental organization and interest group, founded in 1958. Its mission is to improve the quality of life for retired people and people over the age of 50. On the one hand, AARP pursues its mission by providing services such as tax preparation help, discounts, and insurance for its members. On the other hand, AARP pursues its mission by mobilizing its immense resource base to lobby for policy change. AARP claims around 38 million members, making it one of the largest membership organizations in the United States. Its total revenue in 2006 was approximately $1 billion, of which $23 million was spent on lobbying. The AARP lobbies for issues that matter to older adults, such as health care and social security.

Mobilizing the Youth

Although they tend to be less organized and participate in lower numbers, young people also influence U.S. politics. Barack Obama was particularly noted for his popularity among young people. Obama's campaign used the Internet to rally supporters and make his policies known, and the campaign's use of the Internet targeted 18- to 29-year-olds, the age group most reliant on new media for political information. Obama's campaign managers understood younger voters tended to ignore politicians because politicians tended to ignore issues which most concerned them. Politicians such as Obama focus on issues that are relevant to certain age groups in order to mobilize support. Obama's ability to focus on these issues and reach out to young people is seen as one of the reasons for his success in the 2008 presidential election.



Young Obama Supporters, 2008: Barack Obama's 2008 Presidential campaign was notable for attracting large numbers of young voters.

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15.6: War and Terrorism

War

War is an organized, armed, and often prolonged conflict that is carried on between states, nations, or other parties.

Learning Objectives

Recall three possible outcomes of a civil war

Key Points

- War entails confrontation with weapons, military technology, or equipment used by armed forces who employ military tactics and operational art within the broad categories of military strategy and military logistics.
- Warfare refers to the set of techniques used by a group to carry out war.
- Nuclear warfare is warfare in which nuclear weapons are the primary method of coercing the capitulation of the other side, as opposed to the supporting role nuclear weaponry might take in a more conventional war.
- Where evenly matched adversaries decide that the conflict has resulted in a stalemate, they may cease hostilities to avoid further loss of life and property.
- Negotiations between parties involved at the end of a war often result in a treaty.
- Some hostilities, such as insurgency or civil war, may persist for long periods of time with only a low level of military activity.
- Negotiations between parties involved at the end of a war often result in a treaty.
- Some hostilities, such as insurgency or civil war, may persist for long periods of time with only a low level of military activity.

Key Terms

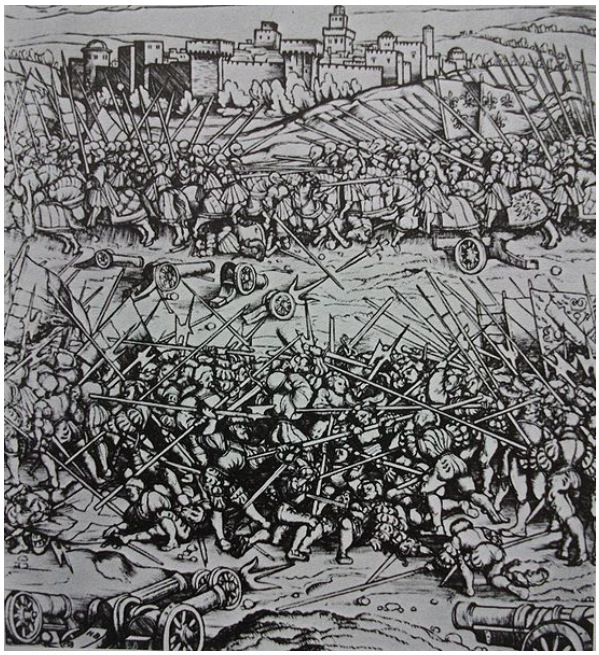
- **insurgency**: rebellion; revolt; the state of being insurgent
- **civil war**: A war fought between factions of the inhabitants of a single country, or the citizens of a single republic.
- **treaty**: A binding agreement under international law concluded by subjects of international law, namely states and international organizations.

War is an organized, armed, and often prolonged conflict that is carried on between states, nations, or other parties typified by extreme aggression, social disruption, and usually high mortality. War should be understood as an actual, intentional, and widespread armed conflict between political communities, and it is defined as a form of political violence.

War entails confrontation with weapons, military technology, or equipment used by armed forces who employ military tactics and operational art within the broad categories of military strategy and military logistics. War studies by military theorists have sought to identify the philosophy of war and to reduce it to a military science. Conventional warfare is an attempt to reduce an opponent's military capability through open battle. Conventional war is declared between existing states in which nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons are not used, or they only see limited deployment in support of conventional military goals and maneuvers. Nuclear warfare is warfare in which nuclear weapons are the primary method of coercing the capitulation of the other side, as opposed to the supporting role nuclear weaponry might take in a more conventional war.

The political and economic circumstances of peace following a war are highly situational—post-war political and economic realities can not be forecasted. When evenly adversaries decide that a conflict has resulted in a stalemate, they may cease hostilities to avoid further loss of life and property. They may decide to restore the pre-war territorial boundaries, redraw boundaries at the line of military control, or negotiate to keep or exchange captured territory. Negotiations between parties involved at the end of a war often result in treaties, such as the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which ended the First World War.

Some hostilities, such as insurgency or civil war, may persist for long periods of time with a low level of military activity. In some cases a treaty is never reached, but fighting may trail off and eventually stop after the political demands of the belligerent groups have been reconciled, a political settlement has been negotiated, the combatants are gradually killed or decide the conflict is futile, or the belligerents cease active military engagement but still threaten each other.



Battle of Ravena (1512): The Battle of Ravenna, in which France defeated the Spaniards on Easter Sunday in 1512

Terrorism

Terrorism is an act of violence intended to create fear, which is then leveraged in order to achieve goals.

Learning Objectives

Criticize an instance in history in which the term ”terrorist” or ”terrorism” has been misused to describe a religious group, government, or revolutionary action, using the definition of terrorism in this text

Key Points

- Terrorism has been practiced by a broad array of political organizations for furthering their objectives.
- An abiding characteristic of terrorism is indiscriminate use of violence against noncombatants to gain publicity for an individual, group or cause.
- The perpetrators of acts of terrorism can be individuals, groups or states.
- Religious terrorism is terrorism performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in faith-based tenets.
- The terms “terrorism” and “terrorist” (someone who engages in terrorism) carry strong negative connotations.

Key Terms

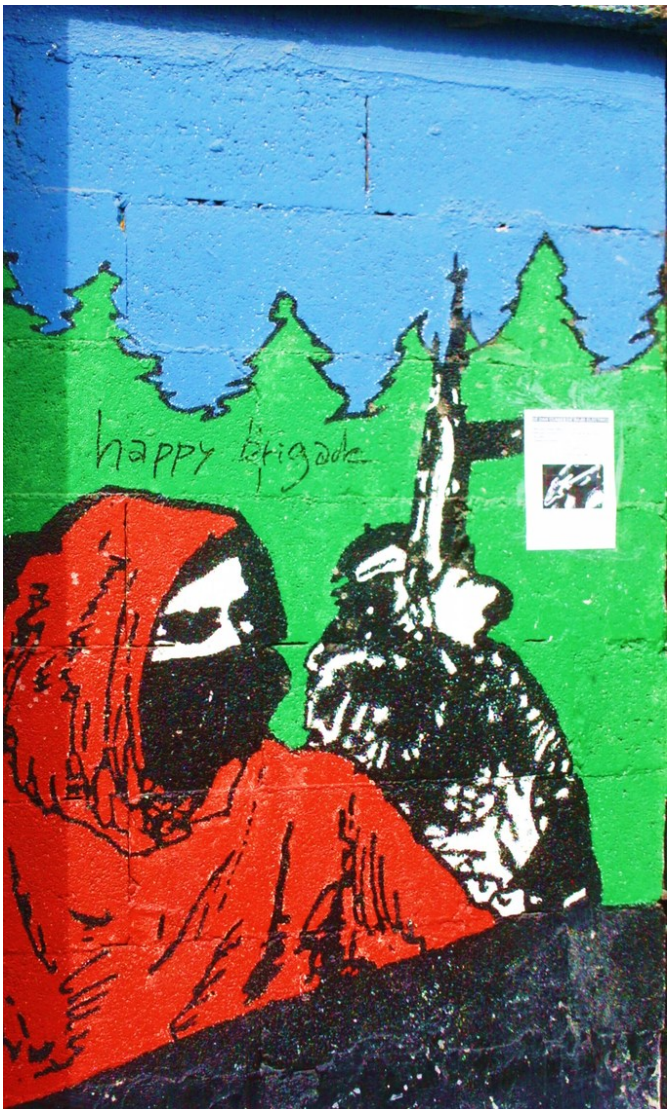
- **perpetrator**: One who perpetrates; especially, one who commits an offense or crime.
- **terrorism**: The deliberate commission of an act of violence to create an emotional response through the suffering of the victims in the furtherance of a political or social agenda.
- **noncombatant**: A non-fighting member of the armed forces

Terrorism is the systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion. Although the term lacks a universal definition, common definitions of terrorism refer to violent acts intended to create fear (terror). These acts are perpetrated for a religious, political, or ideological goal, and deliberately target or disregard the safety of non-combatants (civilians).

Terrorism has been practiced by a broad array of political organizations for furthering their objectives. It has been practiced by right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic groups, religious groups, revolutionaries, and ruling governments. An abiding characteristic is the indiscriminate use of violence against noncombatants to gain publicity for a group, cause or individual. Therefore, the power of terrorism comes from its ability to leverage human fear to help achieve these goals.

Terrorists

The terms “terrorism” and “terrorist” carry strong negative connotations. These terms are often used as political labels to condemn such violence as immoral, indiscriminate, or unjustified or to condemn an entire segment of a population. However, some groups, when involved in a liberation struggle, have been called terrorists by the Western governments or media. In some liberation struggles, these same persons can become the leaders or statesman of these liberated nations. Thus, the perpetrators of terrorism can widely vary; terrorists can be individuals, groups or states. According to some definitions, clandestine or semi-clandestine state actors may also carry out terrorist acts outside the framework of a state of war.



A pro-ETA mural in Durango, Biscay: The ETA is considered a terrorist organization by most governments, but proclaims its own mission to be liberation.

Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorism is performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in faith-based tenets. Terrorist acts throughout the centuries have been performed on religious grounds with the hope to either spread or enforce a system of belief, viewpoint or opinion. Religious terrorism does not in itself necessarily define a specific religious standpoint or view, but instead usually defines an individual or group interpretation of that belief system ‘s teachings.



Terrorist Bomb Attack: A view of damages to the U.S. Embassy in Beirut caused by a terrorist bomb attack, April 1983

Peace

Peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violent conflict or war.

Learning Objectives

Explain the difference between principled pacifism and pragmatic pacifism, and what they share in common

Key Points

- Commonly understood as the absence of hostility, peace also suggests the existence of healthy interpersonal or international relationships, prosperity in matters of social or economic welfare, the establishment of equality, and a working political order that serves the true interests of all.
- A peace movement is a social movement seeking to achieve ideals like the ending of a particular war.
- Principled pacifism holds that at some point along the spectrum from war to interpersonal physical violence, such violence becomes morally wrong.
- Pragmatic pacifism holds that the costs of war and interpersonal violence are so substantial that better ways of resolving disputes must be found.

Key Terms

- **pragmatic pacifism**: Pragmatic pacifism holds that the costs of war and interpersonal violence are so substantial that better ways of resolving disputes must be found.
- **principled pacifism**: Principled pacifism holds that at some point along the spectrum from war to interpersonal physical violence, such violence becomes morally wrong.
- **international relations**: International relations (I.R.) is the study of relationships between countries, including the roles of states, inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), non-

governmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational corporations (MNCs).

Peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violent conflict or war. Commonly understood as the absence of hostility, peace also suggests the existence of healthy or newly healed interpersonal or international relationships, prosperity in matters of social or economic welfare, the establishment of equality, and a working political order that serves the true interests of all. In international relations, peacetime is not only the absence of war or conflict, but also the presence of cultural and economic understanding.

Peace Movements

A peace movement is a social movement seeking to achieve ideals like the ending of a particular war (or all wars), while also minimizing inter-human violence with the goal of achieving world peace. Means to achieve these ends usually include advocacy, non-violent resistance, diplomacy, boycotts, moral purchasing, supporting anti-war political candidates, demonstrations, lobbying to create legislation, and pacifism.

Pacifism

Pacifism is the opposition to war or violence as a means of settling disputes or gaining advantage. Pacifism covers a spectrum of views ranging from the belief that international disputes should be peacefully resolved. Other views of pacifism include:

- calls for abolition of the institutions of the military and war
- opposition to any organization of society through governmental force (anarchist or libertarian pacifism)
- rejection of physical violence to obtain political, economic or social goals
- opposition to violence under any circumstance, including defense of self and others

Pacifism may be based on moral principles or pragmatism. Principled pacifism holds that at some point along the spectrum from war to interpersonal physical violence, such violence becomes morally wrong. Pragmatic pacifism holds that the costs of war and inter-personal violence are so substantial that better ways of resolving disputes must be found. Pacifists in general reject theories of a “just war. ”



Peace Sign: The peace sign, one of several symbols used to represent peace

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

16: Economy

16.1: Economic Systems
16.2: The Transformation of Economic Systems
16.3: Work

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16.1: Economic Systems

The Economy

In the most simple of terms, economies consist of producing goods and exchanging them; they are fundamentally social systems.

Learning Objectives

Key Points

- Economies can be formal or informal, and economic activity can occur in various economic systems.
- Adam Smith is credited with formalizing capitalism in his 1776 book, *The Wealthof Nations*.
- Capitalism results from the interaction of commodities, money, labor, means of production, and production by consumers, laborers, and investors. The government avoids significant interference in the economy— the economy relies upon the law of supply and demand.
- Socialism is another type of economic system that seriously reorients the social and political institutions associated with the economy. Socialism and communism emphasize the public ownership of the means of production and public reallocation of wealth.
- An informal economy is economic activity that is neither taxed nor monitored by a government; the terms “under the table” and “off the books” typically refer to this type of economy. Informal economic activity can be found in various economic systems.
- Many European countries have robust socialist parties and policies.

Key Terms

- **production**: Production is the act of creating output, a good or service which has value and contributes to the utility of individuals.
- **money**: A generally accepted means of exchange and measure of value.
- **economy**: The system of production and distribution and consumption. The overall measure of a currency system; as the national economy.

In the most simple of terms, economies consist of producing goods and exchanging them. Economies can be divided into formal economies and informal economies. A formal economy is the legal economy of a nation-state, as measured by a government’s gross national product (GNP), or the market value of all products and services produced by a country’s companies in a given year. Informal economies are frequently less institutionalized and include all economic practices that are neither taxed nor monitored by a government.

Economies are fundamentally social systems. They require exchanges or transactions; it is impossible for an individual to participate in an economy entirely independent of others. One cannot think of economies as discrete entities; economic systems necessarily interact with social and political systems.

Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic and social system in which capital and non-labor factors of production, or the means of production, are privately controlled; labor, goods, and capital are traded in markets; profits are taken by owners or invested in technologies and industries; and wages are paid to laborers. Though capitalism has developed incrementally since the sixteenth century, Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith is largely credited with outlining the theory in its most fully-fledged form in his 1776 tome *An Inquiry into the Natureand Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.



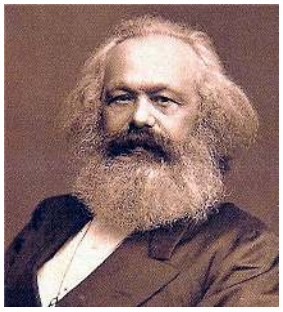
Profile of Adam Smith, by James Tassie, 1787: Author of the Wealth of Nations

The Market

A market is a central space of exchange through which people are able to buy and sell goods and services. In a capitalist economy, the prices of goods and services is mainly controlled through the principles of supply and demand and competition. “Supply and demand” refers to the balancing of the amount of a good or service produced and the amount available for sale. Prices rise when demand exceeds supply and fall when supply exceeds demand. The market coordinates itself through pricing until a new equilibrium price and quantity is reached. Competition arises when many producers are trying to sell the same or similar kinds of products to the same buyers.

The Government

Though the market is encouraged to act on its own, in any capitalist economy, the government is intimately involved in regulating the economy. This can be done through anti-trust laws or minimum wage laws. On a far more basic level, the government allows individuals to own private property and individuals to work where they please. The government generally allows businesses to set wages and prices for products without much interference. The government is responsible for issuing money, supervising public utilities, and enforcing private contracts. Laws protect competition and prohibit unfair business practices. Government agencies regulate the standards of service in many industries, such as airlines and broadcasting, and they finance a wide range of programs. Additionally, the government regulates the flow of capital and uses methods such as interest rates to control factors such as inflation and unemployment. Though the government in capitalist nations largely adheres to the basic principles of economic interference, it largely engages with the economy.



Karl Marx: Religion, Marx held, was a significant hindrance to reason, inherently masking the truth and misguiding followers.

Socialism

Capitalism functions in distinction from socialism, or various theories of economic organization that advocate public or direct worker ownership and administration of the means of production. Socialism calls for public allocation of resources, creating a

society characterized by equal access to resources for all individuals with a method of compensation based on the amount of labor expended. Many socialists criticize capitalism for unfairly concentrating power and wealth among a small segment of society that controls capital and derives its wealth through the exploitation of lower classes.

The Informal Economy

An informal economy is economic activity that is neither taxed nor monitored by a government. Although the informal economy is often associated with developing countries, all economic systems contain an informal economy in some proportion. Informal economic activity is a dynamic process which includes many aspects of economic and social theory: exchange, regulation, and enforcement. By its nature, the informal economy is difficult to observe, study, define, and measure. The terms "under the table" and "off the books" typically refer to this type of economy, and there are various examples for this type of economic activity, including the sale and distribution of illegal drugs or unreported payments for house cleaning or baby sitting, among others.

Capitalism

Capitalism is a system that includes private ownership of the means of production, creation of goods for profit, competitive markets, etc.

Learning Objectives

Examine the different views on capitalism (economical, political and historical) and the impact of capitalism on democracy

Key Points

- Economists usually focus on the degree that government does not have control over markets (laissez-faire), and on property rights.
- Most political economists emphasize private property, power relations, wage labor, and class and emphasize capitalism as a unique historical formation.
- Market failure occurs when an externality is present and a market will either under-produce a product with a positive externalization or overproduce a product that generates a negative externalization.
- The extension of universal adult male suffrage in 19th century Britain occurred with the development of industrial capitalism, and democracy became widespread at the same time as capitalism, leading many theorists to posit a causal relationship between them—claiming that one affects the other.

Key Terms

- **wage labor**: The socioeconomic relationship between a worker and an employer, where the worker sells their labor under a formal or informal employment contract.
- **voluntary exchange**: Voluntary exchange is the act of buyers and sellers freely and willingly engaging in market transactions. Moreover, transactions are made in such a way that both the buyer and the seller are better off after the exchange than before it occurred.
- **externality**: In economics, an externality, or transaction spillover, is a cost or benefit that is not transmitted through prices and is incurred by a party who was not involved as either a buyer or seller of the goods or services causing the cost or benefit.

Capitalism is generally considered by scholars to be an economic system that includes private ownership of the means of production, creation of goods or services for profit or income, the accumulation of capital, competitive markets, voluntary exchange, and wage labor. The designation is applied to a variety of historical cases, which vary in time, geography, politics, and culture.

Economists, political economists and historians have taken different perspectives on the analysis of capitalism. Economists usually focus on the degree that government does not have control over markets (laissez-faire economics), and on property rights. Most political economists emphasize private property, power relations, wage labor, class and capitalism's as a unique historical formation. Capitalism is generally viewed as encouraging economic growth. The differing extents to which different markets are free, as well as the rules defining private property, are a matter of politics and policy, and many states have what are termed mixed economies. A number of political ideologies have emerged in support of various types of capitalism, the most prominent being economic liberalism.

The relationship between the state, its formal mechanisms, and capitalist societies has been debated in many fields of social and political theory, with active discussion since the 19th century. Hernando de Soto is a contemporary economist who has argued that an important characteristic of capitalism is the functioning state protection of property rights in a formal property system where ownership and transactions are clearly recorded.

The relationship between democracy and capitalism is a contentious area in theory and popular political movements. The extension of universal adult male suffrage in 19th century Britain occurred along with the development of industrial capitalism, and democracy became widespread at the same time as capitalism, leading many theorists to posit a causal relationship between them—claiming each affects the other. However, in the 20th century, capitalism also accompanied a variety of political formations quite distinct from liberal democracies, including fascist regimes, absolute monarchies, and single-party states.

The Marxist Critique of Capitalism

Karl Marx saw capitalism as a progressive historical stage that would eventually be followed by socialism.

Learning Objectives

Examine Karl Marx's view on capitalism and the criticisms of the capitalist system

Key Points

- Karl Marx saw capitalism as a progressive historical stage that would eventually stagnate due to internal contradictions and be followed by socialism.
- Marxists define capital as "a social, economic relation" between people (rather than between people and things). In this sense they seek to abolish capital.
- Revolutionary socialists believe that capitalism can only be overcome through revolution.
- Social democrats believe that structural change can come slowly through political reforms to capitalism.
- Marxists define capital as "a social, economic relation" between people (rather than between people and things).
- Normative Marxism advocates a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism that would lead to socialism, before eventually transforming into communism after class antagonisms and the state ceased to exist.

Key Terms

- **revolution**: A political upheaval in a government or nation-state characterized by great change.
- **socialism**: Any of various economic and political philosophies that support social equality, collective decision-making, distribution of income based on contribution and public ownership of productive capital and natural resources, as advocated by socialists.
- **progressive**: Favoring or promoting progress; advanced.

Capitalism has been the subject of criticism from many perspectives during its history. Criticisms range from people who disagree with the principles of capitalism in its entirety, to those who disagree with particular outcomes of capitalism. Among those wishing to replace capitalism with a different method of production and social organization, a distinction can be made between those believing that capitalism can only be overcome with revolution (e.g., revolutionary socialism) and those believing that structural change can come slowly through political reforms to capitalism (e.g., classic social democracy).

Karl Marx saw capitalism as a progressive historical stage that would eventually stagnate due to internal contradictions and be followed by socialism. Marxists define capital as "a social, economic relation" between people (rather than between people and things). In this sense they seek to abolish capital. They believe that private ownership of the means of production enriches capitalists (owners of capital) at the expense of workers. In brief, they argue that the owners of the means of production exploit the workforce.

In Karl Marx's view, the dynamic of capital would eventually impoverish the working class and thereby create the social conditions for a revolution. Private ownership over the means of production and distribution is seen as creating a dependence of non-owning classes on the ruling class, and ultimately as a source of restriction of human freedom.

Marxists have offered various related lines of argument claiming that capitalism is a contradiction-laden system characterized by recurring crises that have a tendency towards increasing severity. They have argued that this tendency of the system to unravel, combined with a socialization process that links workers in a worldwide market, create the objective conditions for revolutionary change. Capitalism is seen as just one stage in the evolution of the economic system.

Normative Marxism advocates for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism that would lead to socialism, before eventually transforming into communism after class antagonisms and the state cease to exist. Marxism influenced social democratic and labor parties as well as some moderate democratic socialists, who seek change through existing democratic channels instead of revolution, and believe that capitalism should be regulated rather than abolished.

Socialism

Socialism is an economic system in which the means of production are socially owned and used to meet human needs, not to create profits.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the various implementations of socialism, from reformism to revolutionary socialism

Key Points

- Socialists critique capitalism, arguing that it creates inequality and limits human potential. Socialists maintain that capitalism derives wealth from a system of labor exploitation and then concentrates wealth and power within a small segment of society that controls the means of production.
- As a political movement, socialism includes a diverse array of political philosophies, ranging from reformism to revolutionary socialism, from a planned economy to market socialism.
- A planned economy is a type of economy consisting of a mixture of public ownership of the means of production and the coordination of production and distribution through state planning.
- Market socialism consists of publicly owned or cooperatively owned enterprises operating in a market economy.
- Socialists argue that socialism would allow for wealth to be distributed based on how much one contributes to society, as opposed to how much capital one owns. A primary goal of socialism is social equality and a distribution of wealth based on one's contribution to society.

Key Terms

- **planned economy**: An economic system in which government directly manages supply and demand for goods and services by controlling production, prices, and distribution in accordance with a long-term design and schedule of objectives.
- **market socialism**: Market socialism refers to various economic systems where the means of production are either publicly owned or cooperatively owned and operated for a profit in a market economy. The profit generated by the firms would be used to directly remunerate employees or would be the source of public finance or could be distributed among the population through a social dividend.
- **socialism**: Any of various economic and political philosophies that support social equality, collective decision-making, distribution of income based on contribution and public ownership of productive capital and natural resources, as advocated by socialists.

Socialism is an economic system in which the means of production are socially owned and used to meet human needs instead of to create profits. The means of production refers to the tools, technology, buildings, and other materials used to make the goods or services in an economy. Social ownership of the means of production can take many forms. It could refer to cooperative enterprises, common ownership, direct public ownership, or autonomous state enterprises. Social ownership contrasts with capitalist ownership, in which the means of production are used to create a profit. In a socialist economic system, the means of production would instead be used to directly satisfy economic demands and human needs. Accounting would be based on physical quantities or a direct measure of labor-time instead of on profits and expenses.

Although socialism is often associated with Karl Marx, it has evolved to take a variety of forms. As a political movement, socialism includes a diverse array of political philosophies, ranging from reformism to revolutionary socialism, from a planned economy to market socialism. In a planned economy, the means of production are publicly owned and the government is in charge of coordinating and distributing production. By contrast, in market socialism, the means of production may be publicly or cooperatively owned, but they operate in a market economy. That is, market socialism uses the market and monetary prices to allocate and account for the means of production and the products they create. Just like in capitalism, the means of production generate profit; however, that profit would be used to remunerate employees or finance public institutions, not to benefit private owners.



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The Significance of Socialism: Karl Marx helped to create the system of social thought now called Marxism.

Socialists critique capitalism, arguing that it derives wealth from a system of labor exploitation and then concentrates wealth and power within a small segment of society that controls the means of production. As a result, society is stratified, split into classes according to who owns the means of production and who is forced to sell their labor; as a result, individuals do not all have the same opportunity to maximize their potential. A capitalist society, they argue, does not utilize available technology and resources to their maximum potential in the interests of the public. Instead, it focuses on satisfying market-induced wants as opposed to human needs. Socialists argue that socialism would allow for wealth to be distributed based on how much one contributes to society, as opposed to how much capital one owns. A primary goal of socialism is social equality and a distribution of wealth based on one's contribution to society, and an economic arrangement that would serve the interests of society as a whole.



Socialism in Europe: Europe has far more socialist democracies than the United Hollande won the French presidency on the Socialist Party ticket in 2012.

The Capitalist Critique of Socialism

Critiques of socialism generally refer to its lack of efficiency and feasibility, as well as the political/social effects of such a system.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the various criticisms of socialism

Key Points

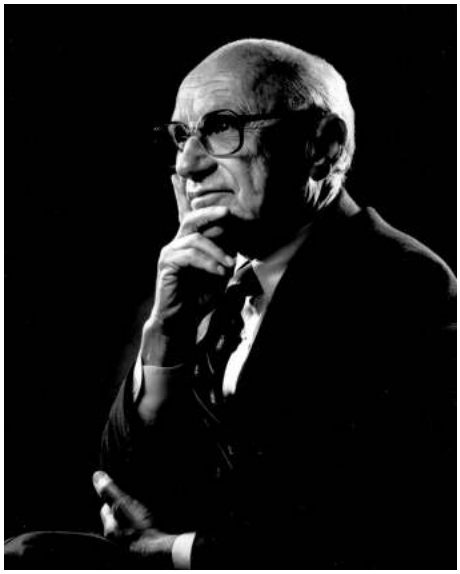
- Some critics consider socialism to be a purely theoretical concept that should be criticized on theoretical grounds; others hold that certain historical examples exist, making it possible to criticize on practical grounds.
- Some critics of socialism argue that income sharing reduces individual incentives to work; incomes should be individualized as much as possible.
- Milton Friedman, an economist, argued that socialism—which he defined as state ownership over the means of production —impedes technological progress due to stifled competition.
- The philosopher Friedrich Hayek argued that the road to socialism leads society to totalitarianism.

Key Terms

- **classical liberals**: Classical liberals believe in classical liberalism, a political ideology developed in the 19th century that advocates limited government, constitutionalism, rule of law, due process, and individual liberties including freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and free markets.
- **economic liberals**: Economic liberalism is the ideological belief in organizing the economy on individualist lines, such that the greatest possible number of economic decisions are made by private individuals and not by collective institutions.
- **libertarian**: A believer in a political doctrine that emphasizes individual liberty and a lack of governmental regulation and oversight both in matters of the economy (‘free market’) and in personal behavior.

Criticism of socialism refers to a critique of socialist models of economic organization, efficiency, and feasibility, as well as the political and social implications of such a system. Some of these criticisms are not directed toward socialism as a system, but directed toward the socialist movement, socialist political parties, or existing socialist states. Some critics consider socialism to be a purely theoretical concept that should be criticized on theoretical grounds; others hold that certain historical examples exist, making it possible to criticize on practical grounds.

Economic liberals, pro-capitalist libertarians, and some classical liberals view private enterprise, private ownership of the means of production, and the market exchange as central to conceptions of freedom and liberty. Milton Friedman, an economist, argued that socialism—which he defined as state ownership over the means of production—impedes technological progress due to stifled competition. He pointed to the U.S. to see where socialism fails, observing that the most technologically backward areas are those where government owns the means of production. Some critics of socialism argue that income sharing reduces individual incentives to work; incomes should be individualized as much as possible. Critics of socialism have argued that in any society where everyone holds equal wealth there can be no material incentive to work because one does not receive rewards for a work well done.



Milton Friedman: Milton Friedman argued against the effects of socialism.

The philosopher Friedrich Hayek argued in his book *The Road to Serfdom* that the more even distribution of wealth through the nationalization of the means of production advocated by certain socialists cannot be achieved without a loss of political, economic, and human rights. According to Hayek, to achieve control over means of production and distribution of wealth, it is necessary for such socialists to acquire significant powers of coercion. He argued that the road to socialism leads society to totalitarianism, and that fascism and Nazism were the inevitable outcome of socialist trends in Italy and Germany during the preceding period.

Milton Friedman argued that the absence of voluntary economic activity makes it too easy for repressive political leaders to grant themselves coercive powers. Friedman’s view was shared by Friedrich Hayek and John Maynard Keynes, both of whom believed that capitalism is vital for freedom to survive and thrive.

Democratic Socialism

Democratic socialism combines the political philosophy of democracy with the economic philosophy of socialism.

Learning Objectives

Discuss democratic socialism and how it differs from other ideas held by the government about the working class

Key Points

- Democratic socialism is contrasted with political movements that resort to authoritarian means to achieve a transition to socialism. It advocates the immediate creation of decentralized economic democracy from the grassroots level.

- Democratic socialists distinguish themselves from Leninists, who believe in an organized revolution instigated and directed by an overarching vanguard party that operates on the basis of democratic centralism.
- Eugene V. Debs, one of the most famous American socialists, led a movement centered around democratic socialism and made five bids for president.
- In Britain, the democratic socialist tradition was represented in particular by William Morris' Socialist League and, in the 1880s, by the Fabian Society.
- In Britain, the democratic socialist tradition was represented in particular by William Morris' Socialist League and, in the 1880s, by the Fabian Society.

Key Terms

- **Fabian Society**: The Fabian Society is a British socialist organization whose purpose is to advance the principles of democratic socialism via gradualist and reformist, rather than revolutionary, means.
- **Leninism**: In Marxist philosophy, Leninism is the body of political theory for the democratic organisation of a revolutionary vanguard party, and the achievement of a direct-democracy dictatorship of the proletariat, as political prelude to the establishment of socialism.
- **democratic socialism**: A left-wing ideology that aims to introduce democracy into the workforce, i.e. worker cooperatives, and ensure public provision of basic human needs.

Democratic socialism combines the political philosophy of democracy with the economic philosophy of socialism. The term can refer to a range of political and economic organizational schemes. On one end, democratic socialism may combine a democratic national political system with a national economy based on socialist principles. On the other end, democratic socialism may refer to a system that uses democratic principles to organize workers in a firm or community (for example, in worker cooperatives).

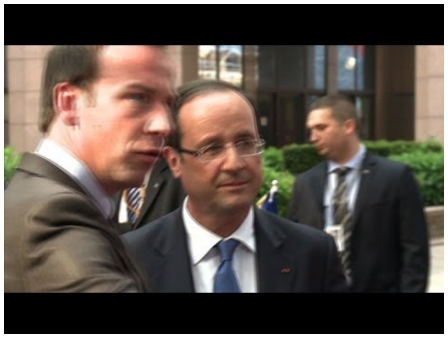
The term is used by socialist movements and organizations to emphasize the democratic character of their political orientation. Democratic socialism contrasts with political movements that resort to authoritarian means to achieve a transition to socialism. Rather than focus on central planning, democratic socialism advocates the immediate creation of decentralized economic democracy from the grassroots level—undertaken by and for the working class itself. Specifically, it is a term used to distinguish between socialists who favor a grassroots-level, spontaneous revolution (referred to as gradualism) from those socialists who favor Leninism (organized revolution instigated and directed by an overarching vanguard party that operates on the basis of democratic centralism).

Historical Examples

The term has also been used by various historians to describe the ideal of economic socialism in an established political democracy. Democratic socialism became a prominent movement at the end of the 19th century. In the United States, Eugene V. Debs, one of the most famous American socialists, led a movement centered around democratic socialism. Debs made five bids for president: once in 1900 as candidate of the Social Democratic Party and then four more times on the ticket of the Socialist Party of America. In Britain, the democratic socialist tradition was represented historically by William Morris's Socialist League and, in the 1880s, by the Fabian Society.



Vladimir Lenin: Leninism is based on the philosophy of Vladimir Lenin, who revolution led by a vanguard party.



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François Hollande and France: France is an example of a democratic socialist state. In 2012, French voters elected the Socialist Party candidate, François Hollande, into office with the expectation that he will meet his campaign promises to introduce greater socialist policy.

Informal Economy

The informal economy consists of economic activity that is neither taxed nor regulated by a government.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the impact of the informal economy on formal economy, such as the black market or working "under the table"

Key Points

- Informal economies include economic practices that are not included in the calculation of GNP (the market value of all products and services produced by a country's companies in a given year).
- Participation in the informal economy may result from lack of other options (e.g. people may buy goods on the black market because these goods are unavailable through conventional means). Participation may also be driven by a wish to avoid regulation or taxation.

- The growth of the informal economy is often attributed to changing social or economic environments. For example, with the adoption of more technologically intensive forms of production, many workers have been forced out of formal sector work and into informal employment.
- Growing regulation and taxation may also force people into the informal economy.
- The informal economy accounts for about 15 percent of employment in developed countries such as the United States.

Key Terms

- **Progressive Era**: The Progressive Era in the United States was a period of social activism and political reform that flourished from the 1890s to the 1920s.
- **industrial paternalism**: Industrial paternalism is a form of welfare capitalism especially common in the United States. It refers to the practice of businesses providing welfare-like services to employees.
- **welfare capitalism**: Welfare capitalism refers either to the combination of a capitalist economic system with a welfare state or, in the American context, to the practice of businesses providing welfare-like services to employees.

The informal economy consists of economic activity that is neither taxed nor regulated by a government. This is in contrast to the formal economy; a formal economy includes economic activity that is legal according to national law. Formal economy goods may be taxed and are included in the calculation of a government's gross national product (GNP), which is the market value of all products and services produced by a country's companies in a given year. Informal economies are frequently less institutionalized and include all economic practices that are not included in the calculation of GNP. Informal economies therefore include such disparate practices as the drug trade and babysitting—anything that isn't reported to the government or factored into the nation's GNP. All economies have informal elements.



Drugs in the Informal Economy: Dealing drugs is an example of participation in the informal economy.

The original use of the term 'informal sector' is attributed to the economic development model put forward by W. Arthur Lewis, used to describe employment or livelihood creation and sustainability primarily within the developing world. It was used to describe a type of employment that was viewed as falling outside of the modern industrial sector. Participation in the informal economy may result from lack of other options (e.g. people may buy goods on the black market because these goods are unavailable through conventional means). Participation may also be driven by a wish to avoid regulation or taxation. This may manifest as unreported employment, hidden from the state for tax, social security or labor law purposes, but legal in all other aspects.

The growth of the informal economy is often attributed to changing social or economic environments. For example, with the adoption of more technologically intensive forms of production, many workers have been forced out of formal sector work and into informal employment. Arguably the most influential book on informal economy is Hernando de Soto's *The Other Path*. De Soto and his team argue that excessive regulation in the Peruvian (and other Latin American) economies force a large part of the economy into informality and thus prevent economic development. In a widely cited experiment, his team tried to legally register a small garment factory in Lima. This took more than one hundred administrative steps and almost a year of full-time work. Whereas de Soto's work is popular with policymakers and champions of free market policies, many scholars of the informal economy have criticized it both for methodological flaws and normative bias.

The informal economy accounts for about 15 percent of employment in developed countries such as the United States. By contrast, it makes up 48 percent of non-agricultural employment in North Africa, 51 percent in Latin America, 65 percent in Asia, and 72 percent in sub-Saharan Africa. If agricultural employment is included, the percentages rise—beyond 90 percent in places like India and many sub-Saharan African countries.



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Burkina Faso: Informal economy at the centre of solidarity: Many workers in Burkina Faso participate in the country's informal economy. This video describes how the informal economy fails to provide some of the same social benefits as work in the formal economy.

Welfare State Capitalism

Welfare capitalism refers to a welfare state in a capitalist economic system or to businesses providing welfare-like services to employees.

Learning Objectives

Discuss how welfare capitalism impacts the worker and the business, in terms of costs and benefits for both

Key Points

- In the United States, the mid-twentieth century marked the height of business provisions for employees, including benefits such as more generous retirement packages and health care.
- Not all companies provided good benefits, so workers appealed to government, which imposed minimum labor standards (e.g., the minimum wage) to protect workers.
- Welfare capitalism still operates in the United States, where the government ensures minimum labor standards; some companies continue to offer benefits.

Key Terms

- **Progressive Era**: The Progressive Era in the United States was a period of social activism and political reform that flourished from the 1890s to the 1920s.
- **industrial paternalism**: Industrial paternalism is a form of welfare capitalism especially common in the United States. It refers to the practice of businesses providing welfare-like services to employees.
- **welfare capitalism**: Welfare capitalism refers either to the combination of a capitalist economic system with a welfare state or, in the American context, to the practice of businesses providing welfare-like services to employees.

Welfare capitalism refers either to the combination of a capitalist economic system with a welfare state or, in the American context, to the practice of private businesses providing welfare-like services to employees. In this second form of welfare capitalism, also known as industrial paternalism, companies have a two-fold interest in providing these services. First, the companies act in a paternalistic manner, giving employees what managers think is best for them. Second, the companies recognize that providing workers with some minor benefits can forestall complaints about larger structural issues, such as unsafe conditions and long hours.

Following this logic, in the nineteenth century, some manufacturing companies began offering new benefits for their employees. Companies sponsored sports teams, established social clubs, and provided educational and cultural activities for workers. Some companies even provided housing, such as the boarding houses provided for female employees of textile manufacturers in Lowell, Massachusetts. The mid-twentieth century marked the height of business provisions for employees, including benefits such as more generous retirement packages and health care.

However, even at the peak of this form of welfare capitalism, not all workers enjoyed the same benefits. Business-led welfare capitalism was only common in American industries that employed skilled labor. Not all companies freely choose to provide even minor benefits to workers. As workers became frustrated with meager or

nonexistent benefits, they appealed to government for help, giving rise to the first form of welfare capitalism: welfare provisions provided by the state within the context of a capitalist economy. In the United States, workers formed labor unions to gain greater collective bargaining power. In addition to directly challenging businesses, they lobbied the government to enact basic standards of labor. In the United States, the first two decades of the twentieth century—the Progressive Era—saw an increase in the number of protections the government was able to extend to workers. Yet by mid-century, many of these protections had been pushed back through the court system.

Today, the government provides very basic standards by which employers must abide, such as minimum wage standards. Anything above the minimum required by the government is at the employer's discretion. Recently, companies have begun to invest even more in the perks provided by the business in an effort to satisfy employees. Companies have found that employees make fewer demands and are more productive when they are happier, so companies such as Google have spent millions of dollars making their businesses enjoyable places to work.

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16.2: The Transformation of Economic Systems

Preindustrial Societies: The Birth of Inequality

Pre-industrial typically have predominantly agricultural economies and limited production, division of labor, and class variation.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the different types of societies and economies that existed during the pre-Industrial age

Key Points

- A hunter-gatherer society is one in which most or all food is obtained from wild plants and animals, in contrast to an agricultural society that relies mainly on domesticated species.
- Feudalism was a set of legal and military customs in medieval Europe that flourished between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, and, broadly defined, was a system for structuring society around relationships derived from the holding of land in exchange for service or labor.
- Manorialism, an essential element of feudal society, was the organizing principle of rural economy that originated in the villa system of the Late Roman Empire.

Key Terms

- **pre-industrial society**: Pre-industrial society refers to specific social attributes and forms of political and cultural organization that were prevalent before the advent of the Industrial Revolution. It is followed by the industrial society.
- **manorialism**: A political, economic, and social system in medieval and early modern Europe; originally a form of serfdom but later a looser system in which land was administered via the local manor.
- **feudalism**: A social system that is based on personal ownership of resources and personal fealty between a suzerain (lord) and a vassal (subject). Defining characteristics of feudalism are direct ownership of resources, personal loyalty, and a hierarchical social structure reinforced by religion.

Pre-industrial societies are societies that existed before the Industrial Revolution, which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some remote societies today may share characteristics with these historical societies, and may, therefore, also be referred to as pre-industrial. In general, pre-industrial societies share certain social attributes and forms of political and cultural organization, including limited production, a predominantly agricultural economy, limited division of labor, limited variation of social class, and parochialism at large. While pre-industrial societies share these characteristics in common, they may otherwise take on very different forms. Two specific forms of pre-industrial society are hunter-gatherer societies and feudal societies.

A hunter-gatherer society is one in which most or all food is obtained by gathering wild plants and hunting wild animals, in contrast to agricultural societies which rely mainly on domesticated species. Hunter-gatherer societies tend to be very mobile, following their food sources. They tend to have relatively non-hierarchical, egalitarian social structures, often including a high degree of gender equality. Full-time leaders, bureaucrats, or artisans are rarely supported by these societies. Hunter-gatherer group membership is often based on kinship and band (or tribe) membership. Following the invention of agriculture, hunter-gatherers in most parts of the world were displaced by farming or pastoral groups who staked out land and settled it, cultivating it or turning it into pasture for livestock. Only a few contemporary societies are classified as hunter-gatherers, and many supplement their foraging activity with farming or raising domesticated animals.

Feudalism was a set of legal and military customs in medieval Europe that flourished between the nineteenth and fifteenth centuries. Broadly speaking, feudalism structured society around relationships based on land ownership. Feudal lords were landowners; in exchange for access to land for living and farming, serfs offered lords their service or labor. This arrangement (land access in exchange for labor) is sometimes called “manorialism,” an organizing principle of rural economy that originated in the villa system of the Late Roman Empire. Manorialism was widely practiced in medieval western and parts of central Europe, until it was slowly replaced by the advent of a money-based market economy and new forms of agrarian contract.



Feudal Manor: This painting from feudal time shows how fields surrounded the feudal manor where the noble who owned the farms lived–a good depiction of how society was oriented around the agricultural economy.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCPp7XWZfHo

Feudal Systems: This video explains the basics of feudal societies in Europe.

Industrial Societies: The Birth of the Machine

During the Industrial Revolution (roughly 1750 to 1850) changes in technology had a profound effect on social and economic conditions.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the shift from manual to machine based labor during the First and Second Industrial Revolutions

Key Points

- The First Industrial Revolution, which began in the 18th century, merged into the Second Industrial Revolution around 1850.
- Great Britain provided the legal and cultural foundations that enabled entrepreneurs to pioneer the Industrial Revolution.
- Starting in the latter part of the 18th century, there began a transition in parts of Great Britain's previously manual labor and draft-animal-based economy towards machine-based manufacturing.
- The introduction of steam power fuelled primarily by coal, wider utilization of water wheels, and powered machinery—mainly in textile manufacturing—underpinned the dramatic increases in production capacity.
- The effects spread throughout Western Europe and North America during the 19th century, eventually affecting most of the world, a process that continues as industrialization today.

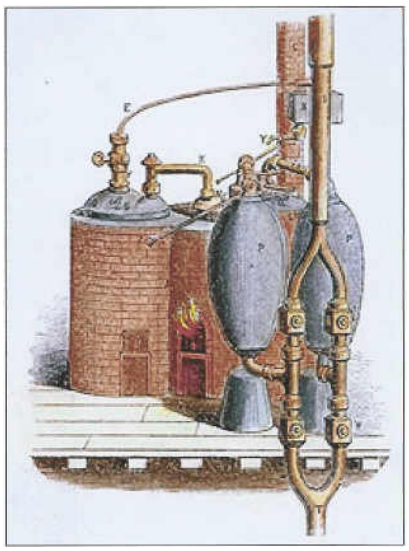
Key Terms

- **Industrial Revolution**: The major technological, socioeconomic, and cultural change in the late 18th and early 19th century, resulting from the replacement of an economy based on manual labor to one dominated by industry and machine manufacturing.
- **steam power**: Power derived from water heated into steam, usually converted to motive power by a reciprocating engine or turbine.
- **industrialization**: A process of social and economic change whereby a human society is transformed from a pre-industrial to an industrial state

The Industrial Revolution was a period from 1750 to 1850 where changes in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transportation, and technology had a profound effect on the social, economic and cultural conditions of the times. It began in the United Kingdom, and then subsequently spread throughout Western Europe, North America, Japan, and eventually the rest of the world. The Industrial Revolution marks a major turning point in history; almost every aspect of daily life was influenced in some way. Most notably, average income and population began to exhibit unprecedented sustained growth. In the two centuries following 1800, the world's average per capita income increased more than tenfold, while the world's population increased over sixfold.

The First Industrial Revolution, which began in the 18th century, merged into the Second Industrial Revolution around 1850, when technological and economic progress gained momentum with the development of steam-powered ships, railways, and later in the 19th century with the internal combustion engine and electrical power generation. The period of time covered by the Industrial Revolution varies with different historians. Eric Hobsbawm held that it "broke out" in Britain in the 1780s and

was not fully felt until the 1830s or 1840s, while T. S. Ashton held that it occurred roughly between 1760 and 1830.



Savery Engine: The Savery Engine, invented in 1698, was one of the first steam engines available commercially. It dramatically changed how the economic system functioned.

Great Britain provided the legal and cultural foundations that enabled entrepreneurs to pioneer the Industrial Revolution. Starting in the later part of the 18th century, there began a transition in parts of Great Britain's previously manual labor and draft-animal-based economy toward machine-based manufacturing. It started with the mechanization of the textile industries, the development of iron-making techniques and the increased use of refined coal. Trade expansion was enabled by the introduction of canals, improved roads and railways. With the transition away from an agricultural-based economy and toward machine-based manufacturing came a great influx of population from the countryside and into the towns and cities, which swelled in population.

The introduction of steam power fuelled primarily by coal, wider utilization of water wheels, and powered machinery—mainly in textile manufacturing —underpinned the dramatic increases in production capacity. The development of all-metal machine tools in the first two decades of the 19th century facilitated the manufacturing of more production machines for manufacturing in other industries. The effects spread throughout Western Europe and North America during the 19th century, eventually affecting most of the world, a process that continues as industrialization today. The impact of this change on society was enormous.

Postindustrial Societies: The Birth of the Information Age

In the "Information Age," individuals can transfer and have instant access to information, leading to a profound economic transformation.

Learning Objectives

Examine the impact the Information Age has on the accessibility and breadth of information available to society

Key Points

- The Information Age formed by capitalizing on the computer microminiaturization advances, with a transition spanning from the advent of the personal computer in the late 1970s to the Internet reaching a critical mass in the early 1990s.
- Though the Internet itself has existed since 1969, it was the invention of the World Wide Web in 1989 by British scientist Tim Berners-Lee and its implementation in 1991 that allowed the Internet to truly became a global network.
- In the latter decades of the 20th century, the industrial world has been shifting into a service economy, where an increasing number of people hold jobs as clerks in stores, office workers, teachers, nurses, etc.

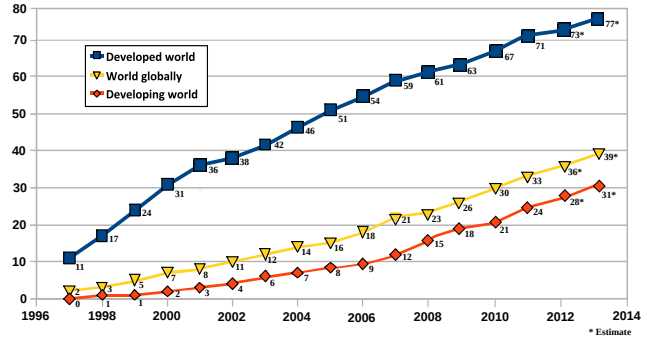
Key Terms

- **service economy**: Service economy refers to the increased importance of the service sector compared to the manufacturing sector. The service economy in developing countries is mostly concentrated in financial services, hospitality, retail, health, human services, information technology, and education.
- **the internet**: A global system of interconnected computer networks that use the standard internet protocol suite (often called TCP/IP, although not all applications use TCP) to serve billions of users worldwide. It is a network of networks that consists of millions of private, public, academic, business, and government networks, of local to global scope, that are linked by a broad array of electronic, wireless, and optical networking technologies.
- **Information Age**: The current era, characterized by the increasing importance and availability of information (especially by means of computers), as opposed to previous eras (such as the Industrial Age) in which most endeavors related to some physical, man-made process or product.

The Information Age is a concept that characterizes the current age by the ability of individuals to transfer information freely and have instant access to information that would have been difficult or impossible to access in the past. The idea is linked to the concept of a digital age or digital revolution, as most of this information is instantaneously available online. It carries with it the ramifications of a shift from an industrialized economy to an economy based on the manipulation of information, or an information society.

The Information Age formed by capitalizing on computer microminiaturization advances. The transition spans from the advent of the personal computer in the late 1970s to the Internet reaching a critical mass in the early 1990s, with the public's adoption of the Internet in the two decades following 1990. The Information Age has allowed rapid global communications and networking to shape modern society due to the fast evolution of technology use in daily life.

Though the Internet itself has existed since 1969, it was the invention of the World Wide Web in 1989 by British scientist Tim Berners-Lee and its implementation in 1991 that allowed the Internet to truly became a global network. Today, the Internet has become the ultimate platform for accelerating the flow of information and is the fastest-growing form of media.



Internet Usage: This graph shows the drastic increase in Internet usage, indicative of the pervasiveness of the Information Age.

Concurrently, during the 1980s and 1990s in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Western Europe, there was a steady trend away from people holding Industrial Age manufacturing jobs. An increasing number of people held jobs as clerks in stores, office workers, teachers, nurses, etc. Many argue that jobs traditionally associated with the middle class (assembly line workers, data processors, foremen, and supervisors) are beginning to disappear, either through outsourcing or automation. Individuals who lose their jobs must either move up, joining a group of "mind workers" (engineers, attorneys, scientists, professors, executives, journalists, consultants, etc.), or settle for low-skill, low-wage service jobs.

Capitalism in a Global Economy

Some thinkers argue that in the last few decades trends associated with globalization have increased the mobility of people and capital.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the shift in the job market and increase in international trade due to an increase in globalization

Key Points

- The world economy generally refers to the economy based on the national economies of all of the world's countries.
- Although international trade has been associated with the development of capitalism for over five hundred years, some thinkers argue that a number of trends associated with globalization have acted to increase the mobility of people and capital since the last quarter of the 20th century.
- The global financial system is the financial system consisting of institutions and regulators that act on the international level, as opposed to those that act on a national or regional level.
- Globalization refers to the increasing global relationships of culture, people, and economic activity.
- The establishment of the WTO in 1995 led to an anti-globalization movement that was primarily concerned with the negative impact of globalization in developing countries.
- Critiques of economic globalization typically look at both the damage to the planet as well as the human costs.

Key Terms

- **global financial system**: The global financial system is the financial system consisting of institutions and regulators that act on the international level, as opposed to those that act on a national or regional level. The main players are the global institutions, such as International Monetary Fund and Bank for International Settlements, national agencies and government departments, e.g., central banks and finance ministries, private institutions acting on the global scale, e.g., banks and hedge funds, and regional institutions, e.g., the Eurozone.
- **WTO**: The World Trade Organization (WTO) is an organization that intends to supervise and liberalize international trade. It officially commenced on January 1, 1995 under the Marrakech Agreement, replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which commenced in 1948. It deals with regulation of trade between participating countries and provides a framework for negotiating and formalizing trade agreements and for resolving disputes.
- **globalization**: A common term for processes of international integration arising from increasing human connectivity and interchange of worldviews, products, ideas, and other cultural phenomena. In particular, advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the rise of the Internet, represent major driving factors in globalization and precipitate the further interdependence of economic and cultural activities.

The term "world economy" refers to the economic situation of all of the world's countries. It is common to limit discussion of

world economy exclusively to human economic activity. World economy is typically judged in monetary terms, even in cases in which there is no efficient market to help valuate certain goods or services, or in cases in which a lack of independent research or government cooperation makes establishing figures difficult.

The global financial system is the financial system consisting of institutions and regulators that act on the international level, as opposed to those that act on a national or regional level. The main players are global institutions, such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and the Bank for International Settlements; national agencies and government departments (e.g., central banks and finance ministries); private institutions acting on the global scale (e.g., banks, hedge funds), and regional institutions such as the Eurozone.

Although international trade has always existed, some thinkers argue that a number of trends associated with globalization have caused an increase in the mobility of people and capital since the last quarter of the 20th century. Today, these trends have bolstered the argument that capitalism should now be viewed as a true world system, given that all national economies trade with capitalist states and are therefore influenced by capitalist policies.

Globalization refers to the increasing global relationships of culture, people, and economic activity. It is generally used to refer to economic globalization: the global distribution of the production of goods and services, through reduction of barriers to international trade such as tariffs, export fees, and import quotas; and the reduction of restrictions on the movement of capital and on investment. Globalization may contribute to economic growth in developed and developing countries through increased specialization and the principle of comparative advantage.



Globalization: Singapore embraced globalization and became a highly developed country

Global Trade: Inequalities and Conflict

Global trade (exchange across international borders) has increased with better transportation and governments adopting free trade.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the impact of global trade on society and industry, ranging from mercantilism to free trade orientation

Key Points

- While international trade has been present throughout much of history, its economic, social, and political importance has been on the rise in recent centuries as free trade has overtaken mercantilism and governments have reduced tariffs and other barriers to trade.
- Traditionally, trade was regulated through bilateral treaties between two nations, but it is increasingly regulated by multilateral agreements and international bodies, such as the World Trade Organization.
- Free trade is on the rise, but most countries maintain some level of protectionism in the form of subsidies or tariffs to protect industries considered essential to national security or national economies (e.g., food and steel production).
- Arguments against free trade criticize the assumptions of economic theories underlying it and its possible social and political effects, including inequality and cultural homogenization.
- In the last few decades, fair trade has been proposed as an alternative to free trade.
- Economic arguments against free trade criticize the assumptions or conclusions of economic theories.
- Sociopolitical arguments against free trade cite social and political effects that economic arguments do not capture.
- An alternative concept to free trade in the last decades has been become fair trade.

Key Terms

- **protectionism**: A policy of protecting the domestic producers of a product by imposing tariffs, quotas, or other barriers on imports.
- **World Trade Organization**: An international organization designed by its founders to supervise and liberalize international trade.
- **free trade**: international trade free from government interference, especially trade free from tariffs or duties on imports

Global trade is the exchange of money, goods, and services across international borders. As transportation has improved, global trade has increased, and businesses have pressured

governments to relax restrictions on trade. In most countries, global trade now accounts for many of the goods and services bought or sold, and many companies earn profits from global trade.

For centuries, governments restricted international trade based on the principles of mercantilism, which maintained that countries were all competing to maximize their stores of gold. Accordingly, governments imposed high tariffs to limit imports and promoted exports in order to sell their goods in exchange for more gold. But in the nineteenth century, especially in the United Kingdom, mercantilism gradually gave way to a belief in free trade.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Free Trade: Economist Milton Friedman explains the importance of free trade.

Following a free trade orientation, governments do not discriminate against imports by imposing tariffs or promoting exports with subsides. Since the mid-twentieth century, nations have increasingly reduced tariff barriers and currency restrictions on international trade. But even though many countries have moved toward free trade, other trade barriers remain in place: import quotas, taxes, and diverse means of subsidizing domestic industries can all hinder trade.

As global trade has grown, governments have faced the problem of regulating trade that originates or ends outside their jurisdiction. Traditionally, governments regulated international trade through bilateral treaties that were negotiated between two nations. But as trade has become more global and more complex, trade negotiations have expanded to include more countries. Now, trade is regulated in part by worldwide agreements, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a multilateral agreement that went into effect in 1948. In 1995, GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO), an international body that supervises global trade.

Most countries in the world are members of the WTO, which limits in certain ways but does not eliminate tariffs and other trade barriers. Most countries are also members of regional free trade areas that lower trade barriers among participating countries. Trade agreements are negotiated by independent nations with their own interests and values in mind, which often include values and interests other than maximum global output. As a consequence, some level of protectionism is used by almost every nation, in the form of subsidies or tariffs to protect industries a nation considers essential, such as food and steel production.

Economic arguments against free trade criticize the assumptions or conclusions of economic theories. Critics note that free trade may exacerbate inequality among countries and within them. Free trade may favor developing nations in certain areas, may benefit only the wealthy within countries, may increase offshoring, and may destabilize financial markets. Sociopolitical arguments against free trade cite social and political effects that economic arguments do not capture, such as political stability, national security, human rights, and environmental protection. Critics note that free trade undermines cultural diversity, causes dislocation and pain, and undermines national security. In response, fair trade, or an economic system that emphasizes living wages for the producers of goods, has developed as an alternative to free trade in the last several years.



Fair Trade: Fair trade products are slightly more expensive but certify that the excess cost is passed along to the workers to ensure better living and working conditions.

Microfinancing

Microfinance is usually understood as the provision of financial services to micro-entrepreneurs and small businesses.

Learning Objectives

Examine the use of microfinance and microcredit for industry, including the benefits and criticisms

Key Points

- The modern use of the expression “microfinancing” has roots in the 1970s. At this time, organizations such as the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, led by Muhammad Yunus, were starting to shape the modern microfinance industry.
- Microfinance is a broad category of services, one of which is microcredit. Microcredit is the provision of credit services to poor clients. Although microcredit is only one of the aspects of microfinance, conflation of the two terms is endemic in public discourse.
- An important source of detailed data on selected microfinance institutions is the MicroBanking Bulletin, which is published by Microfinance Information Exchange.
- Most criticisms of microfinance are actually just criticisms of microcredit. Other microfinance services, like savings, remittances, payments, and insurance, are rarely criticized. For example, many have criticized the high interest rates microfinance charges to borrowers.

Key Terms

- **microfinance**: finance that is provided to unemployed or low-income people or groups
- **microcredit**: the practice of making very small loans, especially to poor people to promote self-employment; microlending
- **Grameen Bank**: The Grameen Bank, a microfinance organization and community development bank started in Bangladesh, makes small loans (known as microcredit or “grameencredit) to the impoverished without requiring collateral.

Microfinance

In microfinance, financial services are provided to micro-entrepreneurs and small businesses, many of whom lack access to banking services because of the high transaction costs associated with serving these types of clients. There are two main mechanisms for delivering microfinance services. Relationship-based banking deals with individual entrepreneurs and individual businesses. In group-based models, several entrepreneurs unite to apply for loans and services as a group.

Microcredit

Microfinance is a broad category of services that includes microcredit. Microcredit is the provision of credit services to poor clients. Although microcredit is only one type of microfinance, conflation of the two terms is endemic in public discourse. Critics often attack microcredit while referring to it indiscriminately as either ‘microcredit’ or ‘microfinance’. Due to the broad range of microfinance services, some argue that it is difficult to objectively assess its impact. Very few studies have tried to assess its full impact, although there have been several studies that examined particular cases.

The History of Microfinance

The history of microfinance dates back to the middle of the 19th century, when Lysander Spooner, a theorist, argued that entrepreneurs and farmers could be raised out of poverty if they were given small credits. Independently of Spooner, around this time, Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen established the first cooperative lending banks to support rural German farmers.

The modern use of the term “microfinancing” dates back to 1970s. At this time, organizations such as the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, led by Muhammad Yunus, were beginning to shape the modern microfinance industry.

An important source of detailed data on microfinance institutions is the MicroBanking Bulletin, which is published by the Microfinance Information Exchange. At the end of 2009, this organization was tracking 1,084 microfinance initiatives that were serving 74 million borrowers ($38 billion in outstanding loans) and 67 million savers ($23 billion in deposits).

Criticisms of Microfinance

Most criticisms of microfinance are actually just criticisms of microcredit. Other microfinance services, like savings, remittances, payments and insurance, are rarely criticized. For example, many people have criticized the high interest rates microfinance charges to borrowers. In 2006, in a sample of 704 microfinance institutions that voluntarily submitted reports to the MicroBanking Bulletin, the real average portfolio yield was 22.3% annually. That being said, the annual rates charged to clients were higher, because these rates included local inflation and the bad debt expenses of the microfinance institution. Recently, Muhammad Yunus has tried to react to this point. In his latest book, he argues that microfinance institutions should face penalties if they are found to be charging more than 15% above their long-term operating costs.



Community-based Savings Bank in Cambodia: This is a photograph of a community-based savings bank in Cambodia. There is a rich variety of financial institutions which serve micro-entrepreneurs and small businesses.

The Changing Face of the Workplace

Industry has become more information driven and less labor intensive, leading to a polarization between high- and low-skilled jobs.

Learning Objectives

Examine the impact of the Information Age on the workforce, from automation to polarization

Key Points

- The Information Age has impacted the workforce in several ways. This poses problems for workers in industrial societies, which are still to be solved.
- Jobs traditionally associated with the middle class are beginning to disappear, either through outsourcing or automation.
- Individuals who lose their jobs due to automation or outsourcing must either move up, joining a group of "mind workers," or settle for low-skill, low-wage service jobs.
- Another way the Information Age has impacted the workforce is that automation and computerization have resulted in higher productivity but that is coupled with net job loss.
- Industry is becoming more information-intensive and less labor and capital-intensive. This trend has important implications for the workforce; workers are becoming increasingly productive as the value of their labor decreases.

Key Terms

- **mind workers**: A term for Information Age workers such as engineers, attorneys, scientists, professors, executives, journalists, and consultants.
- **automation**: The act or process of converting the controlling of a machine or device to a more automatic system, such as computer or electronic controls.
- **Information Age**: The current era, characterized by the increasing importance and availability of information (especially by means of computers), as opposed to previous eras (such as the Industrial Age) in which most endeavors related to some physical, man-made process or product.

The Information Age has impacted the workforce in several ways. First, it has created a situation in which workers who perform easily automated tasks are being forced to find work that is less automated. Secondly, workers are being forced to compete in a global job market. Thirdly, workers are being replaced by computers that can do the job more effectively and faster. This poses problems for workers in industrial societies which are still to be solved. Solutions that involve having the workers work less hours are usually met with high resistance from the workers.



Automation: As industry has become increasingly automated, it has become more cost-effective for companies to use robot labor rather than manpower. Thus, many people lose their jobs to robots.

Jobs traditionally associated with the middle class (assembly line workers, data processors, foremen, and supervisors) are beginning to disappear, either through outsourcing or automation. Individuals who lose their jobs must either move up — joining a group of "mind workers" (engineers, attorneys, scientists, professors, executives, journalists, consultants)— or settle for low-skill, low-wage service jobs. The "mind workers" form about 20 percent of the workforce. They are able to compete successfully in the world market and command higher wages. Conversely, production workers and service workers in industrialized nations are unable to compete with workers in

developing countries. They either lose their jobs through outsourcing or are forced to accept wage cuts.

There is another way in which the Information Age has impacted the workforce: automation and computerization have resulted in higher productivity. In the United States for example, from Jan 1972 to August 2010, the number of people employed in manufacturing jobs fell from 17,500,000 to 11,500,000 *but* manufacturing value rose 270 percent. It initially appeared that job loss in the industrial sector might be partially offset by the rapid growth of jobs in the IT sector. However, after the recession of March 2001, the number of jobs in the IT sector dropped sharply and continued to drop until 2003. Even the IT sector is not immune to this problem.

Industry is becoming more information-intensive and less labor and capital-intensive. This trend has important implications for the workforce; workers are becoming increasingly productive as the value of their labor decreases. However, there are also important implications for capitalism itself. Not only is the value of labor decreased, the value of capital is also diminished. In the classical model, investments in human capital and financial capital are important predictors of the performance of a new venture.

The polarization of jobs into relatively high-skill, high wage jobs and low-skill, low-wage jobs has led to a growing disparity between incomes of the rich and poor. The United States seems to have been more impacted than most countries with income inequality beginning to rise in the late 1970s, and the rate of disparity continuing to rise sharply in the twenty-first century.

Deindustrialization

Deindustrialization occurs when a country or region loses industrial capacity due to relocation or increased efficiency.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the impact of deindustrialization on both a global and regional scale, as well as the role technology plays in deindustrialization

Key Points

- The term ” deindustrialization crisis” has been used to describe the decline of manufacturing in a number of countries and the flight of jobs away from cities.
- Detroit and the American automobile industry are regarded as the prototypical examples of how deindustrialization can negatively impact an area and population. They are by no means the only examples of this phenomenon.
- In the U.S., the population of the great manufacturing cities of the Midwest and Northeast has declined significantly due to deindustrialization. Manufacturing jobs have been eliminated or relocated to the Southeast and Southwest, where labor is cheaper.
- Due to increasing efficiency and productivity, manufacturing today makes up a smaller share of the U.S. workforce than it has at any time in the past hundred years.
- The population of the great manufacturing cities of the northeast has declined significantly: Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Buffalo, NY, have all lost half their population or more in the past half-century.
- The widespread perception of deindustrialization in the United States is due to shifting patterns in the geography and political geography of production: from the heavily unionized Northeast and Midwest towards the right-to-work states of the Southeast and the high supply of workers willing to accept low wages in the Southwest.

Key Terms

- **Detroit**: the largest city and former capital of Michigan, a major port on the Detroit River, known as the traditional automotive center of the U.S.
- **right-to-work states**: Right-to-work states have passed laws that prohibit union security agreements, or agreements between labor unions and employers that govern the extent to which an established union can require employees’ membership, payment of union dues, or fees as a condition of employment, either before or after hiring. Right-to-work laws exist in twenty-three U.S. states, mostly in the southern and western United States.
- **deindustrialization**: The loss or deprivation of industrial capacity or strength.

Deindustrialization

Deindustrialization occurs when a country or region loses industrial capacity, especially heavy industry or manufacturing industry. This process is often attributed to off-shoring, which is itself a consequence of increased global free trade. Deindustrialization is, in a sense, the opposite of industrialization, and, like industrialization, deindustrialization may have far-reaching economic and social consequences. The term “deindustrialization crisis” has been used to describe the decline of manufacturing in a number of countries, including the U.S., which have lost large numbers of urban manufacturing jobs since the 1970s.

American Deindustrialization

The city of Detroit, and the U.S. automobile industry, are regarded as the prototypical examples of deindustrialization’s negative effects, but Detroit is not an isolated example. The population of the United States has nearly doubled since the

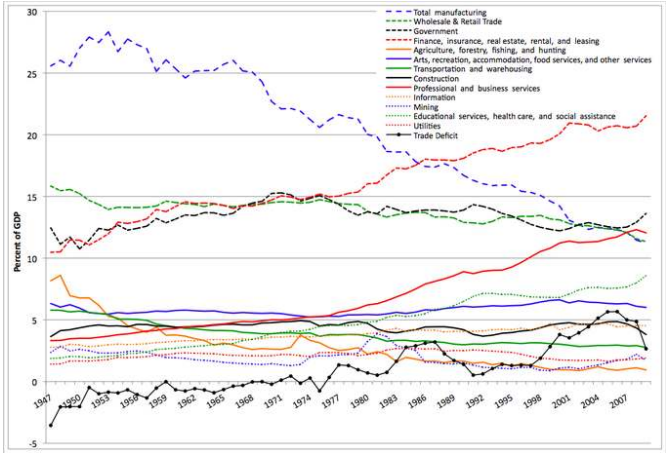
1950s, adding approximately 150 million people. However, during this same period (1950–2007), the population of the great American manufacturing cities declined significantly. Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Buffalo have all lost half their population or more in the past half-century. Baltimore lost almost a third of its population, and Philadelphia lost nearly a quarter of its own.

Regional Deindustrialization

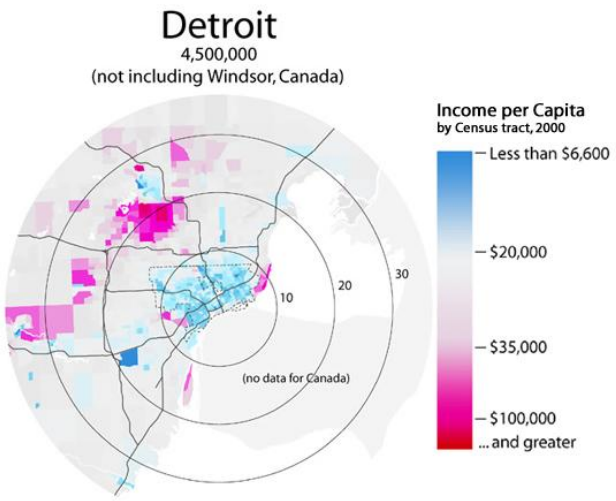
In the United States, the deindustrialization of Midwestern and Northeastern cities has occurred in response to shifting patterns in the geography of production. Just as many American companies have moved their manufacturing operations to developing nations, where they can hire workers for far lower wages, so too have manufacturers in the United States relocated from the heavily unionized Northeast and Midwest toward the Southeast and Southwest. In these areas, right-to-work states limit the power of unions to raise wages. Additionally, the high supply of workers forces those workers who are employed to accept low wages.

The Impact of Technology

In order to save costs, manufacturers have done more than merely relocate. They have also eliminated jobs, as technological innovation has reduced the demand for manual labor. Though total industrial employment has been relatively stable over the past forty years, the overall U.S. labor force has increased dramatically, resulting in a massive reduction in the percent of the labor force that is engaged in industry. While 35% of workers were involved in industry in the late 1960s, under 20% are today. Manufacturing is thus less prominent in American life and the American economy now than it has been at any other point for hundreds of years.



The Decline of the Manufacturing Industry: This graphic shows the decline of the manufacturing industry relative to other industries over the course of the past sixty years.



Detroit: This map depicts the economic ramifications of deindustrialization in the Detroit area. The Detroit neighborhoods closest to the city center who were the most dependent upon manufacturing jobs are the most blighted.

Corporations and Corporate Power

Corporations have powerful legal rights, and some have revenues that exceed the revenues of sovereign nations.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the structure and function of corporations within society

Key Points

- Despite being unlike natural persons, corporations are recognized by the law to have rights and responsibilities like natural persons. For example, corporations can exercise or be responsible for human rights. They can even be convicted of criminal offenses, such as fraud and manslaughter.
- Multinational corporations are important factors in the processes of globalization. A Transnational Corporation (TNC) differs from a traditional MNC in that it does not identify itself with one national home.
- The rapid rise of multinational corporations has been a topic of concern among intellectuals, activists, and the public who perceive them as threatening basic civil rights like privacy.
- Methods for attracting foreign investment have be criticized as a race to the bottom. They have also been described as a push, by corporations, for greater autonomy.
- Because of their size, multinationals can have a significant impact on government policy, primarily through the threat of market withdrawal.

Key Terms

- **corporation**: A group of individuals, created by law or under authority of law, having a continuous existence

independent of the existences of its members, and powers and liabilities distinct from those of its members.

- **globalization**: A common term for processes of international integration arising from increasing human connectivity and interchange of worldviews, products, ideas, and other cultural phenomena. In particular, advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the rise of the Internet, represent major driving factors in globalization and precipitate the further interdependence of economic and cultural activities.
- **Multinational corporations**: A multinational corporation (MNC) is a corporate enterprise that manages production or delivers services in more than one country.

Corporations

The word corporation is widely used to describe incorporated entities, especially those that have a large number of shareholders. Despite not being natural persons, the law recognizes corporations as having rights and responsibilities like natural persons. Corporations can exercise human rights against real individuals and the state, they can be responsible for human rights violations, and they can even be convicted of criminal offenses, such as fraud and manslaughter. Once incorporated, a corporation has artificial personhood everywhere it operates, until the corporation is dissolved. Often, a corporation is legally a citizen of the state (or other jurisdiction) in which it is incorporated.

Multinational and Transnational Corporations

A multinational corporation (MNC) is a corporation that either manages production or delivers services in more than one country. Some multinational corporations are very large, with revenues that exceed some nation's national revenues. Multinational corporations can have a powerful influence on both local economies and the world economy. They play an important role in international relations and globalization. A transnational corporation (TNC) differs from a traditional MNC in that it does not identify itself with a single national home. While traditional MNCs are national companies with foreign subsidiaries, TNCs spread out their operations in many countries. This allows them to sustain high levels of local responsiveness.

The rapid rise of multinational corporations has been a topic of concern among intellectuals, activists and laymen, who perceive it as a threat to basic civil rights like privacy. Scholars have pointed out that multinationals have had a long history of interference in the policies of sovereign nation states. Anti-corporate advocates express the commonly held view that corporations answer only to shareholders, and give little consideration to human rights, environmental concerns, or other cultural issues.

Corporations and Governments

Multinational corporations are important factors in the processes of globalization. National and local governments often compete against one another to attract MNC facilities, with the expectation of increased tax revenue, employment, and economic activity. To compete, political entities may offer MNCs incentives such as tax breaks, governmental assistance, subsidies, or lax environmental and labor regulations. Because of their size, multinationals can have a significant impact on government policy, primarily through the threat of market withdrawal. Confrontations between corporations and governments have occurred when governments have tried to force MNCs to make their intellectual property public. This is a state effort to transfer technology to local entrepreneurs.

Ominous Trends in the U.S.

Recently, industry has become more information-intensive, which has led to higher productivity but also higher unemployment and inequality.

Learning Objectives

Examine how the Information Age is leading to higher productivity but fewer jobs, which lead to polarization between incomes of the rich and poor

Key Points

- Industry is becoming more information -intensive, less labor-intensive, and less capital-intensive. Jobs traditionally associated with the middle class are beginning to disappear, either through outsourcing or automation.
- Automation and computerization have resulted in higher productivity, but they have also led to higher unemployment and a net job loss.
- Individuals who lose their jobs can respond in several ways. They can either specialize, and join a group of "mind workers," or settle for low-skill, low-wage service jobs. The resulting polarization has led to a growing disparity between incomes of the rich and poor.
- Jobs traditionally associated with the middle class are beginning to disappear, either through outsourcing or automation.
- Individuals who lose their jobs must either move up, joining a group of "mind workers," or settle for low-skill, low-wage service jobs.
- There is another way in which the Information Age has impacted the workforce: automation and computerization

have resulted in higher productivity coupled with net job loss.

Key Terms

- **mind workers**: A term for Information Age workers such as engineers, attorneys, scientists, professors, executives, journalists, and consultants.
- **automation**: The act or process of converting the controlling of a machine or device to a more automatic system, such as computer or electronic controls.
- **Information Age**: The current era, characterized by the increasing importance and availability of information (especially by means of computers), as opposed to previous eras (such as the Industrial Age) in which most endeavors related to some physical, man-made process or product.

Industry in the Information Age

In general, industry is becoming more information-intensive, less labor-intensive, and less capital-intensive. These trends have led observers to call the modern era the information age. The trend toward an information-based economy has important implications for the workforce. While productivity stands to increase dramatically, unemployment is also rising, and jobs are increasingly polarized into the following two categories: high-skill, high-wage jobs, and low-skill, low-wage jobs. Additionally, for the first time, workers are being forced to compete in a global job market, in which jobs tend to be attracted by countries with lower wages.

The Disappearance of Manufacturing Jobs

As technology advances, workers are becoming increasingly productive, but the value of labor, and the demand for labor, are both decreasing. Workers who perform easily automated tasks are being replaced by technology that can do the work faster, cheaper, and more efficiently. As a result, automation and computerization have led to both higher productivity and a net job loss. In the United States, from January, 1972 to August, 2010, the number of people employed in manufacturing jobs fell from 17,500,000 to 11,500,000. During the same time period, the value of production from manufacturing increased 270%.

In general, jobs that are traditionally associated with the middle class (assembly line workers, data processors, foremen, and supervisors) are beginning to disappear due to automation. They are also disappearing because of outsourcing, which has become more common in an era of global free trade. Production and service workers in industrialized nations are unable to compete with workers in developing countries, who are willing to tolerate much lower wages. As a result, in industrialized nations like the U.S., those working in production have either lost their jobs or been forced to accept wage cuts.

"Mind Workers"

Individuals who lose their jobs can respond in several ways. They can either settle for low-skill, low-wage jobs, or they can move up, joining a group called "mind workers. " This category includes engineers, attorneys, scientists, professors, executives, journalists, and consultants. Currently, these "mind workers" form about 20% of the workforce. They are able to compete successfully in the world market and command high wages. Increasingly, jobs in countries like the United States are polarized into low-skill, low-wage jobs or the high-skill, high-wage jobs of these "mind workers. " Because of this polarization, there is a growing disparity between the incomes of the rich and poor. In the United States, income inequality began to rise in the 1970s and has increased even more quickly during the 21st century.

Colonialism, Decolonization, and Neo-Colonialism

After WWII, decolonization ended formal colonialism, but economic inequality has given rise to neocolonialism.

Learning Objectives

Explain the concepts of colonialism, decolonization and neocolonialism in terms of society and economic impact

Key Points

- Colonization was motivated by economics. European powers sought to expand their markets and acquire raw materials overseas.
- Decolonization occurred in response to independence movements in colonized territories when European powers determined that the benefits of maintaining colonies was not worth the costs.
- Neocolonialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalization, and cultural forces to control a country in lieu of direct military or political control.
- Neocolonialism is motivated by economics. Countries and corporations seek to achieve favorable economic policies overseas and do so by pinning loans to particular actions on the part of African states.
- The dependency principle refers to the claim that post-colonial states have no choice but to accept Western conditions for loans, because they desperately need the money to support their own domestic policies.

Key Terms

- **dependency principle**: The notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of the dependency theory

that poor states are impoverished and rich ones are enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the “world system. “

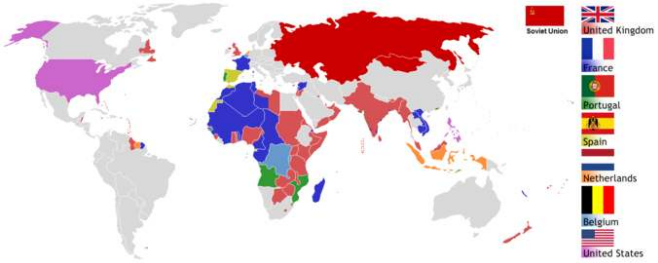
- **colony**: A territory under the immediate political control of a ruling state.
- **metropole**: The parent-state of a colony.

When speaking of colonialism, most people imagine the European colonization of Africa. Historically, the period of colonization tends to refer to the era from the sixteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, during which ships from Europe were actively seeking out new territories, new peoples, and new markets to acquire. However, colonialism has been practiced throughout history and all over the world. In general, colonialism occurs when people from one territory establish or acquire, maintain, and expand colonies in another territory. In colonialism, the metropole or colonizing power claims sovereignty over the colony.

Often, colonization is driven by a desire for economic expansion. In the sixteenth century, European colonization of Africa contributed significantly to European economic development. European colonization intensified because Europeans had just developed galleons or ships that could navigate more easily all the way to Africa. Easier access to foreign lands encouraged European nobles and merchants to seek out new territories in an effort to acquire raw materials and develop new markets. Extracting raw materials from foreign lands provided the fuel for the Industrial Revolution, and the practice of slavery provided Europeans with a new source of labor power.

At the same time that colonialism benefited European economies, it had devastating consequences for African economies. Colonized territories were forced to depend on colonizers for trade. Local institutions and political structures were dismantled and replaced with ones imposed by colonial powers.

After World War II, colonial systems were dismantled in a process referred to as decolonization. Decolonization refers to the undoing of colonialism, or the claim of a formerly colonized people for independence and self-determination. In part, decolonization was the result of independence movements in colonized territories. In part, it was also the result of an calculated economic decision made by colonial powers. The cost of maintaining colonial empires had begun to exceed their value for the European powers.



The State of Colonialism, 1945: This map shows the metropoles and their colonies in 1945.

Decolonization has had a significant impact on the economies of the newly formed states. First and foremost, newly independent African states had to develop an economic system. Moreover, even though the former colonies were now formally independent, they were still rather dependent on the West for assistance in developing economic and political structures. Thus, Western corporations still had a significant amount of control over the new states. Newly independent states borrowed money from the West in order to fund their own development, resulting in a new system of debt. For decades, this debt has been politically impossible for many countries to pay off and still exists.

Although decolonization ended formal colonialism, unequal economic relationships between the developed West and newly independent states had set up a system referred to as neocolonialism. Neocolonialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalization, and cultural forces to control a country in lieu of direct military or political control. External forces exert power in Africa in two ways. First, multinational corporations (MNCs), or companies with operations in multiple countries, apply pressure for certain political behaviors to suit their own interests. For example, if an American company wants to farm in Ethiopia, the company can apply pressure on the Ethiopian government to grant them certain conditions in exchange for the investment in the land. This function operates because of the dependency principle. In other words, many African countries are so desperate to bring in revenue to support their domestic agendas that it is in their interests to accept unsavory conditions from foreign companies. In this way, foreign companies exert significant influence over post-colonial states. The combination of the degree of the influence and the dependency principle creates a situation that in many ways mirrors colonialism. Second, foreign countries can exert influence over post-colonial states by only offering loans under certain conditions. This, again, invokes the dependency principle and mirrors colonialism.



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Neocolonialism: Some argue that the financial institutions of the post-World War II world are themselves instruments of neocolonialism.

Trade Blocs and Common Markets

A trade bloc is an agreement where regional barriers to trade are reduced or eliminated among the participating states.

Learning Objectives

Key Points

- Trade blocs can be stand-alone agreements between several states, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or part of a regional organization, such as the European Union.
- A single market is a type of trade bloc that is composed of a free trade area for goods, with common policies on product regulation, as well as freedom of movement on capital, labor, enterprise, and services.
- A common market is a first stage towards a single market, and may be limited initially to a free trade area with relatively free movement of capital and of services, but not so advanced in reduction of the rest of the trade barriers.

Key Terms

- **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**: An agreement signed by the governments of Canada, Mexico, and the United States, creating a trilateral trade bloc in North America. It came into force in 1994.
- **Common market**: A common market is a first stage towards a single market, and may be limited initially to a free trade area with relatively free movement of capital and of services, but not so advanced in reduction of the rest of the trade barriers.
- **trade bloc**: A trade bloc is a type of intergovernmental agreement, often part of a regional intergovernmental organization, where regional barriers to trade, (tariffs and non-tariff barriers) are reduced or eliminated among the participating states.

A trade bloc is a type of intergovernmental agreement, often part of a regional intergovernmental organization, where regional barriers to trade are reduced or eliminated among the participating states. Trade blocs can be stand-alone agreements between several states, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or part of a regional organization, such as the European Union.

A single market is a type of trade bloc that is composed of a free trade area for goods, with common policies on product regulation, as well as freedom of movement on capital, labor, enterprise, and services. According to the principles of capitalism, a single market has many benefits. With full freedom of movement for all the factors of production between the member countries, the factors of production become more efficiently allocated, further increasing productivity. However, entering a trade bloc also strengthens ties between member parties. In so doing, member parties not only share each others' strengths but also each others' weaknesses.

Economist Jeffrey J. Scott argues that for a trade bloc to be successful, members must share four common traits: similar levels of per capita national income, geographic proximity, similar or compatible trading regimes, and a political commitment to regional organization. For better or for worse, trade blocs are prevalent. Since 1997, more than 50% of all world commerce was conducted under the auspices of regional trade blocs, such as NAFTA.



NAFTA: NAFTA is an agreement between the US, Mexico and Canada, as represented by the 3 flags in its logo.

A common market is a first stage towards a single market, and may be limited initially to a free trade area with relatively free movement of capital and of services, but not so advanced in reduction of the rest of the trade barriers.

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16.3: Work

The Importance of Paid and Unpaid Work

Although we usually think of work as paid, unpaid work is equally important to the economy.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the differences, importance and implications of both paid and unpaid work

Key Points

- An hourly worker is an employee paid an hourly wage for their services, as opposed to a fixed salary. A salary is a form of periodic payment from an employer to an employee, which may be specified in an employment contract.
- Unpaid workers work without pay.
- An internship is a system of on-the-job training for white-collar and professional careers. Although interns are typically college or university students, they can also be high school students or post-graduate adults.
- Unpaid work includes work done by family members to maintain a household. This work is usually done by women, and includes tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and rearing children.
- An internship is a system of on-the-job training for white-collar and professional careers. Although interns are typically college or university students, they can also be high school students or post-graduate adults.

Key Terms

- **alienation**: Emotional isolation or dissociation.
- **specialization**: applying to some specialty or limited object; assigning to a specific use; as, specialized knowledge
- **Division of labor**: A division of labour is the dividing and specializing of cooperative labour into specifically circumscribed tasks and roles.

Most of the time when we think of work, we think of paid work. Workers may be paid in a variety of ways, most commonly hourly wages or salaries. An hourly worker is an employee paid an hourly wage for their services, as opposed to a fixed salary. Hourly workers may often be found in service and manufacturing occupations, but are common across a variety of fields. A salary is a form of periodic payment from an employer to an employee, which may be specified in an employment contract.

Many types of work, however, are unpaid. Unpaid workers work without pay. These may be members of a family or cooperative; conscripts or forced labor; volunteer workers who work for charity or amusement; students who take intern positions as work experience; or conventional workers who are not paid because their enterprise is short of money. Internships are a common type of unpaid work.

An internship is a system of on-the-job training for white-collar and professional careers. Internships for professional careers are similar to apprenticeships for trade and vocational jobs. Although interns are typically college or university students, they can also be high school students or post-graduate adults. Generally, the internship is an exchange of services for experience between the student and his or her employer. Students exchange their cheap or free labor to gain experience in a particular field. They can also use an internship to determine if they have an interest in a particular career, create a network of contacts, or gain school credit. Some interns also find permanent, paid employment with the companies in which they interned. Thus, employers also benefit, as experienced interns need little or no training when they begin full-time, regular employment.

Another important type of unpaid work is work done by family members to maintain a household. Unpaid domestic work has traditionally been done by women (e.g., wives and mothers). Their work may include cooking, cleaning, rearing children, or managing household expenses. As more women enter the paid workforce, many find themselves returning home after a day of paid work to continue working a “second shift” of unpaid domestic work. Though unpaid, this domestic work is crucial to the economy: it keeps workers alive and healthy and helps raise new generations of workers to keep the paid economy running.

Importance of Division of Labor

Division of labor is the specialization of cooperative labor in specific, circumscribed tasks and roles.

Learning Objectives

Examine how the division of labor can lead to alienation and less satisfaction in the workforce

Key Points

- A more complex division of labor is closely associated with the growth of economic output and trade, the rise of capitalism, and the complexity of industrialization processes.
- In a division of labor, the production process is broken down into a sequence of stages, and workers are assigned to particular stages.
- Increasing the specialization of work might lead to workers with low overall skills and a lack of enthusiasm for their

work.

- Karl Marx described the process of alienation as follows. In his view, workers would become more and more specialized, and work would become more and more repetitive, until eventually the workers would be completely alienated from the process of production.
- Labor hierarchy is a very common feature of the modern workplace structure.

Key Terms

- **Division of labor**: A division of labour is the dividing and specializing of cooperative labour into specifically circumscribed tasks and roles.
- **specialization**: applying to some specialty or limited object; assigning to a specific use; as, specialized knowledge
- **alienation**: Emotional isolation or dissociation.

Division of Labor

In a division of labor, the production process is broken down into a sequence of stages, and workers are assigned to particular stages. Cooperative labor is specialized into specific, circumscribed tasks, which individuals in specific roles accomplish. Historically, as societies have developed more and more complex divisions of labors, the economies of those societies has grown proportionately, both in trade output and living standards. A complex division of labor appears to be strongly correlated with the rise of capitalism, as well as the rise of complex industrial production.

Marxist Alienation

While it can have benefits for productivity, the specialization of labor can lead to workers with low overall skills and low enthusiasm. This viewpoint was extended and refined by Karl Marx. He described the process of specialization as alienation. In his view, workers become more and more specialized, and their work becomes more and more repetitive, until eventually they are completely alienated from the production process. He believed people could only be liberated if they were involved in the full scope of economic production, and he considered the strict division of labor only a temporary, necessary evil.

Globalization and the Division of Labor

In the modern world, those who think most about the division of labor are involved in the fields of management and organization. Now that labor has been specialized not just nationally but globally, people often wonder what type of division of labor would be the most beautiful, fair, ideal, and efficient. It is widely accepted that the division of labor is to a great extent inevitable, simply because no one person can do every task at once. Labor hierarchy is a very common feature of the modern workplace structure, but of course, the way these hierarchies are structured can be influenced by a variety of factors.

The issue reaches its broadest scope in conversations about globalization, which is often euphemistically defined as the expansion of world trade based on comparative advantage. Theoretically, in an era of globalization, countries specialize in the work they can do at the lowest opportunity cost. Critics however allege that international specialization cannot be explained sufficiently in terms of “the work nations do best. ” Instead, critics think this specialization is guided more by commercial criteria, which favor some countries over others.



Division of Labor: A highly specialized division of labor is often used in factories, such as this Chinese silk factory.

Industrial Work

Industrial labor is labor in industry, usually manufacturing, but it may also include service work, such as cleaning or cooking.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the impact of the Industrial Revolution on workers and the shift from small scale to large scale workforces

Key Points

- Before the Industrial Revolution, most production took place in homes or in small workshops. After the Industrial Revolution, production increasingly took place in factories, giving rise to industrial labor.
- A blue-collar worker is a member of the working class who performs manual labor.
- Karl Marx used the term proletariat to describe the industrial working class.
- A blue-collar worker is a member of the working class who performs manual labor.
- Karl Marx used the term proletariat to describe the industrial working class.

Key Terms

- **proletariat**: the working class or lower class
- **Industrial labor**: Industrial labor is labor in industry, mostly understood as manufacturing, but can include related service workers, such as cleaners and cooks.
- **blue-collar worker**: A blue-collar worker is a member of the working class who performs manual labor.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Industrial Revolution dramatically changed labor practices. New technology made workers much more efficient and productive, but these developments were expensive. Building new industrial machines required enormous investments. To be able to afford these investments, production had to take place on a larger scale. Before the Industrial Revolution, most production took place in homes or in small workshops. After the Industrial Revolution, production increasingly took place in factories, many of which were situated together in industrial districts.

Industrial labor is defined as labor in industry. In most cases, this is understood as manufacturing, the type of labor that takes place in factories, on assembly lines, and that which involves heavy machinery. This being said, industrial labor also includes service jobs that rose up alongside, and as a result of, industrial production. Industrial labor includes factory workers, but it may also include service workers, such as cleaners and cooks.

Karl Marx referred to industrial laborers as members of the proletariat. In common parlance, these people are often referred to as blue-collar workers. Blue-collar work may be skilled or unskilled, and includes manufacturing, mining, construction, mechanics, maintenance, technical installation, and other types of physical work. Often, blue-collar workers physically build or maintain something.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

The New Blue-Collar Worker: This clip from CNN shows the development of a new type of blue-collar worker in South Carolina.

The term “blue collar” refers to the type of clothing often worn by industrial workers. Industrial and manual workers often wear durable canvas or cotton clothing that may be soiled during the course of their work. Navy and light blue colors conceal potential dirt or grease on workers’ clothing, helping them appear cleaner. For the same reason, blue is a popular color for overalls. Some blue-collar workers have uniforms embroidered with either the business’ name or the individual’s name.

Work and Alienation

Alienation occurs when the worker can only express individuality through a production system that is not collectively, but privately owned.

Learning Objectives

Analyze Marx’s theory of alienation in terms of the four types of alienation and their implications for workers

Key Points

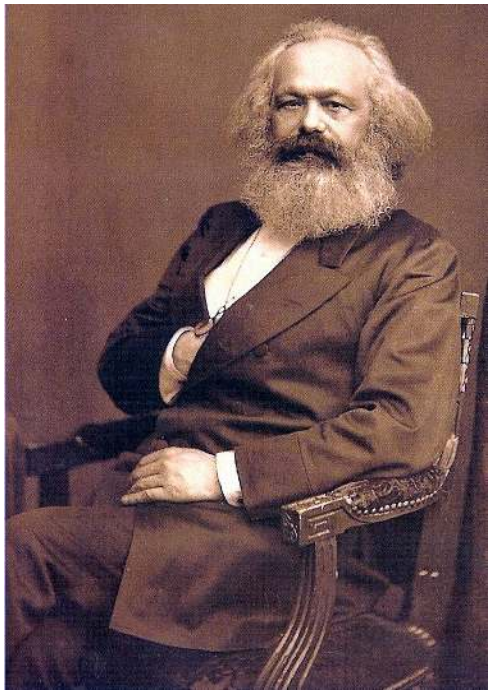
- Marx’s theory of alienation refers to the separation of things that naturally belong together, or to putting antagonism between things that are properly in harmony.
- Marx’s theory is founded upon his observation that, within the capitalist mode of production, workers invariably lose determination of their lives and destinies by being deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as the director of their actions.
- Alienation refers to the social alienation of people from aspects of their “human nature. ” Marx believed that alienation is a systematic result of capitalism.
- Workers are alienated by the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production.

Key Terms

- **capitalist mode of production**: In Marx’s critique of political economy, the capitalist mode of production is the production system of capitalist societies, which began in Europe in the 16th century, grew rapidly in Western Europe from the end of the 18th century, and later extended to most of the world. It is characterized by: the predominance of private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of wage labor, distribution and exchange in a mainly market economy (commodity production), and capital accumulation (production for profit).
- **human nature**: The fundamental set of qualities, and the range of behavior, shared by all humans.
- **alienation**: Emotional isolation or dissociation.

The theory of alienation, as expressed in the writings of Karl Marx, refers to the separation of things that naturally belong together, or to put antagonism between things that are properly in harmony. In the concept's most important use, it refers to the social alienation of people from aspects of their "human nature. " Marx believed that alienation is a systematic result of capitalism.

Marx's theory of alienation is founded upon his observation that, within the capitalist mode of production, workers invariably lose determination of their lives and destinies by being deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as the director of their actions, to determine the character of their actions, to define their relationship to other actors, and to use or own the value of what is produced by their actions. Workers become autonomous, self-realized human beings, but are directed and diverted into goals and activities dictated by the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production in order to extract from workers the maximal amount of surplus value possible within the current state of competition between industrialists. By working, each contributes to the common wealth. Alienation in capitalist societies occurs because the worker can only express this fundamentally social aspect of individuality through a production system that is not collectively owned, but privately owned.



Karl Marx: Conflict theory derives from the ideas of Karl Marx.

In the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," Marx identifies four types of alienation in labor under capitalism. The first is the alienation of the worker from the work he produced, or from the product of his labor. The product's design and the manner in which it is produced are determined not by its actual producers, nor even by those who consume products, but rather by the capitalist class. This capitalist class appropriates labor, including that of designers and engineers, and seeks to shape the tastes of consumers in order to maximize profit.

The second is the alienation of the worker from working, or from the act of producing itself. This kind of alienation refers to the patterning of work in the capitalist mode of production into an endless sequence of discrete, repetitive, trivial, and meaningless motions, offering little, if any, intrinsic satisfaction.

The third is the alienation of the worker from himself as a producer, or from his or her " species being " or "essence as a species. " To Marx, this human essence was not separate from activity or work, nor static, but includes the innate potential to develop as a human organism. Species being is a concept that Marx deploys to refer to what he sees as the original or intrinsic essence of the species, which is characterized both by plurality and dynamism: all beings possess the tendency and desire to engage in multiple activities to promote their mutual survival, comfort, and sense of interconnection.

The fourth is the alienation of the worker from other workers, in which the capitalist system reduces the act of work to a simple economic practice, rather than recognizing the social elements of the act of production. A capitalist system sees the labor of the worker to a commercial commodity that can be traded in the competitive labor-market. It does not view labor as a constructive socioeconomic activity that is part of the collective common effort performed for personal survival and the betterment of society. When the bourgeoisie interferes with or impedes any of these natural tendencies, the worker is alienated.

Industrial Conflict

Industrial sociology examines the effects of industrial organization on workers, and the conflicts that can result.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the main points of industrial sociology and Labor Process Theory, including the development of labor unions and types of unionism

Key Points

- Industrial sociology examines the effects of labor markets, work organization and management on societal inequality and "the ways in which workers challenge, resist, and make their own contributions to the patterning of work and shaping of work institutions".

- In his Labor Process Theory, Sociologist Harry Braverman argued that capitalist managers were incessantly driven to deskill the labor force to lower production costs and ensure higher productivity.
- A labor union is an organization of workers who have banded together to achieve common goals such as higher pay, increasing the number of employees an employer hires, and better working conditions.
- Social unionism encompasses many unions that use their organizational strength to advocate for social policies and legislation favorable to their members or to workers in general.

Key Terms

- **labor union**: A continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment; a trade union.
- **Marxist**: Following the ideals of Karl Marx, including that of egalitarian communism.
- **deskill**: To redesign (a job) so that less skill is required to carry it out, for example through the introduction of new technology.

Industrial sociology examines the effects of labor markets, work organization, employment relations, managerial approaches, and other factors of inequality in society, and "the ways in which workers challenge, resist, and make their own contributions to the patterning of work and shaping of work institutions" (Watson, 2008).

One branch of industrial sociology is labor process theory (LPT). In 1974, Harry Braverman wrote *Labor and MonopolyCapital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, which provided a critical analysis of scientific management. This book analyzed capitalist productive relations from a Marxist perspective. Following Marx, Braverman argued that work within capitalist organizations was exploitative and alienating, and therefore workers had to be coerced into servitude. For Braverman, the pursuit of capitalist interests over time ultimately leads to the deskilling and routinization of the worker.

Braverman demonstrated several mechanisms of control in both the factory blue collar and clerical white collar labor force. His key contribution is his "deskilling" thesis. Braverman argued that capitalist owners and managers were incessantly driven to deskill the labor force to lower production costs and ensure higher productivity. Deskilled labor is cheap and above all easy to control due to the workers lack of direct engagement in the production process. In turn, work becomes intellectually or emotionally unfulfilling. The lack of capitalist reliance on human skill reduces the need of employers to reward workers in anything but a minimal economic way.

Unions

A labor or trade union is an organization of workers that have banded together to achieve common goals such as higher pay, increasing the number employees an employer hires, and better working conditions. Originating in Europe, trade unions became popular in many countries during the Industrial Revolution, when the lack of skill necessary to perform most jobs shifted employment bargaining power almost completely to the employers' side, causing many workers to be mistreated and underpaid. Trade union organizations may be composed of individual workers, professionals, past workers, students, apprentices and/or the unemployed.



Trade Union in Japan: The Nambu University Teachers Union members picket on May Day 2011.

Industrial unionism is a labor union organizing method through which all workers in the same industry are organized into the same union—regardless of skill or trade—thus giving workers in one industry, or in all industries, more leverage in bargaining and in strike situations. Advocates of industrial unionism value its contributions to building unity and solidarity, suggesting the slogans, "an injury to one is an injury to all" and "the longer the picket line, the shorter the strike. "

In contrast, craft unionism organizes workers along lines of their specific trades (i.e., workers using the same kind of tools, or doing the same kind of work with approximately the same level of skill), even if this leads to multiple union locals with different contracts in the same workplace.

In addition to advocating for worker rights, unions may also engage in broader political or social struggle. Social unionism encompasses many unions that use their organizational strength to advocate for social policies and legislation favorable to their members or to workers in general. In some countries, unions are closely aligned with political parties.

Labor Unions

Labor unions provide members with the power of collective bargaining over and fight for workers rights.

Learning Objectives

Outline the development and purpose of labor unions for workers in society

Key Points

- Labor unions are legally recognized as representatives of workers in many industries in the United States.
- Their activity today centers on collective bargaining over wages, benefits, and working conditions for their membership, and on representing their members in disputes with management over violations of contract provisions.
- Most unions in America are aligned with one of two larger umbrella organizations: the AFL-CIO and the Change to Win Federation.
- Union membership has been declining in the U.S. since 1954.
- To fight employer anti-union programs, unions are currently advocating new “card check” federal legislation that would require employers to bargain with a union if more than 50% of workers signed forms, or “cards,” stating they wish to be represented by that union.

Key Terms

- **labor union**: A continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment; a trade union.
- **“card check”**: Card check (also called majority sign-up) is a method for American employees to organize into a labor union in which a majority of employees in a bargaining unit sign authorization forms, or “cards,” stating they wish to be represented by the union.
- **collective bargaining**: A method of negotiation in which employees negotiate as a group with their employers, usually via a trade union

Labor unions are legally recognized as representatives of workers in many industries in the United States. Labor union’s activism centers on collective bargaining over wages, benefits, and working conditions for their membership, and on representing their members in disputes with management over violations of contract provisions.

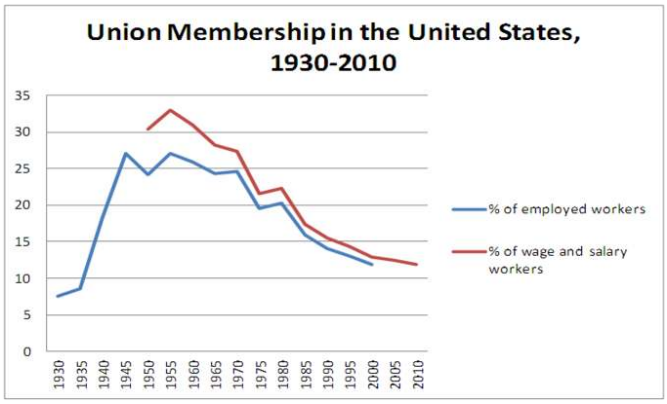
Most unions in America are aligned with one of two larger umbrella organizations: the AFL-CIO created in 1955, and the Change to Win Federation, which split from the AFL-CIO in 2005. Both advocate policies and legislation on behalf of workers in the United States and Canada, and take an active role in politics. The AFL-CIO is especially concerned with global trade issues.

Union Membership

To join a traditional labor union, workers must either be given voluntary recognition from their employer or have a majority of workers in a bargaining unit vote for union representation. In either case, the government must then certify the newly formed union. Other forms of unionism include minority unionism, solidarity unionism, and the practices of organizations such as the Industrial Workers of the World, which do not always follow traditional organizational models.

Union membership had been declining in the US since 1954. In 2007, the Labor Department reported the first increase in union memberships in 25 years and the largest increase since 1979. Most of the recent gains in union membership have been in the service sector while the number of unionized employees in the manufacturing sector has declined. Although most industrialized countries have seen a drop in unionization rates, the drop in union density (the unionized proportion of the working population) has been more significant in the United States than elsewhere. Dropping unionization rates cannot be attributed entirely to changing market structures; scholars have shown the tremendous complexity inherent in explaining the decline of union density.

Although much smaller compared to their peak membership in the 1950s, American unions remain an important political factor, both through mobilization of their own memberships and through coalitions with like-minded activist organizations around issues such as immigrant rights, trade policy, health care, and living wage campaigns. To fight employer anti-union programs, unions are currently advocating new “card check” federal legislation that would require employers to bargain with a union if more than 50% of workers signed forms, or “cards,” stating they wish to be represented by that union, rather than waiting 45 to 90 days for a federally-supervised a secret ballot election during which time employers can fire, harass and generally make life miserable for pro-union employees.



Union Membership in the United States: This diagram shows the rise and fall of union membership in the United States.

Work and Technology

The Information Age has impacted the workforce through automation and computerization, resulting in higher productivity and fewer jobs.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the shift in the economy from mechanization to automation due to the Information Age and its impact on the modern industrial worker

Key Points

- Knowledge workers are workers whose main capital is knowledge.
- Typical examples of knowledge workers may include software engineers, architects, engineers, scientists, and lawyers, because they “think for a living”.
- In the Information Age, workers are being replaced by computers that can do the job more effectively and faster.
- Automation is the use of control systems and information technologies to reduce the need for human work in the production of goods and services.
- The service sector consists of the “soft” parts of the economy, where the production of services is valued instead of end products.

Key Terms

- **service sector**: The tertiary sector of the economy (also known as the service sector or the service industry) is one of the three economic sectors, the others being the secondary sector (approximately the same as manufacturing) and the primary sector (agriculture, fishing, and extraction such as mining).
- **Information Age**: The current era, characterized by the increasing importance and availability of information (especially by means of computers), as opposed to previous eras (such as the Industrial Age) in which most endeavors related to some physical, man-made process or product.
- **knowledge worker**: Someone who works with information or data.

The Information Age has impacted the workforce in several ways. It has created a situation in which workers who perform easily automated tasks are being forced to find work that is less automated. They are being forced to compete in a global job market, they are being replaced by computers that can do jobs more effectively and faster. This poses problems for workers in industrial societies.

Automation

There is another way in which the Information Age has impacted the workforce: automation and computerization have resulted in higher productivity coupled with net job loss. Automation is the use of control systems and information technologies to reduce the need for human work in the production of goods and services. In the scope of industrialization, automation is a step beyond mechanization. Whereas mechanization provides human operators with machinery to assist them with the muscular requirements of work, automation greatly decreases the need for human sensory and mental requirements as well. Automation plays an increasingly important role in the world economy and in daily experience.



Automation: Automation is one of the ways in which the modern technology has impacted the workplace.

Automation has had a notable impact in a wide range of industries beyond manufacturing. For example, telephone operators have been replaced largely by automated telephone switchboards and answering machines. Medical processes such as primary screening in electrocardiography or radiography and laboratory analysis of human genes, sera, cells, and tissues are carried out at much greater speed and accuracy by automated systems. Automated teller machines have reduced the need for bank visits to obtain cash and carry out transactions. In general, automation has been responsible for the shift in the world economy from industrial jobs to service jobs in the 20th and 21st centuries.

The service sector consists of the "soft" parts of the economy—activities where people offer their knowledge and time to improve productivity, performance, potential, and sustainability. The basic characteristic of this sector is the production of services instead of end products. Typical examples of knowledge workers may include software engineers, architects, engineers, scientists and lawyers, because they "think for a living."

Economic Sociology

Economic sociology is the study of the social causes and social effects of various economic phenomena.

Learning Objectives

Examine the two periods of economic sociology – classical and contemporary – and the difference between economic sociology and socioeconomics

Key Points

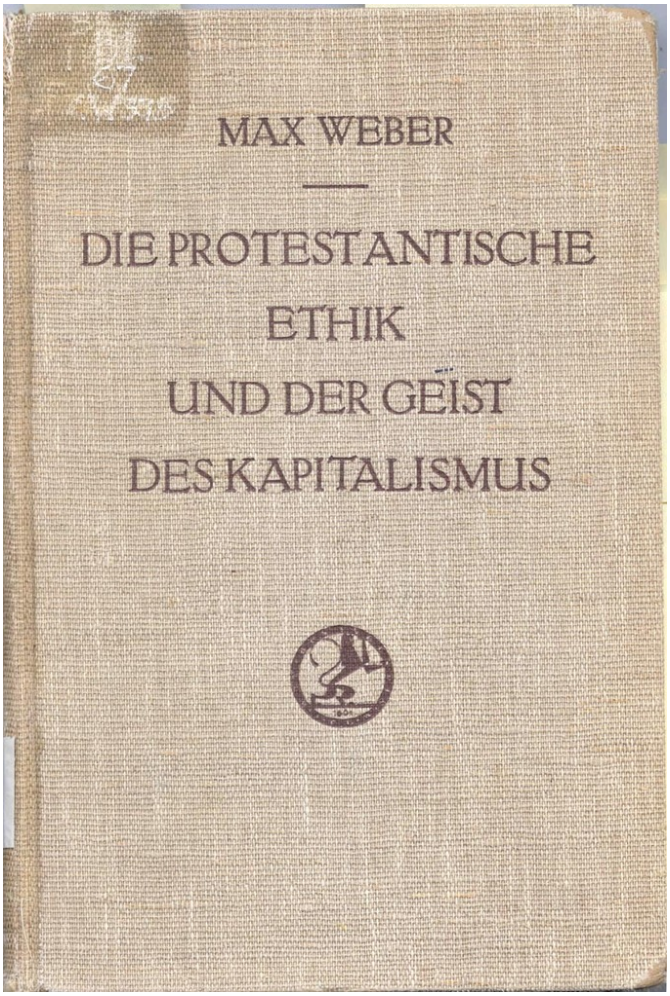
- Economic sociology is the study of the social causes and social effects of various economic phenomena. This is distinguishable from the field of socioeconomics, which focuses on the social impact of very specific economic changes.
- Many classical sociologists, from Émile Durkheim to Georg Simmel, include economic analyses in their texts. Max Weber 's book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spiritof Capitalism* is the archetypical representation of the works of economic sociology's classical period.
- Contemporary economic sociology emphasizes the social consequences of economic exchanges, the social meanings they involve, and the social interactions that they facilitate or obstruct.
- Some economic sociologists provide a social explanation to questions traditionally addressed by economists. However, other contemporary economic sociologists have forged different research programs based on new questions and new methods.

Key Terms

- **economic sociology**: Economic sociology studies both the social effects and the social causes of various economic phenomena.
- **The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism is a book written by Max Weber, a German sociologist, economist, and politician. Begun as a series of essays, the original German text was composed in 1904 and 1905, and was translated into English for the first time by Talcott Parsons in 1930. It is considered a founding text in economic sociology and sociology in general.

Economic sociology is the study of the social causes and social effects of various economic phenomena. This is distinguishable from the field of socioeconomics, which focuses on the social impact of very specific economic changes, such as the closing of a factory, market manipulation, or new policies that impact the economy of a very specific locale or population. The field of economic sociology can be broadly divided into a classical period and a contemporary period.

Sociology came of age in the late nineteenth century, at the same time as capitalism and modernity were taking root. The classical period was concerned particularly with modernity and its phenomenological progeny, such as rationalization, secularization, urbanization, and social stratification. Thus, many classical sociologists, from Émile Durkheim to Georg Simmel, include economic analyses in their texts. Max Weber's book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is the archetypical representation of the works of economic sociology's classical period. Published in 1905, Weber argues that capitalism flourished in northern Europe because of a preexisting religious ethic that encouraged dedication and hard work in the course of proving oneself worthy of salvation. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is representative of classical economic sociology in that it uses sociological data on religion to explain the economic phenomenon of northern Europe's embrace of capitalism.



The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: This picture shows the cover to the 1934 edition of Max Weber's The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

Contemporary economic sociology emphasizes the social consequences of economic exchanges, the social meanings they involve, and the social interactions that they facilitate or obstruct. Influential figures in modern economic sociology include Fred L. Block, James S. Coleman, Mark Granovetter, Harrison White, Paul DiMaggio, Joel M. Podolny, Richard Swedberg, and Viviana Zelizer in the United States, as well as Luc Boltanski, Laurent Thévenot, or Jens Beckert in Europe, among many others. In some cases, contemporary economic sociology borrows mathematical tools and economic theories such as utility maximization and game theory. Some economic sociologists provide a social explanation to questions traditionally addressed by economists. However, other contemporary economic sociologists have forged different research programs based on new questions and new methods.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

17: Population and Urbanization

17.1: Population Dynamics

17.2: Population Growth

17.3: Urbanization and the Development of Cities

17.4: Urban Life

17.5: Urban Problems and Policy

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17.1: Population Dynamics

Fertility

There are a number of different ways, taking different factors into account, to measure fertility rate.

Learning Objectives

Examine the impact of fertility rates on society and the various ways fertility is computed and discussed

Key Points

- There are a number of different approaches to measuring fertility rate —such as crude birth rate (CBR), general fertility rate (GFR), child-woman ratio (CWR), total fertility rate (TFR), gross reproduction rate (GRR), and net reproduction rate (NRR).
- Fertility rates are influenced by a number of factors, including intentional measures such as contraception and major social events.
- Demographers have posited a demographic-economic paradox, in which fertility rates decline as countries become more economically developed.
- Almost universally, higher levels of educational attainment correspond to lower fertility rates.

Key Terms

- **fertility**: The birthrate of a population; the number of live births per 1000 people per year.
- **contraception**: The use of a device or procedure to prevent conception as a result of sexual activity.
- **fecundity**: Ability to produce offspring.

In demography, fertility refers to the actual production of offspring, rather than the physical capability to produce, which is called fecundity. To estimate how quickly a population is growing, demographers must know how frequently people are added to the population by being born, so they measure fertility. There are a number of different approaches to measuring fertility rate—such as crude birth rate (CBR), general fertility rate (GFR), child-woman ratio (CWR), total fertility rate (TFR), gross reproduction rate (GRR), and net reproduction rate (NRR).

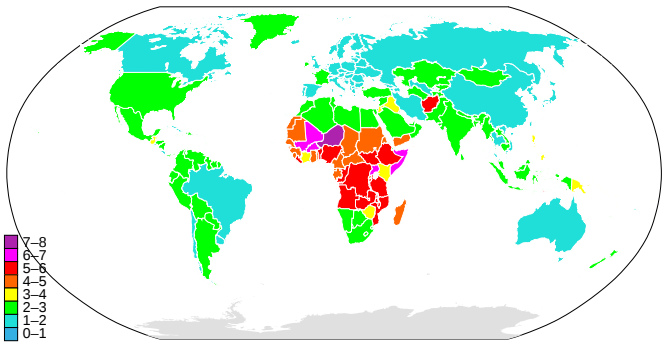
Period Measures

Crude birth rate (CBR) is the number of live births in a given year per 1,000 people alive at the middle of that year. General fertility rate (GFR) is the number of births in a year divided by the number of women of childbearing age (usually 15 to 49 years old, or sometimes 15 to 44 years old), times 1000. It focuses on potential mothers only, and takes the age distribution into account. Child-Woman Ratio (CWR) is the ratio of the number of children under 5 to the number of women 15-49, times 1000.

Cohort Measures

Age-specific fertility rate (ASFR) is the number of births in a year to women in a 5-year age group, divided by the number of all women in that age group, times 1000. The usual age groups are 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, etc.

Total fertility rate (TFR) is the total number of children a woman would bear during her lifetime if she were to experience the prevailing age-specific fertility rates of women and survive until the end of her reproductive life. TFR equals the sum for all age groups of 5 times each ASFR rate. The TFR is a synthetic rate, not based on the fertility of any real group of women since this would involve waiting until they had completed childbearing. The TFR represents the average number of children a woman would have were she to fast-forward through all her childbearing years in a single year, under all the age-specific fertility rates for that year.



Total Fertility Rate: This map shows countries coded by total fertility rates, with 0-1 children at the bottom of the spectrum and 7-8 at the top. A number of factors, such as development index and religious tradition, contribute to variations in fertility rates.

The TFR (or TPFR—total period fertility rate) is a better index of fertility than the crude birth rate because it is independent of the age structure of the population, but it is a poorer estimate of actual completed family size than the total cohort fertility rate. In particular, the TFR does not necessarily predict how many children young women now will eventually have, as their fertility rates in years to come may change from those of older women now.

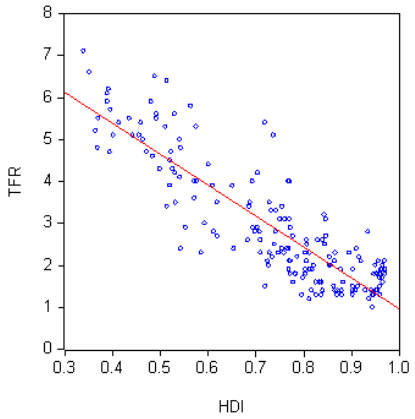
Gross reproduction rate (GRR) is the number of girl babies who would be born to a woman completing her reproductive life at current age-specific fertility rates. It assumes that all of the baby girls will grow up and live to at least age 50. Like the TFR, the

GRR ignores life expectancy. It assumes that all women will survive at least until the end of their reproductive lives.

Net reproduction rate (NRR) starts with the GRR and adds the realistic assumption that some of the women will die before age 59; therefore they will not be alive to bear some of the potential babies that were counted in the GRR. NRR is always lower than GRR, but in countries where mortality is very low, almost all the baby girls grow up to be potential mothers, and the NRR is practically the same as GRR.

Factors Impacting Fertility

Human fertility depends on a long list of factors, including physical health and nutrition, sexual behavior, culture, instinct, endocrinology, timing, economics, way of life, and emotions. Fertility rates vary among countries and cultures because these factors vary. Demographers study the factors that affect fertility in order to better understand fertility patterns and their variance. Three of the major categories they study are physical health and nutrition, sexual behavior and human fertility, and political issues regarding childbirth and childrearing.



Fertility Rate and Human Development Index: Fertility has been found to correlate to human development index, with more developed countries having lower fertility rates than less developed ones.

Population Control

The birth rate is an issue of concern for many governments and policymakers. Some, including those of Italy and Malaysia, seek to increase the national birth rate using pronatal measures such as financial incentives to new mothers. Conversely, other countries have policies to reduce the birth rate, such as China's former one-child policy.

In some places, government policies have been focused on reducing birth rates by improving women's sexual and reproductive health and rights. Typically, high birth rates have been associated with health impairments and low life expectancy, low living standards, low status of women, and low levels of education. There are claims that as countries go through economic development and social change, birth rate declines. Indeed, demographers consistently find that one of the strongest predictors of fertility rates is women's educational attainment. Almost universally, higher levels of educational attainment correspond to lower fertility rates.

Mortality

Mortality rate measures the number of deaths in a population over a given period of time.

Learning Objectives

Explain the various ways mortality is calculated, such as the crude death rate, infant mortality rate and life expectancy

Key Points

- Like fertility, mortality rate can be measured in a number of ways.
- Specific measures of mortality include the crude death rate, the infant mortality rate, and life expectancy.
- Infant mortality rates measure the annual number of deaths of chldren less than 1 year old per thousand live births.
- Life expectancy measures the number of years that an individual at a given age can expect to live, given present mortality rates.
- Different causes of death become more or less prevalent as countries become more economically developed, and death rates vary between countries.
- Different causes of death become more or less prevalent as countries become more economically developed, and death rates vary between countries.

Key Terms

- **Causes of death**: The causes of death tend to vary between countries. For example, mortality due to malnutrition tends to be much higher in developing countries, whereas in developed countries, people are more likely to die of age-related diseases.
- **life table**: In actuarial science and demography, a life table is a table which shows, for each age, what the probability is that a person of that age will die before his or her next birthday ("probability of death").
- **crude death rate**: the total number of deaths per year per 1000 people

Mortality rate is a measure of the number of deaths (in general, or due to a specific cause) in a particular population, scaled to the size of that population, per unit of time. Mortality rate is typically expressed in units of deaths per 1,000 individuals per year; thus, a mortality rate of 9.5 (out of 1,000) in a population of 1,000 would mean 9.5 deaths per year in that entire population, or 0.95% out of the total. This measure is also called

the crude death rate. As of July 2009 the crude death rate for the whole world is about 8.37 per 1000 per year according to the current CIA World Factbook.

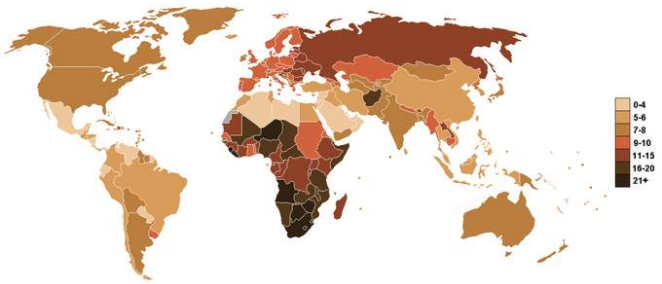
Just as demographers measure fertility in different ways, they also measure mortality in various ways. Some of the more common demographic measures of mortality include the crude death rate (the annual number of deaths per 1000 people), the infant mortality rate, or the annual number of deaths of children less than 1 year old per thousand live births, and life expectancy, which measures the number of years that an individual at a given age can expect to live, given present mortality rates.

Like fertility, mortality also depends on the age and gender distribution of a population. Older people are more likely to die, so countries with a higher proportion of old people may also have a higher mortality rate. Similarly, men and women may have different life expectancies; therefore, mortality rates can vary with the gender distribution of a population. Thus, for example, the number of deaths per 1000 people can be higher for developed nations than in less-developed countries, despite life expectancy being higher in developed countries due to better standards of health. This happens because developed countries typically have a completely different population age distribution, with a much higher proportion of older people, due to both lower recent birth rates and lower mortality rates.

To more accurately estimate mortality rates, demographers calculate age and gender specific mortality rates. These rates are compiled in a life table, which shows the mortality rate separate for each age group and gender. A life table is necessary to give a good estimate of life expectancy.

Like fertility, mortality rates vary between countries, especially between developing and developed countries. Overall, developing countries tend to have higher mortality rates, higher infant mortality rates, and lower life expectancies. The causes of death also tend to vary between countries. For example, mortality due to malnutrition tends to be much higher in developing countries, whereas in developed countries, people are more likely to die of age-related diseases.

Sociologists have theorized that one of the best predictors of longevity, or a high life expectancy, is education, even when other factors are controlled, people with more education tend to live longer. A few additional years of schooling statistically corresponds to several additional years of life expectancy and vastly improved health in old age. The mechanism through which this works is not the schooling itself, but rather schooling's influence on other health-related behaviors. Education tends to lower the likelihood of smoking and engaging in unhealthy and high risk behaviors. Education also increases the probability of engaging in healthy behaviors, like exercise.



Crude Death Rate by Country: The crude death rate is a measure of how many people per 1000 members of a population die each year. It varies between countries based on various economic, social, and environmental factors.

Migration

Migration is the movement by people from one place to another.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the types of migration in society and the various theories that explain migration

Key Points

- Migration is the physical movement by people from one place to another; it may be over long distances, such as from one country to another, and can occur as individuals, family units, or large groups.
- Lee's laws divide factors causing migrations into two groups of factors: push and pull factors. Push factors are things that are unfavorable about the area that an immigrant is coming from; pull factors are things that attract the immigrant to the new location.
- Types of migration include seasonal migration, urbanization, suburbanization, and forced migration.
- International migration is known as immigration.
- Sociologists use multiple theories to explain migration based on economic and social factors.

Key Terms

- **Seasonal migration**: Movement from one place to another generally associated with agriculture and tourism; seasonal agricultural migrants follow crop cycles, moving from place to place to plant or harvest crops.
- **emigration**: The movement of a person or persons out of a country or national region, for the purpose of permanent relocation of residence.
- **immigration**: The passing or coming of a person into a country for the purpose of permanent residence.

Human Migration

Migration is the physical movement by people from one place to another; it may be over long distances, such as from one country to another, and can occur as individuals, family units, or large groups. When referring to international movement, migration is generally called immigration.

Lee's laws divide factors causing migrations into two groups of factors: push and pull factors. Push factors are things that are unfavorable about the area that an immigrant is coming from; pull factors are things that attract the immigrant to the new location.Historically, migration has been nomadic, meaning people sustained movement from place to place over their lifetimes. Although only a few nomadic people have retained this lifestyle in modern times, migration continues as both involuntary migration (such as the slave trade, human trafficking, and ethnic cleansing) and voluntary migration within a region, country, or beyond. Specific types of migrants can include colonizers (who forcefully enter into a country or territory), refugees (who are forced to flee their country), and temporary migrants (who travel to a new place temporarily, such as business travelers, tourists, or seasonal farm workers).

Along with fertility and mortality, migration is one of three major variables studied by demographers to measure population change.

Types of Migration

Seasonal migration is generally associated with agriculture and tourism. Seasonal agricultural migrants follow crop cycles, moving from place to place to plant or harvest crops. Some countries, including the United States, allow special permits for seasonal agricultural workers to temporarily work in the country without granting full citizenship rights. Seasonal tourists seek out certain natural amenities, like snow-capped mountains for skiing and winter sports or desert sunshine for a break from oppressive winters.

Urbanization refers to migration from rural to urban areas. Since the 1970s, urbanization has become more common in developing countries, where industrialization has made agriculture more efficient and has increased the demand for urban labor. Previously, massive urbanization also took place in developed countries; beginning in Britain in the late eighteenth century, millions of agricultural workers left the countryside and moved to the cities.

Industrialization also sparked *transnational labor migration* that has further swelled urban populations. In the early twentieth century, transnational labor migration reached a peak of three million migrants per year. During this period, emigration rates were especially high in Italy, Norway, Ireland and the Guangdong region of China.

In the United States, industrialization also led to considerable *internal migration* (or human migration within a nation) of African Americans from the rural South to the urban North. From 1910-1970, approximately seven million African Americans migrated north to escape both poor economic opportunities and considerable political and social prejudice in the South. They settled in the industrial cities of the Northeast, Midwest, and West, where relatively well-paid jobs were available. This phenomenon came to be known in the United States as the Great Migration.

In many developed countries, urbanization has slowed and the population has begun to move out of cities — in some cases back to rural areas, but most frequently, to newly-built suburbs. The movement from cities to surrounding suburbs is called *suburbanization* and represents yet another form of internal migration.

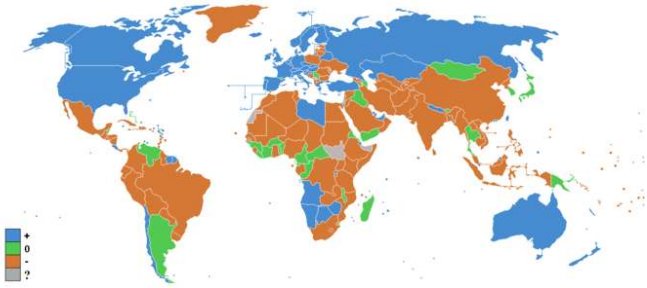
Yet another kind of migration, *forced migration* refers to the coerced movement of a person or persons away from their home or home region. It has been a means of social control under authoritarian regimes, taking the form of ethnic cleansing, slave trades, human trafficking, and forced displacement.

Theories of Migration

According to *neoclassical economic theory*, labor migration is motivated primarily by wage differences between two geographic locations. These differences can usually be explained by differences in the supply of and demand for labor. Areas with a shortage of labor but an excess of capital will have a high relative wage, whereas areas with a high labor supply and a dearth of capital will have a low relative wage. Following neoclassical principles, migrants tend to move from low-wage areas to high-wage areas where their labor is in higher demand.

The *new economics of labor migration theory* criticizes neoclassical economic theory for its narrow focus on individual decisions. According to the new economics theory, migration flows and patterns cannot be explained solely at the level of individual workers and their economic incentives. Instead, wider social entities must be considered as well. One such social entity is the household. Migrants may choose to move in order to reduce the social and economic risk that a household experiences as a result of having insufficient income. The household, in this case, needs extra capital, which can be attained by family members who participate in migrant labor abroad and send money back home as remittances. These remittances can also have a broader effect on the economy of the receiving country as a whole as they bring in capital.

World systems theory looks at migration from a global perspective.It explains that interaction between different societies can be an important factor in social change within societies. Trade with one country, which causes economic decline in another, may create incentives to migrate to a country with a more vibrant economy. It can be argued that even after decolonization, the economic dependence of former colonies still remains.



Net Migration Rates by Country: Social, economic, and environmental conditions (such as unemployment, drought, or conflict) can drive large numbers of people to migrate across national borders, as shown by this map. Positive migration rates are indicated in blue; negative migration rates in orange; stable in green; and no data in gray.

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17.2: Population Growth

Implications of Different Rates of Growth

Different rates of growth can lead to overpopulation or underpopulation, both of which have potential consequences.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the implications both overpopulation and underpopulation can have for society

Key Points

- When the fertility rate is at the replacement level, a population will remain stable, neither growing nor shrinking.
- Fertility rates above the replacement level will cause the population to grow; fertility rates below the replacement level will cause the population to shrink.
- Overpopulation is judged relative to carrying capacity and can have deleterious effects. When the population is too large for the available resources, famine, energy shortages, war, and disease can result.
- Recently, in some countries, sub-replacement fertility rates have led to underpopulation. This can lead to economic decline, the aging of the population, and poverty.

Key Terms

- **fertility rate**: The average number of children that would be born to a woman over her lifetime if she followed the current average pattern of fertility among a given group of women and survived through her reproductive years; used as an indicator of strength of population growth.
- **Replacement level**: Regarding fertility, refers to the number of children that a woman must have in order to replace the existing population.
- **gross domestic product**: (GDP) The market value of all officially recognized final goods and services produced within a country in a year; often used as an indicator of a country's material standard of living.
- **carrying capacity**: The number of individuals of a particular species that an environment can support.

Fertility rates refer to the rates of birth per 1,000 women of reproductive age in a given population. When the fertility rate is at the replacement level, a population will remain stable, neither growing nor shrinking. However, when the fertility rate deviates from the replacement level, the size of the population will change. Fertility rates above the replacement level will cause the population to grow; fertility rates below the replacement level will cause the population to shrink.

The population reached 6 billion people around 1999, and increased to around 7 billion by 2012. However, in some countries the birth rate is falling while the death rate is not, leading to a decline in the population growth rate. The population growth rate has been decreasing in higher income countries; however the number of people added to the global population each year continues to increase due to increasing growth rates in lower income countries.

Overpopulation

High fertility rates lead to population growth, which, under certain circumstances, can cause a condition known as "overpopulation. " Overpopulation is not a function of the number or density of individuals, but rather the number of individuals compared to the resources they need to survive. In other words, it is a ratio: population to resources. Humans are not unique in their capacity for overpopulation; in general terms, overpopulation indicates a scenario in which the population of a living species exceeds the carrying capacity of its ecological niche.

When estimating whether an area is overpopulated, resources to be taken into account include clean water, food, shelter, arable land, and various social services (such as jobs, money, education, fuel, electricity, medicine, proper sewage and garbage management, and transportation).

Overpopulation can have deleterious effects. When population outstrips available resources, calamity can result, including famine, shortages of energy sources and other natural resources, rapid and uncontrolled spread of communicable diseases in dense populations, and war over scarce resources, such as land. Dense populations may also settle available land and crowd out other land uses, such as agriculture.

Different rates of growth

Presently, every year the world's human population grows by approximately 80 million. However, that population growth is not distributed evenly across all countries. Most population growth comes from developing countries, where birthrates remain high. Meanwhile, about half the world lives in nations with sub-replacement fertility. In some of these countries, the population has actually begun to shrink (e.g., Russia). All of the nations of East Asia – with the exceptions of Mongolia, the Philippines, and Laos – have fertility rates below replacement level. Russia and Eastern Europe are dramatically below replacement fertility. Western Europe also is below replacement. In the Middle East Iran, Tunisia, Algeria, Turkey, and Lebanon are below replacement. Some countries still have growing populations due to high rates of immigration, but have native

fertility rates below replacement: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are similar to Western Europe, while the United States is just barely below replacement with about 2.0 births per woman.

A new fear for many governments, particularly those in countries with very low fertility rates, is that a declining population will lead to underpopulation and will reduce the gross domestic product (GDP) and economic growth of the country, as population growth is often a driving force of economic expansion. To combat extremely low fertility rates, some of these governments have introduced pro-family policies that include incentives, such as payments to parents for having children and extensive parental leave for parents.



Slums in Mumbai: Rapid population growth in Indian cities has resulted in vast slums as populations have exceeded available land and housing.

Three Demographic Variables

The basics of demographic population growth depend on the rate of natural increase (births versus deaths) and net migration.

Learning Objectives

Explain how population growth is calculated

Key Points

- Demography is the statistical study of human populations. It encompasses the study of the size, structure, and distribution of these populations, and spatial and/or temporal changes in them in response to birth, migration, aging, and death.
- Population change depends on the rate of natural increase and net migration.
- Natural increase is calculated by the fertility rate minus the mortality rate.
- Net migration depends on in-migration and out-migration.

Key Terms

- **Natural increase**: Population growth that depends on the fertility rate and the mortality rate.
- **Net migration**: The difference of immigrants and emigrants of an area in a period of time, divided (usually) per 1,000 inhabitants (considered on midterm population). A positive value represents more people entering the country than leaving it, while a negative value mean more people leaving than entering it.
- **demography**: The study of human populations and how they change.
- **mortality rate**: The number of deaths per given unit of population over a given period of time.

Demography is the statistical study of human populations. It can be a very general science that can be applied to any kind of dynamic living population, or one that changes over time or space. It encompasses the study of the size, structure, and distribution of these populations, and spatial and/or temporal changes in them in response to birth, migration, aging, and death.

Human population growth depends on the rate of natural increase, or the fertility rate minus the mortality rate, and net migration. The basics of demography can be reduced to this formula:

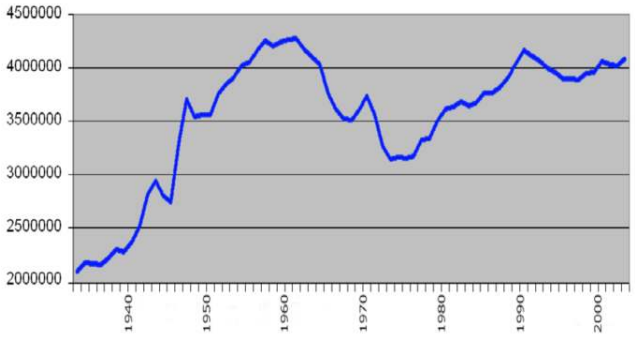
(Births – Deaths) +/- ((In-Migration) – (Out Migration)) = Population Change.

As this equation shows, population change depends on three variables: (1) the natural increase changes seen in birth rates, (2) the natural decrease changes seen in death rates, and (3) the changes seen in migration. Changes in population size can be predicted based on changes in fertility, mortality, and migration rates.

Natural increase refers to the increase in population *not* due to migration, and it can be calculated with the fertility rate and the mortality rate. Net migration is the mathematical difference between those migrating into a country and those migrating out of a country.

This basic equation can be applied to populations and subpopulations. For example, the population size of ethnic groups or nationalities within a given society or country is subject to the same sources of change as the national population. However, when dealing with ethnic groups, “net migration” might have to be subdivided into physical migration and ethnic re-identification (assimilation). Individuals who change their ethnic self-labels or whose ethnic classification in government statistics changes over time may be thought of as migrating or moving from one population subcategory to another. More generally, while the basic demographic equation holds true by definition, the recording and counting of events (births, deaths, immigration, emigration) and the enumeration of the total population size are subject to error. Allowance needs to be made

for error in the underlying statistics when any accounting of population size or change is made.



US Fertility Rate: The US fertility rate has leveled off at about 2.0, which is nearly equal to the replacement level. This means that population growth in the US is due to inward migration, rather than a high birthrate.

Problems in Forecasting Population Growth

Population growth is difficult to predict because unforeseen events can alter birth rates, death rates, migration, or resource limitations.

Learning Objectives

Explain the various ways sociologist try to estimate the rate of population growth, such as through fertility, birth and death rates

Key Points

- Population forecasts try to estimate the rate of population growth. However, unpredictable factors can change fertility rates, mortality rates, or migration rates, which can cause difficulty in forecasting.
- Certain government policies are making it easier and more socially acceptable to use contraception and abortion methods. Likewise, some countries are instituting pro-natalist policies to encourage fertility.
- Malthusian catastrophe refers to a scenario where overpopulation would compromise global food security, leading to mass starvation.
- In the future, food production be increased by innovations such as genetically modified crops, more efficiently employing agricultural technology, and aquaculture. This would raise the limit on the number of people the world can support.

Key Terms

- **Green Revolution**: Green Revolution refers to a series of research, development, and technology transfer initiatives, occurring between the 1940s and the late 1970s, that increased agriculture production around the world, beginning most markedly in the late 1960s
- **Birth rates**: The birth rate is typically the rate of births in a population over time. The rate of births in a population is calculated in several ways: live births from a universal registration system for births, deaths, and marriages; population counts from a census, and estimation through specialized demographic techniques.
- **forecast**: An estimation of a future condition.

Forecasts try to estimate the rate of population growth, but this is understandably difficult to predict. For example, the UN has issued multiple projections of future world population, based on different assumptions. From 2000 to 2005, the UN consistently revised these projections downward, until the 2006 revision, issued on March 14, 2007, revised the 2050 mid-range estimate upwards by 273 million. The UN now estimates that, by 2050, world population will reach 9 billion people. However, this forecast, like all population forecasts, is subject to change.

Population growth is difficult to predict because unforeseen events can alter birth rates, death rates, migration, or the resource limits on population growth. Birth rates may decline faster than predicted due to increased access to contraception, later ages of marriage, the growing desire of many women in such settings to seek careers outside of child rearing and domestic work, and the decreased economic “utility” of children in industrialized settings. Countries may also choose to undertake mitigation measures to reduce population growth. For example, in China, the government has put policies in place that regulate the number of children allowed to each couple. Other societies have already begun to implement social marketing strategies in order to educate the public on overpopulation effects. Certain government policies are making it easier and more socially acceptable to use contraception and abortion methods.

Such policies could have a significant effect on global fertility rates. Worldwide, nearly 40% of pregnancies are unintended (some 80 million unintended pregnancies each year). An estimated 350 million women in the poorest countries of the world either did not want their last child, do not want another child or want to space their pregnancies, but they lack access to information, affordable means and services to determine the size and spacing of their families. In the United States, in 2001, almost half of pregnancies were unintended. Fertility rates could be significantly reduced by providing education about overpopulation, family planning, and birth control methods, and by making birth-control devices like male/female condoms, pills, and intrauterine devices easily available. At the same time, other countries may roll back access to contraception, as has happened recently in Afghanistan. Or they may implement pro-natalist policies, like those seen in much of Europe where governments are concerned with sub-replacement fertility. Any

of these changes could affect fertility rates and therefore alter forecasts of population growth.

At the same time, other factors could affect mortality rates, which would also alter population forecasts. Death rates could fall unexpectedly due to advances in medicine or innovations that stretch resources so population can continue to grow past what seemed like intractable resource limits. For example, in the mid-20th century, the Green Revolution in agriculture dramatically increased available food by spreading farming technology like fertilizer and increasing efficiency in agriculture. In the future, production might be increased by innovations such as genetically modified crops, more efficiently employing agricultural technology, and aquaculture.

At the same time, death rates can also increase unexpectedly due to disease, wars, and other mass catastrophes. According to some scenarios, disasters triggered by the growing population's demand for scarce resources will eventually lead to a sudden population crash, or even a Malthusian catastrophe, where overpopulation would compromise global food security and lead to mass starvation.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=b98JmQ0Cc3k

Population Growth Forecasts: This video uses commonly cited statistics about population growth predictions to advocate for population control. The problem with activism surrounding population growth is that forecasts cannot predict unexpected changes in fertility and mortality rates.



The Green Revolution: The Green Revolution was a period of rapid technological innovation in agricultural, which made food resources more widely available than expected and thus reduced the global mortality rate. This type of unanticipated change can reduce the accuracy of population forecasts.

Malthus' Theory of Population Growth

Malthus believed that if a population is allowed to grow unchecked, people will begin to starve and will go to war over increasingly scarce resources.

Learning Objectives

Discuss Malthus's controversial theory on population growth, in terms of the concept of "moral restraint"

Key Points

- Thomas Malthus warned that without any checks, population would theoretically grow at an exponential rate, rapidly exceeding its ability to produce resources to support itself.
- Malthus argued that an exponentially growing population will self-correct through war, famine, and disease.
- Malthus cautioned that in order to avoid catastrophe such as famine and war, people should enact deliberate population control, such as birth control and celibacy.
- Malthusian catastrophes refer to naturally occurring checks on population growth such as famine, disease, or war.
- These Malthusian catastrophes have not taken place on a global scale due to progress in agricultural technology. However, many argue that future pressures on food

production, combined with threats such as global warming, make overpopulation a still more serious threat in the future.

Key Terms

- **carrying capacity**: The number of individuals of a particular species that an environment can support.
- **exponential growth**: The growth in the value of a quantity, in which the rate of growth is proportional to the instantaneous value of the quantity; for example, when the value has doubled, the rate of increase will also have doubled. The rate may be positive or negative.
- **Malthusian catastrophes**: Malthusian catastrophes are naturally occurring checks on population growth such as famine, disease, or war.

Early in the 19th century, the English scholar Reverend Thomas Malthus published "An Essay on the Principle of Population." He wrote that overpopulation was the root of many problems industrial European society suffered from— poverty, malnutrition, and disease could all be attributed to overpopulation. According to Malthus, this was a mathematical inevitability. Malthus observed that, while resources tended to grow arithmetically, populations exhibit exponential growth. Thus, if left unrestricted, human populations would continue to grow until they would become too large to be supported by the food grown on available agricultural land. In other words, humans would outpace their local carrying capacity, the capacity of ecosystems or societies to support the local population.

As a solution, Malthus urged "moral restraint. " That is, he declared that people must practice abstinence before marriage, forced sterilization where necessary, and institute criminal punishments for so-called unprepared parents who had more children than they could support. Even in his time, this solution was controversial.

According to Malthus, the only alternative to moral restraint was certain disaster: if allowed to grow unchecked, population would outstrip available resources, resulting in what came to be known as Malthusian catastrophes: naturally occurring checks on population growth such as famine, disease, or war.

Over the two hundred years following Malthus's projections, famine has overtaken numerous individual regions. Proponents of this theory, Neo-Malthusians, state that these famines were examples of Malthusian catastrophes. On a global scale, however, food production has grown faster than population due to transformational advances in agricultural technology. It has often been argued that future pressures on food production, combined with threats to other aspects of the earth's habitat such as global warming, make overpopulation a still more serious threat in the future.



Overpopulated Urban Slums: Malthusians would cite epidemics and starvation in overpopulated urban slums, like this one in Cairo, as natural checks on growing populations that have exceeded the carrying capacities of their local environments.

Demographic Transition Theory

Demographic transition theory outlines five stages of change in birth and death rates to predict the growth of populations.

Learning Objectives

Break down the demographic transition model/theory into five recognizable stages based on how countries reach industrialization

Key Points

- Demographic transition theory suggests that populations grow along a predictable five-stage model.
- In stage 1, pre-industrial society, death rates and birth rates are high and roughly in balance, and population growth is typically very slow and constrained by the available food supply.
- In stage 2, that of a developing country, the death rates drop rapidly due to improvements in food supply and sanitation, which increase life spans and reduce disease.
- In stage 3, birth rates fall due to access to contraception, increases in wages, urbanization, increase in the status and education of women, and increase in investment in education. Population growth begins to level off.
- In stage 4, birth rates and death rates are both low. The large group born during stage two ages and creates an economic burden on the shrinking working population.
- In stage 5 (only some theorists acknowledge this stage— others recognize only four), fertility rates transition to either below-replacement or above-replacement.

Key Terms

- **demographic transition theory**: Describes four stages of population growth, following patterns that connect birth and

death rates with stages of industrial development.

Whether you believe that we are headed for environmental disaster and the end of human existence as we know it, or you think people will always adapt to changing circumstances, we can see clear patterns in population growth. Societies develop along a predictable continuum as they evolve from unindustrialized to postindustrial. Demographic transition theory (Caldwell and Caldwell 2006) suggests that future population growth will develop along a predictable four- or five-stage model.

Stage 1

In stage one, pre-industrial society, death rates and birth rates are high and roughly in balance. An example of this stage is the United States in the 1800s. All human populations are believed to have had this balance until the late 18th century, when this balance ended in Western Europe. In fact, growth rates were less than 0.05% at least since the Agricultural Revolution over 10,000 years ago.

Population growth is typically very slow in this stage, because the society is constrained by the available food supply; therefore, unless the society develops new technologies to increase food production (e.g. discovers new sources of food or achieves higher crop yields), any fluctuations in birth rates are soon matched by death rates.

Stage 2

In stage two, that of a developing country, the death rates drop rapidly due to improvements in food supply and sanitation, which increase life spans and reduce disease. Afghanistan is currently in this stage.

The improvements specific to food supply typically include selective breeding and crop rotation and farming techniques. Other improvements generally include access to technology, basic healthcare, and education. For example, numerous improvements in public health reduce mortality, especially childhood mortality. Prior to the mid-20th century, these improvements in public health were primarily in the areas of food handling, water supply, sewage, and personal hygiene. Another variable often cited is the increase in female literacy combined with public health education programs which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In Europe, the death rate decline started in the late 18th century in northwestern Europe and spread to the south and east over approximately the next 100 years. Without a corresponding fall in birth rates this produces an imbalance, and the countries in this stage experience a large increase in population.

Stage 3

In stage three, birth rates fall. Mexico's population is at this stage. Birth rates decrease due to various fertility factors such as access to contraception, increases in wages, urbanization, a reduction in subsistence agriculture, an increase in the status and education of women, a reduction in the value of children's work, an increase in parental investment in the education of children and other social changes. Population growth begins to level off. The birth rate decline in developed countries started in the late 19th century in northern Europe.

While improvements in contraception do play a role in birth rate decline, it should be noted that contraceptives were not generally available nor widely used in the 19th century and as a result likely did not play a significant role in the decline then.

It is important to note that birth rate decline is caused also by a transition in values; not just because of the availability of contraceptives.

Stage 4

During stage four there are both low birth rates and low death rates. Birth rates may drop to well below replacement level as has happened in countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan, leading to a shrinking population, a threat to many industries that rely on population growth. Sweden is considered to currently be in Stage 4.

As the large group born during stage two ages, it creates an economic burden on the shrinking working population. Death rates may remain consistently low or increase slightly due to increases in lifestyle diseases due to low exercise levels and high obesity and an aging population in developed countries.

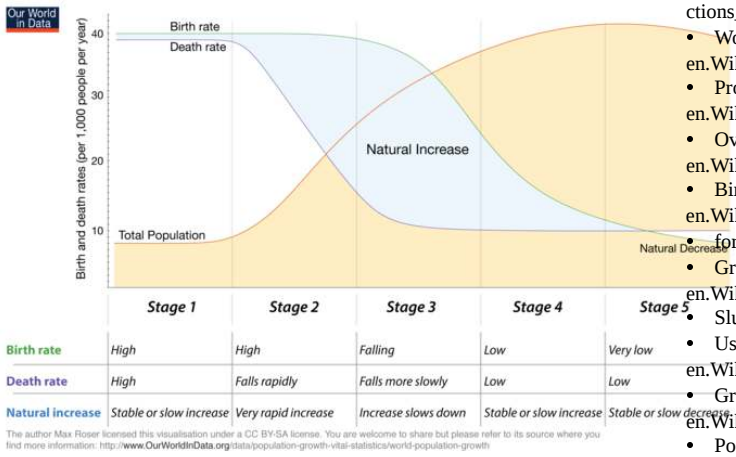
By the late 20th century, birth rates and death rates in developed countries leveled off at lower rates.

Stage 5 (Debated)

Some scholars delineate a separate fifth stage of below-replacement fertility levels. Others hypothesize a different stage five involving an increase in fertility.

The United Nations Population Fund (2008) categorizes nations as high-fertility, intermediate-fertility, or low-fertility. The United Nations (UN) anticipates the population growth will triple between 2011 and 2100 in high-fertility countries, which are currently concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa.

For countries with intermediate fertility rates (the United States, India, and Mexico all fall into this category), growth is expected to be about 26 percent. And low-fertility countries like China, Australia, and most of Europe will actually see population declines of approximately 20 percent.



Demographic Transition Overview

Conclusions

As with all models, this is an idealized picture of population change in these countries. The model is a generalization that applies to these countries as a group and may not accurately describe all individual cases. The extent to which it applies to less-developed societies today remains to be seen. Many countries such as China, Brazil and Thailand have passed through the Demographic Transition Model (DTM) very quickly due to fast social and economic change. Some countries, particularly African countries, appear to be stalled in the second stage due to stagnant development and the effect of AIDS.

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17.3: Urbanization and the Development of Cities

The Earliest Cities

Early cities arose in a number of regions, and are thought to have developed for reasons of agricultural productivity and economic scale.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the various beginnings of cities, from centers of agriculture to areas of protection, and the factors they need to be successful

Key Points

- The very first cities were founded in Mesopotamia after the Neolithic Revolution, around 7500 BCE.
- Agriculture is believed to be a pre-requisite for cities, which help preserve surplus production and create economies of scale.
- Cities reduced transport costs for goods, people, and ideas by bringing them all together in one spot.

Key Terms

- **Old World**: The known world before the discovery of the Americas.
- **Neolithic Revolution**: The Neolithic Revolution or Neolithic Demographic Transition, sometimes called the Agricultural Revolution, was the world's first historically verifiable revolution in agriculture.
- **urbanism**: the study of cities, their geographic, economic, political, social, and cultural environment

Early cities developed in a number of regions, from Mesopotamia to Asia to the Americas. The very first cities were founded in Mesopotamia after the Neolithic Revolution, around 7500 BCE. Mesopotamian cities included Eridu, Uruk, and Ur. Early cities also arose in the Indus Valley and ancient China. Among the early Old World cities, one of the largest was Mohenjo-daro, located in the Indus Valley (present-day Pakistan); it existed from about 2600 BCE, and had a population of 50,000 or more. In the ancient Americas, the earliest cities were built in the Andes and Mesoamerica, and flourished between the 30th century BCE and the 18th century BCE.

Ancient cities were notable for their geographical diversity, as well as their diversity in form and function. Theories that attempt to explain ancient urbanism by a single factor, such as economic benefit, fail to capture the range of variation documented by archaeologists. Excavations at early urban sites show that some cities were sparsely populated political capitals, others were trade centers, and still other cities had a primarily religious focus. Some cities had large dense populations, whereas others carried out urban activities in the realms of politics or religion without having large associated populations. Some ancient cities grew to be powerful capital cities and centers of commerce and industry, situated at the centers of growing ancient empires. Examples include Alexandria and Antioch of the Hellenistic civilization, Carthage, and ancient Rome and its eastern successor, Constantinople (later Istanbul).

The Formation of Cities

Why did cities form in the first place? There is insufficient evidence to assert what conditions gave rise to the first cities, but some theorists have speculated on what they consider pre-conditions and basic mechanisms that could explain the rise of cities. Agriculture is believed to be a pre-requisite for cities, which help preserve surplus production and create economies of scale. The conventional view holds that cities first formed after the Neolithic Revolution, with the spread of agriculture. The advent of farming encouraged hunter-gatherers to abandon nomadic lifestyles and settle near others who lived by agricultural production. Agriculture yielded more food, which made denser human populations possible, thereby supporting city development. Farming led to dense, settled populations, and food surpluses that required storage and could facilitate trade. These conditions seem to be important prerequisites for city life. Many theorists hypothesize that agriculture preceded the development of cities and led to their growth.

A good environment and strong social organization are two necessities for the formation of a successful city. A good environment includes clean water and a favorable climate for growing crops and agriculture. A strong sense of social organization helps a newly formed city work together in times of need, and it allows people to develop various functions to assist in the future development of the city (for example, farmer or merchant). Without these two common features, as well as advanced agricultural technology, a newly formed city is not likely to succeed.

Cities may have held other advantages, too. For example, cities reduced transport costs for goods, people, and ideas by bringing them all together in one spot. By reducing these transaction costs, cities contributed to worker productivity. Finally, cities likely performed the essential function of providing protection for people and the valuable things they were beginning to accumulate. Some theorists hypothesize that people may have come together to form cities as a form of protection against marauding barbarian armies.

Preindustrial Cities

Preindustrial cities had important political and economic functions and evolved to become well-defined political units.

Learning Objectives

Examine the growth of preindustrial cities as political units, as well as how trade routes allowed certain cities to expand and grow

Key Points

- Preindustrial cities were political units, like today's states. They offered freedom from rural obligations to lord and community.
- In the early modern era, larger capital cities benefited from new trade routes and grew even larger.
- While the city-states, or poleis, of the Mediterranean and Baltic Sea languished from the 16th century, Europe's larger capitals benefited from the growth of commerce following the emergence of an Atlantic trade.

Key Terms

- **lord**: A titled nobleman or aristocrat
- **rural obligations**: For people during the medieval era, cities offered a newfound freedom from rural obligations. City residence brought freedom from customary rural obligations to lord and community.
- **Preindustrial cities**: While ancient cities may have arisen organically as trading centers, preindustrial cities evolved to become well defined political units.

Cities as Political Centers

While ancient cities may have arisen organically as trading centers, preindustrial cities evolved to become well defined political units, like today's states. During the European Middle Ages, a town was as much a political entity as a collection of houses. However, particular political forms varied. In continental Europe, some cities had their own legislatures. In the Holy Roman Empire, some cities had no other lord than the emperor. In Italy, medieval communes had a state-like power. In exceptional cases like Venice, Genoa, or Lübeck, cities themselves became powerful states, sometimes taking surrounding areas under their control or establishing extensive maritime empires. Similar phenomena existed elsewhere, as in the case of Sakai, which enjoyed a considerable autonomy in late medieval Japan.

For people during the medieval era, cities offered a newfound freedom from rural obligations. City residence brought freedom from customary rural obligations to lord and community (hence the German saying, "*Stadtluft macht frei*," which means "City air makes you free"). Often, cities were governed by their own laws, separate from the rule of lords of the surrounding area.

Trade Routes

Not all cities grew to become major urban centers. Those that did often benefited from trade routes—in the early modern era, larger capital cities benefited from new trade routes and grew even larger. While the city-states, or poleis, of the Mediterranean and Baltic Sea languished from the 16th century, Europe's larger capitals benefited from the growth of commerce following the emergence of an Atlantic trade. By the early 19th century, London had become the largest city in the world with a population of over a million, while Paris rivaled the well-developed regional capital cities of Baghdad, Beijing, Istanbul, and Kyoto. But most towns remained far smaller places—in 1500 only about two dozen places in the world contained more than 100,000 inhabitants. As late as 1700 there were fewer than 40, a figure which would rise thereafter to 300 in 1900. A small city of the early modern period might have contained as few as 10,000 inhabitants.

Industrial Cities

During the industrial era, cities grew rapidly and became centers of population growth and production.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the problems urbanization created for newly formed cities

Key Points

- Rapid growth brought urban problems, and industrial-era cities were rife with dangers to health and safety.
- Poor sanitation and communicable diseases were among the greatest causes of death among urban working class populations.
- In the 19th century, better sanitation led to improved health conditions.

Key Terms

- **industrial cities**: Rapid growth brought urban problems, and industrial-era cities were rife with dangers to health and safety. Quickly expanding industrial cities could be quite deadly, full of contaminated water and air, and communicable diseases.
- **industrial era**: During the industrial era, cities grew rapidly and became centers of population and production.



Slum in Glasgow, 1871: An example of slum life in an industrial city.

During the industrial era, cities grew rapidly and became centers of population and production. The growth of modern industry from the late 18th century onward led to massive urbanization and the rise of new, great cities, first in Europe, and then in other regions, as new opportunities brought huge numbers of migrants from rural communities into urban areas. In 1800, only 3% of the world's population lived in cities. Since the industrial era, that figure, as of the beginning of the 21st century, has risen to nearly 50%. The United States provides a good example of how this process unfolded; from 1860 to 1910, the invention of railroads reduced transportation costs and large manufacturing centers began to emerge in the United States, allowing migration from rural to urban areas.

Rapid growth brought urban problems, and industrial-era cities were rife with dangers to health and safety. Rapidly expanding industrial cities could be quite deadly, and were often full of contaminated water and air, and communicable diseases. Living conditions during the Industrial Revolution varied from the splendor of the homes of the wealthy to the squalor of the workers. Poor people lived in very small houses in cramped streets. These homes often shared toilet facilities, had open sewers, and were prone to epidemics exacerbated by persistent dampness. Disease often spread through contaminated water supplies.

In the 19th century, health conditions improved with better sanitation, but urban people, especially small children, continued to die from diseases spreading through the cramped living conditions. Tuberculosis (spread in congested dwellings), lung diseases from mines, cholera from polluted water, and typhoid were all common. The greatest killer in the cities was tuberculosis (TB). Archival health records show that as many as 40% of working class deaths in cities were caused by tuberculosis.

The Structure of Cities

Urban structure is the arrangement of land use, explained using different models.

Learning Objectives

Analyze, using human ecology theory, the similarities and differences between the various urban structure models, such as grid model, sectoral model and concentric ring model, among others

Key Points

- In the grid model of cities, land is divided by streets that run at right angles to each other, forming a grid. This model promotes development.
- The concentric ring model describes the city as an ecosystem in which residents sort themselves into a series of rings based on class and occupation. This model's general applicability has been challenged.
- Urban structure can also describe the location of the central business district, industrial parks, or urban open spaces.
- The sectoral model says the city develops in wedge-shaped sectors instead of rings: certain areas of a city are more attractive for various activities, which flourish and expand outward in a wedge.
- The multiple nuclei model assumes that car ownership granted people more mobility and led the the development of specialized regional centers within cities.
- The irregular pattern model was developed to better explain urban structure in the Third World. It attempts to model the lack of planning or construction found in many rapidly built Third World cities.

Key Terms

- **central business district**: The central area of a city in which a concentration of certain retail and business activities takes place, especially in older cities with rail transportation.
- **urban open space**: In land use planning, urban open space is open space areas for parks, green spaces, and other open areas.
- **Human Ecology**: Human ecology described the city as analogous to an ecosystem, with natural processes of adaptation and assimilation.

Urban Structure Models

Grid

In grid models, land is divided by streets intersect at right angles, forming a grid. Grid plans are more common in North

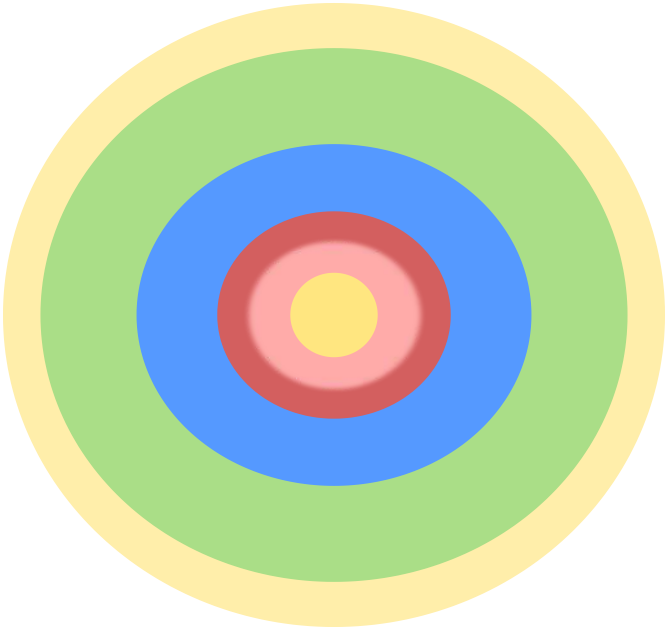
American cities than in Europe, where older cities tend to be build on streets that radiate out from a central square or structure of cultural significance. Grid plans facilitate development because developers can subdivide and auction off large parcels of land. The geometry yields regular lots that maximize use and minimize boundary disputes. However, grids can be dangerous because long, straight roads allow faster automobile traffic. In the 1960s, urban planners moved away from grids and began planning suburban developments with dead ends and cul-de-sacs.

Concentric Ring Model

The concentric ring model was postulated in 1924 by sociologist Ernest Burgess, based on his observations of Chicago. It draws on human ecology theories, which compared the city to an ecosystem, with processes of adaptation and assimilation. Urban residents naturally sort themselves into appropriate rings, or ecological niches, depending on class and cultural assimilation. The innermost ring represents the central business district (CBD), called Zone A.. It is surrounded by a zone of transition (B), which contains industry and poorer-quality housing. The third ring (C) contains housing for the working-class—the zone of independent workers' homes. The fourth ring (D) has newer and larger houses occupied by the middle-class. The outermost ring (E), or commuter's zone, is residential suburbs.



Toronto's Central Business District: Skyscrapers populate Toronto's central business district

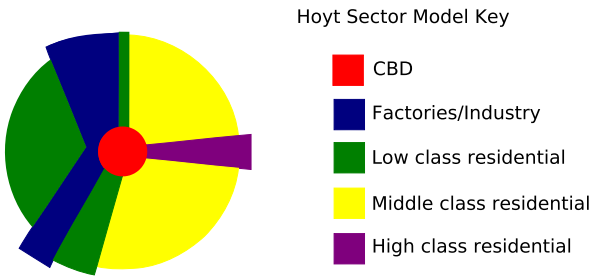


Concentric Zone Model: The Concentric Ring Model described the city as a series of concentric rings, each home to a different group and social function.

This model's general applicability has been challenged. It describes an American geography in which the inner city is poor while suburbs are wealthy—elsewhere, the converse is the norm. In new, western U.S. cities such as Los Angeles, advances in transportation and communication have blurred these "zones. " Further, the model fails to account for topographical and physical features of the landscape. Even in Chicago, the concentric rings were semi-circles, interrupted by Lake Michigan.

Sectoral

In 1939, the economist Homer Hoyt adapted the concentric ring model by proposing that cities develop in wedge-shaped sectors instead of rings. Certain areas of a city are more attractive for various activities, whether by chance or geographic/environmental reasons. As these activities flourish and expand outward, they form wedges, becoming city sectors. Like the concentric ring model, Hoyt's sectoral model has been criticized for ignoring physical features and new transportation patterns that restrict or direct growth.



Hoyt's Sectoral Model of Urban Growth: In Hoyt's model, cities grow in wedge-shaped sectors radiating from the center.

Multiple Nuclei

The multiple nuclei model was developed in 1945 to explain city formation after the spread of the automobile. People have greater movement due to increased car ownership, allowing for the specialization of regional centers. A city contains more than one center around which activities revolve. Some activities are attracted to particular nodes while others try to avoid them. For example, a university node may attract well-educated residents, pizzerias, and bookstores, whereas an airport may attract hotels and warehouses. Incompatible activities will avoid clustering in the same area.

Irregular Pattern

The irregular pattern model was developed to explain urban structure in the Third World. It attempts to model the lack of planning found in many rapidly built Third World cities. This model includes blocks with no fixed order; urban structure is not related to an urban center or CBD.

Alternate Uses of "Urban Structure"

Urban structure can also refer to urban spatial structure; the arrangement of public and private space in cities and the degree of connectivity and accessibility. In this context, urban structure is concerned with the arrangement of the CBD, industrial and residential areas, and open space.

A city's central business district (CBD), or downtown, is the commercial and often geographic heart of a city. In North America, this is referred to as "downtown" or "city center. " The downtown area is often home to the financial district, but usually also contains entertainment and retail. CBDs usually have very small resident populations, but populations are increasing as younger professional and business workers move into city center apartments.

An industrial park is an area zoned and planned for the purpose of industrial development. They are intended to attract business by concentrating dedicated infrastructure to reduce the per-business expenses. They also set aside industrial uses from urban areas to reduce the environmental and social impact of industrial uses and to provide a distinct zone of environmental controls specific to industrial needs.

Urban open spaces provide citizens with recreational, ecological, aesthetic value. They can range from highly maintained environments to natural landscapes. Commonly open to public access, they may be privately owned. Urban open spaces offer a reprieve from the urban environment and can add ecological value, making citizens more aware of their natural surroundings and providing nature to promote biodiversity. Open spaces offer aesthetic value for citizens who enjoy nature, cultural value by providing space for concerts or art shows, and functional value—for example, by helping to control runoff and prevent flooding.

The Process of Urbanization

Urbanization is the process of a population shift from rural areas to cities, often motivated by economic factors.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the proces of urbanization and its effects on economics and the environment in society

Key Points

- Urbanization may be driven by local and global economic and social changes, and is generally a product of modernization and industrialization.
- Urbanization has economic and environmental effects. Economically, urbanization drives up prices, especially real estate, which can force original residents to move to less-desirable neighborhoods.
- Environmentally, cities cause "heat islands", where less vegetation and open soil raise city temperatures by 2 to 10 degrees Fahrenheit.
- Recently in developed countries, sociologists have observed suburbanization and counterurbanization, or movement away from cities, which may be driven by transportation infrastructure, or social factors like racism.

Key Terms

- **suburbanization**: A term used to describe the growth of areas on the fringes of major cities; one of the many causes of the increase in urban sprawl.
- **rural flight**: A term used to describe the migratory patterns of peoples from rural areas into urban areas.
- **urbanization**: The physical growth of urban areas as a result of rural migration and even suburban concentration into cities.
- **counterurbanization**: A demographic and social process whereby people move from urban areas to rural areas.

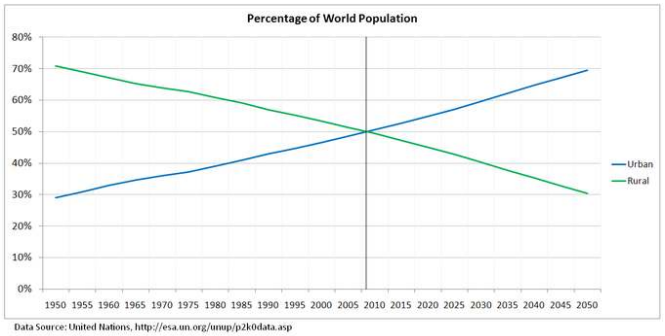
- **gentrification**: A shift in an urban community toward wealthier residents and/or businesses and increasing property values; often resulting in poorer residents being displaced by wealthier newcomers.

Urbanization and rural flight

Urbanization is the process of a population shift from rural areas to cities. During the last century, global populations have urbanized rapidly:

- 13% of people lived in urban environments in the year 1900
- 29% of people lived in urban environments in the year 1950

One projection suggests that, by 2030, the proportion of people living in cities may reach 60%.



Rural and Urban World Population: Over time, the world's population has become less rural and more urban.

Urbanization tends to correlate positively with industrialization. With the promise of greater employment opportunities that come from industrialization, people from rural areas will go to cities in pursuit of greater economic rewards.

Another term for urbanization is "rural flight. " In modern times, this flight often occurs in a region following the industrialization of agriculture—when fewer people are needed to bring the same amount of agricultural output to market—and related agricultural services and industries are consolidated. These factors negatively affect the economy of small- and middle-sized farms and strongly reduce the size of the rural labor market. Rural flight is exacerbated when the population decline leads to the loss of rural services (such as business enterprises and schools), which leads to greater loss of population as people leave to seek those features.

As more and more people leave villages and farms to live in cities, urban growth results. The rapid growth of cities like Chicago in the late nineteenth century and Mumbai a century later can be attributed largely to rural-urban migration. This kind of growth is especially commonplace in developing countries.

Urbanization occurs naturally from individual and corporate efforts to reduce time and expense in commuting, while improving opportunities for jobs, education, housing, entertainment, and transportation. Living in cities permits individuals and families to take advantage of the opportunities of proximity, diversity, and marketplace competition. Due to their high populations, urban areas can also have more diverse social communities than rural areas, allowing others to find people like them.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Megacities Reflect Growing Urbanization Trend – YouTube: In the developing world, huge cities with sprawling slums have developed as agriculture and rural occupations have been supplanted by mechanized industries.

Economic and Environmental Effects of Urbanization

Urbanization has significant economic and environmental effects on cities and surrounding areas. As city populations grow, they increase the demand for goods and services of all kinds, pushing up prices of these goods and services, as well as the price of land. As land prices rise, the local working class may be priced out of the real estate market and pushed into less desirable neighborhoods – a process known as gentrification.

Growing cities also alter the environment. For example, urbanization can create urban "heat islands," which are formed when industrial and urban areas replace and reduce the amount of land covered by vegetation or open soil. In rural areas, the ground helps regulate temperatures by using a large part of the incoming solar energy to evaporate water in vegetation and soil. This evaporation, in turn, has a cooling effect. However in cities, where less vegetation and exposed soil exists, the majority of the sun's energy is absorbed by urban structures and asphalt. During the day, cities experience higher surface temperatures because urban surfaces produce less evaporative cooling. Additional city heat is given off by vehicles and factories, as well as industrial and domestic heating and cooling

units. Together, these effects can raise city temperatures by 2 to 10 degrees Fahrenheit (or 1 to 6 degrees Celsius).

Suburbanization and Counterurbanization

Recently in developed countries, sociologists have observed suburbanization and counterurbanization, or movement away from cities. These patterns may be driven by transportation infrastructure, or social factors like racism. In developed countries, people are able to move out of cities while still maintaining many of the advantages of city life (for instance, improved communications and means of transportation). In fact, counterurbanization appears most common among the middle and upper classes who can afford to buy their own homes.

Race also plays a role in American suburbanization. During World War I, the massive migration of African Americans from the South resulted in an even greater residential shift toward suburban areas. The cities became seen as dangerous, crime-infested areas, while the suburbs were seen as safe places to live and raise a family, leading to a social trend known in some parts of the world as "white flight. " Some social scientists suggest that the historical processes of suburbanization and decentralization are instances of white privilege that have contributed to contemporary patterns of environmental racism.

In the United States, suburbanization began in earnest after World War II, when soldiers returned from war and received generous government support to finance new homes. Suburbs, which are residential areas on the outskirts of a city, were less crowded and had a lower cost of living than cities. Suburbs grew dramatically in the 1950s when the U.S. interstate highway system was built, and automobiles became affordable for middle class families. Around 1990, another trend emerged known as counterurbanization, or "exurbanization". The wealthiest individuals began living in nice housing far in rural areas (as opposed to forms).

Suburbanization may be a new urban form.Rather than densely populated centers, cities may become more spread out, composed of many interconnected smaller towns. Interestingly, the modern U.S. experience has gone from a largely rural country, to a highly urban country, to a country with significant suburban populations.

U.S. Urban Patterns

The U.S. Census Bureau classifies areas as urban or rural based on population size and density.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the different ways governments and society define the term "urban"

Key Points

- Different agencies and individuals define urban in different ways, but the U.S. Census Bureau 's definitions are considered standard.
- The U.S. Census Bureau defines "urban areas" as areas with a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile and at least 2,500 total people.
- As of December, 2010, about 82% of the population of the United States lived within the boundaries of urbanized area.

Key Terms

- **population density**: The average number of people who live on each square mile (or kilometer) of land.

Different international, national, and local agencies may define "urban" in various ways. For example, city governments often use political boundaries to delineate what counts as a city. Other definitions may consider total population size or population density. Different definitions may also set various thresholds, so that in some cases, a town of just 2,500 may count as an urban city, whereas in other contexts, a city may be defined as having at least 50,000 people. Other agencies may define "urban" based on land use: places count as urban if they are built up with residential neighborhoods, industrial sites, railroad yards, cemeteries, airports, golf courses, and similar areas. Using this sort of definition, in 1997, the U.S. Department of Agriculture tallied over 98,000,000 acres of "urban" land.

In spite of these competing definitions, in the United States "urban" is officially defined following guidelines set by the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau defines "urban areas" as areas with a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile and at least 2,500 total people. Urban areas are delineated without regard to political boundaries. Because this definition does not consider political boundaries, it is often used as a more accurate gauge of the size of a city than the number of people who live within the city limits. Often, these two numbers are not the same. For example, the city of Greenville, South Carolina has a city population under 60,000 and an urbanized area population of over 300,000, while Greensboro, North Carolina has a city population over 200,000 and an urbanized area population of around 270,000. That means that Greenville is actually "larger" for some intents and purposes, but not for others, such as taxation, local elections, etc.

As of December, 2010, about 82% of the population of the United States lived within the boundaries of urbanized area. Combined, these areas occupy about 2% of the land area of the United States. The majority of urbanized area residents are suburbanites; core central city residents make up about 30% of the urbanized area population (about 60 million out of 210 million). In the United States, the largest urban area is New

York City, with over 8 million people within the city limits and over 19 million in the urban area. The next five largest urban areas in the United States are Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and Boston.



American urban areas by size: This map shows major urban areas in America.

The Rural Rebound

During the 1970s and again in the 1990s, the rural population rebounded in what appeared to be a reversal of urbanization.

Learning Objectives

Explain the rural rebound and how it contributes to the suburbanization of society

Key Points

- Much of the "rural" rebound was driven by suburbanization, which is the movement of people from cities to surrounding suburbs, ex-urbs, or edge cities.
- Suburbanization may be driven by white flight.
- Counterurbanization refers, broadly, to movement away from the city, which may include urban-to-rural migration and suburbanization.
- Counterurbanization has created shrinking cities and attempts to better control urban growth.

Key Terms

- **white flight**: The large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries, from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban areas.
- **ex-urbs**: The expression exurb (for "extra-urban") was coined by Auguste Comte Spectorsky in his 1955 book The Exurbanites to describe the ring of prosperous communities beyond the suburbs that are commuter towns for an urban area.
- **counterurbanization**: Counterurbanisation is a demographic and social process whereby people move from urban areas to rural areas.

The rural rebound refers to the movement away from cities to rural and suburban areas. Urbanization tends to occur along with modernization, yet in the most developed countries many cities are now beginning to lose population. In the United States in the 1970s, demographers observed that the rural population was actually growing faster than urban populations, a phenomenon they labeled the "rural rebound. " This trend reversed in the 1980s, due in part to a recession that hit farmers particularly hard. But again in the 1990s, rural populations appeared to be gaining at the expense of cities. Indeed, in the last 50 years, about 370 cities worldwide with more than 100,000 residents have undergone population losses of more than 10%, and more than 25% of the depopulating cities are in the United States.

Rather than moving to rural areas, most participants in the so-called the rural rebound migrated into new, rapidly growing suburbs. The rural rebound, then, may be more evidence of the importance of suburbanization as a new urban form in the most developed countries.

Suburbanization

Suburbanization is a general term that refers to the movement of people from cities to surrounding areas. However, the suburbanization that took place after 1970 was different from the suburbanization that had occurred earlier, after World War II. In this more recent wave of suburbanization, people moved beyond the nearby suburbs to farther-away towns. Sociologists have invented several new categories to describe these new types of suburban towns; two of the most notable are ex-urbs and edge cities.

The expression exurb (for "extra-urban") refers to a ring of prosperous communities beyond a city's suburbs. Often, these communities are commuter towns or bedroom communities. Commuter towns are primarily residential; most of the residents commute to jobs in the city. They are sometimes called bedroom communities because residents spend their days away in the cities and only come home to sleep. In general, commuter towns have little commercial or industrial activity of their own, though they may contain some retail centers to serve the daily needs of residents. Although most exurbs are commuter towns, most commuter towns are not exurban.

Exurbs vary in wealth and education level. In the United States, exurban areas typically have much higher college education levels than closer-in suburbs, though this is not necessarily the case in other countries. They typically have average incomes much higher than nearby rural counties, reflecting the urban wages of their residents. Although some exurbs are quite wealthy even compared to nearer suburbs or the city itself, others have higher poverty levels than suburbs nearer the city.

This may happen especially where commuter towns form because workers in a region cannot afford to live where they work and must seek residency in another town with a lower cost of living. For example, during the “dot com” bubble of the late twentieth century, housing prices in California cities skyrocketed, spawning exurban growth in adjacent counties.

White Flight

Sociologists have posited many explanations for counterurbanization, but one of the most debated is whether suburbanization is driven by white flight. The term white flight was coined in the mid-twentieth century to describe suburbanization and the large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries, from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban regions. During the first half of the twentieth century, discriminatory housing policies often prevented blacks from moving to suburbs; banks and federal policy made it difficult for blacks to get the mortgages they needed to buy houses, and communities used restrictive housing covenants to exclude minorities.

White flight during this period contributed to urban decay, a process whereby a city, or part of a city, falls into disrepair and decrepitude. Symptoms of urban decay include depopulation, abandoned buildings, high unemployment, crime, and a desolate, inhospitable landscape. White flight contributed to the draining of cities’ tax bases when middle-class people left, exacerbating urban decay caused in part by the loss of industrial and manufacturing jobs as they moved into rural areas or overseas where labor was cheaper.

More recently, the concept has been extended to newer forms of suburbanization, including migration from urban to rural areas and to exurbs. In a similar vein, some demographers have described the rural rebound, and the newest waves of suburbanization, as a form of ethnic balkanization, in which different ethnic groups (not only whites) sort themselves into racially homogeneous communities. These phenomena, however, are not so clearly driven by the restrictive policies, laws, and practices that drove the white flight of the first half of the century.



A Suburban Neighborhood: Suburban neighborhoods often feature large, manicured lawns.

Models of Urban Growth

Models of urban growth try to balance the advantages and disadvantages of cities’ large sizes.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the various theories of urban growth and the implications each theory has for today’s society

Key Points

- The growth machine theory of urban growth says urban growth is driven by a coalition of interest groups who all benefit from continuous growth and expansion. Thus, the growth of cities is a social phenomenon.
- Urban sprawl results when cities grow uncontrolled, expanding into rural land and making walking, public transit, or bicycling impractical.
- Critics of urban life often focus on urban decay, which may be self-perpetuating, according to the broken windows theory.
- Urban renewal attempts to counter urban decay and restore growth.
- The New Urbanism and smart growth movements both challenge the value of urban growth and expansion, and they try to improve urban life by keeping it on a human scale.

Key Terms

- **smart growth**: Smart growth programs draw urban growth boundaries to keep urban development dense and compact.
- **urban renewal**: Urban renewal refers to programs of land redevelopment in areas of moderate- to high-density urban land use.
- **New Urbanism**: New Urbanism is an urban design movement that promotes walkable neighborhoods that

contain a range of housing and job types.

Cities are dynamic places—they grow, shrink, and change. Sociologists have developed different theories for thinking about how urban populations change.

Growth Machine Theory

The growth machine theory of urban growth says urban growth is driven by a coalition of interest groups who all benefit from continuous growth and expansion. First articulated by Molotch in 1976, growth machine theory took the dominant convention of studying urban land use and turned it on its head.

The field of urban sociology had been dominated by the idea that cities were basically containers for human action, in which actors competed among themselves for the most strategic parcels of land, and the real estate market reflected the state of that competition. Growth machine theory reversed the course of urban theory by pointing out that land parcels were not empty fields awaiting human action, but were associated with specific interests—commercial, sentimental, and psychological. In other words, city residents were not simply competing for parcels of land; they were also trying to fulfill their particular interests and achieve specific goals. In particular, cities are shaped by the real estate interests of people whose properties gain value when cities grow. These actors make up what Molotch termed "the local growth machine. "

Urban Sprawl

Whether explained by older theories of natural processes or by growth machine theory, the fact of urban growth is undeniable: throughout the twentieth century, cities have grown rapidly. In some cases, that growth has been poorly controlled, resulting in a phenomenon known as urban sprawl. Urban sprawl entails the growth of a city into low-density and auto-dependent rural land, high segregation of land use (e.g., retail sections placed far from residential areas, often in large shopping malls or retail complexes), and design features that encourage car dependency.

Urban sprawl's segregated land use means that the places where people live, work, shop, and relax are far from one another, which usually makes walking, public transit, or bicycling impractical. As a result, residents must use an automobile. Urban sprawl tends to include low population density: single family homes on large lots instead of apartment buildings, single story or low-rise buildings instead of high-rises, extensive lawns and surface parking lots, and so on.

Critics of urban sprawl argue that it creates an inhospitable urban environment and that it encroaches on rural land, potentially driving up land prices and displacing farmers or other rural residents. Urban sprawl is also associated with negative environmental and public health effects, many of which are related to automobile dependence: increases in personal transportation costs, air pollution and reliance on fossil fuel, increases in traffic accidents, delays in emergency medical services response times, and decreases in land and water quantity and quality.

Urban Decay

Some have suggested that urban sprawl is driven by consumer preference; people prefer to live in lower density, quieter, more private communities that they perceive as safer and more relaxed than urban neighborhoods. Such preferences echo a common strain of criticism of urban life, which tends to focus on urban decay. According to these critics, urban decay is caused by the excessive density and crowding of cities, and it drives out residents, creating the conditions for urban sprawl.

BROKEN WINDOWS

An alternative theory suggests that density does not cause crime, and crime does not cause people to leave the city; when people leave, city neighborhoods are abandoned and neglected, resulting in crime and decay. This theory, known as the "broken windows theory," argues that small indicators of neglect, such as broken windows and unkempt lawns, promote a feeling that an area is in a state of decay. Anticipating decay, people likewise fail to maintain their own properties.

RESPONSES TO DECAY

Cities have responded to urban decay and urban sprawl by launching urban renewal programs. Two specific types of urban renewal programs—New Urbanism and smart growth—attempt to make cities more pleasant and livable.

Smart growth programs draw urban growth boundaries to keep urban development dense and compact. In addition to increasing the density of cities, urban growth boundaries can protect the surrounding farmland and wild areas. Smart growth programs often incorporate transit-oriented development goals to encourage effective public transit systems and make bicyclers and pedestrians more comfortable.

New Urbanism is an urban design movement that promotes walkable neighborhoods with a range of housing options and job types. As an approach to urban planning, it encompasses principles such as traditional neighborhood design and transit-oriented development. A neighborhood designed along New Urbanist principles would have a discernible center (such as a square or a green) with a transit stop nearby. Most homes would be within a five-minute walk of the center and would provide a variety of housing options, including houses, row houses, and apartments to encourage the mixing of younger and older people, singles and families, and poor and wealthy.



Urban sprawl: Chicago, seen by air, shows urban sprawl



Broken windows: Broken windows in Detroit signal urban decay

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17.4: Urban Life

Sociological Perspectives on Urban Life

Urban sociology is the study of social life and interactions in urban areas, using methods ranging from statistical analysis to ethnography.

Learning Objectives

Explain urbanization in terms of functionalism and what the Chicago School understood to be some of the causes of urban social problems at that time

Key Points

- Georg Simmel is widely considered to be the father of urban sociology, as he pioneered studies of the interrelation of space and social interaction.
- Urban sociology attempts to account for the interrelation of subcultures in urban areas, as well as the internal structures of segments of society.
- Like biological systems, urban subgroups are dependent on one another for healthy functioning and are also dynamic—that is, they flourish and decline based on political, economic, and social tides.

Key Terms

- **alienation**: Emotional isolation or dissociation.
- **subculture**: A portion of a culture distinguished from the larger society around it by its customs or other features.

Urban sociology is the sociological study of life and human interaction in metropolitan areas. It is a well-established subfield of sociology that seeks to study the structures, processes, changes and problems of urban areas and to subsequently provide input for planning and policymaking. In other words, it is the sociological study of cities and their role in the development of society. Like most areas of sociology, urban sociologists use statistical analysis, observation or ethnography, social theory, interviews, and other methods to study a range of topics, including migration, economic and demographic trends, as well as things like poverty, race relations, crime, sexuality, and many other phenomena that surface in dynamic cities.

After the Industrial Revolution sociologists such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel began to focus on the accelerating process of urbanization and the effects it had on feelings of social alienation and anonymity. Notably, Georg Simmel is widely considered to be the father of urban sociology for his contributions to the field in in works such as *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, published in 1903.

The Chicago School



The Chicago School of Sociology: The Chicago School of Sociology, developed at the University of Chicago, is credited with developing modern urban sociology as researchers worked to elucidate patterns of urban life.

The Chicago School of Sociology is widely credited with institutionalizing urban sociology as a disciplinary sub-field through pioneering studies of urban spaces and social interactions. This group of sociologists studied the built urban environment in Chicago through the early twentieth century and they have left a lasting impact on the field, as subsequent researchers adopted qualitative methods such as ethnography and land-use mapping to theorize urban phenomena. The Chicago School combined sociological and anthropological theories to understand the interrelation of urban structures and micro-interactions in cities. The Chicago School sought to provide subjective meaning to how humans interact under structural, cultural and social conditions.

Scholars of the Chicago School originally focused around one integral question: How did an increase in urbanism during the time of the Industrial Revolution contribute to the magnification of then-contemporary social problems? Sociologists centered in Chicago due to its “tabula rasa” state (people’s minds before they receive impressions gained from experience), having expanded from a small town of 10,000 in 1860 to a urban metropolis of two million in the next half decade. Along with this expansion came many of the era’s emerging social problems, ranging from issues of homelessness and poor living conditions to the low-wage and long-hour work periods that many European immigrants faced upon arrival in the city. Furthermore, unlike many other metropolitan areas, Chicago did not expand outward at the edges as predicted by early expansionist theorists, but instead reformatted the space available in a concentric ring pattern. As with many modern cities the business district that occupied the city center was surrounded by slums and blighted neighborhoods, which were further surrounded by working class homes and the early forms of the modern suburbs. Urban theorists suggested that these spatially-defined regions helped to solidify and isolate class

relations within the modern city, moving the middle class away from the urban core and into the privatized environment of the outer suburbs.

Due to the high concentration of first-generation immigrant families in the inner city of Chicago during the early twentieth century, many prominent early studies in urban sociology focused around the effects of carrying culture roles and norms into new and developing environments. Political participation and the rise in inter-community organizations were also highly followed in this period, with many metropolitan areas adopting census techniques that allowed for information to be stored and easily accessible by participating institutions such as the University of Chicago. Sociologists Park, Burgess and McKenzie, professors at the University of Chicago and three of the earliest proponents of urban sociology, developed subcultural theories, which helped to explain the role of local institutions in the formation of ties. Subcultural theories popularized the idea that segments of society, such as gangs and homeless populations, had internal systems of value and order. This theory was in contrast to the prevailing belief that urbanization produced only social disorganization and alienation.

Urban Ecology

Urban ecology refers to an idea that emerged out of the Chicago School that likens urban organization to biological organisms. Urban ecology has remained an influential theory in both urban sociology and urban anthropology over time. The theory is essentially an extended metaphor that helps to explain how conflicting subgroups exist in shared urban spaces and systems. Like biological systems, urban subgroups are dependent on one another for healthy functioning and are also dynamic—that is, they flourish and decline based on political, economic, and social tides. Relating this to functionalist theory, one can look at immigration and emigration trends. As people enter and leave a country, they are dependent upon one another, as well as the new culture, to assimilate and enter into a new society. Immigrants become emigrants and vice-versa; in this way, the chain of life continues in terms of societal relations.

Social Interaction in Urban Areas

Social scientists have focused on social interactions in urban areas because cities bring together many cultural strands.

Learning Objectives

Design a research question using one of the four central approaches to the anthropological study of cities

Key Points

- Urban areas impact individuals' relationships with one another. Economic problems and power dynamics are intensified in small spatial areas in which resources are scarce due to dense populations.
- Social scientists seek to understand how metropolitan social dynamics are distinct from those in other contexts.
- German sociologist Georg Simmel was a founding father of this sociological subfield. He gave a speech that analyzed the effects of urbanity on the mind of the individual, arguing that urban life irreversibly transforms one's mind.
- Social scientists ask two sets of questions about social life in urban areas. The first set asks how social interactions are shaped by urban environments, and the other asks more pointed questions about how the architecture and physical space of a city influence social interactions.

Key Terms

- **sociology of space**: The sociology of space is a sub-discipline of sociology that is concerned with the spatiality of society. It examines the constitution of spaces through action, as well as the dependence of action on spatial structures.
- **sociology of architecture**: Sociology of architecture is a term that describes the sociological study of either the built environment or the role and occupation of architects in modern societies.
- **urban ecology model**: In the urban ecology model, the social scientist considers how individuals interact with others in their urban community.

Around half of the world's population currently lives in an urban area, and the United Nations World Urbanization Prospects Report suggests that 60% of the world's population will live in an urban area by the year 2030. As such, social scientists have paid increasing attention to the particular types of social dynamics that develop in urban environments.

Social scientists have focused on social interactions in urban areas because cities have the unique capacity to bring together many cultural strands. Economic problems and power dynamics are intensified in small spatial areas in which resources are scarce due to dense populations. Further, cities operate as zones of confluence for economic relationships and other types of diversity as new ideas, people, and goods are constantly flowing through urban areas. As a result, the people there have to respond to new influences, often bringing dominant strains of culture to the fore. What does a particular group of people value? What can they tolerate? What do they revolt against? All of these questions play out in cities.



Urban Social Life: In cities, such as Beijing, people are exposed to large populations of unfamiliar faces, including transient visitors. This changes one's orientation to the urban community.

Urban anthropology is an anthropological subfield primarily concerned with urbanization, poverty, and the consequences of neoliberalism, or the contemporary political movement that advocates economic liberalization, free trade, free movement, and open markets. There are four central approaches to an anthropological study of cities. The first is an urban ecology model in which the social scientist considers how individuals interact with others in their urban community. Second, one could focus on power and knowledge, specifically how these elements are combined in the development of urban structures. Third, one can study how localities relate to communities beyond their bounds, such as an analysis of the relationship between the local and the global. Finally, one can consider how political economy, or the study of production, law, and distribution, is essential to a city's infrastructure and the consequences of this interdependence. These questions have been closely examined in urban contexts in the past fifty years.

Despite the relatively recent ascent of urban sociology, sociologists have long studied the sociological implications of space. Georg Simmel, a German sociologist from the turn of the twentieth century, famously considered the social impact of urban environments in *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. Published in 1903, this work was originally given as one of a series of lectures on all aspects of city life by experts in various fields, ranging from science to religion to art. Simmel was originally asked to lecture on the role of intellectual life in Berlin, but he effectively reversed the topic in order to analyze the effects of urbanity on the mind of the individual. Simmel argues that urban life irreversibly transforms one's mind. Simmel does not say that these changes are negative, but writes that structural forces on socialization are particularly strong in an urban milieu.

Social scientists thus ask two sets of questions about social life in urban areas. The first set asks how social interactions are shaped by urban environments and how social interactions in urban environments are distinct from social interactions in other contexts. These are the types of questions asked by Simmel and urban anthropologists. The other strand of analysis asks more pointed questions about how the architecture and physical space of a city influence social interactions. This second set of questions is taken up by urban planners, architects, and, in the social sciences, by individuals who study the sociology of architecture and the sociology of space. Clearly, questions about social interactions in urban areas cluster loosely and are quite broad. However, it is clear that social dynamics are influenced by urbanity and sociologists intentionally study this field in broad terms to understand the multifaceted ways in which urban life influences society.

Urban Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods are small units of social organization within a larger social area, such as a city or town.

Learning Objectives

Name three classic qualities of a neighborhood

Key Points

- Neighborhoods have historically existed in every large urban area.
- Neighborhood action tends to quickly produce visible results, particularly when compared to larger social units. Because neighborhood action involves interaction with others, such actions create stronger social ties among those inhabiting the area.
- Neighbors socialize one another through significant numbers of face-to-face interactions.
- The tendency of members of a neighborhood to share voting patterns and other views is called the neighborhood effect.
- In Canada and the United States, neighborhoods are often given official or semi-official status through neighborhood associations, neighborhood watches, or block watches.

Key Terms

- **neighborhood effect**: Individuals in neighborhoods tend to vote similarly.
- **Social ties**: Because neighborhood action involves others, such actions create stronger social ties amongst those inhabiting the area.
- **neighborhood**: A division of a municipality or region, formally or informally divided

A neighborhood is a geographically localized community within a larger city, town, or suburb. Neighborhoods are often social communities with considerable face-to-face interactions among members. While neighborhoods have expanded with industrialization and the development of even larger urban areas, neighborhoods have always existed. Archaeologists have demonstrated through excavations that pre-industrial urban

areas contained neighborhoods. As is true in the present day, neighborhoods were historically generated by social interaction among people living near one another. They are extremely localized social units only a step above a household and not directly under government control. In this sense, neighborhoods are usually informal, rather than pre-planned by government agencies. In some pre-industrial urban traditions, basic municipal functions, such as protection, social regulation of births and marriages, cleaning, and upkeep were handled informally by neighborhoods rather than by urban governments. As is still commonly the case, neighborhoods in pre-industrial cities often had some degree of social specialization or differentiation. Ethnic neighborhoods were important in past cities and remain common in cities today.



Neighborhood Watch: Neighborhood watches are one form of semi-formal neighborhood associations that contribute to the regulation of crime in an area that is not an independent political unit. Neighborhood watch associations function under citywide police and have no legal authority as crime enforcement officers.

Sociologists are interested in neighborhoods as small, localized social, economic, and political units. Neighborhoods are close to universal, as most people in urbanized areas would consider themselves to be living in one. Neighborhood action tends to quickly produce visible results, particularly when compared to larger social units. Because neighborhood action involves frequent interaction with others, such actions create stronger social ties among those inhabiting the area.

In Canada and the United States, neighborhoods are often given official or semi-official status through neighborhood associations, neighborhood watches, or block watches. These may regulate such domestic matters as lawn care and fence height and provide other social services such as block parties, neighborhood parks, and community security.

Though neighborhoods are less strictly regulated by government officials, this is not to say that neighborhoods lack political power. Indeed, sociologists and political scientists have found that individuals in neighborhoods tend to vote similarly in what is referred to as the neighborhood effect. The voting preference of a neighborhood tends to be formed by consensus, where people tend to vote with the general trend the neighborhood. Of course, this is not to imply pure causation, but rather than individuals with similar voting preferences choose to live in the same area. Socialization within neighborhoods is quite significant, particularly when this form of socialization involves significant face-to-face interactions with one's neighbors.

Urban Decline

Urban decline is the process whereby a previously functioning city or neighborhood falls into disrepair.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the causes and solutions to urban decline experienced both during the Industrial Revolution and in America today

Key Points

- It is often caused by a decline in the economic opportunities available in a particular city.
- The issues associated with the modern iteration of urban decline began during the Industrial Revolution, when many people moved to cities looking for industrial work, and then fell into poverty with economic changes and deindustrialization.
- Deindustrialization is the process of social and economic change caused by the removal or reduction of industrial capacity in a region that is known for its manufacturing industry.
- New Urbanism seeks to combat the economic and architectural problems associated with urban decline.
- In the United States, early government policies included "urban renewal" and the construction of large-scale housing projects for the poor.

Key Terms

- **white flight**: The large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries, from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban areas.
- **deindustrialization**: The loss or deprivation of industrial capacity or strength.
- **blight**: Anything that impedes growth or development, or spoils any other aspect of life.

Urban decline is the process whereby a previously functioning city or neighborhood falls into disrepair and decrepitude. Features of urban decline include deindustrialization, depopulation, economic restructuring, abandoned buildings, high unemployment, fragmented families, political disenfranchisement, crime, and a desolate landscape. Since the 1970s and 1980s, urban decline has been associated with Western cities having experienced institutional restructuring. In many countries outside of the West, urban decline manifests as

peripheral slums at the outskirts of cities. In contrast, in North American and British cities, the impoverished areas begin to develop in the city center as individuals relocate their residences to suburban areas outside of the city. This process is frequently called white flight, in reference to the fact that the central urban areas usually remain inhabited by minority populations when white populations leave. Another characteristic of urban decay is blight, the visual, psychological, and physical effects of living daily life among empty lots, abandoned buildings, and condemned houses. Such desolate properties are socially dangerous to the community because they attract criminals and gangs, increasing the volume of crime.

Causes

But what causes urban decay? Though scholars can identify factors that contribute to urban decline, it is notoriously difficult to explain precisely why one urban area slips into decline and another with similar circumstances does not. That being said, urban decline results from some combination of socioeconomic decisions, such as the city's urban planning decisions, the poverty of the local populace, the construction of urban infrastructure (such as freeways, roads, and other elements of transportation), and the depopulation of peripheral lands by suburbanization.

Historic Causes



Pruitt-Igoe Housing Development Decay: The Pruitt-Igoe housing projects in St. Louis were built under a policy of urban renewal intended to provide affordable housing, but soon turned into a site of urban blight. They have since been demolished and the land is being redeveloped under a policy of New Urbanism.

In some ways, urban decline is an inevitable result of urbanity itself. Cities tend to grow because of momentary economic booms. These economic successes can either evolve and sustain themselves, or contract. Economic decline tends to lead to urban decline. Given that economic fluctuations have such profound effects on urban development, it makes sense that issues associated with the modern iteration of urban decline began during the Industrial Revolution, the time period in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when rural people flocked to cities for employment in manufacturing. Overpopulation in very small spatial areas became a serious issue. While the individuals who worked in manufacturing positions frequently worked and lived in extremely poor conditions, the owners of the mills became rich quickly, bringing a striking influx of economic growth suddenly to cities. However, subsequent economic changes left many newly-grown cities economically vulnerable and marred with employment factors that contribute to urban decline.

Changes in means of transport, from public to private—or specifically from public trains to private motor cars—eliminated some advantages of living and working in the city and enabled suburbanization. Following World War II, political decisions in the U.S. further solidified the already growing trend of suburbanization. Many cities used city taxes to build new infrastructure in remote, racially-restricted suburban towns. Historically in the U.S., the white middle class gradually left the cities for suburban areas because of the perceived higher crime rates and dangers caused by African-American migration to northern cities after World War I; this demonstrates so-called white flight. This trend became more permanent with the construction of the Interstate Highway System under President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1960s.

Recent Causes

Deindustrialization, or the process of social and economic change caused by the removal or reduction of industrial capacity in a region that is known for its manufacturing industry, is one of the main recent causes for urban decline in the United States. Deindustrialization is a main culprit in creating the economic conditions that contribute to urban decline by pushing jobs outside of the main urban area. An example of deindustrialization and urban decline in the United States is Detroit. After free-trade agreements were instituted with less developed nations in the 1980s and 1990s, Detroit-based auto manufacturers relocated their production facilities to other areas where wages and working standards (and therefore costs of operation) were lower. Detroit and other industrial towns, such as Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, were once centers of production and associated with high standards of living. Today, they are associated with a high concentration of poverty, unemployment, abandoned buildings and noticeable isolation.

Response

The current response to urban decay has been positive public policy and urban design using the principles of New Urbanism. New Urbanism is an urban design movement that promotes walkable neighborhoods that contain a range of housing and professional options. The movement came about in the U.S. in the 1980s and continues to have impact on urban planning.

Homelessness

Homelessness is a social problem, caused by structural inequalities and lack of resources, where certain individuals are at higher risk.

Learning Objectives

Explain the various social factors that contribute to homelessness, including categories of high risk people

Key Points

- Those at a higher risk of becoming homeless include veterans, people suffering from substance abuse or mental disorders, and the unemployed.
- Homelessness is a problem intimately associated with urban areas and the resource limitations that exist because of a populous urban environment.
- Social factors also contribute to homelessness, especially economic downturns, deinstitutionalization, and lack of family support.
- As with veterans, many individuals with substance abuse problems and mental disorders have difficulty finding work.

Key Terms

- **homelessness**: The condition of a person or persons living without a regular dwelling. People who are homeless are most often unable to acquire and maintain regular, safe, and adequate housing.
- **Medicaid**: U.S. government system for providing medical assistance to persons unable to afford medical treatments.
- **deinstitutionalization**: The process of abolishing a practice that has been considered a norm.

Homeless people are those who lack a regular, adequate residence. Although homeless people stereotypically live on the streets, many may spend some nights in shelters, transitional housing, or cars and makeshift dwellings.

Homelessness is a social problem, due in large part to structural inequality and the maldistribution of resources. However, individual risk factors help explain why certain individuals become homeless instead of others. Those at a higher risk of becoming homeless include veterans, people suffering from substance abuse or mental disorders, and the unemployed.

Homelessness in America: This video reviews statistics regarding homelessness in America, and is also an example of a non-profit organization's attempt to educate the public about the issue of hopes of reducing the problem.

Risk Factors

Many veterans return from war with insufficient training to successfully navigate the job market or with skills that are not in demand in the civilian world. They may also suffer from chronic physical or psychological conditions sustained in combat that make regular employment difficult. The federal government provides services to help veterans transition to civilian life, but some still struggle and, unable to find a job or to reintegrate, end up homeless.

Individuals with substance abuse problems and mental disorders represent a large number of the homeless. In the United States, 22 percent of the homeless have serious mental illnesses or are physically disabled, and 30 percent have substance abuse problems. Popular perception often blames the victim, suggesting these individuals are at fault for becoming homeless. However, this perspective denies structural elements that contribute to both homelessness and substance abuse.

Although most homeless people are single men, in tough economic times, families are at increased risk of homelessness due to unemployment. When unemployment rates increase, homelessness tends to increase, too. When markets crash, even families that appeared to be middle class may suddenly become homeless. In the United States, 23 percent of homeless people are families with children—the fastest growing segment of the homeless, due largely to the economic collapse in 2008.

Social Causes

Economic downturns are one of many social factors that cause homelessness. Urbanization itself may contribute to the problem. Cities must sustain a large population in a small area, which puts pressure on resources. In the United States, 71 percent of the homeless reside in urban areas.



Street Dwellers in Mumbai: On the outskirts of large developing cities, it may be a fine line between living in a slum or as a homeless person, as neither group generally possesses legal rights to land or a permanent dwelling.

Homeless people who suffer from substance abuse or mental illness often lack access to effective treatment options, a condition exacerbated by deinstitutionalization in the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to the 1960s, individuals with mental illness were frequently committed to long-term institutions, but deinstitutionalization closed these institutions in favor of

community-based treatment. Unfortunately, many people released from these institutions had no place to go and wound up homeless.

Family support can provide a buffer against homelessness; those who lack support are at increased risk. Over half of children who "age out" of social systems such as foster care find themselves homeless. Social stigma also contributes to homelessness. Teenagers who become homeless have often run away from home or been thrown out by their parents, frequently because of their sexual orientation. A 2010 study by the Center for American Progress revealed that 20 to 40 percent of homeless youth identify as LGBT.

Solutions

Given its diverse and deeply entrenched causes, homelessness is hard to address. In the past, some purported solutions have been more attentive to the desires of privileged members of society than to the homeless; they have reinforced stigma and criminalized vagrancy in an attempt to sweep the problem under the rug. Rather than stigmatizing or criminalizing homeless individuals, a long-term approach to combat homelessness must focus on meeting the needs of the homeless. The most promising solutions are holistic approaches that combine housing, health care, and education, but such programs are limited. Instead, a policy patchwork provides some housing, some healthcare, and some education, but not a comprehensive plan.



Homeless Seek Shelter: People who are homeless are often forced to sleep under makeshift shelters that offer little protection from the elements and no security.

Nonprofit and government programs exist to provide affordable housing, but face funding problems and a history of failure. In the mid-twentieth century, the government attempted to solve the housing crisis by creating massive housing projects with low rents to support the needs of low-income families, but facilities were decrepit, had little security, and eventually became havens for crime—perpetuating, rather than solving, many of the problems faced by low-income individuals. Many of these projects have been destroyed and government housing authorities have focused more on creating mixed-income affordable housing.

Given the large percentage of homeless who suffer from illness, adequate health care is an essential component to ensuring that people stay off of the streets. But in the United States, most people get health insurance through employers, leaving the unemployed with inadequate access to healthcare. Medicaid was established to provide healthcare to the indigent, but Medicaid lacks funding to adequately meet homeless needs.

Education can provide homeless children a way out, but practical barriers, such as residency restrictions, medical record verification, and transportation issues, often keep homeless youth out of school. The McKinney-Vento Act attempts to overcome these barriers by mandating equal opportunity for a free public education for homeless students.

Alienation

Alienation refers to the distancing of people from each other, from what is important and meaningful to them, or from themselves.

Learning Objectives

Compare the theories of economic and social alienation posited by Marx, Simmel, Tönnies, and Durkheim

Key Points

- Alienation has been primarily described in two ways: economic alienation, as articulated by Karl Max, or social alienation, as described by Émile Durkheim with his concept of anomie.
- Both economic and social alienation come to bear in urban environments as cities exacerbate the economic pressures associated with capitalism and create environments in which it is more difficult to attach oneself to a social structure.
- Social alienation was famously described by French sociologist Émile Durkheim in the late nineteenth century with his concept of anomie.
- Anomie describes a lack of social norms, or the breakdown of social bonds between an individual and his community ties, resulting in the fragmentation of social identity.

Key Terms

- **alienation**: Emotional isolation or dissociation.
- **capitalism**: A socio-economic system based on private property rights, including the private ownership of resources or capital, with economic decisions made largely through the operation of a market unregulated by the state.
- **anomie**: Alienation or social instability caused by erosion of standards and values.

Alienation refers to the estrangement, division, or distancing of people from each other, from what is important and meaningful to them, or from their own sense of self. The term “alienation” has a long and storied history within sociology, most famously with Karl Marx’s use of the phrase in the mid-nineteenth century to describe the distancing of a worker from the product of his labors. This article seeks to trace “alienation” through sociological theory by discussing Marx’s use of the term, applying it to social contexts with Emile Durkheim ‘s notion of anomie, and finally discussing alienation in a modern context using technological examples.

Karl Marx

Marx most clearly articulates his meaning of alienation in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (1844) and *The German Ideology* (1846). Here, Marx contends that alienation is endemic in any system based on capitalism. Marx argues that in emerging systems of capitalist industrial production, workers inevitably lose control of their lives and their selves by not having any control of their work. As a result, workers never become autonomous, self-realized human beings in any significant sense, except in the ways in which the bourgeoisie wants the worker to be realized. Marx refers to this as being alienated from one’s work, and as such one’s self.



Labor and Alienation: An employee on a car assembly line might feel alienation from the product of his/her labor, as he/she cannot claim credit for the finished product (the car), and perhaps cannot even afford to own the car the assembly line produces.

Marx’s criticisms were directed at capitalist structures, not urban areas specifically. However, one cannot completely divorce urbanity and capitalism. Of course, urban areas do not come from capitalism; there have been urban areas throughout history, emerging from many different economic systems. However, capitalist economies do tend to encourage individuals to congregate in urban areas when seeking out industrialized work. Countries’ populations tend to trend more urban the more capitalist the country’s economy. Limitations on resources are exacerbated when there is a large population in a particular area. When there is more stress on limited available resources, one pays more attention to how those resources are distributed, such as by the free market means of capitalism. As such, the issues that arise with the unequal distribution of resources under capitalism’s tenets are exacerbated in urban areas. Further, scholars following Marx more directly applied his theories to urban spaces.

Georg Simmel and Ferdinand Tönnies

Late-eighteenth-century German sociologist Georg Simmel, considered to be one of the founders of urban sociology, wrote *The Philosophy of Money*, describing how relationships are increasingly mediated by money. Simmel’s colleague, Ferdinand Tönnies, authored *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (Community and Society) about the loss of primary relationships, such as familial bonds, in favor of goal-oriented, secondary relationships in capitalist, urban environments.

Tönnies’s work shifted from conceiving of alienation in economic terms to thinking of alienation in social terms. Of course, this transition is not so simple; Marx’s work on economic alienation was fundamentally social in nature. However, many of Marx’s predecessors focused on the social consequences of alienation where Marx emphasized the economic causes for alienation. Thus, the reorientation to social alienation did not represent a break in thinking on alienation, just a shift to new directions.

Émile Durkheim



Urban Anomie: A resident in a high-rise apartment building that may house hundreds or thousands of people may feel social alienation if they do not engage in face-to-face interactions with neighbors, who remain strangers despite close physical proximity.

Social alienation was famously described by French sociologist Émile Durkheim in the late nineteenth century with his concept of anomie. Anomie describes a lack of social norms, or the breakdown of social bonds between an individual and his community ties, resulting in the fragmentation of social identity.

According to Durkheim, when one is caught in a normless state in society, one has no parameters to hold on to and, accordingly, cannot situate oneself within that society, and so becomes socially adrift and isolated. Durkeim writes that anomie is common when the surrounding society has undergone significant changes in its economic fortunes, whether for better or for worse, and more generally, when there is a significant discrepancy between the ideological theories and values commonly professed, and what is actually practicable in everyday life. Durkheim was writing at a time of sudden industrialization and mass movement of families from rural areas into urban areas. The sociocultural changes associated with such a move contributed to individuals feeling uncomfortable with their new environments, and feeling as though they could not easily place themselves in a social order.

The general principles outlined by Durkheim in his descriptions of anomie can be seen in any social context, including our own. Current debates about social alienation and anomie pop up in many social critiques of an increasingly technological world. Many popular critics and scholars have wondered if the development of a more robustly technological sociality, through mechanisms such as Facebook and multiplayer online gaming sites, can approximate the same positive consequences of more traditional, face-to-face socialization.

Community

The term community refers to a group of interacting people, living in some proximity, either in space, time, or relationship.

Learning Objectives

Diagram examples of geimeinschaft, gesellschaft, mechanical solidarity, and organic solidarity within your own community or communities, keeping in mind that these concepts cannot always be neatly separated

Key Points

- Members of communities share either proximity or interests.
- In the late nineteenth century, sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies theorized types of social groups by dividing human associations into gemeinschaft (communities) and gesellschaft (societies).
- Geimeinschaft are characterized by community members having shared views of society and close social ties. Gesellschaft are characterized by members having personal interest in being a member of society.
- Sociologist Émile Durkheim theorized community by understanding social solidarity in terms of mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.
- Mechanical solidarity is the sense of community that comes about when members are relatively homogeneous.
- Organic solidarity comes about when individuals are mutually dependent upon one another.

Key Terms

- **organic solidarity**: It is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies.
- **mechanical solidarity**: It normally operates in “traditional” and small scale societies. In simpler societies (e.g., tribal), solidarity is usually based on kinship ties of familial networks.
- **Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft**: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft are sociological categories introduced by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies for two normal types of human association.

The term community refers to a group of interacting people, living in some proximity, either in space, time, or relationship. A community is typically a social unit that is larger than a single household, comprised of individuals that share values and thus create an environment of social cohesion. Members of a community have things in common, be it a shared geographic location or a shared interest. Increasingly, the notion of community is becoming unhinged from geographic location as individuals form more and more developed webs of society online around shared interests and pursuits.

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies distinguished between two types of human association: gemeinschaft, or community; and gesellschaft, or society. In his 1887 book, aptly titled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tönnies argued that gemeinschaft is perceived to be a tighter and more cohesive social entity, due to the presence of a “unity of will.” He added that family and kinship ties were the perfect expressions of gemeinschaft, but that other shared characteristics, such as living in the same place or believing the same things, could also result in the same sense of community that is the fundamental element of gemeinschaft. Gemeinschaften are broadly characterized by a moderate division of labor, strong personal relationships, strong families, and relatively simple social institutions. Governance does not need to be strong to enforce social norms due to a collective sense of loyalty that individuals feel for community, and an internal alignment and identification with the social norms.

Gesellschaft, on the other hand, is a group in which group members are motivated to take part in the group purely for reasons of self-interest. While individuals may come to identify

with their societies, the larger association never takes precedence over the individual's self interest and, as such, these associations lack the same level of shared norms as gemeinschaft. Unlike gemeinschaften, gesellshcaften emphasize secondary relationships rather than familial ties, resulting in an individual feeling less of a bond and less loyalty to society at large. Social cohesion in gesellschaften typically derives more from an elaborate division of labor. Ultimately, Tönnies viewed gemeinschaft and gesellschaft as pure, sociological categories that are not represented in real life. In reality, all associations are a mix of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft.

Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

In 1893, French sociologist Émile Durkheim incorporated the ideas of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, particularly their influences on their respective divisions of labor, into his theory of social solidarity, published as *The Division of Labor in Society*. In this work, Durkheim establishes two types of social communities that correlate with types of society. Mechanical solidarity is a type of community in which social cohesion comes from the homogeneity of individuals. People feel connected, as though they are a part of a community, because they are similar. Mechanical solidarity speaks to the moderate division of labor and close resemblance in social norms exhibited by Tönnies's gemeinschaft.

Durkheim distinguished mechanical solidarity from organic solidarity, or a sense of community developed by the sense of interdependence that arises from specialization of work and complementary skills and interests between people. This mirrors Tönnies's gesellchaft. Industrialized societies build their senses of community by making people dependent upon one another due to highly specialized divisions of labor. For example, operating under a form of mechanical solidarity, Tina feels like she and Amy belong to the same community because they are both hunters. Under the parameters of organic solidarity, Tina and Amy feel like they belong to the same community because they perform different tasks and help one another. Tina hunts and Amy does not know how, but Amy knows how to build a house and Tina does not. Tina and Amy help each other, each providing a needed service for the other, and thus create a sense of social solidarity—a sense of community.

Noninvolvement and the Diffusion of Responsibility

Diffusion of responsibility is a phenomenon in which a person is less likely to take responsibility for an action when others are present.

Learning Objectives

Give examples of the bystander effect, diffusion of responsibility, and anomie in contemporary society

Key Points

- The bystander effect refers to cases where individuals do not offer any means of help to a victim in an emergency situation when they believe that others are present and will assist.
- Alternatively, diffusion of responsibility can also encompass a person's refusal to take personal responsibility for their own actions, such as the "only following orders" defense used in the Nuremberg Trials.
- Refusal to assume personal responsibility for one's actions or inaction can result in one feeling alienated from society and feeling useless. These are characteristics of Durkheimian anomie.
- Refusal to assume personal responsibility for one's actions or inaction can result in one feeling alienated from society and feeling useless, characteristics of Durkheimian anomie.

Key Terms

- **bystander effect**: When someone is less likely to help another if other potential helpers are present.
- **diffusion of responsibility**: Diffusion of responsibility is a socio-psychological phenomenon whereby a person is less likely to take responsibility for an action (or for inaction) when others are present.
- **anomie**: Alienation or social instability caused by erosion of standards and values.

Diffusion of responsibility is a socio-psychological phenomenon whereby a person is less likely to take responsibility for an action (or for inaction) when others are present. In such situations, individuals assume that others have already taken responsibility and therefore they have no moral obligation to do so. Alternatively, individuals might feel as though no one can find them responsible because there is no way to single out their behaviors from the rest of the group. Because they will not be forced to take responsibility, they choose not to do so on their own accord. Diffusion of responsibility tends to occur in groups of people above a critical size and when responsibility is not explicitly assigned. It rarely occurs when the person is alone and diffusion increases in groups of three or more.

Bystander Effect

The bystander effect is another phenomenon that is closely related to diffusion of responsibility. It refers to cases where individuals do not offer any means of help to a victim in an emergency situation when they believe that others are present. The probability of helping victims is inversely related to the number of bystanders; the greater the number of bystanders, the

less likely it is that any one of them will help. The mere presence of bystanders greatly decreases intervention because as the number of bystanders increases, any given bystander is less likely to interpret the incident as a problem and less likely to assume responsibility for taking action.

Nuremberg Defense

Diffusion of responsibility also includes positive behaviors, or the commission of actions, when an individual feels that he can pin the consequences of those behaviors on others rather than assume personal responsibility for them. This type of positive diffusion of responsibility constitutes the basis of the Nazi defense in the international Nuremberg Trials. The Nuremberg Trials were a series of military tribunals held by the victorious Allied forces following World War II in which many Nazi leaders were prosecuted for war crimes. The main Nuremberg Trial charged 24 Nazi leaders with participation in a conspiracy for a crime against the peace, planning, initiating, and waging wars of aggression and other crimes against the peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Significantly, while all of the 24 charged were all high up in Nazi leadership, they were not the main Nazi war architects, such as Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels, since all three of these men had committed suicide before the trials began. As such, the 24 men charged were all in serious leadership positions, but also received orders from higher-ups. This fact—that the defendants had received orders—became the heart of their defense, as they argued that they were not responsible for the charges because they were "only following orders. "

Urban Contexts



Rio de Janeiro Mugging: Studies have shown that bystanders who observe street crime are unlikely to intervene, often under the belief that others will take responsibility for intervening in the situation.

Some have argued that the problems associated with the diffusion of responsibility, particularly the form that manifests as inaction, multiply in urban contexts. When there are more people around, the more likely you are to assume that someone else will do something about the problem rather than fix it yourself. This sense of a lack of individual impact in populous places contributes to the overrepresentation of anomie in urban areas. Anomie was a concept developed by French sociologist Émile Durkheim in his 1897 study Suicide, describing a lack of social norms, or the breakdown of social bonds between an individual and his community ties, resulting in the fragmentation of social identity. According to Durkheim, when one is caught in a normless state in society, one has no parameters to hold on to and, accordingly, cannot situate oneself within that society and becomes socially adrift and isolated. Durkheim writes that anomie is common when the surrounding society has undergone significant changes in its economic fortunes, whether for better or for worse, and more generally, when there is a significant discrepancy between the ideological theories and values commonly professed and what is actually practicable in everyday life. When one feels that he need not take personal responsibility for his actions (or inaction, as it may be) but can instead rely upon the actions of others, one may feel unconnected to society. In this sense, diffusion of responsibility may mean that one feels insignificant and unconnected.

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17.5: Urban Problems and Policy

Suburbanization

Suburbanization is a term used to describe the growth of areas on the fringes of major cities.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the various push and pull factors that lead to suburbanization, including the concept of white flight, as well as the impact of suburbanization on urban areas

Key Points

- In the mid-twentieth century United States, suburbanization was caused by federal governmental incentives to encourage suburban growth and a phenomenon dubbed ” white flight ” where white residents sought to distance themselves from racial minorities in urban areas.
- Push factors are those that push people out of urban areas while pull factors are those that entice individuals to leave urban zones for the suburbs.
- Pull factors are those that attract people to suburbs in particular (like more land or bigger homes).
- White flight refers to the large-scale migration of whites from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogenous suburban areas.

Key Terms

- **Interstate Highway System**: The Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways (commonly known as the Interstate Highway System, Interstate Freeway System or the Interstate) is a network of limited-access roads, including freeways, highways, and expressways, forming part of the National Highway System of the United States.
- **white flight**: The large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries, from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban areas.
- **Redlining**: Redlining is the practice of increasing the cost of services such as banking and insurance or denying access to jobs, health care, or even supermarkets to residents in particular areas.

Suburbanization is a term used to describe the growth of areas on the fringes of major cities. Sudden and extreme relocation out of urban areas into the suburbs is one of the many causes of urban sprawl, as suburbs grow to accommodate the increasingly large population. Many residents of suburbs still work within the central urban area, choosing instead to live in the suburbs and commute to work.

Suburbanization is caused by many factors that are typically classified into push and pull factors. Push factors are those that push people out of their original homes in urban areas into suburban areas. Pull factors are those that attract people to suburbs in particular. The main push factors in encouraging suburbanization have to do with individuals feeling tired of city life and the perception that urban areas are overpopulated, over-polluted, and dirty. Further, the mid-twentieth century movement of “white flight” significantly contributed to the rise of suburbs in the United States. The term refers to the large-scale migration of whites from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogenous suburban areas. White flight began in earnest in the United States following World War II and continues, though in less overt ways, today.

For many of the families that fled the city in favor of the suburbs, the catalyst was the perception of racially diverse urban areas as lower-class and crime-ridden. Real estate law at the time enabled this process, as many minorities were legally excluded from purchasing properties in suburban areas. These racist practices, called redlining, barred African-Americans from pursuing home ownership, even when they could afford it. Suburban expansion was reserved for middle-class white people, facilitated by increasing wages in the postwar economy and by federally guaranteed mortgages that were only available to whites because of redlining. African-Americans and other minorities were relegated to a state of permanent rentership.

The effects of white flight are still seen today. Take, for example, the case of St. Louis, Missouri. St. Louis is a city surrounded by suburbs that are clumped together as the county of St. Louis. St. Louis County developed as whites fled the city for the suburbs. The racial makeup of the city St. Louis and St. Louis County still reflect the racial component of the county’s origins. According to the 2010 United States Census, the city of St. Louis is 49.2 percent African-American, 43.9 percent Caucasian, 3.5 percent Hispanic, 2.9 percent Asian, and 0.3 percent Native American. By comparison, St. Louis County is 70.3 percent Caucasian, 23.3 percent African American, 3.5 percent Asian, 2.5 percent Hispanic, and 0.03 percent Pacific Islander. At the turn of the century, the racial disparities were even more exaggerated.

Pull factors for suburbanization at the turn of the century included more open spaces, the perception of being closer to nature, and lower suburban house prices and property taxes in comparison to cities. Certain infrastructure changes encouraged families to leave urban areas for suburban ones, primarily the development of the Interstate Highway System and insurance policies favoring suburban areas. Following World War II,

President Dwight D. Eisenhower launched an initiative to create federal highways to allow for expansion outside of urban areas. Thus, the interstate highway project of the 1950s was developed with suburbanization in mind. Additionally, the government agreed to underwrite mortgages for suburban one-family homes. In effect, the government was encouraging the transfer of the middle-class population out of the inner city and into the suburbs. This movement is thought to have exacerbated urban decline in cities. Insurance companies also fueled the push out of cities and the growth of suburbs, as it redlined many inner-city neighborhoods. This means that insurance companies would refuse to grant mortgage loans to families seeking housing in urban areas and would instead offer lower rates in suburban areas; combined with the federal loans for single-family suburban homes, one sees a joint enterprise between both public and private entities to encourage suburbanization.

The mass movement of families from urban to suburban areas has had a serious economic impact with changes in infrastructure, industry, real estate development costs, fiscal policies, and more. As a result of the mass residential migration out of urban centers, many industries have followed suit. Companies are increasingly looking to build industrial parks in less populated areas, largely to match the desires of employees to work in more spacious areas closer to their suburban homes. "Making it to the suburbs" has become a modern iteration of the American dream. As residential wealth and corporations continue to leave urban zones in favor of suburban areas, the risk of urban decline increases.

Disinvestment and Deindustrialization

Deindustrialization refers to the process of social and economic change ignited by the removal or reduction of industrial activity.

Learning Objectives

Examine the four elements of deindustrialization and its impact on society, in terms of economic restructuring and societal crisis

Key Points

- Deindustrialization is primarily caused by offshoring and shifts toward service sector economies.
- Deindustrialization can have serious socioeconomic consequences in urban areas that used to be reliant on the manufacturing industry for jobs.
- The shift to a service sector economy is called economic restructuring.
- Real industrial production rose in the United States in every year from 1983 to 2007. However, the number of American workers in the manufacturing industry has declined steadily from its peak of 31.5 million in 2000.

Key Terms

- **economic restructuring**: Economic restructuring refers to the phenomenon of shifting between two types of economies, such as from a manufacturing to service economy or agricultural to manufacturing economy.
- **balance of trade deficit**: A situation in which a country imports more manufactured products than it exports.
- **Foreign direct investment**: Foreign direct investment is investment directly into production in a country by a company located in another country, either by buying a company in the target country or by expanding operations of an existing business in that country.

Deindustrialization refers to the process of social and economic change ignited by the removal or reduction of industrial activity/capacity in an area that was formerly supported by the manufacturing industry. Deindustrialization is limited to recent historical moments. It is the inverse process of industrialization —the process of social and economic change that began in the eighteenth century, transforming agrarian societies into industrial ones.

Characteristics of Deindustrialization

Deindustrialization is marked by some combination of four elements.

First, a straightforward decline in the output of manufactured goods or in employment in the manufacturing sector may indicate deindustrialization. However, not every simple decline in output or employment of the manufacturing sector necessarily indicates deindustrialization; short-run downturns may be part of the economic cycle and should not be mistaken for long-term deindustrialization.

Second, deindustrialization may be indicated by a shift from manufacturing to the service sector— economic sectors that focus on serving others rather than producing some physical object. Service sector jobs are seen in government, telecommunication, healthcare, banking, education, legal services, tourism, real estate, or consulting. This shift towards service sector employment would result a shrinking manufacturing sector.

Third, deindustrialization can be marked by a balance of trade deficit, or a situation in which a country imports more manufactured products than it exports.

Finally, deindustrialization can be observed when a nation's balance of trade deficit is so sustained that the country is unable to pay for the necessary imports of materials needed to further

produce goods, initiating a downward spiral of economic decline.

Economic Progress

How is it that economies find themselves in situations of deindustrialization? One explanation centers on economic progress. As economies that were once industrial improve their methods through technological innovation, businesses will find ways to increase productivity or product growth while decreasing the amount of resources they need to devote to production. One “resource” that is particularly expensive is labor. With better technology, employers are able to produce at least the same amount of their product with fewer employees. The decline in employment in manufacturing sectors that comes about from this progress can indicate deindustrialization.

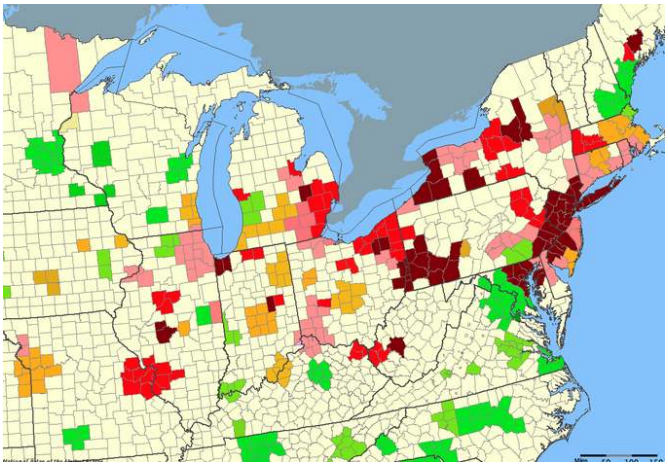
Economic Resturcturing

Another explanation focuses on economic restructuring—institutional and governmental encouragement of the development of a more robust service sector, often at the expense of the manufacturing sector. As the service sector has developed, more and more manufacturing plants have shifted their operations overseas in a process called offshoring. American companies are still involved in the financial aspects of the company; the company remains an American property or American financiers invest through foreign direct investment in companies based abroad. In this model, daily operation occurs overseas, including the hiring of foreign workers in the country where the manufacturing operations are now based. Offshoring demonstrates the importance of scale when considering the process of deindustrialization. While moving a company from the United States to India might result in deindustrialization in America, it does nothing to diminish industry globally. Rather, it redistributes industrialization to India. As such, deindustrialization can be seen as a redistribution of industrial capacity and development rather than a simple decline.

Deindustrialization as a Crisis

When one limits one’s view to a national context, deindustrialization is seen as a crisis. The fact that global industrial capacity has merely been redistributed is little comfort when jobs are being lost at home. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), real industrial production rose in the United States in every year from 1983 to 2007. However, people commonly refer to the United States being in caught in a deindustrialization crisis; growth has slowed and more countries have moved their operations overseas. The number of American workers in the manufacturing industry has declined steadily from its peak of 31.5 million in 2000.

The city of Detroit represents the deindustrialization crisis in the American context. After free-trade agreements were instituted with less-developed nations in the 1980s and 1990s, Detroit-based auto manufacturers relocated their production facilities to other countries with lower wages and work standards. This process took a heavy toll on an auto industry, which was already losing jobs due to technological innovations that required less manual labor. Detroit was once a center of production associated with a high-quality, middle-class standard of living. Today, Detroit is associated with a high concentration of poverty, unemployment, noticeable racial isolation, and a deserted urban center. Deindustrialization can have strongly negative effects in urban areas that were formerly heavily reliant upon the manufacturing sector.



The United States Rust Belt: The Rust Belt refers to northern U.S. cities that have undergone rapid deindustrialization, including the loss of manufacturing jobs. On the map, green areas have seen gains in manufacturing jobs while all other areas have experienced losses.



Deindustrialization and Redevelopment: This former Bethlehem Steel Plant in Pennsylvania was demolished after the company went out of business. It has been replaced by a casino.

The Potential of Urban Revitalization

Urban revitalization involves redeveloping blighted urban areas for new uses.

Learning Objectives

Examine the postwar development of urban revitalization, specifically related to Title I of the Housing Act of 1949

Key Points

- Urban revitalization has been around since European city planners in the nineteenth century began to consider how to reorganize overpopulated urban areas.
- Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 kick-started the urban renewal program that would reshape American cities.
- Urban renewal can have many positive effects, including better quality housing, reduced sprawl, increased economic competitiveness, improved cultural and social amenities, and improved safety.
- The government has only had mixed success in actually restoring urban areas and has tried to rebrand urban renewal as community redevelopment.

Key Terms

- **eminent domain**: (US) The right of a government over the lands within its jurisdiction. Usually invoked to compel land owners to sell their property in preparation for a major construction project, such as a freeway.
- **Housing Act of 1949**: The American Housing Act of 1949 was a landmark, sweeping expansion of the federal role in mortgage insurance and issuance and the construction of public housing. It was part of Harry Truman's program of domestic legislation, the Fair Deal.

Urban revitalization is hailed by many as a solution to the problems of urban decline by, as the term suggests, revitalizing decaying urban areas. Urban revitalization is closely related to processes of urban renewal, or programs of land redevelopment in areas of moderate- to high-density urban land use. Urban revitalization has been around since European city planners in the nineteenth century began to consider how to reorganize overpopulated urban areas. However, the modern instantiation of urban revitalization is very much a product of the post-World War II economic and social environment. With the influx of money following World War II, the federal government spotlighted American urban areas as the object of renovation.

Most of the postwar development was focused on suburbanization, but urban revitalization was a statutory corollary to suburban development. Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 kick-started the urban renewal program that would reshape American cities. The Act provided federal funding to cities to cover the cost of acquiring declining areas of cities perceived to be slums. According to the act, the federal government paid two-thirds of the cost of acquiring the site, called "the write down," while the local governments paid for the remaining one-third. Most of the money went towards purchasing the property from the present owners. This process is called " eminent domain," or the process through which the government acquires private property for the larger public good. The process of eminent domain requires that the government provide due compensation but does not necessarily require the private property owner's consent. In the post-war era, after acquiring the properties, the government gave much of the land to private developers to construct new urban housing. These federal incentives to revitalize declining urban areas were particularly attractive to cities that were in states of economic decline at the time.

Urban revitalization certainly provides potential for future urban growth, though the story of successes and failures remains mixed so far. Urban renewal can have many positive effects. Replenished housing stock might signify an improvement in quality; urban renewal may increase density and reduce sprawl, and it might have economic benefits that improve the economic competitiveness of the city's center. It can also improve cultural and social amenities, through the construction of public spaces and community centers, and can improve safety.



Melbourne Docklands Renewal: The Melbourne Docklands were once a vast expanse of unused docks, but they have now been turned into a residential and commercial development.

Urban Gentrification

Gentrification occurs when wealthier people buy or rent property in a low-income or working class neighborhood, displacing residents.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the process of gentrification based on three models – demographic, sociocultural and political/economy

Key Points

- While gentrification can bring about higher tax revenues from higher property values, gentrification also dislocates pre-gentrification residents by raising rents beyond their price ranges.
- Gentrification has encountered backlash from the original residents of a community, many of whom organize to fight against the white and wealthy incoming population.
- Several explanations for gentrification exist, including a demographic-ecological model, a sociocultural model, and a political economic model.

Key Terms

- **baby boomer generation**: The baby boomer generation, or those born during the spike in births in the twenty years following World War II, is starting to reach senior citizenship, and will soon pull from the public funds of Social Security and Medicare.
- **urban pioneers**: In the 1970s, the first few suburban transplants were called urban pioneers and demonstrated that cities were actually appropriate and viable places to live.
- **gentrification**: The process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces earlier usually poorer residents.

Gentrification has gained attention over the last 50 years, as sociologists attempt to explain the influx of middle-class people to cities and neighborhoods and the displacement of lower-class working residents. Gentrification occurs when wealthier people buy or rent property in low- income or working class neighborhoods, driving up property values and rent. While it brings money into blighted urban areas, it often comes at the expense of poorer, pre-gentrification residents who cannot afford increased rents and property taxes.

How to Gentrify Your Neighborhood – A Video Parody: This comedy video raises many critiques of gentrification by parodying the gentrification of Brooklyn, NY. Many critics of gentrification point to its effects on racial composition of the neighborhood as low-income residents are displaced.

The first urban pioneers in a gentrifying neighborhood may have lower incomes, but possess the cultural capital (e.g., education) characteristic of suburban residents. They are often socially and professionally dominant while economically marginalized. Partially due to their age and low-incomes, these individuals frequently reside in households with roommates and are more tolerant of the perceived evils of the city, such as crime, poor schools, and insufficient public services. Thus, they are willing to move into marginal neighborhoods. When the number of urban pioneers reaches such a critical mass, it attracts business investment and new amenities such as bars, restaurants, and art galleries. Once the urban pioneers and businesses have taken the financial risk out of the community, risk-averse investors and residents may enter the newly gentrified neighborhood. Renewed business attracts more investment capital and new residents, increasing local property values. Ironically, upon full gentrification, the urban pioneers are frequently evicted as rents and taxes rise, and the young, poor professionals can no longer afford to live in the area.

Gentrification is often resisted by those displaced by rising rents. However, while protests have an economic dimension, claims are usually articulated as a loss of culture or dismay over the homogenization and flattening of a formerly diverse neighborhood: gentrification generally increases the proportion of young, white, middle- to upper-income residents.

Explanations of Gentrification

Demographic

The demographic explanation emphasizes the impact of the baby boomer generation, born after World War II. In the 1970s, this led to a spike in the young adult population, increasing demand for housing. To meet the demand, urban areas had to be "recycled," or gentrified. The new baby boomer residents departed from the suburban family idea, marrying later and having fewer children; women in the baby boomer generation were the first to enter the workforce in serious numbers. New urban residents were composed of higher, dual-income couples without children, less concerned about space for large families —one of the main draws to the suburbs for their parents. Instead, they were interested in living in cities close to their careers and enjoying the amenities their higher incomes could afford.

Sociocultural

The sociocultural explanation is based on the assumption that values and beliefs influence behavior. It focuses on the changing lifestyles and values of the middle- and upper-classes in the 1970s. At this time, the suburban ideal was falling out of favor; fewer people were moving to suburbs and more were moving back to cities. These first few suburban transplants, or urban pioneers, demonstrated that cities were viable places to live and began developing a type of inner-city chic that was attractive to other baby boomers, which in turn brought an influx of young affluence to inner cities.



Artists move into Williamsburg: In Williamsburg and other parts of Brooklyn, New York, artists have adopted industrial spaces as studios and galleries. This cultural redevelopment is evidence of gentrification.

Political Economy

Political economic explanations argue new economic or policy incentives contribute to gentrification. In part, the changing political climate of the 1950s and 1960s produced new civil rights legislation, such as anti-discrimination laws in housing and employment and desegregation laws. These policies enabled black families to move out of urban centers and into the suburbs, thus decreasing the availability of suburban land, while integrationist policies encouraged white movement into traditionally black urban areas.

An alternative explanation suggests that developers and government encouraged gentrification with an eye toward profit. Gentrification may be driven by governments hoping to raise property values and increase revenue from taxes. It may be the result of fluctuating relationships between capital investments and the production of urban space. During the two decades following World War II, low rents in the city's periphery encouraged suburban development; as capital investment moved to suburbs, inner-city property values fell. Developers were able to see that they could purchase the devalued urban land, redevelop the properties, and turn a profit.

Shrinking Cities and Counter-Urbanization

Counterurbanization is movement away from cities, including suburbanization, exurbanization, or movement to rural areas.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the reasons for suburbanization and counterurbanization, specifically white flight

Key Points

- White flight is one explanation for widespread counterurbanization in the post-WWII era in the U.S. It refers to the movement of middle and upper- class whites to suburbs to avoid living in areas with high proportions of racial minorities.
- Counterurbanization can lead to shrinking cities. Cities with declining populations experience economic strains as infrastructure exceeds the needs of a shrinking population and costs more per capita than during the city's peak.
- Several approaches have been employed in attempts to address the problems of shrinking cities. Often these approaches aim to increase urban density.

Key Terms

- **exurbanization**: Exurbanization refers to the process in the 1990s when upper class city dwellers moved out of the city, beyond the suburbs, to live in high-end housing in the countryside.
- **urban decay**: Urban decay is a process whereby a city, or part of a city, falls into disrepair and decrepitude.
- **white flight**: The large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries, from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban areas.

Suburbanization and Counterurbanization

Recently, in developed countries, sociologists have observed suburbanization and counterurbanization, or movement away from cities, which may be driven by transportation infrastructure or social factors like racism. In developing countries, urbanization is characterized by large-scale movements of people from the countryside into cities. In developed countries, people are able to move out of cities while maintaining many of the advantages of city life because improved communications and means of transportation. In fact, counterurbanization appears most common among the middle and upper classes who can afford to buy their own homes.

White Flight

Sociologists have posited many explanations for counterurbanization, but one of the most debated known as "white flight. " The term "white flight" was coined in the mid-twentieth century to describe suburbanization and the large-scale migration of whites of various European ancestries from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban regions. During the first half of the twentieth century, discriminatory housing policies often prevented blacks from moving to suburbs; banks and federal policy made it difficult for blacks to get the mortgages they needed to buy houses, and communities used restrictive housing covenants to exclude minorities.

White flight during the post-war period contributed to urban decay, a process whereby a city, or part of a city, falls into disrepair and decrepitude. Symptoms of urban decay include depopulation, abandoned buildings, high unemployment, crime, and a desolate, inhospitable landscape. White flight contributed

to the draining of cities' tax bases when middle-class people left. Urban decay was caused in part by the loss of industrial and manufacturing jobs as they moved into rural areas or overseas, where labor was cheaper.

Suburbanization

In the United States, suburbanization began in earnest after World War Two, when soldiers returned from war and received generous government support to finance new homes. These young men were also interested in settling down, buying their own homes, and achieving independence and a less hectic daily life with a more affordable cost of living than they could find in cities. Thus, suburbs were built—smaller cities located on the edges of a larger city, which often include residential neighborhoods for those working in the area. Suburbs grew dramatically in the 1950s when the U.S. Interstate Highway System was built and automobiles became affordable for middle class families.

Exurbanization

Around 1990, another trend emerged, called exurbanization: upper class city dwellers moved out of the city, beyond the suburbs, to live in high-end housing in the countryside. This exurbanization may be a new urban form. Rather than densely populated centers, cities may become more spread out, composed of many interconnected smaller towns. The history of counterurbanization calls into question depictions of urbanization as a one-way process. The modern U.S. experience has followed a circular pattern over the last 150 years, from a largely rural country, to a highly urban country, to a country with significant suburban populations.

Shrinking Cities

Whatever its causes, counterurbanization has had serious effects on cities. As a result of counterurbanization, some cities are now losing population. These shrinking cities may face serious problems as they attempt to maintain infrastructure built for a much larger population. As cities shrink, residents must contribute more per capita to maintain fixed infrastructure costs (e.g., for roads, sewers, and public transportation). Dispersed neighborhoods that characterize shrinking cities are also a major source of fiscal distress. These cities must still provide services like fire protection and trash pickup to fewer and fewer citizens over a larger geographic distance, raising the per capita cost.

Several approaches have been employed in attempts to address these problems. Often these approaches aim to increase urban density. For example, planners may revitalize core areas, like downtown, to make them more attractive to businesses and residents. Other cities have tried setting an urban growth boundary to limit sprawl, which increases density within the boundary. The boundary generally encompasses the city and its surrounding suburbs, requiring the entire area to work together to prevent urban shrinkage. This method is being used successfully in many cities (such as Portland, Oregon) to maximize returns on infrastructure investments.



Baltimore—A Shrinking City: Baltimore, Maryland is an example of a shrinking American city. Its population has decreased by over 300,000 since 1950, leaving infrastructure for a larger population unused.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

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18.1: The Aging Population

Aging

Aging is the process of people growing older.

Learning Objectives

Key Points

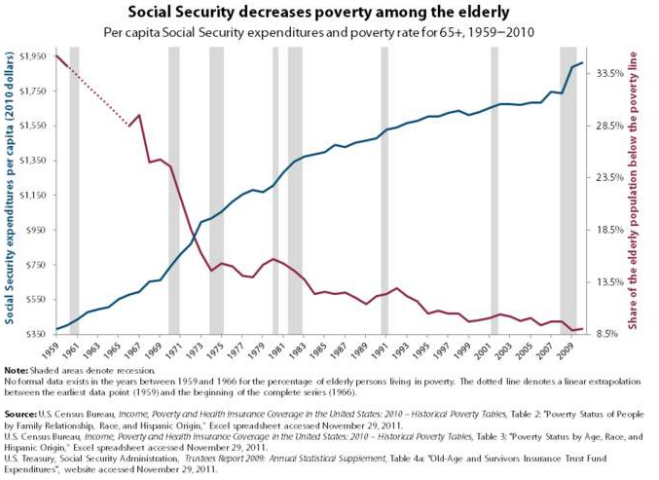
- Population aging is a demographic phenomenon which involves the rise in the median age of a country or region.
- Traditionally, the extended family was primarily responsible for taking care of the elderly, a fact which is no longer the case in many societies.
- Today, the state and various charitable organizations are largely responsible for providing care for the elderly.
- In the U.S., two major problems associated with an aging population are the pension crisis and the strain on the healthcare system, particularly Medicare.

Key Terms

- **Growing Old**: In the 1961 book Growing Old, Cumming and Henry formulated the disengagement theory of aging. It was the first theory of aging that social scientists developed.
- **disengagement theory**: The disengagement theory of aging states that "aging is an inevitable, mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the aging person and others in the social system he belongs to."

Aging

As people grow older, they become less self-sufficient in terms of taking care of their own finances, health, and general day-to-day needs and obligations. For example, most societies have a generally accepted age of retirement (based on both societal norms as well as a country's tax laws and pension rules) after which point an individual ceases to engage in employment. The rest of society typically assumes some level of responsibility in ensuring that the elderly are cared for. The elderly can receive care from a variety of different sources, including their families, the state, the private sector, and charitable institutions. Nevertheless, even in societies that have a strong system in place to provide for the aged, an aging population poses a significant financial and economic burden. In the U.S. specifically, the pension system and the healthcare sector are two important examples of this problem.



Does Social Security Decrease Poverty among the Elderly?: The blue line represents social security expenditure in 2010 dollars, while the red line indicates the percentage of the population aged 65 and over who are at or below the poverty line. As the graph shows, the amount of social security expenditure is correlated with a drop in the number of elderly people at or below the poverty line.

History of Elderly Care

Traditionally, the extended family would look after the older generation. While this role is still attributed to the family in many parts of the world, particularly in non-Western nations, the modern family has evolved in such a way that care for the aged is now provided for by the state and various charitable organizations. Some of the main reasons why elders are less likely to be taken care of exclusively by their families include the decreasing size of families, the increased longevity of the elderly, the geographic dispersion of families, and the fact that women have become more educated and commonly work outside the home. While this trend is widespread in Europe and North America, there is growing evidence of it in many parts of Asia, too. The various forms that elderly care services can take include assisted living, adult day care, long-term care, nursing homes, hospice care, and in-home care. The different institutions can further be classified as medical (skilled) care and non-medical (social) care.

Several countries today are facing an aging population, where the median age of the population has increased and a larger portion of the population is considered to be older. Two primary reasons for this are increased life expectancy and lower birth rates. Currently, the majority of the countries facing this demographic phenomenon consists of advanced economies, such as Japan and many parts of Europe. However, it is predicted that the greatest future impact will occur in Asia.

Advantages of an Older Population

There may be some economic advantages to having an older population. For example, since older people have higher accumulated savings per head than younger individuals do, a large aged population can result in lower interest rates as well as a lower rate of inflation. However, for the most part, a substantial aged population leads to a lot of financial pressure on both the public and private sectors.

Disadvantages of an Older Population

One of the problems that may arise from a large segment of society being aged is a pension crisis. In the U.S., it is probably going to become increasingly difficult to pay corporate, federal, and state pensions, because the number of workers relative to retirees is shrinking. In order to improve the sustainability of the pension system, a few measures can be undertaken. For example, the worker-retiree ratio can be rectified by increasing the retirement age or by changing employment and immigration policies. Alternatively, it may be possible to reduce the amount owed to retirees. Finally, it may become necessary to expand resources to fund pensions through increased contributions or higher taxes. Trying to implement any of these solutions will likely result in some level of controversy and public debate.

Another significant source of problems related to an older population resides in the healthcare sector. In 1965, Congress created Medicare under the Social Security Act in order to provide health insurance to U.S. citizens over the age of 65, regardless of their income and medical history. Aside from premiums paid by Medicare enrollees along with the fund source itself, Medicare is financed by revenue levied on employers and workers through the Federal Insurance Contributions Act and the Self-Employment Contributions Act. However, due to rising enrollment as the population ages and a decreasing ratio of workers to enrollers, Medicare is facing financial difficulties. While the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act is supposed to address many issues confronting the healthcare sector today, the rising cost of healthcare remains a national problem, as patients are paying more in order to receive the same care as before.

Composition of the Older Population

The elderly proportion of the population is growing around the world, but it is greater in developed countries.

Learning Objectives

Examine the sociological factors that allow people to live longer lives in industrialized versus non-industrialized nations, such as better access to health care

Key Points

- All over the world, people are living longer. Population experts estimate that more than 50 million Americans, or 17 percent of the population, will be 65 or older in 2020.
- Biological markers for old age (such as wrinkles, grey hair, memory loss, etc.) exist, but old age can also be defined by when an individual begins to fill certain social roles, such as becoming a grandparent or retiring.
- There is a disparity between industrialized and non-industrialized nations; people live longer in industrialized countries.
- The population of people aged 65 and older has been growing at a faster rate than the total population. While women still live longer than men, the gender gap among seniors is narrowing.
- There appear to be regional divides in the demographic breakdown of senior citizens.

Key Terms

- **centenarian**: Being at least 100 years old.
- **United States Census**: The United States Census provides more specific information about the make up of older Americans. According to the census, there has been rapid growth amongst the elderly segment of the population in recent years.

The number of individuals living into old age is growing worldwide. While the trend of an aging population is obvious, it can be difficult to assess because the definition of “old age” depends entirely on the cultural norms of a given society. Biological markers for old age (such as wrinkles, grey hair, memory loss, etc.) exist, but old age can also be defined by when an individual begins to fill certain social roles, such as becoming a grandparent or retiring. All of these factors vary by culture.

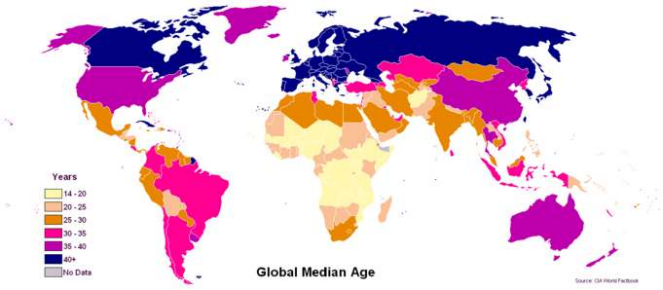
Statistics on Age

Nevertheless, the fact is that people are living longer and are therefore more prone to encounter issues associated with old age. In industrialized nations, life expectancy has increased consistently over the last decades. In the United States, the proportion of people aged 65 or older increased from 4 percent in 1900 to about 12 percent in 2000. In 1900, only about 3 million Americans were 65 or older, out of a total population of 76 million Americans. By 2000, the number of senior citizens had increased to 35 million out of 280 million Americans. Population experts estimate that more than 50 million Americans, or 17 percent of the population, will be 65 or older in 2020. The number of older Americans has spiked in recent years due to the age of baby boomers—the generation that was born in the twenty years following World War II. As soldiers

returned from war, families began to grow. This generation is now beginning to enter their older years.

The United States Census provides more specific information about the make up of older Americans. According to the census, there has been rapid growth among the elderly segment of the population in recent years. The population of people aged 65 and older grew at a faster rate than the total population. While women still live longer than men, the gender gap among seniors is narrowing. Further, there appear to be regional divides in the demographic breakdown of senior citizens. The South had the largest *number* of people aged 65 and up, while the Northeast had the largest *percentage* of people aged 65 and up. In 2010, 53,364 centenarians, or people over the age of 100, lived in the United States, a 5.8 percent increase from the number of centenarians in 2000. This means that 1 out of every 5,786 Americans is over the age of 100.

While the trend of an older population appears worldwide, people in industrialized nations are older than people in non-industrialized nations. While people in almost all countries are living longer than prior generations, people in industrialized nations still live longer than people in non-industrialized nations. According to the Population Research Bureau, the average life expectancy in Africa is 53, in North America is 78, in Latin America is 73, in Asia is 68, in Europe is 75, and in Oceania is 75. Some of this difference can be attributed to disparities in health care—easier access to pervasive biotechnology in industrialized nations means that people live longer. Other factors include poverty and a generally more strenuous lifestyle, which can cause health problems and a lower life expectancy.



Global Median Age: Average age by country

Gender Differences in Aging

Aging to sex ratios show women living longer than men, but this gap has been quickly narrowing since 1990.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the gender gap that exists leading to women generally living longer than men

Key Points

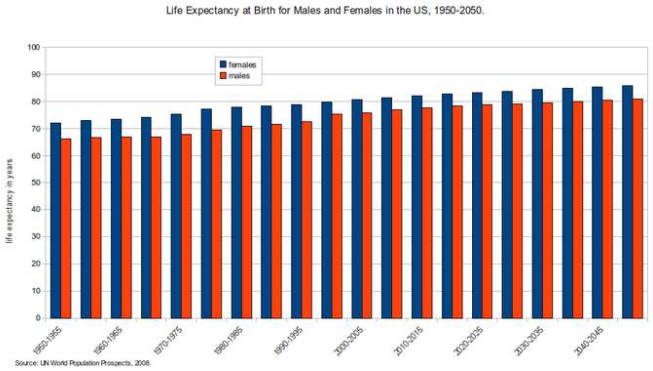
- Women tend to live longer than men, and the ratio of women to men is high among the elderly.
- The percentage of men aged 65 and up grew faster than the percentage of women aged 65 and up, according to the 2010 census.
- The longevity of women relative to men is likely due to their better cardiovascular health, the fact that they are less likely to engage in risky behavior, and the fact that traditionally, physical labor is more frequently performed by men.

Key Terms

- **centenarian**: Being at least 100 years old.

Women tend to live longer than men in almost every country. In Japan, men generally live to about 79, whereas women live to 83. However, in the United States, that gender gap is beginning to close. The percentage of men aged 65 and up grew faster than the percentage of women aged 65 and up, according to the 2010 census. For example, the number of men aged 85 to 94 grew 46.5% between 2000 and 2010, but the number of women in that age group grew only 22.9%.

However, for the very oldest members of the population, the gender gap still holds true. The United States Census reports that of the 53,364 centenarians, or people over the age of 100, 82.8% are women and only 17.2% are male. In other words, out of the entire American population, 1 out of every 3,551 females is a centenarian while only 1 out or 16,566 males is a centenarian. Thus, even though the gender gap is narrowing, women are still expected to live longer than men.



A Comparison of Genders: This graph illustrates the differences in life expectancy at birth for males and females in the United States, from 1950 to 2050.

These figures could be due, in part, to the sex ratio. The sex ratio is the ratio of men to women in a given society or country. The current sex ratio for the world is 986 females to 1000 males. In the United States, the ratio is 105 males to every 100 females. However, men tend to live riskier lives, are more prone to heart disease and cancer, and women are therefore likely to live longer than men. In fact, cancer deaths among men are 200

per 100,000 cases, whereas women are only 150 per 100,000 (from the National Cancer Institute).

Why women live longer than men is not perfectly understood. Several factors contribute to the overall trend. For example, men statistically engage in more behaviors that put their lives at risk than women, which reduces their life expectancy. Men are also more "successful" when attempting suicide, which also brings down their life expectancy. Another factor that may contribute to the greater life expectancy of women is the different types of jobs men and women tend to have during their lifetimes, with men more frequently doing physical labor that could wear the body down or increase the odds of injury. Other biological factors likely play a role, including greater cardiovascular health among women.

Aging and Race

Individuals with different racial backgrounds tend to have different experiences with old age.

Learning Objectives

Examine the racial implications of aging, particularly for minority groups

Key Points

- Minority populations are more likely to experience elder abuse from relatives and caretakers.
- Minority populations are also more likely to experience health problems associated with old age.
- Many of the medical differences between different racial groups are better explained by differences in socioeconomic status rather than race.

Key Terms

- **elder abuse**: Elder abuse is a general term used to describe certain types of harm to older adults.
- **social determinants of health**: The economic and social conditions that influence individual and group differences in health status.



Aging and its Trials: Are the problems the elderly face a result of their age, or are their other, more influential, factors involved, such as race?

Individuals of different racial backgrounds experience aging — and the health issues associated with it—differently. Before turning to the medical concerns that accompany aging, one should note that elders of different racial backgrounds also experience different frequencies of elder abuse. Elder abuse is a general term to describe certain types of harm that are inflicted upon older adults. The most common form of elder abuse is neglect or improper care for vulnerable seniors. Unfortunately, this is usually inflicted by people whom the elder trusts and who are responsible for caring for the elder, such as family members or caretakers at elder homes. Research indicates that black senior citizens are more likely to be abused than white citizens.

Further, medical concerns present differently for white seniors and minority seniors. Black and Hispanic seniors are more likely to encounter cardiac problems earlier than white seniors. However, these outcome disparities are not usually the result of biological determinants of health, which means that minority populations are not biologically less healthy than white populations. Rather, the disparity in medical outcomes is more likely attributed to social determinants of health, which are socioeconomic conditions that bear on health.

For example, black and Hispanic populations are more likely to encounter financial hardship and therefore eat less healthy food, which potentially leads to health problems. In addition, individuals from a poorer socioeconomic background are less likely to have had access to healthcare throughout their whole lives. This lack of access ultimately leads to medical concerns in old age. Thus, while one can make generalizations about elder health by comparing racial categories, these differences are frequently caused by differences in socioeconomic status rather than race.

Aging and Wealth

In order to assist the elderly with their living and healthcare costs, the U.S. government established assistance programs like Medicare.

Learning Objectives

Examine the programs made available to the elderly to assist with quality of life, such as Social Security and Medicare, and the looming crises with these particular programs

Key Points

- American seniors face serious financial troubles due to the fact that they are no longer earning an income, but face increased expenses as a result of diminishing health.
- Social Security and Medicare are federal programs designed to help seniors, though both programs face financial difficulties themselves.
- The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, also known as Obamacare, would help cut down seniors' expenses by lowering healthcare costs and increasing public services.

Key Terms

- **Obamacare**: a colloquial term for the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 which expands health care coverage for Americans
- **baby boomer generation**: The baby boomer generation, or those born during the spike in births in the twenty years following World War II, is starting to reach senior citizenship, and will soon pull from the public funds of Social Security and Medicare.
- **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act**: an American law passed in 2010 that expands health care coverage

Managing the Aging Population

The elderly have financial difficulties primarily because they are too old to hold a job, and thus have no regular income, yet they incur large medical expenses as a result of diminishing health. However, due to the improvement in medical technology, more seniors are living longer and more fulfilling lives, yet still struggle financially. Because of this trend of impoverishment, the United States has enacted social policies designed to help the elderly manage their financial woes. Major policy efforts include Social Security, a social welfare program that taxes the current working sector to give money to individuals in retirement, and Medicare, a federal program that subsidizes medical costs for seniors. Prior to the introduction of Social Security, the elderly were the poorest age group in the United States. With the introduction of Social Security, poverty rates of the elderly in the United States have dropped dramatically. Between 1960 and 1995, the official poverty rate of those aged 65 and above fell from 35 percent to 10 percent, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research. However, due to a lack of funds, that number is beginning to increase once again.

Social Security

Social Security is designed to redistribute wealth temporarily in order to help seniors finance their lives after retirement. In this program, the current workforce is taxed, the results of which flow into a special fund designated for Social Security. Payments are then made from this fund to retirees. This is not, however, simple redistribution. The workforce that is currently contributing to the fund will then retrieve payments once they retire. Thus, Social Security has features of both a redistribution system and a savings account.

Medicare

In addition to Social Security, the other primary social support for the American elderly is Medicare. Medicare is a social insurance program that provides health care for American citizens over the age of 65. Medicare subsidizes hospital visits, doctors' appointments, and prescription drugs. Created in 1965, Medicare was intended to address the fact that seniors spend more on healthcare than any other segment of the population, despite having the least income. Recent studies have confirmed that Medicare enrollees typically have lower incomes and more healthcare expenses than the average American. In 2006, the average household income of Medicare enrollees was $22,600, far less than the median American income of $48, 201. In 2008, 16% of Medicare enrollees were living below the poverty line, compared to 13% of the general population. Further complicating things, the typical senior household has only $66,900 in savings, yet the average American male needs $124,000 to cover healthcare during retirement, and the average American female needs $152,000.

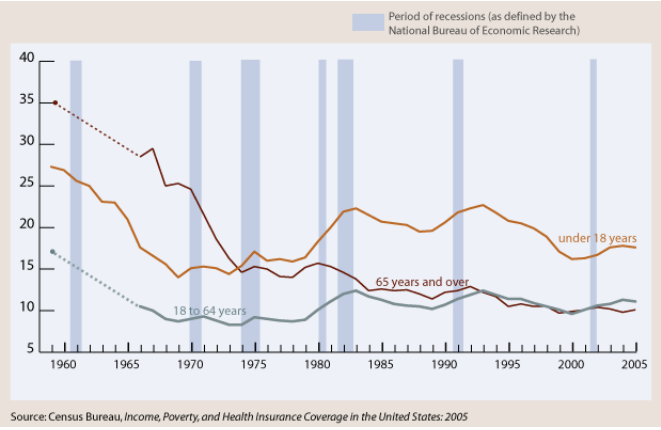
Because Medicare enrollees are, by definition, senior citizens, their healthcare costs also far higher than average. About 87% of Medicare enrollees have at least one chronic condition and close to half have three or more. Thirty percent of enrollees visit the emergency room in any given year, and 21% have an inpatient stay. Roughly 66% of seniors require some form of long-term care over their lifetimes, and 18% live in a nursing home for at least one year. These disparities demonstrate the complicated problems most senior citizens encounter as they age.

Looming Crises with Medicare and Social Security

Social Security could soon be in crisis if current trends to not change. Right now, more money is being garnished through taxing the current workforce than is being paid out to retirees.

However, this will soon change. If the laws governing Social Security are not changed by 2017, the program will begin paying out more funds than it receives. Medicare faces even more dire financial problems than Social Security. Like Social Security, Medicare gains revenue through taxation, but by 2009, Medicare was expending more than it was earning, and its Trust Fund had already been tapped to access emergency funds. The Trust Fund for Medicare will be exhausted by 2017, at which point, the federal government will only be able to cover about 80% of the costs of medical treatment for its senior citizens, which is around 48 million Americans.

Part of the reason both Social Security and Medicare face looming crises is the rising population of seniors. The baby boomer generation, those born in the 20 years following World War II, is starting to reach senior citizenship and pull from these public funds. At the same time, the working population in the United States has decreased. Thus, Social Security and Medicare are both being called upon to support greater numbers of senior citizens while having fewer workers to tax in order to gain revenue. The respective conditions of Social Security and Medicare contributed significantly to the discussion surrounding the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, passed by President Barack Obama in 2010. The act, commonly referred to as Obamacare, provides a public insurance option through the government to help drive down insurance costs. By lowering healthcare costs and requiring insurance, the government hopes to better address the needs of the nation's elderly. However, the constitutionality of the Act is currently being debated by the U.S. Supreme Court and the Act could be overturned. Regardless of what the Supreme Court decides, American seniors face serious financial troubles, compounded by their healthcare needs.



Poverty by Age: This figure shows the relationship between poverty and age.

Global Aging

Global aging differs depending on the access to economic and social resources; thus, industrialized countries tend to have older populations.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the impact of an aging population on the economy, for example, in terms of health care costs

Key Points

- People are living longer than ever before across the world.
- However, on average, people in industrialized nations live longer than people in non-industrialized nations. This is largely due to poorer health in non- industrialized countries, and fatalities associated with HIV/AIDS.
- Difference in lifespan is also attributed to better access of healthcare in different industrialized and non-industrialized nations.
- The economic effects of an aging population are considerable.

Key Terms

- **biotechnology**: The use of living organisms (especially microorganisms) in industrial, agricultural, medical and other technological applications
- **HIV/AIDS**: An infectious disease, caused by HIV, that causes the gradual degeneration of the body's immune system.

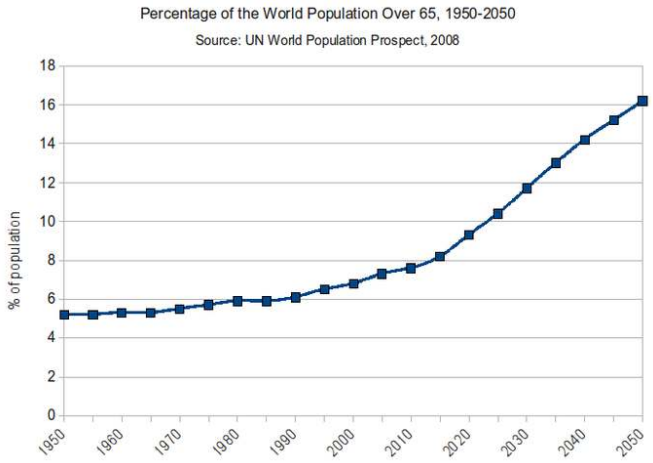
All over the world, people are living longer than ever before. However, while the trend of a growing older population appears world over, people in industrialized nations are older than people in non-industrialized nations. According to the Population Research Bureau, the average life expectancy in Africa is 53, in North America is 78, in Latin America is 73, in Asia is 68, in Europe is 75, and in Oceania is 75. Worldwide, about 8% of the total global population is over the age of 65, while about 12% of Americans are over the age of 65.

Some of this difference can be attributed to disparities in health care. Easier access to pervasive biotechnology in industrialized nations means that people live longer. Unfortunately, in some countries HIV/AIDS has ravaged the population to the point where the average life expectancy drops. Most of these countries have lower levels of development and industrialization.

The economic effects of an aging population are considerable. Older people have higher accumulated savings per head than younger people, but spend less on consumer goods. Depending on the age ranges at which the changes occur, an aging

population may thus result in lower interest rates and the economic benefits of lower inflation. Some economists see advantages in such changes, notably the opportunity to progress automation and technological development without causing unemployment. They emphasize a shift from GDP to personal well-being.

However population aging also increases some categories of expenditure, including some from public finances. The largest area of expenditure in many countries is now health care, the cost of which is likely to increase dramatically as populations age. This would present governments with hard choices between higher taxes, including a possible reweighing of tax from earnings to consumption, and a reduced government role in providing health care.



Percentage of the World Population Over 65: 1950-2050

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18.2: A Global Perspective on Aging

The Social Construction of Aging

The social construction of aging entails the creation of social norms and symbols that encapsulates the aging process.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the cultural treatment of aging in the U.S. versus Japan, employing Goffman's argument in "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life"

Key Points

- Age is socially constructed because notions of age vary around the world.
- Different cultures fix age with different meanings and different values.
- Eastern cultures tend to highly value age and wisdom, while Western cultures tend to highly value youth.
- In Western societies, people take pains to appear younger than their biological age. These measures follow Erving Goffman 's ideas of self-presentation in that people are trying to get others in society to perceive them as young.

Key Terms

- **social construction**: A concept or practice that is the construct (or artifact) of a particular group, meaning that the concept or practice is understood differently by various groups and institutions.

Aging as a Social Construction

While aging itself is a biological process, what it means to be "young" or "old" is socially constructed. This means that there is no inherent cultural meaning to the biological process of aging. Rather, cultures imbue youth and age with meanings. Aging is perceived differently around the world, demonstrating its social construction.

Frequently, the average life expectancy in a given region bears on what age counts as "old." For example, in the United States, where the average life expectancy is over 78 years, people are not considered "old" until they are in their sixties or seventies. However, in Chad the average life expectancy is less than 49 years. People in their thirties or forties are therefore already middle-aged or "old." These variations in people's perceptions of who should or should not be considered elderly indicates indicates that notions of youth and age are culturally constructed. There is thus no such thing as a universal age for being considered old.

Cultural Treatment of Aging



Is this Incongruous?: Given the socially constructed nature of age, there are certain behaviors that people typically associate with certain age groups as being "appropriate" or "acceptable. " Is this old woman challenging any conventional perceptions about how women of a certain age should behave?

Cultures treat their elderly differently and place different values on old age. Many Eastern societies associate old age with wisdom, so they value old age much more than their Western counterparts. In Japan, adult children are expected to care for their aging parents in ways different than in the United States. Sixty five percent of Japanese elders live with their children and very few live in nursing homes. Japanese cultural norms suggest that caring for one's parents by putting them in an assisted living home is tantamount to neglect. When unable to care for themselves, parents should ideally move in with their children. The Japanese celebration of old age is further illustrated by the existence of Respect for the Aged Day, which is a national holiday to celebrate elderly citizens.

Japanese perceptions of elders diverge markedly from public perceptions of old age in the United States. Western societies tend to place an increased value on youth such that many people take extreme measures to appear young. The desire to look younger than one's biological years is frequently the impetus for cosmetic surgeries that can hide the physical effects of aging. These surgical practices, combined with the huge expenditures on makeup and clothing in younger fashions, incorporate a Goffmanian understanding of social presentation.

Erving Goffman was a sociologist writing in the mid-twentieth century. His most famous work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) argued that whenever individuals come into contact with other people, they will attempt to control or

guide the impression that others might have of them by intentionally comporting themselves in different ways. Individuals thus take sometimes drastic action to control the appearance of their age so that others can perceive them to be younger. Significantly, these social interactions occur in a social milieu that values youth. In this light, people try to appear younger to increase their sense of social value. Of course, interactions involving the perception of age must then vary by culture, as different cultures ascribe the notion of age with different values.

Industrialization and the Graying of the Globe

Industrialization has contributed to the growth of the older age population due to the technological advances that have come with it.

Learning Objectives

Produce a short debate which shows the pros and cons of industrialization

Key Points

- Industrialized nations are those that meet certain measures of economic growth and security, while non-industrialized nations are those that do not meet those measures.
- Industrialization increases life expectancy by creating better conditions, better government social supports, and better access to healthcare.
- There is currently a disparity in life expectancy between industrialized nations and non-industrialized nations.

Key Terms

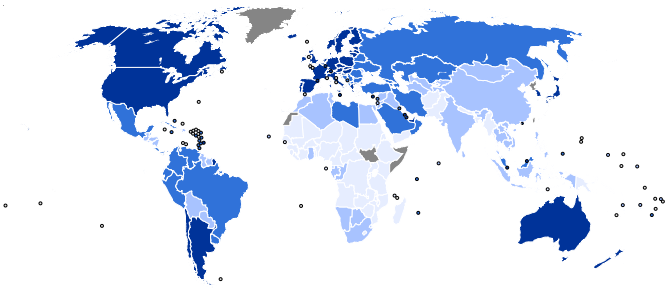
- **industrialized countries**: Industrialized countries are defined by measures of economic growth and security. Most commonly, the criteria for evaluating the degree of development is to look at the gross domestic product (GDP), the per capita income, the level of industrialization, the amount of widespread infrastructure, and the general standard of living.
- **Industrial Revolution**: The major technological, socioeconomic, and cultural change in the late 18th and early 19th century, resulting from the replacement of an economy based on manual labor to one dominated by industry and machine manufacturing.
- **infant mortality rate**: In the field of public health, the infant mortality rate is a commonly used statistical measure that is defined as the ratio of infant deaths to live births.

Across the globe, industrialization increases the average life span of people. Industrialization is the process of social and economic change that transforms a community from an agrarian society into an industrial one. It is a part of a wider modernization process, where social change and economic development are closely related with technological innovation. The United Kingdom began an Industrial Revolution in the mid-eighteenth century due to the availability of land, labor, and investment capital.

Most Western countries industrialized by the nineteenth century but the Industrial Revolution is still occurring around the world. One schematic by which one can divide the world is between industrialized and non- industrialized countries. Industrialized countries are defined by measures of economic growth and security. Most commonly, the criteria for evaluating the degree of development is to look at the gross domestic product (GDP), the per capita income, the level of industrialization, the amount of widespread infrastructure, and the general standard of living. Countries that score poorly on these scales are considered to be non-industrialized, though it should be noted that non-industrialized countries are undergoing the process of industrialization.

All over the world, people are living longer than ever before. However, while the trend of a growing older population appears the world over, people in industrialized nations are older than people in non-industrialized nations. Thus, while people in all countries are living longer than prior generations, people in industrialized nations live longer than people in non-industrialized nations. According to the Population Research Bureau, the average life expectancy in Africa is 53, in North America is 78, in Latin America is 73, in Asia is 68, in Europe is 75, and in Oceania is 75. Worldwide, about 8% of the total global population is over the age of 65, while about 12% of Americans are over the age of 65.

How can one explain this disparity? Industrialization brings money into an economy. With this influx of capital, countries are able to develop more robust social supports to assist a population. Further, development can create jobs, enabling people to better fend for themselves. Food and healthcare are more widely available. Better living conditions and healthcare both limit the infant mortality rate, which is the percentage of children who die before turning one year old, and extend the average life expectancy. Both of these trends encourage the growth of an older population.



Industrialized Nations: 2011

The Graying of America

The graying of America has contributed to the higher concentration of the elderly in certain areas of the United States.

Learning Objectives

Summarize how the situation in Pittsburgh illustrates the economic tensions produced by an aging population

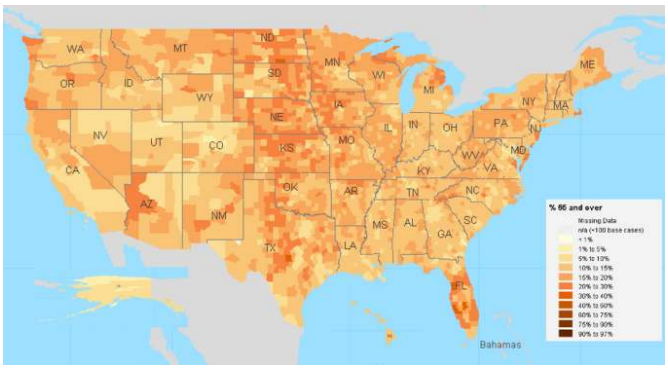
Key Points

- About 12% of Americans are over the age of 65. The elderly are concentrated in the Midwest and the South.
- The higher concentration of older people in certain places has economic ramifications. These areas are called upon to support a population that has a greater need for social services, such as healthcare.
- As the aging population rises in Pittsburgh, industries such as healthcare have replaced the steel industry due to the shift to a more elderly population in that area.

Key Terms

- **pension**: A gratuity paid regularly as a benefit due to a person in consideration of past services; notably to one retired from service, on account of retirement age, disability or similar cause; especially a regular stipend paid by a government to retired public officers, disabled soldiers; sometimes passed on to the heirs, or even specifically for them, as to the families of soldiers killed in service.

According to the United States Census, about 12% of the American population is over the age of 65. However, the elderly are not evenly distributed throughout the United States. There are higher concentrations of the elderly in the Midwest and in the South, particularly in Florida. The high concentration of elderly in Florida is partially attributable to the fact that many retirees move to Florida for the good weather. In contrast, few elderly people move to the Midwest. Instead, the high concentration of elderly people in the Midwest is due to the fact that the young are moving out of there.



Percentage of the Population Aged 65+ in the United States: This is a map of the USA reflecting the percentage of the population over age 65 by census district based on Census 2000 data.

The city of Pittsburgh offers an intriguing case study of the effects of an aging population on a city. Since 2008, more people die annually in Pittsburgh than are born. Further, many members of the younger generation are moving away from Pittsburgh in an effort to find work. As such, Pittsburgh is both experiencing population decline and the aging of its existing population. This poses an economic conundrum in that the population is increasingly reliant on public services for assistance, such as healthcare, but there is a smaller workforce that can be taxed to support the demand. Additionally, changing demographics have influenced the comparative prominence of different economic sectors in Pittsburgh. Healthcare has replaced steel as Pittsburgh's largest industry. This case study demonstrates how shifting population demographics can seriously impact an urban area's economy.

While the effects of an increasingly aging population on society are complex, there is a specific concern about the impact on healthcare demand. Older people generally incur more health-related costs than do younger people, and in the workplace can also cost more in worker's compensation and pension liabilities.

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18.3: The Functionalist Perspective on Aging

Disengagement Theory

The disengagement theory of aging claims that it is natural and acceptable for older adults to withdraw from society and personal relationships as they age.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the nine postulates of growing old and the impact at each stage for the elderly in society

Key Points

- Disengagement theory claims that it is natural and acceptable for older adults to withdraw from society and personal relationships as they age.
- Disengagement theory was the first theory of aging developed by social scientists.
- The theory was developed by Elaine Cumming and Warren Earl Henry in their 1961 book "Growing Old." Subsequently, the theory has been largely debunked.

Key Terms

- **disengagement theory**: The disengagement theory of aging claims that it is natural and acceptable for older adults to withdraw from society and personal relationships as they age.
- **activity theory**: Activity theory claims that staying mentally and physically active preserves older adults happier.
- **Robert J. Havighurst**: Robert James Havighurst (June 5, 1900 in De Pere, Wisconsin – January 31, 1991 in Richmond, Indiana) was a professor, physicist, educator, and aging expert.

The disengagement theory of aging claims that it is natural and acceptable for older adults to withdraw from society and personal relationships as they age. The theory further suggests that society responds to the elder's disengagement with a sort of mutual recognition that the elder will soon pass and society must prepare to function in their absence. As such, the theory argues that it is natural and acceptable for older adults to withdraw from society.

The Postulates of Growing Old

Disengagement theory was the first theory of aging developed by social scientists. It was originally formulated by Elaine Cumming and Warren Earl Henry in their 1961 book Growing Old. In Growing Old, Cumming and Henry develop a logical argument for why older adults would naturally disengage from society. They formulate their argument along nine postulates to explain why it is rational for individuals who know that death is approaching and who have seen friends of their age pass to begin to anticipate their own deaths and disengage.



Elderly Woman: Disengagement theory suggests that adults become increasingly withdrawn as they get older.

The postulates are as follows:

- Postulate one: Everyone expects death, and one's abilities will likely deteriorate over time. As a result, every person will lose ties to others in his or her society.
- Postulate two: Because individual interactions between people strengthen norms, an individual who has fewer varieties of interactions has greater freedom from the norms imposed by interaction. Consequently, this form of disengagement becomes a circular or self-perpetuating process.
- Postulate three: Because men have a centrally instrumental role in America, and women a socioemotional one, disengagement differs between men and women.
- Postulate four: The individual's life is punctuated by ego changes. For example, aging, a form of ego change, causes knowledge and skill to deteriorate. However, success in an industrialized society demands certain knowledge and skill. To satisfy these demands, age-grading ensures that the young possess sufficient knowledge and skill to assume authority and that the old retire before they lose their skills. This kind of disengagement is affected by the individual, prompted by either ego changes or the organization, which is bound to organizational imperatives, or both.



Sunday Morning Stroll in Piazza del Popolo: The process of aging is greatly facilitated when older people pursue hobbies and relationships, and generally lead a more active lifestyle.

- Postulate five: When both the individual and society are ready for disengagement, complete disengagement results. When neither is ready, continuing engagement results. When the individual is ready and society is not, a disjunction between the expectations of the individual and of the members of this social systems results, but engagement usually continues. When society is ready and the individual is not, the result of the disjunction is usually disengagement.
- Postulate six: Man's central role is work, and woman's is marriage and family. If individuals abandon their central roles, they drastically lose social life space, and so suffer crisis and demoralization unless they assume the different roles required by the disengaged state.
- Postulate seven: Readiness for disengagement occurs if the individual is aware of the shortness of life and scarcity of time, the individual perceives his or her life space decreasing, and the individual loses ego energy. Each level of society grants individuals permission to disengage because of the following: requirements of the rational-legal occupational system in an affluent society; the nature of the nuclear family; and the differential death rate.
- Postulate eight: Fewer interactions and disengagement from central roles lead to the relationships in the remaining roles changing. In turn, relational rewards become more diverse, and vertical solidarities are transformed to horizontal ones.
- Postulate nine: Disengagement theory is independent of culture, but the form it takes is bound by culture.

Disengagement theory, suffering from a lack of empirical support, has largely been dismissed by social scientists and gerontologists.

Activity Theory

Activity theory proposes that successful aging occurs when older adults stay active and maintain social interactions.

Learning Objectives

Compare the activity model and disengagement model of aging, in terms of activity level and level of life satisfaction

Key Points

- The activity theory of aging proposes that older adults are happiest when they stay active and maintain social interactions.
- The theory was developed by Robert J. Havighurst as a response to the disengagement theory of aging.
- The disengagement model suggests that it is natural for the elderly to disengage from society as they realize that they are ever nearer to death.

Key Terms

- **activity theory**: Activity theory proposes that successful aging occurs when older adults stay active and maintain social interactions.
- **Robert J. Havighurst**: Robert James Havighurst (June 5, 1900 in De Pere, Wisconsin – January 31, 1991 in Richmond, Indiana) was a professor, physicist, educator, and aging expert.
- **disengagement theory**: The disengagement theory of aging states that "aging is an inevitable, mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the aging person and others in the social system he belongs to."

The activity theory of aging proposes that older adults are happiest when they stay active and maintain social interactions. These activities, especially when meaningful, help the elderly to replace lost life roles after retirement and, therefore, resist the social pressures that limit an older person's world. The theory assumes a positive relationship between activity and life satisfaction. Activity theory reflects the functionalist perspective that the equilibrium, that an individual develops in middle age, should be maintained in later years. The theory predicts that older adults that face role loss will substitute former roles with other alternatives.

The theory was developed by gerontologist, or, scholar of aging, Robert J. Havighurst in 1961, and was originally conceived as a response to the recently published disengagement theory of aging. The disengagement model suggests that it is natural for the elderly to disengage from society as they realize that they are ever nearer to death. However, withdrawing from their central societal roles—working, marriage, raising a family —means they drastically lose social life space and so suffer crisis and demoralization.

Havighurst's activity theory is at deliberate odds with what some perceive as the pessimism of disengagement theory. However, critics of activity theory state that it overlooks inequalities in

health and economics that hinders the ability for older people to engage in such activities. Also, some older adults do not desire to engage in new challenges.

Five decades of gerontological research, however, suggest that the activity model is more accurate than the disengagement model. Not only is activity beneficial for the community, but it engages older adults (both physically and mentally) and allows them to socialize with others. This increases feelings of self-worth and pleasure, which are important for happiness and longevity.



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

Oh Mary, Don't You Weep: Participating in activities from which they used to derive pleasure in the past, such as singing, helps older people stay active and engaged.

Continuity Theory

The continuity theory proposes that older adults maintain the same activities, behaviors, personalities, and relationships of the past.

Learning Objectives

Examine the pros and cons of the continuity theory of aging, specifically in terms of how it neglects to consider social institutions or chronically ill adults

Key Points

- Internal structures of continuity remain constant over a lifetime and include elements, such as personality traits, ideas, and beliefs. It helps people make future decisions by providing them with a stable foundation in the past.
- External structures of continuity help maintain a stable self-concept and lifestyle and include relationships and social roles.
- George L. Maddox and Robert Atchley are most closely associated with the continuity theory.
- The theory is criticized for including a distinction between normal and pathological aging that does not take into account older adults with chronic diseases. The theory is also criticized for not considering the influence of social institutions on the aging of individuals.

Key Terms

- **Internal Structures**: (of an individual) remain relatively constant throughout a person's lifetime and includes elements such as personality traits, ideas, and beliefs.
- **External Structures**: (of an individual) consist of relationships and social roles, and support the maintenance of a stable self-concept and lifestyle.
- **Continuity Theory**: The continuity theory of normal aging states that older adults will usually maintain the same activities, behaviors, personality traits, and relationships as they did in their earlier years of life.

The continuity theory of normal aging states that older adults will usually maintain the same activities, behaviors, personality traits, and relationships as they did in their earlier years of life. The theory considers the internal structures and external structures of continuity to describe how people adapt to their circumstances and set their goals.



The Internal and External Structures of Continuity: Olde adults hold on to many of the beliefs, practices, and relationship they had in the past as they continue to age.

The internal structure of an individual – for instance, an individual's personality traits – remains relatively constant throughout a person's lifetime. Other internal aspects such as beliefs can remain relatively constant as well, though are also subject to change. This internal structure facilitates future decision-making by providing the individual with a strong internal foundation of the past. The external structure of an individual consists of relationships and social roles, and it supports the maintenance of a stable self-concept and lifestyle.

George L. Maddox and Robert Atchley are most closely associated with the continuity theory. Maddox provided an empirical description of the continuity theory in 1968 in a chapter of the book *Middle Ageand Aging: A Reader in Social Psychology* called "Persistence of Lifestyle among the Elderly: A

Longitudinal Study of Patterns of Social Activity in Relation to Life Satisfaction. ” In 1971, Atchley formally proposed the theory in his article “Retirement and Leisure Participation: Continuity or Crisis? ” He continued to expound upon the theory over the years, explaining the development of internal and external structures in 1989 and publishing a book in 1999 called *Continuity and Adaptation in Aging: Creating Positive Experiences*.

The theory is criticized primarily for its definition of normal aging. The theory distinguishes between normal aging and pathological aging, so it neglects older adults who suffer from chronic illness. The theory also fails to explain how social institutions impact individuals and the way they age.

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18.4: The Conflict Perspective on Aging

Social Security Legislation

Social security refers to legislation enacted by a government to promote the welfare of its population.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the development of Social Security to benefit elderly Americans, and the implications for the future of Social Security if it remains the same

Key Points

- The provision of social security by a government to its citizens is included in Article 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- What a particular government does to promote its citizens' welfare varies widely by country. Many European nations, such as France, have broad social security programs designed to help families, the impoverished, and the elderly.
- In the United States, social security refers to the social insurance program funded through payroll taxes that helps Americans save for retirement.
- Social security is largely credited with significantly reducing poverty rates among the elderly. However, the structure of the social security system has put the entire program into serious financial distress.

Key Terms

- **New Deal**: The New Deal was a series of economic programs implemented in the United States between 1933 and 1936. They involved presidential executive orders or laws passed by Congress during the first term of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
- **Social Security**: A system whereby the state either through general or specific taxation provides various benefits to help ensure the well-being of its citizens.
- **Social Security Act**: The Social Security Act, now codified as 42 U.S.C. ch.7, was a legislative act which created the social security system in the United States.

Social security refers to legislation enacted by a government to promote the welfare of its population. Most countries establish some set of basic provisions considered necessary for survival, enabling programs such as funding for poverty-stricken elderly people who cannot afford their own healthcare or providing food for families that are too poor to purchase their own. Cultures have different standards for what governments should provide to citizens who cannot provide for themselves and different standards for what is considered necessary for survival.

Social Security in France

European nations generally have more robust programs to assist needy citizens than the United States. France's social security programs provide a good point of comparison for the American context. France's social security program is divided into four branches for four different types of support: support for the ill, support for people who have sustained accidents at work, support for families, and support for the elderly. These institutions are collectively referred to as Sécurité sociale, or la sécu. Some in America have derided France's social security system as socialist. It is true that the government provides more for its citizens than the United States, but most French citizens simply expect these provisions as a part of a government's obligations to its citizens.

Social Security in the United States

Social security in the United States refers to the federal Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance (OASDI) program. OASDI was established under the original Social Security Act, passed in 1935. Since then, multiple amendments have been added to the legislation, but all of them address the government's obligation to elderly individuals who have entered retirement. Social security is a social insurance program that is funded primarily through payroll taxes, or taxes taken out of an employee's pay each pay period. Tax deposits are formally entrusted to funds that maintain the money and distribute allowances to qualifying elders. The population to whom social security programs are addressed demonstrates how anomalous the meaning of social security is in the United States. La sécu and other social security programs provide welfare benefits for all of a country's residents while social security in the United States assists the nation's elderly citizens.

Prior to 1935 and the passage of the Social Security Act, social security did not exist in the United States. Bear in mind that the passage of the Social Security Act occurred in the heart of the Great Depression, which was the most serious economic downturn ever experienced in the United States. The stock market crash of 1929 sparked the depression and destroyed the value of most Americans' retirement savings.

The Social Security Act was drafted during President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration as part of his response to the damage caused by the crash. The social welfare programs of the New Deal were the first time the federal government in the United States took action to provide assistance for the elderly. The Social Security Act itself was an attempt to limit what were seen as the dangers of modern American life in the Depression

era, including old age, unemployment, and poverty, especially for widows and fatherless children.



FDR Signs the Social Security Act: President Roosevelt signs the Social Security Act, at approximately 3:30 pm EST on August 14, 1935. Standing with Roosevelt are Rep. Robert Doughton (D-NC); unknown person in shadow; Sen. Robert Wagner (D-NY); Rep. John Dingell (D-MI); unknown man in bowtie; the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins; Sen. Pat Harrison (D-MS); and Rep. David Lewis (D-MD).



A link to the YouTube element can be found in Contributors & Attributions section.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt on Social Security: This is a brief excerpt of President Roosevelt's speech during the signing of the Social Security Act of 1935

Social security grew rapidly and is one of the largest government spending initiatives in the United States today. In 1937, OASDI had 53,236 beneficiaries and cost the federal government $1,278,000. In 2008, it had 50,898, 244 beneficiaries and cost the federal government $615,344,000,000. It is largely credited with significantly reducing poverty rates among the elderly. But how does social security work? Social security was designed to redistribute wealth temporarily to help seniors finance their lives post-retirement. The current workforce is taxed, the results of which flow into a special fund designed for social security. Payments are then made to retirees. This is not, however, simple redistribution, as the current workforce contributing to the fund will then retrieve payments once they retire. Thus, it is a cross between a redistribution system and a savings account.

However, the structure of the social security system has put the entire program into serious financial distress. Currently, more money is being taken in by the fund through taxing the current workforce than is being paid out to retirees. However, this will soon change. If the laws governing social security are not changed by 2017, social security will pay out more funds than it takes in. According to analyses of the program, for about twenty years after 2017, the Social Security Trust Fund, or the amount of money that went into a special fund when there was a surplus in revenue, will make up the difference in payments. However, by 2037, the Social Security Trust Fund reserves will be exhausted and payments to beneficiaries will drop to about 75% of what they would have otherwise received.

Intergenerational Conflict

Intergenerational conflict refers to the conflict between older and younger generations as they compete for jobs and resources.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the conflict perspective of aging in terms of the generational divide and competition for employment and resources (which equal power)

Key Points

- According to the conflict perspective of aging, generations are competing over jobs.
- The inequities in resource distribution reflect larger disparities in power between generations.
- Whichever generation happens to be middle-aged at any given point in time is the most powerful compared to the old and the young.
- Members of the powerful generation act as gatekeepers for the distribution of resources and powers to be in line with their own interests. Power is therefore maintained by the middle-class, perpetuating their monopoly on resources.
- This perspective of aging derives from larger sociological conflict theory.

Key Terms

- **conflict perspective of aging**: According to the conflict perspective of aging, generations are competing over jobs. The theory developed in 1980s as unemployment rose dramatically.

- **conflict theory**: A social science perspective that holds that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor.

Intergenerational conflict plays a key role in the conflict perspective of aging. This social theory suggests that conflict between older and younger generations occurs as they compete for resources and jobs. The conflict perspective of aging is a strand of general sociological conflict theory, which is the theory that sees conflict as a normal aspect of social life rather than as an abnormal occurrence.



At the Intersection of Generation: Conflict or Cooperation?: According to conflict theory, generations of people are in competition with one another for power and resources. Could this occur even at the micro-level?

Conflict theory has three main premises: first, that society is comprised of different groups that compete for resources; second, that despite social attempts to portray a sense of cooperation, a continual power struggle exists between social groups as they pursue their own divergent and competing interests; third, social groups will use resources to their own advantage in pursuit of their own goals, even if it means taking advantage of another group of people.

The conflict perspective of aging thus emphasizes competition between generations. According to the conflict perspective of aging, generations are competing over jobs. The theory developed in 1980s as unemployment rose dramatically. As jobs became increasingly scarce, younger and older generations both felt pressure to compete over available resources, enabling competition between the generational divide. As such, the economic climate of the era in which the theory developed influenced the content of the theory itself.

The conflict perspective of aging is not solely about resource acquisition. Rather, resources stand for power. This perspective on aging maintains that whichever generation happens to be middle-aged at any given point in time is the most powerful compared to the old and the young. Members of the powerful generation act as gatekeepers and orchestrate the distribution of resources and powers to be in line with their own interests, often at the exclusion of the needs of other individuals and generations. Power is therefore maintained by the middle-class, perpetuating their monopoly on resources. This tension, and subsequent competition, is precisely what is addressed by the conflict perspective of aging.

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18.5: The Symbolic-Interactionist Perspective on Aging

The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

The symbolic interactionist perspective posits that age is socially constructed and determined by symbols resembling social interactions.

Learning Objectives

Argue that the perception of aging is better either in the United States or in Japan, using Goffman's theory of social presentation

Key Points

- The notion of age is socially constructed, meaning that it has no universal value. Rather, various cultures ascribe aging with different meanings and values.
- In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Erving Goffman argued that people try to control or guide the impression they create on other people by comporting themselves in specific ways.
- The desire to look younger than one's biological years is frequently the impetus for cosmetic surgeries that can hide the physical effects of aging. These surgical practices suggest a Goffmanian understanding of social presentation.
- Social value is highly dependent on context and culture. Many Eastern societies associate old age with wisdom and value old age much more than their Western counterparts.

Key Terms

- **Erving Goffman**: Erving Goffman (June 11, 1922 – November 19, 1982) was a Canadian-born sociologist and writer. The 73rd president of American Sociological Association, Goffman's greatest contribution to social theory was his study of symbolic interaction in the form of dramaturgical analysis. This began with his 1959 book, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.
- **socially constructed**: The social construction of age means that there is no inherent cultural meaning to the biological process of aging.

The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective and Aging

According to the Symbolic Interactionist Perspective, old age, and aging, are socially constructed and determined by symbols that resemble aging in social interactions. While aging itself is a biological process, the Symbolic Interactionist Perspective posits that the *meaning* behind being "young" or "old" is socially constructed. This means that there is no inherent cultural meaning attached to the biological process of aging. Rather, cultures imbue youth and age with particular meanings. Given the socially constructed nature of age, there are certain behaviors that people typically associate with certain age groups as being "appropriate" or "acceptable".



Is this Incongruous?: Given the socially constructed nature of age, there are certain behaviors that people typically associate with certain age groups as being "appropriate" or "acceptable. " Is this old woman challenging any conventional perceptions about how women of a certain age should behave?

Aging is perceived differently around the world, demonstrating its social construction. Frequently, the average life expectancy in a given region impacts what age counts as "old." For example, in the United States, where the average life expectancy is over 78 years, one isn't considered "old" until he or she is in their sixties or seventies. However, in Chad, the average life expectancy is less than 49 years, and people in their thirties or forties are therefore already considered middle-aged or "old." These variations in people's perceptions indicate that notions of youth and age are culturally constructed, and that there is no such thing as a universal age at which point one becomes old.

Japanese Perceptions of Aging

In addition to defining terms differently, cultures treat their elderly differently and place different values on age. Many Eastern societies associate old age with wisdom and value old age much more than their Western counterparts. In Japan, adult children are expected to care for their aging parents in different ways than in the United States. 65% of Japanese elders live with their children, and very few live in nursing homes. In Japan, if a youth was to put an aging parent in an assisted living home, the behavior would be considered tantamount to neglect. Cultural norms suggest that parents should move in with their children when they are unable to care for themselves. The Japanese celebration of old age is further illustrated by the existence of Respect for the Aged Day, a national holiday to celebrate elderly citizens.

Western Perceptions of Aging

Japanese perceptions of elders diverge markedly from public perceptions of old age in the United States. Western societies tend to place such an increased value on youth that many people take extreme measures to appear young. A desire to look younger is frequently the impetus for cosmetic surgeries that can hide the physical effects of aging. These surgical practices, combined with huge expenditures on makeup and clothing, suggest a Goffmanianunderstanding of social presentation. Erving Goffman was a sociologist writing in the mid-twentieth century. His most famous work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), argued that whenever individuals come into contact with other people, they will attempt to control or guide the impression that others might have of them by intentionally comporting themselves in different ways. Thus, individuals take sometimes drastic action to control the appearance of their age so that others will perceive them as younger. Significantly, these social interactions occur in a social milieu that values youth. In this light, people try to appear younger to increase their sense of social value.

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18.6: Challenges of Aging

Social Isolation

Social isolation is common in elderly populations and refers to a complete or near-complete lack of contact with other people.

Learning Objectives

Examine the implications of social isolation and how elderly adults are a susceptible population to the effects

Key Points

- As their health deteriorates and friends and spouses die, elders are at an increased risk for social isolation.
- Social isolation is distinct from loneliness, the latter often being considered to be the subjective counterpart of the former.
- Late life depression is the onset of depression for the first time in a person over sixty years of age.
- Consequences of social isolation can be dangerous, particularly for individuals already predisposed to health problems. Studies have demonstrated that seniors who are socially isolated seniors are less likely to take advantage of health and social services

Key Terms

- **loneliness**: The condition of being lonely; solitude; seclusion.
- **late life depression**: Late life depression is the onset of depression for the first time in a person over sixty years of age.
- **social isolation**: Social isolation refers to a complete or near-complete lack of contact with society. It is usually involuntary, making it distinct from isolating tendencies or actions taken by an individual who is seeking to distance himself from society.

Human beings, by nature, are social creatures. Throughout the socialization process, we become accustomed to living in groups and interacting with others. Individuals in every society, however, at times must cope with social isolation, which is defined as a complete or near-complete lack of contact with others in society. Social isolation is usually involuntary, making it distinct from the isolating tendencies some individuals may have that lead them to purposefully distance themselves from others.

Social isolation is also distinct from loneliness. Loneliness is a subjective experience associated with a temporary lack of contact with other humans. Social isolation, by contrast, can be objectively measured in terms of a person's social contacts and relationships.



Friends: Maintaining friendships and building relationships is an important aspect of old age that wards off social isolation.

Any individual from any segment of society may be socially isolated, but senior citizens are especially susceptible to the risk factors that may trigger social isolation. These include living alone, family violence, loss of a spouse, aging-related cognitive impairments and disabilities, and transport issues. Consequences of social isolation can be dangerous, particularly for individuals already predisposed to health problems. Studies have demonstrated that seniors who are socially isolated seniors are less likely to take advantage of health and social services. This indicates a circularity of social isolation and health: individuals who are already marginalized are not pushed toward healthcare and individuals with quickly deteriorating health are more likely to be socially isolated. Extended social isolation can contribute tolate life depression, which is a major depressive episode occurring for the first time in an individual over sixty years of age.

Social isolation is a larger problem for elders now than in the past, due to the decreasing size of families in Western countries. In the past, elders were not at increased risk for social isolation because they would move in with their children. Now, many elders are moved into elder homes with less frequent contact with their children. However, many elder homes and retirement facilities are working to combat social isolation by increasing programming for their residents.

Prejudice

Ageism is the discrimination of groups because of their age, and applies especially to the elderly.

Learning Objectives

Examine the concept of ageism and the impact of stereotypes for elderly adults

Key Points

- Elders frequently encounter prejudice as others assume stereotypes about them to be true.
- The idea of ageism was developed by gerontologist Robert Neil Butler.
- Prejudices most frequently surface in the course of medical treatment and in the workplace.

Key Terms

- **term limit**: A legal restriction that limits the number of terms a person may serve in a particular elected office.
- **ageism**: The treating of a person or people differently from others based on assumptions or stereotypes relating to their age.

Ageism

Ageism is the stereotyping and discrimination against individuals or groups because of their age. Ageism can be applied to discrimination against any age group, such as discrimination against teenagers, but this section will focus on ageist discrimination against seniors. The term was coined in reference to discriminatory practices against the elderly by gerontologist Robert Neil Butler. He coined the term by intentionally mirroring it after other forms of discrimination, such as sexism or racism.



Age is just a Number: This man clearly defies ageist perceptions of older people as being physically infirm and weak.

Stereotypes of the Elderly

Many people are prejudiced against seniors, beginning with the common stereotypes of older adults. Old people are frequently assumed to be in poor physical or mental health and lack psychological agility. It is a common presumption that, as people age, they become more inflexible and conservative in their opinions. Older adults are frequently presumed to be poor drivers. In fact, studies have demonstrated that older drivers, up until the age of about 75, are actually safer drivers than young drivers. Unfortunately, elder patients are frequently discriminated against in the course of medical treatment due to stereotypes based on their age. Studies have demonstrated that elder patients are less likely to have their medical care explained to them, partially because physicians assume that they are unable to understand medical complexities.

Elderly Prejudice in the Workplace

Older adults commonly encounter prejudice in the workplace. It is frequently assumed that an elderly person is mentally inept and incompetent. Employment discrimination, or the presence of discrimination against a targeted group in the workplace, manifests in two different ways vis-à-vis elderly workers. Individuals who began working for a company in their younger years can be pushed out as they age. This process refers to company management redirecting clients away from the older employees and toward the younger employees.

Alternatively, companies may not hire older employees to begin with. Joanna Lahey, a professor at the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, has found that firms are 40% more likely to give a hiring interview to a younger candidate than to an older candidate. This suggests that firms are more interested in hiring younger employees than older employees. The government has tried to combat age discrimination through laws such as the federal Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 which forbids employers from discriminating against employees over the age of forty. This goes against the age stratification theory of society, which states the unequal distribution of wealth, power and privileges among people at different stages in the life course. According to age stratification theory, younger and older people should be a disadvantages due to their position in life, whereas middle-age people would be at at advantage.

Aging and its impact on the workforce is also an issue for certain sectors of government. The issue has been highlighted as it pertains to the United States Supreme Court. Justices at the Supreme Court are given lifetime appointments, meaning that they do not have to retire or step down from the bench until they choose to or until their deaths. However, as in any other workplace, the potential senility of aging Supreme Court justices has been hotly debated.

Former Chief Justice William Rehnquist, for example, was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1986 and served until his death in 2005. He was only weeks shy of his eighty-first birthday when he died and had been in declining health for the last few years of his life. Treatment for anaplastic throat cancer forced him to miss many arguments in the year before his death. Rehnquist's death reignited a political debate about instating term limits for Supreme Court justices in place of lifetime appointments, such that a justice would be forced to retire after a certain number of years. There are many political and legal reasons supporting both sides of the debate, but assumptions

about the declining health of older justices, many of whom serve on the court into their seventies, play a prominent role in the discussion.

Elder Abuse

Elder abuse is the use of physical or mental harm against people of an older age.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the various types of elder abuse and the implications each has for an elderly person's quality of life

Key Points

- Elder abuse is an umbrella term that refers to all types of abuses against older adults perpetrated by trusted individuals upon whom these elderly people typically depend.
- Domestic elder abuse is committed by an elder's family or friends, while institutional elder abuse is committed by employees at facilities and institutions designated to take care of elders.
- Grooming occurs when friends or neighbors build relationships of trust with elders in order to gain control of their finances.

Key Terms

- **institutional elder abuse**: Institutional elder abuse is committed by workers at residential facilities for elders, such as nursing homes.
- **domestic elder abuse**: Domestic elder abuse is committed by an elder's family or friends.
- **grooming**: Grooming occurs when friends or neighbors build relationships of trust with elders in order to gain control of their finances.

Elder abuse is an umbrella term that refers to harm done to older adults. Typically, the harm is committed through intentional or neglectful acts by a caregiver or "trusted" individual that cause physical or emotional harm. A significant factor that distinguishes elder abuse from other types of harmful behavior involves the commission of harms where there is an expectation of trust extending from the older person to his abuser.



Elder Abuse: Imagine if the people elders depended on the most, such as these community transport service workers, were to breach that trust and abuse them.

Types of Elder Abuse

Elder abuse is illegal; special protections have been established to protect elders who are dependent upon others. However, because elder abuse is such a wide-reaching term, it can be difficult for different jurisdictions to define the term for legal usage. The main types of elder abuse include physical abuse, emotional abuse, financial abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. Physical abuse of elders includes the hitting, punching, slapping, burning, pushing, kicking, restraining, or false imprisonment of elders. Additionally, giving an elder excessive or improper medication qualifies as physical abuse.

Emotional abuse includes shouting, swearing, frightening, or humiliating an elder. Financial abuse is the illegal or unauthorized use of a person's property, money, pension, or will. Sexual abuse for elders is when an elder is forced to take part in any sexual activity, including participating in conversations of an unwanted sexual nature. Elders with dementia may not be able to consent to any sexual activity whatsoever. Neglect includes depriving an elder of food, heat, clothing, or essential medication. Deprivation may be active or passive, occurring intentionally or from a lack of knowledge. Elder abuse is further subdivided into domestic elder abuse and institutional elder abuse. Domestic elder abuses are committed by family and friends of an older person; institutional elder abuse is committed by workers at residential facilities for elders, such as nursing homes.

Grooming

Regardless of whether the perpetrator is a family member, friend, or institutional caretaker for an older person, a central theme throughout all of these different types of abuses is the relationship of dependency of elders with those who care for them. Serious offenses can be committed by abusive groomers

through grooming an older person by befriending him or her in order to build trusting relationships that can then be exploited. Older people living with no adult children nearby are particularly vulnerable to grooming by neighbors and friends who might seek to gain control of their estates. Unfortunately, the nature of dependency inherent to elder abuse can make cases of elder abuse especially difficult to prosecute. For example, an elder might not believe that someone close to him is taking his money or might be persuaded to report that he wanted it as such, when this wasn't the case. Elders are a particularly vulnerable population because they are dependent upon others and may even be senile, which makes it easier for them to be manipulated.

Consequences of Elder Abuse

Elder abuse can have serious consequences. Elder abuse can destroy a victim's quality of life by limiting his functional abilities, increasing dependency, increasing his sense of helplessness, increasing stress, worsening his psychological decline, inducing dementia, and risking malnutrition or overmedication. Elder abuse can even result in death.

Of course, the horrible consequences listed above can arise directly from the physical abuse of a victim. Additionally, while an elder may be too senile to comprehend the abusive relationship, stress can seep through his lack of comprehension and perpetuate and even exacerbate preexisting health problems. The risk of death for elder abuse victims is three times higher than for non-victims.

Health Problems

Although health problems rise when one comes into older age, social effects also exacerbate of medical ailments by the elderly.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the health issues associated with aging, such as heart disease, cancer and neuropsychological disorders

Key Points

- As we age, we experience health problems with greater frequency.
- Cardiovascular problems, cancer, and dementia are common problems for the elderly.
- Geriatrics is a field of medicine that concentrates on treating the medical problems of older adults.
- An elderly person's social environment has serious consequences on the type of care received and the effect it has on the individual's health.

Key Terms

- **dementia**: A progressive decline in cognitive function due to damage or disease in the brain—beyond what might be expected from normal aging. Areas particularly affected include memory, attention, judgement, language and problem solving.
- **arteriosclerosis**: Hardening, narrowing or loss of elasticity in arteries or blood vessels.
- **geriatrics**: The branch of medicine that focuses on health promotion and the prevention and treatment of disease and disability in later life. The term itself can be distinguished from gerontology, which is the study of the aging process itself.

As we age, we face more and more health problems. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the leading causes of death for Americans are heart disease and cancer. Statistically, heart disease and cancer account for the most American deaths by far. In 2009, heart disease claimed 599,413 lives and cancer was responsible for 567, 628 deaths. Of course, these numbers include all ill individuals, not just the elderly.

Heart Disease

Because of the prevalence of heart disease and cancer among the elderly, many American hospitals have developed programs to treat seniors with these particular afflictions. Geriatrics is the field of medicine that specializes in treating older adults. Cardiogeriatrics refers to the branch of healthcare that treats heart disease in older adults. Heart disease is common in seniors because as one ages, one's heart muscle begins to weaken and change in adverse ways. As the heart ages, one can develop arteriosclerosis, or the stiffening of arteries due to the accumulation of fatty buildup, or plaque, along the walls of the arteriesm, restricting blood circulation. Arteriosclerosis is common to older adults that contributes to congestive heart failure. This is the condition defined by the inability of the heart to provide adequate blood flow to the body.

Congestive heart failure is common, costly, disabling, and potentially deadly. In developed countries, around 2% of adults suffer from heart failure. Risk rises with age. In developed countries, 6–10% of adults over the age of 65 suffer from congestive heart failure. Congestive heart failure increases the risk that one will experience a myocardial infarction, or heart attack.

In a heart attack, blood supply to the heart is interrupted, causing damage to the heart muscle. When blood flow is stopped from going to the brain, usually due to a blood clot, one suffers from a stroke. Americans have more than 700,000 strokes every year, making it the third leading cause of death in the United States after heart disease and cancer. Nearly 75

percent of strokes occur in people over the age of 65, and the risk of having a stroke more than doubles during each decade between the ages of 55 and 85.

Cancer

Other than cardiovascular diseases, cancer is the most common, serious illness faced by the elderly. While anyone can develop cancer, the risk of getting certain cancers increases with age. Breast, colorectal, prostate, pancreatic, lung, bladder, and stomach cancers are especially linked to aging. Cancer can be even more difficult to treat in the elderly than in younger patients because treatment can be stressful on the body. Treating cancer involves some combination of radiation, chemotherapy, or surgery, all of which are more stressful on an aged body than a younger body. Recognition of the stress that treatment may have on an older body limits the options available for treatment.

Neuropsychological Disorders

Older adults are also more susceptible to certain neuropsychological disorders, such as dementia and Alzheimer's disease, that are virtually unseen in younger populations. Dementia is a serious loss of global cognitive ability in a previously unimpaired person—beyond what might be expected from normal aging. It may be static—the result of a unique brain injury—or progressive—resulting in long-term decline due to damage or disease in the body. Dementia is not a single disease, but rather a syndrome that is associated with a variety of different diseases, such as Alzheimer's. Symptoms of Alzheimer's include confusion, irritability, aggression, mood swings, difficulty with language, and memory loss. Most often, Alzheimer's disease is diagnosed in people over the age of 65. In 2006, there were 26.6 million sufferers worldwide. One in eight Americans over the age of 65 suffers from Alzheimer's and that number is set to rise in future years as the average lifespan continues to rise.



Studying Alzheimer's Disease in the Argonne National Laboratory: Mark Davidson (left), University of Florida, and Joanna Collingwood, Keele University, scrutinize a sample of Alzheimer's brain tissue.

Obviously, aging presents serious concerns about health. A person's body is more likely to encounter disease as he or she ages. Frequently, preexisting medical ailments are exacerbated by social determinants of health. Social determinants of health are the extra-biological factors that influence how individuals experience their own health. For example, congestive heart failure does not necessarily kill someone. However, the patient with congestive heart failure is most likely going to be put on a complicated medication regime. Congestive heart failure combined with dementia—or even normal forgetfulness associated with aging—makes adhering to a strict regimen difficult for many older adults. The elderly are frequently dependent on younger adults for assistance. The types of care to which the elderly have access can have serious medical consequences.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

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19.1: The Experience of Illness

19.2: Sociological Perspectives on Health and Illness

19.3: Social Epidemiology and Health

19.4: Health Care in the U.S.

19.5: Modern Issues in Health Care

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19.1: The Experience of Illness

The Experience of Illness

Illness, sometimes considered another word for disease, refers to a state of poor health.

Learning Objectives

Examine the impact of illness in America and the prevalence of diagnosed illness among the population

Key Points

- Some scholars have maintained a distinction between illness and disease by describing illness as a patient's subjective perception of an objectively defined disease.
- Epidemiology is the scientific study of factors affecting the health and illness of individuals and population.
- Behavioral medicine is an interdisciplinary field of medicine concerned with the development and integration of psychosocial, behavioral, and biomedical knowledge relevant to health and illness.
- The rise of scientific medicine in the past two centuries has altered or replaced many historic health practices.
- Mental illness is a broad generic label for a category of illnesses that may include affective or emotional instability, behavioral dysregulation, and/or cognitive dysfunction or impairment.

Key Terms

- **scientific medicine**: The rise of scientific medicine in the past two centuries has altered or replaced many historic health practices.
- **behavioral medicine**: Behavioral medicine is an interdisciplinary field of medicine concerned with the development and integration of psychosocial, behavioral and biomedical knowledge relevant to health and illness.
- **epidemiology**: The branch of a science dealing with the spread and control of diseases, computer viruses, concepts, etc. throughout populations or systems.

Introduction to Illness

Illness, sometimes considered another word for disease, is a state of poor health. Some scholars have maintained a distinction by describing illness as a patient's subjective perception of an objectively defined disease. Conditions of the body or mind that cause pain, dysfunction, or distress can be deemed an illness. Sometimes the term is used broadly to include injuries, disabilities, syndromes, infections, symptoms, deviant behaviors, and atypical variations of structure and function. In other contexts these may be considered distinguishable categories.

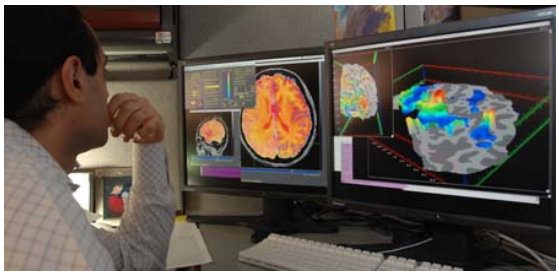
Epidemiology

Epidemiology is the scientific study of factors affecting the health and illness of individuals and populations; it serves as the foundation and logic for interventions made in the interest of public health and preventive medicine. Behavioral medicine is an interdisciplinary field of medicine concerned with the development and integration of psychosocial, behavioral, and biomedical knowledge relevant to health and illness. According to evolutionary medicine, much illness is not directly caused by an infection or body dysfunction, but is instead a response created by the body. Fever, for example, is not caused directly by bacteria or viruses but by the body raising its normal temperature, which some people believe inhibits the growth of the infectious organism. Evolutionary medicine calls this set of responses "sickness behavior. "

All human societies have beliefs that provide explanations for, and responses to, childbirth, death, and disease. Throughout the world, illness has often been attributed to witchcraft, demons, or the will of the gods—ideas that retain some power within certain cultures and communities. However, the rise of scientific medicine in the past two centuries has altered or replaced many historic health practices.

Mental illness is a broad category of illnesses that may include affective or emotional instability, behavioral dysregulation, and/or cognitive dysfunction or impairment. Specific illnesses known as mental illnesses include major depression, generalized anxiety disorder, schizophrenia, and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, to name a few.

Statistics show that more and more people are being diagnosed with mental disorders. The National Institute for Mental Health reports that over 40 million adults are diagnosed with an anxiety disorder in a given year, accounting for 18 percent of the population. Other disorders that are prevalent are ADHD (4 percent), mood disorders (9.5 percent) and and autism (1 percent, but quickly rising).



Researcher Test: A researcher studying a part of the human body in search for illness.

Gender and Health

Disparities in health services play out based on different systems of stratification, such as gender.

Learning Objectives

Examine the role gender plays in health care services, particularly for women

Key Points

- The World Health Organization defines gender as the result of socially constructed ideas about the behavior, actions, and roles a particular sex performs.
- Gender, and particularly the role of women, is widely recognized as vitally important to international development issues.
- Women's dual responsibilities as carers and income earners leaves them suffering from time poverty, and thus unable to access health and education services.
- The Gender-related Development Index (GDI), developed by the United Nations, aims to show the inequalities between men and women in the following areas: long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.
- The Gender-related Development Index (GDI), developed by the United Nations, aims to show the inequalities between men and women in the following areas: long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.

Key Terms

- **gender stratification**: There are a number of ways in which health disparities play out based on different systems of stratification. Researchers also find health disparities based on gender stratification.
- **World Health Organization**: The World Health Organization (WHO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) that is concerned with international public health. It was established on April 7, 1948, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, and is a member of the United Nations Development Group.
- **international development**: International development or global development is a concept that lacks a universally accepted definition, but it is most used in a holistic and multi-disciplinary context of human development—the development of greater quality of life for humans. It therefore encompasses foreign aid, governance, healthcare, education, poverty reduction, gender equality, disaster preparedness, infrastructure, economics, human rights, environment and issues associated with these.

The Role of Gender in Health



Immunization for Babies: Immunizations from various diseases have improved health worldwide.

Gender is a range of characteristics used to distinguish between males and females, particularly in the cases of men and women and the masculine and feminine attributes assigned to them. Depending on the context, the discriminating characteristics vary, from sex to social role to gender identity. The World Health Organization defines gender as the result of socially constructed ideas about the behavior, actions, and roles a particular sex performs. Assigning gender involves taking into account the physiological and biological attributes assigned by nature followed by socially constructed conduct. The social label of being classified into one or the other sex is obligatory to the medical stamp on the birth certificate.

There are a number of ways in which health disparities play out based on different systems of stratification. Researchers also find health disparities based on gender stratification. One study found that women are less likely than men to be recommended for knee replacement surgery, even when they have the same symptoms. While it was unclear what role the sex of the recommending physicians played, the authors of this study encouraged women to challenge their doctors in order to get care equivalent to men.

Gender, and particularly the role of women, is widely recognized as vitally important to international development issues. This often means a focus on gender-equality, ensuring participation, but includes an understanding of the different roles and expectations of the genders within the community. As recognized by the United Nations, women's dual responsibilities

as carers and income earners leaves them suffering from time poverty, and thus unable to access health and education services. The Gender-related Development Index (GDI), developed by the United Nations, aims to show the inequalities between men and women in the following areas: long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.

Race and Health

Health disparities refer to gaps in the quality of health and healthcare across racial and ethnic groups.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the health disparities in the United States based on race and the implications for racial minorities

Key Points

- Race and health research, often done in the United States, has found both current and historical racial differences in the frequency, treatments, and availability of treatments for several diseases.
- In multiracial societies such as the United States, racial groups differ greatly in regard to social and cultural factors such as socioeconomic status, healthcare, diet, and education.
- There is a controversy regarding race as a method for classifying humans. The continued use of racial categories has been criticized.
- Apart from the general controversy regarding race, some argue that the continued use of racial categories in health care, and as risk factors, could result in increased stereotyping and discrimination in society and health services.

Key Terms

- **life expectancy**: The amount of time one is expected to live.
- **multiracial societies**: In multiracial societies such as the United States, racial groups differ greatly in regard to social and cultural factors, such as socioeconomic status, healthcare, diet, and education.
- **Health disparities**: Health equity refers to the study of differences in the quality of health and health care across different populations.

The Role of Race in Health

Health disparities refer to gaps in the quality of health and healthcare across racial and ethnic groups. Race and health research, often done in the United States, has found both current and historical racial differences in the frequency, treatments, and availability of treatments for several diseases. This can add up to significant group differences in variables such as life expectancy. Many explanations for such differences have been argued, including socioeconomic factors, lifestyle, social environment, and access to preventive health-care services, among other environmental differences.

In multiracial societies such as the United States, racial groups differ greatly in regard to social and cultural factors such as socioeconomic status, healthcare, diet, and education. There is also the presence of racism which some see as a very important explaining factor. Some argue that for many diseases racial differences would disappear if all environmental factors could be controlled for. Race-based medicine is the term for medicines that are targeted at specific ethnic clusters, which are shown to have a propensity for a certain disorder. Critics are concerned that the trend of research on race specific pharmaceutical treatments will result in inequitable access to pharmaceutical innovation, and smaller minority groups may be ignored.

Health disparities based on race also exist. Similar to the difference in life expectancy found between the rich and the poor, affluent white women live 14 years longer in the U.S. (81.1 years) than poor black men (66.9 years). There is also evidence that blacks receive less aggressive medical care than whites, similar to what happens with women compared to men. Black men describe their visits to doctors as stressful, and report that physicians do not provide them with adequate information to implement the recommendations they are given.

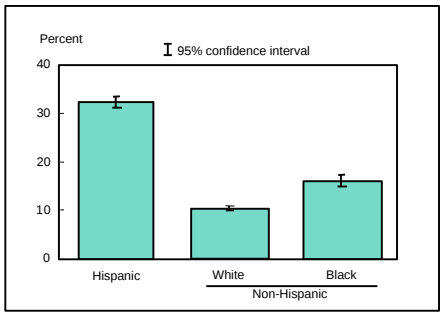
Another contributor to the overall worse health of blacks is the incident of HIV/AIDS; the rate of new AIDS cases is ten times higher among blacks than whites, and blacks are 20 times as likely to have HIV/AIDS as are whites. Health disparities are well documented in minority populations such as African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. When compared to European Americans, these minority groups have higher incidence of chronic diseases, higher mortality, and poorer health outcomes. Minorities also have higher rates of cardiovascular disease, HIV/AIDS, and infant mortality than whites. American ethnic groups can exhibit substantial average differences in disease incidence, disease severity, disease progression, and response to treatment.

Infant mortality is another place where racial disparities are quite evident. In fact, infant mortality rates are 14 of every 1000 births for black, non-Hispanics compared to 6 of every 1000 births for whites. Another disparity is access to health care and insurance. In California, more than half (59 percent) of Hispanics go without health care. Also, almost 25 percent of Latinos do not have health insurance, as opposed to 10 percent of Whites.

There is a controversy regarding race as a method for classifying humans. The continued use of racial categories has

been criticized. Apart from the general controversy regarding race, some argue that the continued use of racial categories in health care, and as risk factors, could result in increased stereotyping and discrimination in society and health services. There is general agreement that a goal of health-related genetics should be to move past the weak surrogate relationships of racial health disparity and get to the root causes of health and disease. This includes research which strives to analyze human genetic variation in smaller groups across the world.

Figure 1.3. Age- sex-adjusted percent of persons of all ages without health insurance coverage, by race/ethnicity: United States, 2004



DATA SOURCE: Family Core component of the 2004 National Health Interview Survey.

Percentage Without Insurance, Based on Race: Age-sex adjusted percent of persons of all ages without health insurance coverage, by race/ethnicity, United States, 2004

Social Class and Health

Social class has a significant impact on one's physical health, ability to receive adequate medical care and nutrition, and life expectancy.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the role social class plays in access to adequate health care and health inequality

Key Points

- While gender and race play significant factors in explaining healthcare inequality in the United States, socioeconomic status is the greatest determining factor in an individual's level of access to healthcare.
- Social determinants of health are the economic and social conditions, and their distribution among the population, that influence individual and group differences in health status.
- They are risk factors found in one's living and working conditions (such as the distribution of income, wealth, influence, and power), rather than individual factors (such as behavioral risk factors or genetics) that influence the risk for a disease, injury, or vulnerability to disease or injury.
- Social determinants of health are the economic and social conditions, and their distribution among the population, that influence individual and group differences in health status.
- Health inequality is the term used in a number of countries to refer to those instances whereby the health of two demographic groups (not necessarily ethnic or racial groups) differs despite comparative access to health care services.

Key Terms

- **social determinants of health**: The economic and social conditions that influence individual and group differences in health status.
- **health inequality**: The unequal distribution of environmental health hazards and access to health services between demographic groups, including social classes.

The Role of Social Class in Health

A person's social class has a significant impact on their physical health, their ability to receive adequate medical care and nutrition, and their life expectancy. While gender and race play significant factors in explaining healthcare inequality in the United States, socioeconomic status is the greatest determining factor in an individual's level of access to healthcare.

Individuals of lower socioeconomic status in the United States experience a wide array of health problems as a result of their economic status. They are unable to use health care as often, and when they do it is of lower quality, even though they generally tend to experience a much higher rate of health issues. Furthermore, individuals of lower socioeconomic status have less education and often perform jobs without significant health and benefits plans, whereas individuals of higher standing are more likely to have jobs that provide medical insurance. Consequently, they have higher rates of infant mortality, cancer, cardiovascular disease, and disabling physical injuries.

Social determinants of health are the economic and social conditions, and their distribution among the population, that influence individual and group differences in health status. They are risk factors found in one's living and working conditions (such as the distribution of income, wealth, influence, and power), rather than individual factors (such as behavioral risk factors or genetics) that influence the risk for a disease, injury, or vulnerability to disease or injury. According to some viewpoints, these distributions of social determinants are shaped by public policies that reflect the influence of prevailing political ideologies of those governing a jurisdiction.

Health inequality is the term used in a number of countries to refer to those instances whereby the health of two demographic groups (not necessarily ethnic or racial groups) differs despite comparative access to health care services. Such examples include higher rates of morbidity and mortality for those in lower occupational classes than those in higher occupational

classes, and the increased likelihood of those from ethnic minorities being diagnosed with a mental health disorder.

Education and Health

Health literacy is an individual's ability to read, understand and use healthcare information to make decisions about treatment.

Learning Objectives

Demonstrate the impact of health literacy on access to and understanding of health care issues, especially for certain social groups

Key Points

- Health literacy is of continued and increasing concern for health professionals, as it is a primary factor behind health disparities.
- While problems with health literacy are not limited to minority groups, the problem can be more pronounced in these groups than in whites due to socioeconomic and educational factors.
- Reading level, numeracy level, language barriers, cultural appropriateness, format and style, sentence structure, use of illustrations, scope of intervention, and numerous other factors will affect how easily health information is understood and followed.
- The mismatch between a clinician's level of communication and a patient's ability to understand can lead to medication errors and adverse medical outcomes.
- Health care professionals (doctors, nurses, public health workers) can also have poor health literacy skills, such as a reduced ability to clearly explain health issues to patients and the public.
- The eHealth literacy model is also referred to as the Lily model. This model includes basic literacy, computer literacy, information literacy, media literacy, science literacy, and health literacy.

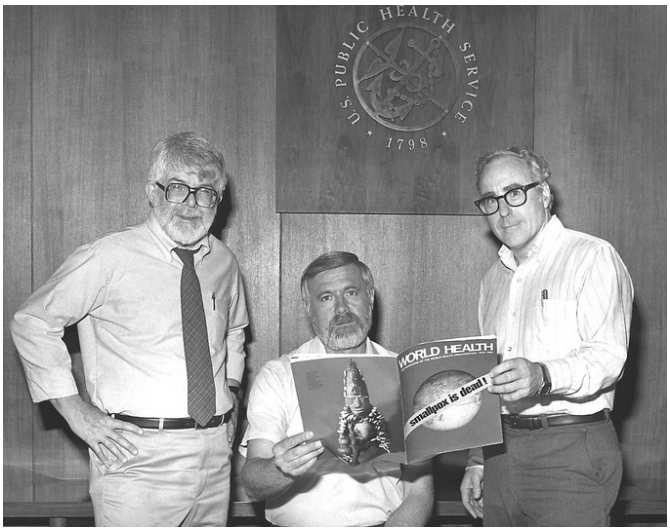
Key Terms

- **the eHealth literacy model**: The eHealth literacy model is also referred to as the Lily model, which incorporates the following literacies, each of which are instrumental to the overall understanding and measurement of eHealth literacy: basic literacy, computer literacy, information literacy, media literacy, science literacy, health literacy.
- **language barrier**: A figurative phrase for the difficulties faced when people who have no language in common attempt to communicate with each other.
- **Health literacy**: Health literacy is an individual's ability to read, understand and use healthcare information to make decisions and follow instructions for treatment.

Health literacy is an individual's ability to read, understand, and use healthcare information to make decisions and follow instructions for treatment. Health literacy is of continued and increasing concern for health professionals, as it is a primary factor behind health disparities. While problems with health literacy are not limited to minority groups, the problem can be more pronounced in these groups than in whites due to socioeconomic and educational factors.

There are many factors that determine the health literacy level of health education materials or other health interventions. Reading level, numeracy level, language barriers, cultural appropriateness, format and style, sentence structure, use of illustrations, scope of intervention, and numerous other factors will affect how easily health information is understood and followed. The mismatch between a clinician's level of communication and a patient's ability to understand can lead to medication errors and adverse medical outcomes. The lack of health literacy affects all segments of the population, although it is disproportionate in certain demographic groups, such as the elderly, ethnic minorities, recent immigrants and persons with low general literacy. Health literacy skills are not only a problem in the public. Health care professionals (doctors, nurses, public health workers) can also have poor health literacy skills, such as a reduced ability to clearly explain health issues to patients and the public.

Due to the increasing influence of the internet for information-seeking and health information distribution purposes, eHealth literacy has become an important topic of research in recent years. The eHealth literacy model is also referred to as the Lily model, which incorporates the following literacies, each of which are instrumental to the overall understanding and measurement of eHealth literacy: basic literacy, computer literacy, information literacy, media literacy, science literacy, health literacy.



Directors of Global Smallpox Eradication Program: Three former directors of the Global Smallpox Eradication Program read the news that smallpox had been globally eradicated in 1980.

Women in Medicine

Historically and in many parts of the world, women's participation in the profession of medicine has been significantly restricted.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the role women play in the medical field and how gender parity affects women's choices when it comes to medicine

Key Points

- Women's informal practice of medicine in the role of caregivers and in the allied health professions has been widespread.
- The practice of medicine remains disproportionately male overall. In industrialized nations, the recent parity in gender of medical students has not yet trickled into parity in practice.
- Most countries now guarantee equal access by women to medical education. However, not all ensure equal employment opportunities, and gender parity has yet to be achieved within the medical specialties around the world.

Key Terms

- **parity**: Equality; comparability of strength or intensity.

The Role of Women in Medicine

Historically and in many parts of the world, women's participation in medicine (as physicians, for instance) has been significantly restricted, although women's informal practice of medicine in the role of caregivers and in the allied health professions has been widespread. Most countries of the world now guarantee equal access by women to medical education, although not all ensure equal employment opportunities. Gender parity has yet to be achieved within the medical specialties around the world.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century in industrialized nations, women have made significant gains, but have yet to achieve parity throughout the medical profession. Women's participation in medical professions was limited by law and practice during the decades while medicine was professionalizing. However, women kept practicing medicine in the allied health fields (nursing, midwifery), making significant gains in medical education and medical work during the 19th and 20th centuries. Women continue to dominate nursing in the 20th century. In 2000, 94.6% of registered nurses in the United States were women.

The practice of medicine remains disproportionately male overall. In some industrialized nations, women have achieved parity in medical school. Since 2003, women have formed the majority of the U.S. medical student body. However, they have yet to achieve parity in practice. In many developing nations, neither medical school nor practice approach gender parity. Moreover, there are skews within the medical profession. For example, some medical specialties like surgery are significantly male-dominated, while other specialties are or becoming significantly female-dominated.



Monique Frize, née Aubry (born 1942) is a Canadian academic and biomedical engineer known for her expertise in medical instrumentation and decision-support systems: At the beginning of the 21st century, women in industrialized nations have made significant gains, but have yet to achieve parity throughout the medical profession. In some industrialized countries, women have achieved parity in medical school. Women have formed the majority of the United States medical student body since 2003. In 2007-2008, women accounted for 49% of medical school applicants and 48.3% of those accepted. According to the American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC) 48.3% (16,838) of medical degrees awarded in the US in 2009-10 were earned by women, an increase from 26.8% in 1982-3.

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19.2: Sociological Perspectives on Health and Illness

The Functionalist Perspective

In the functionalist model, Parsons argued that illness is a form of deviance that disturbs the social function of a society.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the functionalist perspective on illness in society, specifically the role the sick play in a specific society and how that role affects others

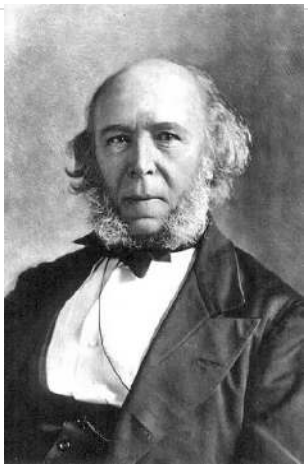
Key Points

- Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements (namely norms, customs, traditions, and institutions), much like the interacting organs within the human body.
- Prominent functionalist theorists include Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, Robert Merton, and Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell.
- Functionalism is a framework that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.
- Functionalists argue that a sick individual is not a productive member of society; therefore this deviance needs to be policed. This is the role of the medical profession.
- Structural functionalism reached the peak of its influence in the 1940s and 1950s, and by the 1960s was in rapid decline, replaced by conflict-oriented approaches in Europe and more recently by structuralism.

Key Terms

- **deviance**: Actions or behaviors that violate formal and informal cultural norms, such as laws or the norm that discourages public nose-picking.
- **structuralism**: A theory of sociology that views elements of society as part of a cohesive, self-supporting structure.

Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole. This approach looks at both social structure and social functions. Prominent functionalist theorists include Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, Robert Merton, and Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell.



Herbert Spencer: Herbert Spencer was a prominent functionalist sociologist, who likened the functioning parts of society as organs within a body.

Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements; namely norms, customs, traditions, and institutions. A common analogy, popularized by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as “organs” that work toward the proper functioning of the “body” as a whole. For Talcott Parsons (1902–1979), an American sociologist, “structural-functionalism” came to describe a particular stage in the methodological development of social science, rather than a specific school of thought.

The Sick Role

Sick role is a term used in medical sociology regarding sickness and the rights and obligations of the affected. It is a concept created by the American sociologist Talcott Parsons in 1951. Parsons was a functionalist sociologist who argued that being sick means that the sufferer enters a role of “sanctioned deviance”. This is because, from a functionalist perspective, a sick individual is not a productive member of society. Therefore this deviance needs to be policed, which is the role of the medical profession.

In the functionalist model, Parsons argued that the best way to understand illness sociologically is to view it as a form of deviance that disturbs the social function of the society. The general idea is that the individual who has fallen ill is not only physically sick, but now adheres to the specifically patterned social role of being sick. “Being Sick” is not simply a “condition”; it contains within itself customary rights and obligations based on the social norms that surround it.

The theory outlined two rights of a sick person and two obligations. The sick person’s rights are twofold: the first one is being exempt from normal social roles; the second one is not being responsible for their condition. Conversely, the sick

person's obligations included trying to get well and cooperating with the medical professionals. Parsons concluded that there are three versions of the sick role: conditional, unconditional legitimate, and illegitimate (a condition stigmatized by others).

Critics of the Functionalist Perspective

Critics of Parsons and the functionalist perspective point to different flaws they see with his argument. The model assumes that the individual voluntarily accepts the sick role. It also assumes that the individual may not comply with expectations of the sick role, may not give up social obligations, may resist dependency, and may avoid the public sick role if their illness is stigmatized. The model also blames the sick, where "rights" do not always apply.

Structural functionalism reached the peak of its influence in the 1940s and 1950s, and by the 1960s was in rapid decline. By the 1980s, its place was taken in Europe by more conflict-oriented approaches, and more recently by "structuralism". While some of the critical approaches also gained popularity in the United States, the mainstream of the discipline has instead shifted to a myriad of empirically-oriented middle-range theories with no overarching theoretical orientation. To most sociologists, functionalism is now obsolete.

The Conflict Perspective

Conflict theory argues that the economic and political structures of a society create social divisions, inequalities, and conflicts.

Learning Objectives

Examine the differing views on conflict theory from various sociologists, such as Karl Marx and C. Wright Mills

Key Points

- Conflict theories are perspectives in social science that emphasize the social, political, or material inequality of a social group.
- Of the classical founders of social science, conflict theory is most commonly associated with Karl Marx, who posited that capitalism would inevitably produce internal tensions leading to its own destruction.
- Marx advocated for the rejection of false consciousness (explanations of social problems as the shortcomings of individuals rather than the flaws of society) and the claiming of class consciousness (workers' recognition of themselves as a class unified in opposition to the capitalist system).
- The Polish-Austrian sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz and the American sociologist Lester F. Ward approached conflict from a comprehensive anthropological and evolutionary point-of-view.
- C. Wright Mills has been called the founder of modern conflict theory. In Mills's view, social structures are created through conflict between people with differing interests and resources.
- Conflict theory is most often associated with Marxism, but may also be associated with other perspectives such as critical theory, feminist theory, postmodern theory, queer theory, and race -conflict theory.

Key Terms

- **functionalism**: Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.
- **military-industrial complex**: The armed forces of a nation together with the industries that supply their weapons and materiel.
- **capitalism**: A socio-economic system based on private property rights, including the private ownership of resources or capital, with economic decisions made largely through the operation of a market unregulated by the state.

Conflict theories are perspectives in social science that emphasize the social, political, or material inequality of a social group, that critique the broad socio-political system, or that otherwise detract from structural functionalism and ideological conservatism. Sociologists in the tradition of conflict theory argue that the economic and political structures of a society create social divisions, classes, hierarchies, antagonisms and conflicts that produce and reproduce inequalities. Certain conflict theories set out to highlight the ideological aspects inherent in traditional thought. While many of these perspectives hold parallels, conflict theory does not refer to a unified school of thought, and should not be confused with, for instance, peace and conflict studies.

Of the classical founders of social science, conflict theory is most commonly associated with Karl Marx (1818–1883). Based on a dialectical materialist account of history, Marxism posited that capitalism, like previous socioeconomic systems, would inevitably produce internal tensions leading to its own destruction. Marx ushered in radical change, advocating proletarian revolution and freedom from the ruling classes. At the same time, Karl Marx was aware that most of the people living in capitalist societies did not see how the system shaped the entire operation of society. Just like how we see private property, or the right to pass that property onto our children as natural, many of members in capitalistic societies see the rich as having earned their wealth through hard work and education,

while seeing the poor as lacking in skill and initiative. Marx rejected this type of thinking and termed it false consciousness, which involves explanations of social problems as the shortcomings of individuals rather than the flaws of society. Marx wanted to replace this kind of thinking with something Engels termed class consciousness, which is when workers recognize themselves as a class unified in opposition to capitalists and ultimately to the capitalist system itself. In general, Marx wanted the working class to rise up against the capitalists and overthrow the capitalist system.



Healthcare reform supporter: Karl Marx wanted to replace false consciousness with class consciousness, in which the working class would rise up against the capitalist system.

Two early conflict theorists were the Polish-Austrian sociologist and political theorist Ludwig Gumplowicz (1838–1909) and the American sociologist and paleontologist Lester F. Ward (1841–1913). Although Ward and Gumplowicz developed their theories independently, they had much in common and approached conflict from a comprehensive anthropological and evolutionary point-of-view as opposed to Marx's rather exclusive focus on economic factors.

C. Wright Mills has been called the founder of modern conflict theory. In Mills's view, social structures are created through conflict between people with differing interests and resources. Individuals and resources, in turn, are influenced by these structures and by the "unequal distribution of power and resources in the society. " Mills argued that the interests of the power elite of American society (for example, the military-industrial complex) were opposed to those of the people. He theorized that the policies of the power elite would result in the "increased escalation of conflict, production of weapons of mass destruction, and possibly the annihilation of the human race. "

Conflict theory is most commonly associated with Marxism, but as a reaction to functionalism and the positivist method, it may also be associated with a number of other perspectives, including critical theory, feminist theory, postmodern theory, post-structural theory, postcolonial theory, queer theory, world systems theory, and race-conflict theory.

The Interactionist Perspective

According to theorists working in the symbolic interactionist perspective, health and illness are socially constructed.

Learning Objectives

Explain and give examples of social constructions of health according to the symbolic interactionist perspective

Key Points

- Symbolic interactionist researchers investigate how people create meaning during social interaction, how they present and construct the self, and how they define situations of co-presence with others.
- Constructivist grounded theory emphasizes the development of an interactive relationship and mutual construction of knowledge between researcher and participants.
- Medicalization of deviance refers to the process that changes "bad" behavior into "sick" behavior.
- Demedicalization refers to the process when "sick" behavior is normalized again.

Key Terms

- **medicalization of deviance**: The medicalization of deviance refers to the process that changes "bad" behavior into "sick" behavior.
- **demedicalization**: Demedicalization refers to the process when "sick" behavior is normalized again.
- **symbolic interactionist**: Symbolic interactionist researchers investigate how people create meaning during social interaction, how they present and construct the self, and how they define situations of co-presence with others.

According to theorists working in the symbolic interactionist perspective, health and illness are socially constructed. Symbolic interactionist researchers investigate how people create meaning during social interaction, how they present and construct the self (or "identity"), and how they define situations of co-presence with others. One of the perspective's central ideas is that people act as they do because of how they define situations.

Constructivist grounded theory emphasizes the development of an interactive relationship and mutual construction of knowledge between researcher and participants. Symbolic interactionists believe that objects have meaning only through people's interactions with them in the environment, that the meanings people have for things develops through social interaction and that those meanings are handled and modified by a constant and ongoing interpretive process by individuals.

An example of the social construction of health the the Rate of Perceived Exertion, or RPE. This scale measures the intensity of a person's workout on a scale of 0 to 10. This scale was developed by Gunnar Borg, and it is used by medical professionals to assess a person's health in a variety of ways.

In essence, interactionists focus on the specific meanings and causes people attribute to illness. The term "medicalization" of deviance" refers to the process that changes "bad" behavior into "sick" behavior. A related process is "demedicalization", in which "sick" behavior is normalized again. Medicalization and demedicalization affect who responds to the patient, how people respond to the patient, and how people view the personal responsibility of the patient.

An example of medicalization is illustrated by the history of how our society views alcohol and alcoholism. During the 19th century, people who drank too much were considered "bad, lazy people. " They were called drunks, and it was not uncommon for them to be arrested or run out of a town. Drunks were not treated in a sympathetic way because, at that time, it was thought that it was their own fault that they could not stop drinking. During the latter half of the 20th century, however, people who drank too much were increasingly defined as people with a disease or a genetic predisposition to addiction. With alcoholism defined as a disease and not a personal choice, alcoholics came to be viewed with more compassion and understanding. Thus, "badness" was transformed into "sickness".



Alcoholism: In this engraving from the 19th century, "King Alcohol" is shown with a skeleton on a barrel of alcohol. The words "poverty," "misery," "crime," and "death" hang in the air behind him.

While interactionism does acknowledge the subjective nature of diagnosis, it is important to remember who benefits the most when a behavior becomes defined as illness. Pharmaceutical companies make billions of dollars treating illnesses such as fatigue, insomnia, and hyperactivity that may not actually be illnesses in need of treatment, but opportunities for companies to make more money.

The Labeling Approach

The labeling approach to health and illness claims that mental illness is manifested solely as a result of societal influence.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the pros and cons of labeling theory, especially the implications it has for the "mentally ill" and HIV/AIDS patients

Key Points

- Developed by sociologists during the 1960s, labeling theory holds that deviance is not inherent to an act. The theory focuses on the tendency of majorities to negatively label minorities or those seen as deviant from standard cultural norms.
- The social construction of deviant behavior plays an important role in the labeling process that occurs in society.
- Labeling theory was first applied to the term "mentally ill" in 1966 when Thomas J. Scheff published *Being Mentally Ill*. Scheff challenged common perceptions of mental illness by claiming that mental illness is manifested solely as a result of societal influence.
- Hard labeling refers to those who argue that mental illness does not exist. They note the slight deviance from the norms of society that cause people to believe in mental illness.
- Soft labeling refers to people who believe that mental illnesses do, in fact, exist. Unlike the supporters of hard labeling, soft labeling supporters believe that mental illnesses are not entirely socially constructed.

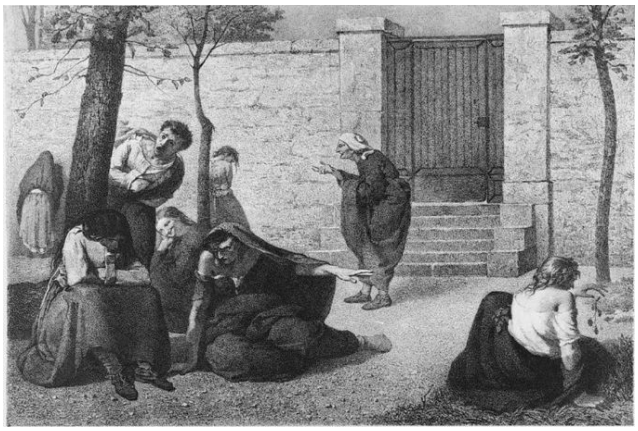
Key Terms

- **self-fulfilling prophecy**: a prediction that, by being voiced, causes itself to come true
- **social construction**: A concept or practice that is the construct (or artifact) of a particular group, meaning that the concept or practice is understood differently by various groups and institutions.
- **deviance**: Actions or behaviors that violate formal and informal cultural norms, such as laws or the norm that discourages public nose-picking.

Labeling Theory on Health and Illness

Labeling theory is closely related to social-construction and symbolic-interaction analysis. Developed by sociologists during the 1960s, labeling theory holds that deviance is not inherent to

an act. The theory focuses on the tendency of majorities to *negatively label* minorities or those seen as deviant from standard cultural norms. The theory is concerned with how the self-identity and behavior of individuals may be determined or influenced by the terms used to describe or classify them. It is associated with the concepts of self-fulfilling prophecy and stereotyping.



1857 Lithograph by Armand Gautier: Shows personifications of dementia, megalomania, acute mania, melancholia, idiocy, hallucination, erotic mania and paralysis in the gardens of the Hospice de la Salpêtrière. A mental disorder or mental illness is a psychological pattern, potentially reflected in behavior, that is generally associated with distress or disability, and which is not considered part of normal development of a person's culture.

The social construction of deviant behavior plays an important role in the labeling process that occurs in society. This process involves not only the labeling of criminally deviant behavior—behavior that does not fit socially constructed norms—but also labeling that reflects stereotyped or stigmatized behavior of the "mentally ill." Hard labeling refers to those who argue that mental illness does not exist; it is merely deviance from the norms of society that cause people to believe in mental illness. Mental illnesses are socially constructed illnesses and psychotic disorders do not exist. Soft labeling refers to people who believe that mental illnesses do, in fact, exist, and are not entirely socially constructed.

Labeling theory was first applied to the term "mentally ill" in 1966 when Thomas J. Scheff published *Being Mentally Ill*. Scheff challenged common perceptions of mental illness by claiming that mental illness is manifested solely as a result of societal influence. He argued that society views certain actions as deviant. In order to come to terms with and understand these actions, society often places the label of mental illness on those who exhibit them. Certain expectations are placed on these individuals and, over time, they unconsciously change their behavior to fulfill them. Criteria for different mental illnesses, he believed, are not consistently fulfilled by those who are diagnosed with them because all of these people suffer from the same disorder. Criteria are simply fulfilled because the "mentally ill" believe they are supposed to act a certain way—over time, they come to do so.

Another issue involving labeling was the rise of HIV/AIDS cases among gay men in the 1980s. HIV/AIDS was labeled a disease of the homosexual and further pushed people into believing homosexuality was deviant. Even today, some people believe contracting HIV/AIDS is punishment for deviant and inappropriate sexual behaviors.

Labels, while they can be stigmatizing, can also lead those who bear them down the road to proper treatment and recovery. The label of "mentally ill" may help a person seek help, such as psychotherapy or medication. If one believes that being "mentally ill" is more than just believing one should fulfill a set of diagnostic criteria, then one would probably also agree that there are some who are labeled "mentally ill" who need help. It has been claimed that this could not happen if society did not have a way to categorize them, although there are actually plenty of approaches to these phenomena that don't use categorical classifications and diagnostic terms (for example, spectrum or continuum models). Here, people vary along different dimensions, and everyone falls at different points on each dimension.

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19.3: Social Epidemiology and Health

Social Epidemiology and Health

Social epidemiology studies the social distribution and social determinants of health.

Learning Objectives

Discuss epidemiolgy and its impact on American health care, as well as its beginnings based on Durkheim's work on suicide

Key Points

- Epidemiology is the study (or the science of the study) of the patterns, causes, and effects of health and disease conditions in defined populations.
- Social epidemiology is defined as "the branch of epidemiology that studies the social distribution and social determinants of health"; or in other words, "both specific features of, and pathways by which, societal conditions affect health".
- Social epidemiologists generally use social concepts in order to explain patterns of health in the population.
- The roots of social epidemiology go back to the work of Emile Durkheim on suicide, where he explored the differing suicide rates between Protestants and Catholics.
- Use of multilevel models (also known as hierarchical and mixed effects models) involves focusing on both individual-level measures and emergent social properties that have no correlation at the individual level.

Key Terms

- **Emile Durkheim**: David Émile Durkheim (April 15, 1858 – November 15, 1917) was a French sociologist. He formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.
- **Social epidemiology**: Social epidemiology is defined as "the branch of epidemiology that studies the social distribution and social determinants of health," that is, "both specific features of, and pathways by which, societal conditions affect health. "
- **Multilevel Models**: Multilevel models are statistical models of parameters that vary at more than one level. These models can be seen as generalizations of linear models (in particular, linear regression), although they can also extend to non-linear models.

Epidemiology

Epidemiology is the study (or the science of the study) of the patterns, causes, and effects of health and disease conditions in defined populations. It is the cornerstone of public health, and informs policy decisions and evidence-based medicine by identifying risk factors for disease and targets for preventive medicine. Epidemiologists help with study design, collection and statistical analysis of data, and interpretation and dissemination of results (including peer review and occasional systematic review). Epidemiology has helped develop methodology used in clinical research, public health studies and, to a lesser extent, basic research in the biological sciences.

Major areas of epidemiological study include disease etiology, outbreak investigation, disease surveillance and screening, biomonitoring, and comparisons of treatment effects such as in clinical trials. Epidemiologists rely on other scientific disciplines like biology to better understand disease processes, statistics to make efficient use of the data and draw appropriate conclusions, social sciences to better understand proximate and distal causes, and engineering for exposure assessment.

Social Epidemiology



Émile Durkheim: Durkheim formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.

Social epidemiology is defined as "the branch of epidemiology that studies the social distribution and social determinants of health"; or in other words, "both specific features of, and pathways by which, societal conditions affect health" (Krieger, 2001). The roots of social epidemiology go back Emile Durkheim's work on suicide.

In *Suicide* (1897), Durkheim explores the differing suicide rates between Protestants and Catholics, arguing that stronger social control among Catholics results in lower suicide rates. According to Durkheim, Catholic society has normal levels of integration while Protestant society has low levels. Overall,

Durkheim treated suicide as a social fact, explaining variations in its rate on a macro level, considering society-scale phenomena such as a lack of connections between people (group attachment) and a lack of regulations of behavior, rather than the feelings and motivations of individuals. Despite its limitations, Durkheim's work on suicide has influenced proponents of control theory, and is often mentioned as a classic sociological study. The book pioneered modern social research and served to distinguish social science from psychology and political philosophy.

Social epidemiology may focus on individual-level measures, or on emergent social properties that have no correlation at the individual level. Simultaneous analysis at both levels may even be warranted. Use of such multilevel models is also known as hierarchical and mixed effects models. Social epidemiology overlaps with fields in the social sciences, such as medical anthropology, medical sociology, and medical geography. However, these fields often use health and disease in order to explain specifically social phenomenon (such as the growth of lay health advocacy movements), while social epidemiologists generally use social concepts in order to explain patterns of health in the population.

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19.4: Health Care in the U.S.

Health Care in the U.S.

Healthcare in the United States is provided by separate legal entities, often private facilities with governmental insurance for citizens.

Learning Objectives

Outline the problems with American health care, primarily due to privatization

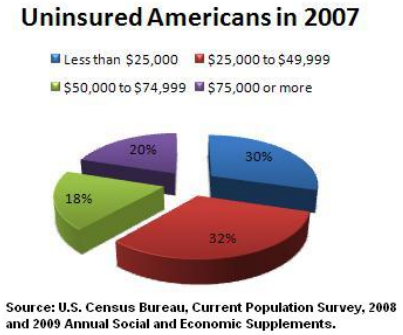
Key Points

- Healthcare facilities are largely owned and operated by the private sector.
- The United States is alone among developed nations with the notable absence of a universal healthcare system.
- Publicly-funded insurance is provided to the public through programs, such as Medicare, Medicaid, TRICARE, the Children's Health Insurance Program, and the Veterans Health Administration.
- Active debate about healthcare reform in the United States concerns questions of a right to healthcare, access, fairness, efficiency, cost, choice, value, and quality.
- Many of the uninsured are the working poor or are unemployed. Although some are healthy and choose to go without it, others have been rejected by insurance companies and are considered "uninsurable".

Key Terms

- **the Children's Health Insurance Program**: The Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) is a program administered by the United States Department of Health and Human Services that provides matching funds to states for health insurance to families with children. The program was designed to cover uninsured children in families with incomes that are modest but too high to qualify for Medicaid.
- **private insurance**: Private insurance refers to health insurance provided by a non-governmental organization, usually a privately owned or publicly traded corporation.
- **TRICARE**: is a health care program of the United States Department of Defense Military Health System. TRICARE provides civilian health benefits for military personnel, military retirees, and their dependents, including some members of the Reserve Component.

Healthcare in the United States is provided by many separate legal entities. Healthcare facilities are largely owned and operated by the private sector. Health insurance is now primarily provided by the government in the public sector, with 60-65% of healthcare provision and spending coming from programs, such as Medicare, Medicaid, TRICARE, the Children's Health Insurance Program, and the Veterans Health Administration.



U.S. Uninsured in 2007, by income.: This image shows the income distribution of Americans who did not have health insurance coverage in 2007. The data comes from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey in 2008 and the 2009 Annual Social and Economic Supplements–-available here (page 21).

The United States is alone among developed nations with the notable absence of a universal healthcare system. Current estimates put U.S. healthcare spending at approximately 16% of GDP, second highest to East Timor (Timor-Leste) among all United Nations member nations. The U.S. system is primarily one of private insurance, with governmental insurance provided for citizens on the healthcare fringe. Insurance is provided by large-risk bearing corporate entities, which organize healthcare delivery by negotiating pricing and services with provider (physicians and hospitals) organizations. Most Americans under age 65 (59.3%) receive their health insurance coverage through an employer (which includes both private, as well as civilian public-sector employers) under group coverage, although this percentage is declining.

Debates about Healthcare in the United States

Active debate about healthcare reform in the United States concerns questions of a right to health care, access, fairness, efficiency, cost, choice, value, and quality. Some have argued that the system does not deliver equivalent value for the money spent. The United States pays twice as much, yet lags behind other wealthy nations in such measures as infant mortality and life expectancy. Currently, the United States has a higher infant mortality rate than most of the world's industrialized nations. Around 84.7% of Americans have some form of health insurance; either through their employer or the employer of their spouse or parent (59.3%), purchased individually (8.9%), or provided by government programs (27.8%; there is some overlap in these figures).

Furthermore, the number of persons without health insurance coverage in the United States is one of the primary concerns raised by advocates of healthcare reform. According to the United States Census Bureau, in 2009, there were 50.7 million people in the United States (16.7% of the population) who were without health insurance. Some Americans who do not qualify for government-provided health insurance are not provided health insurance by an employer, and are unable to afford, cannot qualify for, or choose not to purchase private health insurance. Many of the uninsured are the working poor or are unemployed. Although some are healthy and choose to go without it, others have been rejected by insurance companies and are considered "uninsurable."

Physicians, Nurses, and Patients

The interactions between physicians, nurses, and patients are central to healthcare.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the importance of positive interactions between physicians, nurses and patients, in terms of satisfaction with health care services

Key Points

- Physicians in the United States include both physicians trained by medical education in the United States, and physicians that are international medical graduates who have progressed through the necessary steps to acquire a medical license to practice in a state.
- Patient's satisfaction is favored by a good doctor-patient relationship.
- Nursing is a healthcare profession focused on the care of individuals, families, and communities so they may attain, maintain, or recover optimal health and quality of life.

Key Terms

- **patient's satisfaction**: Patients' satisfaction with an encounter with health care service is mainly dependent on the duration and efficiency of care, and how empathetic and communicable the health care providers are.
- **doctor-patient relationship**: The doctor-patient relationship is central to the practice of healthcare and is essential for the delivery of high-quality health care in the diagnosis and treatment of disease.
- **medical education**: Medical education is education related to the practice of being a medical practitioner, either the initial training to become a doctor (i.e., medical school and internship), additional training thereafter (e.g., residency and fellowship), or Physician Assistant education.

Physicians

A physician is a health care provider who practices the profession of medicine, which is concerned with promoting, maintaining or restoring human health through the study, diagnosis, and treatment of disease, injury and other physical and mental impairments. They may focus their practice on certain disease categories, types of patients, or methods of treatment; such physicians are known as specialist medical practitioners. They may also assume responsibility for the provision of continuing comprehensive medical care to individuals, families and communities; these physicians are known as general practitioners.

Medical practice properly requires both a detailed knowledge of the academic disciplines (such as anatomy and physiology) underlying diseases and their treatment, and also a decent competence in its applied practice. Physicians in the United States include both physicians trained by medical education in the United States, and physicians that are international medical graduates who have progressed through the necessary steps to acquire a medical license to practice in a state. The U.S. physicians are an important part of the health care in the United States. Currently, the American College of Physicians uses the term physician to describe all medical practitioners holding a professional medical degree.

Nurses

Nursing is a healthcare profession focused on the care of individuals, families, and communities so they may attain, maintain, or recover optimal health and quality of life. There are a number of educational paths to becoming a professional nurse, which vary greatly worldwide, but all involve extensive study of nursing theory and practice, and training in clinical skills. Nursing Science is a field of knowledge based on the contributions of nursing scientists through peer-reviewed scholarly journals and evidenced-based practice. Nurses care for individuals of all ages and cultural backgrounds, who are healthy and ill, in a holistic manner based on the individual's physical, emotional, psychological, intellectual, social, and spiritual needs. The profession combines physical science, social science, nursing theory, and technology in caring for those individuals.

Patients

A patient is any recipient of health care services. The patient is most often ill or injured and in need of treatment by a physician, advanced practice registered nurse, or other health care provider. Patients' satisfaction with an encounter with health care service is mainly dependent on the duration and efficiency of care, and how empathetic and communicable the health care

providers are. It is favored by a good doctor-patient relationship. Also, patients that are well informed of the necessary procedures in a clinical encounter, and the time it is expected to take, are generally more satisfied even if there is a longer waiting time.



A Doctor Performs a Cataract Surgery: A local doctor performs a cataract surgery on a patient at Zamboanga Medical Center during the U.S. Military Sealift Command (MSC) hospital ship, USNS Mercy (T-AH 19) visit to the city on a scheduled humanitarian visit.

Alternatives to Traditional Health Care

Alternative medicine is any practice claiming to heal "that does not fall within the realm of conventional medicine."

Learning Objectives

Break down the various types of alternative medicine and how they fit into the health care system

Key Points

- Alternative medicine is frequently grouped with complementary medicine or integrative medicine, which, in general, refers to the same interventions when used in conjunction with mainstream techniques, under the umbrella term complementary and alternative medicine, or CAM.
- Whole medical systems cut across more than one of the other groups; examples include traditional Chinese medicine, naturopathy, homeopathy, and Ayurveda.
- Mind-body medicine takes a holistic approach to health that explores the interconnection between the mind, body, and spirit.
- Biology-based practices use substances found in nature such as herbs, foods, vitamins, and other natural substances.
- Manipulative and body-based practices feature manipulation or movement of body parts, such as is done in chiropractic and osteopathic manipulation.
- Integrative medicine is the combination of the practices and methods of alternative/complementary medicine with conventional medicine.

Key Terms

- **mind-body medicine**: Mind-body medicine takes a holistic approach to health that explores the interconnection between the mind, body, and spirit.
- **manipulative and body-based practices**: Manipulative and body-based practices feature manipulation or movement of body parts, such as is done in chiropractic and osteopathic manipulation.
- **integrative medicine**: Integrative medicine is the combination of the practices and methods of alternative/complementary medicine with conventional medicine. It may include preventive medicine and patient-centered medicine.

Non-Conventional and Conventional Medicine

Alternative medicine methods are diverse in their foundations and methodologies, and they may be based on historical or cultural traditions, rather than on scientific evidence. Methods may incorporate or base themselves on traditional medicine, folk knowledge, spiritual beliefs, or newly conceived approaches to healing. Alternative medicine is frequently grouped with complementary medicine or integrative medicine, which, in general, refers to the same interventions when used in conjunction with mainstream techniques, under the umbrella term complementary and alternative medicine, or CAM.

There is no clear and consistent definition for either alternative or complementary medicine. In Western culture, it is often defined as any healing practice "that does not fall within the realm of conventional medicine," or "that which has not been shown consistently to be effective. " There is a debate among medical researchers over whether any therapy may be properly classified as "alternative medicine. " Some claim that there is only medicine that has been adequately tested and that which has not. They feel that healthcare practices should be classified based solely on scientific evidence.

The U.S. National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine (NCCAM) has developed one of the most widely used classification systems for the branches of complementary and alternative medicine. It classifies complementary and alternative therapies into five major groups, which have some overlap. Whole medical systems cut across more than one of the other groups; examples include traditional Chinese medicine, naturopathy, homeopathy, and Ayurveda. Mind-body medicine takes a holistic approach to health that explores the interconnection between the mind, body, and spirit. Biology-based practices use substances found in nature, such as herbs, foods, vitamins, and other natural substances. Manipulative and

body-based practices feature manipulation or movement of body parts, such as is done in chiropractic and osteopathic manipulation.

Integrative medicine is the combination of the practices and methods of alternative/complementary medicine with conventional medicine. It may include preventive medicine and patient-centered medicine. It may also include practices not normally referred to as medicine, such as using prayer, meditation, socializing, and recreation as therapies. Its academic proponents sometimes recommend misleading patients by using known placebo treatments in order to achieve a placebo effect.



Medicinal Herbs: Medicinal herbs in a traditional Spanish market

The Role of Government

Publicly funded health care is a form of healthcare financing designed to meet the cost of healthcare needs from a publicly managed fund.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the role of the government in the provision of health care

Key Points

- Most developed countries, with the exception of the United States, have partially or fully, publicly funded health systems.
- Publicly funded healthcare systems are usually financed in one of two ways: through taxation or via compulsory national health insurance.
- In compulsory insurance models, healthcare is financed from some combination of employees' salary deductions, employers' contributions, and possibly additional state funds. Insurance may cover other benefits, as well as health.
- When taxation is the primary means of financing healthcare, all eligible people receive the same level of cover regardless of their financial circumstances or risk factors.
- Most western industrial countries have a system of social insurance based on the principle of social solidarity covers eligible people from bearing the direct burden of most healthcare expenditure, funded by taxation during their working life.
- A range of measures, such as better payment methods, has improved the microeconomic incentives facing healthcare providers.

Key Terms

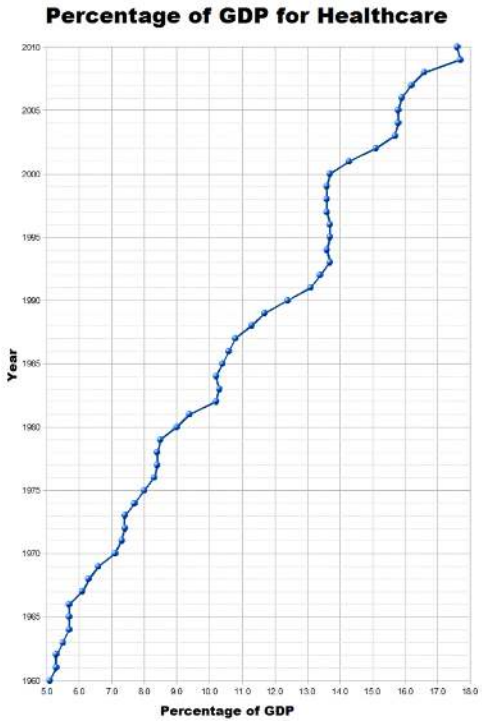
- **social solidarity**: Most western industrial countries have a system of social insurance based on the principle of social solidarity covers eligible people from bearing the direct burden of most healthcare expenditure, funded by taxation during their working life.
- **compulsory insurance models**: In compulsory insurance models, healthcare is financed from some combination of employees' salary deductions, employers' contributions, and possibly additional state funds. Insurance may cover other benefits as well as health.
- **Publicly funded health care**: Publicly funded healthcare is a form of healthcare financing designed to meet the cost of all or most healthcare needs from a publicly managed fund.

Government and Healthcare

Publicly funded health care is a form of healthcare financing designed to meet the cost of all or most healthcare needs from a publicly managed fund. The fund may be a not-for-profit trust, which pays out for health care according to common rules established by the members or by some other democratic form. In some countries, the fund is controlled directly by the government or by an agency of the government for the benefit of the entire population. This distinguishes it from other forms of private medical insurance. In the private model, the rights of access are subject to contractual obligations between an insurer and an insurance company. The latter seeks to make a profit by managing the flow of funds between funders and providers of health care services.

Publicly funded healthcare systems are usually financed in one of two ways: through taxation or via compulsory national health insurance. In compulsory insurance models, healthcare is financed from some combination of employees' salary deductions, employers' contributions, and possibly additional state funds. Insurance may cover other benefits as well as health. When taxation is the primary means of financing healthcare, all eligible people receive the same level of cover regardless of their financial circumstances or risk factors.

Most developed countries, with the exception of the United States, have partially or fully publicly funded health systems. Most western industrial countries have a system of social insurance based on the principle of social solidarity covers eligible people from bearing the direct burden of most healthcare expenditure, funded by taxation during their working life. Many OECD countries have implemented reforms to achieve policy goals of ensuring access to healthcare, improving the quality of healthcare and health outcomes, allocating an appropriate level of public sector other resources to healthcare, while at the same time ensuring that services are provided in a cost-efficient and cost-effective manner (microeconomic efficiency). A range of measures, such as better payment methods, has improved the microeconomic incentives facing providers. However, introducing improved incentives through a more competitive environment among providers and insurers has proved difficult.



Health Costs USA GDP: Total U.S. healthcare spending from 1960 to 2007 by percent of GDP (gross domestic product)

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19.5: Modern Issues in Health Care

Colonialism and the Spread of Diseases

European colonization contributed to the spread of disease worldwide.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the impact of European colonialism on the spread of infectious disease and beginnings of disease control

Key Points

- Colonialism is the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.
- Encounters between explorers and populations in the rest of the world often introduced new diseases, which sometimes caused local epidemics of extraordinary virulence.
- Trade routes and new world conquests devastated indigenous populations, as they were exposed to new pathogens and newly domesticated animals.
- The leading cause of death in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century was tuberculosis.
- In the twentieth century, the world saw the biggest increase in its population in human history due to lessening of the mortality rate in many countries due to medical advances.
- In the 20th century, the world saw the biggest increase in its population in human history due to lessening of the mortality rate in many countries due to medical advances.

Key Terms

- **mortality rate**: The number of deaths per given unit of population over a given period of time.
- **tuberculosis**: An infectious disease of humans and animals caused by a species of mycobacterium mainly infecting the lungs where it causes tubercles characterized by the expectoration of mucus and sputum, fever, weight loss, and chest pain, and transmitted through inhalation or ingestion of bacteria.
- **pathogen**: Any organism or substance, especially a microorganism, capable of causing disease, such as bacteria, viruses, protozoa, or fungi. Microorganisms are not considered to be pathogenic until they have reached a population size that is large enough to cause disease.

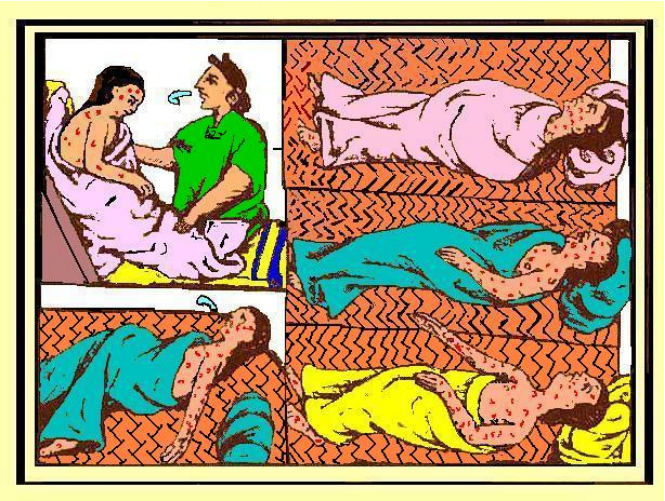
Colonialism and Health

Colonialism is the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. Historically, this has often involved killing or subjugating the indigenous population. Encounters between explorers and populations in the rest of the world often introduced new diseases, which sometimes caused local epidemics of extraordinary virulence.

European colonization contributed to the spread of disease worldwide. Trade routes and New World conquests devastated indigenous populations, as they were exposed to new pathogens and newly domesticated animals. Colonization in Africa and parts of Asia was not as simple for Europeans as it was in the Americas, because Europeans were subjected to diseases they had no prior exposure to. In response to becoming infected, European military and government officials living in African and Asian colonies were quarantined to safety in areas away from natives, who were believed to be disease carriers, and, thus, “biologically inferior. ” The leading cause of death in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century was tuberculosis.

The European contribution to global pathogen exposure created a “global homogenization of disease,” where no border was left uncrossed in the spread of infectious diseases. The ill health effects are long lasting, especially because the health of Europeans improved while the health of colonized nations worsened. Following the end of colonization, many countries continued to use and attempted to enhance their “inherited” healthcare systems, which consisted of “inadequate,” and “top-heavy” structures based on Western medical models. These same models continued to benefit elites and addressed the “rural poor” once the “needs of the urban elite were attended to. ” Hospitals in metropolitan areas were first priority, followed by small rural clinics that were underfunded, understaffed, and, thus, less effective.

From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, the elimination or control of disease in tropical countries became a driving force for all colonial powers. The sleeping sickness epidemic in Africa was arrested due to mobile teams systematically screening millions of people at risk. In the twentieth century, the world saw the biggest increase in its population in human history due to lessening of the mortality rate in many countries due to medical advances. The world population has grown from 1.6 billion in 1900 to over 7 billion today.



Florentine Codex smallpox: Aztecs dying of smallpox, ("The Florentine Codex," 1540–85)

Infectious Diseases Today and in the Developing World

Infectious diseases result from the infection, presence and growth of pathogenic biological agents in an individual host organism.

Learning Objectives

Assess the implications of infectious diseases in terms of health care and life expectancy of individuals

Key Points

- Many infectious diseases that killed by the millions were greatly reduced in the 20th century.
- While the number of deaths due to nearly every disease has decreased, deaths due to HIV/AIDS have increased fourfold.
- Infectious pathogens include some viruses, bacteria, fungi, protozoa, multicellular parasites, and aberrant proteins known as prions.
- The top three single agent /disease killers are HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria.
- Normally not a problem to North Americans, malaria is the infectious disease most deadly to children worldwide. Malaria infects 500 million people per year, killing just fewer than 3 million.
- HIV/AIDS is the world's leading cause of death; it was introduced as an infectious disease during the 20th century.

Key Terms

- **pathogen**: Any organism or substance, especially a microorganism, capable of causing disease, such as bacteria, viruses, protozoa, or fungi. Microorganisms are not considered to be pathogenic until they have reached a population size that is large enough to cause disease.

Infectious diseases, also known as transmissible diseases or communicable diseases, are clinically evident illnesses resulting from the infection, presence and growth of pathogenic biological agents. Infectious pathogens include some viruses, bacteria, fungi, protozoa, multicellular parasites, and aberrant proteins known as prions. These pathogens are the cause of disease epidemics, in the sense that without the pathogen, no infectious epidemic occurs.

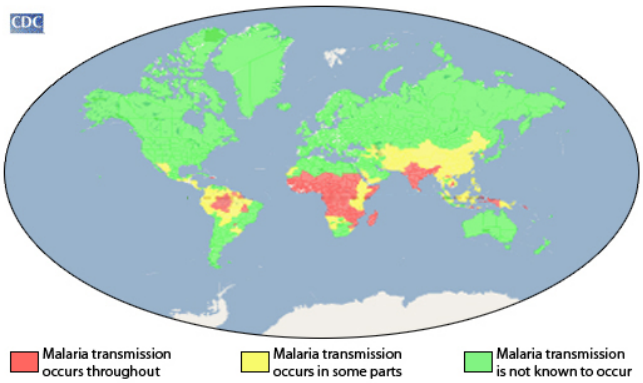
Many infectious diseases that previously killed by the millions were greatly reduced in the 20th century, with the most notable achievement being the eradication of smallpox. Other diseases, such as diphtheria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis and whooping cough were greatly reduced throughout the world due to childhood immunization programs, improved sanitation, and the use of antibiotics. However, some infectious diseases remain a problem today. The top three single agent/disease killers are HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria.

Malaria

Normally not a problem to North Americans, malaria is the infectious disease most deadly to children worldwide. Said to be one of the world's oldest diseases, malaria is caused by one of four protozoans within the genus *Plasmodium*. The blood pulled from the bite of an Anopheles mosquito carries this disease, which infects the human or animal host and resides in red blood cells in order to reproduce. Malaria infects 500 million people per year, killing just fewer than 3 million. It is the second leading cause of death in Africa, after HIV/AIDS, and is the fifth leading cause of death from infectious diseases worldwide.

HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS was introduced as an infectious disease during the 20th century and deaths due to HIV have increased fourfold since. The first cases were diagnosed in the United States in the early 1980s. This misunderstood illness was originally thought to only exist among four risk groups, better known as the 4Hs: Homosexuals, Haitians, Hemophiliacs and Heroin users. However, as HIV/AIDS has become a pandemic, it is better understood and is known to not just be isoloated to certain groups of people. There are various modes of HIV transmission which include: male to male sexual contact, injection drug use, and heterosexual contact. In some developing countries where antiretroviral drugs are not affordable or readily accessible, mother-to-child transmission still poses a possible risk of infection.



Concentrations of malaria transmission worldwide.: Normally not a problem to North Americans, malaria is the infectious disease most deadly to children worldwide. Said to be one of the world's oldest diseases, malaria is caused by one of four protozoans within the genus Plasmodium.

HIV and AIDS

HIV/AIDS is a major health problem in many parts of the world.

Learning Objectives

Describe the problems associated with HIV/AIDS for many societies, particularly poor countries and ethnic minorities

Key Points

- Acquired immune deficiency syndrome or acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a disease of the human immune system caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). The virus and disease are often referred to together as HIV/AIDS.
- The three main transmission routes of HIV are sexual contact, exposure to infected body fluids or tissues, and from mother to fetus during the perinatal period.
- The symptoms of AIDS are primarily the result of conditions that do not normally develop in individuals with healthy immune systems.
- There is currently no publicly available HIV vaccine or cure for HIV or AIDS. The only known methods are based on avoiding exposure to the virus.

Key Terms

- **transmission**: HIV is transmitted by three main routes: sexual contact, exposure to infected body fluids or tissues and from mother to child during pregnancy, delivery or breastfeeding.
- **vaccine**: A substance given to stimulate the body's production of antibodies providing immunity against a disease, prepared from the agent that causes the disease, or a synthetic substitute.
- **perinatal period**: Of or pertaining to the time around birth.

HIV and AIDS in Health Care

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome or acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a disease of the human immune system caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). The illness interferes with the immune system, making people with it much more likely to get infections that do not affect people with working immune systems. This susceptibility gets worse as the disease continues. HIV is transmitted through sexual intercourse, contaminated blood transfusions and hypodermic needles. It can also be transmitted between mother and baby during pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding. It can be transmitted by any contact of a mucous membrane or the bloodstream with a bodily fluid that has the virus in it, including blood, semen, vaginal fluid, preseminal fluid, or breast milk.

The virus and disease are often referred to together as HIV/AIDS. The disease is a major health problem in many parts of the world, and is considered a pandemic; a disease outbreak that is not only present over a large area but is actively spreading. In 2009, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that there are 33.4 million people worldwide with HIV/AIDS; 2.7 million new HIV infections are reported per year along with two million annual deaths due to AIDS. The three main transmission routes of HIV are sexual contact, exposure to infected body fluids or tissues, and from mother to fetus during the perinatal period. It is possible to find HIV in saliva, tears and urine of infected individuals, but there are no recorded cases of infection by these secretions. Anti-retroviral treatment of infected patients also significantly reduces their ability to transmit HIV to others. This treatment reduces the amount of virus in bodily fluids to undetectable levels



AIDS awareness in Chimoio: AIDS awareness painting on a wall in Chimoio town, Mozambique.

People with AIDS also have an increased risk of developing various cancers like Kaposi's sarcoma, cervical cancer and cancers of the immune system known as lymphomas. In

addition, people with AIDS often have systemic symptoms of infection like fevers, sweats (particularly at night), swollen glands, chills, weakness, and weight loss. The opportunistic infections AIDS patients develop depend in part on the prevalence of these infections in the patient's geographic area. Symptoms of AIDS are primarily the result of conditions that do not normally develop in individuals with healthy immune systems. Most of these conditions are opportunistic infections caused by bacteria, viruses, fungi and parasites normally controlled by the elements of the immune system that HIV damages. These infections affect nearly every organ system.

Many people are unaware that they are infected with HIV. Less than 1% of the sexually active urban population in Africa has been tested; this proportion is even lower in rural populations. Furthermore, only 0.5% of pregnant women attending urban health facilities are counseled, tested or receive their test results. Again, this proportion is even lower in rural health facilities. Therefore, donor blood and blood products used in medicine and medical research are screened for HIV.

There is currently no publicly available HIV vaccine or cure for HIV or AIDS. The only known methods are based on avoiding exposure to the virus or, failing that, an antiretroviral treatment given directly after a highly significant exposure. This treatment is called post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP). PEP has a very demanding four-week schedule of dosage. It also has very unpleasant side effects, including diarrhea, malaise, nausea and fatigue.

Health Insurance

Health insurance is insurance against the risk of incurring personal medical expenses.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the use of both private and public health insurance and the implications for society's overall health

Key Points

- Two types of health insurance have developed in modern society: private health insurance and publicly funded health insurance.
- A premium is the amount a policy-holder or his sponsor must pay to a health plan in order to purchase health coverage.
- A deductible is the amount that the insured must pay out-of-pocket before the health insurer pays its share.
- Co-payment is the amount that an insured person must pay out of pocket before a health insurer pays for a particular visit or service.
- An explanation of benefits is a document that may be sent by an insurer to a patient. This document explains what was covered for a medical service, and how payment amounts and patient responsibility amounts were determined.
- The premium is the amount the policy-holder or his sponsor pays to the health plan to purchase health coverage.
- The deductible is the amount that the insured must pay out-of-pocket before the health insurer pays its share.
- Co-payment is the amount that the insured person must pay out of pocket before the health insurer pays for a particular visit or service.
- Explanation of benefits is a document that may be sent by an insurer to a patient explaining what was covered for a medical service, and how payment amount and patient responsibility amount were determined.
- The medical model of medicine science focuses on the eradication of illness through diagnosis and effective treatment.
- The social model of medicine science focuses on changes that can be made in society and in people's own lifestyles to make the population healthier.

Key Terms

- **deductible**: A deductible is the amount that the insured must pay out-of-pocket before the health insurer pays its share.
- **premium**: The premium is the amount a policy-holder or his sponsor must pay to a health plan to purchase health coverage.
- **co-payment**: A co-payment is the amount that the insured person must pay out of pocket before the health insurer pays for a particular visit or service.

Health insurance is insurance against the risk of incurring personal medical expenses. By estimating the overall risk of health care that a target group will require, an insurer can develop a routine finance structure, such as a monthly premium or payroll tax, to ensure that money is available to pay for the health care benefits specified in an insurance agreement. These benefits are administered by a central organization, like a government agency, private business, or non-profit organization.

Types of Health Insurance: Public Vs. Private

Two types of health insurance exist in modern society, private health insurance and publicly funded health insurance. Private insurance, based on free market principles, refers to health insurance provided by a non-governmental organization, usually a privately owned or publicly traded corporation. Among developed nations, the United States is the only country in which private insurance is the primary source of healthcare.

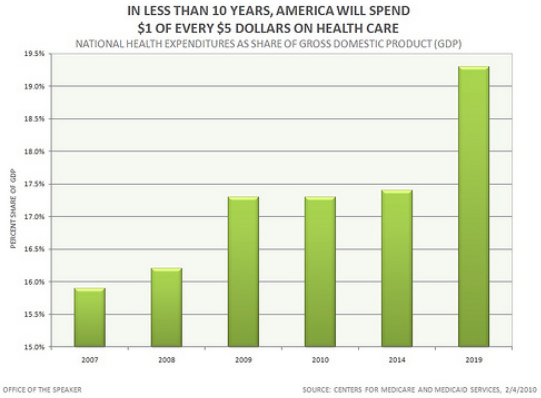
In contrast to this private method, in public insurance, health care is paid wholly or mostly by public funds. This type of health care is the most common and popular in almost every developed and developing nation in the world, except the United States. The majority of developed nations have publicly funded health systems that cover a majority of the population.

Understanding Health Insurance Terms

Some of the essential terms associated with health insurance are premiums, deductibles, co-payments, and explanations of benefits. A premium is the amount a policy-holder or his sponsor (e.g. an employer) must pay to a health plan to purchase health coverage. A deductible is the amount that an insured individual must pay out-of-pocket before the health insurer pays its share. For example, policyholders might have to pay a $500 deductible per year, before the health insurer covers any health care costs. A co-payment is the amount that an insured person must pay out of pocket before the health insurer pays for a particular visit or service. For example, an insured person might pay a $45 co-payment for a doctor's visit, or to obtain a prescription. A co-payment must be made each time a particular service is obtained. Lastly, an explanation of benefits is a document that may be sent by an insurer to a patient. This document explains what the insurer will cover, in terms of medical services. It also explains how payment amounts and patient responsibility amounts have been determined.

Healthcare and Modern Medicine

Healthcare improves as a result of advancements in medical science. Modern medicine approaches health care from two angles. The first, the medical model, focuses on the eradication of illness through diagnosis and effective treatment. The second, the social model, focuses on changes that can be made in society and in people's lifestyles to make the population healthier. This second method typically focuses on preventative care. Modern, scientific medicine has proven uniquely effective at treating and preventing disease. It is increasingly widespread and more widely accepted than other forms of medicine. Modern medicine is notably secular, and indifferent to ideas of the supernatural or the spiritual. Instead, it concentrates on the body and society to determine the causes and cures of health issues. Modern, scientific medicine is the most effective contributor to the health of humans in the world today.



In less than 10 Years, AMERICA will Spend $1 of Every $5 Dollars on Health care: Across the country, American workers, their families, and small businesses are struggling with rising health care costs and policies that put quality, affordable care out of reach. A new report by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS), published in the magazine Health Affairs, estimates that spending on health care grew to 17.3 percent of the U.S. economy – a record and the largest one-year jump since 1960.

Preventing Illness

Preventive medicine, or preventive care, refers to measures taken to prevent diseases, rather than curing them or treating their symptoms.

Learning Objectives

Explain the purpose of preventive medicine and how insurance companies can influence the types of preventive medicine chosen

Key Points

- Preventive care may include examinations and screening tests tailored to an individual's age, health, and family history.
- Preventive medicine or preventive care refers to measures taken to prevent diseases rather than curing them or treating their symptoms.
- Professionals involved in the public health aspect of this practice may be involved in entomology, pest control, and public health inspections.
- Intrauterine devices (IUD) are highly effective and highly cost effective contraceptives, however where universal health care is not available the initial cost may be a barrier.

Key Terms

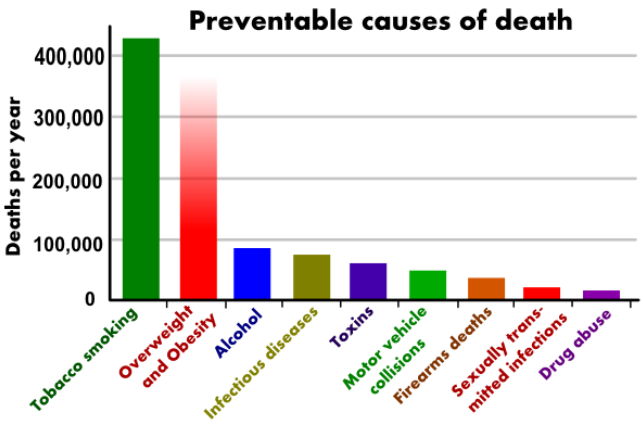
- **intrauterine device**: A contraceptive device consisting of a spiral or similar shape of plastic or metal inserted through the vagina into the uterus in order to prevent the implantation of a fertilized egg.

- **public health**: The science and practice of community hygiene; it includes preventive medicine, health education, sanitation and environmental safety.
- **preventive medicine**: Preventive medicine refers to measures taken to prevent diseases rather than curing them or treating their symptoms.

Preventive medicine, or preventive care, refers to measures taken to prevent diseases, rather than curing them or treating their symptoms. The term contrasts in method with curative and palliative medicine, and in scope with public health methods, which work at the level of population health rather than individual health. Simple examples of preventive medicine include hand washing, breastfeeding, and immunizations. Preventive care may include examinations and screening tests tailored to an individual's age, health, and family history. For example, a person with a family history of certain cancers or other diseases would begin screening at an earlier age and/or more frequently than those with no such family history.

Professionals involved in the public health aspect of this practice may be involved in entomology, pest control, and public health inspections. Public health inspections can include recreational waters, swimming pools, beaches, food preparation and serving, and industrial hygiene inspections and surveys.

Since preventive medicine deals with healthy individuals or populations, the costs and potential harms from interventions need even more careful examination than in treatment. For an intervention to be applied widely it generally needs to be affordable and highly cost effective. For instance, intrauterine devices (IUD) are highly effective and highly cost effective contraceptives, however where universal health care is not available the initial cost may be a barrier. Preventive solutions may be less profitable and therefore less attractive to makers and marketers of pharmaceuticals and medical devices. Birth control pills, which are taken every day and may take in a thousand dollars over ten years, may generate more profits than an IUD, which despite a huge initial markup only generates a few hundred dollars over the same period.



Leading Preventable Causes of Death in the United States.: This data is outdated and was in fact significantly revised in subsequent reports of the leading causes of deaths, especially for obesity-related diseases.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

20: Sexuality

20.1: Socialization and Human Sexuality

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20.1: Socialization and Human Sexuality

Socialization and Human Sexuality

Expression of sexual desire involves behaviors learned through socialization (i.e., from society), especially from religion, law, and the media.

Learning Objectives

Examine the various ways in which a person is sexually socialized, specifically through religion, law, and the media

Key Points

- With regard to sexuality, socialization in the U.S. and Western countries most notably adheres to heteronormativity, or the marking of heterosexual unions as normal and homosexual unions as socially abnormal and deviant.
- Religion, the law, and the media are three primary agents of socialization that teach people how to behave sexually.
- There is extreme variation in sexual expression across historical periods and cultures. This indicates that there are no universal sexual norms.
- In the current Western moment, heteronormative norms are privileged, meaning that heterosexual expressions of sexuality are more accepted than homosexual expressions. However, sexuality is not thought of in the same way across space and time; rather different cultures and different historical moments think of sexuality in entirely different ways.

Key Terms

- **pornography**: The explicit depiction of sexual subject matter; a display of material of an erotic nature.
- **heteronormativity**: The view that all human beings are either male or female, both in sex and in gender, and that sexual and romantic thoughts and relations are normal only when between people of different sexes.
- **sodomy laws**: Sodomy laws in the United States, which outlawed a variety of sexual acts, were historically universal. While they often targeted sexual acts between persons of the same sex, many statutes employed definitions broad enough to outlaw certain sexual acts between persons of different sexes as well, sometimes even acts between married persons.

One learns from society how to express one's sexuality. As such, sexual expression is part of socialization, the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies and providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within one's own society. Socialization necessarily implies the inculcation of norms, or behaviors that society marks as valued as opposed to those marked as deviant.

In regards to sexuality, socialization in the U.S. and Western countries most notably adheres to heteronormativity, or the marking of heterosexual unions as normal and homosexual unions as socially abnormal and deviant. While homosexual unions are the types of unions most commonly marked in opposition to normative heterosexual unions, heteronormativity marks any type of non-heterosexual sexual activity as deviant, as heterosexual sexual acts are considered the norm.

There is extreme variation in sexual expression across historical periods and cultures. This indicates that there are no universal sexual norms. Rather, an individual is taught sexual norms of their particular cultural and historical moment through socialization. At the current moment in Western societies, sexuality is evaluated along a continuum of heterosexuality and homosexuality, with heterosexuality as the privileged mode of sexual expression. Obviously, this is a basic schematic; it does not capture all of the existing ways in which people behave sexually, but it is the basic rubric by which sexual behaviors are evaluated.

In contrast, the Ancient Greeks categorized sexuality not in terms of homosexuality and heterosexuality, but in terms of active and passive sexual subjects. What was salient for the Ancient Greeks was whether one took an active or passive sexual position, whether one was the penetrator or was penetrated. In this sense, biological gender was obviously relevant, but not in the same way as evaluating homo- or heterosexual orientation. Men could be either active or passive, but women could only be passive. It is misleading to say that homosexuality was tolerated in Ancient Greece; rather, the Ancient Greeks conceived of sexuality in completely different ways than the current Western norm.

So how is it that one becomes socialized into certain sexual behaviors and proclivities? The rest of this section seeks to explore how socializing agents impress sexual norms into their members by looking at three primary agents of socialization: religion, the law, and the media.



Heterosexual couple: Heterosexuality is a social norm.

Given that most religions seek to instruct their followers on the proper and holy ways in which to live life, it follows that most religions seek to offer guidance on the proper ways to sexually comport oneself. For example, many evangelical Christians value abstinence and believe that men and women should wait until marriage to engage in sexual activity. The Catholic Church asserts that homosexuality is unholy. Leaders of the Jewish faith promote sexual activity between married couples to reinforce the marital bond and produce children. Like most of the other denominations of monotheistic religions, Islam encourages sexual activity so long as it is practiced by married partners. This is not to say, of course, that all adherents to a particular faith stringently follow the faith's guidelines, but rather that individuals growing up within a particular religion are instructed on how to behave sexually.

The legal system is another mechanism through which individuals are instructed on proper sexual conduct. The laws within a particular jurisdiction simultaneously reflect and create social norms regarding sexuality. For example, based on American law, Americans are socialized to believe that prostitution and rape are improper forms of sexual behavior. The interactions of homosexual sexual acts and their (il)legality provides an opportunity to see how the law both mirrors and molds American understandings of sexual norms. Sodomy laws, or laws prohibiting particular sexual acts between two consenting partners such as anal sex between two men, were on the books in most American states for decades.

The media is one final example of a cultural program through which individuals encounter normative discourses of sexuality. Individuals are socialized to replicate the sexual behaviors that they see on television, in movies, and in books. These representations are typically heteronormative. Pornography presents another way in which individuals are socialized towards particular sexual practices through the media. Over 70% of men ages 18–34 who use the Internet view at least one pornographic website a month. Follow-up studies show that many of these individuals—in addition to female pornography viewers—attempt to incorporate the actions they witness in pornography into their own sex lives.

Sexual Behavior: Kinsey's Study

Alfred Kinsey produced the *Kinsey Report*, the largest documentation of sexuality in the United States at the time of its publication.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the impact of Kinsey's study of sexuality related to how it changed the public's perception of sexuality and how people are sexually socialized

Key Points

- Kinsey developed the Kinsey Scale, which was a numerical ranking of sexual behavior on a scale of complete heterosexuality to complete homosexuality.
- Kinsey's open discussion of sexuality in the 1950s contributed to the sexual revolution of the following decade, in which social standards that limited sex to heterosexual marriage were loosened.
- The *Kinsey Report* is frequently invoked to support the common estimate of one in ten Americans being a homosexual.

Key Terms

- **sexology**: The study of sex and sexuality.
- **sexual revolution**: A period in which attitudes towards sexual behavior undergo a substantial change, usually in the direction of increased liberality.

Background

Dr. Alfred Kinsey was an American biologist who is considered to be the founder of sexology, or the scientific study of human sexuality, including human sexual interests, behavior, and function. Kinsey trained as a biologist and entomologist at Harvard and obtained a teaching post at Indiana University. There, he became interested in human sexuality. In 1935, Kinsey delivered a lecture to a faculty discussion group where he attacked the "widespread ignorance of sexual structure and physiology" and advanced the notion that delayed sexual experience, or waiting to engage in sexual activity until marriage, was psychologically harmful. This lecture sparked

intensive research that resulted in the *Kinsey Report*. The report refers to two different book publications based on his research of human sexuality: *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). The books were widely read and Kinsey became a media star.

The *Kinsey Report* was the most extensive analysis of human sexuality conducted to its day. Data was gathered primarily by means of subjective interviews, conducted according to a structured questionnaire memorized by the experimenters. Significantly, the Kinsey research team went out and conducted the interviews themselves, rather than relying upon pre-collected data. What resulted was the largest collection of statistical information about adult sexuality in the United States.

The Kinsey Scale

A large section of the Kinsey Report was devoted to the idea of sexual orientation. The Kinsey Report is frequently invoked to support the common estimate of one in ten Americans being a homosexual. However, Kinsey disapproved of using terms like homosexual or heterosexual, as he firmly believed that sexuality is prone to change over time and that sexual behavior must be understood both as physical contact as well as purely psychological phenomena, such as desire, attraction, and fantasy. Instead of using the homosexual/heterosexual categorization, Kinsey developed the Kinsey Scale system. This system attempts to describe a person's sexual history or episodes of sexual activity at a given point in time, rather than assigning an individual an overarching and permanent sexual orientation.

The scale ranked sexual behavior from zero to six, with zero being completely heterosexual and six being completely homosexual. As one can see, Kinsey rejected the idea of a permanent status of sexual orientation and instead chose to rely on a rating relating to a particular moment in one's life, indicating that sexuality changes over time. Nevertheless, Kinsey's Scale is effectively a segmented version of the hetero/homosexual binary, not allowing for other interpretations of sexuality. Kinsey's associates actually added an additional category, X, to represent asexuals, or people who experience no sexual desire. In this way, Kinsey's report is of its particular cultural and historical moment, in that it conceives of American sexuality as only occurring along this binary. According to Kinsey, 11.6% of white males aged 20 to 35 were given a rating of three for this period in their lives, meaning that they were equally heterosexual and homosexual. Kinsey further found that 7% of single females aged 20 to 35 and 4% of previously married females were given a rating of three for this period of their lives. The report also states that nearly 46% of the male interview subjects had "reacted" sexually to persons of both sexes in the course of their adult lives, and 37% had at least one homosexual experience.

Sexuality Within Marriage

The Kinsey study also gave statistics on sexuality within marriage that had never before been reported. According to Kinsey, the average frequency of marital sex reported by women in their late teens was 2.8 times per week, 2.2 times per week for women by the age of 30, and once per week by women by the age of 50. Kinsey estimated that approximately half of all married males had some extramarital experience at some point in their married lives. Among Kinsey's sample, 26% of females had extramarital sex by their forties. Kinsey found that between 10 and 16% of married females aged 26 to 50 were engaged in extramarital sex.

Critical Response

Kinsey's report was wildly successful. The two books together sold over 750,000 copies and were translated into thirteen languages. They may be considered some of the most successful and influential scientific literature of the twentieth century. The reports are associated with a significant change in public perceptions of sexuality. A mere decade after the reports were published, the first oral contraceptive was introduced and the sexual revolution began. The sexual revolution was a social movement from the 1960s to the 1980s that increased acceptance of sex outside of marriage.



The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction: The photo shows Morrison Hall at Indiana University, home of the Kinsey Institute.

Sexual Behavior Since Kinsey

The *Kinsey Report* helped spark the sexual revolution, in which social regulations regarding sexual activity were loosened.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the impact of the Kinsey Report and the sexual revolution of the 1960s on American sexuality

Key Points

- The *Kinsey Report* was the largest study of norms in American sexuality to its time, conducted by Kr. Alfred Kinsey.
- The development of oral contraception also contributed to the loosening of social regulations on sexuality.
- The sexual revolution was a social movement in which social rules of sexuality became more lax.
- The Kinsey scale is a numeric scaling of individuals along a continuum of complete heterosexuality to complete homosexuality.

Key Terms

- **sexual revolution**: A period in which attitudes towards sexual behavior undergo a substantial change, usually in the direction of increased liberality.
- **oral contraception**: Medications taken by mouth for the purpose of birth control.
- **Kinsey Report**: The Kinsey reports are two books on human sexual behavior, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (1948) and Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (1953), by Dr. Alfred Kinsey, Wardell Pomeroy and others, and published by Saunders. Kinsey was a zoologist at Indiana University and the founder of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction (more widely known as the Kinsey Institute).

The publication of the *Kinsey Report*, the findings of norms in American sexuality by Dr. Alfred Kinsey, in the early 1950s contributed to the sparking of the sexual revolution, or the loosening of sexual mores demanding sex between heterosexual married partners that occurred in the 1960s. While other sexualities were still stigmatized in most post-Kinsey environments, the sexual revolution was marked by popular acceptance of premarital sex. Studies have shown that between 1965 and 1975, the number of women who had had sexual intercourse prior to marriage showed a marked increase. The social and political climate of the 1960s was a unique one in which traditional values were often challenged loudly by a very vocal minority.

Kinsey's 1950s study of sexuality contributed to the sexual revolution of the 1960s in two ways. First, prior to the Kinsey Report, no one had interviewed and published such an exhaustive and comprehensive analysis of Americans' sexual desires and practices. Kinsey's report reachd the conclusion that few Americans are completely heterosexual in desire or practice as indicated by the Kinsey Scale, or a numeric scaling of individuals along a continuum from complete heterosexuality to complete homosexuality. Though the *Kinsey Report* was published in the popular press, it was a scientific study conducted by a biologist at an academic institution. Popular readers of the *Kinsey Report* imbued the findings with a sense of scientific authority and professed faith in their accuracy. While other sexual orientations and acts were still marked as non-normative, society began to accept that other sexualities existed. The *Kinsey Report* was one step towards non-heterosexual orientations and behaviors becoming accepted by society as normal. Second, one cannot underestimate the significance of the mere publication of the *Kinsey Report*, independent of its findings. Prior to its publication, sexuality was considered uncouth to include in conversation. Kinsey's publication initiated a national environment more tolerant to conversations about sexuality, which in and of itself loosened the grip of normalized, marital heterosexual relations.



The Pill: The landmark Supreme Court case Griswold v. Connecticut affirmed women's right to use birth control.

Another scientific product had a profound impact on the development of the sexual revolution: the development of oral contraception. "The pill" provided many women a more affordable way to avoid pregnancy. Before the pill, there was a lack of affordable and safe options for contraception, rendering unwanted pregnancy a serious risk of premarital sexual activity. In 1960, the Food and Drug Administration licensed the drug, enabling its legal sale. However, many states still outlawed the use of contraceptives in order to reflect and enforce an ethic in which sexual activity was only acceptable for reproduction. The pill became an even more favored and socially acceptable means of birth control in 1965 when the Supreme Court decided the case of Griswold v. Connecticut. In its opinion, the Supreme Court held that the government could not dictate the use of contraception by married couples because such action would be a violation of the right to marital privacy implied in the Bill of Rights. The ruling furthered access to birth control and contributed to a post-Kinsey sexual environment in which society increasingly accepted premarital sex.

Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation refers to enduring emotional, romantic and sexual attraction to the opposite sex, the same sex, both, or neither.

Learning Objectives

Explain the development of sexual orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual or asexual) in terms of both static and fluid sexuality

Key Points

- The varying forms of these attractions are generally divided into the following categories: heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality and asexuality.
- In place of these categories, some prefer to think of "queer" sexual orientations; a broader term that refers to any non-heterosexual form of sexuality. The heterosexual/homosexual binary is a continuum of complete heterosexuality to complete homosexuality, with bisexuality in the middle.
- Heteronormativity is the assumption that heterosexual orientations are normal to the exclusion of other sexual orientations.
- Sexual identity is an individual's conception of their own sexuality.
- The primary debate in conversations about sexual orientation is whether sexual orientation is static or fluid, whether one is born with an immutable sexual orientation, or whether one develops sexual orientation.
- Sexual reorientation therapies seek to "convert" homosexuals into heterosexuals.
- Sexual reorientation therapies seek to convert "homosexuals" into "heterosexuals. "

Key Terms

- **heterosexual/homosexual binary**: Classification of sexuality on a continuum from heterosexuality to homosexuality with bisexuality falling in the middle
- **asexuality**: Asexuality, in its broadest sense, is the lack of sexual attraction to others or the lack of interest in sex. It may also be considered a lack of a sexual orientation.
- **heteronormativity**: The view that all human beings are either male or female, both in sex and in gender, and that sexual and romantic thoughts and relations are normal only when between people of different sexes.

Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation describes an enduring pattern of attraction—emotional, romantic, sexual, or some combination of these—to the opposite sex, the same sex, both, or neither. The varying forms of these attractions are generally divided into the following categories:

- heterosexuality, or attraction to members of the opposite biological sex
- homosexuality, or attraction to members of the same biological sex
- bisexuality, or attraction to members of both biological sexes
- asexuality, or attraction to neither biological sex.

Some individuals have tried to trouble these categories of sexual orientation by not describing themselves as hetero-, homo-, bi-, or asexual and preferring the umbrella term "queer. " Part of the opposition to the gender binary is that it creates heteronormative assumptions that mark heterosexuality as normal and homosexuality deviant merely because it is the opposite of heterosexuality.

Significantly, sexual orientation does not only refer to one's sexual practices, but also includes a psychological component, like the direction of an individual's erotic desire. Sexual identity and sexual behavior are closely related to sexual orientation, but they are distinguishable. Sexual identity refers to an individual's conception of their own sexuality, while sexual behavior limits one's understanding of sexuality to behaviors performed. People may or may not express their sexual orientation in their behaviors.

Development of Sexual Orientation

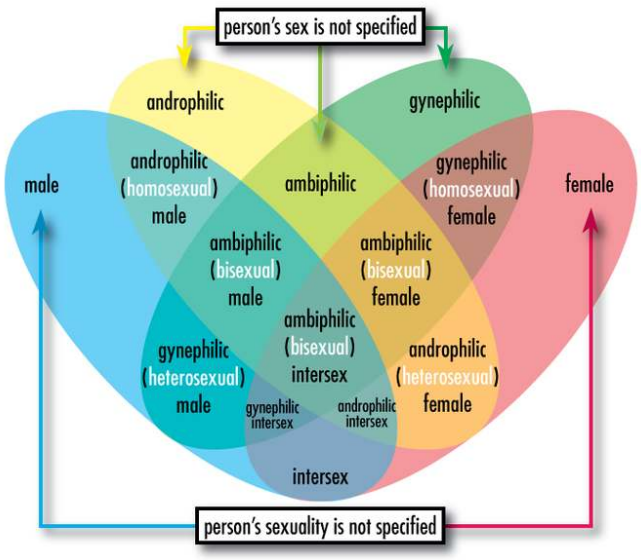
The primary tension in conversations about sexual orientation addresses whether sexual orientation is static or fluid, whether one is born with an immutable sexual orientation, or whether one develops sexual orientation. Each interpretation of sexuality manages our understanding of what sexual orientation means in different ways, particularly when combined with political debates about homosexuality. Organizations that subscribe to the static interpretation of sexual orientation fall on both sides of the political divide. Some organizations are socially and politically conservative, advancing the view that sexuality, left untreated, is static. These organizations tend to pathologize non-heterosexual orientations, or conceive of them as an illness that must be corrected through medical or therapeutic means. Some of these institutions offer sexual reorientation therapies in which individuals who are attracted to members of the opposite sex but do not want to have those attractions can try to become solely attracted to members of the opposite biological sex. Many of these programs are religiously motivated; 79% of men who said that they had changed their sexual orientation said that they had done so for religious reasons, while 93% indicated that religion was "extremely" or "very" important to them.

Sexual Reorientation

A significant amount of professional and academic doubt exists about the efficacy of these reorientation programs. No major mental health professional organization has sanctioned efforts to change sexual orientation and virtually all of them have adopted

policy statements cautioning the profession. These include the American Psychiatric Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Counseling Association, the National Association of Social Workers in the USA, and the Royal College of Psychiatrists. According to the American Psychological Association and the Royal College of Psychiatrists' Gay and Lesbian Mental Health Special Interest Group, there is no sound scientific evidence that sexual orientation can be changed.

Though they obviously disagree with the conceit that homosexuality needs to be treated, many major gay rights advocacy groups mirror the underlying assumption that homosexuality is a static sexual orientation. The idea that sexual orientation is not a choice, but that rather one is born with an assigned orientation, is pervasive in popular conceptions of sexual orientation. This idea runs up against studies that demonstrate how widely sexual orientation varies in light of cultural and historical circumstances, indicating that one's environment and cultural context play significant roles in determining one's sexual orientation.



Sex and Sexuality: Venn diagram depicting the relationships between assigned sex and sexual orientation. Androphilia and gynephilia are preferred terms for some populations, because homosexual and heterosexual assign a sex to the person being described.

Homophobia

Homophobia is the range of negative attitudes and feelings towards homosexuality or people who are perceived to be homosexual.

Learning Objectives

Describe the phenomenon of homophobia (both institutional and informal) and the implications it has for LGBTQ individuals in modern-day America

Key Points

- Homophobia is expressed through prejudice and discrimination, which can either be institutional or informal.
- The phrase LGBTQ refers to the community of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer individuals.
- Institutional discrimination involves the state and the law, while informal discrimination refers to social controls and prejudices.
- In the United States, social disapproval of homosexuality is not evenly distributed throughout society. That being said, it is more or less pronounced according to age, ethnicity, geographic location, race, sex, social class, education, political identification, and religious status.
- Civil unions are ceremonies that grant same-sex couples in some states legal equality, even if not by the name of " marriage. "

Key Terms

- **informal discrimination**: discrimination that involves social pressures against LBGTQ behaviors and identities
- **institutional discrimination**: discrimination that involves the state by becoming embedded in state institutions and practices
- **Holocaust**: the mass murder of Jews and other persecuted groups by the Nazi regime during World War II

Homophobia is a range of negative attitudes and feelings towards homosexuality or people perceived as homosexual. Homophobia is observable in critical and hostile behavior like discrimination and violence. Much like racism or sexism, homophobia involves the targeting of a specific population of individuals with certain traits. Homophobia, or the fear of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) individuals, is often the impetus for discrimination, which can be expressed through either institutional or informal means. Institutional discrimination involves the state apparatus. If homophobic discrimination is institutional, it means either that non-heterosexual sex acts are criminalized or that LGBTQ individuals are denied the same legal rights as heterosexuals. Informal discrimination is not necessarily sanctioned by the state, but involves social pressures against LGBTQ individuals, behaviors, and identities.



Homophobic Protests in the United States: Frequently, homophobia is prompted by religious beliefs.

In the United States, the social disapproval of homosexuality is not evenly distributed throughout society. That being said, it is more or less pronounced according to age, ethnicity, geographic location, race, sex, social class, education, political identification, and religious status. Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to have negative attitudes about people who are LGBTQ. Likewise, people who consider themselves to be religious are more likely than secular individuals to hold negative views about LGBTQ people.

Historical Institutional Homophobia: Holocaust

On many occasions in Western nations in the twentieth century, LGBTQ individuals have been stigmatized because of homophobia. One notorious example of homophobia and extreme discrimination was the persecution of LGBTQ individuals by the Nazis during the Holocaust. After the rise of Adolf Hitler, homosexuals were one of the many groups targeted by the Nazi Party and became victims of the Holocaust. Beginning in 1933, gay organizations were banned, scholarly books about homosexuality were burned, and homosexuals within the Nazi Party itself were murdered. Between 1933 and 1945, an estimated 100,000 men were arrested as homosexuals, of whom some 50,000 were officially sentenced to imprisonment. Most of these German men served time in regular prisons, but an estimated 5,000 to 15,000 were forced to serve their time in concentration camps. Like Jews and the disabled, Hitler labeled homosexuals as defective and systematically persecuted them.

Current Institutional Persecution of Homosexuals

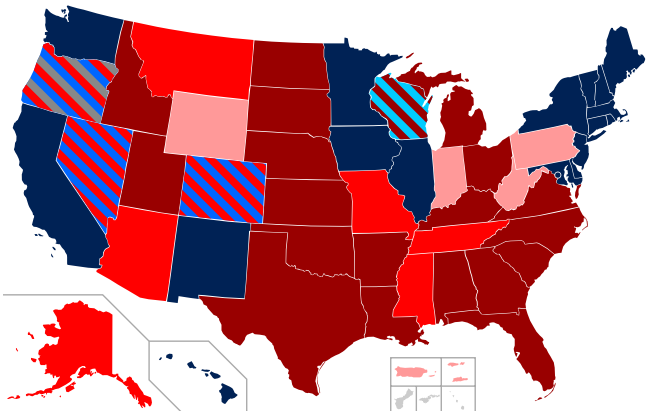
Today, homosexuality is still punishable by death in some countries around the world. Uganda, for example, criminalizes non-heterosexual sex acts and most Ugandans consider non-heterosexuality to be taboo. In October, 2009, a member of the Ugandan Parliament introduced the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Bill to broaden the criminalization of same-sex relationships and apply the death penalty to repeat offenders. Under the statues of the bill, individuals convicted of a single act of non-heterosexual sex would receive life imprisonment. Additionally, individuals or companies promoting LGBTQ rights would be nationally penalized. The bill also created a public policing policy under which Ugandan citizens would be required to report any homosexual activity within 24 hours or face a maximum penalty of three years in prison. Additionally, if Ugandan citizens were found to be engaging in same-sex sexual or romantic activities outside the country, Uganda would request extradition.

Homophobia and the United States

Although non-heterosexual sex acts are legal in the United States, LGTBQ people still face institutional discrimination because they are not afforded the same rights as heterosexual couples. Most evidently, same-sex couples are not allowed to wed in most states. Gay marriage has become a sensitive political issue over the past decade, partially due to the fact that the federal government and state governments have different laws about gay marriage. The federal government does not recognize gay marriage, but individual states can choose to recognize it. In 1996, the federal government passed the Defense of Marriage Act. According to this act, the federal government cannot recognize gay marriages, and a state that does not recognize gay marriage does not have to accept the marriage license given to a same-sex couple in a different state that does recognize same-sex marriages. As part of this debate about the legality and morality of gay marriage, 41 states have explicitly banned same-sex marriages, 12 by statute and 29 through amendments to the state constitutions.

Informal Homophobia

Prejudices do not have to be institutionalized to be harmful. Many instances of homophobia and discrimination occur by informal means. Homophobia can occurs when heterosexual individuals feel anxiety about being perceived as gay by others. This phenomenon is most commonly experienced by adolescent boys. The taunting of boys seen as eccentric, many of whom are usually not gay, is said to be endemic in rural and suburban American schools. At times, this abuse can lead taunted individuals to take dangerous risks in efforts to prove a normative masculinity. Adolescents in the United States often use phrases like “that’s so gay” in a pejorative sense.



Same-Sex Marriage in the United States (2008): Laws regarding same-sex marriage vary by state in the U.S. The federal government cannot recognize gay marriage, and individual states can choose whether or not they will recognize the practice.

The Movement for Gay and Lesbian Civil Rights

The LGBT rights movement refers to the efforts of LGBT advocates to improve their legal and social status.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the efforts of the LGBT rights movement to achieve equal rights and opportunities for homosexual, bisexual, and transgendered individuals

Key Points

- Though some states have equal rights laws, many gay and lesbian couples are still denied the same marriage rights as heterosexual couples and cannot file joint taxes, cannot share custody of children, cannot have hospital visitation rights, and inheritance.
- The first organizations in the U.S. that worked to improve LGBT issues were known as homophile organizations, such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis.
- Sodomy laws are laws against any sexual contact other than heterosexual intercourse.
- The Stonewall Riots were riots in New York City in 1969 that is frequently thought of as the start of the movement by LGBT people to decriminalize homosexuality.
- In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court found that states could criminalize homosexuality in *Bowers v. Hardwick*.
- In 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lawrence v. Texas* that anti-sodomy laws violated an individual's right to privacy. Currently, many LGBT organizations are working to achieve the right for same- sex couples to marry.
- In 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Lawrence v. Texas that anti-sodomy laws violated an individual's right to privacy. Currently, many LGBT organizations are working to achieve the right of same-sex couples to marry.

Key Terms

- **same-sex civil unions**: also referred to as a civil partnership; a legally recognized form of partnership similar to marriage. Beginning with Denmark in 1989, civil unions under one name or another have been established by law in several, mostly developed, countries in order to provide same-sex couples rights, benefits, and responsibilities similar (in some countries, identical) to opposite-sex civil marriage.
- **Defense of Marriage Act**: (DOMA); a United States federal law that defines marriage as the legal union of one man and one woman.

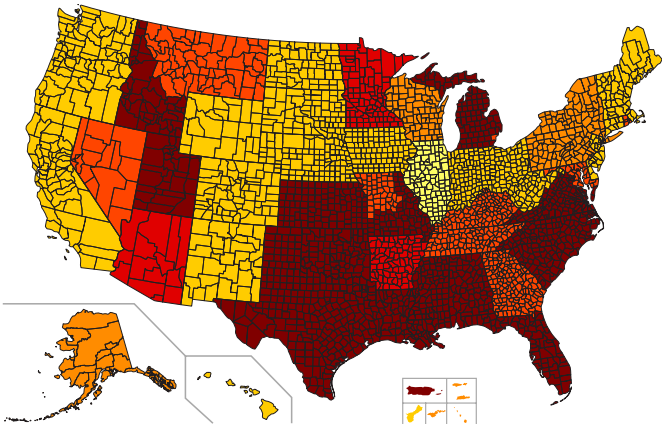
The LGBT Rights Movement refers to the attempts of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender advocates to improve the legal and social status of LGBT people. Historically, LGBT people have faced prejudice and discrimination. Since the mid-1900s, individuals and organizations have worked to overcome prejudice against LGBT people.

The first organizations in the U.S. that worked to improve the standing of LGBT people were known as homophile organizations. Homophile organizations were clubs of gay men and lesbian women who sought equality for gays and lesbians. These clubs served as social spaces in which gay men and lesbian women could meet other homosexuals with whom they could form romantic and sexual relationships. Moreover, they were early sites of political action on behalf of gays and lesbians. Homophile organizations such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis lobbied politicians and business owners to create gay friendly establishments. The efforts of these types of clubs led to a growth in the number of gay-friendly bars and social clubs, making it easier for homosexual individuals to find other homosexuals to associate with. Homophile organizations, however, did not lead to any large-scale demonstrations or protests, and did not result in widespread legal or social changes for LGBT people.

Prior to the 1970s, most states in the United States had laws against sodomy, generally defined as any sexual contact other than heterosexual intercourse. Thus, homosexuality was essentially illegal. The surge in the number of gay-friendly bars in the 1950s led to police crackdowns against establishments that were frequented by gays and lesbians in the 1950s and 1960s. One such crackdown was the raid on the Stonewall Inn, a bar in Greenwich Village, New York City that was frequented by gay men, drag queens, and male transvestites. When police raided the bar in June 1969, the customers resisted arrest. Neighborhood residents joined in the resistance, resulting in several nights of rioting. The Stonewall Riots are often cited as the first major protest by LGBT people against the criminalization of homosexuality. The riots gained much media

attention and served as visible evidence that there was a large population of homosexual people that could be organized into a politically active group.

After Stonewall, large organizations of LGBT advocates arose to challenge discrimination against LGBT people. For example, leaders organized the first Gay Pride march to commemorate the one year anniversary of the Stonewall Riots and to loudly declare their desire for equality. First and foremost on the gay rights platform was the need to overturn laws that made homosexuality illegal. Throughout the 1970s, activists in many states succeeded in having state legislatures overturn laws banning homosexuality. This coincided with a period in which sexual mores were generally liberalized in the U.S. Nonetheless, by the mid-1980s many states still outlawed homosexuality. It was not until 2003 that the Supreme Court decided that states could not criminalize homosexuality.



Anti-sodomy laws in the United States: This map depicts when anti-sodomy laws that criminalized non-heterosexual sex were overturned by state in the United States.

An issue that has been central to the LGBT rights movement since the late 1980s is same-sex marriage. At the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, recognition of lesbian and gay relationships was a primary demand made by demonstrators. Indeed, many protestors participated in a mass wedding in front of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to highlight the ways in which U.S. tax code benefits married heterosexual couples. Because they were denied the right to marry, gay and lesbian couples could not file taxes jointly, often could not share custody of children, and lacked hospital visitation rights and rights of inheritance, among other benefits of marriage.

In response to same sex couples' attempts to gain state marriage licenses, the U.S. Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 1996. DOMA defined marriage as between one man and one woman in federal law, meaning that the federal government would not confer benefits to same-sex couples granted marriage licenses by states. It additionally stated that states did not need to recognize same-sex marriages granted by other states. Nonetheless, by the early 2000s, many states began to consider legalizing same-sex marriage. The first to do so was Massachusetts in 2004. Since then, Connecticut, Iowa, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont have followed suit. Other states have passed laws allowing for same-sex civil unions. Civil unions provide the legal benefits of marriage to same-sex couples, but not the title of marriage. At present, thirty-one states have passed constitutional bans on same-sex marriage, defining marriage within their state as between a man and a woman. Court cases challenging the legality of these bans are currently underway, as are legal challenges to the constitutionality of DOMA. Challenges to bans on same-sex marriage contend that laws prohibiting same-sex marriage are discriminatory.

Social Context and Sexual Behavior

Social context influences sexual behavior; sexuality is expressed and understood through socialized processes.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the various ways people can express sexual desire, in both emotional and physical terms

Key Points

- Sexual behavior refers to the manner in which humans experience and express their sexuality.
- Individuals are taught to use social cues to interpret sexual intent. This is most obviously demonstrated in behaviors associated with flirtation.
- Human sexual activity has sociological elements. Social context is therefore essential when one considers potentially sexual behavior.

Key Terms

- **socialization**: Socialization is the process of transferring norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors to future group members.
- **context**: The surroundings, circumstances, environment, background, or settings that determine, specify, or clarify the meaning of an event or other occurrence.
- **flirtation**: Playing at courtship; coquetry.

Sexual behavior refers to the manner in which humans experience and express their sexuality. People engage in a variety of sexual acts from time to time, and for a wide variety of reasons. Sexual activity normally results in sexual arousal and physiological changes in the aroused person, some of which are pronounced while others are more subtle. Sexual activity also includes conduct and activities which are intended to arouse the sexual interest of another, such as strategies to find or

attract partners (mating and display behavior), and personal interactions between individuals, such as flirting and foreplay.

Human sexual activity has sociological, cognitive, emotional, behavioral and biological elements, including physiological processes such as the reproductive mechanism, the sex drive and pathology; sexual intercourse and sexual behavior in all its forms; and personal bonding and shared emotions during sexual activity.

Socialization and Sexual Behavior

Since sexuality is expressed through means learned by socialization, social context is bound to influence sexual behavior. Socialization is the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies and providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within one's own society. Socialization necessarily implies the inculcation of norms, or behaviors that society marks as valued. Because socialization teaches members of a society how to behave, behaviors that are not specifically taught as normalized and socially acceptable are marked as deviant.

Understanding Sexual Behavior

Individuals are taught to use social cues to interpret sexual intent. This is most obviously demonstrated in behaviors associated with flirtation. Flirting is a playful activity involving verbal communication and body language by one person toward another, used to sometimes indicate an interest in a deeper relationship with the other. In some social contexts, a hug could demonstrate platonic friendship, as in the case of two coworkers hugging upon hearing the news that their project was successfully received. In other contexts, the hug could be interpreted as sexual interest. Thus, social context is essential when one considers potentially sexual behavior.



An Embrace: Context Matters: Russian President Boris Yeltsin (right) and President Mintimer Shaimiyev (left) of Tatarstan congratulate each other on a treaty signed between Russia and Tatarstan on the delimitation of powers between them. In a different context, the same gesture could have very different connotations.

Socialization and Normalized Sexual Behavior

Because sexual behavior is influenced by socialization, what is deemed "normal" can vary widely across cultures. In some cultures, sexual activity is considered acceptable only within marriage, although premarital and extramarital sex are also common. Some sexual activities are illegal either universally or in some countries, and some are considered against the norms of a society. For example, sexual activity with a person below some age of consent and sexual assault in general are criminal offenses in most jurisdictions.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

21: Social Change

21.1: Social Change and Collective Behavior

21.2: Sources of Social Change

21.3: Social Movements

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21.1: Social Change and Collective Behavior

Social Change

Collective behavior can result in social change through the formation of cohesive social movements.

Learning Objectives

Analyze a real-life example, such as the Voting Rights Act, in terms of social change

Key Points

- Collective behavior can be distinguished from group behavior, and it is also distinct from deviant and conforming actions.
- Collective behavior can be observed in four types of groupings of people: the crowd, the mass, the public, and social movements, although other phenomena, such as fads and rumors, are also considered to be forms of collective behavior.
- Studying collective behavior improves our understanding of how to organize social movements to initiate social change.
- There are two main reasons for studying collective behavior. First, to reduce the damage caused by events such as natural disasters and riots by understanding how people behave in these situations; second, studying collective behavior improves our understanding of how to organize social movements in order to initiate social change.
- A crowd is an assembly of people who come together with a shared purpose or intent, and have an influence over one another. The four type of crowds, as identified by Herbert Blumer, are casual, conventional, expressive and acting. Diffuse crowds are crowds that are scattered across large distances.
- Posited by Gustave Lebon in 1896, contagion theory asserts that crowds have a hypnotic influence over their members, which, combined with the anonymity that individuals in a crowd can enjoy, leads to irrational and emotional behavior.
- Convergence Theory proposes that crowd behavior is the product of like-minded individuals coming together and is not an inherent characteristic of the crowd itself.
- A combination of the theories of convergence and contagion, the emergent- norm theory states that crowd behavior is the product of the convergence of like-minded people, the sense of anonymity in a crowd and shared emotions. Underlying this theory is the symbolic-interactionist perspective.
- Understanding crowds as “gatherings,” which are temporary and are formed by an assembling process, allows us to create a distinction between what causes people to gather and what actions they take once they have gathered. Moreover, seeings crowds as gatherings also refutes the idea that crowds can impair judgment.
- A panic is a sudden terror which dominates thinking and can affect groups of people. A moral panic is a mass movement that arises when an invidual or group, frequently a minority or subculture, is perceived to be a threat to society.
- A riot is a form of civil disorder that is characterized by disorganized groups lashing out and disturbing the peace in a sudden and intense rash of violence, vandalism or other crime. Riots typically reflect grievance or a sense of dissatisfaction with existing conditions. Unlike a mob, a riot is violent crowd behavior without a specific objective.
- “Mass hysteria” is a phrase used to describe a large group of people who share a mental state of fear or anxiety.
- A fad is a fashion that gains salience quickly in a culture or subculture, and remains popular for a brief period of time before losing its appeal dramatically.
- A rumor is an unverified account or explanation of events circulating from person to person and pertaining to an object, event, or issue in public concern.

Key Terms

- **riot**: Wanton or unrestrained behavior; uproar; tumult.
- **Collective behavior**: The expression collective behavior was first used by Robert E. Park, and employed definitively by Herbert Blumer, to refer to social processes and events which do not reflect existing social structure (laws, conventions, and institutions), but which emerge in a “spontaneous” way.

Collective behavior refers to social processes and events that do not reflect existing social structure (laws, conventions, and institutions), as they emerge in a “spontaneous” way. Collective behavior might also be defined as action that is neither conforming (in which actors follow prevailing norms) nor deviant (in which actors violate those norms). Rather, collective behavior, a third form of action, takes place when norms are absent or unclear, or when they contradict each other. Scholars have devoted far less attention to collective behavior than they have to either conformity or deviance.

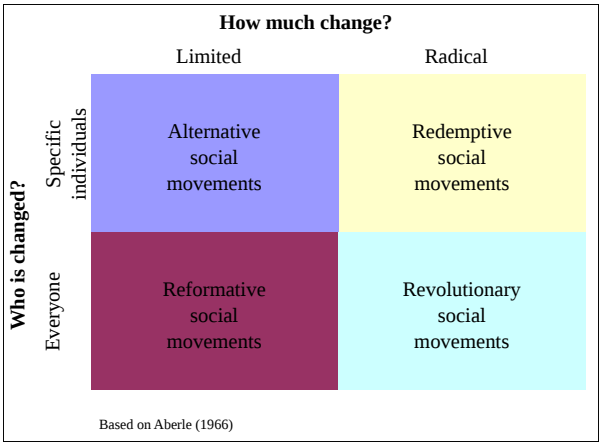
Examples of collective behavior include: religious revival meetings (like those depicted in the documentary *Marjoe*), a panic in a burning theater (e.g., the Kentucky Beverly Hills Supper Club fire), a sudden widespread interest in a website (e.g., MySpace) or clothing item (e.g., WristStrong bracelets), a collective social movement to improve the environment (e.g., Greenpeace), or the rapid spread of rumors (e.g., that Barack

Obama is Muslim or not a US citizen). These diverse actions fall within the area sociologists call collective behavior.

Collective behavior differs from group behavior in three ways:

- Collective behavior involves limited and short-lived social interactions, while groups tend to remain together longer.
- Collective behavior has no clear social boundaries; anyone can be a member of the collective, while group membership is usually more discriminating.
- Collective behavior generates weak and unconventional norms, while groups tend to have stronger and more conventional norms.

Traditionally in sociology, collective behavior is displayed by four types of groupings of people: the crowd, the public, the mass, and the social movement. While there is debate over what should be included under the label of "collective behavior" among sociologists today, often included are additional behaviors like: rumors, riots, and fads.



Types of Social Movements: The four types of social movements, as described by cultural anthropologist David Aberle

Collective Behavior and Social Change

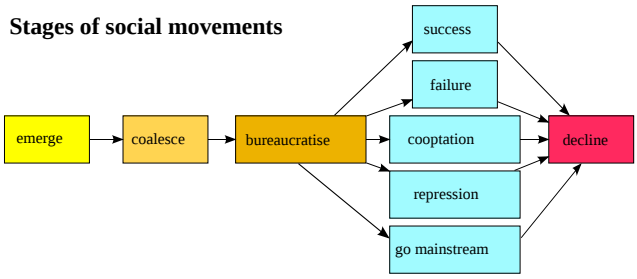
Collective behavior can actually change elements of society. This is the component of collective behavior known as "social movements. "

On March 7, 1965, African American leaders led a march of 600 people in an attempt to walk the 54 miles (87 km) from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. Only six blocks into the march, however, state troopers and local law enforcement attacked the peaceful demonstrators with billy clubs, tear gas, rubber tubes wrapped in barbed wire, and bull whips. They drove the marchers back to Selma. The national broadcast showing footage of lawmen attacking unresisting marchers seeking the right to vote provoked a national response. Eight days after the first march, Lyndon Johnson delivered a televised address to garner support for the voting rights bill he had sent to Congress. In it he stated:

> *But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.*

Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on August 6. The 1965 Act suspended poll taxes, literacy tests, and other subjective voter tests. It authorized Federal supervision of voter registration in states and individual voting districts where such tests were being used. The act had an immediate and positive impact for African Americans. Within months of its passage, 250,000 new black voters had been registered. Within four years, voter registration in the South had more than doubled.

Understanding how to organize a social movement to pursue social change is one of the areas studied by sociologists. The insights gained from these studies can provide movement members the tools they need to succeed.



Stages of Social Movements: The different stages of social movements, as adapted from Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975) and Tilly (1978)

Riots

A riot is a form of civil disorder characterized by disorganized groups lashing out in a sudden and intense rash of violence, vandalism, or other crime. While individuals may attempt to lead or control a riot, riots are typically chaotic and exhibit herd-like behavior. Riots often occur in reaction to a perceived grievance or out of dissent. Historically, riots have occurred due to poor working or living conditions, government oppression, taxation or conscription, conflicts between races or religions, the outcome of a sporting event, or frustration with legal channels through which to air grievances. Riots typically involve vandalism and the destruction of private and public property. Riots, while destructive, have often played a role in social change.

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21.2: Sources of Social Change

Sources of Social Change

Social movement theories seek to explain how social movements form and develop.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the similarities and differences in the various social movement theories – deprivation, mass-society, structural-strain, resource-mobilization, political process and culture

Key Points

- Famous social movement theories include deprivation theory, mass- society theory, structural-strain theory, resource -mobilization theory, political process theory and culture theory.
- Deprivation theory posits that social movements emerge among people who believe themselves to be deprived of certain goods or resources.
- Mass-society theory posits that social movements are comprised of people who feel marginalized from the rest of society.
- Structural-strain theory posits that social movements arise as a result of six factors: structural conduciveness, structural strain, growth and spread of a solution, precipating factors, lack of social control, and mobilization.
- Resource-mobilization theory places resources at the center of the emergence and success of social movements. In this case, resources include knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from a powerful elite.
- Cultural theory underscores the importance of culture and addresses the free-rider problem. This theory also emphasizes the critical role of injustice in movement formation, stating that successful movements have to create injustice frames to mobilize people.

Key Terms

- **cultural theory**: Cultural theory underscores the importance of culture and addresses the free-rider problem. This theory also emphasizes the critical role of injustice in movement formation, stating that successful movements have to create injustice frames to mobilize people.
- **injustice frame**: An injustice frame is a collection of ideas and symbols that illustrate both how significant the problem the movement is concerned with is as well as what the movement can do to alleviate it.
- **free rider**: The free-rider problem refers to the idea that people will not be motivated to participate in a social movement that will use up their personal resources like time or money if they can still receive the benefits without participating.

A variety of theories have attempted to explain how social movements develop. Some of the better-known approaches include deprivation theory, mass-society theory, structural-strain theory, resource-mobilization theory, political process theory and culture theory. Deprivation theory and resource-mobilization have been discussed in detail in this chapter's section entitled "Social Movements. "

This particular section will thus pay attention to structural-strain theory and culture theory, while mass-society theory and political process theory will be discussed in greater detail later in "International Sources of Social Change" and "External Sources of Social Change," respectively.

Structural-Strain Theory

Structural-strain theory proposes six factors that encourage social movement development:

1. Structural conduciveness: people come to believe their society has problems
2. Structural strain: people experience deprivation
3. Growth and spread of a solution: a solution to the problems people are experiencing is proposed and disseminates
4. Precipitating factors: discontent usually requires a catalyst (often a specific event) to turn it into a social movement
5. Lack of social control: the entity to be changed must be at least somewhat open to the change; if the social movement is quickly and powerfully repressed, it may never materialize
6. Mobilization: this is the actual organizing and active component of the movement; people do what needs to be done in order to further their cause.

Here is a case in point to illustrate the example of structural-strain theory. Structural conduciveness would occur when a group of people become disgruntled by a change in society. Structural strain is when these people feel a sense of displeasure due to the change, such as being upset or angry. These people propose a solution, such as a demonstration. Precipitating factors, such as being provoked by a non-protester, prompt a negative reaction (such as yelling or throwing something). If the movement is not strong enough, there will be no change; however, if there is enough influence, change is possible. Mobilization occurs when people work together in order to enact social change, such as meeting with government officials in order to change a law or policy.

This theory is subject to circular reasoning since it claims that social/structural strain is the underlying motivation of social movement activism, even though social movement activism is often the only indication that there was strain or deprivation. This kind of circular reasoning is also evident in deprivation theory (people form movements because they lack a certain good or resource), which structural-strain theory partially incorporates and relies upon.

Culture Theory

Culture theory builds upon both the theories of political process (the existence of political opportunities is crucial for movement development) and resource-mobilization (the mobilization of sufficient resources is central to movement formation and success), but it also extends them in two ways. First, it emphasizes the importance of movement culture. Second, it attempts to address the free-rider problem.

Injustice Frames

Both resource-mobilization theory and political process theory incorporate the concept of injustice into their approaches. Culture theory brings this notion of injustice to the forefront of movement creation, arguing that in order for social movements to successfully mobilize individuals, they must develop an injustice frame. An injustice frame is a collection of ideas and symbols that illustrates how significant the problem is and what the movement can do to alleviate it.

Injustice frames have the following characteristics:

- Facts take on their meaning by being embedded in frames, which can render them either relevant and significant or irrelevant and trivial.
- People carry around multiple frames in their heads.
- Successful reframing involves the ability to enter into the worldview of our adversaries.
- All frames contain implicit or explicit appeals to moral principles.

Free-Rider Problem

In emphasizing the injustice frame, culture theory also addresses the free-rider problem. The free-rider problem refers to the idea that people will not be motivated to participate in a social movement that will use up their personal resources (e.g., time, money, etc.) if they can still receive the benefits without participating. In other words, if person X knows that movement Y is working to improve environmental conditions in his neighborhood, he is presented with a choice: to join or not join the movement. If X believes the movement will succeed without her, she can avoid participation in the movement, save her resources, and still reap the benefits—this is free-riding. A significant problem for social movement theory has been to explain why people join movements if they believe the movement can/will succeed without their contribution. Culture theory argues that, in conjunction with social networks being an important contact tool, the injustice frame will provide the motivation for people to contribute to the movement.

Framing processes includes three separate components:

- Diagnostic frame: the movement organization frames the problem—what they are critiquing
- Prognostic frame: the movement organization frames the desirable solution to the problem
- Motivational frame: the movement organization frames a “call to arms” by suggesting and encouraging that people take action

Diagnostic framing of the problem involves an understanding what the problem actually is – what specifically needs to be solved. The prognostic frame is the desired solution – what people think will work to change the situation. Motivational framing is when others are inspired to take action without an actual law or policy in place – such as making a suggestion about how to improve and appealing to people’s morals and values.

External Sources of Social Change

Social change is influenced by random as well as systematic factors, such as government, available resources, and natural environment.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the factors that contribute to social change

Key Points

- Social change is said to come from two sources: random or unique factors (such as climate, weather, or the presence of specific groups of people) and systematic factors (such as government, available resources, and the social organization of society).
- The political-process theory emphasizes the existence of political opportunities as essential to the formation of social movements.
- According to this theory, the three vital elements of movement formation are insurgent consciousness (collective sense of injustice), organizational strength (in leadership and resources), and political opportunities (the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system).
- While this theory has been criticized for not paying enough attention to movement culture, it is also beneficial as it addresses the issue of timing for the emergence of movements.

- Political opportunities refer to the receptivity or susceptibility of the existing political system to challenge and change.
- Since this theory argues that all three components – insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities – are important for movement formation, it is able to address the issue of timing in the emergence of movements (i.e. why do movements form when they do).
- An extension of this theory, known as the political mediation model, considers how the political context facing a movement intersects with the strategic choices that the movement makes.

Key Terms

- **pluralism**: A social system based on mutual respect for each other's cultures among various groups that make up a society, wherein subordinate groups do not have to forsake their lifestyle and traditions but, rather, can express their culture and participate in the larger society free of prejudice.
- **resource-mobilization theory**: Resource-mobilization theory places resources at the center of the emergence and success of social movements. In this case, resources include knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from a powerful elite.

Basically, social change comes from two sources. One source is random or unique factors such as climate, weather, or the presence of specific groups of people. Another source is systematic factors, such as government, available resources, and the social organization of society. On the whole, social change is usually a combination of systematic factors along with some random or unique factors.

There are many theories of social change. Generally, a theory of change should include elements such as structural aspects of change (like population shifts), processes and mechanisms of social change, and directions of change.

Political Process Theory

Political Process Theory, sometimes also known as the Political Opportunity Theory,is an approach to social movements heavily influenced by political sociology. It argues that the success or failure of social movements is primarily affected by political opportunities. Social theorists Peter Eisinger, Sidney Tarrow, David Meyer, and Doug McAdam are considered among the most prominent supporters of this theory. Political Process Theory is similar to resource mobilization theory (which considers the mobilization of resources to be the key ingredient of a successful movement) in many regards, and emphasizes political opportunities as the social structure that is important for social movement development. Political Process Theory argues that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities.

"Insurgent consciousness" refers back to the notions of deprivation and grievances. In this case, the idea is that certain members of society feel like they are being mistreated or that somehow the system they are a part of is unjust. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members (or potential movement members) feel and serves as the motivation for movement organization.



Political Process Theory: One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing or emergence of social movements. Photo taken at the 2005 U.S. Presidential inauguration protest.

"Organizational strength" falls in line with resource-mobilization theory, arguing that in order for a social movement to organize it must have strong leadership and sufficient resources.

Finally, "political opportunity" refers to the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system to challenge. This vulnerability can be the result of any of the following (or a combination thereof):

- growth of political pluralism
- decline in effectiveness of repression
- elite disunity; the leading factions are internally fragmented
- a broadening of access to institutional participation in political processes
- support of organized opposition by elites

One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing of the emergence of social movements. Some groups may have the insurgent consciousness and resources to mobilize, but because political opportunities are closed, they will not have any success. The theory, argues that all three of these components are important for the successful creation of a movement.

Critics of the political process theory and resource-mobilization theory point out that neither theory discusses the culture of movements to any great degree. This has presented culture theorists an opportunity to expound on the importance of culture.

The Four Social Revolutions

The Four Social Revolutions refer to the identification of social change through modes of subsistence.

Learning Objectives

Analyze the various social revolutions in terms of how each contributes to the development of the next stage, for example, moving from horticulturist to agrarian

Key Points

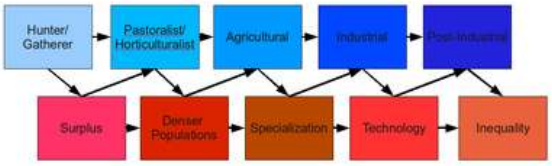
- The development of a society in terms of its primary means of subsistence can be divided into the following stages: hunter-gatherer, pastoral, horticultural, agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial.
- For hunter-gatherer societies, the primary means of subsistence are wild plants and animals. Hunter-gatherers are nomadic and non-hierarchical. Archeological data suggests that all humans were hunter gatherers prior to 13,000 BCE.
- For pastoral societies, the primary means of subsistence are domesticated livestock. Pastoralists are nomadic. They can develop surplus food, which leads to higher population densities than hunter-gatherers, along with social hierarchies and more complicated divisions of labor.
- In horticultural societies, the primary means of subsistence is the cultivation of crops using hand tools.
- In agrarian societies, the primary means of subsistence is the cultivation of crops through a combination of human and non-human means, such as animals and/or machinery.
- In industrial societies, the primary means of subsistence is industry, which is a system of production based on the mechanized manufacturing of goods. In post-industrial societies, the primary means of subsistence is service-oriented work, rather than agriculture or industry.
- For horticultural societies, the primary means of subsistence is the cultivation of crops using hand tools.
- For agrarian societies, the primary means of subsistence is the cultivation of crops through a combination of human and non-human means, such as animals and/or machinery.
- In industrial societies, the primary means of subsistence is industry, which is a system of production that is based on the manufacturing of goods.
- In post-industrial societies, the primary means of subsistence is based on service-oriented work, rather than agriculture or industry.
- Changes in the primary means of subsistence can have implications for other aspects of society, leading to developments, such as an increasing degree of specializiation, a greater use of technology and a higher prevalence of inequality.

Key Terms

- **agriculture**: the art or science of cultivating the ground, including the harvesting of crops, and the rearing and management of livestock; tillage; husbandry; farming
- **Hunter-gatherer**: a member of a group of people who live by hunting animals and gathering edible plants for their main food sources, and who do not domesticate animals or farm crops
- **subsistence**: that which furnishes support to animal life; means of support; provisions, or that which produces provisions; livelihood

The Four Social Revolutions

Most societies develop along a similar historical trajectory. Human groups begin as hunter-gatherers, after which they develop pastoralism and/or horticulturalism. After this, an agrarian society typically develops, followed finally by a period of industrialization (sometimes a service industry follows this final stage). Not all societies pass through every stage, and some societies remain at a particular stage for long periods of time, even while others become more complex. Still other societies may jump stages as a result of technological advancements from other societies.



The stages of societal development: The relationship between the stages of societal development (top row) and its implications (bottom row) are complex and interdependent.

Hunter-Gatherers

The hunter-gatherer way of life is based on the consumption of wild plants and wild animals. Consequently, hunter-gatherers are often mobile, and groups of hunter-gatherers tend to have fluid boundaries and compositions. Typically, in hunter-gatherer societies, men hunt wild animals while women gather fruits, nuts, roots, and other vegetation. Women also hunt smaller wild animals.

The majority of hunter-gatherer societies are nomadic. Because the wild resources of a particular region can be quickly depleted, it is difficult for hunter-gatherers to remain rooted in a

place for long. Because of their subsistence system, these societies tend to have very low population densities.

Hunter-gatherer societies are characterized by non-hierarchical social structures, though this is not always the case. Given that hunter-gatherers tend to be nomadic, they generally cannot store surplus food. As a result, full-time leaders, bureaucrats, or artisans are almost never supported by hunter-gatherer societies. The egalitarianism in hunter-gatherer societies tends to extend to gender relations as well.

Pastoralism

In a pastoralist society, the primary means of subsistence are domesticated animals (livestock). Like hunter-gatherers, pastoralists are often nomadic, moving seasonally in search of fresh pastures and water for their animals. In a pastoralist society, there is an increased likelihood of surplus food, which, in turn, often results in greater population densities and the development of both social hierarchies and divisions of labor.

Pastoralist societies still exist. For example, in Australia, the vast, semi-arid interior of the country contains huge pastoral runs called sheep stations. These areas may be thousands of square kilometers in size. The number of livestock allowed in these areas is regulated in order to sustain the land and to ensure that livestock have enough access to food and water.

Horticulturalist Societies

In horticulturalist societies, the primary means of subsistence is the cultivation of crops using hand tools. Like pastoral societies, the cultivation of crops increases population densities and, as a result of food surpluses, allows for an even more complex division of labor. Horticulture differs from agriculture in that agriculture employs animals, machinery, or other non-human means to facilitate the cultivation of crops. Horticulture relies solely on human labor for crop cultivation. Horticultural societies were among the first to establish permanent places of residence. This was due to the fact they no longer had to search for food; rather, they cultivated their own.

Agrarian Societies

In agrarian societies, the primary means of subsistence is the cultivation of crops using a mixture of human and non-human means, like animals and machinery. In agriculture, through the cultivation of plants and the raising of domesticated animals, food, feed, fiber and other desired commodities are produced.

In comparison with the previously mentioned societal types, agriculture supports a much greater population density and allows for the accumulation of excess product. This excess product can either be sold for profit or used during winter months. Because in agricultural societies, farmers are able to feed large numbers of people whose daily activity has nothing to do with food production, a number of important developments occur. These include improved methods of food stores, labor specialization, advanced technology, hierarchical social structures, inequality, and standing armies.

Industrialization

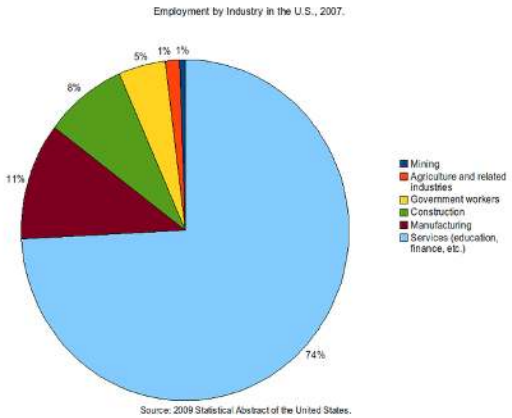
In an industrial society, the primary means of subsistence is industry, which is a system of production based on the mechanized manufacture of goods. Like agrarian societies, industrial societies lead to even greater food surpluses, resulting in even more developed social hierarchies and an even more complex division of labor.

The industrial division of labor, one of the most notable characteristics of this societal type, in many cases leads to a restructuring of social relations. Whereas in pre-industrial societies, relationships would typically develop at one's place of worship, or through kinship and housing, in industrial societies, relationships and friendships can occur at work.

Post-Industrial

In a post-industrial society, the primary means of subsistence is derived from service-oriented work, as opposed to agriculture or industry. Importantly, the term post-industrial is still debated, in part because it is the current state of society. Generally, in social science, it is difficult to accurately name a phenomenon while it is occurring.

Most highly developed countries are now post-industrial. This means the majority of their workforce works in service-oriented industries, like finance, healthcare, education, or sales, rather than in industry or agriculture. This is the case in the United States.



Employment in the US according to industry, 2007: Less than 2% of the US population is employed in agriculture.

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Gemeinschaft describes groups in which the community takes precedence over the individual; *gesellschaft* prioritizes the

individual.

Learning Objectives

Examine the similarities and differences between Ferdinand Tonnies's concepts of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft in relation to human interactions in society

Key Points

- *Gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, which can be generally translated as " community " and " society " respectively, are two sociological categories introduced by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies.
- *Gemeinschaft* describes groups in which the members attach as much, if not more, importance to the groups itself as they do to their own needs. *Gemeinschaft* can be based on shared space and beliefs, as well as kinship. *Gemeinschaft* is characterized by ascribed status.
- *Gesellschaft* refers to groups in which associations never take precedence over the interests of the individual.
- *Gesellschaft*, unlike *gemeinschaft*, places more emphasis on secondary relationships rather than familial or community bonds, and it entails achieved, rather than ascribed, status.
- A normal type is a purely conceptual tool that makes use of logic and deduction, as opposed to Max Weber 's ideal type, which is a framework used to understand reality that draws on elements from history and society.

Key Terms

- **ideal type**: An ideal type is not a particular person or thing that exists in the world, but an extreme form of a concept used by sociologists in theories. For example, although there is not a perfectly "modern" society, the term "modern" is used as an ideal type in certain theories to make large-scale points.
- **normal type**: A normal type is a purely conceptual tool that makes use of logic and deduction, as opposed to Max Weber's ideal type, which is a framework used to understand reality that draws on elements from history and society.
- **community**: A group sharing a common understanding and often the same language, manners, tradition and law. See civilization.

Gemeinschaft and g*esellschaft* are sociological categories for two normal types of human association introduced by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. A normal type, as coined by Tönnies, is a purely conceptual tool to be built up logically, whereas an ideal type, as coined by Max Weber, is a concept formed by accentuating main elements of a historic/social process. Tönnies' 1887 book *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* sparked a major revival of corporatist thinking, including an increase in the support for guild socialism, and caused major changes in the field of sociology.

Gemeinschaft

Gemeinschaft (often translated as community) is a group in which individuals take into account the needs and interests of the group as much as, if not more than, their own self interest. Furthermore, individuals in *gemeinschaft* are regulated by common mores, or beliefs, about the appropriate behavior and responsibilities of members with respect to each other and to the group at large.

Gemeinschaft is thus marked by "unity of will. " Tönnies saw the family as the most perfect expression of *gemeinschaft*; however, he expected that *gemeinschaft* could be based on shared place and shared belief as well as kinship, and he included globally dispersed religious communities as possible examples of *gemeinschaft*. *Gemeinschaft* involves ascribed status, which refers to cases in which an individual is assigned a particular status at birth. For example, an individual born to a farmer will come to occupy the parent's role for the rest of his or her life.

Gemeinschaften are broadly characterized by a moderate division of labour, strong personal relationships, strong families, and relatively simple social institutions. In such communities there is seldom a need to enforce social control externally, due to a collective sense of loyalty individuals feel for society.

Gesellschaft

In contrast, *gesellschaft* (often translated as society, civil society or association) describes associations in which, for the individual, the larger association never takes precedence over the individual's self interest, and these associations lack the same level of shared mores. *Gesellschaft* is maintained through individuals acting in their own self interest. A modern business is a good example of *gesellschaft*: the workers, managers, and owners may have very little in terms of shared orientations or beliefs—they may not care deeply for the product they are making—but it is in all their self interest to come to work to make money, and thus the business continues. *Gesellschaft* society involves achieved status where people reach their status through their education and work.

Unlike *gemeinschaften*, *gesellschaften* emphasize secondary relationships rather than familial or community ties, and there is generally less individual loyalty to society. Social cohesion in *gesellschaften* typically derives from a more elaborate division of labor. An example of *gemeinschaft* in the world today would be an Amish community. The United States would be considered a *gesellschaft* society. Such societies are considered more susceptible to class conflict as well as racial and ethnic

conflicts. The social upheavals during the Reconstruction era of the United States complicated the sociological category of *gemeinschaft* because former slaves, whose kinship ties were complicated under slavery, forged new communities that shared aspects of both *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*.

Talcott Parsons considered g*emeinschaft* to represent a community of fate, whose members share both good and bad fortune, as opposed to the pursuit of rational self-interest that characterized *gesellschaft*.

Eric Hobsbawm has argued that as globalisation turns the entire planet into an increasingly remote kind of *gesellschaft*, similarly collective identity politics seek a factitious remaking of the qualities of *gemeinschaft* by reforging artificial group bonds and identities.

Fredric Jameson highlights the ambivalent envy felt by members of *gesellschaft* for remaining enclaves of *gemeinschaft*, even as the former inevitably corrode the existence of the latter.

Capitalism, Modernization, and Industrialization

Sociologists Weber, Marx and Durkheim envisioned different impacts the Industrial Revolution would have on both the individual and society.

Learning Objectives

Compare the similarities and differences between Weber's Rationalization, Marx's Alienation and Durkheim's Solidarity In relation to the Industrial Revolution

Key Points

- Weber imagined that an increasing rationalization of society would lead to man being trapped in a iron cage of rationality and bureaucracy.
- Marx believed that capitalism resulted in the alienation of workers from their own labor and from one another, preventing them from achieving self-realization (species being).
- Finally, Durkheim believed that industrialization would lead to decreasing social solidarity.
- Bureaucracy is a type of organizational or institutional management that is based upon legal-rational authority. Weber believed that industrialization was leading to a growing influence of rational ideas and thought in culture, which, in turn, led to the bureaucratization of society.
- Karl Marx understood species being to be the original or intrinsic essence of the species. A simplified understanding of species being is that it is a form of self-realization or self-actualization resulting from fulfilling or meaningful work.
- Durkheim imagined that industrialization would lead to a decrease in social solidarity, which can be defined as a sense of community. He referred to this decrease in social solidarity as anomie, a French word for chaos.
- Durkheim imagined that industrialization would lead to a decrease in social solidarity, which can be defined as a sense of community.
- Durkheim referred to the decrease in social solidarity resulting from industrialization as anomie, a French word for chaos.
- Industrializing societies would be characterized by specialization in that individuals would occupy different roles and occupations in a given society. According to Durkheim, specialization would lead to interdependence between the various components of society. He referred to this interdependence as organic solidarity.
- Societies exhibit mechanical solidarity when the source of its cohesion is the homogeneity of its individuals in terms of their work, educational and religious training and lifestyles.

Key Terms

- **species being**: Karl Marx understood species being to be the original or intrinsic essence of the species, which is characterized by pluralism and dynamism: all beings possess the tendency and desire to engage in multiple activities to promote their mutual survival, comfort and sense of inter-action. A simplified understanding of species being is that it is a form of self-realization or self-actualization resulting from fulfilling or meaningful work.
- **anomie**: Alienation or social instability caused by erosion of standards and values.
- **alienation**: Emotional isolation or dissociation.

As Western societies transitioned from pre-industrial economies based primarily on agriculture to industrialized societies in the 19th century, some people worried about the impacts such changes would have on society and individuals. Three early sociologists, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Emile Durkheim, envisioned different outcomes of the Industrial Revolution on both the individual and society and described these effects in their work.

Weber and Rationalization

Max Weber was particularly concerned about the rationalization of society due to the Industrial Revolution and how this change would affect humanity's agency and happiness. Weber's understanding of rationalization was three-fold: firstly, as individual cost-benefit calculations; secondly, as the transformation of society into a bureaucratic entity; lastly, and on a much wider scale, as the opposite of perceiving reality through the lens of mystery and magic (disenchantment). Since

Weber viewed rationalization as the driving force of society and given that bureaucracy was the most rational form of institutional governance, Weber believed bureaucracy would spread until it ruled society.

As Weber did not see any alternative to bureaucracy, he believed it would ultimately lead to an iron cage: there would be no way to escape it. Weber viewed this as a bleak outcome that would affect individuals' happiness as they would be forced to function in a society with rigid rules and norms without the possibility of change.

Related to rationalization is the process of disenchantment, in which the world is becoming more explained and less mystical, moving from polytheistic religions to monotheistic ones and finally to the Godless science of modernity. Those processes affect all of society, removing "sublime values… from public life" and making art less creative.

Marx and Alienation

Karl Marx took a different perspective on the Industrial Revolution. According to Marx, a capitalist system results in the alienation (or estrangement) of people from their "species being." Species being is a concept that Marx deploys to refer to what he sees as the original or intrinsic essence of the species, which is characterized both by plurality and dynamism: all beings possess the tendency and desire to engage in multiple activities to promote their mutual survival, comfort and sense of inter-connection

In a capitalist society (which co-evolved with the Industrial Revolution), the proletariat, or working class, own only their labor power and not the fruits of their labor (i.e. the results of production). The capitalists, or bourgeoisie, employ the proletariat for a living wage, and, in turn, they keep the products of the labor. A major implication of this system is that workers lose the ability to determine their lives and destinies by being deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as the director of their actions, to determine the character of their actions, to define their relationship to other actors, and to use or own the value of what is produced by their actions. This is what Marx refers to as alienation.

Durkheim and Solidarity

Similar to Weber and Marx, Durkheim also believed that the societal changes brought upon by industrialzation could eventually lead to unhappiness. According to Durkheim, an important component of social life was social solidarity, which can be understood as a sense of community. For example, in his classic study, *Suicide*, Durkheim argued that one of the root causes of suicide was a decrease in social solidarity, a phenomenon which Durkheim referred to as anomie (French for chaos). Durkheim also argued that the increasing emphasis on individualism in Protestant religions – in contrast to Catholicism – contributed to a corresponding rise in anomie, which resulted in higher suicide rates among Protestants than among Catholics.

According to Durkheim, the types of social solidarity correlate with types of society. Durkheim introduced the terms "mechanical" and "organic solidarity" as part of his theory of the development of societies in *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893). In a society exhibiting mechanical solidarity, its cohesion and integration comes from the homogeneity of individuals—people feel connected through similar work, educational and religious training, and lifestyle. Mechanical solidarity normally operates in "traditional" and small scale societies. Organic solidarity comes from the interdependence that arises from specialization of work and the complementarities between people—a development which occurs in "modern" and "industrial" societies. Thus, organic solidarity is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies. Although individuals perform different tasks and often have different values and interest, the order and very solidarity of society depends on their reliance on each other to perform their specified tasks.

Cultural Evolution

Over time, the concept of culture has transformed into a more inclusive concept.

Learning Objectives

Outline ways the concept of culture has changed over time, from evaluative to inclusive

Key Points

- Although biological evolution may have originally resulted in culture, research suggests that culture is not only a supplement to evolution, but can also influence it.
- Ultimately, the category of "culture" is, like all classifications, an artificial distinction.
- The fact that all human beings have cultures must, at some level, be a consequence of human evolution. However, evolution cannot be used as a way of distinguishing between different cultures, as this is a form of, or can legitimize forms of, racism.
- Since culture is dynamic and can be taught and learned, it can facilitate the adaptation of humans to different physical environments and changes in environmental conditions. In this way, culture acts as a supplement to evolution.
- Cultural relativism posits that cultures are to be considered as bounded wholes and have to be understood in their own

terms. Cultures are not better or worse than each other, just different.

- Recent research suggests that culture can influence human evolution.
- When studying culture, it is important to bear in mind that the notion of culture can have multiple levels of meaning, or, in other words, levels of abstraction.

Key Terms

- **symbol**: Any object, typically material, which is meant to represent another (usually abstract), even if there is no meaningful relationship.
- **cultural relativism**: Cultural relativism is a principle that was established as axiomatic in anthropological research by Franz Boas in the first few decades of the twentieth century, and later popularized by his students. Boas first articulated the idea in 1887: "…civilization is not something absolute, but… is relative, and… our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes. "
- **evolution**: gradual directional change, especially one leading to a more advanced or complex form; growth; development

During the Romantic Era, scholars in Germany, especially those concerned with nationalism, developed a more inclusive notion of culture as a worldview. That is, each ethnic group is characterized by a distinct and incommensurable worldview. Although more inclusive, this approach to culture still allowes for distinctions between civilized and primitive, or tribal, cultures.

By the late 19th century, anthropologists changed the concept of culture to include a wider variety of societies. This resulted in the concept of culture as objects and symbols; the meaning given to those objects and symbols; and the norms, values, and beliefs that pervade social life.

This new perspective removed the evaluative element of the concept of culture, and instead proposed distinctions rather than rankings between different cultures. For instance, the high culture of elites is now contrasted with popular or pop culture. In this sense, high culture no longer refers to the idea of being cultured, as all people are cultured. High culture simply refers to the objects, symbols, norms, values, and beliefs of a particular group of people; popular culture refers to the same.

Most social scientists today reject the cultured vs. uncultured concept of culture. Instead, social scientists accept and advocate the definition of culture outlined above as being the "nurture" component of human social life. Social scientists recognize that non-elites are as cultured as elites, and that non-Westerners are just as civilized; they simply have a different culture.



The Developing Idea of Culture: Chinese Opera is a culture tradition quite distinct from European Opera.

The understanding of culture as a symbolic system with adaptive functions that vary from place to place led anthropologists to define different cultures by distinct patterns or structures of enduring, conventional sets of meaning. These took concrete form in a variety of artifacts, both symbolic, such as myths and rituals, and material, including tools, the design of housing, and the planning of villages. Anthropologists distinguish between material culture and symbolic culture, not only because each reflects different kinds of human activity, but also because each constitutes different kinds of data that require different methodologies to study.

Cultural Relativism

This view of culture, which came to dominate anthropology between World War I and World War II, implies that each culture is bounded and has to be understood as a whole, on its own terms. The result is a belief in cultural relativism, which suggests that there are no "better" or "worse" cultures, just different cultures.

Culture as a Product of Biology

Biology and nature are deeply connected and share a complex relationship. Early studies of this relationship revealed that culture is actually a product of biology. More recent research, however, suggests that human culture has reversed this particular causal direction and, culture can actually influence human evolution. One well-known example of this is the rapid spread of a gene that produces a protein that allows humans to digest lactose. This adaptation spread quickly in Europe around 4,000 BCE with the domestication of mammals and the consumption of animal milk by humans. Prior to this adaptation, this gene was switched off after children were weaned. Thus, the change in culture (drinking milk from other mammals) eventually led to changes in human genetics. Genetics, therefore, resulted in culture, which is now affecting genetics.

Another important element in the understanding of culture is level of abstraction. Culture ranges from the concrete, cultural

object (e.g., the understanding of a work of art) to micro-level interpersonal interactions (e.g., the socialization of a child by his/her parents) to a macro-level influence on entire societies (e.g., the Puritanical roots of the U.S. that can be used to justify the exportation of democracy, as was the case with the Iraq War). When trying to understand the concept of culture, it is important to remember that the concept can have multiple levels of meaning.

Natural Cycles

Social cycle theories argue that historical events and the different stages of society generally go through recurring cycles.

Learning Objectives

Examine the change in social cycle theories throughout history, ranging from ideas of "life cycles" to political-demographic cycles

Key Points

- Precursors to social cycle theories can be found in the works of Polybius, Ibn Khaldun, and Giambattista Vico, who all argued that history can be defined as repeating cycles of events..
- Classical social cycle theories include the idea that civilizations have "life cycles," as was proposed by Nikolai Danilewski and Oswald Spengler.
- The first true social cycle theory was introduced by Vilfredo Pareto, who divided the elite social class into cunning foxes and violent lions and claimed that power constantly passes from one group to the other.
- Classical social cycle theorist, Petrim A. Sorokin, viewed societies as moving between three cultural mentalities: ideational, sensate and idealistic.
- An important development in modern social cycle theories is the discovery that political-demographic cycles are a basic feature of the long-term dynamic social processes of complex agrarian systems. Theories of long-term political-demographic cycles take into account social progress.
- Thomas Malthus proposed that limited resources will act as a check on population growth among humans. A Malthusian catastrophe (also known by other names) refers to the forced return to subsistence-level conditions when population growth has outstripped agricultural production.
- An important development in modern social cycle theories is the discovery that political-demographic cycles are a basic feature of the long-term dynamic social processes of complex agrarian systems. Theories of long-term political-demographic cycles take into account social progress.
- Thomas Malthus proposed that limited resources will act as a check on population growth among humans. A Malthusian catastrophe (also known by other names) refers to the forced return to subsistence-level conditions when population growth has outstripped agricultural production.
- P.R. Sarkar also accounts for social progress in his Law of Social Cycle by considering human spiritual development. Social stasis and the subsequent collapse of regimes occurs when the ruling class treats other members of society poorly in order to advance its own selfish interests.

Key Terms

- **Malthusian catastrophe**: A Malthusian catastrophe (also known as Malthusian check) was originally foreseen to be a forced return to subsistence-level conditions once population growth had outpaced agricultural production.
- **political-demographic cycles**: One of the most important recent findings in the study of the long-term dynamic social processes was the discovery of the political-demographic cycles as a basic feature of the dynamics of complex agrarian systems.
- **Polybius**: Polybius was a Greek historian of the Hellenistic Period noted for his work, The Histories, which covered the period of 220–146 BC in detail. The work describes in part the rise of the Roman Republic and its gradual domination over Greece.

Social cycle theories are among the earliest social theories in sociology. Unlike the theory of social evolutionism, which views the evolution of society and human history as progressing in some new, unique direction(s), sociological cycle theory argues that events and stages of society and history generally repeat themselves in cycles. Such a theory does not necessarily imply that there cannot be any social progress. In fact, the early theory of Sima Qian, a Chinese historiographer of the Han Dynasty and typically considered to be the father of Chinese historiography, the more recent theories of long-term ("secular") political-demographic cycles as well as the Varnic theory of P.R. Sarkar all make an explicit accounting of social progress.

Predecessors

The interpretation of history as repeating cycles of Dark and Golden Ages was a common belief among ancient cultures. The more limited cyclical view of history defined as repeating cycles of events was put forward in the academic world in the 19th century in historiography (the study of the history and methodology of the discipline of history) and is a concept that falls under the category of sociology. However, the precursors to this analysis include Polybius, a Greek historian of the Hellenistic period, Ibn Khaldun, a Muslim historiographer and historian, who saw the rise and fall of Asabiyyah (the sense of community among humans) as the reason behind the emergence and decline of civilizations, and, finally, Giambattista Vico, an

Italian philosopher, who argued that civilizations occur in recurring cycles consisting of three ages: the divine, the heroic and the human. The Saeculum, which refers to the period of time during which the renewal of a human population would occur, was identified in Roman times. More recently, P. R. Sarkar in his *Social Cycle Theory* has used this idea to elaborate his interpretation of history.

Classical Theories

Among the prominent historiosophers, Russian philosopher Nikolai Danilewski (1822–1885) is notable. In *Rossiia i Europa* (1869), he differentiated between various smaller civilizations (Egyptian, Chinese, Persian, Greek, Roman, German, and Slav, among others) and asserted that each civilization has a life cycle. To illustrate this claim, he pointed out that by the end of the 19th century the Roman-German civilization was in decline, while the Slav civilization was approaching its Golden Age. A similar theory was put forward by Oswald Spengler (1880–1936) who in his *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918) predicted that the Western civilization was about to collapse.

The first social cycle theory in sociology was created by Italian sociologist and economist Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923) in his *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (1916). He centered his theory on the concept of an elite social class, which he divided into cunning “foxes” and violent “lions. ” In his view of society, the power constantly passes from the “foxes” to the “lions” and vice versa.

Sociological cycle theory was also developed by Pitirim A. Sorokin (1889–1968) in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1937, 1943). He classified societies according to their “cultural mentality. ” which can be ideational (reality is spiritual), sensate (reality is material), or idealistic (a synthesis of the two). He interpreted the contemporary West as a sensate civilization dedicated to technological progress and prophesied its fall into decadence and the emergence of a new ideational or idealistic era.

Modern Theories

One of the most important recent findings in the study of the long-term dynamic social processes was the discovery of the political-demographic cycles as a basic feature of the dynamics of complex agrarian systems. The presence of political-demographic cycles in the pre-modern history of Europe and China, and in chiefdom level societies worldwide has been known for quite a long time, and already in the 1980s more or less developed mathematical models of demographic cycles started to be produced.

Recently the most important contributions to the development of the mathematical models of long-term (“secular”) sociodemographic cycles have been made by Sergey Nefedov, Peter Turchin, Andrey Korotayev, and Sergey Malkov. What is important is that on the basis of their models Nefedov, Turchin and Malkov have managed to demonstrate that sociodemographic cycles were a basic feature of complex agrarian systems (and not a specifically Chinese or European phenomenon).

It has become possible to model these dynamics mathematically in a rather effective way. Modern social scientists from different fields have introduced cycle theories to predict civilizational collapses in approaches that apply contemporary methods, which update the approach of Spengler, such as the work of Joseph Tainter suggesting a civilizational life-cycle.

Ogburn’s Theory

William F. Ogburn’s theory suggests that technology is the primary engine of progress.

Learning Objectives

Summarize the main points of Ogburn’s theory of social change, in terms of its four main stages

Key Points

- Ogburn’s four stages of technical development are invention, accumulation, diffusion and adjustment.
- Although his theory is associated with technological determinism, the two are far from perfectly aligned.
- Technological determinism is a theory that argues technology is responsible for determining a society ‘s structure and values.
- Cultural lag is the period during which non-material culture strives to adjust to new technology and inventions.
- Cultural lag is the period during which non-material culture strives to adjust to new technology and inventions.
- Ogburn’s four stages of technical development are invention, accumulation, diffusion and adjustment.
- Invention is the process by which new kinds of technology are produced.
- Accumulation is the growth of technology as a result of new inventions outpacing the decline of old technology.
- Diffusion is the spread of new ideas from one culture to another, or from one field of activity to another, which leads to the convergence of different technologies that then combine to form new inventions.
- Adjustment is the process by which non-material aspects of society adjust to new technology.

Key Terms

- **cultural lag**: The term cultural lag refers to the notion that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations, and that social problems and conflicts are caused by this lag.
- **soft determinism**: Soft determinism posits that, although technology drives progress, people still may have the chance to make decisions regarding social outcomes.
- **hard determinism**: Hard determinism is the idea that technology governs social structures and activities.

William Fielding Ogburn (June 29, 1886 – April 27, 1959) was an American sociologist, statistician, and educator. Perhaps Ogburn's most enduring intellectual legacy is the theory of social change he offered in 1922. He suggested that technology is the primary engine of progress, but it is also tempered by social responses to it. Thus, his theory is often associated with technological determinism, a reductionist theory that presumes a society's technology drives the development of its social structure and cultural values.

Hard Determinism versus Soft Determinism

Hard determinists view technology as developing independent from social concerns. They believe that technology creates a set of powerful forces acting to regulate our social activity and its meaning.

Soft determinism, as the name suggests, is a more passive view of the way technology interacts with socio-political situations. Soft determinists still subscribe to the fact that technology is the guiding force in our evolution, but maintain that we have a chance to make decisions regarding the outcomes of a situation. Ogburn, in fact, proposed a slightly different variant of soft determinism, in which society must adjust to the consequences of major inventions, but often does so only after a period of cultural lag. Cultural lag, a term coined by Ogburn, refers to a period of maladjustment, which occurs when the non-material culture is struggling to adapt to new material conditions.

Stages of Technological Development

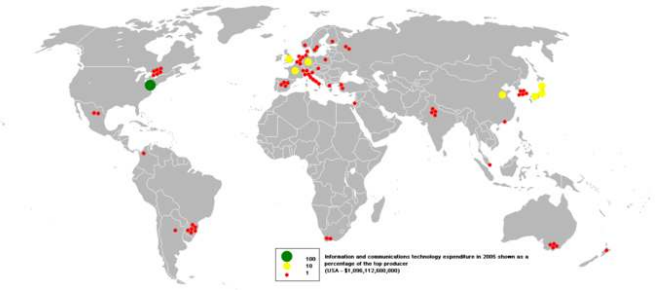
Ogburn posited four stages of technical development: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.

Invention is the process by which new forms of technology are created. Inventions are collective contributions to an existing cultural base that cannot occur unless the society has already gained a certain level of knowledge and expertise in the particular area.

Accumulation is the growth of technology due to the fact that the invention of new things outpaces the process by which old inventions become obsolete or are forgotten—some inventions (such as writing) promote this accumulation process.

Diffusion is the spread of an idea from one cultural group to another, or from one field of activity to another. As diffusion brings inventions together, they combine to form new inventions.

Adjustment is the process by which the non-technical aspects of a culture respond to invention. Any retardation of this adjustment process causes cultural lag.



Expansion of Communications and Information Technology: Ogburn posited four stages of technical development: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.

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21.3: Social Movements

Social Movements

Social movements are broad alliances of people connected through a shared interest in either stopping or instigating social change.

Learning Objectives

Discover the difference between social movements and social movement organizations, as well as the four areas social movements operate within

Key Points

- There are both a number of different kinds of social movements, as well as various stages that a social movement can undergo in the course of its development.
- Several theories have been proposed to explain the creation of social movements. Each of these theories highlights a different aspect of society (e.g. deprivation, marginalization, culture, etc.) as being key to the formation of these movements.
- Social movements are distinct from social movement organizations (SMOs). An SMO is a formally organized component of a social movement, and as such it may represent only one facet of an entire movement.
- According to Anthony Giddens, the four domains of modern society in which social movements are active include the political sphere, the workplace, the environment, and the issue of peace.
- Social movements often give rise to counter movements aimed at stopping whatever change the initial social movement is advocating.

Key Terms

- **social movements**: Social movements are a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals or organizations that focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change.
- **social change**: an alteration in the structures, institutions and/or practices of a society
- **counter movements**: Counter-hegemony refers to attempts to critique or dismantle hegemonic power. In other words, it is a confrontation and/or opposition to the existing status quo and the legitimacy of that status quo in politics. This can also be observed in various other spheres of life, such as history, media, music, etc.
- **social movement organizations**: A social movement organization is an organized component of a social movement. Social movement organizations usually have coordinating roles in social movements, but do not actually employ or direct most of the participants, who are part of a wider social movement community.

Social movements are broad alliances of people who are connected through their shared interest in social change. Social movements can advocate for a particular social change, but they can also organize to oppose a social change that is being advocated by another entity. These movements do not have to be formally organized to be considered social movements. Different alliances can work separately for common causes and still be considered a social movement.

Sociologists draw distinctions between social movements and social movement organizations (SMOs). A social movement organization is a formally organized component of a social movement. Therefore, it may represent only one part of a particular social movement. For instance, PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) advocates for vegan lifestyles along with its other aims. However, PETA is not the only group that advocates for vegan diets and lifestyles; there are numerous other groups actively engaged toward this end. Thus, promoting veganism would be considered the social movement, while PETA would be considered a particular SMO (social movement organization) working within the broader social movement.

Modern social movements became possible through the wide dissemination of literature and the increased mobility of labor, both of which have been caused by the industrialization of societies. Anthony Giddens, a renowned sociologist, has identified four areas in which social movements operate in modern societies:

- democratic movements that work for political rights
- labor movements that work for control of the workplace
- ecological movements that are concerned with the environment
- peace movements that work toward peace

It is interesting to note that social movements can spawn counter movements. For instance, the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a number of counter movements that attempted to block the goals of the women's movement. In large part, these oppositional groups formed because the women's movement advocated for reform in conservative religions.

Types of Social Movements

Social movements occur when large groups of individuals or organizations work for or against change in social and/or political matters.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the criteria that form the basis of classification of social movements

Key Points

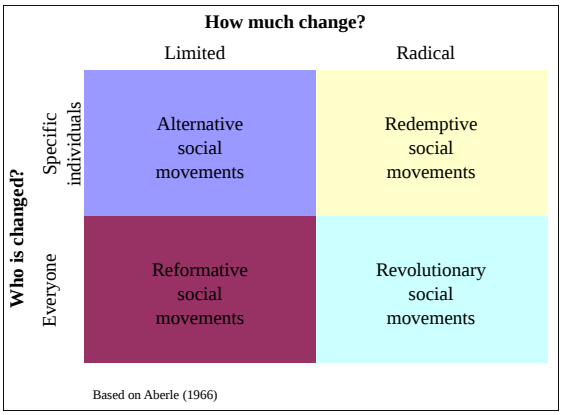
- Cultural Anthropologist David F. Aberle identified four kinds of social movements (alternative, redemptive, reformative, and revolutionary) based on two questions: 1) *Who is the movement attempting to change?* and 2) *How much change is being advocated?*.
- Alternative social movements are at the individual level and advocate for minor change; redemptive social movements are at the individual level and advocate for radical changes.
- Reformative social movements occur at a broader group or societal level and advocate for minor changes; revolutionary social movements occur at a broader group or societal level and advocate for radical changes.
- Other ways to categorize social movements include the scope (reform or radical), type of change (innovative or conservative), targets (group-focused or individual-focused), methods (violent or non-violent), and range (local or global).
- Revolutionary social movements occur at a broader group or societal level and advocate for radical changes.
- Other ways to categorize social movements include classifying by scope, type of change, targets, methods, and range.

Key Terms

- **revolutionary social movements**: Revolutionary movement is a specific type of social movement dedicated to carrying out revolutionary reforms and gain some control of the state. If they do not aim for an exclusive control, they are not revolutionary.
- **reformative social movements**: A reformative social movement advocates for minor changes instead of radical changes. For example revolutionary movements can scale down their demands and agree to share powers with others, becoming a political party.
- **redemptive social movements**: A redemptive social movement is radical in scope but focused on the individual.

Social movements are a specific type of group action in which large informal groups of individuals or organizations work for or against change in specific political or social issues.

Cultural Anthropologist David F. Aberle described four types of social movements based upon two fundamental questions: (1) who is the movement attempting to change? (2) how much change is being advocated? Social movements can be aimed at change on an individual level, *e.g.* Alcoholics Anonymous, which is a support group for recovering alcoholics or change on a broader group or even societal level, *e.g.* anti-globalization). Social movements can also advocate for minor changes such as tougher restrictions on drunk driving (see MADD) or radical changes like prohibition. The diagram below illustrates how a social movement may either be alternative, redemptive, reformative or revolutionary based on who the movement strives to change and how much change the movement desires to bring about.



Aberle's Four Types of Social Movements: Based on who a movement is trying to change and how much change a movement is advocating, Aberle identified four types of social movements: redemptive, reformative, revolutionary and alternative.

Other categories have been used to distinguish between types of social movements.

- Scope: A movement can be either reform or radical. A reform movement advocates changing some norms or laws while a radical movement is dedicated to changing value systems in some fundamental way. A reform movement might be a trade union seeking to increase workers' rights while the American Civil Rights movement was a radical movement.
- Type of Change: A movement might seek change that is either innovative or conservative. An innovative movement wants to introduce or change norms and values while a conservative movement seeks to preserve existing norms and values.
- Targets: Group-focused movements focus on influencing groups or society in general; for example, attempting to change the political system from a monarchy to a democracy. An individual-focused movement seeks to affect individuals.
- Methods of Work: Peaceful movements utilize techniques such as nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. Violent movements resort to violence when seeking social change.
- Range: Global movements, such as Communism in the early 20th century, have transnational objectives. Local

movements are focused on local or regional objectives such as preserving an historic building or protecting a natural habitat.

Propaganda and the Mass Media

Mass media can be employed to manipulate populations to further the power elite's agenda.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the impact of mass media as propaganda, particularly in terms of the "power elite"

Key Points

- The propaganda model explains how mass media can be employed to manipulate populations in the interest of ulterior motives.
- The propaganda model posits that the way in which news is structured (e.g. through advertising, concentration of media ownership, government sourcing) creates an inherent conflict of interest which acts as propaganda for undemocratic forces.
- The " power elite " include leaders of the military, corporate, and political elements of society; they are generally the ones who control and therefore benefit from mass media used as propaganda.

Key Terms

- **propaganda**: Propaganda is a form of biased communication, aimed at promoting or demoting certain views, perceptions or agendas.

The propaganda model is a conceptual model in political economy advanced by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky to explain how propaganda and systemic biases function in mass media. The model seeks to explain how populations are manipulated and how consent for economic, social and political policies is "manufactured" in the public mind due to this propaganda.

The theory posits that the way in which news is structured (e.g. through advertising, concentration of media ownership, government sourcing) creates an inherent conflict of interest which acts as propaganda for undemocratic forces.

An example that Herman and Chomsky identified was "anti-communism" during the Cold War. Such anti- ideologies exploit public fear and hatred of groups that pose a potential threat, either real, exaggerated or imagined. Communism once posed the primary threat, and communism and socialism were portrayed by their detractors as endangering freedoms of speech, movement, the press and so forth. They argue that such a portrayal was often used as a means to silence voices critical of elite interests.



Propaganda: An example of Anti-Japanese propaganda, depicting a racist caricature of a Japanese soldier saying "go ahead, please—TAKE DAY OFF!"

The Power Elite is a 1956 book by sociologist C. Wright Mills, in which Mills calls attention to the interwoven interests of the leaders of the military, corporate, and political elements of society and suggests that the ordinary citizen is a relatively powerless subject of manipulation by those entities.

According to Mills, the eponymous "power elite" are those that occupy the dominant positions, in the dominant institutions (military, economic and political) of a dominant country, and their decisions (or lack of decisions) have enormous consequences, not only for the U.S. population but, "the underlying populations of the world."

These two models—the propaganda and the "power elite" conceptualization—evidence how mass media can be used to reinforce the powerful's positions of power and interests. For example:

- During the Gulf War (1990), the media's failure to report on Saddam Hussein's peace offers guided the public to look more favorably on the U.S. government's actions.
- During the Iraq invasion (2003), the media's failure to report on the legality of the war, despite overwhelming public opinion in favor of only invading Iraq with UN authorization, minimized public awareness and outcry over that illegality. According to the liberal watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting, there was a disproportionate focus on pro-war sources while total anti-war sources only made up 10% of the media (with only 3% of US sources being anti-war).
- With regard to global warming, the media (in the interest of those who make a tremendous amount of money from fossil fuels) gives near equal balance to people who deny climate change, despite only "about one percent" of climate

scientists taking this view. This allows the “debate” to continue, when in reality there is firm scientific consensus, in turn allowing those corporations to continue profiting off human behavior that in reality harms the environment.

The Stages of Social Movements

Social movements typically follow a process by which they emerge, coalesce, and bureaucratize, leading to their success or failure.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the process and purpose of social movements, defined by Blumer, Mauss and Tilly

Key Points

- Social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people’s participation in public politics.
- Social movements have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.
- Blumer, Mauss, and Tilly described how social movements follow a process by which they emerge, coalesce, and bureaucratize, leading to their success or failure.
- After bureaucratization occurs, a movement can either succeed, fail, have its leaders become co-opted, have its members be repressed by a larger group (e.g. government), or become accepted into the mainstream.
- While a social movement can take a number of different paths, whether or not a movement will ultimately decline varies from movement to movement. Moreover, movement success can often be difficult to define as the goals of a movement may change.

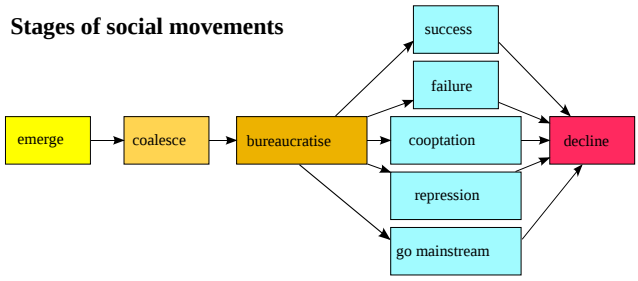
Key Terms

- **cooptation**: A co-opting, or a commandeering, appropriation.
- **Sidney Tarrow**: (1938-present) a professor of political science and sociology, known for his research in the areas of comparative politics, social movements, political parties, collective actions and political sociology.
- **Charles Tilly**: (1929 – 2008) An American sociologist, political scientist and historian who wrote about the relationship between politics and society.

Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people’s participation in public politics. Sidney Tarrow defines a social movement as *collective challenges [to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes] by people with common purposes and solidarityin sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities.* He specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and advocacy groups. The term “social movements” was introduced in 1848 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution* (1848).

Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and, eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

Blumer, Mauss, and Tilly have described the different stages that social movements often pass through (see). Firstly, movements emerge for a variety of reasons (and there are a number of different sociological theories that address these reasons). They then coalesce and develop a sense of coherence in terms of membership, goals and ideals. In the next stage, movements generally become bureaucratized by establishing their own set of rules and procedures. At this point, social movements can then take any number of paths, ranging from success to failure, the cooptation of leaders, repression by larger groups (e.g., government), or even the establishment of a movement within the mainstream.



Adapted from Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978)

Stages of Social Movements: This graph depicts the various stages a social movement can undergo in the course of its development.

Frame analysis, and specifically frame transformation, helps explain why social movements occur in a certain way. The concept dates back to Erving Goffman, and it discuss how new values, new meanings and understandings are required in order to understand and support social movements or changes. In other words, people must *transform* the way they understand a particular social movement to make it fit with conventional lifestyles and rituals.

Whether or not these paths will result in movement decline varies from movement to movement. In fact, one of the difficulties in studying social movements is that movement success is often ill-defined because the goals of a movement can change. For instance, MoveOn.org, a website founded in the late 1990s, was originally developed to encourage national politicians to move past the Clinton impeachment proceedings.

Since that time, the group has developed into a major player in national politics in the U.S. and transformed into a Political Action Committee (PAC). In this instance, the movement may or may not have attained its original goal—encouraging the censure of Clinton and moving on to more pressing issues—but the goals of the movement have changed. This makes the actual stages the movement has passed through difficult to discern.

Relative Deprivation Approach

Social scientists have cited 'relative deprivation' as a potential cause of social movements and deviance.

Learning Objectives

Discuss the concepts of relative and absolute deprivation as they relate to social movements

Key Points

- Relative deprivation is the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes to be entitled. It refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those around them.
- Some scholars of social movements explain their rise by citing grievances of people who feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled. Similarly, individuals engage in deviant behaviors when their means do not match their goals.
- Feelings of deprivation are relative, as they come from a comparison to social norms that are not absolute and usually differ from time and place.
- Critics of this theory have pointed out that this theory fails to explain why some people who feel discontent fail to take action and join social movements.

Key Terms

- **deprivation**: The act of depriving, dispossessing, or bereaving; the act of deposing or divesting of some dignity.
- **relative**: Connected to or depending on something else; not absolute; comparative.

Relative deprivation is the experience of being deprived of something to which one feels to be entitled. It refers to the discontent that people feel when they compare their positions to those around them and realize that they have less of that which they believe themselves to be entitled. Social scientists, particularly political scientists and sociologists, have cited 'relative deprivation' (especially temporal relative deprivation) as a potential cause of social movements and deviance. In extreme situations, it can lead to political violence such as rioting, terrorism, civil wars and other instances of social deviance such as crime.

Some scholars explain the rise of social movements by citing the grievances of people who feel that they have been deprived of values to which they are entitled. Similarly, individuals engage in deviant behaviors when their means do not match their goals.



Cars as luxury: In 1905 cars were a luxury, hence an individual unable to afford one would not feel or be viewed as deprived.

Feelings of deprivation are relative, as they come from a comparison to social norms that are not absolute and usually differ from time and place. This differentiates relative deprivation from objective deprivation (also known as absolute deprivation or absolute poverty), a condition that applies to all underprivileged people. This leads to an important conclusion: while the objective deprivation (poverty) in the world may change over time, relative deprivation will not, as long as social inequality persists and some humans are better off than others. Relative deprivation may be temporal; that is, it can be experienced by people that experience expansion of rights or wealth, followed by stagnation or reversal of those gains. Such phenomena are also known as unfulfilled rising expectations.

Some sociologists—for instance, Karl Polanyi—have argued that relative differences in economic wealth are more important than absolute deprivation, and that this is a more significant determinate of human quality of life. This debate has important consequences for social policy, particularly on whether poverty can be eliminated simply by raising total wealth or whether egalitarian measures are also needed. A specific form of relative deprivation is relative poverty. A measure of relative poverty defines poverty as being below some relative poverty line, such as households who earn less than 20% of the median income. Notice that if everyone's real income in an economy increases, but the income distribution stays the same, the number of people living in relative poverty will not change.

Critics of this theory have pointed out that this theory fails to explain why some people who feel discontent fail to take action and join social movements. Counter-arguments include that some people are prone to conflict-avoidance, are short-term-oriented, or that imminent life difficulties may arise since there

is no guarantee that life-improvement will result from social action.

Resource Mobilization Approach

The resource-mobilization approach is a theory that seeks to explain the emergence of social movements.

Learning Objectives

Use the resource-mobilization theory to explain some of the successful social movements in history, such as the Civil Rights Movement

Key Points

- The resource -mobilization theory asserts that social movements form when people who share grievances are able to mobilize resources and take action.
- This theory places resources at the center of both the emergence and success of social movements.
- In this case, resources include knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from a powerful elite.
- The centrality of resources to the success of social movements explains why some discontented people are able to form movements while others are not.
- This theory has a number of underlying assumptions regarding movement membership, movement organization and broader societal factors that influence movement formation and development.
- This theory has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on resources, particularly financial resources, as the success of some movements depends more on the time and labor of members rather than on money.

Key Terms

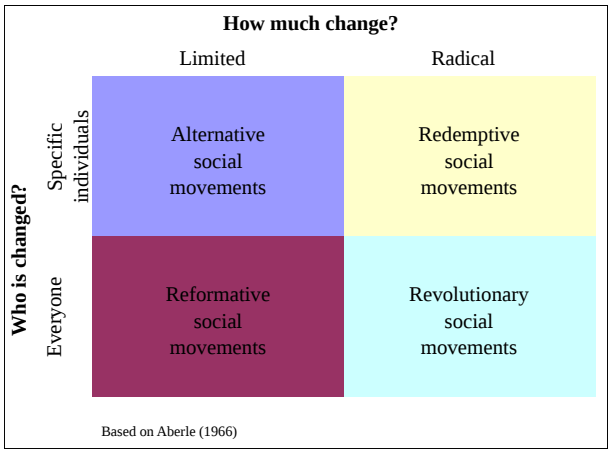
- **opportunity structures**: Exogenous factors which limit or empower collective actors (social movements).
- **grievance**: A complaint or annoyance; also a formal complaint.
- **resource**: Something that one uses to achieve an objective, e.g. raw materials or personnel.

Resource-Mobilization Theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success. Resources are understood here to include: knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from a power elite. The theory argues that social movements develop when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action. The emphasis on resources explains why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organize while others are not. Resource mobilization theory also divides social movements according to their position among other social movements. This helps sociologists understand them in relation to other social movements; for example, how much influence does one theory or movement have on another?

Some of the assumptions of the theory include:

- there will always be grounds for protest in modern, politically pluralistic societies because there is constant discontent (i.e., grievances or deprivation); this de-emphasizes the importance of these factors as it makes them ubiquitous
- actors are rational and they are able to weigh the costs and benefits from movement participation
- members are recruited through networks; commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continuing to nurture interpersonal relationships
- movement organization is contingent upon the aggregation of resources
- social movement organizations require resources and continuity of leadership
- social movement entrepreneurs and protest organizations are the catalysts which transform collective discontent into social movements; social movement organizations form the backbone of social movements
- the form of the resources shapes the activities of the movement (e.g., access to a TV station will result in the extensive use TV media)
- movements develop in contingent opportunity structures, which are external factors that may either limit or bolster the movement, that influence their efforts to mobilize. Examples of opportunity structures may include elements, such as the influence of the state, a movement's access to political institutions, etc. As each movement's response to the opportunity structures depends on the movement's organization and resources, there is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods universal.

Critics of this theory argue that there is too much of an emphasis on resources, especially financial resources. Some movements are effective without an influx of money and are more dependent upon the movement of members for time and labor (e.g., the civil rights movement in the US).



Aberle's Four Types of Social Movements: Resource-Mobilization Theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success.

Gender and Social Movements

The feminist movement refers to a series of campaigns on issues pertaining to women, such as reproductive rights and women's suffrage.

Learning Objectives

Illustrate how the various waves of the feminist movement helped advance women in terms of social status and equality

Key Points

- The feminist movement is divided into three distinct waves, beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing through the late twentieth century.
- First-wave feminism is a period of feminist activity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the UK, USA, Canada, and the Netherlands that focused primarily on women's suffrage.
- Second-wave feminism is a period of feminist activity from the early 1960s through the later 1980s during which time women tied cultural inequalities with political inequalities as a part of their cause.
- Beginning in the early 1990s, third-wave feminism was largely a response to the perceived failures of the second wave feminism.
- The formation of the United Nations and the work it has done regarding advancing women's rights in a variety of contexts and places has added a global dimension to the feminist cause.

Key Terms

- **third-wave feminism**: Third-wave feminism is a term identified with several diverse strains of feminist activity and study, whose exact boundaries in the historiography of feminism are a subject of debate, but are often marked as beginning in the 1980s and continuing to the present. The movement arose as a response to the perceived failures of and backlash against initiatives and movements created by Second-Wave feminism during the 1960s to 1980s, and the realization that women are of "many colors, ethnicities, nationalities, religions and cultural backgrounds. "
- **Second-Wave Feminism**: Second-wave feminism is a period of feminist activity. In the United States it began during the early 1960s and lasted through the late 1990s. It was a worldwide movement that was strong in Europe and parts of Asia, such as Turkey and Israel, where it began in the 1980s, and it began at other times in other countries.
- **First Wave Feminism**: First-wave feminism refers to a period of feminist activity during the 19th and early twentieth century in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands and the United States. It focused on de jure (officially mandated) inequalities, primarily on gaining women's suffrage (the right to vote).
- **feminism**: a social theory or political movement arguing that legal and social restrictions on females must be removed in order to bring about equality of both sexes in all aspects of public and private life

The feminist movement refers to a series of campaigns for reforms on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, women's suffrage, sexual harassment and sexual violence. The movement's priorities vary among nations and communities and range from opposition to female genital mutilation in one country or to the glass ceiling (the barrier that prevents minorities and women from advancing in corporate hierarchies) in another.

First-wave feminism refers to a period of feminist activity during the 19th and early twentieth century in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands and the United States. It focused on de jure (officially mandated) inequalities, primarily on gaining women's suffrage (the right to vote).

Second-wave feminism refers to a period of feminist activity beginning in the early 1960s and through the late 1980s. Second Wave Feminism has existed continuously since then, and continues to coexist with what some people call Third Wave Feminism. Second wave feminism saw cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked. The movement encouraged women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicized, and reflective of a sexist structure of power. If first-wavers focused on absolute rights such as suffrage, second-wavers were largely concerned with other issues of equality, such as the end to discrimination.

Finally, the third-wave of feminism began in the early 1990s. The movement arose as responses to what young women thought of as perceived failures of the second-wave. It was also a response to the backlash against initiatives and movements created by the second-wave. Third-wave feminism seeks to challenge or avoid what it deems the second wave's "essentialist " definitions of femininity, which (according to them) over-emphasized the experiences of upper middle class white women. A post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality is central to much of the third wave's ideology. Third wave feminists often focus on "micropolitics," and challenged the second wave's paradigm as to what is, or is not, good for females.

Global Feminism

Immediately after WWII, a new global dimension was added to the feminist cause through the formation of the United Nations (UN). In 1946 the UN established a Commission on the Status of Women. In 1948 the UN issued its Universal Declaration of Human Rights which protects "the equal rights of men and women", and addressed both equality and equity issues. Since 1975 the UN has held a series of world conferences on women's issues, starting with the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City, heralding the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985). These have brought women together from all over the world and provided considerable opportunities for advancing women's rights, but also illustrated the deep divisions in attempting to apply principles universally, in successive conferences in Copenhagen (1980) and Nairobi (1985). However by 1985 some convergence was appearing. These divisions among feminists included: First World vs. Third World; the relationship between gender oppression and oppression based on class, race and nationality; defining core common elements of feminism vs. specific political elements; defining feminism, homosexuality, female circumcision, birth and population control; the gulf between researchers and the grass roots; and the extent to which political issues were women's issues. Emerging from Nairobi was a realization that feminism is not monolithic but "constitutes the political expression of the concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds. There is and must be a diversity of feminisms, responsive to the different needs and concerns of women, and defined by them for themselves. This diversity builds on a common opposition to gender oppression and hierarchy which, however, is only the first step in articulating and acting upon a political agenda. " The fourth conference was held in Beijing in 1995. At this conference a the Beijing Platform for Action was signed. This included a commitment to achieve " gender equality and the empowerment of women". The most important strategy to achieve this was considered to be "gender mainstreaming " which incorporates both equity and equality, that is that both women and men should "experience equal conditions for realizing their full human rights, and have the opportunity to contribute and benefit from national, political, economic, social and cultural development. "



International Women's Day Rally: International Women's Day rally in Dhaka, Bangladesh, organized by the National Women Workers Trade Union Centre on 8 March 2005.

New Social Movements

New social movements focus on issues related to human rights, rather than on materialistic concerns, such as economic development.

Learning Objectives

Evaluate the significance of new social movements (NSMs), which are more concerned with social and cultural issues, and the implications NSMs have on modern-day society

Key Points

- New social movements (NSMs) are described by a theory regarding social movements which posits that the advent of the post-industrial economy resulted in a new wave of social movements distinct from those social movements arising during the industrial economy.
- In these new social movements, more importance is attached to social and cultural concerns, rather than economic or political considerations.
- Actors in NSMs are from a new middle class, instead of from the lower classes, as was typical of social movements of the industrial economy.
- NSMs consist of informal, loosely organized social networks of supporters rather than members and tend to be locally-based.
- NSMs act as a platform for collective action in civil society or in the cultural domain, rather than as an instrumental tool

for the state. As such, new movements are often considered to be anti-authoritarian.

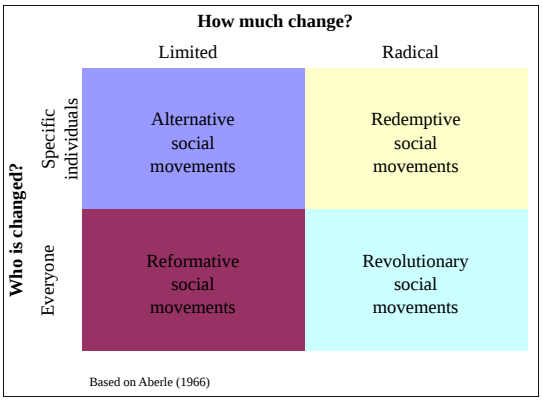
- NSMs are normally centered on a single issue, or a limited range of issues which are related to a broader theme, such as the environment.
- Critiques of NSM theory include the fact that non-materialistic movements existed in the industrial-era and materialistic movements persist in the post-industrial economy; while there are few traits that are specific to new social movements, differences between old and new movements have already been explained by theories preceding NSM; and the NSM does not take into account right-wing movements.

Key Terms

- **human rights**: The basic rights and freedoms that all humans should be guaranteed, such as the right to life and liberty, freedom of thought and expression, and equality before the law.
- **materialistic**: Being overly concerned with material possessions and wealth.
- **new middle class**: The American middle class, at least those living the lifestyle, has become known around the world for conspicuous consumption. To this day, the professional middle class in the United States holds the world record for having the largest homes, most appliances, and most automobiles.

New Social Movements

The term new social movements (NSMs) is a theory of social movements that attempts to explain the plethora of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the mid-1960s (i.e. in a post-industrial economy), which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm.



Aberle's Four Types of Social Movements: The term new social movements (NSMs) is a theory of social movements that attempts to explain the plethora of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the mid-1960s (i.e. in a post-industrial economy), which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm.

There are two central claims of the NSM theory. Firstly, the rise of the post-industrial economy is responsible for a new wave of social movement. Secondly, these movements are significantly different from previous social movements of the industrial economy. The primary difference is in their goals, as the new movements focus not on issues of materialistic qualities such as economic well-being, but on issues related to human rights (such as gay rights or pacifism).

Characteristics

The most noticeable feature of new social movements is that they are primarily social and cultural and only secondarily, if at all, political. Departing from the worker's movement, which was central to the political aim of gaining access to citizenship and representation for the working class, new social movements concentrate on bringing about social mobilization through cultural innovations, the development of new lifestyles, and the transformation of identities. It is clearly elaborated by Habermas that new social movements are the "new politics " which is about quality of life, individual self-realization, and human rights; whereas the "old politics" focused on economic, political, and military security. The concept of new politics can be exemplified in gay liberation, the focus of which transcends the political issue of gay rights to address the need for a social and cultural acceptance of homosexuality. Hence, new social movements are understood as "new," because they are first and foremost social, unlike older movements which mostly have an economic basis.

New social movements also emphasize the role of post-material values in contemporary and post-industrial society, as opposed to conflicts over material resources. According to Melucci, one of the leading new social movement theorists, these movements arise not from relations of production and distribution of

resources, but within the sphere of reproduction and the life world. Consequently, the concern has shifted from the production of economic resources as a means of survival or for reproduction to cultural production of social relations, symbols, and identities. In other words, the contemporary social movements reject the materialistic orientation of consumerism in capitalist societies by questioning the modern idea that links the pursuit of happiness and success closely to growth, progress, and increased productivity and by instead promoting alternative values and understandings in relation to the social world. As an example, the environmental movement that has appeared since the late 1960s throughout the world, with its strong points in the United States and Northern Europe, has significantly brought about a “dramatic reversal” in the ways we consider the relationship between economy, society, and nature.

Further, new social movements are located in civil society or the cultural sphere as a major arena for collective action rather than instrumental action in the state, which Claus Offe characterizes as “bypass[ing] the state. ” Moreover, since new social movements are not normally concerned with directly challenging the state, they are regarded as anti-authoritarian and as resisting incorporation at the institutional level. They tend to focus on a single issue, or a limited range of issues connected to a single broad theme, such as peace or the environment. New social movements concentrate on the grassroots level with the aim to represent the interests of marginal or excluded groups. Therefore, new collective actions are locally based, centered on small social groups and loosely held together by personal or informational networks such as radios, newspapers, and posters. This “local- and issue-centered” characteristic implies that new movements do not necessarily require a strong ideology or agreement to meet their objectives.

Additionally, if old social movements, namely the worker’s movement, presupposed a working class base and ideology, the new social movements are presumed to draw from a different social class base, i.e., “the new class. ” This is a complex contemporary class structure that Claus Offe identifies as “threefold” in its composition: the new middle class, elements of the old middle class, and peripheral groups outside the labor market. As stated by Offe, the new middle class has evolved in association with the old one in the new social movements because of its high levels of education and its access to information and resources. The groups of people that are marginal in the labor market, such as students, housewives, and the unemployed participate in the collective actions as a consequence of their higher levels of free time, their position of being at the receiving end of bureaucratic control, and their inability to be fully engaged in society specifically in terms of employment and consumption.

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