

# Human Arrangements

---

*An Introduction to Sociology*

ALLAN G. JOHNSON



# Human Arrangements

---

*An Introduction to Sociology*

ALLAN G. JOHNSON

Under the General Editorship of  
ROBERT K. MERTON  
*Columbia University*

Copyright © 1986 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Requests for permission to make copies of any part of the work should be mailed to: Permissions, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, Orlando, Florida 32887.

ISBN: 0-15-539765-6

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 85-60876  
Printed in the United States of America

Cover photo © Arthur Fox/Photophile 1985

Text illustrations by Jill Casty

Copyrights and Acknowledgments and Illustration Credits appear on pages 738-40, which constitute a continuation of the copyright page.

# PREFACE

---

## To Students

Like many others, I spent much of my undergraduate career trying to discover what I wanted to do with my life. Although I changed majors several times, I always knew that whatever field I entered would have to appeal to several important sides of me. It would have to be challenging and interesting; it would have to stimulate and increase my ability to understand how things work, to see the ways in which things that appear unconnected are in fact connected and affect one another. Perhaps most important, it would have to involve people: it would have to touch my desire to understand not only my own life, but the lives of others and their relations to one another. As a sociologist, I have been able to do all of these things. As a perspective, sociology has enabled me not simply to make a living, but to live with far more awareness and understanding than I would have had without it.

I hope you will experience this textbook on at least two levels. As a writer, I hope you will enjoy what you read, that the care with which I have tried to shape ideas and experience comes across clearly and draws you in as an active reader; and I hope that the examples and analyses of social life will give you reason to stop and reflect on your own life and the circumstances in which you live it.

As a teacher, I hope you will *use* this book as well as read and enjoy it, that you will learn from it and thereby acquire some of the ability to use sociology that has made it such a satisfying part of my life and the lives of other sociologists. This textbook is intended to be worked with, studied, pondered, and, at times, struggled with. It will challenge you to look at the world from what will probably be a very new per-

spective; to turn the world upside down at times if for no other reason than to get a clearer understanding of what right side up is all about.

Several features of the book were designed to make it more useful to you. Each chapter begins with a detailed table of contents and ends with a summary of major points, a list of key terms, and recommended readings. I suggest you begin each chapter by studying the table of contents and the summary in order to gain an overall sense of what the chapter is about and how it is put together. Each of the key terms is followed by a page number indicating where the term was first introduced and discussed. Together, the table of contents, summary, and list of terms provide an outline for organizing study and review.

You may find several sections at the end of the book useful. The glossary is very extensive and, like the lists of key terms, refers you to the page where each term was first introduced and discussed. The reference list also contains page references to where each book or article is mentioned. This is especially useful if you are trying to locate something written by a frequently cited author. If a term paper is part of the requirements for your course, be sure to read Appendix A.

## To Instructors

At the first meeting of an undergraduate sociology course, I once asked students to take a few moments to write a short paragraph describing sociology as a discipline. For the most part, these students had completed nothing more than an introductory course, and I wanted to get some idea of what I had to work with. None could produce a short, workable defini-



tion of the field. I suspect that too many students leave introductory sociology courses with a great many facts and terms but an unnecessarily fuzzy understanding of what it means to observe and explain the social world in a sociological way. What these students lack is a clear sense that no matter what we look at—from informal interactions among strangers to relationships between large organizations, from the structure of a family to the structure of a world economy—a clear framework exists for defining what makes a problem sociological.

In writing *Human Arrangements*, I had two principal goals: to present sociology so that it makes sense on several different levels, and to do so in a way that is both interesting and challenging on the one hand and accessible to students with a wide range of abilities on the other.

The book is based on a definition of sociology that focuses on three conceptual areas: culture, social structure, and population/ecology. Within this conceptual framework there are, of course, many theoretical frameworks—from major perspectives such as conflict, functional, and symbolic interaction to specific theories such as political process theory in the study of social movements, exchange theory in the study of social interaction, or labeling theory in the study of deviance. Students, then, know from the outset that in order to understand any phenomenon sociologically they must begin by paying attention to its cultural, structural, and population/ecological aspects.

I have organized the book to reinforce this approach to making sense of sociology. The book is divided into six parts, the first of which introduces the field in terms of the major concepts that define the kinds of questions we ask as well as in terms of the research methods we use to look for answers. Part II describes in detail the three major concepts that I have used to define the discipline, providing a clear framework that forms the basis for everything that follows.

The remaining parts then apply the sociological perspective in a systematic way to increasingly larger levels of analysis. Part III, for example, moves from relatively small-scale and simple processes to the more complex and large-scale; Parts IV and V focus on social inequality and social institutions; and Part VI ends with detailed discussions of collective behavior and social change. Thus, the book moves from basic conceptual and theoretical views of the sociological

perspective to increasingly large-scale and complex areas in which to apply it clearly and systematically.

Most instructors will probably want to begin with Part I; but I have tried to write chapters to maximize your flexibility. Chapter 2 ("Research Methods"), for example, can be assigned at any time, since it relies on no previously introduced sociological concepts; and most of the remaining chapters can be assigned in any order that fits the needs of your class.

It is in the internal organization of chapters that the priority of making sense of sociology is, I hope, most apparent. I have organized chapters around the central concepts of culture, structure, and population/ecology as well as important theoretical approaches to specific areas so that students can develop a sense of sociology as a coherent framework of concepts and theories that can be applied to any aspect of social life.

*Human Arrangements* incorporates a number of features designed to make it both more rewarding and easier to use for teachers and students. "Puzzles" are boxed inserts that pose questions intended to stimulate the reader's curiosity and encourage active participation, while "Voices" boxes provide glimpses of social life as it is lived. Throughout the book, figures and tables abound, both to illustrate and to amplify important points. Each chapter ends with a summary, recommended readings, and key terms with page references.

The glossary is exceptionally complete and includes page references to the major discussions of each entry. The reference list is not only unusually thorough, varied, and up-to-date, but also serves as an author index. This gives students not just a string of page numbers after each author's name, but specific page references for each book or article.

A number of ancillaries are available to assist instructors and students. A *Study Guide* written by the author is available to students. Jeffrey Rosenfeld of Nassau Community College has written a *Test Book* which is available both in print and on floppy disk. Arnold Silverman, also of Nassau Community College, has written an *Instructor's Manual*. In addition, we are making available a powerful computer software package developed by James A. Davis of Harvard University and John G. Kemeny of Dartmouth College. Based on a new version of BASIC (True-BASIC), it will allow users of IBM personal computers to perform a variety of statistical analyses on pooled data from the National Opinion Research Cen-

ter's General Social Surveys. It is an easy-to-use (completely menu-driven), powerful resource for instructors and students alike.

Throughout the writing of *Human Arrangements* I have worked from a conviction that in teaching introductory sociology, instructors should not have to choose between being understood by their students on the one hand and exposing students to the richness of sociology on the other. I have tried to write a book that does the essential work of giving students sociological literacy as well as a sense of sociological ideas and analysis—for this is the heart of sociology. This is, then, more than anything, a book about how to observe and think about the world. To do that, of course, students need to know something about how to label what they observe; but our field is far more than a set of descriptive terms. In short, my goal has been to give instructors and their students the best of both worlds—a clear textbook that is relatively easy to teach and learn from and an engaging, challenging, lively, and interesting exploration of the field.

## Special Acknowledgments

I doubt very much that I would have written *Human Arrangements* had it not been for Peter Dougherty, the acquisitions editor at Harcourt Brace Jovanovich who first suggested it. His vision of what this book could be, his fine critical judgment, his unwavering support, and his continuing friendship make him the kind of editor few authors ever have the privilege of working with.

As HBJ's advisory editor in sociology, Robert K. Merton has given this project not only a wealth of knowledge and critical insight, but a deep commitment to making this book the best of its kind. His extraordinary attention to detail, his generosity with both praise and criticism, and his appreciation, respect, and support for the struggles of a writer's life have done much to make this one of the most satisfying intellectual and personal experiences of my life.

Many members of the HBJ staff have made important contributions to this project. Marcus Boggs, although assuming the responsibilities of acquisitions editor two full years after the project's beginning, quickly revealed a depth of understanding and support far greater than I had dared to expect. He has shown an unusual appreciation for the essential nature of both this book and sociology. It was he who suggested the "Puzzles" and "Voices" boxes, and he is

the author of the opening puzzle box in Chapter 1. Unlike most acquisitions editors, he has also played a role in many aspects of the production of the book.

Natalie Bowen brought her dry wit and keen editor's eye to bear on the first dozen chapters and taught me a great deal about writing and editing in the process. As manuscript editor, Michael Werthman did a superb job not only of editing the remaining chapters but of coordinating the extraordinarily complex range of tasks involved in producing a finished book. As production editor, Kate Duffy was responsible for guiding the manuscript into print, and making sure every word was properly rendered; she did her job exceedingly well. Lesley Lenox, the production coordinator, expertly supervised the many phases of typesetting and printing involved in this large, full-color book.

There are more than 300 photographs in *Human Arrangements*. Each was selected from many possible choices, and each shows a kind of attention to detail not often found in textbooks. All of this is primarily the result of Candace Young's work, for it was her responsibility to transform an enormous list of ideas into actual pictures. Her persistence, enthusiasm, and detective's knack for tracking down the most elusive sources has resulted in an unusually effective illustration program.

Michael Yazzolino is responsible for the physical appearance of *Human Arrangements*, from the basic design of the cover, page layouts, and the striking figures and tables to the choice of color. He has had the difficult job of creating a package for someone else's words, and, as you can see, my words were in good hands.

I also want to express my appreciation to others, members of the HBJ staff and outside consultants, whose skills went into this book. They include Alice Harmon, Cheryl Mergenthaler, Susan Pendleton, David Estrada, Jill Casty, Greg Lloyd, James Chadwick, and Catherine Fauver.

As I write these words I am aware of how difficult it is to accurately describe the contributions of each member of HBJ's extraordinary production staff, for through these many months of long-distance telephone calls and overnight mail deliveries the enthusiasm of their teamwork has shown through again and again. If the production of this book reflects a unity of purpose and a sense of shared enthusiasm, it is due in good part to the very special way in which these people have worked together.

Many of my colleagues have helped by sharing their critical insights as reviewers (their names appear in the separate Acknowledgments list). I appreciate their many suggestions and their sensitivity to the particular difficulties involved in writing an introduction to a field as broad and deep as sociology. I want to thank especially Jeffrey Rosenfeld for his many valuable suggestions, the sensitivity of his criticism, and his enduring interest in this project. I also want to express my appreciation to James A. Davis for his many timely efforts on my behalf and to Hubert J. O'Gorman for his invaluable support during my formative years as a sociologist.

Finally, there are those who have contributed to *Human Arrangements* without perhaps even knowing it. Every book flows from the life of its author, and as my life is connected to many others, so this book is connected to many people. Writing is solitary work,

all the more difficult when it takes years to produce a finished product. Throughout this long and difficult process I have been touched by people whose support for my life has supported this work in countless ways: Valdemar, Geraldine, Alice, and Annalee Johnson; Stuart Alpert, Naomi Bressette, George Zepko, Charles Levenstein, Leonard Wallace Robinson, Carol Caputo, Grace Bochain, Brent Harold, Susan Weegar, Ellen Allen, Jan Bidwell, Geoffrey Sandler, Ken Sleight, and Joanne Norton; and above all Nora Jamieson, editor and critic, partner in life, and deepest friend, who has been with me every step of the way. Wherever heart and mind are found working together as one in these pages, there also will be found the mark of these people on my life.

ALLAN G. JOHNSON

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

---

**John W. Bardo**, Southwest Texas State University; **Julie Brown**, University of North Carolina, Greensboro; **Diane M. Bush**, Colorado State University; **Craig Calhoun**, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; **Albin J. Cofone**, Suffolk Community College; **Nick Costa**, Greater Hartford Community College; **Clark A. Davis**, California State University, Chico; **Carolyn Ellis**, University of Southern Florida; **Charles F. Emmons**, Gettysburg College; **Robert Freymeyer**, Presbyterian College; **T. Neal Garland**, University of Akron; **Avrama Gingold**, Intermarket Research, Inc. and The Academic Factor; **Vaughn Grisham**, University of Mississippi; **B. G. Gunter**, University of Southern Florida; **Patricia Gwartney-Gibbs**, University of Oregon; **Kelley Hancock**, Portland State University; **Allen C. Haney**, University of Houston; **Charles Henderson**, Memphis State University; **Donald W. Hinrichs**, Gettysburg College; **Walter Hirsch**, Purdue University; **Eric O. Hoiberg**, Iowa State University; **Joan Huber**, Ohio State University; **Sidney J. Kaplan**, University of Toledo; **Will C. Kennedy**, San Diego State University; **Sally B. Kilgore**, Emory University; **Thomas Koenig**, Northeastern University; **Joel Lapin**, Cantonsville Community

College; **Charles Levenstein**, University of Connecticut, Hartford; **Gary Madsen**, Utah State University; **John Markoff**, University of Pittsburgh; **Stephen L. Markson**, University of Hartford; **Anselyn Marshall**, San Antonio College; **Joseph A. McFalls**, Temple University; **Robert McLaren**, Portland Community College; **Scott G. McNall**, University of Kansas; **Bernard N. Meltzer**, Central Michigan University; **Eleanor M. Miller**, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; **Harvey Molotch**, University of California, Santa Barbara; **Pamela Oliver**, University of Wisconsin, Madison; **Anne K. Peters**, California State University, Dominguez Hills; **Donald R. Ploch**, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; **Jeffrey P. Rosenfeld**, Nassau Community College; **Martin Scheffer**, Boise State University; **Eugen Schoenfeld**, Georgia State University; **Arnold R. Silverman**, Nassau Community College; **Randall Stokes**, University of Massachusetts; **Joseph B. Tamney**, Ball State University; **Edgar Webster**, Oklahoma State University; **Ronald T. Wohlstein**, Eastern Illinois University; **Charlotte Wolf**, Memphis State University; **Thomas J. Yacovone**, Los Angeles Valley College



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

---

Since receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1972, Allan Johnson has taught at Wesleyan University, Harvard University, Dartmouth College, Hartford College for Women, and the University of Connecticut, Hartford.

His professional interests include social stratification, the sociology of gender, research methods and statistics, and demography.

# CONTENTS

---

Preface      iii

## **PART I** **What Sociology Is All About**

### **1 A First Look at Sociology**

*Puzzles: The Search for Answers*      6

#### **A Sociological View of Familiar Worlds**      7

Social Expectations:

How Do We Know Who People Really Are?      7

Social Relationships: Mothers      8

Perspectives: How Did J. J. Riordan Come to Die?      9

*Voices: A Young Poet Chooses Death*      10

*Potlatch: Having Wealth to Burn*      12

*Puzzles: A Self-Survey*      12

Social Identities: Who Do You Think You Are?      12

#### **What Sociology Is All About**      13

Culture      14

Social Structure      15

Ecology      16

The Personal and the Social	18
<b>“Stepping Outside”: A Short Social History of Sociology</b>	<b>19</b>
Sociology's Beginnings: Comte and Spencer	20
Marx and the Conflict Perspective	20
Durkheim and the Functional View	21
<i>Puzzles: Unexpected Consequences</i>	23
Weber and Social Action	23
Simmel and Social Interaction	26
American Sociology	26
The Conflict/Functional Battle	27
On a Smaller Scale:	
Symbolic Interaction and Life as Theater	28
<i>A Summary of Sociological Perspectives:</i>	
<i>The New Bedford Case</i>	29

## 2 Research Methods

<b>Asking Sociological Questions</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>What Do You Want to Know?</b>	<b>34</b>
Variables	35
<i>How to Read a Table</i>	35
Measurement, Meaning, and Validity	36
Reliability	37
Measurement Problems	37
<b>How to Find Out: Designing Research</b>	<b>38</b>
Populations	39
Censuses versus Samples	39
Good Samples and Bad Samples	40
Surveys	41
Case Studies	41
Limitations of Survey Research	42
Experiments	42
Limitations of Experiments	43
The “Real World” as Laboratory	43
Participant Observation	44
Limitations of Participant Observation	45
In-depth Interviews	45

Using What Is Already There: Secondary Analysis	46
Content Analysis	46
Historical Research	47
<b>Interpretation: Using Information to Answer Questions</b>	<b>49</b>
Some Useful Statistics	49
Causal Relationships between Variables	50
Spurious Relationships between Variables	54
Correlation	55
<b>Some Difficulties in Sociological Research</b>	<b>56</b>
Complexity and Objectivity	56
<i>Voices: Sociology as a Humanistic Discipline</i>	57
Ethics, Research, and People's Lives	58

<b>PART II</b>	
<b>The Sociological Framework</b>	
<b>3 Culture</b>	
<b>Symbols, Language, and Meaning</b>	<b>65</b>
Language	67
The Uses of Language	69
<i>Voices: A Family's Language</i>	71
<b>Cultural Ideas</b>	<b>72</b>
Beliefs: The Real and the Unreal	72
Puzzles: What Is a Person?	72

<i>Puzzles: Beliefs versus Reality</i>	73
Cultural Relativism, Subcultures, and Ethnocentrism	73
Values: Shoulds and Shouldn'ts	75
<i>Puzzles: What Gives Something Value?</i>	75
When Values Conflict	76
<i>Puzzles: Is Honesty Always the Best Policy?</i>	76
Norms: Dos and Don'ts	77
Folkways	77
<i>Voices: Minding Your Manners—and Others'</i>	78
Mores and Morality	79
<i>Puzzles: Making Moral Decisions</i>	79
Laws	80
Attitudes: Evaluation and Feeling	81

## **Material Culture: Things from Ideas and Ideas from Things** 82

# **4 Social Structure**

## **The Concept of Social Structure** 87

The Three Aspects of Social Structure	87
Social Statuses and Status Sets	88
<i>Puzzles: What Is Your Racial Status?</i>	89
Roles and Role Sets	90
Defining Situations (and Ourselves)	91
Status Strain and Role Strain	91
Responses to Strain	92
Groups and Nongroups	93

## **Characteristics of Social Structures** 94

Boundaries: Insiders and Outsiders	94
The Clarity of Boundaries	94
The Openness of Boundaries	95
<i>Voices: Belonging to the Old Boy Network</i>	96
Structuring Time	96
Role Structures: Who's Who	98
<i>Voices: Who's Who in Prison Society</i>	99
Structures of Affection: Mapping Friendship	100



Power Structures	100
Communication Structures	102
Primary and Secondary Relationships	103
Formal and Informal Relationships	103
Bureaucracy	105
Institutions: Enduring Social Structures	105
<b>Structures within Structures</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>5 Population and Ecology</b>	
<b>POET</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Population and Demography</b>	<b>114</b>
Births: Adding People	115
Deaths: Losing People	117
The Rate of Natural Increase	119
The Demographic Transition and the Economics of Childbearing	121
Migration: Gains and Losses	123
Age Structures	125
Birth Cohorts	126
Population Size and Distribution	127
<b>Physical Environments</b>	<b>127</b>
Land, Water, and Air	127
Varieties of Life	129
<b>Organization: Ecosystems and Niches</b>	<b>130</b>
<i>Puzzles: Why Are Cows Sacred in India     but Raised for Slaughter in the U.S.?</i>	131
<b>Technology</b>	<b>131</b>
Preindustrial Societies	132
Horticultural Societies	132
<i>Puzzles: Which Came First,     the King or the Plow?</i>	132
Agrarian Societies	133
The Industrial Revolution	134
<i>Voices: This Land Belongs to You and Me     —An Antipollution Lawyer Speaks Out</i>	135
<b>Too Many People?</b>	<b>136</b>

# PART III

## Social Organization

### 6 Socialization

*Puzzles: Which Baby Grew Up to Be  
Which Adult?* 144

*Who the Babies Grew Up to Be* 146

**Genes and the False Debate of “Nature versus Nurture”** 146

**The Importance of Human Contact** 146

**Some Theories about Learning** 148

The Behavioral Approach and Albert’s Rabbit 148

Models and Social Learning 149

Learning to Think 150

**Becoming Social Actors** 151

Language 151

Cultural Ideas 152

Socialization and Social Structure 153

Id, Ego, and Superego 153

“I,” “Me,” “Others,” and “Mind” 154

Statuses and Roles 156

Self-Concepts and Self-Esteem 157

The Self in Social Mirrors 157

Social Identities 160

Ideals, Self-Esteem, and Reference Groups 162

**Socialization and the Life Course** 165

Rites of Passage 165

*Puzzles: Are You a Child or an Adult?* 166

Socialization in Families 166

Birth Order 166

Socialization in Schools 167

Peer Groups 168

The Importance of the Media	169
It Never Ends: Adult Socialization	170
Paper Chases and Professional Training	170
<i>Voices: Professional Socialization—</i>	
<i>Learning about Death</i>	170
Starting Out: The Twenties	171
Decision Time: The Thirties	171
Mid-Life Crises: The Forties and Fifties	172
Learning to Grow Old	172

## **Socialization and Freedom** 172

# **7 Social Interaction**

## **Action and Interaction** 177

Visibility: Seeing and Being Seen	178
Culture, Social Structure, and Perception	179
Stereotypes	179
Defining the Situation	180
Social Attribution	181
Social Boundaries	182
<i>Voices: Defending Your Personal Boundaries While Banking</i>	184
Power and Social Interaction	186
<i>Puzzles: When Is Rape Not a Crime?</i>	187
<i>Voices: A Victim of Power Inequalities</i>	187
Microecology	190
Numbers Count	190
Space and Social Interaction	191

## **The Dramaturgical Approach: Interaction as Theater** 193

## **Functions and Conflict: Interaction as Exchange** 197

Exchange Theory	197
Competition, Cooperation, and Exploitation:	
The "Prisoner's Dilemma"	198
<i>Puzzles: Facing the Prisoner's Dilemma</i>	198

## **Interaction as a Balancing Act** 200

<i>Puzzles: Adopting New Attitudes and Allegiances</i>	202
--	-----

## **Personal Identity: Authenticity and Consistency** 202



# 8 Groups and Formal Organizations

*Puzzles: What Kept the Wehrmacht Going?* 207

## The Sociological Importance of Groups 207

### Group Culture 208

Group Norms 208

Pressures to Conform 208

### The Social Structure of Groups 210

Boundaries: Members and Nonmembers 211

Time, Space, and Boundaries 211

Clarity and Openness 211

Voluntary and Involuntary Membership 212

In-Groups and Out-Groups 212

Role Structures and Structures of Affection 213

Power and Leadership 214

When Are Leaders Necessary? 216

Where Do Leaders Come From? 216

The Power of Groups 217

Distributing Respect: Prestige Structures 218

Who Talks to Whom: Structures of Communication 218

Ties That Bind: Primary and Secondary Groups 219

Formal and Informal Groups 220

Bureaucracies 220

*Voices: An Encounter with Bureaucracy* 221

The Birth of a Bureaucracy 222

### Population, Ecology, and Groups 224

Group Size 224

*Puzzles: Are Two Heads Better than One?*

*Are They Twice As Good?* 224

Space and Social Structure 225

### What Goes On: Group Process 225

Group Process and Changing Power Structures 226

Powerful Combinations: Coalitions 227

Getting the Job Done: Explaining Group Effectiveness 229

Individual versus Group Effectiveness 229

Effectiveness and Group Culture 230

Effectiveness and Group Size 231