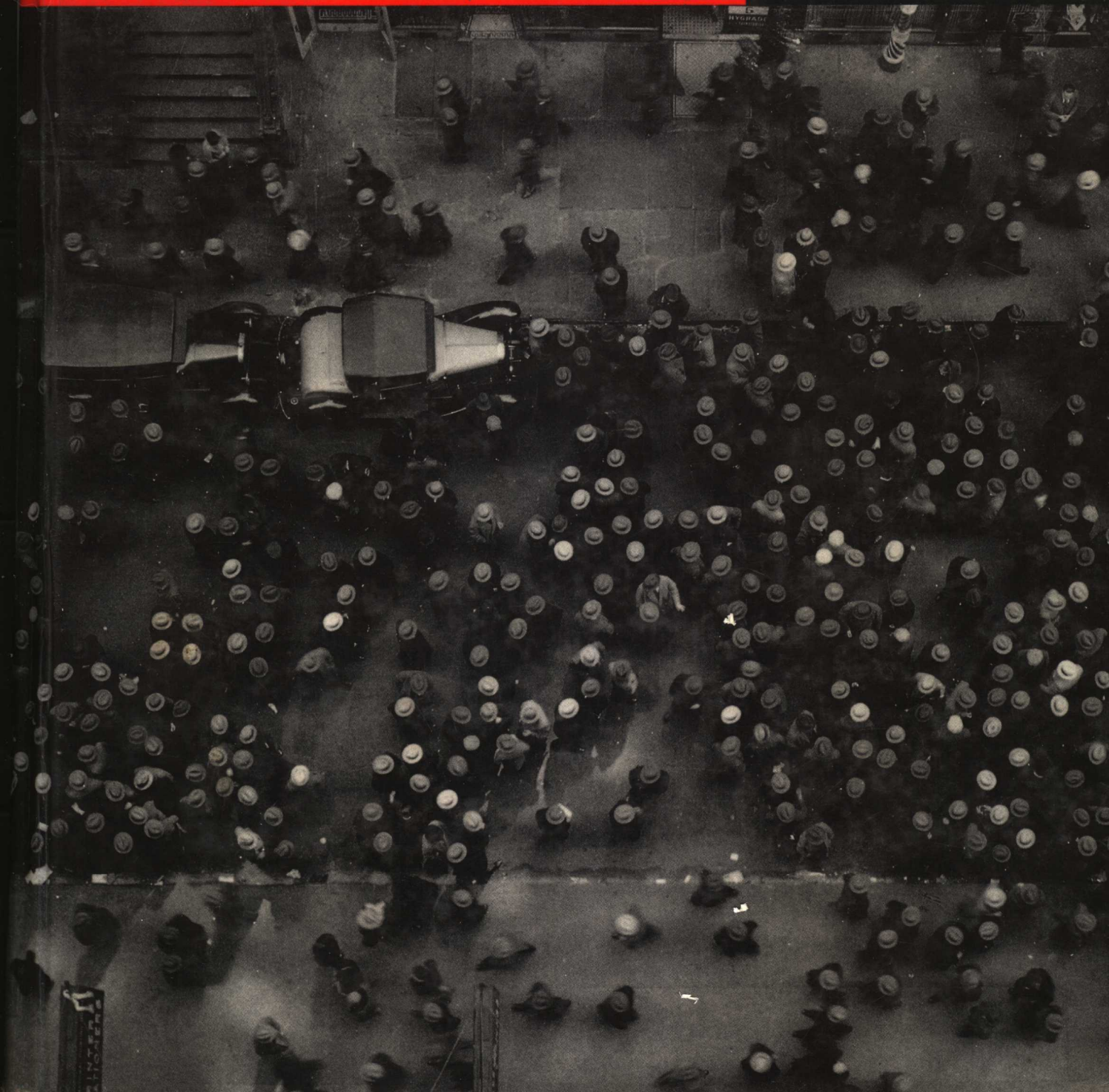


# SOCIOLOGY

RODNEY STARK

FOURTH EDITION



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F O U R T H   E D I T I O N

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# Sociology

Rodney Stark

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### About the Author

Rodney Stark grew up in Jamestown, North Dakota, and received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, where he held appointments as a research sociologist at the Survey Research Center and the Center for the Study of Law and Society. He subsequently became Professor of Sociology and of Comparative Religion at the University of Washington. In 1990 he became scholar-in-residence of the MicroCase Corporation, creators of software for the social sciences. He is the author of fourteen books and scores of scholarly articles on subjects as diverse as prejudice, crime, suicide, and British politics. However, the greater part of his work has been on religion and especially on religious movements. He is a past president of the Association for the Sociology of Religion. In 1986 the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion conferred its Distinguished Book Award upon *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation*, coauthored with William Sims Bainbridge. His most recent book, *The Churching of America: 1776–1990*, coauthored with Roger Finke, will appear in 1992.

### About the Cover

The purpose of an introductory sociology textbook is to encourage readers to view human behavior in terms of groups rather than individuals. That's not something most people do very often, and it requires us to take an unusual angle of vision. Therefore, this picture taken by the famous photographer Margaret Bourke-White for *Fortune* in April 1930 is an ideal cover for the book. It really isn't possible to focus on individuals among this crowd of New York City garment workers on their lunch break. But, as we view the workers from above, we can learn much about them. For one thing, it is obvious that in this era garment workers regarded a hat as an essential part of proper attire. Notice too that people aren't just scattered at random—there are many conversational clusters. And despite the two parked cars, these people do not anticipate any vehicular traffic during their noon break, for they appear to use sidewalks for walking and the street for standing. In this book you will be placed in many similar vantage points as we explore the sociological perspective.

## P R E F A C E

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**P**ERHAPS THE single most important thing about scientific fields, whether in the social or natural sciences, is that nothing is ever final and certain—all of our knowledge comes with an implicit label: *Good only until further notice*. An excellent example of further notice now can be found in Chapter 2, Concepts for Social and Cultural Theories. In the first three editions, the comparison of cultural and social theories of ethnic mobility ended with Stephen Steinberg's conclusion that the upward mobility of Jewish immigrants *only seemed* much faster than other groups such as the Italians. By examining data from the Russian census he demonstrated that before coming to America, Jews were already of substantially higher status than were other immigrant groups. This left the "social theory" of ethnic mobility the clear winner over the "cultural theory," which identified aspects of Jewish culture as the basis of their rapid upward mobility.

However, for readers of the fourth edition, the story no longer ends here. The addition of a lengthy "Closer View" based on research by Joel Perlmann constitutes further notice that culture matters after all. By reconstructing an extraordinary statistical portrait of ethnicity and status in the city of Providence, Rhode Island, at the turn of the century, Perlmann shows that background advantages account for only part of the upward mobility of Jews. He finds that cultural factors also played a major role.

And that's why textbooks need frequent revision. I have updated and replaced portions of every chapter with newer, better material.

The need to update also gives an author an opportunity to make more basic changes. Thus, when

I wrote the third edition of this book I was able to add Chapter 12, Gender and Inequality. In writing this fourth edition I have been able to do one entirely new chapter and to add a major component that shows up in a number of chapters.

For the first three editions, the last chapter, on social movements, was one written by my friend and colleague William Sims Bainbridge. I am very grateful to him for lending me his help back in 1984, when I was rushing to complete the first edition. By this edition it was clear that Bill's chapter needed a great deal of updating, and it seemed time for me to write my own chapter on the topic. Last year, as I considered what a new chapter on social movements should be like, Jackson Toby, one of the distinguished sociologists who use the textbook, suggested that I could teach students the sociology of social movements, and at the same time educate them about the rise of the Civil Rights Movement.

My first reaction was that the topic was too big. But the more I thought about it, the more I liked Jackson's suggestion. Moreover, during the past several years there has been a flood of truly wonderful historical and sociological books published about the Civil Rights Movement during the 1950s and 1960s. In the end I decided to focus on two very specific moments and movements, the first because of its extraordinary significance and the second because of the quality of sociological research done on it.

Thus, the first half of the chapter analyzes the Montgomery bus boycott. We board the bus with Mrs. Rosa Parks and follow her to jail. We see how the boycott plan was initiated and how a somewhat reluctant 26-year-old Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.,

was persuaded to lead the movement. Keeping a tight focus on events in Montgomery has several advantages. The history of this time and place is superbly documented. Consequently, I am able to provide readers with compelling details that also help to illuminate the sociology of social movements.

The second half of the chapter traces the history of the Freedom Summer project of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, which in 1964 brought a thousand students from elite northern colleges and universities to Mississippi, where they attempted to register black voters. Students learn about the violent response by many Mississippi whites to this "invasion by outside agitators"—violence that resulted in many beatings and bombings and four murders. Then, readers look over the shoulder of Doug McAdam as he conducts a major study to determine what factors caused students to take part in Freedom Summer and then to see what happened to the participants in the ensuing 20 years.

The second major addition to the book is coverage of rapidly growing Hispanic-American groups. I had wanted to add this material for some time, but most of the available data lumped all Hispanics into a common category. Fortunately, that has changed. For the past several years the Bureau of the Census has been conducting large annual survey studies that, for the first time, make it possible to contrast the three major Hispanic groups: Americans of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban descent. These data show that differences among the three groups are so substantial that discussions limited to "Hispanic-Americans" are very misleading. From consultation with Dr. Jorge del Pinal, Chief of the Ethnic and Hispanic Statistics Branch of the Bureau of the Census, I have been able to include accurate information about these three Hispanic-American groups in many chapters, especially Chapters 11, Intergroup Conflict; 12, Gender and Inequality; and 16, The Interplay Between Education and Occupation.

As noted in previous editions, I am overwhelmed by the generosity of my colleagues across North America, who have volunteered so many useful suggestions. I already have mentioned that Jackson Toby suggested how I could rewrite Chapter 21, but many others have offered valuable, unsolicited advice as well. I thank each of you for taking the time to write.

However, if I was surprised by the supportive and valuable mail I received from sociologists, I remain absolutely astonished at the number of students who write me. It seems clear from their comments that the reasons hundreds of them have written is because the "over-the-shoulder" style lets students recognize that sociology is a *human activity* and that by writing to me they can participate. Not only have I greatly enjoyed these letters but several brought new material to my attention—one letter even caused me to write an entirely new chapter for the third edition.

I think this level of student response justifies my initial decision to break some norms of college textbook writing. Most textbooks take pains to sound as if they had no authors but were composed during endless committee meetings. Moreover, human beings are equally indistinct within most texts; the books present a field as consisting mainly of printed matter—of papers and books, of principles and findings. This misleads students about the real nature of scholarly disciplines, which consist not of paper but of people. Moreover, a Nobel laureate once told me that if, after the first ten minutes of the first day of introductory physics, his students didn't know that people go into science primarily because it's fun, he would consider himself a failure as a teacher.

So this is a book with a voice, in which a sociologist addresses students directly and describes the activities of a bunch of living, breathing, human beings who are busy being sociologists for the fun of it. Moreover, it attempts to show students that the single most important scientific act is not to propose answers but to ask questions—to *wonder*. As I let students look over the shoulders of sociologists, be they Emile Durkheim or Kingsley Davis, I want students to first see them wondering—asking *why* something is as it is. Then I want students to see how they searched for and formulated an answer. For, as an advertising copywriter might put it, I want students to realize that *sociology* can be a verb as well as a noun.

### A Comparative Emphasis

When we try to teach sociology using only American data and examples, students have difficulty telling social science from journalism. That is, they



often confuse explanation with description. Use of comparative data from many societies lets us display sociology as science, for then we can show that when a particular set of factors exists in any society the results are the same. For example, ethnic conflict and prejudice in Canada help students see the same fundamental social dynamics at work there as in the United States. Indeed, for many comparative purposes Canadian examples are particularly useful because the societies are so similar in some ways, and students can learn much from both the similarities and the differences. Thus, there is a lot of Canadian material in the book, but I have made considerable use of other comparative materials as well. For example, I think it helpful for students to discover that the U.S. burglary rate is about average among industrialized nations and that Evangelical Protestant groups are growing very rapidly in Latin America for many of the same reasons they are growing in North America.

I also have drawn extensively on the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample, the data set containing 186 premodern societies first assembled by George Peter Murdock and Douglas R. White. The data are based on coding more than a century of anthropological fieldwork and are in many ways the best data available for testing macro sociological theories.

### Point of View and Approach

Sociologists considering a textbook often ask what “kind” or “brand” of sociology it reflects. What are the author’s theoretical and methodological commitments? I find some difficulty framing a satisfactory answer to such questions, because I don’t think I have a brand. First of all, my fundamental commitment is to sociology as a social science. Hence, I want to know how societies work and why, not to document a perspective. Moreover, in constructing sociological theories I am a dedicated, even reckless, eclectic. Competing theoretical sociologies persist, in part, not only because they tend to talk past one another but also because each can explain some aspect of social life better than the others can. Therefore, in my own theoretical writing I tend to take anything that seems to work from whatever school can provide it. The textbook does much the same, but with care to point out which elements are being drawn from which theoretical tradition.

I also have not written a book that favors either *micro* or *macro* sociology. Both levels of analysis are essential to any adequate sociology. Where appropriate, the chapters are structured to work from the micro to the macro level of analysis. And the book itself works from the most micro topics to the most macro.

Methodologically the text is equally eclectic. In my own research I have pursued virtually every known technique — participant observation, survey research, historical and comparative analysis, demography, human ecology, even experiments. My belief, made clear in the book, is that theories and hypotheses determine what methods are appropriate (within practical and moral limits). That is why there is not one chapter devoted to methods and one devoted to theory. Instead, Chapter 3 first introduces basic elements of micro theories and then demonstrates how such theories are tested through experiments and participant observation. Chapter 4 introduces social structure within the context of survey research methods. The chapter then assesses basic elements of major macro schools of sociological theory and concludes with an extended example of testing macro theories through comparative research using societies as the units of analysis. Throughout the book, the interplay of theory and research is not asserted but *demonstrated*. No sooner do readers meet a theory than they see it being tested.

Countless publishers have stressed to me that introductory sociology textbooks, unlike texts in other fields, must *not* have an integrated structure. Because sociologists, I am told, have idiosyncratic, fixed notions about the order of chapters, books must easily permit students to read them in any order. That would be a poor way to use this book. The fact is that later chapters build on earlier ones. To do otherwise would have forced me to eliminate some of sociology’s major achievements or else to write a redundant book that repeats itself each time basic material is elaborated or built upon. Clearly, some jumping around is possible — the institutions chapters work well enough in any order (and could even be omitted without harming subsequent chapters) — but the basic ordering of the major parts of the book is organic. Thus, for example, the chapter on socialization expands upon material already presented in the biology chapter. And the discussion of theories of intergroup relations included in Chapter 11 is basic to the examination of models of urban

segregation taken up in Chapter 19. In my judgment textbooks can only be highly flexible at the risk of being superficial (imagine a chemistry book with chapters that could be read in any order).

### Study Aids

To assist readers, each chapter ends with a complete review glossary that includes concepts and principles. For example, the glossary for the population chapter includes not only concepts such as “birth cohort” or “crude birth rate” but also a succinct restatement of “Malthusian theory” and of “demographic transition theory.” The glossary is ordered in the same way as the chapters, so it serves to summarize and review the chapter.

Boxed inserts of side material have become a standard feature of leading sociology texts. I decided against them. First of all, if the material is worth including, it belongs in the body of the chapter. Placed in a box, the material breaks the narrative flow of the chapter and often gets skipped.

In six instances, however, I have included brief essays—minichapters identified as Special Topics. I did this because I wanted to amplify and apply materials from several chapters to give them extra emphasis.

Anyone who reads all of the books and articles recommended for further reading at the end of each chapter will know a lot of sociology. To choose them I asked myself what I had read that was of broad interest and had helped me to write the chapter. Obviously I did not think anyone would rush out and read them all. But students attracted by a particular topic may find useful follow-up reading provided in these suggestions. I also have found these works useful in composing lectures.

### ShowCase® Presentational Software and Instructor's Resource Book

*Demonstrating Sociology*, the instructor's resource book distributed with the first edition, was a major departure from the materials offered with other sociology textbooks. It was a first attempt to provide sociologists with a set of classroom demonstrations of the sort that accompany textbooks in the natural sciences. Any chemist, for example, even one teaching in a rundown high school, can go to the front of

the classroom and *do* chemistry. I want to make it possible for any sociologist to go to the front of the classroom and *do* sociology.

To facilitate these goals I have prepared 60 demonstrations based on statistical analysis of ecological and survey data, all ready for you to use in class. Each is linked to a chapter and expands on material in the chapter. Most of these demonstrations are based on two applications of ShowCase Presentational Software, which are provided free of charge with the book of demonstrations found in the Instructor's Resource Book. These ShowCases allow you to do real sociological analysis, live, at the front of your classroom. One ShowCase includes three ecological data sets: the 50 United States, the Canadian Provinces and Territories, and the City of Seattle (based on census tracts). The second ShowCase includes 55 selected variables for all 1,470 cases from the 1986 General Social Survey.

These are the same ShowCases that were distributed with the third edition. The reason they were not updated is simple. Since the results of the 1990 American and 1991 Canadian censuses are not yet available, it seemed unwise to update other variables in the ecological data sets, thus separating them by a decade from the census variables. And given that we could not yet update the ecological data, there seemed no urgent reason to switch to a more recent General Social Survey—all the demonstrations come out the same in the 1990 data anyway. For the fifth edition there will be a substantial upgrade in the ShowCase software as well as an updating of the data.

For schools with adequate computer facilities so that students can have individual access, I have prepared *Student ShowCase: A Computer-Based Introduction to Sociology*, available from Wadsworth Publishing Company. The student exercises parallel the textbook and fit snugly with the front-of-the-classroom demonstrations. This student package includes a workbook and a diskette containing both an ecological and a survey ShowCase. The exercises often allow students to test a hypothesis at both the ecological and the individual level.

### Instructor's Manual with Test Items

For the last edition, the demonstrations using ShowCase were included in the same volume as were additional materials to help instructors. For



this edition, Lawrence Mencotti of Edinboro University and Peter Lehman of the University of Southern Maine have created a separate Instructor's Manual with Test Items, which is available separately to all instructors. In addition to summaries of the pedagogical goals of each chapter, the Instructor's Manual with Test Items contains topics for class discussion and suggests materials that could be turned into lectures—a rich assortment of “good stuff.”

Testing is a neglected subject in graduate education that receives precious little space even in *Teaching Sociology*. Yet it is one of the most important things we do. For this reason I am very grateful that so talented a teacher as Peter Lehman agreed to develop an entirely new Test Bank for the fourth edition. In addition to questions based on the textbook, he has included some questions based on ShowCase demonstrations (as requested by so many users).

### Other Supplements

As for the previous editions, Carol Mosher of Jefferson County Community College in Louisville, Kentucky, has prepared a Study Guide for students. It begins with practical suggestions on studying a text, effective test taking, and essay tests. Each chapter of the Study Guide begins with an overview of the text chapter and narrative summary of major topics, followed by lists of key concepts (with accompanying text page numbers), key research studies discussed, key figures (and their contributions), and key theories. These sections help students identify and focus on what they need to study and remember. They can then follow up their review with multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, and sample essay questions that dovetail with, but do not duplicate, the test items included in the Text Bank.

### Acknowledgments

Projects such as this depend on many people. My debts to Lynne Roberts, president of MicroCase Corporation, and to her staff can only be expressed, not repaid. Margaret Moore, the copy editor, got everything right while respecting my prose style. Capt. R. K. Clancy proved to be a fine replacement

for the late William Katz in helping me select the right pictures. Once again Sandra Craig deftly made it all happen on time. And I am extremely pleased with the crisp new look that Kaelin Chappell has brought to the design.

I am especially indebted to all of my colleagues who devoted time and effort to assessing portions of the manuscript.

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## BRIEF CONTENTS

---

**Chapter 1** Groups and Relationships:  
A Sociological Sampler 3

### PART I

---

**The Sociological Process:  
An Overview of Concepts, Theories, and  
Research Methods 31**

**Chapter 2** Concepts for Social and  
Cultural Theories 37

**Chapter 3** Micro Sociology:  
Testing Interaction Theories 69

**Chapter 4** Macro Sociology:  
Testing Structural Theories 91

**Special Topic 1** Correlation and Sampling 111



### PART II

---

**Individuals and Groups 119**

**Chapter 5** Biology, Culture, and Society 121

**Chapter 6** Socialization and Social Roles 145

**Chapter 7** Deviance and Conformity 171

**Chapter 8** Social Control 203

### PART III

---

**Stratification and Conflict 227**

**Chapter 9** Concepts and Theories of  
Stratification 229

**Chapter 10** Comparing Systems of  
Stratification 251

**Special Topic 2** Aspects of Income Inequalities  
in America 273

**Chapter 11** Intergroup Conflict:  
Racial and Ethnic Inequality 283

**Special Topic 3** Minorities and Stardom 327

**Chapter 12** Gender and Inequality 333



## PART IV

### Social Institutions 371

**Chapter 13** The Family 373

**Special Topic 4** The Older Family 398

**Chapter 14** Religion 405

**Chapter 15** Politics and the State 433

**Chapter 16** The Interplay Between Education and Occupation 465

## PART V

### Change 493

**Chapter 17** Social Change and Modernization 495

**Special Topic 5** Stirrups and Feudal Domination 518

**Chapter 18** Population Changes 523

**Special Topic 6** The Life Cycle of the Baby Boom 551

**Chapter 19** Urbanization 557

**Chapter 20** The Organizational Age 587

**Chapter 21** Social Change and Social Movements 611

**Epilogue** Becoming a Sociologist 633



**References** 638

**Illustration Credits** 656

**Name Index** 659

**Subject Index / Glossary** 665

---

# CONTENTS

---

## Preface xviii

## Chapter 1

---

### **Groups and Relationships: A Sociological Sampler 3**

- Chapter Preview 6
- What Is Sociology? 7
- Groups: The Sociological Subject 10
  - Dyads and Triads* 10
  - Networks* 12
  - Primary and Secondary Groups* 13
- Can Sociology Be Scientific? 15
- Studying Self-Aware Subjects 16
  - Unobtrusive Measures* 16
  - Validation* 17
- It's a Small World: Studying Networks 20
  - Mass Society Theories* 21
  - A Closer View: Milgram's Method* 22
  - Exploring Parallel Networks* 23
  - A Closer View: Canadian Callers* 23
- Bias 24
- The Origins of Social Science and Sociology 24
- Free Will and Social Science 26
- Conclusion 28
- Review Glossary 28
- Suggested Readings 29

## PART I

---

### **The Sociological Process: An Overview of Concepts, Theories, and Research Methods 31**

- Review Glossary 34

## Chapter 2

---

### **Concepts for Social and Cultural Theories 37**

- Chapter Preview 38
- Society and Culture 38
  - The Concept of Society* 39
  - The Concept of Culture* 40
- Concepts for Social Analysis 41
  - Stratification Concepts* 41
  - Conflict Concepts* 42
- Concepts for Cultural Analysis 42
  - Values and Norms* 42
  - Roles* 42
  - Assimilation and Accommodation* 43
  - Cultural Pluralism and Subcultures* 45
- Jews and Italians in North America 46
  - Prejudice and Discrimination* 46
  - Assimilation and Accommodation of Jews and Italians* 50

Theorizing About Ethnic Mobility 50

The Cultural Theory 51

*A Closer View: Zborowski and Herzog:  
Jewish Culture* 52

*A Closer View: Leonard Covello:  
Italian Culture* 53

*The Social Theory* 56

*A Closer View: Stephen Steinberg:  
The Jewish Head Start* 56

*A Closer View: Joel Perlmann:  
A New Synthesis* 59

*Reference Groups and Italian  
Traditionalism* 62

Conclusion 66

Review Glossary 66

Suggested Readings 67

## Chapter 3

### Micro Sociology:

#### Testing Interaction Theories 69

Chapter Preview 71

Rational Choice Theories in Social Science 71

Interaction Theories 72

Symbolic Interaction: Cooley and Mead 74

Interaction Patterns:

Attachments and Norms 76

*Attachments* 77

*Norms* 78

Theory Testing: Measurement and Research 78

Criteria of Causation 79

*Correlation* 79

*Time Order* 79

*Nonspuriousness* 80

A Closer View: Experimental Research 80

Experiments and Causation 82

*Randomization* 82

*Time Order* 83

*Correlation* 83

*Significance* 83

A Closer View: Field Observation Research 84

Replication 87

Conclusion 87

Review Glossary 88

Suggested Readings 89

## Chapter 4

### Macro Sociology:

#### Testing Structural Theories 91

Chapter Preview 92

A Closer View: Survey Research 92

*Spuriousness* 94

*Conflicting Results* 95

From Micro to Macro:

Adjusting the Theory 95

Social Structures and Social Systems 97

*Social Structures* 98

*Interdependence Among Structures* 99

*Equilibrium and Change* 100

Macro Sociological Theories 100

*Functionalism* 101

*Social Evolution* 102

*Conflict Theories* 104

Comparative Research 104

*A Closer View: Jeffery Paige:*

*Violent and Peaceful Primitives* 105

Conclusion 109

Review Glossary 109

Suggested Readings 110

## Special Topic 1

### Correlation and Sampling 111

Random Samples 116

Stratified Random Samples 117

## PART II

### Individuals and Groups 119

#### Chapter 5

#### Biology, Culture, and Society 121

Chapter Preview 123

Heredity 124

Behavioral Genetics 125

The Growth Revolution 127

*Environmental Suppressors* 128

The IQ and Race Controversy 129

*A Closer View: Arthur Jensen Drops a Bomb* 132

*A Closer View: Thomas Sowell Solves the Puzzle* 132

Humans and Other Animals 134

*A Closer View: Jane Goodall's Great Adventure* 135

*Nonhuman Language* 138

*A Closer View: Washoe Learns to Sign* 139

*Animal Societies* 141

Conclusion 142

Review Glossary 142

Suggested Readings 143

#### Chapter 6

#### Socialization and Social Roles 145

Chapter Preview 146

Biophysical Development 146

Cognitive Development 148

*A Closer View: Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Stages* 148

*A Closer View: Brown and Bellugi: Language Acquisition* 151

*Interaction and Cognitive Development* 152

Emotional Development 153

Emergence of the Self 153

Personality Formation 154

Culture and Personality 155

Differential Socialization 159

*A Closer View: Melvin Kohn:*

*Occupational Roles and Socialization* 160

*A Closer View: Erving Goffman:*

*Performing Social Roles* 163

Self-Conceptions and Roles 165

Sex-Role Socialization 165

*A Closer View: DeLoache, Cassidy, and Carpenter: Baby Bear Is a Boy* 166

*A Closer View: Stephen Richer:*

*Games and Gender* 167

Conclusion 168

Review Glossary 168

Suggested Readings 169

#### Chapter 7

#### Deviance and Conformity 171

Chapter Preview 171

Biological Theories of Deviance 173

*"Born Criminals"* 174

*Behavioral Genetics* 174

*A Closer View: Walter Gove:*

*Age, Gender, Biology, and Deviance* 175

*A Closer View: Personality Theory* 177

Deviant Attachments 179

*Differential Association —*

*Social Learning* 180

*Subcultural Deviance* 181

Structural Strain Theory 182

*"White-Collar" Crime* 184

Control Theory 187

*Attachments* 188

*Investments* 189

*Involvements* 189

*Beliefs* 189

*A Closer View: Linden and Fillmore:*

*A Comparative Study of Delinquency* 190



## Anomie and the Integration of Societies 192

*A Closer View: Social Integration  
and Crime* 194

*A Closer View: Moral Integration  
and Crime* 194

A Closer View: Reconceptualizing  
Deviance 195

## The Labeling Approach to Deviance 197

## Conclusion 198

## Review Glossary 199

## Suggested Readings 200

**Chapter 8****Social Control 203**

## Chapter Preview 203

## Informal Control 204

*A Closer View: Group Pressure* 204  
*Cohesiveness* 206

*A Closer View: Group Responses to  
Deviance* 206

## Formal Control 207

## Prevention 207

*A Closer View: The Cambridge-Somerville  
Experiment* 208

*Other Prevention Programs* 210

## Deterrence 212

*A Closer View: Jack Gibbs:  
A Theory of Deterrence* 213

*The Capital Punishment Controversy* 215

## The Wheels of Justice 217

*The Police* 217

*The Courts* 218

## Reform and Resocialization 219

*A Closer View: Salaries for Ex-Convicts:  
The TARP Experiment* 222

## Conclusion 224

## Review Glossary 224

## Suggested Readings 225

**P A R T I I I****Stratification and Conflict 227****Chapter 9****Concepts and Theories of  
Stratification 229**

## Chapter Preview 229

## Conceptions of Social Class 229

## Marx's Concept of Class 230

*The Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat* 230

*Class Consciousness and Conflict* 231

*Economic Dimension of Class* 232

## Weber's Three Dimensions 232

*Property* 233

*Prestige* 233

*Power* 234

## Status Inconsistency 234

## Social Mobility 236

*Rules of Status:*

*Ascription and Achievement* 236

*Structural and Exchange Mobility* 237

## Marx and the Classless Society 239

*Dahrendorf's Critique* 241

*Mosca: Stratification Is Inevitable* 241

The Functionalist Theory  
of Stratification 242

*Replaceability* 243

*A Toy Society* 243

The Social Evolution Theory  
of Stratification 244

## The Conflict Theory of Stratification 245

*Exploitation* 245

*The Politics of Replaceability* 246

## Conclusion 247

## Review Glossary 247

## Suggested Readings 248

## Chapter 10

### Comparing Systems of Stratification 251

Chapter Preview 251

Simple Societies 251

Agrarian Societies 256

*Productivity* 256

*Warfare* 257

*Surplus and Stratification* 257

*Military Domination* 258

*Culture and Ascriptive Status* 259

Industrial Societies 260

*Industrialization and Stratification* 262

*Social Mobility in*

*Industrialized Nations* 264

*A Closer View: Lipset and Bendix:*

*Comparative Social Mobility* 265

*A Closer View: Blau and Duncan:*

*The Status Attainment Model* 267

*A Closer View: Mare and Tzeng:*

*The Advantage of Having Older Parents* 268

*A Closer View: John Porter and Colleagues:*

*Status Attainment in Canada* 269

*Female Status Attainment* 270

*A Closer View: Michael Hout:*

*Trends in Status Attainment* 271

Conclusion 272

Review Glossary 272

Suggested Readings 272

### Special Topic 2

### Aspects of Income Inequalities in America 273

## Chapter 11

### Intergroup Conflict: Racial and Ethnic Inequality 283

Chapter Preview 284

Intergroup Conflict 284

*Race* 285

*Ethnic Groups* 285

*Cultural Pluralism* 285

Preoccupation with Prejudice 288

*Allport's Theory of Contact* 289

*A Closer View: The Sherif Studies* 290

Slavery and the American Dilemma 290

Status Inequality and Prejudice 292

*A Closer View: Economic Conflict and Prejudice* 295

*Exclusion* 299

*Caste Systems* 300

*Middleman Minorities* 300

Identifiability 301

Equality and the Decline of Prejudice 301

*The Japanese Experience in North America* 301

*Japanese-Americans* 302

*Japanese-Canadians* 305

Mechanisms of Ethnic and Racial Mobility 306

*Geographic Concentration* 307

*Internal Economic Development and Specialization* 309

*Development of a Middle Class* 310

Hispanic-Americans 310

*Immigration Effects* 313

*A Closer View: Vilma Ortiz:*

*Bilingualism and English Literacy* 315

Going North: Black "Immigration" in the United States 316

*Black Progress* 318

*Integration* 320

*A Closer View: Firebaugh and Davis:*

*The Decline in Prejudice* 322

*Barriers to Black Progress* 322