

Readings for

SOCIOLOGY

third edition

EDITED BY
GARTH MASSEY



READINGS FOR
SOCIOLOGY

THIRD EDITION

Edited by
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University of Wyoming



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Preface

A new century. A new beginning in a rapidly changing world. How can we make sense of the past, get the most out of the present, and plan for a livable future? Sociology helps us do all of these things. Although barely a hundred years old, the discipline of sociology has made a great impact on people's lives. Whether they be office workers, peasants in a Third World country, members of a family in need, an ethnic minority, affluent consumers, travelers to far-off destinations, suburban realtors, prison staff, or inner-city students, sociology has touched them in some way. Sociological knowledge and the sociological perspective are a part of everyday life as we enter a new millennium.

In selecting the readings for this third edition of *Readings for Sociology*, I have been guided by a cognizance of the speed of change and the compelling need for students to acquire the means to make sense of change. Change occurs on many levels. We change as persons. Our relationships change. The communities we live in change, as do our roles in those communities. The natural environment and cityscape are changing, with both continuing to pose major questions about how we should live our lives. Businesses are being swallowed up in merger mania, as giant, transnational corporations increasingly dominate the economic landscape. Growing economic inequality joins the persistence of ethnic and racial divisions across the globe, while more countries than ever are adopting democratic political practices and citizens are insisting on human as well as economic rights. The Chinese curse "May you live in interesting times" was never more appropriate than today.

Readers familiar with the second edition of *Readings for Sociology* will find several changes in this edition. About a third of the readings are new, while a third of the earlier readings do not appear. This edition continues and strengthens what I think is the most important lesson for sociology students, what Peter L. Berger describes as sociological skepticism. Nothing is quite as it appears. If everyone believes something to be true, it probably isn't. A selection from Berger's *Invitation to Sociology* opens this edition of *Readings for Sociology*. Barbara Ehrenreich's essay "Nickel and Dimed" continues this theme, in light of major changes in the way help (welfare) is offered to the poorest among us. The selection from John L. Locke's *De-Voicing of Society* near the end of the text questions the assumption that increasing opportunities for sharing information have actually increased our communication with one another.

A student new to sociology should be exposed to a variety of perspectives, theories, research strategies, and levels of analysis. The selections in *Readings for Sociology* do this. Several essays are in the ethnographic or qualitative research tradition, including Ehrenreich's essay, Elliot Liebow's reading on working-class African-American men, Ned Polsky's on pool hustlers, Greta Foff Paule's on waitresses and their customers, and Jay MacLeod's on inner-city high school youth. Other selections are based on survey research, while still others rely on existing records and comparative research. Classical writings by Max Weber and Émile Durkheim have been added to this edition, while Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's "Communist Manifesto" is retained, providing background on sociology's major theoretical orientations. Herbert J. Gans displays the use of functionalist analysis in a critical way, while Joe R. Feagin and Robert Parker use a power-conflict paradigm in their analysis of the demise of mass transit. The symbolic interactionist approach is introduced in a selection by Erving Goffman on face-to-face interaction, and continues with Robin Rogers-Dillon's study of women who use food stamps and in at least a half dozen other readings. Kim A. McDonald's article on "Shared Paternity" suggests the new use of evolutionary biology in sociology.

Sociologists are often people who have a broad range of interests and use their sociological perspective to explore topics that may seem far afield from one another. The readings here reflect the breadth of interest and inquiry that is sociology. While readings span the range of social classes, I have increased the number of readings having to do with the African-American experience and identity, as well as those of gay men and lesbians. A range of experiences across age, too, is found in these readings, from E. Richard Sorenson's essay on growing up as a Fore to a new selection, Betty Friedan's account of her post-65th birthday experience with the great outdoors. History, too, is critical to the sociological perspective. Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton's account of the rise of segregated cities, Max Weber's on the emergence of capitalism in the West, Ian Buruma's on identifying with victims of past injustices, and Slavenka Drakulic's story of life before and after communism are among several readings that impart a sense of history.

As in the second edition of *Readings for Sociology*, I have tried to emphasize what I think is the core of sociological understanding—the study of social structure that is most forcefully expressed in the hierarchical structuring of social relations: class, race, and gender. The readings here also emphasize the work we do, in the belief that work makes us who we are, is a key factor in determining our social status and interpersonal relationships, and is our most important way of influencing—for good or ill—the world in which we live.

For many years, I have used Anthony Giddens's *Introduction to Sociology* in my course. It is only natural that the readings selected here should reflect our shared view about the discipline and that they should

help support the Giddens text. Giddens stresses the intersection of individuals and society. The readings in *Readings for Sociology*, beginning with C. Wright Mills's discussion of personality and social structure, do the same. Coverage of topics in this reader reflects the coverage Giddens has included in his text, as well as in most successful texts available for use in an introductory course in sociology. A guide to selections from *Readings for Sociology* that best accompany the topics in Giddens's and other sociology texts has been provided.

I am very fortunate that many good friends and colleagues have given me suggestions and admonitions in the compilation of these readings. Most important have been my outstanding colleagues in the Department of Sociology and the Women's Studies Program at the University of Wyoming. A special thanks goes to my wife, Sheila Nyhus, and Steve Dunn, editor for W. W. Norton. I have relied on their opinions most heavily throughout this project. As always, I am deeply indebted to the students I have taught in years past who have discussed, argued, and struggled with me in acquiring their own sociological perspective.

To the Instructor

If you are using this reader with Anthony Giddens's *Introduction to Sociology*, Third Edition, you may consider assigning the readings correlated to each text chapter below. If you are using this reader with another text, you can still follow this schema for most of the chapters.

CHAPTER	READINGS
1. What is Sociology?	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 19, 33
2. Asking and Answering Sociological Questions	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 27
3. Culture and Society	6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 33, 39
4. Socialization and the Life Cycle	5, 11, 13, 16, 29, 30, 48
5. Social Interaction and Everyday Life	5, 7, 12, 13, 15, 17, 25, 51
6. Conformity, Deviance, and Crime	7, 18, 43
7. Stratification, Class, and Inequality	6, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 42, 43, 47
8. Gender Inequality	13, 17, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 39, 40, 41, 47
9. Ethnicity and Race	8, 11, 15, 16, 21, 22, 24, 40, 46
10. The Rise of Modern Organizations	34, 35, 36, 51
11. Government, Political Power, and War	23, 27, 31, 45, 49, 52
12. Work and Economic Life	15, 17, 22, 23, 25, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41
13. Marriage and the Family	28, 38, 39, 40, 41, 47
14. Education and the Mass Media	20, 29, 42, 43
15. Religion in Modern Society	14, 33, 44
16. The Sociology of the Body	5, 29, 48, 50
17. Urbanization, Population, and the Environment	21, 22, 45, 46, 47, 51
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2 From <i>The Sociological Imagination</i> —C. WRIGHT MILLS	13
<i>Personal circumstances are seldom of our own choosing, but if we understand the social context and social processes around us, we can increase our freedom of choice.</i>	
3 What Is a Social Fact? (from <i>The Rules of Sociological Method</i>) —ÉMILE DURKHEIM	19
<i>More than the sum of its parts, society is real and can be studied usefully if we know how to see it for what it is.</i>	
4 The Border Patrol State —LESLIE MARMON SILKO	27
<i>Not everyone sees authority and its agents through the same eyes.</i>	
5 Sexual Categories [—Real or Social Constructions?] —JOHN BOSWELL	33
<i>What does it mean to say we are either heterosexual or homosexual? Could these be social constructs, and could there be many other possible sexualities?</i>	
6 The Positive Functions of the Undeserving Poor: Uses of the Underclass in America —HERBERT J. GANS	38
<i>While countries such as Sweden and Norway have ended poverty, it persists in the United States, perhaps because it benefits some who are far from poor.</i>	
7 The World of Pool Hustling —NED POLSKY	52
<i>The line between being manipulative and being sincere is not always obvious, nor is the line between work and play.</i>	

- 8 Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study —ALLAN M. BRANDT 61
Good science and ethical science should be our goals, but they are sadly missing in the research reported here.

PART II The Individual and Society

- 9 Growing Up as a Fore Is to Be “In Touch” and Free—E. RICHARD SORENSON 75
Personal identity, commitment, trust, and independence are taught from our earliest moments.
- 10 Queer Customs (from *Mirror for Man*) —CLYDE Kluckholm 82
What makes us think that our culture is normal and another person’s is unusual or exotic?
- 11 My Secret Life as a Black Man —ANTHONY WALTON 90
We all carry “cultural markers” that others use to evaluate and interact with us, whether we like it or not.
- 12 On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction (from *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*) —ERVING GOFFMAN 96
Encounters, the presentation of who we are, and the communication of what we want, need, and can offer all begin with face-work.
- 13 A Look behind the Veil —ELIZABETH W. FERNEA AND ROBERT A. FERNEA 107
Others’ practices, like our own, can have many meanings and reveal much about people’s lives.
- 14 From Amish Society —JOHN A. HOSTETLER 114
The Amish hold on to a simple lifestyle in order to sustain deeply held beliefs.
- 15 Men and Jobs (from *Tally’s Corner*) —ELLIOT LIEBOW 121
The work we do has much to do with who we become.
- 16 The Joys and Perils of Victimhood —IAN BURUMA 128
All of us want to identify with something larger than ourselves.

PART III Structures of Power

- 17 “Getting” and “Making” a Tip (from *Dishing It Out*) —GRETA FOFF PAULE 137
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<i>Social standing and gender combine to raise questions about the dispensation of justice.</i>	
19 Manifesto of the Communist Party —KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS	159
<i>In this famous pamphlet from 1849, Marx and Engels speak directly to working people about the way capitalism developed and how it affects both their working and nonworking lives.</i>	
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<i>Social inequality may be supported by the use of force, but more often it survives because its reality is overlooked.</i>	
21 From American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass —DOUGLAS S. MASSEY AND NANCY A. DENTON	177
<i>Far from being a natural phenomenon, violence and institutional practices were required to keep Whites and African-Americans apart in the century following emancipation.</i>	
22 The Meaning and Significance of Race (from <i>When Work Disappears</i>) —WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON	191
<i>Getting a job is hard enough; what do you do when you are barred from a job because of your race, gender, or address?</i>	
23 Nickel and Dimed —BARBARA EHRENREICH	206
<i>Can people make ends meet in the low-wage job market? Millions of people are trying.</i>	
24 Upward Mobility Through Sport? —D. STANLEY EITZEN	226
<i>A key ingredient in the American myth is that sports are an avenue to success. Michael Jordan notwithstanding, how true is this?</i>	
25 Hanging Tongues: A Sociological Encounter with the Assembly Line —WILLIAM E. THOMPSON	234
<i>What looks like a good thing may become a carousel that won't stop and let you off.</i>	
26 Imagine a Country —HOLLY SKLAR	244
<i>We might like to think the situation described in this essay exists somewhere else, but it's residing in our own backyards.</i>	
27 The Dynamics of Welfare Stigma —ROBIN ROGERS-DILLON	251
<i>Maintaining personal integrity in the face of unspoken social criticism requires a set of interaction strategies few of us know but all of us can appreciate.</i>	

- 28 Women's Personal Lives: The Effects of Sexism on Self and Relationships —SHEILA RUTH 265
Gender relations involve ways of thinking and acting, as well as the use of power, as this essay describes in no uncertain terms.
- 29 Mixed Messages (from *On Her Own: Growing Up in the Shadow of the American Dream*) —RUTH SIDEL 276
What is a young woman supposed to think when she hears from all sides who she is supposed to be, how she is to behave, and what she should want out of life?
- 30 Masculinities and Athletic Careers —MICHAEL MESSNER 285
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- 31 The Foundations of Third World Poverty (from *Promises not Kept*) —JOHN ISBISTER 297
The worst problems faced by poor countries have a lot to do with rich countries, in the past and today.
- 32 As the World Turns —ROBERT B. REICH 304
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- 34 The McDonald's System (from *The McDonaldization of Society*) —GEORGE RITZER 323
There is an upside and downside to the push for efficiency and predictability.
- 35 From *Charismatic Capitalism: Direct Selling Organizations in America* —NICOLE WOOLSEY BIGGART 330
Is there an alternative to bureaucracy? Some organizations try, with mixed results for those involved.
- 36 Automating Work —THOMAS R. IDE AND ARTHUR J. CORDELL 339
The term labor-saving technology implies that drudgery can be turned over to machines, although the term's more modern meaning is a loss of work and growing inequality.

- 37 The Jobs-Skills Mismatch —JOHN D. KASARDA 349
Does the road to a stronger economy and jobs for all require a change in the way we educate our young, or more attention by corporations to the skills already available?
- 38 Love, Arranged Marriage, and the Indian Social Structure —GIRI RAJ GUPTA 354
Which is better: marrying the one you love or loving the one you marry? Perhaps the answer depends on the society in which you live.
- 39 Shared Paternity —KIM A. McDONALD 365
Several cherished values are challenged by anthropological evidence that seems to support a well-established theory of reproductive success.
- 40 Domestic Networks (from *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*) —CAROL B. STACK 370
A "good family" may take many forms, only one of which might be the husband-wife family that is often closed off from a wider network of social sharing and support.
- 41 The Emotional Geography of Work and Family —ARLIE RUSSELL HOCHSCHILD 375
Work becomes like family, while home and family look more like work. Is this scary?
- 42 Savage Inequalities (from *Savage Inequalities*) —JONATHAN KOZOL 388
Why, in a society that expresses belief in equality of opportunity, do we uphold both legal and economic practices that prevent equality of educational opportunity?
- 43 School and the Reproduction of Social Class (from *Ain't No Makin' It*) —JAY MACLEOD 397
A school may appear to be meeting the needs of all its students by offering a variety of programs tailored to varied backgrounds and abilities.
- 44 From *Habits of the Heart: Religion in American Life* —ROBERT N. BELLAH, RICHARD MADSEN, WILLIAM M. SULLIVAN, ANN SWIDLER, AND STEVEN M. TIPTON 409
Belonging and believing do not necessarily go hand in hand for American worshippers.

PART V Social Change in the Modern World

45	The Rise and Fall of Mass Rail Transit (from <i>Building American Cities: The Urban Real Estate Game</i>) —JOE R. FEAGIN AND ROBERT PARKER <i>America's love affair with the automobile has been greatly encouraged by those who stood to gain the most from that romance.</i>	421
46	The Global Village Finally Arrives —PICO IYER <i>In the future, newcomers may be less inclined to discard their culture in order to fit in, to the benefit of us all.</i>	427
47	Population, Poverty and the Local Environment —PARTHA S. DASGUPTA <i>Too many people may damage the environment, but a damaged environment may also contribute to unchecked population growth.</i>	431
48	From Fountain of Age —BETTY FRIEDAN <i>Older persons are seeking challenges and opportunities for growth they never imagined, with results that may surprise us all.</i>	438
49	From Café Europa: Life After Communism —SLAVENKA DRAKULIC <i>Civil society is required for people to truly participate in democracy, but what is the source of civil society?</i>	452
50	Let's Put Our Own House in Order —URVASHI VAID <i>Social movements require many things, among them an articulate leader who knows the landscape and what to do about it.</i>	457
51	From The De-Voicing of Society —JOHN L. LOCKE <i>Electronic technologies have filled our environment with information and made it easier than ever to get in touch with one another. So why are we communicating less?</i>	462
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PART I

The Study of Sociology

1

What Are Sociologists and Why Are They Doing This?

PETER L. BERGER

What does it mean to "think sociologically?" In this selection from his book, Invitation to Sociology, Peter Berger explains why sociologists are so annoying to the powers that be, the CEOs of conventional wisdom, advertisers, politicians, and others with a vested interest in your gullibility. And why do sociologists do this? Why not just go along with what everyone else thinks is true, right, and proper? Berger provides some answers.

It is gratifying from certain value positions (including some of this writer's) that sociological insights have served in a number of instances to improve the lot of groups of human beings by uncovering morally shocking conditions or by clearing away collective illusions or by showing that socially desired results could be obtained in more humane fashion. One might point, for example, to some applications of sociological knowledge in the penological practice of Western countries. Or one might cite the use made of sociological studies in the Supreme Court decision of 1954 on racial segregation in the public schools. Or one could look at the applications of other sociological studies to the humane planning of urban redevelopment. Certainly the sociologist who is morally and politically sensitive will derive gratification from such instances. But, once more, it will be well to keep in mind that what is at issue here is not sociological understanding as such but certain applications of this understanding. It is not difficult to see how the same understanding could be applied with opposite intentions. Thus the sociological understanding of the dynamics of racial prejudice can be applied effectively by those promoting intragroup hatred as well as by those wanting to spread tolerance. And the sociological understanding of the nature of human solidarity can be employed in the service of both totalitarian and democratic regimes.

* * *

One [more recent] image [of the sociologist is that of] a gatherer of statistics about human behavior. The sociologist is here seen essentially as an aide-de-camp to an IBM machine. He* goes out with a question-

*Berger wrote this in 1963, using the language of the past (preferring *he* to the now-standard *he/she*). Today more than half of all sociology students are women; half of my sociology department's faculty members are women.

naire, interviews people selected at random, then goes home, enters his tabulations onto innumerable punch cards, which are then fed into a machine. In all of this, of course, he is supported by a large staff and a very large budget. Included in this image is the implication that the results of all this effort are picayune, a pedantic re-statement of what everybody knows anyway. As one observer remarked pithily, a sociologist is a fellow who spends \$100,000 to find his way to a house of ill repute.

This image of the sociologist has been strengthened in the public mind by the activities of many agencies that might well be called parasociological, mainly agencies concerned with public opinion and market trends. The pollster has become a well-known figure in American life, inopportuning people about their views from foreign policy to toilet paper. Since the methods used in the pollster business bear close resemblance to sociological research, the growth of this image of the sociologist is understandable. The Kinsey studies of American sexual behavior have probably greatly augmented the impact of this image. The fundamental sociological question, whether concerned with premarital petting or with Republican votes or with the incidence of gang knifings, is always presumed to be "how often?" or "how many?"

* * *

Now it must be admitted, albeit regretfully, that this image of the sociologist and his trade is not altogether a product of fantasy. Beginning shortly after World War I, American sociology turned rather resolutely away from theory to an intensive preoccupation with narrowly circumscribed empirical studies. In connection with this turn, sociologists increasingly refined their research techniques. Among these, very naturally, statistical techniques figured prominently. Since about the mid-1940s there has been a revival of interest in sociological theory, and there are good indications that this tendency away from a narrow empiricism is continuing to gather momentum. It remains true, however, that a goodly part of the sociological enterprise in this country continues to consist of little studies of obscure fragments of social life, irrelevant to any broader theoretical concern. One glance at the table of contents of the major sociological journals or at the list of papers read at sociological conventions will confirm this statement.

* * *

Statistical data by themselves do not make sociology. They become sociology only when they are sociologically interpreted, put within a theoretical frame of reference that is sociological. Simple counting, or even correlating different items that one counts, is not sociology. There is almost no sociology in the Kinsey reports. This does not mean that the data in these studies are not true or that they cannot be relevant to sociological understanding. They are, taken by themselves, raw materials that can be used in sociological interpretation. The interpretation, however, must be broader than the data themselves. So the sociologist cannot