SEVENTH EDITION

In CONFLICT and ORDER Understanding Society

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D. STANLEY EITZEN MAXINE BACA ZINN

IN CONFLICT AND ORDER

Understanding Society

SEVENTH ◆ EDITION

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PREFACE

Many introductory students will be exposed to sociology only once. They should leave that course with a new and meaningful way of understanding themselves, other people, and society. The most fundamental goal of this book is to help the student develop a sociological perspective.

This goal is emphasized explicitly in the first chapter and implicitly throughout In Conflict and Order: Understanding Society, Seventh Edition. The sociological perspective focuses on the social sources of behavior. It requires the shedding of existing myths and ideologies by questioning all social arrangements. One of the most persistent questions of the sociologist is, Who benefits from the existing customs and social order and who does not? Because social groups are created by people, such groups are not sacred. Is there a better way? One editorial writer has posed a number of questions that illustrate the critical approach typical of the sociological perspective:

Must we Americans try to perpetuate our global empire, maintaining far-flung military outposts, spending billions on the machinery of death, meddling in the affairs of other nations—or is there a better way? Must we continue to concentrate power and wealth in the hands of a few, preserving the income gaps that have remained virtually undisturbed through the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier, and Great Society—or is there a better way? Must millions of our people be subjected to the cruel displacements of an irrational economy—or is there a better way? Must we stand by while our liberties are undermined, our resources squandered, our environment polluted—or is there a better way? Must private profit be the nation's driving force—or is there a better way? (The Progressive, 1976:5)

Although there will be disagreement on the answers to these questions, the answers are less important, sociologically, than is the willingness to call into question existing social arrangements that many people consider sacred. This is the beginning of the sociological perspective. But being critical is not enough. The sociologist must have a coherent way to make sense of the social world, and this leads us to the second goal of *In Conflict and Order*—the elaboration of a consistent framework from which to understand and interpret social life.

In Conflict and Order, Seventh Edition, is guided by the assumption that there is an inherent duality in all societies. The realistic analysis of any one society must include both the integrating and stabilizing forces, on the one hand, and the forces that are conducive to malintegration and change, on the other. Society in the United States is characterized by harmony and conflict, integration and division, stability and change. This synthesis is crucial if the intricacies of social structure, the mechanisms of social change, and the sources of social problems are to be understood fully.

This objective of achieving a balance between the order and conflict perspectives is not fully realized in this book, however. Although both perspectives are incorporated into each chapter, the scales tend to be tipped toward the conflict perspective. This imbalance is the conscious product of how the authors, as sociologists and teachers, view the structure and mechanisms of society. In addition to presenting what we believe is a realistic analysis of society, this imbalance counters the prevailing view of the order perspective with its implicit sanctification of the status quo. Such a stance is untenable to us, given the spate of social problems that persist in U.S. society. The emphasis of the conflict approach, on the other hand, questions the existing social arrangements, viewing them as sources of social problems, a position with which we agree. Implicit in such a position is the goal of restructuring society along more humane lines.

That we stress the conflict approach over the order model does not suggest that In Conflict and Order is a polemic. To the contrary, the social structure is also examined from a sympathetic view. The existing arrangements do provide for the stability and maintenance of the system. But the point is that by including a relatively large dose of the conflict perspective, the discussion is a realistic appraisal of the system rather than a look through rose-colored glasses.

This duality theme is shown primarily at the societal level in this book. But even though the societal level is the focus of our inquiry, the small group and individual levels are not ignored. The principles that apply to societies are also appropriate for the small social organizations to which we belong, such as families, work groups, athletic teams, religious organizations, and clubs. Just as important, the sociological perspective shows how the individual is affected by groups of all sizes. Moreover, it shows how the individual's identity is shaped by social forces and how in many important ways the individual's thoughts and actions are determined by group memberships.

The linkage of the individual to social groups is shown throughout In Conflict and Order. The relationship of the individual to the larger society is illustrated in special panels that examine societal changes and forces impinging on individuals and the choices available to us as we attempt to cope with these societal trends.

The book is divided into four parts. Chapters 1 through 4 introduce the reader to the sociological perspective, the fundamental concepts of the discipline, and the duality of social life. These chapters set the stage for an analysis of the structure (organization) and process (change) of U.S. society. The emphasis is on the characteristics of societies in general and of the United States in particular.

Chapters 5 through 8 describe the way human beings are shaped by society. The topics include the values that direct our choices, the social bases of social identity and personality, the mechanisms that control individual and group behavior, and the violation of social expectations—deviance. Throughout these chapters we examine the forces that, on the one hand, work to make all of us living in the United States similar and those that, on the other hand, make us different.

Chapters 9 through 12 examine in detail the various forms of social inequality present in U.S. society. We examine how societies rank people in hierarchies. Also examined are the mechanisms that ensure that some people have a greater share of wealth, power, and prestige than do others and the positive and negative

consequences of such an arrangement. Other chapters focus on the specific hierarchies of stratification—class, race, and gender.

Chapters 13 through 17 discuss another characteristic of all societies—the presence of social institutions. Every society historically has developed a fairly consistent way of meeting its survival needs and the needs of its members. The family, for example, ensures the regular input of new members, provides for the stable care and protection of the young, and regulates sexual activity. In addition to the family, chapters are devoted to education, to the economy, to the polity, and to religion. The understanding of institutions is vital to the understanding of society because these social arrangements are part of its structure, resist change, and have such a profound impact on the public and private lives of people.

This seventh edition of In Conflict and Order, while retaining the structure of the earlier editions, is different and improved. Of course, the latest statistical data and research findings are included. Timely topics, such as corporate crimes, the abortion controversy, and the politics of the religious right, are discussed. More important, five themes are incorporated throughout. First, although there are separate chapters on race, class, and gender, these fundamental sources of differences are infused throughout the book and in the photographs. This emphasis is important when highlighting the diversity in society as well as furthering our understanding of the structural sources of inequality and injustice. Second, the tendency toward structural determinism is countered by examples of empowerment—when the powerless organize to achieve power and positive social changes (e.g., gay rights and rights for people with disabilities). Third, the sources and consequences of the structural transformation of the economy are examined. This is a pivotal shift in the United States economy with significant implications for individuals, communities, the society, and the global economy. Fourth, the focus is often shifted away from the United States through descriptions, panels, and tables to other societies. This global perspective is important for at least two reasons: to illustrate the universality of sociological concepts and to help us understand how the world is becoming ever more interdependent. A fifth theme-anticipating the year 2000 and beyond-is incorporated in a number of panels.

These five themes—diversity, the struggle by the powerless to achieve social justice, the transformation of the economy, a global perspective, and looking ahead to the near future—are important to consider sociologically. We see that social problems are structural in origin and that the pace of social change is increasing, yet society's institutions are slow to change and meet the challenges. The problems of U.S. society are of great magnitude, and solutions must be found. But understanding must precede action—and that is one goal of *In Conflict and Order*.

The analysis of U.S. society is a challenging task. It is frustrating because of the heterogeneity of the population and the complexity of the forces impinging on U.S. social life. It is frustrating because the diversity within the United States leads to many inconsistencies and paradoxes. Furthermore, it is difficult, if not impossible, for people in the United States to be objective and consistently rational about their society. Nevertheless, the sociological study of U.S. society is fascinating and rewarding. It becomes absorbing as people gain insights into their

own actions and into the behavior of other people. Understanding the intricate complex of forces leading to a particular type of social structure or social problem can be liberating and can lead toward collective efforts to bring about social change. This book attempts to give the reader just such a sociological perspective.

Finally, we are unabashedly proud of being sociologists. Our hope is that you will capture some of our enthusiasm for exploring and understanding the intricacies and mysteries of social life.

A Note on Language Usage

In writing this seventh edition of In Conflict and Order, we have been especially sensitive to our use of language. Language is used to reflect and maintain the secondary status of social groups by defining them, diminishing them, trivializing them, or excluding them. For example, traditional English uses masculine words (man, mankind, he) when referring to people in general. Even the ordering of masculine and feminine, or of Whites and Blacks, with the discussion or reference to one category consistently preceding its counterpart, subtly conveys the message that the one listed first is superior to the other. In short, our goal is to use language so that it does not create the impression that one social class, race, or gender is superior to any other.

The terms of reference for racial and ethnic categories are changing. Blacks increasingly use the term *African American*, and Hispanics often refer to themselves as *Latinos*. In this book, we use each of these terms for each social category because they often are used interchangeably in popular and scholarly discourse.

Also, we do not use the terms America or American society when referring to the United States. America should be used only in reference to the entire Western hemisphere—North, Central, and South America. Its use as a reference only to the United States implies that the other nations of the Western hemisphere have no place in our frame of reference.

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BRIEF CONTENTS

PART ONE	THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH		
	 The Sociological Perspective The Structure of Social Groups The Duality of Social Life: Order and Conflict The Duality of Social Life: Stability and Change 	2 22 46 76	
PART TWO	THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY: SOCIETY IN THE INDIVIDUAL		
	 Socialization Social Control Deviance 	112 146 168 192	
PART THREE	STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY		
	 9 Social Stratification 10 Class 11 Racial Inequality 12 Gender Inequality 	226 250 292 324	
PART FOUR	SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS		
	The Economy Power and Politics Families Education	364 398 432 468	
	17 Religion	500	

CONTENTS

Preface xix

PART ONE	The Sociological Approach	
CHAPTER 1	THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE Sociology 4 Assumptions of the Sociological Perspective 4 Problems with the Sociological Perspective 8 Sociological Methods: The Craft of Sociology 10 Sociological Questions 10 Problems in Collecting Data 11	2
	A CLOSER LOOK: Sociological Questions 12 A CLOSER LOOK: Minimizing Bias 16 Sources of Data 18	
CHAPTER 2	THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL GROUPS The Micro Level 23 The Process of Social Organization 23	22
	A CLOSER LOOK: Computer Age Interaction and Romance 24 Norms 27 Status and Role 27 OTHER SOCIETIES: Women in Moslem Societies 30 Social Control 32 Primary and Secondary Groups 33 Power of the Social Group 35	
	The Social Structure of Society 39 Society as a Social System 40 Culture of Society 40 Social Classes 41 Social Institutions 41	

Landard States of the Control of the		
CHAPTER 3	THE DUALITY OF SOCIAL LIFE: ORDER AND CONFLICT	46
	Social Systems: Order and Conflict 48 The Order Model 48	
	A CLOSER LOOK: Social Scientists and Values 49 The Conflict Model 50 The Duality of Social Life 51	
	Synthesis of the Order and Conflict Models 54 Division and Violence 56	
	OTHER SOCIETIES: Division and Violence in India 62	
	Violence and the Myth of Peaceful Progress 63 The Integrative Forces in Society 67	
	DIVERSITY: The Media's Selective Perception of Race and Class 71	
	The Use of the Order and Conflict Models in This Book 72	
CHAPTER 4	THE DUALITY OF SOCIAL LIFE: STABILITY AND CHANGE	76
	Change in Social Systems 79	, 0
	Forces for Stability 80	
	Institutions 80 Bureaucracy 81	
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Bureaucracy as a Rational Tool: The Organization of Power 82	
	Ideology 84	
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Bureaucracy as an Irrational Tool: "Laws" Governing Behavior in Bureaucracies 84	
	Groups Organized to Resist Change 85 Forces for Change 86 Population Dynamics 86	
	OTHER SOCIETIES: The Consequences of Controlling Fertility in Rural China 88	
	Technology 102	
	A CLOSER LOOK: Winning Civil Rights for People with Disabilities 104	
	The Government 105 People Power: Social Movements Oriented to Changing Society 106	

PART TWO	The Individual in Society: Society in the Individual	
CHAPTER 5	CULTURE Introduction to Culture 114 Culture: The Knowledge that People Share 115 Characteristics of Culture 115 Types of Shared Knowledge 118 The Social Construction of Reality 123	112
	OTHER SOCIETIES: Cultural Time 125 Cultural Relativity 126 Values 127	
	Values as Sources of Societal Integration and Social Problems 129	
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Negative Consequences of Overemphasizing Competition in Sport 132 Values and Behavior 137 Cultural Diversity 138	
	A CLOSER LOOK: Participant Observation 141 Values from the Order and Conflict Perspectives 142	
CHAPTER 6	SOCIALIZATION Introduction to Socialization 147 The Personality as a Social Product 150 Charles H. Cooley: The Looking-Glass Self 150 George Herbert Mead: Taking the Role of the Other 151 Sigmund Freud: The Psychoanalytic View 152 Society's Socialization Agents 153 A CLOSER LOOK: Learning to Hate 155 Similarities and Differences among the Members of Society 158 Modal Personality Type 158 A CLOSER LOOK: Television Generation Sapped of Creativity 159 Why We Are Not All Alike 161	146
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Unprepared Generation of the 1980s Faces the Future 162	

A CLOSER LOOK: The Breakup of the Soviet Empire: Where Do We Go from Here? 106

CHAPTER 7		168
	Introduction to Social Control 169 Agents of Ideological Social Control 170 Family 170 Education 171	
	OTHER SOCIETIES: The Amish and Social Control 172 Religion 172 Sport 174 Media 175 Government 177	
	Agents of Direct Social Control 177 Welfare 177 Science and Medicine 178 Government 181	
	A CLOSER LOOK: Consequences of the Genome Project 182	
	OTHER SOCIETIES: Government Control in Singapore 184 Conclusion 189	
CHAPTER 8	What Is Deviance? 193 Traditional Theories for the Causes of Deviance 197	192
	The Individual as the Source of Deviance 197 OTHER SOCIETIES: Capitalism and Crime in the Former Soviet Bloc Countries 201	
	DIVERSITY: The Lower Class Propensity to Criminal Activity 202 The Blaming-the-Victim Critique of the Individual- Oriented Explanations for Deviance 202	
	Society as the Source of Deviance 207 Labeling Theory 207	
	DIVERSITY: Is the Drug War Racist? 210	
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Gay Rights Movement 216 Conflict Theory 218	
	A CLOSER LOOK: Corporate Crime 220 Deviance from the Order and Conflict Perspectives 222	

PART THREE	Structures of Social Inequality	
CHAPTER 9	SOCIAL STRATIFICATION Introduction 227	226
	OTHER SOCIETIES: The Caste System in India 228 Major Concepts 229 Class 231 Race and Ethnicity 232 Gender 232 Theories of Stratification 233 Order Theory 233 Conflict Theory 234	
	Deficiency Theories 235 Biological Inferiority 235	
	A CLOSER LOOK: How Science Is Affected by the Political Climate 238 Cultural Inferiority 238	
	DIVERSITY: Blaming the Poor 240 Structural Theories 242 Institutional Discrimination 242	
	DIVERSITY: Who Benefits from Poverty? 244 The Political Economy of Society 244	
CHAPTER 10	CLASS Introduction 252 Dimensions of Inequality 252 Wealth 252 Income 254 Education 255	250
	OTHER SOCIETIES: Equality and Progress 256 Occupation 257 Social Classes 258 The Order Model's Conception of Social Class 260	

The Conflict Model's Conception of Social Class 261

Summary: Class from the Order and Conflict Perspectives 264

CHAPTER 11

Education 313

The Consequences of Social Class Position 266 Physical Health 266 Family Instability The Draft 269 *lustice* 270 Education 270 Social Mobility 271 Education and Social Mobility 272 The New Downward Mobility and the Shrinking Middle Class 273 The Extent of Poverty in the United States 276 Racial Minorities 277 Women 278 Children 278 Elderly 279 Place 279 A CLOSER LOOK: The Los Angeles Riot: A Structural Analysis 280 The Poor-Poor 282 Myths about Poverty 282 Refusal to Work 282 Welfare Dependency 283 A Structural Analysis of the Homeless The Low-Income Housing Shortage 285 The Swelling of the At-Risk Population 286 RACIAL INEQUALITY 292 Introduction 293 Racial and Ethnic Minorities OTHER SOCIETIES: Jihad vs. McWorld Differences among Ethnic Groups 298 DIVERSITY: Don't Be So Certain 300 Explanations of Racial and Ethnic Inequality Deficiency Theories 304 Bias Theories 305 Structural Discrimination Theories 306 Racial Stratification from the Order and Conflict Perspectives 310 Discrimination against Blacks and Hispanics: Continuity and Change 310 Income 311

324

Unemployment 314 Type of Employment 315 Health 317 Contemporary Trends and Issues in U.S. Racial and Ethnic Relations 317 Growing Racial Diversity 317 Growing Racial Strife 318 DIVERSITY: We're All Minorities Now 319 Economic Polarization in U.S. Inner Cities 320 CHAPTER 12 **GENDER INEQUALITY** Introduction 325 A CLOSER LOOK: Men as "Gendered Beings" 326 The Roles and Ranking of Women and Men 326 Are Gender Roles Based on Physiological Differences? 327 Gender and Power 329 Gender Stratification from the Order and Conflict Perspectives 331 The Order Perspective 331 The Conflict Perspective 331 The Implications of the Order and Conflict Perspectives 332 Learning Gender 333 The Child at Home 334 The Child at Play 336 Formal Education 337 Socialization as Blaming the Victim 340 The Reinforcement of Male Dominance 341 Language 341 Interpersonal Behavior 341 Mass Communications Media 342 Religion 343 The Law 344 Politics 346 Structured Gender Inequality Occupational Distribution 347 Earning Discrimination 349 Double Discrimination in Earnings and Work: Race and Gender 350

Pay Equity 350

CHAPTER 13

A CLOSER LOOK: Facts about Pav Equity 352 The Organization and Operation of Work Women and Men in Families 356 The Costs and Consequences of Sexism 356 Who Benefits? 356 The Social and Individual Costs OTHER SOCIETIES: Women Workers Still Lag in World 358 Fighting the System 360 Feminist Movements in the United States 360 Social Structure and Equality 361 PART FOUR Social Institutions THE ECONOMY 364 Introduction 365 Capitalism and Socialism 366 Capitalism 366 Socialism 367 The Corporation-Dominated Economy Monopolistic Capitalism 369 Multinational Corporations 371 Capitalism and Inequality 372 Concentration of Private Wealth 373 Concentration of Want and Misery 374 Segmented Labor Market 374 Capitalist Patriarchy 376 The Structural Transformation of the Economy The Interrelated Forces Transforming the United States 378 Age of Discontinuity 383 Capitalism in Crisis 388 The Negative Consequences of Private Profitability over Social Need 388 Declining Wages, Jobs, Consumerism, and Profits 389 The Lack of Economic Planning 391

A CLOSER LOOK: Economic Planning to Solve

Social Problems 392

CHAPTER 14	POWER AND POLITICS	398
	Models of the National Power Structure 400 Pluralist Models 400 Elitist Models 406	
	The Consequences of the National Power Structure 417	
	DIVERSITY: The Framers of the Constitution: Plotters or Patriots? 418 Subsidies to Big Business 420	
	DIVERSITY: Democracy, Freedom, and Equality for All? African Americans and the Bill of Rights 422	
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Savings and Loan Bailout 424 Foreign Policy for Corporate Benefit 426 The Powerless Pay the Burden 427 Trickle-Down Solutions 428	
	Conclusion 428	
CHAPTER 15	FAMILIES	432
	Introduction 433	
	The Mythical U.S. Family 434	
	Families in Contemporary U.S. Society 435 The Family in Capitalism 435 The Changing Composition of Households and Families 437 Stratification and Family Life 438 Structural Transformation and Family Life 442	
	Changing Family Roles 443	
	Marriage 443 Divorce and Remarriage 447 The Worlds of Work and Family 451	
	A CLOSER LOOK: I Want a Wife 452 Children and Adolescents 453	
	OTHER SOCIETIES: Where Children Come First 454	
	A CLOSER LOOK: The Family and Medical Leave Act 456	
	DIVERSITY: Class, Race and Child Care 458 The Aged 458 Violence in Families 461 The Modern Family from the Order and	
	Conflict Perspectives 462 Families of the Future 463	