

JAMES M. HENSLIN

Down to Earth Sociology

Introductory Readings NINTH EDITION

JAMES M. HENSLIN, Editor



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Preface to the Ninth Edition

IT IS WITH PLEASURE that I introduce the ninth edition of Down to Earth Sociology, a pleasure akin to seeing a dear friend reach another cheerful milestone in his or her life. Adopters of earlier editions will find themselves at home, I believe, in this latest edition. They will see many selections they have already successfully used in the classroom, and I trust they will welcome the many newcomers.

Following the suggestions of those who have used earlier editions of *Down to Earth Sociology*, I have strived to continue to present down-to-earth articles in order to make the student's introduction to sociology enjoyable as well as meaningful. These selections reflect the experiences of people who have "been there" and who, with a minimum of jargon and quantification, insightfully share those experiences with the reader.

Focusing on social interaction in everyday activities and situations, these selections share some of the fascination of sociology. They reflect both the individualistic and the structural emphases of our discipline. Social structure is not simply an abstract fact of life; rather, it vitally affects our lives. The decisions of the rich, the politically powerful, and the bureaucrats provide social constraints that augment those dictated by birth, social class, and other circumstances. By social structure our vision of life is lifted or limited, our chances of success closed or opened. Social structure brings tears and laughter, hopes and despair.

Yet so much of sociology goes about its business as though data were unconnected to people, as though the world consisted of abstract social facts. From my own experiences, I know that these suppositions are far from the truth—divorced from real life—and so I have sought authors who are able to share the realities that people directly experience. At least as I see it, sociology is the most fascinating of the social sciences, and it is this fascination that these selections are designed to convey.

It is my hope that I have succeeded in accomplishing this goal, because I believe sociology is able to open new windows of perception that can touch every aspect of the individual's world. If these readings even come close to this goal, I owe a great debt to the many adopters of earlier editions, whose reactions and suggestions have helped give shape to this one.

I wish to acknowledge the help provided by the following sociologists: Peter Adler, Richard Ambler, Paula Barfield, Frederic J. Bednarek, Philip Berg, Ralph Bishop, Norman E. Budow, John Carchedi, Theresa Chandler, Paul L. Crook, Rene M. Descartes, Diane D. Everett, Larry A. Fask, Irene Fiala, Susan Frantz, R. Scott Frey, Bryan T. Froehle, Charles P. Gallmeier, Frank Glamser, Susan F. Greenwood, Alem Habtu, Bram A. Hamovitch, Wendel J. Hunigan, Jennifer Karas, Paul L. Leslie, Diane Levy, Tina Martinez, Tom McIntyre, Kristy McNamara, Elizabeth Mitchell, Jim Pass, Dan Peterson, Livia Pohlman, Pam Rosenberg, Nancy E. Sacks, Allen Scarboro, John K. Schorr, Ronald L. Schultz, Eldon Snyder, Thomas Soltis, Edward A. Thibault, Jeffrey S. Victor, Clovis L. White, Tony Williams, and Fred Zampa. Suggestions from these instructors, who shared with me their experiences with the eighth edition, proved invaluable in shaping this present version. It is to them, as well as to other colleagues who shared their counsel, that I owe a debt of gratitude. I also wish to thank my students for their candid comments, which also proved helpful.

One of the more interesting tasks in preparing this edition was to gather information on the contributors' backgrounds. In addition to biographical data concerning the authors' education, teaching, and publishing, this section also contains their statements telling us why they like sociology or became sociologists. Assigning that section with the articles helps to personalize the readings and increase the student's awareness of biographical factors that go into the choice to become a sociologist.

The selections continue to be organized to make them compatible with most introductory textbooks. Through subjects inherently interesting, we cover the major substantive areas of sociology. Part I is an introduction to the sociological perspective; it invites students to view the world in a new way by participating in the exciting enterprise we call sociology. Part II is designed to answer the basic question of how sociologists do research. Part III examines the cultural underpinnings of social life, those taken-for-granted assumptions and contexts that provide the contours of our everyday lives. In Part IV that essential component of our beings—sexuality and gender—is the focus. There we look at both the process by which we assume the social identity of male or female and how those identities provide the basis for interaction among adults.

Part V examines social groups and social structure, looking behind the scenes to see how people's assumptions, their location on social hierarchies, and the features of social settings establish both constraints and freedoms on human relationships and expressions of the self. The process of becoming deviant, the social context that shapes deviance, and social control are the subjects of Part VI. We examine social stratification in Part VII, beginning with the micro level of physical appearance and then looking at poverty, power, wealth, gender, occupation, education, and race as dimensions of social inequality. In part VIII, we analyze the social institutions of education, marriage and family, religion, sports, medicine, law, and the military, as well as the ever–increasingly intertwined economic and political interests. We conclude the book with a look at social change, the focus of Part IX. After catching a glimpse of "the way it used to be," we then examine resistance to social change, the animal rights movement, the rationalization of everyday life, and changes in racial-ethnic relations.

These selections bring the reader face-to-face with the dual emphases of contemporary sociological research: the focus on the individual's experiences, and the analysis of social structure. Uncovering the basic expectations that underlie routine social interactions, these articles emphasize the ways in which social institutions are interrelated. It is to their authors' credit that we lose sight of neither the people who are interacting nor the structural base that so directly influences the form and content of their interactions.

About the Contributors

Elijah Anderson (article 17) received his Ph.D. in Sociology at Northwestern University and is the Charles and William Day Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of A Place on the Corner: Identity and Rank Among Black Streetcorner Men and Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community, the book from which his selection is taken.

Anderson says, "I have always been interested in how individuals relate to society and how society relates to the individual. My interest in the social conditions that people experience—especially the marginality that so many blacks feel and how they relate to the wider social system—motivated me to go into sociology to look for some of the answers. I also had good teachers who inspired me. Later I found myself wanting to contribute in a meaningful way to correcting what I saw to be misrepresentations of reality in the academic literature about people who live in ghettos."

Judy Root Aulette (article 22), who earned her Ph.D. in sociology at Michigan State University, is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte. She has published *Changing Families*.

Aulette was a social activist before she became a sociologist. As a secretary for a health insurance company, she was told to write letters to Congress to oppose nationalized health insurance—even though her own health benefits were inadequate. She and other secretaries recruited Legal Aid to fight this requirement. When an attorney was able to get the local newspaper to support their struggle, she realized how professional credentials can enhance one's ability to organize people, and she enrolled in graduate school. She now combines scholarship and social activism.

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Joseph Bensman (article 43) received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. Now deceased, he wrote Dollars and Sense: Ideology, Ethics, and the Meaning of Work in Profit and Non-Profit Organizations, Between Public and Private: Lost Boundaries of the Self, and the book from which his selection is taken, Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Politics, and Religion in a Rural Community (with Arthur Vidich).

Peter L. Berger (article 1) received his Ph.D. in Sociology from the New School for Social Research. He is Professor of Sociology at Boston University and the author of numerous books, including *The Capitalist Revolution*, A Far Glory: The Quest for Faith in an Age of Credulity, and Invitation to Sociology, from which his selection in this book is taken.

Berger says, "I was born in Austria and came to the United States with my parents after the war. You might say that I became a sociologist by accident. I took some courses in sociology and liked them. I have always been curious about what makes people tick, and that is what sociology is all about."

Mae A. Biggs (article 20) earned her M.A. in Sociology at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville and is an associate of the Masters-Johnson Institute (Biological Research Institute) in St. Louis, Missouri.

Napoleon A. Chagnon (article 9) earned his Ph.D. in Anthropology at the University of Michigan. He is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Santa Barbara and the author of Yanomamö: The Last Days of Eden, Yanomamö Warfare, Social Organization and Marriage Alliances, and the book from which his selection is taken, Yanomamö: The Fierce People.

William J. Chambliss (article 24) received his Ph.D in Sociology at Indiana University and is Professor of Sociology at George Washington University. His books include On the Take: From Petty Crooks to Presidents, Law, Order and Power, and Exploring Criminology. Professor Chambliss is a past President of the American Society of Criminology (1987–88) and a past President of the Society for the Study of Social Problems (1992–93).

Chambliss says, "I became a sociologist out of an interest in doing something about crime. I remained a sociologist because it became clear to me that until we have a greater understanding of the political and economic conditions that lead some societies to have excessive amounts of crime we will never be able to do anything about the problem. Sociology is a beautiful discipline that affords an opportunity to investigate just about anything connected with human behavior and still claim an identity with a discipline. This is its strength, its promise, and why I find it thoroughly engaging, enjoyable, and fulfilling."

John R. Coleman (article 18) was the President of Haverford College from 1967 to 1977 and then President of the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation in

New York City. He has decided to try his hand at business and now runs "The Inn at Long Last" in Chester, Vermont.

Kingsley Davis (article 12) received his Ph.D. in Sociology at Harvard University and is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California and Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. His books include *Human Society*, The Population of India and Pakistan, and Contemporary Marriage.

Davis, who often travels to remote places on the globe, likes sociology because "first, sociology deals with all aspects of society, not just economic behavior or political matters; second, in regard to social change, sociology takes a longer view than most other social science fields. I became a sociologist because I wanted to write and decided that I had better learn something to write, so I elected to learn sociology. Also, I wanted to know how the social system works. We were in the Great Depression at the time, so a social science should be able to analyze and explain that terrible catastrophe."

Marion V. Dearman (article 38) received his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Oregon. He is Professor of Sociology at California State University at Los Angeles. He publishes in the sociology of knowledge, belief, and religion.

Dearman says, "I became a sociologist because I wanted to find out why people think and believe the way they do. There is no belief too far out for human beings to share. Focusing on this in sociology has been fun. The most interesting thing about me is that I never finished high school. After working as a printer for twenty-five years, I went to college, got my B.A. when I was forty-one, the M.A. at forty-three, and the Ph.D. at forty-five. In most of may classes, I was older than my professors."

G. William Domhoff (article 33) earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Miami. He is Professor of Psychology and Sociology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Among his books are Blacks in the White Establishment: A Study of Race and Class in America, The Power Elite and the State: How Policy Is Made in America, and the book from which his selection is taken, The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats: A Study in Ruling-Class Cohesiveness.

Domhoff says, "I feel an attraction to sociology because I like anything that has to do with people and what makes them tick. I especially would like to understand how to bring about greater equality and freedom in all societies." He counts sports and his work among his hobbies.

Barbara Ehrenreich (article 35) is a freelance writer and political satirist who has published widely. Her books include *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses, The Snarling Citizen*, and Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class.

Douglas E. Foley (article 39) received his Ph.D. in Anthropology of Education at Stanford University and is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas. He is the author of From Peones to Politicos: Class and Ethnicity in a South Texas Town, 1900–1987 and Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Heart of Tejas.

Foley says that he likes to write cultural critiques of American society, with the hope of changing it, of helping to make it more egalitarian and humane.

Herbert J. Gans (article 30) received his Ph.D. in City Planning and Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania. He is Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and has written such books as The Urban Villagers, Middle American Individualism: The Future of Liberal Democracy, and People, Plans, and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Urban Problems. Professor Gans is a past President of the American Sociological Association (1987–88).

Gans "finds sociology more interesting than hobbies." He says: "When I was in high school, I thought I would become a journalist, but then when I got to college I discovered that the articles I enjoyed writing most were sociology. From then on I was pretty sure I would become a sociologist." He adds, "The deeper reason I became a sociologist is because I am a refugee from Nazi Germany, and ever since I came to the United States as a teenager in 1940, I have been trying to understand the country which took me in." Whenever possible—and his family agrees—Gans rents an apartment for a month in a European city or medieval town and "explores it, living in it fully."

Erving Goffman (article 11) earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Chicago and at the time of his death in 1982 was Director of the Center for Urban Ethnography at the University of Pennsylvania. His many books include Stigma, Behavior in Public Places, and the book from which his selection is taken, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.

Harry L. Gracey (article 36) received his Ph.D. in Sociology at the New School for Social Research. He is in private practice in organizational development in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and has published Curriculum or Craftsmanship?: The Dilemma of the Teacher in the Bureaucratic System and Readings in Introductory Sociology (with Dennis H. Wrong).

Gracey says, "What led me to study sociology was a curiosity about how things work, which in my case got focused on the world of social life, rather than on the physical or biological world. Sociology, uniquely among the social sciences, I think, 'lifts the veil of ideology' on the working of society to see what is really going on—and who is doing it and how it is being done."

Edward T. Hall (article 10) was awarded his Ph.D. at Columbia University. He is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University. His

books include The Silent Language, The Hidden Dimension, and An Anthropology of Everyday Life: An Autobiography.

Mildred R. Hall (article 10) received her B.A. from Barnard College and (with Edward T. Hall) has written *The Fourth Dimension in Architecture*, *Hidden Differences: Studies in International Communication*, and *Understanding Cultural Differences*.

V. Lee Hamilton (article 42), who received her Ph.D. in Social Psychology in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University, is Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland. She has published *Crimes of Obedience* (with Herbert Kelman) and *Everyday Justice* (with Joseph Sanders).

Hamilton says: "My undergraduate degree was in psychology, but my graduate program was interdisciplinary. After I completed the Ph.D., I could have gone into psychology or sociology, and I chose sociology because of its structural emphasis. I like sociology because it is a perspective—the way a person thinks—and I tend to think that way." Some of Hamilton's favorite activities are hiking and travel.

James M. Henslin (articles 2, 4, 13, 20, and 23) earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at Washington University in St. Louis. He is Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville. His books include Marriage and Family in a Changing Society, Social Problems, and Sociology: A Down-to-Earth Approach.

Henslin says, "My early childhood was marked by poverty. I was born in a rented room in a minister's parsonage. Then my parents made a leap in their economic status—we moved into our own home, a converted garage, with no running water or indoor plumbing! My parents continued their climb in status, and when I was thirteen they built one of the nicest houses in town. These experiences helped make me keenly aware of the significance of 'place' and opportunity in social life." He adds, "I like sociology because of its tremendous breadth—from social class and international stratification to the self and internal conflicts. No matter how diverse your curiosities, you can follow them and they are still part of sociology. Everything that is part of the landscape of human behavior comes under the lens of sociology."

Arlie Hochschild (article 37) received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California, Berkeley, where she is now Professor of Sociology. She has published *The Managed Heart: Communication of Human Feeling, The Unexpected Community: Portrait of an Old Age Subculture,* and *The Second Shift: Inside the Two-Job Marriage,* the book from which her selection is taken.

Hochschild says, "I majored in international relations at Swarthmore College (a combination of history, economics, and political science) in the early sixties when my college had no sociology department. By chance I discovered David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, his *Individualism Reconsidered*, and C. Wright Mills' *People*, *Politics and Power*. It was between the covers of these exciting books that I decided that there was a powerful lens through which to see the world—and I wanted to get on the other side of it."

Lawrence K. Hong (article 38) earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Notre Dame. He is Professor of Sociology at California State University at Los Angeles and has written articles on sex, religion, family, popular culture, computer applications, and Asian Americans.

Hong says, "I became a sociologist because I'm curious about the flux, the diversity, and the complexity of social phenomena. They keep me intellectually stimulated."

Robert A. Hummer (article 34), who received his Ph.D. from Florida State University, is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas, Austin. He has published in several professional journals, including *Demography*, *Social Forces*, and *Sociological Quarterly*.

Hummer says he became a sociologist because "sociology provides me a better way of understanding the complex world in which I live." He enjoys traveling with his wife and daughter, fishing, and watching the Detroit Tigers.

Jennifer Hunt (article 41) received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the City University of New York and is Associate Professor of Sociology at Montclair State College. She is also a research candidate in the clinical training program at the Psychoanalytic Institute at the New York University Medical Center.

Hunt has written *Psychoanalytic Aspects of Fieldwork*. She likes sociology because "it provides an unusual opportunity to explore other cultural worlds by doing in-depth field work."

James M. Jasper (article 45) received his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California at Berkeley. His books include *Nuclear Politics: Energy and the State in the United States, Sweden, and France, The Art of Moral Protest,* and the book from which his selection is taken, *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of Moral Protest* (with Dorothy Nelkin).

Jasper lives and writes in New York City, and has taught at Berkeley, Columbia, Princeton, and New York University. He says he "became a sociologist because of its dazzling power to explain so many things that puzzled me when I was young. The same things still puzzle me, but I have better answers to most of them." His main area of interest is political action.

Sidney Katz (article 29), who earned a Bachelor in Social Sciences from Carleton University and a Master of Social Work at the University of Toronto, is a professional writer. He has published hundreds of articles and two books

and has done considerable radio and TV broadcasting. He has been a columnist, a feature writer, and an editor at the *Toronto Star* and at *Maclean's Magazine*. He says, "I have retired several times, but it hasn't stuck."

Herbert Kelman (article 42), who received his Ph.D. in psychology from Yale University, is Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard University. His books include International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis, A Time to Speak: On Human Values and Social Research, and the book from which his selection is taken, Crimes of Obedience: Toward a Social Psychology of Authority and Responsibility (with V. Lee Hamilton).

Kelman says, "I was trained in psychology, but I was a social activist before I became a scholar. I like sociology because of the perspective it brings to issues in peace, justice, and social change. Outside of my work in civil rights, peace, and human rights, I like folk dancing. I also enjoy listening to ethnic music and music from the Middle Ages."

Sherryl Kleinman (article 40), who received her Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, is Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Her books include *Equals before God, Emotions and Fieldwork*, and *Opposing Ambitions: Gender and Identity in an Alternative Organization*.

Kleinman, whose primary interest outside of academia is writing creative nonfiction, says she became a sociologist because "sociology enables me to understand how social inequalities are reproduced in everyday life, as well as at the cultural and institutional levels."

Jonathan Kozol (article 31) received a B.A. at Harvard University. After teaching in the public schools for several years, he became a professional author. His books include *Death at an Early Age, Rachel and Her Children*, and *Savage Inequalities*, the book from which his selection is adapted.

He says that he is interested in exposing the injustices that affect children.

Elliot Liebow (article 32) earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at the Catholic University of America. Until his retirement in 1985, he was a social anthropologist with the National Institute of Mental Health. He is the author of *Tally's Corner*, the book from which his selection is taken.

Zella Luria (article 14) received her Ph.D. in Psychology at Indiana University and is Professor of Psychology at Tufts University. She is the author of *The Psychology of Human Sexuality* (with Mitchel D. Rose) and *Human Sexuality* (with S. Friedman and Mitchel D. Rose).

Luria says, "What I appreciate about sociology is its exquisite attention to the group context for explanations of behavior."