SOCIOLOGU

Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life

David M. Newman

Sociology

Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life

SECOND EDITION

David M. Newman

Department of Sociology and Anthropology DePauw University

Visual Essays edited by

Douglas Harper

Department of Sociology Duquesne University



Cover photograph by Helen Levitt. Printed by arrangement with Knox Burger Associates Ltd. Reprinted from *In the Street*, published by Duke University Press, © 1987, Helen Levitt.

Copyright © 1995, 1997 by Pine Forge Press

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

For information, address:



Pine Forge Press

A Sage Publications Company 2455 Teller Road Thousand Oaks, California 91320 (805) 499-4224 E-mail: sales@pfp.sagepub.com

Sage Publications Ltd. 6 Bonhill Street London EC2A 4PU United Kingdom

Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd. M-32 Market Greater Kailash I New Delhi 110 048 India

Production Management: Scratchgravel Publishing Services
Copy Editor: Stephanie Prescott
Typesetter: Scratchgravel Publishing Services
Visual Essays Design and Typesetting: Terri Wright
Cover Designer: Lisa Mirski Devenish
Print Buyer: Anna Chin

Printed in the United States of America
97 98 99 00 01 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Newman, David M., 1958-

Sociology: exploring the architecture of everyday life / David M.

Newman. — 2nd ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7619-8518-2 (alk. paper)

1. Sociology

HM51.N467 1997

301-dc21

96-45366

CIP



This book is printed on acid-free paper that meets Environmental Protection Agency standards for recycled paper.

Sociology

Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life

A companion anthology entitled

Sociology: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life READINGS

accompanies this book and is available from your instructor and college bookstore.



PINE FORGE PRESS TITLES OF RELATED INTEREST

Adventures in Social Research: Data Analysis Using SPSS® for Windows™ by Earl Babbie and Fred Halley Media/Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences by David Croteau and William Hoynes Exploring Social Issues Using SPSS® for Windows™ by Joseph F. Healey, Earl Babbie, and Fred Halley Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change by Joseph F. Healey Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the United States: Inequality, Group Conflict, and Power by Joseph F. Healey Sociological Snapshots: Seeing Social Structure and Change in Everyday Life, 2nd Ed., by Jack Levin Sociology: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life (Readings), 2nd Ed., by David M. Newman Building Community: Social Science in Action edited by Philip Nyden, Anne Figert, Mark Shibley, and Darryl Burrows

The Production of Reality: Essays and Readings on Social Interaction, 2nd ed.,

by Jodi O'Brien and Peter Kollock

The McDonaldization of Society, Rev. Ed., by George Ritzer

Second Thoughts: Seeing Conventional Wisdom through the Sociological Eye

by Janet M. Ruane and Karen A. Cerulo

Shifts in the Social Contract: Understanding Change in American Society by Beth Rubin

The Pine Forge Press Series in Research Methods and Statistics

Edited by Kathleen S. Crittenden

Investigating the Social World: The Process and Practice of Research by Russell K. Schutt

A Guide to Field Research by Carol A. Bailey

Designing Surveys: A Guide to Decisions and Procedures by Ronald Czaja and Johnny Blair

How Sampling Works by Richard Maisel and Caroline Hodges Persell

Social Statistics for a Diverse Society by Chava Frankfort-Nachmias

Experimental Design and the Analysis of Variance by Robert Leik

Regression: A Primer by Paul Allison

Sociology for a New Century

A Pine Forge Press Series edited by Charles Ragin, Wendy Griswold, and Larry Griffin

Global Inequalities by York W. Bradshaw and Michael Wallace

Schools and Societies by Steven Brint

How Societies Change by Daniel Chirot

Constructing Identities: Race and Ethnicity in the Modern World

by Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann

Cultures and Societies in a Changing World by Wendy Griswold

Crime and Disrepute by John Hagan

Gods in the Global Village: The World's Religions in Sociological Perspective by Lester Kurtz

Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change by John Markoff

Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective by Philip McMichael

Constructing Social Research by Charles C. Ragin

Women and Men at Work by Barbara Reskin and Irene Padavic

Cities in a World Economy by Saskia Sassen

Gender, Family, and Social Movements by Suzanne Staggenborg

About the Author

David M. Newman (Ph.D., University of Washington) is an Associate Professor of Sociology at DePauw University. In addition to the introductory course, he teaches courses in research methods, family, social psychology, and deviance. He has won teaching awards at both the University of Washington and DePauw University.

About the Publisher

Pine Forge Press is a new educational publisher, dedicated to publishing innovative books and software throughout the social sciences. On this and any other of our publications, we welcome your comments. Please call or write us at:

Pine Forge Press

A Sage Publications Company 2455 Teller Road Thousand Oaks, CA 91320 (805)499-4224 E-mail: sales@pfp.sagepub.com

Visit our new World Wide Web site, your direct link to a multitude of on-line resources:

http://www.sagepub.com/pineforge

It was the first day of the fall semester in 1994. I had just finished making the final adjustments to the first edition of this book, which was due to be published the following January. I felt good, like I'd just accomplished something monumental. Even my two children were impressed with me (although not as impressed as the time I dislodged a Frisbee with a garden hose from the upper reaches of a redbud tree). I walked into the first meeting of my Contemporary Society class eager to start teaching wide-eyed, first-year students a thing or two about sociology.

In my introductory comments to the class that day I mentioned that I had just finished writing a book. The panicked look in their eyes—a curious combination of awe and fear—calmed when I told them I wouldn't be using it that semester. I assured them that the process of writing an introductory text helped me immensely in preparing for the course and that I hoped to pass on to them the knowledge I had accumulated.

The next day after class one of the students—a bright, freshly scrubbed, 18-year-old man—approached me. The ensuing conversation would leave a lasting, humbling impression:

Student: Hi. Umm. Professor Newman . . . I called my parents last night to, like, tell them how my first day in college went. I think they were more nervous than I was. You know how parents can be.

Me: Yes, I sure do. I'm a parent myself you know.

Student: Yeah, well, anyway, I was telling them about each of my classes and what all my professors are like. I told them about this class and how I thought it would be pretty cool. I told them you were writing a book. I thought that would impress them, you know, make it seem like they were getting their money's worth.

Me: Well, thanks.

Student: So, they go, "What's the book about?" [He laughed sheepishly.] I told them I didn't know, but I'd find out. So that's what I'm doing . . . finding out.

Me: Well, I'm glad you did. You see, it's an introductory sociology textbook that uses everyday experiences and phenomena as a way of understanding important sociological theories and ideas. In it I've attempted to . . .

Student: Wait, did you say it was a textbook?

Me: Why, yes. You see the purpose of the book is to provide the reader with a thorough and useful introduction to the sociological perspective. I want to convey...

Student: [quite embarrassed now] Oh. Professor Newman, I'm very sorry. I misunderstood you. I thought you had written a *real* book.

Real book. Real book. Real book. Those words echoed in my head like some relentless church bell. At first I tried to dismiss the comment as the utterings of a naive kid who didn't know any better. But the more I thought about it, the more I realized what his comment reflected. The perception that textbooks aren't real books is pervasive and, sadly, not altogether unwarranted. These books hover on the margins of the literary world, somewhere between respectful, intellectual, trailblazing research and Harlequin romance novels. Historically they've been less than titillating: thick, heavy, expensive, and easily discarded for a measly five bucks at the end-of-semester "book buy-back."

My goal from the start has been to write a textbook that reads like a *real* book. In the first edition I wanted to capture simultaneously the essence of my discipline and the reader's interest. From what reviewers, instructors, and students who've read and used the book have said, I think I've been fairly successful. People like the relaxed tone and appreciate the consistent theme that ties all the chapters together. Many instructors have commented on how the book enables students to truly understand the unique and useful features of a sociological perspective.

Changes in the Second Edition

However, no book, especially a sociology textbook, can be of lasting value if it remains static, locked into a particular style and content. So I've made some changes in this second edition to enhance the features that worked so well the first time.

Visual Essays

This edition includes a larger, improved visual component. Many textbooks have photos, graphs, charts, and so on. But rarely does this material go beyond simply filling up space. I wanted the visual images in this book to paint detailed, informative sociological portraits. To that end, Douglas Harper, one of the foremost visual sociologists in the world today, produced several unique, vivid, and provocative visual essays for this edition. Doug is a master at using photographic images to tell powerful sociological stories. His essays—focusing on such diverse social phenomena as baseball, family photo albums, peasant religious pilgrimages, transsexualism, domestic violence, and illegal immigration—provide a wonderful opportunity for you to "see" many of the concepts and ideas I've written about in the book. As you study the visual essays, you will become a much more visually astute observer of and participant in your own social world.

New Micro-Macro Connections and Research Features

In the first edition I provided several in-depth features that focused either on a specific piece of sociological research or on some issue that illustrates the connection between micro and macro sociology. These extended discussions linked social institutions to personal experiences and, in the process, provided insight into the methods sociologists use to gather information and draw conclusions about how our world works.

Many instructors and students who used the first edition found these features useful tools in generating classroom discussion. So in this second edition, I've updated some and added others. The added features focus on many topics receiving widespread attention in the popular press, such as biases in news reporting, female genital mutilation, religion in the nineties, interpersonal relations in cyberspace, impression management on the streets, the popularity of Prozac, the computerized workplace, gated communities, Afrocentric schools, illegal immigration, and the environmental justice movement.

Updated Examples and Information

As in the first edition, each chapter is peppered with anecdotes, personal observations, and accounts of contemporary events. Many of the examples you will read are taken from today's news headlines; others are taken from incidents in my own life. Throughout the book I've tried to provide the most up-to-date information possible. All of these examples are meant to show you the pervasiveness and applicability of sociology in our everyday experiences in a way that, I hope, rings familiar with you.

One of the greatest challenges I face as a teacher of sociology is trying to get my students to see the personal relevance of the course material, to fully appreciate the connection between the individual and society. The "everyday life" approach in this book uses the examples and personal observations as a vehicle for understanding the relationship between individuals and society. The true value of sociology lies in its unique ability to show the reciprocal connection between the most private elements of our lives—our characteristics, experiences, behaviors, and thoughts—and the cultures, groups, organizations, and social institutions to which we belong.

My purpose is to make the familiar, unfamiliar—to make you critically examine the commonplace and the ordinary in your own life. Only when you step back and examine the taken-for-granted aspects of your personal experiences can you see that there is an inherent, sometimes unrecognized organization and predictability to them. At the same time you will see that the structure of society is greater than the sum of the experiences and psychologies of the individuals in it.

More Material on Social Institutions and Global Issues

The second edition contains significantly more material on the larger structural elements of society and their impact on social life. Here are some examples:

- Chapter 3, Building Reality—a discussion of professional ethics in social research.
- Chapter 4, Building Order—an in-depth analysis of the relationship between social structure and emotions.
- Chapter 5, Building Identity—an examination of how religion in the nineties influences socialization.
- Chapter 8, Building Social Relationships—an expanded discussion of the dynamics of social groups and a structural examination of divorce patterns.
- Chapter 10, The Architecture of Stratification—a look at the media's role in perpetuating perceptions of social class.
- Chapter 15, Architects of Change—an examination of the role of politics in movements for social change.

In addition, you will find enhanced discussions of global processes. One of the most profound trends in the world today is linking heretofore disconnected societies and cultures. It is difficult, if not impossible, to provide a complete picture of sociology and social life without examining how our lives are intertwined with global events and processes. Here are a few examples of this new global emphasis:

- Chapter 7, Constructing Difference: Social Deviance—a detailed discussion of the global drug trade.
- Chapter 9, Building the Structure of Society—an enhanced analysis of the impact of globalization on economics, politics, and religion.
- Chapter 10, The Architecture of Stratification—an expanded examination of global inequality.
- Chapter 12, The Architecture of Inequality: Race and Ethnicity—an examination of worldwide patterns of racism.
- Chapter 14, The Dynamics of Population—a look at the politics of immigration.

New Articles in the Companion Reader

The companion volume to this book is a carefully constructed book of short articles, chapters, or excerpts from other authors. These readings are provocative and eye-opening examples of the joys and insights of sociological thinking. Many of them vividly show how sociologists gather evidence through carefully designed research. The readings examine common everyday experiences, important social issues, or distinct historical events that illustrate the relationship between the individual and society.

Over half of the articles in the companion reader are new to this edition. Instructors and students who used the first edition asked to see more contemporary readings. So I have drawn from the most recent scholarship to glean some selections that touch on such important and relevant sociological issues as credit cards, abortion, lying, the lives of athletes, corporal punishment, hospitals, Disneyland, immigrant nannies, and America's youth.

Teaching Resources to Accompany the Book and Companion Reader

The *Teaching Resources Guide*, available from Pine Forge Press in hard copy or on a disk upon adoption of either the text or its companion reader, provides comprehensive, thorough coverage of the material in each book, including:

Learning Outcomes. An essay written by David Newman that explores the various goals motivating his writing and his teaching, along with suggestions on how to use the guide to achieve these instructional goals.

Chapter Summaries

Class Exercises and Discussion Topics. Suggestions for writing exercises, discussion topics, and student assignments to use both in and outside of class. Also provides suggestions for how to utilize the text's Your Turn activities.

Literary and Visual Resources

Test Bank. Multiple-choice, short answer, and essay questions. The test bank was developed to test students' understanding of the material, so instructors can encourage students to move beyond basic memorization of materials toward application and critique. The multiple-choice questions are separated into Recall Questions and Application Questions. Recall Questions are based more directly on the information presented in the textbook, and Application Questions assess students' comprehension of the material and their ability to apply concepts, theories, and research findings.

Teaching Resource Materials: Annotated Bibliography. An annotated bibliography of resources useful in preparing for and designing classes, suggestions for how to manage teaching interactions and elicit and evaluate student performance, and techniques for handling any challenges that arise in class.

The Architecture of Society

I have chosen the image of architecture in the subtitle to convey one of the driving themes of this book: society is a human construction. Society is not "out there" somewhere, waiting to be visited and examined. It exists in the minute details of our day-to-day lives. Whenever we follow its rules or break them, enter its roles or shed them, work to change things or keep them as they are, we are adding another nail, plank, or frame to the structure of our society. In short, society—like the buildings around us—couldn't exist were it not for the actions of people.

At the same time, however, this structure that we have created appears to exist independently of us. We don't usually spend much time thinking about the buildings we live, work, and play in as human constructions. We see them as finished products, not as the processes that created them. Only when something goes wrong—the pipes leak or the walls crack—do we realize that people made these structures and people are the ones who must fix them. When buildings outlive their usefulness or become dangerous to their inhabitants, people must renovate them or, if necessary, decide to tear them down.

Likewise, society is so massive and has been around for so long that it *appears* to stand on its own, at a level above and beyond the toiling hands of individual people. But here too when things begin to go wrong—widespread discrimination, massive poverty, lack of affordable health care, escalating crime rates—people must do something about it.

So the fascinating paradox of human life is that we build society, collectively "forget" that we've built it, and live under its massive and influential structure. But we are not "stuck" with society as it is. Human beings are the architects of their own social reality. Throughout this book I examine the active role individuals play in planning, maintaining, or fixing society.

A Final Thought

It is my conviction that the teaching/learning experience can and should be a personally relevant, thought-provoking, and enjoyable excursion. Reading a text-book doesn't have to be boring or, even worse, the academic equivalent of a trip to the dentist (although I personally have nothing against dentists). I believe that part of my task as an instructor is to provide my students with a challenging but comfortable classroom atmosphere in which to learn. I want to do the same in this book.

Your instructor has chosen this book, not because it makes his or her job teaching your course any easier, but because he or she wants you, the student, to see how sociology helps us to understand how the small private experiences of our everyday lives are connected to this thing we call society. I hope you learn to appreciate this important message, and I hope you enjoy reading this book as much as I enjoyed writing it.

Good luck,

David M. Newman

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

DePauw University

Greencastle, IN 46135

E-Mail: DNEWMAN@DEPAUW.EDU

Dais de Mon

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A book project such as this one takes an enormous amount of time to develop. I spent thousands of hours toiling away at the computer, holed up in my isolated third-floor office. Yet as solitary as this project was, it could not have been done alone. Many people provided invaluable assistance to make this book a reality. Without their generous help and support, it wouldn't have been written, and you'd be reading some other sociologist's list of people to thank. Because I have revised rather than rewritten this book, I remain indebted to those who helped me with the original edition.

First, I would like to thank the publisher and president of Pine Forge Press, Steve Rutter. He pushed, prodded, and cajoled me into exceeding my expectations and overachieving. The numerous suggestions he offered made this book a better one. For that I am eternally grateful.

Likewise, the staff at Pine Forge—Sherith Pankratz, Jean Skeels, and, for the first edition, Rebecca Holland—must be thanked for helping me through the maze of details and difficulties that crop up in a project of this magnitude. My gratitude goes to Anne and Greg Draus at Scratchgravel Publishing Services for producing a quality book in record time. In addition, Becky Smith and Stephanie Prescott provided firm but kind editorial hands in helping me polish the revised material. I would also like to express my thanks to Mariko Chang and Susanne Monahan for compiling an excellent instructor's manual and to Veronica Oliva for securing copyright permissions.

I appreciate the many helpful comments offered by the reviewers of the first and second editions of this book:

Deborah Abowitz, Bucknell University
Stephen Adair, University of New Hampshire
Rebecca Adams, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Ron Aminzade, University of Minnesota
George Arquitt, Oklahoma State University
Carol Auster, Franklin and Marshall College
David Bogen, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Todd Campbell, Loyola University, Chicago
Doug Currivan, University of Iowa
Jeff Davidson, University of Delaware

James J. Dowd, University of Georgia

Charlotte Chorn Dunham, Texas Tech University

Charles Edgley, Oklahoma State University

Rachel Einwohner, University of Washington

Rebecca Erickson, University of Akron

Kimberly Faust, University of Southern Mississippi

Barry Goetz, University of California, Los Angeles

Valerie Gunter, University of New Orleans

Doug Harper, Duquesne University

Susan Hoerbelt, Hillsborough Community College

Valerie Jenness, Washington State University

Kathryn Johnson, Barat College

Tom Kando, California State University, Sacramento

Steve Keto, Kent State University

Peter Kivisto, Augustana College

Marc LaFountain, West Georgia College

Melissa Latimer, University of Kentucky

Fred Maher, St. Michael's College

Benjamin Mariante, Stonehill College

Joseph Marolla, Virginia Commonwealth University

James R. McIntosh, Lehigh University

Jerome McKibben, University of Southern Mississippi

Ted P. McNeilsmith, Adams State College

Melinda Milligan, University of California, Davis

Susannne Monahan, Montana State University

Kelly Murphy, University of Pittsburgh

Elizabeth Ehrhardt Mustaine, University of Central Florida

Toska Olson, University of Washington

Larry Perkins, Oklahoma State University

Bernice Pescolido, Indiana University, Bloomington

Judith Richlin-Klonsky, University of California, Los Angeles

Robert Robinson, Indiana University, Bloomington

Mary Rogers, University of West Florida

Sally S. Rogers, Montgomery College

Michael Ryan, Upper Iowa University

Mark Shibley, Loyola University

Thomas Shriver, Oklahoma State University

Nicholas Sofios, Providence College

Kandi Stinson, Xavier University

Robert Tellander, Sonoma State University

Kathleen Tiemann, University of North Dakota

John Walsh, University of Illinois, Chicago

Gregory Weiss, Roanoke College

Marty Wenglinsky, Quinnipiac College Janelle Wilson, University of Minnesota Mark Winton, University of Central Florida Cynthia A. Woolever, Midway College Ashraf Zahedi, Santa Clara University Stephen Zehr, University of Southern Indiana

I also want to express my appreciation to the colleagues and friends who offered cherished guidance throughout the production of this book and who put up with my incessant whining about how hard it all was. Some offered invaluable advice on specific topics; others provided general support and encouragement that helped me retain my sanity. In particular, I'd like to thank Nancy Davis, Rob Robinson, Nafhat Nasr, Tom Hall, James Mannon, Tom Chiarella, Lisa Chiarella, Bizz Steele, Jodi O'Brien, and Peter Kollock.

I would like to express special gratitude to my students who, throughout the years, have kept me curious and prevented me from taking myself too seriously.

Above all, I want to thank my family—Beth, Zachary, and Seth—for putting up with the frequent late nights, long faces, and lost confidences.

Additional acknowledgments are made for permission to reprint the following.

Photographs in the visual essays:

"Illustrating Culture: Peasant Pilgrimages of Modern Europe" photos by Marrie Bot, Miserere: The Great Pilgrimages of Penance in Europe, Rotterdam, 1985 (English edition).

"Graffiti: Social Deviance or Art?" photos by James Prigoff, in Henry Chalfant and James Prigoff, Spraycan Art, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987.

"The Resolution of Sexual Identity" photo of Jim Morris by UPI/Bettmann; photo of Jan Morris by David Hurn/Magnum.

"Social Stratification: Class, Poverty, and Wealth" photos by Herman LeRoy Emmet, Fruit Tramps, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989. Barbara Norfleet, All the Right People, Boston: Little, Brown, 1986. Bill Owens, Suburbia, San Francisco: Straight Arrow Press, 1973. Eugene Richards, Below the Line: Living Poor in America, New York: Consumers Union Press, 1987. Helen Stummer, No Easy Walk, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

"Gender Violence" photos by Donna Ferrato, Living with the Enemy, New York: Aperture, 1991.

"The Sociology of the Contemporary Immigrant" photos by Ken Light, To the Promised Land, introduction by Richard Rodriguez, New York: Aperture, 1988.

"Social Change: The Example of the American Ghetto" photos by Camilo José Vergara, The New American Ghetto, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995.