

# CHAPTER 2

## Culture

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## Learning Objectives

After you have read this chapter, you should be able to:

- 2.1** Explain what culture is, how culture provides orientations to life, and what practicing cultural relativism means. (p. 38)
- 2.2** Know the components of symbolic culture: gestures, language, values, norms, sanctions, folkways, mores, and taboos; also explain the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. (p. 45)
- 2.3** Distinguish between subcultures and countercultures. (p. 51)
- 2.4** Discuss the major U.S. values and explain value clusters, value contradictions, value clashes, how values are lenses of perception, and ideal versus real culture. (p. 55)
- 2.5** Take a position on the issue of the existence of cultural universals and contrast sociobiology with sociology. (p. 58)
- 2.6** Explain how technology changes culture and what cultural lag and cultural leveling are. (p. 60)

- 2.1** Explain what culture is, how culture provides orientations to life, and what practicing cultural relativism means.



**Watch on MySocLab**  
**Video:** Culture: The Basics

**culture** the language, beliefs, values, norms, behaviors, and even material objects that characterize a group and are passed from one generation to the next

When I first arrived in Morocco, I found the sights that greeted me exotic—not unlike the scenes in Casablanca or Raiders of the Lost Ark. The men, women, and even the children really did wear those white robes that reach down to their feet. What was especially striking was that the women were almost totally covered. Despite the heat, they wore not only full-length gowns but also head coverings that reached down over their foreheads with veils that covered their faces from the nose down. You could see nothing but their eyes—and every eye seemed the same shade of brown.

And how short everyone was! The Arab women looked to be, on average, 5 feet, and the men only about 3 or 4 inches taller. As the only blue-eyed, blond, 6-foot-plus person around, and the only one who was wearing jeans and a pullover shirt, in a world of white-robed short people I stood out like a creature from another planet. Everyone stared. No matter where I went, they stared. Wherever I looked, I saw people watching me intently. Even staring back had no effect. It was so different from home, where, if you caught someone staring at you, that person would look embarrassed and immediately glance away.

And lines? The concept apparently didn't even exist. Buying a ticket for a bus or train meant pushing and shoving toward the ticket man (always a man—no women were visible in any public position), who took the money from whichever outstretched hand he decided on.

And germs? That notion didn't seem to exist here either. Flies swarmed over the food in the restaurants and the unwrapped loaves of bread in the stores. Shopkeepers would considerably shoo off the flies before handing me a loaf. They also offered home delivery. I watched a bread vendor deliver a loaf to a woman who was standing on a second-floor balcony. She first threw her money to the bread vendor, and he then threw the unwrapped bread up to her. Unfortunately, his throw was off. The bread bounced off the wrought-iron balcony railing and landed in the street, which was filled with people, wandering dogs, and the ever-present urinating and defecating donkeys. The vendor simply picked up the unwrapped loaf and threw it again. This certainly wasn't his day: He missed again. But he made it on his third attempt. The woman smiled as she turned back into her apartment, apparently to prepare the noon meal for her family.

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“Everyone stared. No matter where I went, they stared.”

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## What Is Culture?

What is culture? The concept is sometimes easier to grasp by description than by definition. For example, suppose you meet a young woman from India who has just arrived in the United States. That her culture is different from yours is immediately evident. You first see it in her clothing, jewelry, makeup, and hairstyle. Next, you hear it in her speech. It then becomes apparent by her gestures. Later, you might hear her express unfamiliar beliefs about relationships or what is valuable in life. All of these characteristics are indicative of **culture**—the language, beliefs, values, norms, behaviors, and even material objects that are passed from one generation to the next.

In northern Africa, I was surrounded by a culture quite different from mine. It was evident in everything I saw and heard. The **material culture**—such things as jewelry, art, buildings, weapons, machines, and even eating utensils, hairstyles, and clothing—provided a sharp contrast to what I was used to seeing. There is nothing inherently “natural” about material culture. That is, it is no more natural (or unnatural) to wear gowns on the street than it is to wear jeans.

I also found myself immersed in an unfamiliar **nonmaterial culture**, that is, a group's ways of thinking (its beliefs, values, and other assumptions about the world) and doing

(its common *patterns of behavior*, including language, gestures, and other forms of interaction). North African assumptions that it is acceptable to stare at others in public and to push people aside to buy tickets are examples of nonmaterial culture. So are U.S. assumptions that it is wrong to do either of these things. Like material culture, neither custom is “right.” People simply become comfortable with the customs they learn during childhood, and—as happened to me in northern Africa—uncomfortable when their basic assumptions about life are challenged.

## Culture and Taken-for-Granted Orientations to Life

To develop a sociological imagination, it is essential to understand how culture affects people’s lives. If we meet someone from a different culture, the encounter may make us aware of culture’s pervasive influence on all aspects of a person’s life. Attaining the same level of awareness regarding our own culture, however, is quite another matter. We usually take *our* speech, *our* gestures, *our* beliefs, and *our* customs for granted. We assume that they are “normal” or “natural,” and we almost always follow them without question. As anthropologist Ralph Linton (1936) said, “The last thing a fish would ever notice would be water.” So also with people: Except in unusual circumstances, most characteristics of our own culture remain imperceptible to us.

Yet culture’s significance is profound; it touches almost every aspect of who and what we are. We came into this life without a language; without values and morality; with no ideas about religion, war, money, love, use of space, and so on. We possessed none of these fundamental orientations that are so essential in determining the type of people we become. Yet by this point in our lives, we all have acquired them—and take them for granted. Sociologists call this *culture within us*. These learned and shared ways of believing and of doing (another definition of culture) penetrate our being at an early age and quickly become part of our taken-for-granted assumptions about what normal behavior is. *Culture becomes the lens through which we perceive and evaluate what is going on around us*. Seldom do we question these assumptions. Like water to a fish, the lens through which we view life remains largely beyond our perception.

The rare instances in which these assumptions are challenged, however, can be upsetting. Although as a sociologist I should be able to look at my own culture “from the outside,” my trip to Africa quickly revealed how fully I had internalized my own culture. My upbringing in Western culture had given me assumptions about aspects of social life that had become rooted deeply in my being—what are “appropriate” eye contact, hygiene, and the use of space. But in this part of Africa these assumptions were useless in helping me navigate everyday life. No longer could I count on people to stare only surreptitiously, to take precautions against invisible microbes, or to stand in line in an orderly fashion, one behind the other.

As you can tell from the opening vignette, I found these unfamiliar behaviors unsettling—they violated my basic expectations of “the way people *ought* to be”—and I did not even realize how firmly I held these expectations until they were challenged so abruptly. When my nonmaterial culture failed me—when it no longer enabled me to make sense out of the world—I experienced a disorientation known as **culture shock**. In the case of buying tickets, the fact that I was several inches taller than most Moroccans and thus able to outreach others helped me to adjust partially to their different ways of doing things. But I never did get used to the idea that pushing ahead of others was “right,” and I always felt guilty when I used my size to receive preferential treatment.

Culture shock is a two-way street, of course. You can imagine what culture shock people from a tribal society would experience if they were thrust into the United States. This actually happened, as the Cultural Diversity box on the next page describes.

**material culture** the material objects that distinguish a group of people, such as their art, buildings, weapons, utensils, machines, hair-styles, clothing, and jewelry

**nonmaterial culture** a group’s ways of thinking (including its beliefs, values, and other assumptions about the world) and doing (its common patterns of behavior, including language and other forms of interaction); also called *symbolic culture*

**culture shock** the disorientation that people experience when they come in contact with a fundamentally different culture and can no longer depend on their taken-for-granted assumptions about life



Watch on MySocLab

Video: The Big Picture: Culture



Watch on MySocLab

Video: Lynette Spillman, Sociologists and Culture

What a tremendous photo for sociologists! Seldom are we treated to such cultural contrasts. Can you see how the cultures of these women have given them not only different orientations concerning the presentation of their bodies but also of gender relations?



## Cultural Diversity in the United States

### Culture Shock: The Arrival of the Hmong

Imagine that you were a member of a small tribal group in the mountains of Laos. Village life and the clan were all you knew. There were no schools, and you learned everything you needed to know from your relatives. U.S. agents recruited the men of your village to fight communists, and they gained a reputation as fierce fighters. When the U.S. forces were defeated in Vietnam, your people were moved to the United States so they wouldn't be killed in reprisal.

Here is what happened. Keep in mind that you had never seen a television or a newspaper and that you had never gone to school. Your entire world had been the village.

*They put you in a big house with wings. It flew.*

*They gave you strange food on a tray. The Sani-Wipes were hard to chew.*

*After the trip, you were placed in a house. This was an adventure. You had never seen locks before, as no one locked up anything in the village. Most of the village homes didn't even have doors, much less locks.*

*You found the bathroom perplexing. At first, you tried to wash rice in the bowl of water, which seemed to be provided for this purpose. But when you pressed the handle, the water and rice disappeared. After you learned what the toilet was for, you found it difficult not to slip off the little white round thing when you stood on it. In the village, you didn't need a toilet seat when you squatted in a field to defecate.*

*When you threw water on the electric stove to put out the burner, it sparked and smoked. You became afraid to use the stove because it might explode.*

*And no one liked it when you tried to plant a vegetable garden in the park.*

Your new world was so different that, to help you adjust, the settlement agency told you (Fadiman 1997):

1. To send mail, you must use stamps.
2. The door of the refrigerator must be shut.
3. Do not stand or squat on the toilet since it may break.



4. Always ask before picking your neighbor's flowers, fruit, or vegetables.
5. In colder areas you must wear shoes, socks, and appropriate outerwear. Otherwise, you may become ill.
6. Always use a handkerchief or a tissue to blow your nose in public places or inside a public building.
7. Picking your nose or ears in public is frowned upon in the United States.
8. Never urinate in the street. This creates a smell that is offensive to Americans. They also believe that it causes disease.



Children make a fast adjustment to a new culture, although, as with these Hmong children in elementary school in St. Paul, Minnesota, they are caught between the old and the new.

To help the Hmong assimilate, U.S. officials dispersed them across the nation. This, they felt, would help them to adjust to the dominant culture and prevent a Hmong subculture from developing. The dispersal brought feelings of isolation to the clan- and village-based Hmong. As soon as they had a chance, the Hmong moved from these towns scattered across the country to live in areas with other Hmong, the major one being in California's Central Valley. Here they renewed village relationships and helped one another adjust to the society they had never desired to join.

### For Your Consideration

→ Do you think you would have reacted differently if you had been a displaced Hmong? Why did the Hmong need one another more than their U.S. neighbors to adjust to their new life? What cultural shock do you think a U.S.-born 19-year-old Hmong would experience if his or her parents decided to return to Laos?

**ethnocentrism** the use of one's own culture as a yardstick for judging the ways of other individuals or societies, generally leading to a negative evaluation of their values, norms, and behaviors

An important consequence of culture within us is **ethnocentrism**, a tendency to use our own group's ways of doing things as a yardstick for judging others. All of us learn that the ways of our own group are good, right, and even superior to other ways of life. As sociologist William Sumner (1906), who developed this concept, said, "One's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it." Ethnocentrism has both positive and negative consequences. On the positive side, it



creates in-group loyalties. On the negative side, ethnocentrism can lead to discrimination against people whose ways differ from ours.

The many ways in which culture affects our lives fascinate sociologists. In this chapter, we'll examine how profoundly culture influences everything we are and whatever we do. This will serve as a basis from which you can start to analyze your own assumptions of reality. I should give you a warning at this point: You might develop a changed perspective on social life and your role in it. If so, life will never look the same.

**In Sum:** To avoid losing track of the ideas under discussion, let's pause for a moment to summarize and, in some instances, clarify the principles we have covered.

1. There is nothing "natural" about material culture. Arabs wear gowns on the street and feel that it is natural to do so. Americans do the same with jeans.
2. There is nothing "natural" about nonmaterial culture. It is just as arbitrary to stand in line as to push and shove.
3. Culture penetrates deeply into our thinking, becoming a taken-for-granted lens through which we see the world and obtain our perception of reality.
4. Culture provides implicit instructions that tell us what we ought to do and how we ought to think. It establishes a fundamental basis for our decision making.
5. Culture also provides a "moral imperative"; that is, the culture that we internalize becomes the "right" way of doing things. (I, for example, believed deeply that it was wrong to push and shove to get ahead of others.)
6. Coming into contact with a radically different culture challenges our basic assumptions about life. (I experienced culture shock when I discovered that my deeply ingrained cultural ideas about hygiene and the use of personal space no longer applied.)
7. Although the particulars of culture differ from one group of people to another, culture itself is universal. That is, all people have culture, for a society cannot exist without developing shared, learned ways of dealing with the challenges of life.
8. All people are ethnocentric, which has both positive and negative consequences.

For an example of how culture shapes our ideas and behavior, consider how some people dance with the dead. You can read about this in the Cultural Diversity around the World box on the next page.

## Practicing Cultural Relativism

To counter our tendency to use our own culture as the standard by which we judge other cultures, we can practice **cultural relativism**; that is, we can try to understand a culture on its own terms. This means looking at how the elements of a culture fit together, without judging those elements as inferior or superior to our own way of life.

With our own culture embedded so deeply within us, practicing cultural relativism is difficult to do. It is likely that the Malagasy custom of dancing with the dead seemed both strange and wrong to you. It is similar with stabbing bulls to death in front of joyful crowds that shout "Olé!" Most U.S. citizens have strong feelings that it is wrong to do this. If we practice cultural relativism, however, we will view both dancing with the dead and bullfighting from the perspective of the cultures in which they take place. It will be *their* history, *their* folklore, *their* ideas of bravery, sex roles, and mortality that we will use to understand their behavior.

You may still regard dancing with the dead as strange and bullfighting as wrong, of course, particularly if your culture, which is deeply ingrained in you, has no history of dancing with the dead or of bullfighting. We all possess culturally specific ideas about how to show respect to the dead. We also possess culturally specific ideas

**cultural relativism** not judging a culture but trying to understand it on its own terms



Explore on MySocLab

**Activity:** The Asian Population in the United States: A Diversity of Cultures

Many Americans perceive bullfighting as a cruel activity that should be illegal everywhere. To most Spaniards, bullfighting is a sport that pits matador and bull in a unifying image of power, courage, and glory. Cultural relativism requires that we suspend our own perspectives in order to grasp the perspectives of others, something easier described than attained.



## Cultural Diversity around the World

### Dancing with the Dead

At last the time had come. The family had so looked forward to this day. They would finally be able to take their parents and uncle out of the family crypt and dance with them.

The celebration isn't cheap, and it had taken several years to save enough money for it. After all, if the dead saw them in old clothing, they would think that they weren't prospering. And the dead needed new shrouds, too.

And a band had to be hired—a good one so the dead could enjoy their favorite music.

And friends and relatives had to be invited to the celebration—and fed a meal with meat.

The family members entered the crypt with respect.

Carefully removing the dead, they tenderly ran their fingers across the skulls, remembering old times. After sharing the latest family news with the dead, they dressed the dead in their new shrouds. As the band played cheerful tunes, they danced with the dead. The dancing was joyful, as the family members took turns twirling the dead to the fast, musical rhythms

Everyone was happy, including the dead, who would be put back in their crypt, not to dance again for another four to seven years.

This celebration, which occurs in Madagascar, an island nation off the west coast of Africa, is called *famadihana* (fa-ma-dee-an). Its origin is lost in history, but the dancing is part of what the living owe the dead. "After all," say the Malagasy, "We owe everything to the dead. If our



ancestors hadn't lived and taken care of us, we wouldn't be here."

Like many people around the world, the traditional Malagasy believe that only a fine line separates the living from the dead. And like many people around the world, they believe that this line is so fine that the dead communicate with the living in dreams. The primary distinction is probably the *famadihana*, a custom that seems to be unique to Madagascar.

In a few years, the living will join the dead. And a few years after that, these newly dead will join the living in this dance. The celebration of life and death continues.



In this photo, taken in Madagascar, the body, exhumed and wrapped in a new shroud, is being paraded among other celebrants of *famadihana*.

### For Your Consideration

➔ How does the *famadihana* differ from your culture's customs regarding the dead? Why does the *famadihana* seem strange to Americans and so

ordinary to the traditional Malagasy? How has your culture shaped your ideas about death, the dead, and the living?

Sources: Based on Bearak 2010; Consulate General of Madagascar in Cape Town 2012.

about how to treat animals, ideas that have evolved slowly and match other elements of our culture. In some areas of the United States, cock fighting, dog fighting, and bear-dog fighting were once common. Only as the culture changed were they gradually eliminated.

Cultural relativism is an attempt to refocus our lens of perception so we can appreciate other ways of life rather than simply asserting, "Our way is right." Although none of us can be entirely successful at practicing cultural relativism, look at the photos on page 44 and try to appreciate the cultural differences they illustrate about standards of beauty. I think you will enjoy the Cultural Diversity box on the next page, too, but my best guess is that you will evaluate these "strange" foods through the lens of your own culture.

Although cultural relativism helps us avoid cultural smugness, this view has come under attack. In a provocative book, *Sick Societies* (Edgerton 1992), anthropologist Robert Edgerton suggests that we develop a scale for evaluating cultures on their "quality of life,"



## Cultural Diversity around the World

### You Are What You Eat? An Exploration in Cultural Relativity

Here is a chance to test your ethnocentrism and ability to practice cultural relativity. You probably know that the French like to eat snails and that in some Asian cultures, chubby dogs and cats are considered a delicacy ("Ah, lightly browned with a little doggy sauce!"). You might also know that in some cultures, the bull's penis and testicles are prized foods (Jakab 2012). But did you know that cod sperm is a delicacy in Japan (Halpern 2011)? That flies, scorpions, crickets, and beetles are on the menu of restaurants in parts of Thailand (Gampbell 2006)? That on the Italian island of Sardinia, *casu marzu*, a cheese filled with live maggots, is popular (Herz 2012)?

Marston Bates (1967), a zoologist, noted this ethnocentric reaction to food:

*I remember once, in the llanos of Colombia, sharing a dish of toasted ants at a remote farmhouse. . . . My host and I fell into conversation about the general question of what people eat or do not eat, and I remarked that in my country people eat the legs of frogs.*

*The very thought of this filled my ant-eating friends with horror; it was as though I had mentioned some repulsive sex habit.*

Then there is the experience of a friend, Dusty Friedman, who told me:

*When traveling in Sudan, I ate some interesting things that I wouldn't likely eat now that I'm back in our society. Raw baby camel's liver with chopped herbs was a delicacy. So was camel's milk cheese patties that had been cured in dry camel's dung.*

You might be able to see yourself eating frog legs and toasted ants, beetles, even flies. (Or maybe not.) Perhaps you could even stomach cod sperm and raw camel liver, maybe even dogs and cats, but here's another test of your ethnocentrism and cultural relativity. Maxine Kingston (1975), an English professor whose parents grew up in China, wrote:

*"Do you know what people in [the Nantou region of] China eat when they have the money?" my mother*



*began. "They buy into a monkey feast. The eaters sit around a thick wood table with a hole in the middle. Boys*

*bring in the monkey at the end of a pole. Its neck is in a collar at the end of the pole, and it is screaming. Its hands are tied behind it. They clamp the monkey into the table; the whole table fits like another collar around its neck. Using a surgeon's saw, the cooks cut a clean line in a circle at the top of its head. To loosen the bone, they tap with a tiny hammer and wedge here and there with a silver pick. Then an old woman reaches out her hand to the monkey's face and up to its scalp, where she tufts some hairs and lifts off the lid of the skull. The eaters spoon out the brains."*



*What some consider food, even delicacies, can turn the stomachs of others. These roasted grub worms were for sale in Bangkok, Thailand.*

### For Your Consideration

➔ What is your opinion about eating toasted ants? Beetles? Flies? Fried frog legs? Cod sperm? Maggot cheese? About eating puppies and kittens? About eating brains scooped out of a living monkey?

➔ If you were reared in U.S. society, more than likely you think that eating frog legs is okay; eating ants or beetles is disgusting; and eating flies, cod sperm, maggot cheese, dogs, cats, and monkey brains is downright repugnant. How would you apply the concepts of ethnocentrism and cultural relativism to your perceptions of these customs?

much as we do for U.S. cities. He also asks why we should consider cultures that practice female circumcision, gang rape, or wife beating, or cultures that sell little girls into prostitution, as morally equivalent to those that do not. Cultural values that result in exploitation, he says, are inferior to those that enhance people's lives.

# Standards of Beauty

Standards of beauty vary so greatly from one culture to another that what one group finds attractive, another may not. Yet, in its *ethnocentrism*, each group thinks that its standards are the best—that the appearance reflects what beauty “really” is.

As indicated by these photos, around the world men and women aspire to their group’s norms of physical attractiveness. To make themselves appealing to others, they try to make their appearance reflect those standards.



Ecuador



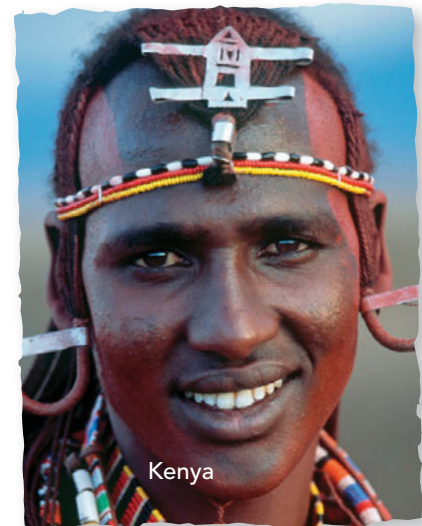
New Guinea



Thailand



China



Kenya



Angola



Tibet



United States



Edgerton's sharp questions and incisive examples bring us to a topic that comes up repeatedly in this text: the disagreements that arise among scholars as they confront contrasting views of reality. It is such questioning of assumptions that keeps sociology interesting.

## Components of Symbolic Culture

Sociologists often refer to nonmaterial culture as **symbolic culture**, because it consists of the symbols that people use. A **symbol** is something to which people attach meaning and that they use to communicate with one another. Symbols include gestures, language, values, norms, sanctions, folkways, and mores. Let's look at each of these components of symbolic culture.

### Gestures

**Gestures**, movements of the body to communicate with others, are shorthand ways to convey messages without using words. Although people in every culture of the world use gestures, a gesture's meaning may change completely from one culture to another. North Americans, for example, communicate a succinct message by raising the middle finger in a short, upward stabbing motion. I wish to stress "North Americans," because this gesture does not convey the same message in most parts of the world.

*I had internalized this finger gesture to such an extent that I thought everyone knew what it meant, but in Mexico I was surprised to find that it is not universal. When I was comparing gestures with friends in Mexico, this gesture drew a blank look. After I explained its meaning, they laughed and said they would show me their rudest gesture. They placed one hand under an armpit, brought their other hand to the opposite shoulder, and moved their upper arm up and down. To me, they simply looked as if they were imitating a monkey, but to my Mexican hosts the gesture meant "Your mother is a whore"—the worst possible insult in their culture.*

Some gestures are so closely associated with emotional messages that the gestures themselves summon up emotions. For example, my introduction to Mexican gestures took place at a dinner table. It was evident that my husband-and-wife hosts were trying to hide their embarrassment at using their culture's obscene gesture at their dinner table. And I felt the same way—not about *their* gesture, of course, which meant nothing to me—but about the one I was teaching them.

**Misunderstanding and Offense.** Gestures not only facilitate communication but also, because they differ around the world, can lead to misunderstanding, embarrassment, or worse. One time in Mexico, for example, I raised my hand to a certain height to indicate how tall a child was. My hosts began to laugh. It turned out that Mexicans use three hand gestures to indicate height: one for people, a second for animals, and yet another for plants. They were amused because I had used the plant gesture to indicate the child's height. (See Figure 2.1 on the next page.)

To get along in another culture, then, it is important to learn the gestures of that culture. If you don't, you will fail to achieve the simplicity of communication that gestures allow. You may also overlook or misunderstand much of what is happening, run the risk of appearing foolish, and possibly offend people. In some cultures, for example, you would provoke deep offense if you were to offer food or a gift with your left hand, because the left hand is reserved for dirty tasks, such as wiping after going to the toilet. Left-handed Americans visiting Arabs, please note!

*Suppose for a moment that you are visiting southern Italy. After eating one of the best meals in your life, you are so pleased that when you catch the waiter's eye, you smile broadly and use the standard U.S. "A-OK" gesture of putting your thumb and forefinger together*

**2.2** Know the components of symbolic culture: gestures, language, values, norms, sanctions, folkways, mores, and taboos; also explain the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.



Watch on MySocLab  
**Video:** Culture: Thinking Like a Sociologist

**symbolic culture** another term for nonmaterial culture

**symbol** something to which people attach meaning and then use to communicate with one another

**gestures** the ways in which people use their bodies to communicate with one another

**FIGURE 2.1** Gestures to Indicate Height, Southern Mexico

Source: By the author.

*and making a large “O.” The waiter looks horrified, and you are struck speechless when the manager angrily asks you to leave. What have you done? Nothing on purpose, of course, but in that culture this gesture refers to a lower part of the human body that is not mentioned in polite company. (Ekman et al. 1984)*

Although most gestures are learned, and therefore vary from culture to culture, some gestures that represent fundamental emotions such as sadness, anger, and fear appear to be inborn. This crying child whom I photographed in India differs little from a crying child in China—or the United States or anywhere else on the globe. In a few years, however, this child will demonstrate a variety of gestures highly specific to his Hindu culture.



**Universal Gestures?** Is it really true that there are no universal gestures? There is some disagreement on this point. Some anthropologists claim that no gesture is universal. They point out that even nodding the head up and down to indicate “yes” is not universal. In an area of Turkey, nodding the head up and down means “no” (Ekman et al. 1984). However, ethologists, researchers who study the biological bases of behavior, claim that expressions of anger, pouting, fear, and sadness are built into our biological makeup and are universal (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970:404; Horwitz and Wakefield 2007). They point out that even infants who are born blind and deaf, who have had no chance to learn these gestures, express themselves in the same way.

Although this matter is not yet settled, we can note that gestures tend to vary remarkably around the world.

## Language

The primary way in which people communicate with one another is through **language**—symbols that can be combined in an infinite number of ways for the purpose of communicating abstract thought. Each word is actually a symbol, a sound to which we have attached some particular meaning. Although all human groups have language, there is nothing universal about the meanings given to particular sounds. Like gestures, in different cultures the same sound may mean something entirely different—or may have no meaning at all. In German, for example, *gift* means “poison,” so if you give a box of chocolates to a non-English-speaking German and say, “Gift, eat,” . . .

Because *language allows culture to exist*, its significance for human life is difficult to overstate. Consider the following effects of language.

**language** a system of symbols that can be combined in an infinite number of ways and can represent not only objects but also abstract thought



**Language Allows Human Experience to Be Cumulative.** By means of language, we pass ideas, knowledge, and even attitudes on to the next generation. This allows others to build on experiences in which they may never directly participate. As a result, humans are able to modify their behavior in light of what earlier generations have learned. This takes us to the central sociological significance of language: *Language allows culture to develop by freeing people to move beyond their immediate experiences.*

Without language, human culture would be little more advanced than that of the lower primates. If we communicated by grunts and gestures, we would be limited to a short time span—to events now taking place, those that have just taken place, or those that will take place immediately—a sort of slightly extended present. You can grunt and gesture, for example, that you are thirsty or hungry, but in the absence of language how could you share ideas concerning past or future events? There would be little or no way to communicate to others what event you had in mind, much less the greater complexities that humans communicate—ideas and feelings about events.

**Language Provides a Social or Shared Past.** Without language, we would have few memories, since we associate experiences with words and then use those words to recall the experience. In the absence of language, how would we communicate the few memories we had to others? By attaching words to an event, however, and then using those words to recall it, we are able to discuss the event. This is highly significant: Our talking is far more than “just talk.” As we talk about past events, we develop shared understandings about what those events mean. In short, through talk, people develop a shared past.

**Language Provides a Social or Shared Future.** Language also extends our time horizons forward. Because language enables us to agree on times, dates, and places, it allows us to plan activities with one another. Think about it for a moment. Without language, how could you ever plan future events? How could you possibly communicate goals, times, and plans? Whatever planning could exist would be limited to rudimentary communications, perhaps to an agreement to meet at a certain place when the sun is in a certain position. But think of the difficulty, perhaps the impossibility, of conveying just a slight change in this simple arrangement, such as “I can’t make it tomorrow, but my neighbor can take my place, if that’s all right with you.”

**Language Allows Shared Perspectives.** Our ability to speak, then, provides us with a social (or shared) past and future. This is vital for humanity. It is a watershed that distinguishes us from animals. But speech does much more than this. When we talk with one another, we are exchanging ideas about events; that is, we are sharing perspectives. Our words are the embodiment of our experiences, distilled into a readily exchangeable form, one that is mutually understandable to people who have learned that language. *Talking about events allows us to arrive at the shared understandings that form the basis of social life.*

Not sharing a language while living alongside one another, however, invites miscommunication and suspicion. This risk, which comes with a diverse society, is discussed in the Cultural Diversity box on the next page.

**Language Allows Shared, Goal-Directed Behavior.** Common understandings enable us to establish a *purpose* for getting together. Let’s suppose you want to go on a picnic. You use speech not only to plan the picnic but also to decide on reasons for having the picnic—which may be anything from “because it’s a nice day and it shouldn’t be wasted studying” to “because it’s my birthday.” Language permits you to blend individual activities into an integrated sequence. In other words, as you talk, you decide when and where you will go; who will drive; who will bring the hamburgers, the potato chips, the soda; where and when you will meet. Only because of language can you participate in such a common yet complex event as a picnic—or build roads and bridges or attend college classes.

**In Sum:** The sociological significance of language is that it takes us beyond the world of apes and allows culture to develop. Language frees us from the present, actually giving us a social past and a social future. That is, language gives us the capacity to share understandings about the past and to develop shared perceptions about the future. Language

## Cultural Diversity in the United States

### Miami—Continuing Controversy over Language

Immigration from Cuba and other Spanish-speaking countries has been so vast that most residents of Miami are Latinos. Half of Miami's 400,000 residents have trouble speaking English. Sixty percent of Miamians speak English at home. Controversy erupted when a debate among the candidates for mayor of Miami was held only in Spanish. Many English-only speakers say that not being able to speak Spanish is a handicap to getting work. "They should learn Spanish," some reply. As Pedro Falcon, an immigrant from Nicaragua, said, "Miami is the capital of Latin America. The population speaks Spanish."

This pinpoints the problem, as the English-speakers see it: Miami, they stress, is in the United States, not in Latin America.

Controversy over immigrants and language isn't new. The millions of Germans who moved to the United States in the 1800s brought their language with them. Not only did they hold religious services in German but they also opened schools where the students were taught in German; published German-language newspapers; and spoke German at home, in the stores, and in the taverns.

Some of their English-speaking neighbors didn't like this one bit.

"Why don't those Germans assimilate?" they wondered. "Just whose side would they fight on if we had a war?"

This question was answered with the participation of German Americans in two world wars. It was even a general descended from German immigrants (Eisenhower) who led the armed forces that defeated Hitler.

What happened to all this German language? The first generation of immigrants spoke German almost exclusively. The second generation assimilated, speaking



English at home, but also speaking German when visiting their parents. For the most part, the third generation knew German only as "that language" that their grandparents spoke.

The same thing is happening with the Latino immigrants, but at a slower pace. Spanish is being kept alive longer because Mexico borders the United States, and there is constant traffic between the countries. The continuing migration from Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries also feeds the language.

If Germany bordered the United States, there would still be a lot of German spoken here.

Sources: Based on Kent and Lalasz 2007; Salomon 2008; Costantini 2011; Nelson 2013.



Mural on Calle Ocho in Miami

### For Your Consideration

➤ Do you think that Miami points to the future of the United States? Like the grandchildren of the European immigrants who lost the ability to speak their grandparent's native language, when do you think the grandchildren of Mexican and South American immigrants will be unable to speak Spanish?

also allows us to establish underlying purposes for our activities. In short, *language is the basis of culture*.

### Language and Perception: The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

In the 1930s, two anthropologists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, were intrigued when they noticed that the Hopi Indians of the southwestern United States had no words to distinguish the past, the present, and the future. English, in contrast—as well as French, Spanish, Swahili, and other languages—carefully distinguishes these three time frames. From this observation, Sapir and Whorf began to think that words might be more than labels that people attach to things. Eventually, they concluded that



*language has embedded within it ways of looking at the world.* In other words, language not only expresses our thoughts and perceptions, but language also *shapes* the way we think and perceive (Sapir 1949; Whorf 1956).

The **Sapir-Whorf hypothesis** challenges common sense: It indicates that rather than objects and events forcing themselves onto our consciousness, it is our language that determines our consciousness, and hence our perception of objects and events. Sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel (1991) points out that his native language, Hebrew, does not have separate words for jam and jelly. Both go by the same term, and only when Zerubavel learned English could he “see” this difference, which is “obvious” to native English speakers. Similarly, if you learn to classify students as Jocks, Goths, Stoners, Skaters, Band Geeks, and Preps, you will perceive students in entirely different ways from someone who does not know these classifications.

When I lived in Spain, I was struck by the relevance of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. As a native English speaker, I had learned that the term *dried fruits* refers to apricots, apples, and so on. In Spain, I found that *frutos secos* refers not only to such objects but also to things like almonds, walnuts, and pecans. My English makes me see fruits and nuts as quite separate types of objects. This seems “natural” to me, while combining them into one unit seems “natural” to Spanish speakers. If I had learned Spanish first, my perception of these objects would be different.

Although Sapir and Whorf’s observation that the Hopi do not have tenses was wrong (Edgerton 1992:27), they did stumble onto a major truth about social life. Learning a language means not only learning words but also acquiring the perceptions embedded in that language. In other words, language both reflects and shapes our cultural experiences (Boroditsky 2010). The racial-ethnic terms that our culture provides, for example, influence how we see both ourselves and others, a point that is discussed in the Cultural Diversity box on the next page.

**Sapir-Whorf hypothesis** Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf’s hypothesis that language creates ways of thinking and perceiving

**values** the standards by which people define what is desirable or undesirable, good or bad, beautiful or ugly

**norms** expectations of “right” behavior

**sanctions** either expressions of approval given to people for upholding norms or expressions of disapproval for violating them

**positive sanction** a reward or positive reaction for following norms, ranging from a smile to a material reward

**negative sanction** an expression of disapproval for breaking a norm, ranging from a mild, informal reaction such as a frown to a formal reaction such as a prize or a prison sentence

## Values, Norms, and Sanctions

To learn a culture is to learn people’s **values**, their ideas of what is desirable in life. When we uncover people’s values, we learn a great deal about them, since values are the standards by which people define what is good and bad, beautiful and ugly. Values underlie our preferences, guide our choices, and indicate what we hold worthwhile in life.

Every group develops expectations concerning the “right” way to reflect its values. Sociologists use the term **norms** to describe those expectations (or rules of behavior) that develop out of a group’s values. The term **sanctions** refers to the reactions people receive for following or breaking norms. A **positive sanction** expresses approval for following a norm, and a **negative sanction** reflects disapproval for breaking a norm. Positive sanctions can be material, such as a prize, a trophy, or money, but in everyday life they usually consist of hugs, smiles, a pat on the back, or even handshakes and “high fives.” Negative sanctions can also be material—being fined in court is one example—but negative sanctions, too, are more likely to be symbolic: harsh words, or gestures such as frowns, stares, clenched jaws, or raised fists. Getting a raise at work is a positive sanction, indicating that you have followed the norms clustering around work values. Getting fired, in contrast, is a negative sanction, indicating that you have violated these norms. The North American finger gesture discussed earlier is, of course, a negative sanction.

Because people can find norms stifling, some cultures relieve the pressure through *moral holidays*, specified times when people are allowed to break norms. Moral holidays such as Mardi Gras often center on getting rowdy. Some

Many societies relax their norms during specified occasions. At these times, known as moral holidays, behavior that is ordinarily not permitted is allowed. This photo was taken at Mardi Gras in New Orleans. When a moral holiday is over, the usual enforcement of rules follows.



## Cultural Diversity in the United States

### Race and Language: Searching for Self-Labels

The groups that dominate society often determine the names that are used to refer to racial-ethnic groups. If those names become associated with oppression, they take on negative meanings. For example, the terms *Negro* and *colored people* came to be associated with submissiveness and low status. To overcome these meanings, those referred to by these terms began to identify themselves as *black* or *African American*. They infused these new terms with respect—a basic source of self-esteem that they felt the old terms denied them.

In a twist, African Americans—and to a lesser extent Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans—have changed the rejected term *colored people* to *people of color*. Those who embrace this modified term are imbuing it with meanings that offer an identity of respect. The term also has political meanings. It implies bonds that cross racial-ethnic lines, mutual ties, and a sense of identity rooted in historical oppression.

There is *always* disagreement about racial-ethnic terms, and *colored people* is no exception. Although most rejected the term, some found in it a sense of respect and claimed it for themselves. The acronym NAACP, for example, stands for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The new term, *people of color*, arouses similar feelings. Some individuals whom this term would include point out that this new label still makes color the primary identifier of people. They stress that humans transcend race-ethnicity, that what we have in common as



The ethnic terms we choose—or which are given to us—are major self-identifiers. They indicate both membership in some particular group and a separation from other groups.

human beings goes much deeper than what you see on the surface. They stress that we should avoid terms that focus on differences in the pigmentation of our skin.

The language of self-reference in a society that is so conscious of skin color is an ongoing issue. As long as our society continues to emphasize such superficial differences, the search for adequate terms is not likely to ever be “finished.” In this quest for terms that strike the right chord, the term *people of color* may become a historical footnote. If it does, it will be replaced by another term that indicates changing self-identifications within a changing culture.

### For Your Consideration

➔ What terms do you use to refer to your race-ethnicity? What “bad” terms do you know that others have used to refer to your race-ethnicity? What is the difference in meaning between the terms you use and the “bad” terms? Where does that meaning come from?

activities for which people would otherwise be arrested are permitted—and expected—including public drunkenness and some nudity. The norms are never completely dropped, however—just loosened a bit. Go too far, and the police step in.

Some societies have *moral holiday places*, locations where norms are expected to be broken. The red-light district of a city is one example. There, prostitutes are allowed to work the streets, bothered only when political pressure builds to “clean up” the area. If these same prostitutes attempt to solicit customers in adjacent areas, however, they are promptly arrested. Each year, the hometown of the team that wins the Super Bowl becomes a moral holiday place—for one night.

One of the more interesting examples is “Party Cove” at Lake of the Ozarks in Missouri, a fairly straitlaced area of the country.

*During the summer, hundreds of boaters—those operating everything from cabin cruisers to jet skis—moor their vessels together in a highly publicized cove, where many get drunk, take off their clothes, and dance on the boats. In one of the more humorous incidents,*



*boaters complained that a nude woman was riding a jet ski outside of the cove. The water patrol investigated but refused to arrest the woman because she was within the law—she had sprayed shaving cream on certain parts of her body. The Missouri Water Patrol has even given a green light to Party Cove, announcing in the local newspaper that officers will not enter this cove, supposedly because “there is so much traffic that they might not be able to get out in time to handle an emergency elsewhere.”*

## Folkways, Mores, and Taboos

Norms that are not strictly enforced are called **folkways**. We expect people to follow folkways, but we are likely to shrug our shoulders and not make a big deal about it if they don’t. If someone insists on passing you on the right side of the sidewalk, for example, you are unlikely to take corrective action, although if the sidewalk is crowded and you must move out of the way, you might give the person a dirty look.

Other norms, however, are taken much more seriously. We think of them as essential to our core values, and we insist on conformity. These are called **mores** (MORE-rays). A person who steals, rapes, or kills has violated some of society’s most important mores. As sociologist Ian Robertson (1987:62) put it,

*A man who walks down a street wearing nothing on the upper half of his body is violating a folkway; a man who walks down the street wearing nothing on the lower half of his body is violating one of our most important mores, the requirement that people cover their genitals and buttocks in public.*

You can see, then, that one group’s folkways can be another group’s mores: A man walking down the street with the upper half of his body uncovered is deviating from a folkway, but a woman doing the same thing is violating the mores. In addition, the folkways and mores of a subculture (discussed in the next section) may be the opposite of mainstream culture. For example, to walk down the sidewalk in a nudist camp with the entire body uncovered would conform to that subculture’s folkways.

A **taboo** refers to a norm so strongly ingrained that even the thought of its violation is greeted with revulsion. Eating human flesh and parents having sex with their children are examples of such behaviors. When someone breaks a taboo, the individual is usually judged unfit to live in the same society as others. The sanctions are severe and may include prison, banishment, or death.



Read on MySocLab

**Document:** Horace Miner, Body Ritual Among the Nacirema

The violation of *mores* is a serious matter. In this case, it is serious enough that security at an international rugby match in Edinburgh, Scotland, has swung into action. The rugby fan, who has painted his face in his country’s colors, seems to be in the process of reclaiming the norm of covering up.



## Many Cultural Worlds

### Subcultures

Before beginning this section, get an introduction to subcultures by looking at the photo essay on the next two pages.

Groups of people who occupy some small corner in life, such as an occupation, tend to develop specialized ways of communicating with one another. To outsiders, their talk, even if it is in English, can sound like a foreign language. Here is one of my favorite quotations by a politician:

*There are things we know that we know. There are known unknowns; that is to say, there are things that we now know we don’t know. But there are also unknown unknowns; there are things we do not know we don’t know. (Donald Rumsfeld, quoted in Dickey and Barry 2006:38)*

Whatever Rumsfeld, the former secretary of defense under George W. Bush, meant by his statement probably will remain a known unknown. (Or would it be an unknown unknown?)

**2.3** Distinguish between subcultures and countercultures.

**folkways** norms that are not strictly enforced

**mores** norms that are strictly enforced because they are thought essential to core values or the well-being of the group

**taboo** a norm so strong that it brings extreme sanctions, even revulsion, if violated

# Looking at Subcultures

Each subculture provides its members with values and distinctive ways of viewing the world. What values and perceptions do you think are common among body builders?

Subcultures can form around any interest or activity. Each subculture has its own values and norms that its members share, giving them a common identity. Each also has special terms that pinpoint the group's corner of life and that its members use to communicate with one another. Some of us belong to several subcultures.

As you can see from these photos, most subcultures are compatible with the values and norms of the mainstream culture. They represent specialized interests around which its members have chosen to build tiny worlds. Some subcultures, however, conflict with the mainstream culture. Sociologists give the name *countercultures* to subcultures whose values (such as those of outlaw motorcyclists) or activities and goals (such as those of terrorists) are opposed to the mainstream culture. Countercultures, however, are exceptional, and few of us belong to them.



Membership in this subculture is not easily awarded. Not only must high-steel ironworkers prove that they are able to work at great heights but also that they fit into the group socially. Newcomers are tested by members of the group, and they must demonstrate that they can take joking without offense.







Specialized values and interests are two of the characteristics that mark subcultures. What values and interests distinguish the modeling subculture?

The subculture that centers around tattooing previously existed on the fringes of society, with seamen and circus folk its main participants. It now has entered mainstream society, but not to this extreme.



With their specialized language and activities, surfers are highly recognized as members of a subculture. This surfer is "in the tube."



The truck driver subculture, centering on their occupational activities and interests, is also broken into smaller subcultures that reflect their experiences of race-ethnicity.



Why would anyone decorate herself like this? Among the many reasons, one is to show solidarity (appreciation, shared interest) with the subculture that centers on comic book characters.



Even subcultures can have subcultures. The rodeo subculture is a subculture of "western" subculture. The values that unite its members are reflected in their speech, clothing, and specialized activities, such as the one shown here.

**subculture** the values and related behaviors of a group that distinguish its members from the larger culture; a world within a world

**counterculture** a group whose values, beliefs, norms, and related behaviors place its members in opposition to the broader culture

We have a similar problem in sociology. Try to figure out what this means:

*These narratives challenge the “blaming the victim” approach, which has been dominant in the public discourse. The first and oldest is the well-known liberal narrative, here termed the structure/context counter-narrative. The other two counter-narratives—the agency/resistance counter-narrative and voice/action counter-narrative—are built on the analysis of the structure/context counter-narrative. (Krumer-Nevo and Benjamin 2010:694)*

As much as possible, I will spare you from such “insider” talk.

Sociologists and politicians form a **subculture**, *a world within the larger world of the dominant culture*. Subcultures are not limited to occupations; they include any corner in life in which people’s experiences lead them to have distinctive ways of looking at the world. Even if we cannot understand the quotation from Donald Rumsfeld, it makes us aware that politicians don’t view life in quite the same way most of us do.

U.S. society contains *thousands* of subcultures. Some are as broad as the way of life we associate with teenagers, others as narrow as those we associate with bodybuilders—or with politicians. Some U.S. ethnic groups also form subcultures: Their values, norms, and foods set them apart. So might their religion, music, language, and clothing. Even sociologists form a subculture. As you are learning, they also use a unique language in their efforts to understand the world.

## Countercultures

Look what a different world this person is living in:

*If everyone applying for welfare had to supply a doctor’s certificate of sterilization, if everyone who had committed a felony were sterilized, if anyone who had mental illness to any degree were sterilized—then our economy could easily take care of these people for the rest of their lives, giving them a decent living standard—but getting them out of the way. That way there would be no children abused, no surplus population, and, after a while, no pollution. . . .*

*When the . . . present world system collapses, it’ll be good people like you who will be shooting people in the streets to feed their families. (Zellner 1995:58, 65)*

Welcome to the world of the Aryan supremacist survivalists, where the message is much clearer than that of politicians—and much more disturbing.

The values and norms of most subcultures blend in with mainstream society. In some cases, however, as with the survivalists quoted above, some of the group’s values and norms place it at odds with the dominant culture. Sociologists use the term

**counterculture** to refer to such groups. To better see this distinction, consider motorcycle enthusiasts and motorcycle gangs. Motorcycle enthusiasts—who emphasize personal freedom and speed *and* affirm cultural values of success through work or education—are members of a subculture. In contrast, the Hells Angels, Pagans, and Bandidos not only stress freedom and speed but also value dirtiness and contempt toward women, work, and education. This makes them a counterculture.

An assault on core values is always met with resistance. To affirm their own values, members of the mainstream culture may ridicule, isolate, or even attack members of the counterculture. The Mormons, for example, were driven out of several states before they finally settled in Utah, which was at that time a wilderness. Even there, the federal government

Why are members of the Hells Angels part of a counterculture and not a subculture?





would not let them practice *polygyny* (one man having more than one wife), and Utah's statehood was made conditional on its acceptance of monogamy (Anderson 1942/1966; Williams 2007).

## Values in U.S. Society

### An Overview of U.S. Values

As you know, the United States is a **pluralistic society**, made up of many different groups. The United States has numerous religious and racial-ethnic groups, as well as countless interest groups that focus on activities as divergent as hunting deer or collecting Barbie dolls. Within this huge diversity, sociologists have tried to identify the country's **core values**, those that are shared by most of the groups that make up U.S. society. Here are ten core values that sociologist Robin Williams (1965) identified:

1. *Achievement and success.* Americans praise personal achievement, especially outdoing others. This value includes getting ahead at work and school and attaining wealth, power, and prestige.
2. *Individualism.* Americans cherish the ideal that an individual can rise from the bottom of society to its very top. If someone fails to “get ahead,” Americans generally find fault with that individual rather than with the social system for placing roadblocks in his or her path.
3. *Hard work.* Americans expect people to work hard to achieve financial success and material comfort.
4. *Efficiency and practicality.* Americans award high marks for getting things done efficiently. Even in everyday life, Americans consider it important to do things fast, and they seek ways to increase efficiency.
5. *Science and technology.* Americans have a passion for applied science, for using science to control nature—to tame rivers and harness winds—and to develop new technology, from iPads to the self-driving cars now being tested.
6. *Material comfort.* Americans expect a high level of material comfort. This includes not only plentiful food, fashionable clothing, and ample housing but also good medical care, late-model cars, and recreational playthings—from smartphones to motor homes.
7. *Freedom.* This core value pervades U.S. life. It underscored the American Revolution, and Americans pride themselves on their personal freedom.
8. *Democracy.* By this term, Americans refer to majority rule, to the right of everyone to express an opinion, and to representative government.
9. *Equality.* It is impossible to understand Americans without being aware of the central role that the value of equality plays in their lives. Equality of opportunity (part of the ideal culture discussed later) has significantly influenced U.S. history and continues to mark relations between the groups that make up U.S. society.
10. *Group superiority.* Although it contradicts the values of freedom, democracy, and equality, Americans regard some groups more highly than others and have done so throughout their history. The denial of the vote to women, the slaughter of Native Americans, and the enslavement of Africans are a few examples of how the groups considered superior have denied equality and freedom to others.

In an earlier publication, I updated Williams' analysis by adding these three values.

1. *Education.* Americans are expected to go as far in school as their abilities and finances allow. Over the years, the definition of an “adequate” education has changed, and today a college education is considered an appropriate goal for most Americans. Those who have an opportunity for higher education and do not take it are sometimes viewed as doing something “wrong”—not merely as making a bad choice, but as somehow being involved in an immoral act.

**2.4** Discuss the major U.S. values and explain value clusters, value contradictions, value clashes, how values are lenses of perception, and ideal versus real culture.



#### Read on MySocLab

**Document:** Edward E. Telles, Mexican Americans and Immigrant Incorporation

**pluralistic society** a society made up of many different groups

**core values** the values that are central to a group, those around which it builds a common identity

2. *Religiosity*. There is a feeling that “every true American ought to be religious.” This does not mean that everyone is expected to join a church, synagogue, or mosque but that everyone ought to acknowledge a belief in a Supreme Being and follow some set of matching precepts. This value is so pervasive that Americans stamp “In God We Trust” on their money and declare in their national pledge of allegiance that they are “one nation under God.”
3. *Romantic love*. Americans feel that the only proper basis for marriage is romantic love. Songs, literature, mass media, and folk beliefs all stress this value. Americans grow misty-eyed at the theme that “love conquers all.”

## Value Clusters

As you can see, values are not independent units; some cluster together to form a larger whole. In the **value cluster** that surrounds success, for example, we find education, hard work, material comfort, and individualism bound up together. Americans are expected to go far in school, to work hard afterward, and then to attain a high level of material comfort, which, in turn, demonstrates success. Success is attributed to the individual’s efforts; lack of success is blamed on his or her faults.

## Value Contradictions

You probably were surprised to see group superiority on the list of dominant American values. This is an example of what I mentioned in Chapter 1, how sociology upsets people and creates resistance. Few people want to bring something like this into the open. It violates today’s *ideal culture*, a concept we will discuss shortly. But this is what sociologists do—they look beyond the façade to penetrate what is really going on. And when you look at our history, there is no doubt that group superiority has been a dominant value. It still is, but values change, and this one is diminishing.

**Value contradictions**, then, are part of culture. Not all values come wrapped in neat, pretty packages, and you can see how group superiority contradicts freedom, democracy, and equality. There simply cannot be full expression of freedom, democracy, and equality along with racism and sexism. Something has to give. One way in which Americans in the past sidestepped this contradiction was to say that freedom, democracy, and equality applied only to some groups. The contradiction was bound to surface over time, however, and so it did with the Civil War and the women’s liberation movement. *It is precisely at the point of value contradictions, then, that one can see a major force for social change in a society.*

## An Emerging Value Cluster

A value cluster of four interrelated core values—leisure, self-fulfillment, physical fitness, and youthfulness—is emerging in the United States. So is a fifth core value—concern for the environment.

1. *Leisure*. The emergence of leisure as a value is reflected in a huge recreation industry—from computer games, boats, vacation homes, and spa retreats to sports arenas, home theaters, adventure vacations, and luxury cruises.
2. *Self-fulfillment*. This value is reflected in the “human potential” movement, which emphasizes becoming “all you can be,” and in magazine articles, books, and talk shows that focus on “self-help,” “relating,” and “personal development.”
3. *Physical fitness*. Physical fitness is not a new U.S. value, but the greater emphasis on it is moving it into this emerging cluster. You can see this trend in the publicity given to nutrition, organic foods, weight, and diet; the joggers, cyclists, and backpackers; the marathons; and the countless health clubs and physical fitness centers.

**value cluster** values that together form a larger whole

**value contradiction** values that contradict one another; to follow the one means to come into conflict with the other



4. *Youthfulness.* Valuing youth and disparaging old age are also not new, but some analysts note a sense of urgency in today's emphasis on youthfulness. They attribute this to the huge number of aging baby boomers, who, aghast at the physical changes that accompany their advancing years, are attempting to deny or at least postpone their biological fate. Some physicians are even claiming that aging is not a normal life event but a disease (Nieuwenhuis-Mark 2011).
5. *Concern for the environment.* During most of U.S. history, the environment was viewed as something to be exploited—a wilderness to be settled, forests to be cleared for farmland and lumber, rivers and lakes to be fished, and animals to be hunted. One result was the near extinction of the bison and the extinction in 1914 of the passenger pigeon, a species of bird previously so numerous that its annual migration would darken the skies for days. With their pollution laws and lists of endangered species, today's Americans have developed an apparently long-term concern for the environment.



Physical fitness is part of an emerging value cluster.

**In Sum:** Values don't "just happen." They are related to conditions of society. This emerging value cluster is a response to fundamental changes in U.S. culture. Earlier generations of Americans were focused on forging a nation and fighting for economic survival. But today, millions of Americans are freed from long hours of work, and millions retire from work at an age when they anticipate decades of life ahead of them. This new value cluster centers on helping people maintain their health and vigor during their younger years and enabling them to enjoy their years of retirement.

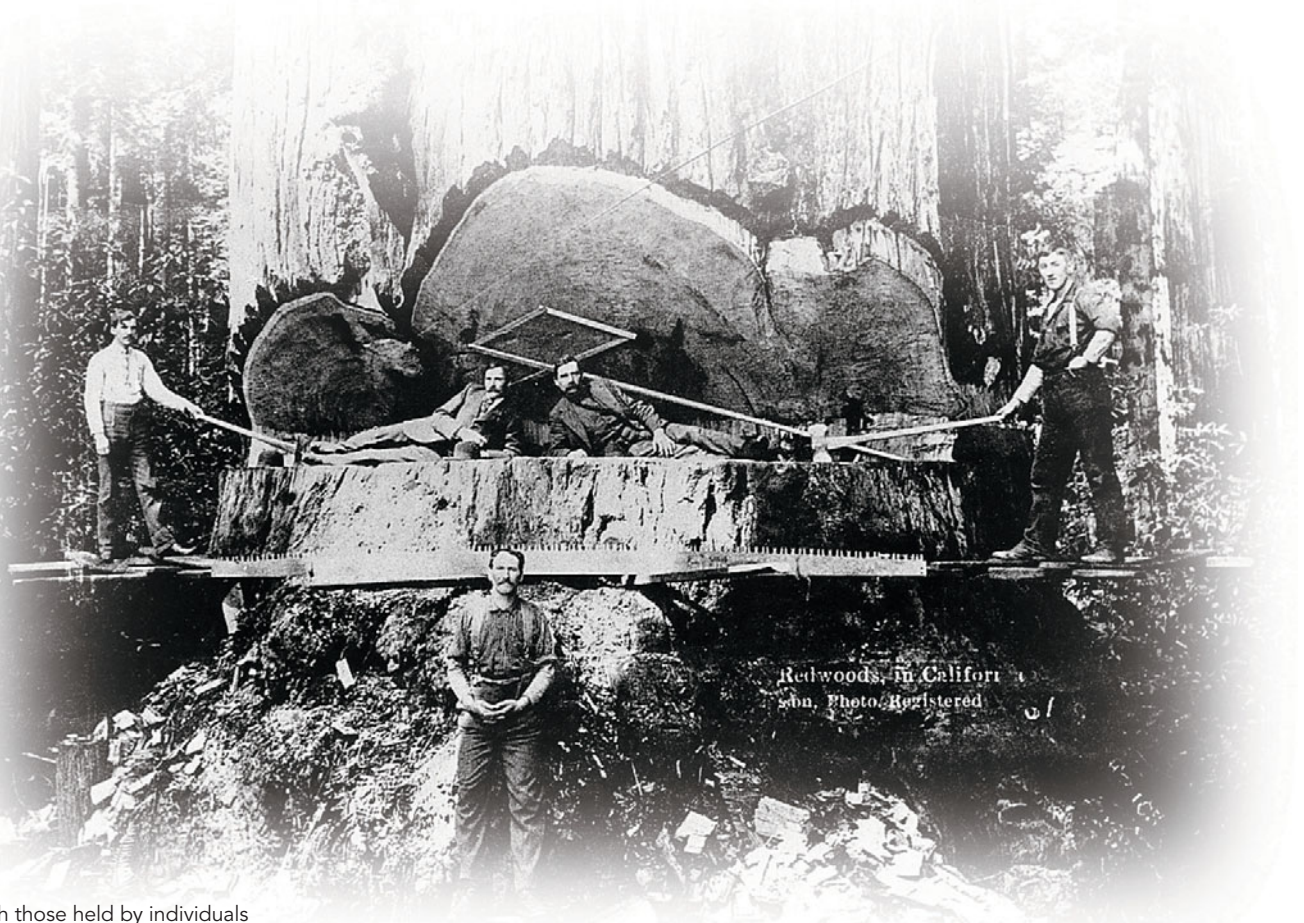
Only when an economy produces adequate surpluses can a society afford these emerging values. To produce both longer lives and retirement, for example, takes a certain stage of economic development. Concern for the environment is another remarkable example. People act on environmental concerns only *after* they have met their basic needs. The world's poor nations have a difficult time "affording" this value at this point in their development (MacLennan 2012).

## When Values Clash

Challenges in core values are met with strong resistance by the people who hold them dear. They see change as a threat to their way of life, an undermining of both their present and their future. Efforts to change gender roles, for example, arouse intense controversy, as do same-sex marriages. Alarmed at such onslaughts against their values, traditionalists fiercely defend the family relationships and gender roles they grew up with. Some use the term *culture wars* to refer to the clash in values between traditionalists and those advocating change, but the term is highly exaggerated. Compared with the violence directed against the Mormons, today's culture clashes are but mild disagreements.

## Values as Distorting Lenses

Values and their supporting beliefs are lenses through which we see the world. The views that these lenses provide are often of what life *ought* to be like, not what it is. For example, Americans value individualism so highly that they tend to see almost everyone as free and equal in pursuing the goal of success. This value blinds them to the significance of the circumstances that keep people from achieving success. The dire consequences of family poverty, parents' low education, and dead-end jobs tend to drop from sight. Instead, Americans see the unsuccessful as not taking advantage of opportunities, or as



Values, both those held by individuals and those that represent a nation or people, can undergo deep shifts. It is difficult for many of us to grasp the pride with which earlier Americans destroyed trees that took thousands of years to grow, are located only on one tiny speck of the globe, and that we today consider part of the nation's and world's heritage. But this is a value statement, representing current views. The pride expressed on these woodcutters' faces represents another set of values entirely.

**2.5** Take a position on the issue of the existence of cultural universals and contrast sociobiology with sociology.

**ideal culture** a people's ideal values and norms; the goals held out for them

**real culture** the norms and values that people actually follow; as opposed to *ideal culture*

**cultural universal** a value, norm, or other cultural trait that is found in every group

having some inherent laziness or dull minds. And they “know” they are right, because the mass media dangle before their eyes enticing stories of individuals who have succeeded despite the greatest of handicaps.

## “Ideal” Versus “Real” Culture

Many of the norms that surround cultural values are followed only partially. Differences always exist between a group's ideals and what its members actually do. Consequently, sociologists use the term **ideal culture** to refer to the values, norms, and goals that a group considers ideal, worth aiming for. Success, for example, is part of ideal culture. Americans glorify academic progress, hard work, and the display of material goods as signs of individual achievement. What people actually do, however, usually falls short of the cultural ideal. Compared with their abilities, for example, most people don't work as hard as they could or go as far as they could in school. Sociologists call the norms and values that people actually follow **real culture**.

## Cultural Universals

With the amazing variety of human cultures around the world, are there any **cultural universals**—values, norms, or other cultural traits that are found everywhere?

To answer this question, anthropologist George Murdock (1945) combed through the data that anthropologists had gathered on hundreds of groups around the world. He compared their customs concerning courtship, marriage, funerals, games, laws, music, myths, incest taboos, and even toilet training. He found that these activities are present in all cultures, but *the specific customs differ from one group to another*. There is no



universal form of the family, no universal way of toilet training children, nor a universal music. And as you noticed in the box on dancing with the dead, there is no universal way of disposing of the deceased.

Incest is another remarkable example. Groups don't even agree on what incest is. The Mundugumors of New Guinea extend the incest taboo so far that for each man, seven of every eight women are ineligible marriage partners (Mead 1935/1950). Other groups go in the opposite direction and allow some men to marry their own daughters (La Barre 1954). Some groups even *require* that brothers and sisters marry one another, although only in certain circumstances (Beals and Hoijer 1965). The Burundi of Africa even insist that a son have sex with his mother—but only to remove a certain curse (Albert 1963). Such sexual relations, so surprising to us, are limited to special people (royalty) or to extraordinary situations (such as the night before a dangerous lion hunt). No society permits generalized incest for its members.

**In Sum:** Although there are universal human activities (singing, playing games, storytelling, preparing food, marrying, child rearing, disposing of the dead, and so on), there is no universal way of doing any of them. Humans have no biological imperative that results in one particular form of behavior throughout the world. As indicated in the following Thinking Critically section, although a few sociologists take the position that genes significantly influence human behavior, almost all sociologists reject this view.



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Video: The Role of Humor

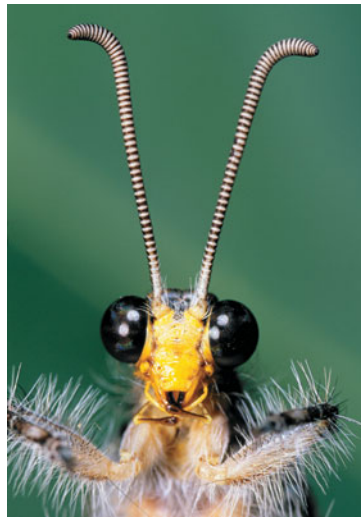
## THINKING CRITICALLY

### Are We Prisoners of Our Genes? Sociobiology and Human Behavior

A controversial view of human behavior, called **sociobiology** (also known as neo-Darwinism and evolutionary psychology), provides a sharp contrast to the perspective of this chapter, that the key to human behavior is culture. Sociobiologists (evolutionary psychologists, evolutionary anthropologists) believe that because of natural selection, biology is a basic cause of human behavior.

Charles Darwin (1859), who, as we saw in Chapter 1, adopted Spencer's idea of *natural selection*, pointed out that the genes of a species—the units that contain an individual's traits—are not distributed evenly among a population. The characteristics that some members inherit make it easier for them to survive their environment, increasing the likelihood that they will pass their genetic traits to the next generation. Over thousands of generations, the genetic traits that aid survival become common in a species, while those that do not aid survival become less common or even disappear. Natural selection explains not only the physical characteristics of animals but also their behavior, since over countless generations, instincts emerged.

Edward Wilson (1975), an insect specialist, set off an uproar when he claimed that human behavior, like the behavior of cats, rats, bats, and gnats, has been bred into *Homo sapiens* through evolutionary principles. Wilson went on to claim that competition and cooperation, envy and altruism—even religion, slavery, genocide, and war and peace—can be explained by sociobiology. He provocatively added that because human behavior



Unlike this beautiful ant, we humans are not controlled by instincts. Sociobiologists, though, are exploring the extent to which genes influence our behavior.

**sociobiology** a framework of thought in which human behavior is considered to be the result of natural selection and biological factors: a fundamental cause of human behavior

**technology** in its narrow sense, tools; its broader sense includes the skills or procedures necessary to make and use those tools

**new technology** the emerging technologies of an era that have a significant impact on social life

can be explained in terms of genetic programming, sociobiology will eventually absorb sociology, as well as anthropology and psychology.

Obviously, sociologists disagree with Wilson. It is not that sociologists deny that biology is important in human behavior—at least in the sense that it takes a highly developed brain to develop human culture and abstract thought and that there would be no speech if humans had no tongue or larynx. That to stay alive we must eat and keep from freezing certainly motivates some of our behavior. Biology is so significant that it could even underlie the origin of gender inequality. This is one of the theories we discuss in Chapter 10, pages 312–313.

Some sociologists are developing what they call *genetics-informed sociology*, which places an emphasis on the influence of genes on human behavior. They are coming up with interesting findings. For example, people with the gene DRD2 are more likely than people without this gene to abuse alcohol (“The Interaction of Genes . . .” 2012). Similarly, males who have the gene 9R/9R average fewer sexual partners than people without this gene. The 9R/9R individuals are also less likely to binge drink and more likely to wear seat belts (Guo et al. 2008).

With these findings, where is the social? Simply put, the genes don’t determine people’s behavior. Rather, their influence is modified by social experiences. On the obvious level, Arabs with the gene DRD2 who live in a society where alcohol is difficult to find are less likely to abuse alcohol than are Americans with this gene who hang around bars. Similarly, subcultures that encourage or discourage sexual behavior override the 9R/9R gene. To their surprise, researchers have even found that social experiences can change a person’s genes (Ledger 2009).

**In Sum:** To say that genes have an influence on human behavior is a far cry from saying that genetics determines human behavior, that we act as we do because of genetics. On the contrary, pigs act like pigs and spiders act like spiders because instincts control their behavior. We humans, in contrast, possess a self and engage in abstract thought. We develop purposes and goals and discuss the reasons that we do things. Unlike pigs and spiders, we are immersed in a world of symbols that we use to consider, reflect, and make reasoned choices. Because we humans are not prisoners of our genes, we have developed fascinatingly diverse ways of life around the world—which we will be exploring in this text. ■

**2.6** Explain how technology changes culture and what cultural lag and cultural leveling are.

Language is the basis of human culture around the world. The past decade has seen major developments in communication—the ease and speed with which we can talk to people across the globe. This development is destined to have vital effects on culture. This photo of teens texting was taken in a village in Ethiopia.



## Technology in the Global Village

### The New Technology

The gestures, language, values, folkways, and mores that we have discussed—all are part of symbolic (nonmaterial) culture. Culture, as you recall, also has a material aspect: a group’s *things*, from its houses to its toys. Central to a group’s material culture is its technology. In its simplest sense, **technology** can be equated with tools. In a broader sense, technology also includes the skills or procedures necessary to make and use those tools.

We can use the term **new technology** to refer to an emerging technology that has a significant impact on social life. Although people develop minor technologies all the time, most are only slight modifications of existing technologies. Occasionally, however, they develop a technology that makes a major impact on human life. It is primarily to these innovations that the term *new technology* refers. Five hundred years ago, the new technology was the printing press. For us, the new technology consists of the microchip, computers, satellites, and the Internet.



The sociological significance of technology goes far beyond the tool itself. *Technology sets the framework for a group's nonmaterial culture.* It is obvious that if a group's technology changes, so do the ways people do things. But the effects of technology go far beyond this. Technology also influences how people think and how they relate to one another. An example is gender relations. Through the centuries and throughout the world, it has been the custom (nonmaterial culture) for men to dominate women. Today's global communications (material culture) make this custom more difficult to maintain. For example, when Arab women watch Western television, they observe an unfamiliar freedom in gender relations. As these women use e-mail and cell phones to talk about what they have seen, they both convey and create discontent, as well as feelings of sisterhood. These communications motivate some of them to agitate for social change.

In today's world, the long-accepted idea that it is proper to withhold rights on the basis of someone's sex can no longer be sustained. What usually lies beyond our awareness in this revolutionary change is the role of the new technology, which joins the world's nations into a global communications network.

## Cultural Lag and Cultural Change

Three or four generations ago, sociologist William Ogburn (1922/1950) coined the term **cultural lag**. By this, Ogburn meant that not all parts of a culture change at the same pace. When one part of a culture changes, other parts lag behind.

Ogburn pointed out that *a group's material culture usually changes first, with the non-material culture lagging behind.* This leaves the nonmaterial (or symbolic) culture playing a game of catch-up. For example, when we get sick, we can type our symptoms into a computer and get an instant diagnosis and recommended course of treatment. In some tests, computer programs outperform physicians. Yet our customs have not caught up with our technology, and we continue to visit the doctor's office.

Sometimes nonmaterial culture never does catch up. We can rigorously hold onto some outmoded form—one that once was needed but that long ago was bypassed by technology. Have you ever wondered why our “school year” is nine months long, and why we take summers off? For most of us, this is “just the way it is,” and we have never questioned it. But there is more to this custom than meets the eye. In the late 1800s, when universal schooling came about, the school year matched the technology of the time. Most parents were farmers, and for survival they needed their children's help at the crucial times of planting and harvesting. Today, generations later, when few people farm and there is no need for the “school year” to be so short, we still live with this cultural lag.

## Technology and Cultural Leveling

For most of human history, communication was limited and travel was slow. Consequently, in their smaller groups living in relative isolation, people developed highly distinctive ways of life as they responded to the particular situations they faced. The unique characteristics they developed that distinguished one culture from another tended to change little over time. The Tasmanians, who live on a remote island off the coast of Australia, provide an extreme example. For thousands of years, they had no contact with other people. They were so isolated that they did not even know how to make clothing or fire (Edgerton 1992).

Except in such rare instances as this, humans have always had *some* contact with other groups. During these contacts, people learned from one another, adopting things they found desirable. In this process, called **cultural diffusion**, groups are most open to



Technological advances are now so rapid that there can be cultural gaps between generations.

**cultural lag** Ogburn's term for human behavior lagging behind technological innovations

**cultural diffusion** the spread of cultural traits from one group to another; includes both material and nonmaterial cultural traits

**cultural leveling** the process by which cultures become similar to one another; refers especially to the process by which Western culture is being exported and diffused into other nations

Cultural leveling is occurring rapidly, with some strange twists. These men from an Amazon tribe, who have just come back from a week hunting in the jungle, are wearing traditional headdress and using traditional weapons, but you can easily spot something else that is jarringly out of place.

changes in their technology or material culture. They usually are eager, for example, to adopt superior weapons and tools. In remote jungles in South America, one can find metal cooking pots, steel axes, and even bits of clothing spun in mills in South Carolina. Although the direction of cultural diffusion today is primarily from the West to other parts of the world, cultural diffusion is not a one-way street—as bagels, woks, hammocks, and sushi in the United States attest.

With today's trade, travel, and communications, cultural diffusion is occurring rapidly. Daily, we use products from around the world. Jet planes have made it possible to journey around the globe in a matter of hours. In the not-so-distant past, a trip from the United States to Africa was so unusual that only a few adventurous people made it, so few that newspapers would herald their feat. Today, hundreds of thousands make the trip each year.

The changes in communication are no less vast. Communication used to be limited to face-to-face speech, written messages that were passed from hand to hand, and visual signals such as smoke or light reflected from mirrors. Despite newspapers and even the telegraph, people in some parts of the United States did not hear that the Civil War had ended until weeks and even months after it was over. Today's electronic communications transmit messages across the globe in seconds, and we learn almost instantaneously what is happening on the other side of the world. During the Iraq War, reporters traveled with U.S. soldiers, and for the first time in history, the public was able to view live videos of battles as they took place. When Navy Seals executed Osama bin Laden under President Obama's orders, Obama and Hillary Clinton watched the helicopter land in bin Laden's compound, listened to reports of the killing, and watched the Seals leave (Schmidle 2011).

Travel and communication bridge time and space to such an extent that there is almost no "other side of the world" anymore. One result is **cultural leveling**, a process in which cultures become more and more similar to one another. The globalization of capitalism brings with it both technology and Western culture. Japan, for example, has adopted not only capitalism but also Western forms of dress and music, transforming it into a blend of Western and Eastern cultures.





Cultural leveling is apparent to any international traveler. The golden arches of McDonald's welcome visitors to Tokyo, Paris, London, Madrid, Moscow, Hong Kong, and Beijing. When I visited a jungle village in India—no electricity, no running water, and so remote that the only entrance was by a footpath—I saw a young man sporting a cap with the Nike emblem.

Although the bridging of geography, time, and culture by electronic signals and the adoption of Western icons do not in and of themselves mark the end of traditional cultures, the inevitable result is some degree of *cultural leveling*. We are producing a blander, less distinctive way of life—U.S. culture with French, Japanese, and Brazilian accents, so to speak. Although the “cultural accent” remains, something vital is lost forever.

# MySocLab



Study and Review on MySocLab

CHAPTER

2

## Summary and Review

### What Is Culture?

**2.1** Explain what culture is, how culture provides orientations to life, and what practicing cultural relativism means.

#### How do sociologists understand culture?

All human groups possess **culture**—language, beliefs, values, norms, and material objects that they pass from one generation to the next. **Material culture** consists of objects such as art, buildings, clothing, weapons, and tools. **Nonmaterial** (or **symbolic**) **culture** is a group's ways of thinking and its patterns of behavior. **Ideal culture** is a group's ideal values, norms, and goals. **Real culture** is people's actual behavior, which often falls short of their cultural ideals. Pp. 38–39.

#### What are cultural relativism and ethnocentrism?

People are **ethnocentric**; that is, they use their own culture as a yardstick for judging the ways of others. In contrast, those who embrace **cultural relativism** try to understand other cultures on those cultures' own terms. Pp. 39–45.

### Components of Symbolic Culture

**2.2** Know the components of symbolic culture: gestures, language, values, norms, sanctions, folkways, mores, and taboos; also explain the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

#### What are the components of nonmaterial culture?

The central component of nonmaterial culture is **symbols**, anything to which people attach meaning and that they use

to communicate with others. Universally, the symbols of nonmaterial culture are **gestures**, **language**, **values**, **norms**, **sanctions**, **folkways**, and **mores**. Pp. 45–46.

#### Why is language so significant to culture?

**Language** allows human experience to be goal-directed, cooperative, and cumulative. It also lets humans move beyond the present and share a past, a future, and other common perspectives. According to the **Sapir-Whorf hypothesis**, language even shapes our thoughts and perceptions. Pp. 46–49.

#### How do values, norms, sanctions, folkways, and mores reflect culture?

All groups have **values**, standards by which they define what is desirable or undesirable, and **norms**, rules or expectations about behavior. Groups use **positive sanctions** to show approval of those who follow their norms and **negative sanctions** to show disapproval of those who violate them. Norms that are not strictly enforced are called **folkways**, while **mores** are norms to which groups demand conformity because they reflect core values. Pp. 49–51.

### Many Cultural Worlds

**2.3** Distinguish between subcultures and countercultures.

#### How do subcultures and countercultures differ?

A **subculture** is a group whose values and related behaviors distinguish its members from the general culture. A **counterculture** holds some values that stand in opposition to those of the dominant culture. Pp. 51–55.

## Values in U.S. Society

**2.4** Discuss the major U.S. values and explain value clusters, value contradictions, value clashes, how values are lenses of perception, and ideal versus real culture.

### What are some core U.S. values?

Although the United States is a **pluralistic society**, made up of many groups, each with its own set of values, certain values dominate. These are called its **core values**. Core values do not change without opposition. Some values cluster together to form a larger whole called **value clusters**. **Value contradictions** (such as equality versus sexism and racism) indicate areas of tension, which are likely points of social change. Leisure, self-fulfillment, physical fitness, youthfulness, and concern for the environment form an emerging value cluster. Pp. 55–58.

## Cultural Universals

**2.5** Take a position on the issue of the existence of cultural universals and contrast sociobiology with sociology.

### Do cultural universals exist?

**Cultural universal** refers to a value, norm, or other cultural trait that is found in all cultures. Although all human groups

have customs concerning cooking, childbirth, funerals, and so on, because these customs differ from one culture to another, there are no cultural universals. Pp. 58–60.

## Technology in the Global Village

**2.6** Explain how technology changes culture and what cultural lag and cultural leveling are.

### How is technology changing culture?

William Ogburn coined the term **cultural lag** to describe how a group's nonmaterial culture lags behind its changing technology. With today's technological advances in trade, travel, and communications, **cultural diffusion** is occurring rapidly. This leads to **cultural leveling**, groups becoming similar as they adopt items from other cultures. Much of the richness of the world's diverse cultures is being lost in the process. Pp. 60–63.

## Thinking Critically about Chapter 2

1. Do you favor ethnocentrism or cultural relativism? Explain your position.
2. Do you think that the language change in Miami, Florida (discussed on page 48), indicates the future of the United States? Why or why not?
3. Are you a member of any subcultures? Which one(s)? Why do you think that your group is a subculture and not a counterculture? What is your group's relationship to the mainstream culture?



# Glossary

- achieved statuses** positions that are earned, accomplished, or involve at least some effort or activity on the individual's part
- acid rain** rain containing sulfuric and nitric acids (burning fossil fuels release sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide that become sulfuric and nitric acids when they react with moisture in the air)
- activity theory** the view that satisfaction during old age is related to a person's amount and quality of activity
- age cohort** people born at roughly the same time who pass through the life course together
- ageism** prejudice and discrimination directed against people because of their age; can be directed against any age group, including youth
- agents of socialization** people or groups that affect our self concept, attitudes, behaviors, or other orientations toward life
- aggregate** individuals who temporarily share the same physical space but who do not see themselves as belonging together
- agricultural society** a society based on large-scale agriculture
- alienation** Marx's term for workers' lack of connection to the product of their labor; caused by workers being assigned repetitive tasks on a small part of a product—this leads to a sense of powerlessness and normlessness; others use the term in the general sense of not feeling a part of something
- alterative social movement** a social movement that seeks to alter only some specific aspects of people and institutions
- anarchy** a condition of lawlessness or political disorder caused by the absence or collapse of governmental authority
- anomie** Durkheim's term for a condition of society in which people become detached from the usual norms that guide their behavior
- anticipatory socialization** the process of learning in advance an anticipated future role or status
- apartheid** the separation of racial-ethnic groups as was practiced in South Africa
- applied sociology** the use of sociology to solve problems—from the micro level of classroom interaction and family relationships to the macro level of crime and pollution
- ascribed status** a position an individual either inherits at birth or receives involuntarily later in life
- assimilation** the process of being absorbed into the mainstream culture
- authoritarian leader** an individual who leads by giving orders
- authoritarian personality** Theodor Adorno's term for people who are prejudiced and rank high on scales of conformity, intolerance, insecurity, respect for authority, and submissiveness to superiors
- authority** power that people consider legitimate, as rightly exercised over them; also called *legitimate power*
- back stages** places where people rest from their performances in everyday life, discuss their presentations, and plan future performances
- background assumption** a deeply embedded, common understanding of how the world operates and of how people ought to act
- basic (or pure) sociology** sociology in everyday life logical research for the purpose of making discoveries about life in human groups, not for making changes in those groups
- basic demographic equation** the growth rate equals births minus deaths plus net migration
- bilineal system** (of descent) a system of reckoning descent that counts both the mother's and the father's side
- biotech society** a society whose economy increasingly centers on modifying genetics to produce food, medicine, and materials
- blended family** a family whose members were once part of other families
- body language** the ways in which people use their bodies to give messages to others
- bonded labor (indentured service)** a contractual system in which someone sells his or her body (services) for a specified period of time in an arrangement very close to slavery, except that it is entered into voluntarily
- born again** a term describing Christians who have undergone a religious experience so life-transforming that they feel they have become new persons
- bourgeoisie** Marx's term for capitalists, those who own the means of production
- bureaucracy** a formal organization with a hierarchy of authority and a clear division of labor; emphasis on impersonality of positions and written rules, communications, and records
- capital punishment** the death penalty
- capitalism** an economic system built around the private ownership of the means of production, the pursuit of profit, and market competition
- case study** an intensive analysis of a single event, situation, or individual
- caste system** a form of social stratification in which people's statuses are lifelong conditions determined by birth
- category** people, objects, and events that have similar characteristics and are classified together
- charisma** literally, an extraordinary gift from God; more commonly, an outstanding, "magnetic" personality
- charismatic authority** authority based on an individual's outstanding traits, which attract followers
- charismatic leader** literally, someone to whom God has given a gift; in its extended sense, someone who exudes extraordinary appeal to a group of followers
- checks and balances** the separation of powers among the three branches of U.S. government—legislative, executive, and judicial—so that each is able to nullify the actions of the other two, thus preventing any single branch from dominating the government
- church** according to Durkheim, one of the three essential elements of religion—a moral community of believers; also refers to a large, highly organized religious group that has formal, sedate worship services with little emphasis on evangelism, intense religious experience, or personal conversion
- citizenship** the concept that birth (and residence or naturalization) in a country imparts basic rights
- city** a place in which a large number of people are permanently based and do not produce their own food
- city-state** an independent city whose power radiates outward, bringing the adjacent area under its rule
- class conflict** Marx's term for the struggle between capitalists and workers
- class consciousness** Marx's term for awareness of a common identity based on one's position in the means of production
- class system** a form of social stratification based primarily on the possession of money or material possessions
- clique** (cleek) a cluster of people within a larger group who choose to interact with one another
- coalition** the alignment of some members of a group against others
- coercion** power that people do not accept as rightly exercised over them; also called *illegitimate power*
- cohabitation** unmarried couples living together in a sexual relationship
- colonialism** the process by which one nation takes over another nation, usually for the purpose of exploiting its labor and natural resources
- compartmentalize** to separate acts from feelings or attitudes
- conflict theory** a theoretical framework in which society is viewed as composed of groups that are competing for scarce resources
- conspicuous consumption** Thorstein Veblen's term for a change from the thrift, saving, and investing of the Protestant ethic to showing off wealth through spending and the display of possessions
- contact theory** the idea that prejudice and negative stereotypes decrease and racial-ethnic relations improve when people from different racial-ethnic backgrounds, who are of equal status, interact frequently
- continuity theory** a theory focusing on how people adjust to retirement by continuing aspects of their earlier lives
- contradictory class locations** Erik Wright's term for a position in the class structure that generates contradictory interests
- control group** the subjects in an experiment who are not exposed to the independent variable
- control theory** the idea that two control systems—inner controls and outer controls—work against our tendencies to deviate
- convergence theory** the view that as capitalist and socialist economic systems each adopt features of the other, a hybrid (or mixed) economic system will emerge
- core values** the values that are central to a group, those around which people build a common identity
- corporate crime** crimes committed by executives in order to benefit their corporation
- corporate culture** the values, norms, and other orientations that characterize corporate work settings
- cosmology** teachings or ideas that provide a unified picture of the world
- counterculture** a group whose values, beliefs, norms, and related behaviors place its members in opposition to the broader culture
- credential society** the use of diplomas and degrees to determine who is eligible for jobs, even though the diploma or degree may be irrelevant to the actual work

## G-2 GLOSSARY

**crime** the violation of norms written into law

**criminal justice system** the system of police, courts, and prisons set up to deal with people who are accused of having committed a crime

**crude birth rate** the annual number of live births per 1,000 population

**crude death rate** the annual number of deaths per 1,000 population

**cult** a new religion with few followers, whose teachings and practices put it at odds with the dominant culture and religion

**cultural capital** privileges accompanying a social location that help someone in life; included are more highly educated parents, from grade school through high school being pushed to bring home high grades, and enjoying cultural experiences that translate into higher test scores, better jobs, and higher earnings

**cultural diffusion** the spread of cultural traits from one group to another; includes both material and nonmaterial cultural traits

**cultural goals** the objectives held out as legitimate or desirable for the members of a society to achieve

**cultural lag** Ogburn's term for human behavior lagging behind technological innovations

**cultural leveling** the process by which cultures become similar to one another; refers especially to the process by which Western culture is being exported and diffused into other nations

**cultural relativism** not judging a culture but trying to understand it on its own terms

**cultural transmission of values** the process of transmitting values from one group to another; often refers to how cultural traits are transmitted across generations; in education, the ways in which schools transmit a society's culture, especially its core values

**cultural universal** a value, norm, or other cultural trait that is found in every group

**culture** the language, beliefs, values, norms, behaviors, and even material objects that characterize a group and are passed from one generation to the next

**culture of poverty** the assumption that the values and behaviors of the poor make them fundamentally different from other people, that these factors are largely responsible for their poverty, and that parents perpetuate poverty across generations by passing these characteristics to their children

**culture shock** the disorientation that people experience when they come in contact with a fundamentally different culture and can no longer depend on their taken-for-granted assumptions about life

**currency** paper money

**deferred gratification** going without something in the present in the hope of achieving greater gains in the future

**degradation ceremony** a term coined by Harold Garfinkel to refer to a ritual whose goal is to remake someone's self by stripping away that individual's self-identity and stamping a new identity in its place

**deindustrialization** the process of industries moving out of a country or region

**democracy** a government whose authority comes from the people; the term, based on two Greek words, translates literally as "power to the people"

**democratic leader** an individual who leads by trying to reach a consensus

**democratic socialism** a hybrid economic system in which the individual ownership of businesses is mixed with the state ownership of industries thought essential to the public welfare, such as the postal service, natural resources, the medical delivery system, and mass transportation

**demographic transition** a three-stage historical process of change in the size of populations: first, high birth rates and high death rates; second, high birth rates and low death rates; and third, low birth rates and low death rates; a fourth stage of population shrinkage in which deaths outnumber births has made its appearance in the Most Industrialized Nations

**demographic variables** the three factors that change the size of a population: fertility, mortality, and net migration

**demography** the study of the size, composition, (growth or shrinkage), and distribution of human populations

**denomination** a "brand name" within a major religion; for example, Methodist or Baptist

**deviance** the violation of norms (or rules or expectations)

**dialectical process (of history)** each arrangement of power (a thesis) contains contradictions (antitheses) which make the arrangement unstable and which must be resolved; the new arrangement of power (a synthesis) contains its own contradictions; this process of balancing and unbalancing continues throughout history as groups struggle for power and other resources

**dictatorship** a form of government in which an individual has seized power

**differential association** Edwin Sutherland's term to indicate that people who associate with some groups learn an "excess of definitions" of deviance, increasing the likelihood that they will become deviant

**diffusion** the spread of an invention or a discovery from one area to another; identified by William Ogburn as one of three processes of social change

**direct democracy** a form of democracy in which the eligible voters meet together to discuss issues and make their decisions

**disabling environment** an environment that is harmful to health

**discovery** a new way of seeing reality; identified by William Ogburn as one of three processes of social change

**discrimination** an act of unfair treatment directed against an individual or a group

**disengagement theory** the view that society is stabilized by having the elderly retire (disengage from) their positions of responsibility so the younger generation can step into their shoes

**disinvestment** the withdrawal of investments by financial institutions, which seals the fate of an urban area

**divine right of kings** the idea that the king's authority comes from God; in an interesting gender bender, also applies to queens

**division of labor** the splitting of a group's or a society's tasks into specialties

**documents** in its narrow sense, written sources that provide data; in its extended sense, archival material of any sort, including photographs, movies, CDs, DVDs, and so on

**dominant group** the group with the most power, greatest privileges, and highest social status

**downward social mobility** movement down the social class ladder

**dramaturgy** an approach, pioneered by Erving Goffman, in which social life is analyzed in terms of drama or the stage; also called *dramaturgical analysis*

**dyad** the smallest possible group, consisting of two persons

**ecclesia** a religious group so integrated into the dominant culture that it is difficult to tell where the one begins and the other leaves off; also called a *state religion*

**economy** a system of producing and distributing goods and services

**ecosabotage** actions taken to sabotage the efforts of people who are thought to be legally harming the environment

**edge city** a large clustering of service facilities and residential areas near highway inter-sections that provides a sense of place to people who live, shop, and work there

**egalitarian** authority more or less equally divided between people or groups (in heterosexual marriage, for example, between husband and wife)

**ego** Freud's term for a balancing force between the id and the demands of society

**endogamy** the practice of marrying within one's own group

**enterprise zone** the use of economic incentives in a designated area to encourage investment

**environmental injustice** refers to how minorities and the poor are harmed the most by environmental pollution

**environmental sociology** a specialty within sociology whose focus is how humans affect the environment and how the environment affects humans

**estate stratification system** the stratification system of medieval Europe, consisting of three groups or estates: the nobility, clergy, and commoners

**ethnic cleansing** a policy of eliminating a population; includes forcible expulsion and genocide

**ethnic work** activities designed to discover, enhance, maintain, or transmit an ethnic or racial identity

**ethnicity (and ethnic)** having distinctive cultural characteristics

**ethnocentrism** the use of one's own culture as a yardstick for judging the ways of other individuals or societies, generally leading to a negative evaluation of their values, norms, and behaviors

**ethnomethodology** the study of how people use background assumptions to make sense out of life

**exchange mobility** a large number of people moving up the social class ladder, while a large number move down; it is as though they have *exchanged* places, and the social class system shows little change

**exogamy** the practice of marrying outside of one's group

**experiment** the use of control and experimental groups and dependent and independent variables to test causation

**experimental group** the group of subjects in an experiment who are exposed to the independent variable

**exponential growth curve** a pattern of growth in which numbers double during approximately equal intervals, showing a steep acceleration in the later stages

**expressive leader** an individual who increases harmony and minimizes conflict in a group; also known as a *socioemotional leader*

**extended family** a family in which relatives, such as the "older generation" or unmarried aunts and uncles, live with the parents and their children

**face-saving behavior** techniques used to salvage a performance (interaction) that is going sour

**false class consciousness** Marx's term to refer to workers identifying with the interests of capitalists



- family** two or more people who consider themselves related by blood, marriage, or adoption
- family of orientation** the family in which a person grows up
- family of procreation** the family formed when a couple's first child is born
- fecundity** the number of children that women are capable of bearing
- feminism** the philosophy that men and women should be politically, economically, and socially equal; organized activities on behalf of this principle
- feminization of poverty** a condition of U.S. poverty in which most poor families are headed by women
- feral children** children assumed to have been raised by animals, in the wilderness, isolated from humans
- fertility rate** the number of children that the average woman bears
- folkways** norms that are not strictly enforced
- formal organization** a secondary group designed to achieve explicit objectives
- front stage** a place where people give their performances in everyday life
- functional analysis** a theoretical framework in which society is viewed as composed of various parts, each with a function that, when fulfilled, contributes to society's equilibrium; also *known as functionalism and structural functionalism*
- functional illiterate** a high school graduate who has difficulty with basic reading and math
- gatekeeping** the process by which education opens and closes doors of opportunity; another term for the *social placement* function of education
- Gemeinschaft** a type of society in which life is intimate; a community in which everyone knows everyone else and people share a sense of togetherness
- gender** the behaviors and attitudes that a society considers proper for its males and females; masculinity or femininity
- gender socialization** learning society's "gender map," the paths in life set out for us because we are male or female
- gender stratification** males' and females' unequal access to property, power, and prestige
- generalized other** the norms, values, attitudes, and expectations of people "in general"; the child's ability to take the role of the generalized other is a significant step in the development of a self
- genetic predisposition** inborn tendencies (for example, a tendency to commit deviant acts)
- genocide** the annihilation or attempted annihilation of a people because of their presumed race or ethnicity
- gentrification** middle-class people moving into a rundown area of a city, displacing the poor as they buy and restore homes
- Gesellschaft** a type of society that is dominated by short-term impersonal relationships, individual accomplishments, and self-interest
- gestures** the ways in which people use their bodies to communicate with one another
- glass ceiling** the mostly invisible barrier that keeps women from advancing to the top levels at work
- global superclass** the top members of the capitalist class, who, through their worldwide interconnections, make the major decisions that affect the world
- globalization** the growing interconnections among nations due to the expansion of capitalism
- globalization of capitalism** capitalism (investing to make profits within a rational system) becoming the globe's dominant economic system
- goal displacement** an organization replacing old goals with new ones; also known as *goal replacement*
- grade inflation** higher grades given for the same work; a general rise in student grades without a corresponding increase in learning
- graying of America** the growing percentage of older people in the U.S. population
- group** people who have something in common and who believe that what they have in common is significant; also called a *social group*
- group dynamics** the ways in which individuals affect groups and the ways in which groups influence individuals
- groupthink** a narrowing of thought by a group of people, leading to the perception that there is only one correct answer and that to even suggest alternatives is a sign of disloyalty
- growth rate** the net change in a population after adding births, subtracting deaths, and either adding or subtracting net migration; can result in a negative number
- hidden curriculum** the unwritten goals of schools, such as teaching obedience to authority and conformity to cultural norms
- homogamy** the tendency of people with similar characteristics to marry one another
- Horatio Alger myth** the belief that due to limitless possibilities anyone can get ahead if he or she tries hard enough
- household** people who occupy the same housing unit
- human ecology** Robert Park's term for the relationship between people and their environment (such as land and structures); also known as *urban ecology*
- humanizing the work setting** organizing a workplace in such a way that it develops rather than impedes human potential
- hunting and gathering society** a human group that depends on hunting and gathering for its survival
- hypothesis** a statement of how variables are expected to be related to one another, often according to predictions from a theory
- id** Freud's term for our inborn basic drives
- ideal culture** a people's ideal values and norms; the goals held out for them
- ideology** beliefs about the way things ought to be that justify social arrangements
- illegitimate opportunity structure** opportunities for crimes that are woven into the texture of life
- impression management** people's efforts to control the impressions that others receive of them
- incest** sexual relations between specified relatives, such as brothers and sisters or parents and children
- incest taboo** the rule that prohibits sex and marriage among designated relatives
- inclusion** helping people to become part of the mainstream of society; also called *mainstreaming*
- income** money received, usually from a job, business, or assets
- independent variable** a factor that causes a change in another variable, called the *dependent variable*
- individual discrimination** person-to-person or face-to-face discrimination; the negative treatment of people by other individuals
- Industrial Revolution** the third social revolution, occurring when machines powered by fuels replaced most animal and human power
- industrial society** a society based on the harnessing of machines powered by fuels
- in-group** a group toward which one feels loyalty
- institutional discrimination** negative treatment of a minority group that is built into a society's institutions; also called *systemic discrimination*
- institutionalized means** approved ways of reaching cultural goals
- instrumental leader** an individual who tries to keep the group moving toward its goals; also known as a *task-oriented leader*
- intergenerational mobility** the change that family members make in social class from one generation to the next
- internal colonialism** the policy of exploiting minority groups for economic gain
- interview** direct questioning of respondents
- interviewer bias** effects of interviewers on respondents that lead to biased answers
- invasion-succession cycle** the process of one group of people displacing a group whose racial-ethnic or social class characteristics differ from their own
- invention** the combination of existing elements and materials to form new ones; identified by William Ogburn as one of three processes of social change
- iron law of oligarchy** Robert Michels' term for the tendency of formal organizations to be dominated by a small, self-perpetuating elite
- labeling theory** the view that the labels people are given affect their own and others' perceptions of them, thus channeling their behavior into either deviance or conformity
- laissez-faire capitalism** literally "hands off" capitalism, meaning that the government doesn't interfere in the market
- laissez-faire leader** an individual who leads by being highly permissive
- language** a system of symbols that can be combined in an infinite number of ways and can represent not only objects but also abstract thought
- latent functions** unintended beneficial consequences of people's actions
- leader** someone who influences other people
- leadership styles** ways in which people express their leadership
- life course** the stages of our life as we go from birth to death
- life expectancy** the number of years that an average person at any age, including newborns, can expect to live
- life span** the maximum length of life of a species; for humans, the longest that a human has lived
- lobbyists** people who influence legislation on behalf of their clients
- looking-glass self** a term coined by Charles Horton Cooley to refer to the process by which our self develops through internalizing others' reactions to us
- machismo** an emphasis on male strength and dominance
- macro-level analysis** an examination of large-scale patterns of society; such as how Wall Street and the political establishment are interrelated
- macrosociology** analysis of social life that focuses on broad features of society, such as social class and the relationships of groups to one another; usually used by functionalists and conflict theorists

## G-4 GLOSSARY

**Malthus theorem** an observation by Thomas Malthus that although the food supply increases arithmetically (from 1 to 2 to 3 to 4 and so on), population grows geometrically (from 2 to 4 to 8 to 16 and so forth)

**mandatory education laws** laws that require all children to attend school until a specified age or until they complete a minimum grade in school

**manifest functions** the intended beneficial consequences of people's actions

**market forces** the law of supply and demand

**marriage** a group's approved mating arrangements, usually marked by a ritual of some sort

**mass hysteria** an imagined threat that causes physical symptoms among a large number of people

**mass media** forms of communication, such as radio, newspapers, and television that are directed to mass audiences

**master status** a status that cuts across the other statuses that an individual occupies

**material culture** the material objects that distinguish a group of people, such as their art, buildings, weapons, utensils, machines, hairstyles, clothing, and jewelry

**matrarchy** a society in which women-as-a-group dominate men-as-a-group; authority is vested in females

**matrilineal system (of descent)** a system of reckoning descent that counts only the mother's side

**McDonaldization of society** the process by which ordinary aspects of life are rationalized and efficiency comes to rule them, including such things as food preparation

**means of production** the tools, factories, land, and investment capital used to produce wealth

**mechanical solidarity** Durkheim's term for the unity (a shared consciousness) that people feel as a result of performing the same or similar tasks

**medicalization** the transformation of a human condition into a medical matter to be treated by physicians

**medicalization of deviance** to make deviance a medical matter, a symptom of some underlying illness that needs to be treated by physicians

**megacity** a city of 10 million or more residents

**megapolis** an urban area consisting of at least two metropolises and their many suburbs

**meritocracy** a form of social stratification in which all positions are awarded on the basis of merit

**metaformative social movement** a social movement that has the goal to change the social order not just of a country or two, but of a civilization, or even of the entire world

**metropolis** a central city surrounded by smaller cities and their suburbs

**metropolitan statistical area (MSA)** a central city and the urbanized counties adjacent to it

**micro-level analysis** an examination of small-scale patterns of society; such as how the members of a group interact

**microsociology** analysis of social life that focuses on social interaction; typically used by symbolic interactionists

**minority group** people who are singled out for unequal treatment and who regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination

**modernization** the transformation of traditional societies into industrial societies

**monarchy** a form of government headed by a king or queen

**monopoly** the control of an entire industry by a single company

**monotheism** the belief that there is only one God

**moral panic** a fear gripping a large number of people that some evil threatens the wellbeing of society; followed by hostility, sometimes violence, toward those thought responsible

**mores** norms that are strictly enforced because they are thought essential to core values or the well-being of the group

**multiculturalism (or pluralism)** a policy that permits or encourages ethnic differences

**multinational corporations** companies that operate across national boundaries; also called *transnational corporations*

**negative sanction** an expression of disapproval for breaking a norm, ranging from a mild, informal reaction such as a frown to a formal reaction such as a prize or a prison sentence

**neocolonialism** the economic and political dominance of the Most Industrialized Nations over the Least Industrialized Nations

**net migration rate** the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants per 1,000 population

**new technology** the emerging technologies of an era that have a significant impact on social life

**nonmaterial culture** a group's ways of thinking (including its beliefs, values, and other assumptions about the world) and doing (its common patterns of behavior, including language and other forms of interaction); also called *symbolic culture*

**nonverbal interaction** communication without words through gestures, use of space, silence, and so on

**norms** expectations of "right" behavior

**nuclear family** a family consisting of a husband, wife, and child(ren)

**oligarchy** a form of government in which a small group of individuals holds power; the rule of the many by the few

**operational definition** the way in which a researcher measures a variable

**organic solidarity** Durkheim's term for the interdependence that results from the division of labor; as part of the same unit, we all depend on others to fulfill their jobs

**out-group** a group toward which one feels antagonism

**pan-Indianism** an attempt to develop an identity that goes beyond the tribe by emphasizing the common elements that run through Native American cultures

**participant observation (or fieldwork)** research in which the researcher participates in a research setting while observing what is happening in that setting

**patriarchy** men-as-a-group dominating women-as-a-group; authority is vested in males

**patrilineal system (of descent)** a system of reckoning descent that counts only the father's side

**patterns of behavior** recurring behaviors or events

**peer group** a group of individuals, often of roughly the same age, who are linked by common interests and orientations

**personality disorders** the view that a personality disturbance of some sort causes an individual to violate social norms

**Peter Principle** a tongue in-cheek observation that the members of an organization are promoted for their accomplishments until they reach their level of incompetence; there they cease to be promoted, remaining at the level at which they can no longer do good work

**pluralism** the diffusion of power among many interest groups that prevents any single group from gaining control of the government

**pluralistic society** a society made up of many different groups

**police discretion** the practice of the police, in the normal course of their duties, to either arrest or ticket someone for an offense or to overlook the matter

**political action committee (PAC)** an organization formed by one or more special-interest groups to solicit and spend funds for the purpose of influencing legislation

**polyandry** a form of marriage in which women have more than one husband

**polygyny** a form of marriage in which men have more than one wife

**population** a target group to be studied

**population pyramid** a graph that represents the age and sex of a population (see Figure 20.7)

**population shrinkage** the process by which a country's population becomes smaller because its birth rate and immigration are too low to replace those who die and emigrate

**population transfer** the forced transfer of a minority group

**positive sanction** an expression of approval for following a norm, ranging from a smile or a good grade in a class to a material reward such as a prize

**positivism** the application of the scientific approach to the social world

**postindustrial (information) society** a society based on information, services, and high technology, rather than on raw materials and manufacturing

**postmodern society** another term for postindustrial society

**poverty line** the official measure of poverty; calculated to include incomes that are less than three times a low-cost food budget

**power** the ability to carry out one's will, even over the resistance of others

**power elite** C. Wright Mills' term for the top people in U.S. corporations, military, and politics who make the nation's major decisions

**prejudice** an attitude or prejudging, usually in a negative way

**prestige** respect or regard

**primary group** a small group characterized by cooperative intimate, longterm, face-to-face associations

**proactive social movement** a social movement that promotes some social change

**profane** Durkheim's term for common elements of everyday life

**proletariat** Marx's term for the exploited class, the mass of workers who do not own the means of production

**propaganda** in its broad sense, the presentation of information in an attempt to influence people; in its narrow sense, one-sided information used to try to influence people

**property** material possessions: animals, bank accounts, bonds, buildings, businesses, cars, cash, commodities, copyrights, furniture, jewelry, land, and stocks



**Protestant ethic** Weber's term to describe the ideal of a self-denying, highly moral life accompanied by thrift and hard work

**public** in this context, a dispersed group of people relevant to a social movement; the sympathetic and hostile publics have an interest in the issues on which a social movement focuses; there is also an unaware or indifferent public

**public opinion** how people think about some issue

**public sociology** applying sociology for the public good; especially the use of the sociological perspective (how things are related to one another) to guide politicians and policy makers

**race** a group whose inherited physical characteristics distinguish it from other groups

**racism** prejudice and discrimination on the basis of race

**random sample** a sample in which everyone in the target population has the same chance of being included in the study

**rapprochement (ruh-POUR)** a feeling of trust between researchers and the people they are studying

**rationality** using rules, efficiency, and practical results to determine human affairs

**rationalization of society** a widespread acceptance of rationality and social organizations that are built largely around this idea

**rational-legal authority** authority based on law or written rules and regulations; also called *bureaucratic authority*

**reactive social movement** a social movement that resists some social change

**real culture** the norms and values that people actually follow; as opposed to *ideal culture*

**recidivism rate** the percentage of released convicts who are rearrested

**redemptive social movement** a social movement that seeks to change people and institutions totally, to redeem them

**redlining** a decision by the officers of a financial institution not to make loans in a particular area

**reference group** a group whose standards we refer to as we evaluate ourselves

**reformative social movement** a social movement that seeks to reform some specific aspect of society

**reliability** the extent to which research produces consistent or dependable results

**religion** according to Durkheim, beliefs and practices that separate the profane from the sacred and unite its adherents into a moral community

**religious experience** a sudden awareness of the supernatural or a feeling of coming in contact with God

**replication** the repetition of a study in order to test its findings

**representative democracy** a form of democracy in which voters elect representatives to meet together to discuss issues and make decisions on their behalf

**research method (or research design)** one of seven procedures that sociologists use to collect data: surveys, participant observation, case studies, secondary analysis, documents, experiments, and unobtrusive measures

**reserve labor force** the unemployed; unemployed workers are thought of as being "in reserve"—capitalists take them "out of reserve" (put them back to work) during times of high production and then put them "back in reserve" (lay them off) when they are no longer needed

**resocialization** the process of learning new norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors

**resource mobilization** a theory that social movements succeed or fail based on their ability to mobilize resources such as time, money, and people's skills

**respondents** people who respond to a survey, either in interviews or by self-administered questionnaires

**revolution** armed resistance designed to overthrow and replace a government

**rising expectations** the sense that better conditions are soon to follow, which, if unfulfilled, increases frustration

**rituals** ceremonies or repetitive practices; in religion, observances or rites often intended to evoke a sense of awe of the sacred

**role** the behaviors, obligations, and privileges attached to a status

**role conflict** conflicts that someone feels *between* roles because the expectations are at odds with one another

**role performance** the ways in which someone performs a role; showing a particular "style" or "personality"

**role strain** conflicts that someone feels within a role

**romantic love** feelings of erotic attraction accompanied by an idealization of the other

**routinization of charisma** the transfer of authority from a charismatic figure to either a traditional or a rational-legal form of authority

**ruling class** another term for the power elite

**sacred** Durkheim's term for things set apart or forbidden that inspire fear, awe, reverence, or deep respect

**sample** the individuals intended to represent the population to be studied

**sanctions** either expressions of approval given to people for upholding norms or expressions of disapproval for violating them

**Sapir-Whorf hypothesis** Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf's hypothesis that language creates ways of thinking and perceiving

**scapegoat** an individual or group unfairly blamed for someone else's troubles

**science** the application of systematic methods to obtain knowledge and the knowledge obtained by those methods

**scientific method** the use of objective, systematic observations to test theories

**secondary analysis** the analysis of data that have been collected by other researchers

**secondary group** compared with a primary group, a larger, relatively temporary, more anonymous, formal, and impersonal group based on some interest or activity

**sect** a religious group larger than a cult that still feels substantial hostility from and toward society

**segregation** the policy of keeping racial-ethnic groups apart

**selective perception** seeing certain features of an object or situation, but remaining blind to others

**self** the unique human capacity of being able to see ourselves "from the outside"; the views we internalize of how others see us

**self-fulfilling prophecy** Robert Merton's term for an originally false assertion that becomes true simply because it was predicted

**self-fulfilling stereotype** preconceived ideas of what someone is like that lead to the person's behaving in ways that match the stereotype

**serial murder** the killing of several victims in three or more separate events

**sex** biological characteristics that distinguish females and males, consisting of primary and secondary sex characteristics

**sexual harassment** the abuse of one's position of authority to force unwanted sexual demands on someone

**significant other** an individual who significantly influences someone else

**sign-vehicle** the term used by Goffman to refer to how people use social setting, appearance, and manner to communicate information about the self

**slavery** a form of social stratification in which some people own other people

**small group** a group small enough for everyone to interact directly with all the other members

**social change** the alteration of culture and societies over time

**social class** according to Weber, a large group of people who rank close to one another in property, power, and prestige; according to Marx, one of two groups: capitalists who own the means of production or workers who sell their labor

**social construction of reality** the use of background assumptions and life experiences to define what is real

**social control** a group's formal and informal means of enforcing its norms

**social environment** the entire human environment, including interaction with others

**social facts** Durkheim's term for a group's patterns of behavior

**social inequality** a social condition in which privileges and obligations are given to some but denied to others

**social institution** the organized, usual, or standard ways by which society meets its basic needs

**social integration** the degree to which members of a group or a society are united by shared values and other social bonds; also known as *social cohesion*

**social interaction** one person's actions influencing someone else; usually refers to what people do when they are in one another's presence, but also includes communications at a distance

**social location** the group memberships that people have because of their location in history and society

**social mobility** movement up or down the social class ladder

**social movement** a large group of people who are organized to promote or resist some social change

**social movement organization** an organization to promote the goals of a social movement

**social network** the social ties radiating outward from the self that link people together

**social order** a group's usual and customary social arrangements, on which its members depend and on which they base their lives

**social placement** a function of education—funneling people into a society's various positions

**social promotion** passing students on to the next level even though they have not mastered basic materials

**social stratification** the division of large numbers of people into layers according to their relative property, power, and prestige; applies to both nations and to people within a nation, society, or other group

## G-6 GLOSSARY

**social structure** the framework of society that surrounds us; consists of the ways that people and groups are related to one another; this framework gives direction to and sets limits on our behavior

**socialism** an economic system built around the public ownership of the means of production, central planning, and the distribution of goods without a profit motive

**socialization** the process by which people learn the characteristics of their group—the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, norms, and actions thought appropriate for them

**society** people who share a culture and a territory

**sociobiology** a framework of thought in which human behavior is considered to be the result of natural selection and biological factors

**sociological perspective** understanding human behavior by placing it within its broader social context

**sociology** the scientific study of society and human behavior

**special-interest group** a group of people who support a particular issue and who can be mobilized for political action

**spirit of capitalism** Weber's term for the desire to accumulate capital—not to spend it, but as an end in itself—and to constantly reinvest it

**split labor market** workers split along racial-ethnic, gender, age, or any other lines; this split is exploited by owners to weaken the bargaining power of workers

**state** a political entity that claims monopoly on the use of violence in some particular territory; commonly known as a country

**status** the position that someone occupies in a social group; also called *social status*

**status consistency** ranking high or low on all three dimensions of social class

**status inconsistency** ranking high on some dimensions of social class and low on others; also called *status discrepancy*

**status set** all the statuses or positions that an individual occupies

**status symbols** indicators of a status, especially items in that display prestige

**stereotype** assumptions of what people are like, whether true or false

**stigma** “blemishes” that discredit a person's claim to a “normal” identity

**strain theory** Robert Merton's term for the strain engendered when a society socializes large numbers of people to desire a cultural goal (such as success), but withholds from some the approved means of reaching that goal; one adaptation to the strain is crime, the choice of an innovative means (one outside the approved system) to attain the cultural goal

**stratified random sample** a sample from selected subgroups of the target population in which everyone in those subgroups has an equal chance of being included in the research

**street crime** crimes such as mugging, rape, and burglary

**structural mobility** movement up or down the social class ladder that is due more to changes in the *structure* of society than to the actions of individuals

**subculture** the values and related behaviors of a group that distinguish its members from the larger culture; a world within a world

**subsistence economy** a type of economy in which human groups live off the land and have little or no surplus

**suburb** a community adjacent to a city

**suburbanization** the migration of people from the city to the suburbs

**superego** Freud's term for the conscience; the internalized norms and values of our social groups

**survey** the collection of data by having people answer a series of questions

**sustainable environment** a world system that takes into account the limits of the environment, produces enough material goods for everyone's needs, and leaves a heritage of a sound environment for the next generation

**symbol** something to which people attach meaning and then use to communicate with one another

**symbolic culture** another term for *nonmaterial culture*

**symbolic interactionism** a theoretical perspective in which society is viewed as composed of symbols that people use to establish meaning, develop their views of the world, and communicate with one another

**system of descent** how kinship is traced over the generations

**taboo** a norm so strong that it brings extreme sanctions, even revulsion, if violated

**taking the role of the other** putting yourself in someone else's shoes; understanding how someone else feels and thinks, so you anticipate how that person will act

**teamwork** the collaboration of two or more people to manage impressions jointly

**techniques of neutralization** ways of thinking or rationalizing that help people deflect (or neutralize) society's norms

**technology** in its narrow sense, tools; its broader sense includes the skills or procedures necessary to make and use those tools

**terrorism** the use of violence or the threat of violence to produce fear in order to attain political objectives

**theory** a general statement about how some parts of the world fit together and how they work; an explanation of how two or more facts are related to one another

**Thomas theorem** William I. and Dorothy S. Thomas' classic formulation of the definition of the situation: “If people define situations as real, they are real in their consequences”

**total institution** a place that is almost totally controlled by those who run it, in which people are cut off from the rest of society and the society is mostly cut off from them

**totalitarianism** a form of government that exerts almost total control over people

**tracking** the sorting of students into different programs on the basis of real or perceived abilities

**traditional authority** authority based on custom

**transitional adulthood** a period following high school during which young adults have not yet taken on the responsibilities ordinarily associated with adulthood; also called *adulthood*

**transitional older years** an emerging stage of the life course between retirement and when people are considered old; about age 63 to 74

**transnational social movements** social movements whose emphasis is on some condition around the world, instead of on a condition in a specific country; also known as *new social movements*

**triad** a group of three people

**underclass** a group of people for whom poverty persists year after year and across generations

**universal citizenship** the idea that everyone has the same basic rights by virtue of being born in a country (or by immigrating and becoming a naturalized citizen)

**unobtrusive measures** ways of observing people so they do not know they are being studied

**upward social mobility** movement up the social class ladder

**urban renewal** the rehabilitation of a rundown area, which usually results in the displacement of the poor who are living in that area

**urbanization** the process by which an increasing proportion of a population lives in cities and has a growing influence on the culture

**validity** the extent to which an operational definition measures what it is intended to measure

**value cluster** values that together form a larger whole

**value contradiction** values that contradict one another; to follow the one means to come into conflict with the other

**values** the standards by which people define what is desirable or undesirable, good or bad, beautiful or ugly

**variable** a factor thought to be significant for human behavior, which can vary (or change) from one case to another

**voluntary associations** groups made up of people who voluntarily organize on the basis of some mutual interest; also known as *voluntary memberships* and *voluntary organizations*

**voter apathy** indifference and inaction on the part of individuals or groups with respect to the political process

**war** armed conflict between nations or politically distinct groups

**WASP** white anglo saxon protestant

**wealth** the total value of everything someone owns, minus the debts

**white ethnics** white immigrants to the United States whose cultures differ from WASP culture

**white-collar crime** Edwin Sutherland's term for crimes committed by people of respectable and high social status in the course of their occupations; for example, bribery of public officials, securities violations, embezzlement, false advertising, and price fixing

**world system theory** how economic and political connections developed and now tie the world's countries together

**zero population growth** women bearing only enough children to reproduce the population



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