Sociology NOW

THIRD EDITION

Michael S. **Kimmel**
Amy **Aronson**
Tristan **Bridges**

SOCIOLOGY NOW

Third Edition

Michael Kimmel,
Stony Brook University

Amy Aronson,
Fordham University

Tristan Bridges,
University of California–Santa Barbara

Pearson

330 Hudson Street, NY NY 10013

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Preface

Sociology is a social science and a profession. But it is also a temperament—a way of experiencing, observing, and understanding the world around you. I'm Michael Kimmel, one of the coauthors of this book. (This is the only part of the book I am writing myself.) I am a sociologist—both by profession and by temperament. It's what I do for a living and how I see the world. I consider myself enormously lucky to have the kind of job I have, teaching and writing about the world in which we live.

I love sociology. I love that it provides a way of seeing the world that is different from any other way of seeing the world. It's a lens, and when we hold that lens up to the world, we see shapes and patterns that help us understand it, colors and movement that enable us to perceive depth and shading. I love sociology because when we see those shapes, patterns, and shades of gray, we feel hopeful that we can, as citizens and sociologists, contribute to making that world a better place for all of us.

Teachers in general are a pretty optimistic bunch. When we work with you to develop your own critical engagement with the world—developing ideas, using evidence to back up assertions, deepening and broadening your command of information—we believe that your life will be better for it. You will get a better job, be a more engaged and active citizen, maybe even be a better parent, friend, or partner than you might otherwise have been. We believe that education is a way to improve your life on so many different levels. Pretty optimistic, no?

In this book, we have tried to communicate that way of seeing and that optimism about how you can use a sociological lens whether you go on to study sociology in depth or take this lens with you wherever else you may go.

WHY STUDY SOCIOLOGY? A MESSAGE TO STUDENTS. So, what did people say when you told them you were taking sociology?

They probably looked at you blankly, "Like, what is sociology?" They might say, "And what can you do with it?" Sociology is often misunderstood. Some think it's nothing more than what my roommate told me when I said I was going to go to graduate school in sociology. (He was pre-med.) "Sociology makes a science out of common sense," he said dismissively.

It turns out he was wrong: What we think of as common sense turns out to be wrong a lot of the time. The good news is that sociologists are often the ones who point out that what "everybody knows" isn't necessarily true. In a culture saturated by self-help books, pop psychology, and TV talk shows promising instant and complete physical makeovers and utter psychological transformation, sociology says, "Wait a minute, not so fast."

Our culture tells us that all social problems are really individual problems. Poor people are poor because they don't work hard enough, and racial discrimination is simply the result of prejudiced individuals.

And the "solutions" offered by TV talk shows and self-help books also center around individual changes. If you work hard, you can make it. If you want to change, you can change. Social problems, they counsel, are really a set of individual problems all added together. Racism, sexism, or homophobia is really the result of

unenlightened people holding bad attitudes. If they changed their attitudes, those enormous problems would dissolve like sugar in your coffee.

Sociology has a different take. Sociologists see society as a dynamic interaction between individuals and institutions, like education, economy, and government. Changing yourself might be necessary for you to live a happier life, but it has little impact on the effects of those institutions. And changing attitudes would make social life far more pleasant, but problems like racial or gender inequality are embedded in the ways those institutions are organized. It will take more than attitudinal shifts to fix that.

One of sociology's greatest strengths is also what makes it so elusive or discomfiting. We often are in a position in which we contrast U.S. mythologies with sociological realities.

I remember a song as I was growing up called "Only in America" by Jay and the Americans, which held that only in this country could "a guy from anywhere," "without a cent" maybe grow up to be a millionaire or president. Pretty optimistic, right? And it takes a sociologist, often, to burst that bubble, to explain that it's really not true—that the likelihood of a poor boy or girl making it in the United States is minuscule and that virtually everyone ends up in the same class position as his or her parents. It sounds almost unpatriotic to say that the best predictors of your eventual position in society are the education and occupation of your parents.

Sociology offers some answers to questions that may therefore be unpopular—because they emphasize the social and the structural over the individual and psychological, because they reveal the relationship between individual experience and social reality, and because structural barriers impede our ability to realize our dreams.

This often leads introductory students to feel initially depressed. Because these problems are so deeply embedded in our society, and because all the educational enlightenment in the world might not budge these powerful institutional forces—well, what's the use? Might as well just try and get yours, and the heck with everyone else.

But then, as we understand the real mission of sociology, students often feel invigorated and inspired. Sociology's posture is exactly the opposite—and that's what makes it so compelling. Understanding those larger forces means, as rock band The Who put it, "we won't get fooled again!"

What also makes sociology compelling is that it connects those two dimensions. It is because we believe that all social problems are really the result of individual weaknesses and laziness that those social problems remain in place. It is because we believe that poverty can be eliminated by hard work that poverty doesn't get eliminated. If social problems are social, then reducing poverty, or eliminating racial or gender discrimination, will require more than individual enlightenment; it will require large-scale political mobilization to change social institutions. And the good news is that sociologists have also documented the ways that those institutions themselves are always changing and are always being changed.

WHY STUDY SOCIOLOGY RIGHT NOW? A MESSAGE TO STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS. Understanding our society has never been more important. Sociology offers perhaps the best perspective on what are arguably the two dominant trends of our time, globalization and multiculturalism.

Globalization refers to the increasingly interlocked processes and institutions that span the entire world rather than one country. Goods and services are produced and distributed globally. Information moves instantly. You want to know how much things have changed? More than 2,000 soldiers in both the Union and Confederate armies were killed in the summer of 1865—that is, after the Civil War had ended. Why? Because no one had told them the war was over.

Globalization makes the world feel smaller, leaves us all far more intimately connected. And because people all over the world are wearing the same sneakers, eating the same fast food, and connecting by the Internet and texting each other, we are becoming more and more similar.

On the other hand, multiculturalism makes us keenly aware of how we are different. Globalization may make the world smaller, but we remain divided by religious-inspired wars, racial and ethnic identities, blood feuds, tribal rivalries, and what is generally called "sectarian violence."

Multiculturalism describes the ways in which we create identities that at once make us "global citizens" and also, at the same time, local and familial, based on our membership in racial, ethnic, or gender categories. Here in the United States, we have not become one big happy family, as some predicted a century ago. Instead of the "melting pot" in which each group would become part of the same "stew," we are, at our best, a "beautiful mosaic" of small groups that, when seen from afar, creates a beautiful pattern while each tile retains its distinct shape and beauty.

Globalization and multiculturalism make the world feel closer and also more divided, and they make the distances between us as people seem both tiny and unbridgeably large.

Globalization and multiculturalism are not only about the world—they are about us, individually. We draw our sense of who we are, our identities, from our membership in those diverse groups into which we are born or that we choose. Our identities—who we think we are—come from our gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, religion, region, nation, and tribe. From these diverse locations, we piece together an identity, a sense of self. Sometimes one or another feels more important than others, but at other times other elements emerge as equally important.

And these elements of our identities also turn out to be the bases on which social hierarchies are built. Social inequality is organized from the same elements as identity; resources and opportunities are distributed in our society on the basis of race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, gender, and so forth.

A sociological perspective has never been more important to enabling us to understand these problems because sociology has become the field that has most fully embraced globalization and multiculturalism as the central analytic lenses through which we view social life.

WHY USE *SOCIOLOGY NOW*, THIRD EDITION? A MESSAGE TO INSTRUCTORS. As all three authors have seen, the field of sociology has changed enormously since Michael first went to graduate school in the mid-1970s. At that time, two paradigms, functionalism and conflict theory, battled for dominance in the field, each claiming to explain social processes better than the other. And symbolic interactionism was the premier paradigm used to consider micro-level processes. That was an era of great conflict in our society: the Civil Rights, women's, and gay and lesbian movements; protests against the Vietnam War; hippies. On campuses these groups vied with far more traditional, conservative, and career-oriented students whose collegiate identity came more from the orderly 1950s than the tumultuous 1960s.

Just as the world has changed since then, so, too, has sociology—both substantively and demographically. New perspectives have emerged from older models, and terms like *rational choice, poststructuralism, collective mobilization, cultural toolkit*—not to mention *multiculturalism* and *globalization*—have become part of our daily lexicon.

Demographically, sociology is the field that has been most transformed by the social movements of the last decades of the twentieth century. Because sociology interrogates the connections between identities and inequalities, it has become a home to those groups who were historically marginalized in U.S. society: women, people of color, and gays and lesbians. The newest sections in the American Sociological Association are those on the body, sexualities, and race, class, and gender; the largest sections are no longer medical sociology and organizational sociology, but now sex and gender, culture, and race.

It turned out that symbolic interactionism was resilient enough to remain a theoretical lens through which social interactions and processes can still be understood.

That's largely because the old textbook model of "three paradigms" placed the three in a somewhat stilted competition: Conflict and functionalism were the macro theories; interactionism stood alone as a micro theory.

But *Sociology NOW* bypasses these tired and outdated debates, offering an exciting perspective new to the third edition—something we call "**iSoc**." Rather than offering competing theories that no longer vie for dominance in the field, we examine the ways that sociological research and theory share a focus on five "I's": identities, interactions, institutions, inequalities, and intersections. This framework offers a more useful collection of lenses that contemporary sociology makes use of to analyze the social world. We introduce this framework in the introductory chapter, but you'll also find it throughout the book as a way of connecting the diverse topics, methods, discoveries, and theories that sociologists rely on to study the social world today.

Content Highlights

THE "ISOC" MODEL: IDENTITY, INEQUALITY, INTERACTIONS, INSTITUTIONS, AND INTERSECTIONS. One of the biggest differences you'll see immediately in *Sociology NOW* is that we have replaced the older functionalism–conflict theory–interactionism models with a contemporary approach, "iSoc". We no longer believe these paradigms are battling for dominance; students don't have to choose between competing models. Sociology is a synthetic discipline—for us the question is almost never "either–or," but rather almost always "both–and." And understanding how different theories, methods, and research illuminates different aspects of society is an integral piece of what we refer to as the "iSoc model."

And using globalization and multiculturalism as the organizing themes of the book helps to illustrate exactly how "both–and" actually works. The world isn't smaller or bigger—it's both. We're not more united or more diverse—we're both. We're not more orderly or more in conflict—we're both. And sociology is the field that explains the way that "both" sides exist in a dynamic tension with each other. What's more, sociology explains why, how, and in what ways they exist in that tension. And by learning about the iSoc perspective, students will come to appreciate how the world often looks different when we stress or examine it relying on different "i's" or combinations.

The general sections of the book, and the individual chapter topics, are not especially different from the chapter organization of other textbooks. There are, however, some important differences.

First, globalization is not the same as cross-national comparisons. Globalization is often imagined as being about "them"—other cultures and other societies. And although examples drawn from other cultures are often extremely valuable to a sociologist (especially in challenging ethnocentrism), globalization is about processes that link "us" and "them." Thus, many of our examples, especially our cultural references, are about the United States—*in relation to* the rest of the world. This enables students both to relate to the topic and also to see how it connects with the larger global forces at work. Globalization is woven into every chapter—and, perhaps more important, every U.S. example is connected to a global process or issue.

Second, multiculturalism is not the same as social stratification. Every sociology textbook has separate chapters on class, race, age, and gender. (We have added a few, which we will discuss in more depth.) But in some books, that's about as far as it goes; chapters on "other topics" do not give adequate sociological treatment to the ways in which our different positions affect our experience of other sociological institutions and processes. How, in other words, do these various *identities intersect* with one another to shape our experience and opportunities in patterned ways and shape social *inequality* (to use a bit of iSoc language). Multiculturalism is used as a framing device in every chapter. Every chapter describes the different ways in which race, class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender organize people's experiences within social institutions.

Within Part Two, on "Identities and Inequalities," we deal with each of these facets of identity—age, class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality—separately, of course. But we also address the ways in which they intersect with each other, providing new and cutting-edge research as illustrations of the processes and patterns we describe. When, after all, do you start being middle class and stop being black? Contemporary sociological inquiry requires that we examine the intersections among these various elements of identity and inequality, understanding how they interact, amplify, and contradict each other, as well as how they become embedded within social institutions.

These aspects of identity both unite us (as elements of identity) and divide us—into groups that compete for scarce resources. These are the dimensions of social life that organize inequality. Thus, we explore both—identity and inequality. Multiculturalism requires not just that we "add women (or any other group) and stir"—the ways that some courses and textbooks tried to revamp themselves in the last few decades of the twentieth century to embrace diversity. Multiculturalism requires that we begin from questions of diversity and identity, not end there. This book attempts to do that.

Distinctive Features

Sociology NOW offers these features that are unique applications of sociological concepts to illustrate chapter concepts:

SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD. Among the most exciting and rewarding parts of teaching introductory sociology is revealing to students how what we study is so immediately applicable to the world in which we all live. Thus, each chapter has "Sociology and Our World" boxes that make this connection explicit. They're there to help the student see the connections between their lives—which they usually think are pretty interesting—and sociology, which they might, at first, fear as dry and irrelevant. And these boxes also are there to facilitate classroom discussions, providing exciting examples of how sociological concepts, theories, and ideas are applied in sociological research. Classic sociological research is sometimes discussed here. But we also provide a collection of new and exciting examples of recent and ongoing research to help students consider how the ideas and discoveries they are reading about are being put to use today.

SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD

MONOGAMOUS MASCULINITY, PROMISCUOUS FEMININITY

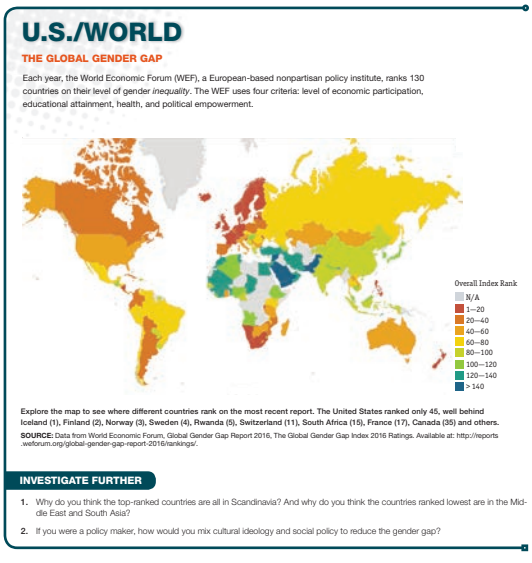
Are we cherry-picking biological evidence to suggest men are naturally more promiscuous?

One group of evolutionists—evolutionary psychologists—argue that the size and number of reproductive cells lead inevitably to different levels of parental "investment" in children. (Males produce millions of tiny sperm; females produce only a few dozen comparatively huge eggs.) Sarah Blaffer Hrdy (1981) adds a few more biological facts to the mix. Unlike other mammals, she notes, human females conceal estrus; that is, they are potentially sexually receptive throughout their entire menstrual cycle, unlike other female mammals that go "into heat" when ovulating and who are otherwise utterly uninterested in sex. What is the evolutionary reason for this? Hrdy asks. (*Hint:* The female knows that the baby is hers, but the male can never be exactly sure.)

Could it be, she asks, that females might want to mate with as many males as possible, to ensure that all of them (or as many as possible) will provide food and protection to the helpless and dependent infant, thereby increasing its chances of survival? (Remember that infant mortality in those preindustrial cultures of origin was extraordinarily high.) Could it be that females have a natural propensity toward promiscuity to ensure the offspring's survival and that males have a natural propensity toward monogamy, lest they run themselves ragged providing food and protection to babies who may—or may not—be theirs? Wouldn't it be more likely for males to devise a system that ensured women's faithfulness—monogamy—and institutionalize it in marriage and then develop a cultural plan that would keep women in the home (because they might be ovulating and thus get pregnant)? And because it often takes a couple more than one "try" to get pregnant, wouldn't regular couplings with one partner be a more successful strategy for a male than a one-night stand?

Of course, no one would suggest that this interpretation is any more "true" than the one proposed by evolutionary psychologists. What Hrdy revealed is that one can use different (sometimes better) biological evidence and construct the exact opposite explanation. What Hrdy illustrates is that we should be *extremely* cautious in accepting evolutionary arguments about gender. But she also illustrates how readily we often accept arguments that support existing beliefs about gender.

U.S./WORLD. To better grasp globalization, a graphic feature in each chapter frames a sociological issue comparatively, comparing U.S. data with data from the rest of the world. We try to set the United States in a global context, comparing it both to countries similar to the United States (other G7 countries, for example) as well as to countries very different from ours in the developing world. Learning to understand the organization of our own society as only one possible option is a challenge best offered by examining some of the diverse ways societies are organized around the world. And U.S./World boxes help to illustrate these cross-cultural comparisons and offer opportunities to reflect on this.



U.S./WORLD

THE GLOBAL GENDER GAP

Each year, the World Economic Forum (WEF), a European-based nonpartisan policy institute, ranks 130 countries on their level of gender *inequality*. The WEF uses four criteria: level of economic participation, educational attainment, health, and political empowerment.

Overall Index Rank
N/A
1–20
20–40
40–60
60–80
80–100
100–120
120–140
> 140

Explore the map to see where different countries rank on the most recent report. The United States ranked only 45, well behind Iceland (1), Finland (2), Norway (3), Sweden (4), Rwanda (5), Switzerland (11), South Africa (15), France (17), Canada (35) and others.

SOURCE: Data from World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Report 2016, The Global Gender Gap Index 2016 Ratings. Available at: http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/.

INVESTIGATE FURTHER

1. Why do you think the top-ranked countries are all in Scandinavia? And why do you think the countries ranked lowest are in the Middle East and South Asia?
2. If you were a policy maker, how would you mix cultural ideology and social policy to reduce the gender gap?

HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? This feature enables us to show students how methods actually work in the exploration of sociological problems. In the third edition, we've made more use of these boxes and provide exciting examples of research that relies on sociological methods to answer questions in ways that challenge students to think creatively

about social problems and inequality. Instead of confining methods to a single chapter and then ignoring them for the remainder of the book, we ask, for example, how sociologists measure social mobility (Chapter 7), or how we use statistics to examine the relationship between race and intelligence (Chapter 8), or how demographers attempted to rely on publicly available data to try to discover how many people might be transgender in the United States (Chapter 9). In this way, students can see method-in-action as a tool that sociologists use to discover the patterns of the social world. It helps students recognize the "work" of sociology and highlights the nuts and bolts of sociological discoveries.

HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW?

JUST HOW MANY TRANSGENDER PEOPLE ARE THERE?

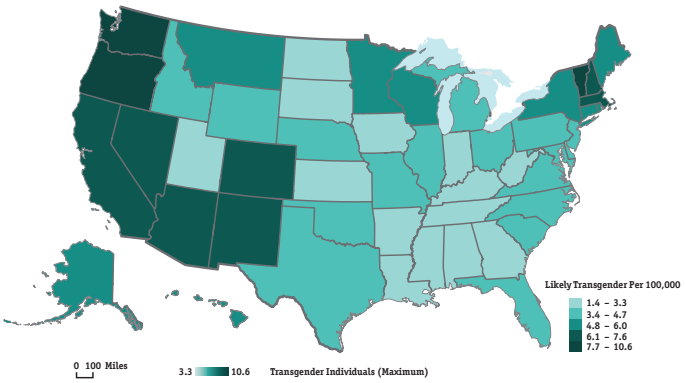
Estimating the size of the transgender population is more difficult than you might think. Currently, there are no nationally representative surveys that ask questions that would enable transgender people to anonymously identify themselves. This is part of the reason that estimates of the size of the population vary so widely. *The Williams Institute*—an independent research think tank conducting rigorous research on issues of gender and sexuality—suggests that the transgender population in the United States is approximately 700,000 people (Gates 2011). This is a higher estimate than other scholars suggest, but a more accurate estimate is challenging to achieve for two separate reasons. First, we lack questions on nationally representative surveys that might help us better enumerate transgender people (Westbrook and Saperstein 2015). Second, existing research suggests that, even if we were able to add a question, the changes necessary are much more complex than simply adding "transgender" as a third option when asking questions about gender (Schilt and Bratter 2015). This means that estimating the size of this population is challenging.

More recently, the U.S. Bureau of the Census published a report attempting to identify people who are likely to be transgender persons based on how they answer other questions that relate to sex and gender *identity* (Harris 2015). As we mentioned in Chapter 1, research on names can tell us more than you might think. In a 2015 report, Benjamin Harris attempted to identify the number of what he refers to as "likely transgender individuals" in the United States by combining Census data with data collected by the Social Security Administration, the latter of which collects three important pieces of data on every citizen with a Social Security Number: first and middle name, sex-coding (male or female), and date of birth. Harris combines these data sets to identify how many adults in the U.S. changed information in their accounts in ways that are consistent with a gender transition. Thus, by linking these data with the Census, Harris was also able to provide some basic demographic characteristics of "likely transgender people" as well as residential patterns.

To identify whether people are likely transgender, Harris first identified people who changed their names from a traditionally male name to a traditionally female name (or vice versa), and then asked whether those people also changed their sex coding (from male to female, or vice versa) in the same direction. Whether a name is "male" or "female" is determined by the proportion of people with that name who have a sex coding of "male" of "female." Some names (like John) are virtually only given to boys, whereas others (like Val) are given to boys and girls in roughly equal numbers. So, he had to think carefully about whether a name change might likely indicate transgender *identity* or not. Although the number of people who qualified as "likely transgender" in Harris's (2015) study was smaller, he was able to produce new knowledge about who transgender Americans are, where they live, and whether they are more likely to pursue legal transitions (measured by name and sex code changes with the Social Security Administration).

Likely Transgender Individuals in the United States

Here you can also see that the people Harris was able to identify as "likely transgender individuals" are not evenly distributed around the United States. That in and of itself is an interesting finding. And it could mean more than one thing. A larger proportion of the population in Washington, Oregon, and Vermont is transgender, for instance, than in Utah, Iowa, and Louisiana.



SOURCE: Data from U.S. Census Bureau, as of 2010. Refreshed July 13, 2015. Available at https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2015/adrm/carra-wp-2015-03.pdf.

WHAT DO YOU THINK? WHAT DOES AMERICA THINK? Part of an introductory course requires students to marshal evidence to engage with and often reevaluate their opinions. Often our job is to unsettle their fallback position of "This is just my own personal opinion," which floats unhinged from social contexts. We ask that they contextualize, that they refer to how they formed their opinions and to what sorts of evidence they might use to demonstrate the empirical veracity of their positions. How they came to think what they think is often as important as what they think. But students often benefit enormously from knowing what other people think as well. What percentage of Americans agrees with you? In each chapter, we've included a boxed feature that asks students questions taken directly from the General Social Survey (with data from the recent 2016 update). We include information about what a representative sample of Americans thinks about the same topic, to give students a sense of

WHAT DO YOU THINK? WHAT DOES AMERICA THINK?

Women and Politics

The gender distribution in U.S. politics is still unequal, with local and state governments tending to have more female representatives than the national government.

What do you think?

Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women.

- ❍ Agree
- ❍ Disagree

What does America think?

	Less than High School		High School		College +		Bachelor's Degree		Graduate School	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Agree	51.28%	46.9%	27.7%	20.6%	25.6%	19.13%	19.6%	11%	17.36%	11.63%
Disagree	48.72%	53.1%	72.3%	79.4%	74.4%	80.87%	80.4%	89%	82.64%	88.37%

SOURCE: Data from General Social Survey 2016.

As you might notice, there appears to be a strong correlation between gender and how people feel about women's and men's emotional suitability for politics. In general, men are more likely than women to agree with the statement. But when we examine how this trend intersects with education, it is also true that those with more education are less likely to agree with the statement. So more men than women agree with the statement in each educational group. But similar proportions of women with only a high school degree disagree with this statement compared with men with a bachelor's degree. Many of these beliefs were put on dramatic display in the 2016 presidential election between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.

And when asked directly whether they would vote for a qualified candidate for president who happened to be a woman, there are also differences.

What do you think?

If your party nominated a woman for president, you would vote for her if she was qualified for the job.

- ❍ Agree
- ❍ Disagree

What does America think?

	Less than High School		High School		Some College		Bachelor's Degree		Graduate School	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Woman**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Agree	80.8%	76.48%	90.7%	93.4%	92.83%	93.8%	95.4%	95.9%	96.13%	95.3%
Disagree	19.2%	23.52%	9.3%	6.6%	7.17%	6.2%	4.6%	4.1%	3.87%	4.7%

SOURCE: Data from General Social Survey 2016.

Although it is true that both women and men are much more likely to vote for a woman nominated in their political party than not solely because she is a woman, it is also true that women show a stronger commitment here than men—at least until they receive graduate degrees.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT SURVEY DATA

More respondents said they would vote for a female president than said that women were as emotionally suited for politics as men are. What do you think explains that difference?

where their opinions fit with the rest of the country and to allow students the opportunity to examine some of their own biases as well. Critical-thinking questions based on the data encourage students to think about how factors like race, gender, class, and age might influence our perceptions and attitudes.

CHAPTER REVIEW. To help students master the material in each chapter, we have a review section at the end of each chapter, which includes section summaries and key terms with definitions

AN ENGAGING WRITING STYLE. All textbook writers strive for clarity; a few even reach for elegance. This book is no exception. We've tried to write the book in a way that conveys a lot of information but also in a way that engages the students where

they live. Not only are concepts always followed by examples, but we frequently use examples drawn from pop culture—from TV, movies, and music—and even from videos, video games, social media, and Internet memes.

This will not only make the students' reading experience more enjoyable, but it should also enable the instructor to illustrate the relevance of sociological concepts to the students' lives.

Organization

In this third edition, we have organized the book slightly differently than in the first two editions. In between the second and third editions, we collected a new author as a part of the *Sociology NOW* team—Tristan Bridges. And the field also changed in the intervening years as well. In light of these changes, we elected to provide more of a substitution for the old "three frameworks" model (functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism) that we never used to frame the book. Though it became increasingly obsolete in the field, it was still used in textbooks because of what it provides students—a touchstone to which they can regularly return as an introduction to sociology. So, the largest element of our reorganization involved the insertion of a new perspective that offers a similar touchstone—the "iSoc model." Introduced in the first chapter, this model helps students understand what sociologists are actually looking at as they investigate the world around them.

Although not all sociological research examines society by looking at the same set of "i's," iSoc helps students to learn to understand how the diverse collection of research, theory, concepts, and ideas are connected in one field. Sociologists all share a common set of methods, and something we sometimes call the "sociological perspective." Once you have it (the sociological perspective, that is), it's sometimes hard to explain exactly what *it* is. The iSoc perspective offers an answer to this that is intuitive and simple, but also enables us to get students to understand the perspective in greater depth. The iSoc model is incorporated throughout the textbook. The introductory chapter explains the model in depth, and each chapter after that begins with a section on "iSoc" inviting students to consider how the perspective can be applied in the chapter they are reading.

In addition to this, this edition has a greater focus on application, summarizing many more examples from actual sociological research so that students can learn not only the concepts and language sociologists use to write about the world around them, but also how these concepts are being put to use, and the projects out of which they emerged. This also means that there is a bit more "data" in this edition—new graphs, maps, and figures that help to illustrate content in new ways and to provide students with more data literacy. Learning to "read" graphs and maps is a sociological skill as well. We provide captions and interesting visualizations of data to help students learn to identify what graphs, maps, and charts are intending to illustrate. In the Revel edition of the book, many of these visualizations are also interactive.

Finally, we have also reorganized the chapters a bit. The biggest change within Part II is Chapter 11, which now combines sociological research on bodies, sexualities, and health. Part III is reorganized as well. In this section, we now attempt to move out from families into wider and wider social institutions. So, the chapter on education (Chapter 13) now follows the chapter on families (Chapter 12) and is no longer combined with religion. This also means that we have a more complete treatment of the sociology of education as well. We found a greater elective affinity between research on politics and religion and now combine these topics for an exciting chapter with an incredibly global focus (Chapter 15). The book still concludes with both demographic and environmental sociological perspectives and concerns (Chapter 16).

All of the chapters in the book are fully updated, framed with the iSoc perspective (new to the third edition), and they each provide new and exciting applications of ideas and research.

NEW to This Edition

Every publication is a conversation—between authors and readers. A new edition provides an opportunity to continue that conversation. We have tried to listen to the concerns and questions from students, faculty, reviewers, and sales people (who are often a marvelous conduit of informal reviews and concerns). Many of the revisions in this third edition are responses to concerns raised by you.

One thing you'll notice is that the book looks different. Not only does it include a vibrant new layout and design, but it also contains more sophisticated graphics within multiple new figures, as well as new photos and feature content.

Of course, we've updated the data in each chapter, and we've tried to present the most current and relevant information to you. But more than that, we have tried to bring forward a distinctly sociological understanding of the statistics and studies that we cite, all relying on the iSoc perspective to ground this summary investigation of the field. With a journalistic commitment to currency and a sociological commitment to context, we've brought in discussions of the 2016 presidential vote (in Chapter 15, Politics and Religion, and also to some extent in Chapter 7, Stratification and Social Class); and we've also added new chapters devoted to age (Chapter 10) and education (Chapter 13), just to name a few.

NEW to the Structure of the Third Edition

- **Learning objectives** tied to the major subheadings in every chapter identify the key concepts students should know and understand with respect to introductory sociology.
- A running **marginal glossary** that clearly defines bold key terms for students at the points in the chapters where the terms are discussed.
- **iSoc Framework:** Every academic field uses a framework or a lens through which to view the phenomena it observes, a "story" that is the field's master narrative. For sociologists, it's how to locate biographies in history—that is, sociology is about who you are—but in context. Sociologists see the link between identity and larger structures of inequality. And we, as authors, see identity and inequality in constant operation, in every interaction with others and in every institution in which we find ourselves. In this book, we refer to this sociological perspective as "iSoc."
  - **iSoc levels of analysis:** Because the sociological lens examines the "both–and" and not the "either–or," we can explain the sociological framework with two sets of "i's": (1) *Identity, Intersectionality*, and *Inequality*, and (2) *Interaction* and *Institution*. Understanding these five "i's" is what we mean by the sociological perspective—or, as we like to call it, "iSoc."
  - **iSoc major sections** appear early in every chapter to define the iSoc framework in relation to that chapter's main themes. The two sets of "i's": (1) Identity, Intersectionality, and Inequality, and (2) Interaction and Institution are individually addressed within the context of the chapter, as well as interrelated, with contemporary examples. Learning to see the world around you from the perspective of iSoc is what it means to understand the sociological perspective. Many sections also offer new iSoc introductions to frame chapter discussions.
  - **"iSoc and You" summaries** appear at the end of every major section to reinforce these five levels of analysis and provide students with both a theoretical lens through which to view social life and the analytic method to situate any particular phenomenon.
  - **Chapter Conclusion** sections are more clearly defined to align with major *Sociology NOW* themes, as well as iSoc levels of analysis.

Finally, this third edition is now available through Pearson's digital platform: Revel.

Revel™

Revel is an interactive learning environment that deeply engages students and prepares them for class. Media and assessment integrated directly within the authors' narrative lets students read, explore interactive content, and practice in one continuous learning path. Thanks to the dynamic reading experience in Revel, students come to class prepared to discuss, apply, and learn from instructors and from each other.

Learn more about Revel
www.pearson.com/revel

Revel for *Sociology NOW*, Third Edition

Sociology NOW, Third Edition, features many of the dynamic interactive elements that make Revel unique. In addition to the rich narrative content, *Sociology NOW* includes the following Revel-specific elements (Please note that for ease of use in your course, links to videos, Social Explorer visualizations, and currency window content are all available in the instructor Resources folder *within* Revel.):

- New Video Program:
  - **Chapter-Opening Videos.** Lead author Michael Kimmel provides a contemporary vignette that illustrates key themes and content in the chapter.
  - **Topic-Based Animation Videos.** These videos, one per chapter, focus on a wide range of contemporary subjects that illuminate sociological concepts by providing Revel-only coverage of such wide-ranging issues as "fads," friendship networks, the feminization of poverty, historical research on transgender classification, the gender wage gap, and more.
  - **Pearson Originals.** The Pearson Original docuseries videos highlight stories that exemplify and humanize the concepts covered in Sociology courses. These videos illustrate a variety of social issues and current events, bringing key topics to life for students while creating opportunities to further develop their understanding of sociology. Therefore, students not only connect with the people and stories on a personal level, but also view these stories and individuals with greater empathy all while contextualizing core course concepts. With accessible video links located in the instructor's manual, authors will offer a brief introduction and suggestions for incorporating these videos into your introductory sociology course. Video topics for this title include:
    - Fakenews: Can the Press Fight Back?; Gender Identity: Meant to be Maddie; The Inequality Conversation; Fighting for Racial Equality: A Conversation Between Generations; Sex and Gender; Transgender Bathrooms: The Debate in Washington State; America's Opioid Crisis: Portraits of an Epidemic; Population and Family Size; Education Inequality; School Districting and the Achievement Gap: A Tale of Two Communities; Shifting Social Structures; What Jobs Disappeared: A Coal Miner's Story; The American Working Class: Voices from Harrisburg, IL; Interpreting the First Amendment: Regulating Protest in Minnesota; A Nation of Immigrants; Seeking Refuge from the Syrian War: The Abdi Family; Taking a Stand Against Environmental Injustice
- **New interactive maps, figures, and tables** in all chapters feature Social Explorer technology that allows updates to the latest data, increases student engagement, and reinforces data literacy.
- **Currency windows** in each chapter's conclusion section feature author-written articles, updated or replaced twice each year, that put breaking news and current events into the context of sociology. Examples include "Sociology NOW: Sociology and Common Sense" (Chapter 1); "Social Science NOW: When Experiments Happen Organically" in Chapter 4; and "Sex and Gender NOW: Just How Many Genders Are There?" in Chapter 9.

- **Key Terms** appear in bold with pop-up definitions that allow students to see the meaning of a word or phrase while reading the text, providing context. They are in flashcard form at the end of each chapter as well as in a comprehensive glossary.
- **Did You Know?** Each chapter is punctuated by several "Did You Know?" boxes, many new to this edition and available only through Revel. These are generally short sociological factoids, tidbits of information that are funny, strange, and a little offbeat, but illustrate the sociological ideas being discussed. For example, did you know that Georgia was founded in 1732 as a penal colony for British criminals, or that Eskimos really do have about 50 words for snow? You won't draw their attention to all of these factoids, but the students are going to enjoy reading them. And we guarantee that there are at least a few that you didn't know!
- **Assessments** include multiple-choice end-of-module and end-of-chapter quizzes that test students' knowledge of the chapter content.
- **The Chapter Review** contains module summaries and key term flashcards that allow students to review and test their knowledge about concepts covered in each chapter.
- **Integrated Writing Assessments:** Revel is rich in opportunities for writing about chapter topics and concepts.
  - **Journal Prompts** allow students to explore themes presented in the chapter through "teaser" questions linked to each Sociology and Our World feature that require students to apply chapter concepts and the iSoc levels of analysis to contemporary social questions. The ungraded Journal Prompts are included in line with content and can be shared with instructors.
  - **Shared Writing Prompts** provide peer-to-peer feedback in a discussion board, developing critical thinking skills and fostering collaboration among a specific class. These prompts appear once per chapter, and are linked to each What Do You Think? What Does American Think? Social Explorer survey.
  - **Writing Space** is the best way to develop and assess concept mastery and critical thinking through writing. Writing Space provides a single place within Revel to create, track, and grade writing assignments; access writing resources; and exchange meaningful, personalized feedback quickly and easily to improve results. For students, Writing Space provides everything they need to keep up with writing assignments, access assignment guides and checklists, write or upload completed assignments, and receive grades and feedback—all in one convenient place. For educators, Writing Space makes assigning, receiving, and evaluating writing assignments easier. It's simple to create new assignments and upload relevant materials, see student progress, and receive alerts when students submit work. Writing Space makes students' work more focused and effective, with customized grading rubrics they can see and personalized feedback. Writing Space can also check students' work for improper citation or plagiarism by comparing it against the world's most accurate text comparison database available from Turnitin.

Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

CHAPTER 1: WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY?

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "iSoc: Sociological Frames of Analysis" and "Sociology Now: New Issues, New Lenses"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Why Popular Boy Names Are More Popular Than Popular Girl Names
  - Why Names that Regain Popularity Wait a Century, and Two Alternative Views of the World

- NEW figures and tables include:
  - TABLE 1.1 Top 10 Names for Boys and Girls in the United States
  - FIGURE 1.1 Rank of Mary, Emma, and Jessica among Most Popular U.S. Girls' Names at Birth, 1900–2016
  - FIGURE 1.2 Name Popularity for Ellen, Monica, and Forrest, 1950–2015

CHAPTER 2: CULTURE AND MEDIA

Content Changes:

- NEW discussion of media now combined with culture chapter
- NEW sections "Thinking about Culture and Media Sociologically," "Culture and Media," and "iSoc: Culture and Media"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Using Media Use to Detect Rhythms in Our Lives
  - U.S. Race Relations and the Confederate Flag
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - FIGURE 2.1 How Fast Can a Society Change Its Values?
  - U.S./WORLD Print Newspaper Reach, 2014/2015
  - WHAT DO YOU THINK? WHAT DOES AMERICA THINK? Confidence in the Press
  - HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? Christmas Gift Giving as a Method of Norm Enforcement

CHAPTER 3: SOCIETY: INTERACTIONS, GROUPS, AND ORGANIZATIONS

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "Thinking about Interactions, Groups, and Organizations Sociologically," "iSoc: The Social Construction of Identity," and "Understanding Society and Social Life as Socially Structured"
- NEW coverage of the "small world problem" to social networks
- NEW discussion of organizations now emphasizes power and inequality, using the iSoc framework
- NEW Conclusion "Groups 'R' Us: Interactions, Groups, and Organizations NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Using Selfies to Understand My "I" and My "Me"
  - Elevator Behavior, Norms, and Social Inequality
  - Why Liberals Drink Lattes
  - Organizing Without Organizations?
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - MAP 3.1 SMALL WORLD PROBLEM: Internet Connectivity
  - FIGURE 3.2 Even in Nursing, Men Earn More

CHAPTER 4: HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? THE METHODS OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

Content Changes:

- NEW introductory vignette
- NEW sections "iSoc: Research Methods," "When Is a Fact a Fact?—Why Operationalization Is So Important," and "What Do Sociologists Consider as 'Data'?"
- NEW discussion of network analysis, social networks, and social ties
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Are People Lying on Surveys? … Sometimes.
  - Hidden Facts: On the Power of Ethnography
  - Shifts in Men's Facial Hair Styles Are Patterned

- NEW figures and tables include:
  - FIGURE 4.3 Spurious Correlations
  - FIGURE 4.4 The General Social Survey (GSS)
  - FIGURE 4.5 Main Broadcast Network Coverage of Women's Sports (1989–2014) and SportsCenter Coverage of Women's Sports (1999–2014)
  - FIGURE 4.6 Research in the Social Sciences
  - TABLE 4.3 The Institutional Review Board
- NEW HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? features include:
  - Thinking Methodologically about the Heritability of Intelligence
  - Interviewing People about How They Answer Survey Questions about Ethnicity
  - We Can't Predict Almost Anything as Well as the Weather

CHAPTER 5: SOCIALIZATION

Content Changes:

- NEW introductory vignette
- NEW sections "Understanding What Socialization Is and How It Works," "iSoc: Socialization," "Socialization and Inequality," "Socialization and Racial Inequality," "Socialization and Gender and Sexual Inequality," "Institutions of Socialization," "Socialization and Ongoing and Unending," "iSoc in Action: Socialization in a Global Society," and "Conclusion: Socialization NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - What Can We Learn about Socialization from Family Trips to the Zoo?
  - Can Gay and Lesbian Schoolteachers Be "Out" at Work?
- NEW HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? features include:
  - Twin Studies
  - How Do We Know We're Socialized to Believe in Racial Inequality?
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - FIGURE 5.2 Importance of Children Learning Obedience vs. Learning to Think for Themselves
  - FIGURE 5.3 Gender Balance of Dialogue for Characters in Disney Movies
  - FIGURE 5.4 Gender Balance of Dialogue for Characters in Movies on IMDB.com
  - MAP 5.1 Proportion of Americans with Bachelor's Degrees and with Household Incomes Among the Top 40 Percent
  - FIGURE 5.5 Proportion of Time Spent with Friends at Different Locations among U.S. Teens
  - FIGURE 5.6 Media Use by Age, Race, and Ethnicity
  - FIGURE 5.7 Percentage of 25- to 34-Year-Olds Living in Multigenerational Households by Gender, 2010–2012

CHAPTER 6: CRIME AND DEVIANCE

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "Thinking Sociologically about Crime and Deviance," "iSoc: The Sociology of Crime and Deviance," and "Understanding Crime and Deviance Institutionally"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Stereotype Threat and Stereotype Promise
- NEW HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? features include:
  - Just How Violent Is the United States?
  - Racial Bias in the Courtroom

- NEW figures and other features include:
  - U.S./WORLD U.S. Cybercrime in International Perspective
  - FIGURE 6.2 Crime Rates by Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Great Britain and Late-Twentieth-Century Chicago
  - FIGURE 6.3 U.S. Men in Prison or Jail, 2015
  - FIGURE 6.4 Trust in the Police, by Race
  - FIGURE 6.5 Prisoners under the Jurisdiction of State or Federal Correctional Authorities, 1978–2015
  - FIGURE 6.6 The Death Penalty in the United States, 1937–2016

CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL CLASS AND STRATIFICATION: IDENTITY AND INEQUALITY

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "Thinking Sociologically about Social Class and Stratification," "iSoc: The Sociology of Social Class and Stratification," "Class Identity and Inequality," "Class, Culture, and Musical Taste," "Resistance and Change in Class Inequality," "Political Resistance to Class Inequality," and "Conclusion: Social Class and Stratification NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Apartheid—A Caste System
  - Prestige Means Not Having to Deal with People
- NEW figures, tables, and other features include:
  - FIGURE 7.1 How Americans Stand Out in Understanding Social Class
  - TABLE 7.1 Top 10 Prestigious Occupations
  - MAP 7.1 The Intersections Between Poverty and Race in the United States
  - FIGURE 7.2 Income Distribution by Class in the United States
  - FIGURE 7.3 Subjective Class Identification among Americans, 1975–2016
  - FIGURE 7.5 Median Household Income by Race and Ethnicity, 1967–2015
  - FIGURE 7.6 A Profile of Poverty in the United States, 1959–2015
  - MAP 7.2 Income Inequality on a Global Scale

CHAPTER 8: RACE AND ETHNICITY

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "Thinking Sociologically about Race and Ethnicity," "What Is Ethnicity,?, "iSoc: The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity," "Racial and Ethnic Inequalities: Interactions and Institutions," "Color-Blind Racism," "Ethnic Identities in the United States," "Resistance and Mobilization to Racial and Ethnic Inequality," "Movements for (and Against) Racial and Ethnic Equality," and "Conclusion: Race and Ethnicity NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Why Filipino Americans Don't Identify as Asian
  - Perceptions of Prejudice Vary by … Race!
  - Is Living on the "Wrong Side of the Tracks" a Social Reality?
  - Why Hispanic Went from Being a Race to an Ethnicity
  - Learning the Language
- NEW HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? features include:
  - Do Employers Discriminate Based on Race?
  - Do Mascots Depicting Racial Stereotypes Really Matter?
- NEW figures, tables, and other features include:
  - TABLE 8.1 Distinctions Between Race and Ethnicity
  - FIGURE 8.1 Approval of Marriages Between Black and White Americans by Race, 1958–2013

- FIGURE 8.2 Percentage of Racial/Ethnic Groups Reporting Multiple Racial Identities, 2010
- FIGURE 8.3 The Racial and Ethnic Composition of the United States, 1970–2060
- FIGURE 8.4 Racial Wealth Gap Between Black and White Americans, 1983–2013
- FIGURE 8.5 Median Household Income by Race/Ethnicity, 1967–2015
- MAP 8.1 Native American Reservations in the Continental United States
- FIGURE 8.7 Who Make Up "Asians" in the United States?
- MAP 8.2 U.S. Ethnicities by County

CHAPTER 9: SEX AND GENDER

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "Thinking Sociologically about Sex and Gender," "iSoc: The Sociology of Sex and Gender," "The Medicalization of Sex and Gender," "Transgender Identities: Blurring the Boundaries of Gender," "The Bathroom Problem: Organizing Our World Around Gender," "Gender Socialization: Learning about Gender Inequality," "Gender Policing" and Gender Accountability," "Studying Gender Inequality Institutionally and Intersectionally," "Gender Bias in Orchestras and Student Evaluations," "Challenges to Gender Inequality and the Endurance of Gender Gaps," and "Conclusion: Sex and Gender NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Pink for Boys and Blue for Girls
  - Will Young People Today Produce a Gender Revolution in Marriage Tomorrow?
  - Men and Feminism
- NEW HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? features include:
  - Just How Many Transgender People Are There?
  - Women and Men Are Far More Similar Than They Are Different
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - MAP 9.1 Mapping Gender-Diverse Cultures Around the World
  - FIGURE 9.1 Movies Assessed by the "Bechdel Test," 1970–2015
  - FIGURE 9.2 Changes in the Proportion of Women in U.S. Symphony Orchestras, 1940–1996
  - FIGURE 9.3 Frequency of Terms Used in Student Evaluations of Women and Men Professors on RateMyProfessor.com
  - FIGURE 9.5 Politics and Business: Public Perceptions of Men and Women as Political Leaders, 2014
  - FIGURE 9.6 World Record Times in 1500-Meter Running for Women and Men, 1912–2015
  - FIGURE 9.7 Shifts in the Gender Wage Gap, 1940–2014

CHAPTER 10: AGE: FROM YOUNG TO OLD

Content Changes:

- NEW expanded coverage, with entire chapter devoted to age
- NEW introductory vignette
- NEW sections "iSoc: The Sociology of Aging," "Childhood," "Boomers, Busters, and Boomlets: The Generations of Youth," "Baby Boomers," "Generation X," "Millennials—Generation Y," "Global Youth—A Dying Breed?", "Age Inequalities in Interactions," "Retirement," "Elder Care," "Aging and Dying," "Institutional Age Inequalities in Global and Local Perspectives," "Aging, Health, and the Life Course," "Child Labor in the United States," "Child Labor Around the World," "The New Slavery," "Opposition and Mobilization: The Politics of Age," and "Conclusion: Youth and Aging NOW"

- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Education as Age Graded
  - Sons Are More Likely to Live with Parents than Daughters
  - Retiring and Gay? Where?
- NEW figures, tables, and other features include:
  - MAP 10.1 Life Expectancy Around the World
  - FIGURE 10.1 Proportions of Young Adults (18–34) Living with Their Parents, 1880–2014
  - HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? Why Middle Age Can Be So Challenging
  - FIGURE 10.2 U.S. Birth Rate, 1940–2015
  - FIGURE 10.3 Racial and Ethnic Diversity Among Age Cohorts, 2014
  - FIGURE 10.4 Global Population Distribution Projections by Age Group, 2014 to 2050
  - FIGURE 10.5 Population Pyramids—Mexico, Italy, and Iraq, 2015
  - FIGURE 10.6 Child Poverty Rate by Race, 1976–2013
  - FIGURE 10.7 Life Expectancy and Retirement Years
  - FIGURE 10.8 Life Expectancy Around the World
  - U.S./WORLD Youth Unemployment Around the World
  - FIGURE 10.9 Global Trends in the Number of Employed Children—2008, 2012
  - MAP 10.2 Global Flow of Child Slavery

CHAPTER 11: THE BODY: HEALTH AND SEXUALITY

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "iSoc: The Sociology of Bodies and Embodiment," "Changing Identity by Changing the Gendered Body: Embodying Transgender Identities," "The "Disabled" Body," "Embodied Inequality," "Understanding Health and Illness Sociologically," "Health and Inequality," "Sickness and Stigma," "Mental Illness," "Researching Sexuality," "Resistance to Inequality: The LGBT Movement," and "Conclusion: Bodies, Health, and Sexualities NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - How Women with Ink Illustrate Gender Policing
  - Criminalizing Sickness?
  - What Happens to Men Who Wait?
  - Gay Men and Lesbians Congregate, But Not Always Together
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - FIGURE 11.1 Number of News Articles Containing "Obesity," "Overweight," "Anorexia," and "Eating Disorder," 1950–2016
  - FIGURE 11.2 Prevalence of Any and Severe Disabilities and Needs for Assistance by Age, 2010
  - MAP 11.1 Food Scarcity in the United States, 2015
  - FIGURE 11.3 Leading Causes of Death in the United States, by Sex and Race, 2013
  - MAP 11.2 Under-Five Mortality Rate Around the World, 2015
  - WHAT DO YOU THINK? WHAT DOES AMERICA THINK? MacArthur Mental Health Module
  - FIGURE 11.4 Percentage of U.S. Adults without Health Insurance
  - FIGURE 11.5 U.S. Adults Identifying as LGBT, 2012–2016
  - FIGURE 11.6 Proportions of LGBT Persons by Relationship Type and the Importance of Sexual Orientation to Their Identity
  - FIGURE 11.7 Proportion of Youth Who Have Had Sex by Age and Gender
  - HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? Why Hooking Up Might Be Less Empowering Than You Think
  - FIGURE 11.8 Proportion of Americans Defining Premarital Sex, Extramarital Sex, and Same-Sex as "Always Wrong" or "Almost Always Wrong"

CHAPTER 12: FAMILIES

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "iSoc: The Sociology of Families" and "Family Transitions, Inequality, and Violence"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Why Separate Spheres Meant "More Work for Mother"
  - Is There a Shortage of "Marriageable" Men Today?
  - Home Economics, Adoption, and Cornell's "Practice Babies"
- NEW figures, tables, and other features include:
  - FIGURE 12.1 Proportion of U.S. Households, by Type (1940–2016)
  - FIGURE 12.2 Polls of Americans' Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Marriage, 1988–2017
  - MAP 12.1 Same-Sex Marriage Law Around the World
  - TABLE 12.1 Interracial Marriage in U.S. States, 1913
  - FIGURE 12.3 Child Marriage Rates Around the World
  - FIGURE 12.4 Household Earnings by Couple Employment Status and Marital Status among Heterosexual Couples, 2016
  - FIGURE 12.5 Proportions of Men and Women Living Alone by Age Group, 2016
  - FIGURE 12.6 Shifts in the Timing and Sequence of Sex, Marriage, and Reproduction in the United States
  - HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? Measuring Time Spent
  - FIGURE 12.7 Percent of Childless Women Ages 40–44, 1976–2014
  - FIGURE 12.9 Living Arrangements for U.S. Children, 1960–2014
  - FIGURE 12.10 Intimate Partner Violence Against Women, by Age Group, Race, and Marital Status, 1993–2010
  - FIGURE 12.11 Percentage of Americans who "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" with Spanking as an Important Form of Discipline for Children, 1986–2016

CHAPTER 13: EDUCATION

Content Changes:

- NEW expanded coverage, with entire chapter devoted to education
- NEW sections "Education and Society," "iSoc: The Sociology of Education," "Education as a Mechanism of Social Inequality," "Education Inequality on a Global Scale," "A Report Card on Education in the United States," "Institutional Differences, Interactions, and Inequality," "How Much Does Your School Matter?", "Social Inequality and Institutional Differences," "Tracking," "Understanding Educational Inequality Intersectionally," "Preparing for College," "Gender Segregation in Higher Education," and "Conclusion: Education NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Single-Sex Schooling and Student Success
- NEW figures, tables, and other features include:
  - FIGURE 13.1 Proportion of Americans 25 and Older with High School or College Degrees, 1940–2016
  - FIGURE 13.2 A Brief Summary of Americans' Understandings of Basic Scientific Knowledge
  - FIGURE 13.3 How Is Education Related to Economic Growth Around the World?
  - FIGURE 13.4 High School Graduation Rates by Gender and Race/Ethnicity, 1972–2014
  - TABLE 13.1 Average Performance on International Student Achievement Tests
  - MAP 13.2 Literacy Rates around the World, by Age Group, 2015
  - FIGURE 13.5 Educational Attainment by Race among Adults Age 25 and Older, 2013

- FIGURE 13.6 Educational Attainment among Hispanic/Latino People Age 25 and Older, by Ethnicity, 2013
- MAP 13.3 Rates of College Preparedness, by State
- FIGURE 13.8 Average SAT Scores of High School Seniors in the United States, 1976–2014
- FIGURE 13.9 Growth in the Cost of Higher Education, 1976–2017

CHAPTER 14: ECONOMY AND WORK

Content Changes:

- NEW sections "iSoc: The Sociology of Work," "Economies and Politics: Protest and Change," "Workplace Identities, Interactions, and Inequalities," "Gender Diversity: Occupational Segregation," "Emotional and Aesthetic Labor and Inequality"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Cardboard: A Goldmine in a Globalized World
  - Are Some Emotions Off Limits for Non-White Employees?
  - Do You Have a "Gay" Résumé?
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - MAP 14.1 Global Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
  - U.S./WORLD The Prosperity of Nations: Nations with the Highest Per Capita Income, 2016
  - FIGURE 14.4 Proportion of *Standard & Poor*'s 500 Board Seats Held by Women, by Race, 2014
  - FIGURE 14.5 Number of U.S. Workers and Proportions of Men and Women, 1948–2016
  - FIGURE 14.6 Median Annual Earnings by Gender, 1960–2014
  - FIGURE 14.7 Women as a Proportion of Different Economic Sectors, 1972–2017

CHAPTER 15: POLITICS AND RELIGION

Content Changes:

- NEW combination of politics and religion content provides a global focus
- NEW introductory vignette
- NEW sections "Politics, Religion, and Social Life," "Comparing Politics and Religion," "iSoc: The Sociology of Politics and Religion," "Just How Separate Are Church and State?" "Politics: Class, Status, and Power," "Problems with Political Systems II: Reproducing Intersectional Forms of Inequality," "Political Participation versus Political Apathy," "Thinking about Religion Sociologically: Secularization or Resurgence?" "Thinking Intersectionally: Religious Diversity in the United States," "On the Religiously Unaffiliated," "Politics and Religion in Everyday Life," and "Conclusion: Politics and Religion NOW"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - Social Movements and the Media
  - Is Religious Pluralism Responsible for Americans' Enduring Religious Beliefs?
  - People Espouse Political Opinions Even When They Don't Have an Opinion
- NEW figures and other features include:
  - MAP 15.1 The Geography of Apostasy and Blasphemy
  - FIGURE 15.1 Numbers of Democracies and Autocracies Around the World, 1915–2015
  - HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? Measuring Democracy
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- FIGURE 15.9 Growth Among the Religiously Unaffiliated in the United States, 2007–2014
- FIGURE 15.10 Distribution of Race and Ethnicity by U.S. Religious Groups, 2014

CHAPTER 16: SOCIOLOGY OF ENVIRONMENTS: THE NATURAL, PHYSICAL, AND HUMAN WORLD

Content Changes:

- NEW introductory vignette
- NEW sections "iSoc: The Environment," "Environments, High-Risk Technology, and "Normal Accidents," "Environmental Inequalities," and "The Politics of Environments"
- NEW SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD features include:
  - "Missing Women" and "Surplus Men"
  - The Urban Village
- NEW figures, tables, and other features include:
  - FIGURE 16.1 Where Refugees Around the World Found Asylum, 2015
  - TABLE 16.1 Tracking Migration in the United States: How "Magnetic" or "Sticky" Is Your State?
  - FIGURE 16.2 Global Population Pyramid, 2016
  - FIGURE 16.3 Population Growth Around the World: 1960 to 2015
  - MAP 16.1 Percent of Population Living in Urban Areas, by Nation, 2016
  - HOW DO WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW? Why Facts about Climate Change Do Not Change People's Opinions about Climate Change
  - FIGURE 16.5 Global Death Rate from Natural Disasters, 1900–2013

We hope as you use the book—as a reader or as an instructor—that you will continue to tell us what works and what doesn't, how you respond to different features, and what we might do in the future to improve it. The conversation continues!

Acknowledgments

To say that every book is a conversation is true, but insufficient. Every book is many conversations at once. To be sure, it's a conversation between authors and readers, and it's designed to stimulate conversations among readers themselves. But writing a book is itself saturated with other conversations, and though we cannot possibly do justice to them all, it is important to acknowledge their presence in this process.

First, there are our conversations, as authors, with this field of research and our profession. How have we understood what others have written, their research, and their way of seeing the world? And how can we best communicate that to a new generation of students encountering sociology for the very first time?

We've had conversations with dozens of other sociologists who have read these chapters and provided enormously helpful feedback. Their candor has helped us revise, rethink, and reimagine entire sections of the book, and we are grateful.

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Each chapter includes a box called "What Do You Think? What Does America Think?"—a feature that started with contributions from Kathleen Dolan of North Georgia College and State University. These help the students gauge their own opinions next to the results of data from the General Social Survey and other surveys of Americans' opinions. Such a gauge is pedagogically vital. Often our students begin a response to a question with a minimizing feint: "This is just my own personal opinion, but …" What a relief and revelation to see their opinions as socially shared (or not) with others. We continue to be grateful to Kathleen for her efforts to contextualize those "personal opinions."

At the end of each chapter, the "Chapter Review" provides students with a quick, effective recap of the chapter's material—all of which were initially contributed by Lisa Jane Thomassen of Indiana University. I'm grateful to Lisa for her efforts to create precise summaries and interesting review questions for each chapter.

Michael also carried on a conversation with colleagues at Stony Brook University for more than two decades in a department that strongly values high-quality teaching. In particular, he is grateful to his chair, Daniel Levy, for managing such a diverse and collegial department where he has felt so comfortable. Every single one of his colleagues—both past and present—has assisted him in some way in the work on this book, guiding his encounter with areas of his or her expertise, providing an example he or she has used in class, or commenting on specific text. And we are grateful to them all.

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Michael has spent his entire career teaching in large public universities—UC Berkeley, UC Santa Cruz, Rutgers, and now Stony Brook—and teaching undergraduate students who are, overwhelmingly, first-generation college students, many of whom are immigrants and members of minority groups. They represent the next generation of Americans, born not to privilege but to hope and ambition. More than any other single group, they have changed how he sees the world.

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For the rest of Michael's far-flung friends and colleagues, we hope that you will find the fruits of those conversations somewhere in these pages.

Tristan also relied on colleagues, friends, and family in an attempt to make the book more useful, engaging, and often, just to mentally unload and unwind. Tristan is

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A textbook of this size and scale is also the result of a conversation between author and publisher—and there we have been enormously lucky to work with such a talented and dedicated team as we have at Pearson. We've had a series of editors and production teams, and we've been so lucky that Pearson continues to hire such talented people. Billy Greico inherited us, and guided this project through for several years before handing it off, at the one-yard line, to Jeff Marshall, who pushed us over the goal line. Our development and production team, especially Renee Eckhoff, Megan Vertucci, and Brooke Wilson, have been superb in shepherding the project through its various production stages.

At the beginning of this preface, I said I was really lucky because my job is so amazingly rewarding and because I get to do something that is in harmony with my values, with how I see the world.

But I'm also really lucky because I get to do virtually everything—including the writing of this book—with my wife, Amy Aronson. Amy is a professor of journalism and media studies at Fordham University; she comes to her sociological imagination through her background in the humanities and her experiences as a magazine editor (*Working Woman*). In the writing of this book, we have been completely equal partners—this is the only part I have written myself. (Don't worry—she edited it!)

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About the Authors

Michael Kimmel, Distinguished Professor of Sociology at Stony Brook University, is one of the pioneers in the sociology of gender and one of the world's leading experts on men and masculinities. He was the first man to deliver the International Women's Day lecture at the European Parliament; he was the first man to be named the annual lecturer by the Sociologists for Women in Society; and he has been called as an expert witness in several high-profile gender discrimination cases. Among his many books are *Men's Lives, The Gendered Society, Manhood in America*, and *Revolution: A Sociological Perspective*. He is also known for his ability to explain sociological ideas to a general audience. His articles have appeared in dozens of magazines and newspapers, including *The New York Times, The Nation, The Village Voice, The Washington Post*, and *Psychology Today*.

Amy Aronson is Associate Professor of Journalism and Media Studies at Fordham University. She is the author of *Taking Liberties: Early American Women's Magazines and Their Readers* and an editor of the international quarterly, *Media History*. She has coedited several books, including a centennial edition of Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Women and Economics* and the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, which was honored by the New York Public Library with a Best of Reference Award in 2004. A former editor at *Working Woman* and *Ms. Magazine*, she has also written for publications including *BusinessWeek, Global Journalist*, and the Sunday supplement of *The Boston Globe*.

Tristan Bridges is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the coeditor of *Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity, and Change* and book review editor at *Men and Masculinities*. Tristan has also published extensively on issues to do with transformations in masculinity and gender and sexual inequality and is an avid public sociologist.

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CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY?

Most people reading this book are likely not homeless, though some of you may have been at some point in your life. When we see images like this, they put the poles of possibility in a society into relief: money and status alongside poverty and hardship. Sociologists are interested in understanding how differences like these are defined by societies. The ways societies are organized shape our life possibilities. While many grow up in the U.S. believing that anyone can be the president or famous or a millionaire, sociologists want to understand—among other things—whether these kinds of aspirations are as plausible for different groups. To sociologists, it is axiomatic that our lives are often subject to forces far beyond our control. And learning to look at the world this way is part of the process of learning to see sociologically.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this chapter, using the iSoc framework, you should be able to:

1.1.1 Understand the sociological imagination as both a set of skills and as a way of seeing.

1.1.2 Summarize why sociologists study the order and organization of societies.

1.1.3 Explain why sociologists study both social order and social disorder.

1.1.4 Using the nature–nurture debate as an example, explain why what passes as "common sense" is often more complicated than it first appears.

1.2.1 Define the first three components of the iSoc perspective (identity, intersectionality, and inequality), as well as how they are interrelated.

1.2.2 Define the final two components of the iSoc perspective (interactions and institutions) as well as how they are interrelated.

1.2.3 Explain how sociologists look at changes in popular baby names to describe changes in other parts of society.

1.2.4 Summarize the ways that trends in baby names illustrate each element of the iSoc perspective.

1.3.1 Understand how "The Enlightenment" is connected with challenges to the social order that created a new way of understanding society and inequalities between different groups.

1.3.2 Understand how the Industrial Revolution changed almost everything about the societies

it affected and how this created new fears about whether and how society could persist.

1.3.3 Describe the issues that motivated classical sociological thinkers to create a science of society—consider the types of questions they were asking and why they sought answers.

1.3.4 Explain how contemporary sociologists build on classical sociological thinkers and what kinds of new and different questions they are asking.

1.4.1 Understand how and why globalization and multiculturalism are central issues for sociologists to study today.

1.4.2 Explain the ways that globalization and multiculturalism are interrelated forces in the world today.

Introduction

> *It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period.*
>
> *Charles Dickens (1859)*

These are the first lines of one of Western literature's greatest novels, *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens. In it, Dickens recounts the saga of the French Revolution, a period of unparalleled optimism about the possibilities of human freedom and some of the most barbaric and repressive measures ever taken in the name of that freedom.

Well, which is it: best or worst? Dickens insisted that it was both—and there lies the essence of sociological thinking. Most of the time, it's difficult to hold both ideas in our heads at the same time. More often, we take a position—usually at one extreme or the other—and then try to hold it in the face of any evidence that suggests otherwise. Logic and common sense insist that it can't possibly be both.

That's what makes sociology so fascinating. Sociology is constantly wrestling with two immense and seemingly contradictory questions, social order and social disorder—how it often feels that everything fits together perfectly, like a smoothly functioning machine, and how it often feels as if society is coming apart at the seams. If every single individual is simply doing what is best for himself or herself, why is there any social order at all? Why are we not constantly at war with each other? And how is order maintained? How is society possible in the first place?

On the other hand, why does it often seem that society is falling apart? Why do so many people in society disobey its laws, disagree about its values, and differ about the political and social goals of the society? Why is there so much crime and delinquency? Why is there so much inequality? Why does society keep changing?

These sorts of giant questions are what sociology sets out to answer. Sociologists analyze the ways that social institutions like family, marketplace, military, and government serve to sustain social order and how problems like inequality, poverty, and racial, gender, or sexual discrimination make it feel as if it is falling apart. And it turns out that most of the answers aren't so obvious or commonsensical after all.

1.1 Sociology as a Way of Seeing

sociology
The study of human behavior in society.

If you're like most people, you know that **sociology** is the study of human behavior in society. But we don't typically ask much more than that. What is society? And how do we study it?

Unlike other social sciences, the field of sociology is not immediately evident from just its name, like economics or political science. Nor are there many TV or movie

characters who are sociologists, as there are psychologists (like Dr. Phil) or anthropologists (Indiana Jones). In the classic movie *Animal House*, the protagonist encounters two sorority girls at a party. The writers wanted to portray these girls as gum-chomping, air-headed idiots. So what are they majoring in? Right—sociology.

Sociology sets for itself the task of trying to answer certain basic questions about our lives: the nature of identity, why some people seem to have more than others, and our relationships with others. Sociologists try to explain the paradoxes that we daily observe in the world around us: for example, how economic changes bring us closer and closer, and, at the same time, we fragment into smaller religious, tribal, or ethnic enclaves. Or how we observe that society is divided into different unequal groups based on class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender, despite the fact that, at the same time, everyone's values are remarkably similar.

Every field that ends in "–ology" is a science of something. Sociology is the science of society. And like every other science, it is simultaneously a field of study and an orientation to the world. Sociology is both a field of study and a way of seeing—it is both a science and a perspective. Learning to understand sociology, thus, involves two tasks: You will become familiar with the types of things that sociologists study as well as how it is that sociologists go about studying them. But, you must also learn to think about the world and look at it as a sociologist. This latter skill is sometimes just as challenging to achieve as the former.

Beyond Either–Or: Seeing Sociologically

1.1.1 Understand the sociological imagination as both a set of skills and as a way of seeing.

As a field, perhaps the pithiest definition was written 50 years ago, by C. Wright Mills (1959), a professor at Columbia University. Sociology, he wrote, is an "imagination," a way of seeing, a way of "connecting biography to history." What Mills means is that the **sociological imagination** sees our lives as *contextual* lives—our individual identities are understandable only in the social contexts in which we find ourselves. So, our race, gender, class, or sexual identities can only be understood within the social and historical contexts in which they are made meaningful. A sociological perspective is a perspective that examines connections and contexts. Sociology connects you to the worlds in which you live.

sociological imagination
The ability to see the connection between our individual identities and the social contexts (family, friends, and institutions) in which we find ourselves.

SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

Part of learning to think sociologically involves learning to understand yourself and the various identities you have as a lot less unique than you might imagine them to be. What does this mean?

In his famous essay, C. Wright Mills (1959) argued that the sociological imagination "enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise." This means connecting our individual lives to the large-scale events in the world, seeing the impact of such things as climate change, economic shifts, or immigration on our sense of ourselves and on our day-to-day interactions with others. This sometimes comes as a great relief, to know that we don't create our lives in some vacuum but rather in relationship to others, in a specific time and place. We're not alone. On the other hand, it does mean that we are less "special" than we might like to think: that the unique people we feel ourselves to be are in constant relationship to the world around us. We may choose our own direction, but we choose from a rather limited set of options. And it's sociology's task to explore what those options are by examining the forces that limit our choices. Thus, sociology is not only about how we create our identity, but also about what sorts of resources we use to construct it.

To help orient you to the field of sociology, read again the quote that begins this chapter. Now, take a look at your local daily newspaper or watch your local TV news. Notice how often they're telling you how things are getting worse, much worse than they've ever been. Crime threatens our safety, teenage drinking and drug use are epidemic, fundamentalist fanatics make the entire world unsafe. The media fret about the spiraling divorce rate, teen pregnancies, and the collapse of marriage; or we worry about new strains of diseases, like Zika virus or about old diseases like smallpox being unleashed as weapons, and about the microbial dangers lurking in our food. We fret about the collapse of morality and the decline in religion. Is the country falling apart?

Perhaps the opposite is true. We're also bombarded with stories about the enormous social changes that have made the world a smaller and smaller place, where millions of people can communicate with one another in an instant. Dramatic technological breakthroughs expand the possibilities for trade, cultural exchange, and economic development. Scientific advances make it possible to live longer, healthier lives than any people who have ever lived. The mapping of the human genome may enable scientists to eliminate many of the diseases that have plagued human beings for millennia while the rise of the Internet will enable us to communicate that knowledge in a heartbeat. Americans are going to college in greater numbers, and today we have women, African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and gay CEOs, corporate board members, and business owners. Freedom and democracy have spread throughout the world. Is society getting better and better?

To the sociologist, neither of these polar positions is completely true—nor completely false. The sociologist is as concerned about the collapse of traditional social institutions and values as he or she is about the extraordinary ways society is improving. Sociologists see *both* sides at once. They don't think in "either–or"; they usually think in "both–and." And what's more, sociologists don't see the glass half-full or half-empty, as the classic formulation of optimist or pessimist goes. Sociologists see the glass half full—and want to know where the other half went and if anyone is getting more than anyone else. They see the glass half-empty and want to know about the quality of the water as well.

For example, as you'll see in this book, most sociologists believe our identities come from *both* nature and nurture; that people are getting *both* richer and poorer (it depends on which people in what places); that our racial and ethnic identities *both* draw us closer together and further fragment us.

Making Connections: Sociological Dynamics

1.1.2 Summarize why sociologists study the order and organization of societies.

The sociologist is interested in the connections between things getting better and things getting worse. In our globalizing world, where daily the farthest reaches of the world are ever more tightly connected to every other part, where changes in one remote corner of Earth ripple through the rest of society, affecting every other institution—in such a world, the sociologist attempts to see both integration and disintegration and the ways in which the one is related to the other.

Take one example. In New York City, we are occasionally aghast that some innocent person, calmly waiting on a subway platform, is pushed in front of an oncoming train and killed—all for apparently no reason at all. On the freeway, we daily hear of cases of "road rage" that got a little out of control. Instead of being content with giving each other the finger and cursing at the tops of our lungs, occasionally someone gets really carried away and pulls a gun out of the glove compartment and opens fire on a stranger, whose only "crime" might have been to have cut that person off. Immediately, the headlines blare that society is falling apart, that violence is on

Half-full or half-empty? We often think we have to choose, but sociologists see the glass as both half-full and half-empty—and explore the relationship between the two halves. Context also matters: When are we seeing the picture? If the water's just been poured, the glass is half full. If you've just been drinking from it, it's half empty. Besides, how big is the glass? A champagne glass or a shot glass?

the rise. Psychologists offer therapeutic salve and warn of the increasing dangers of urban or suburban life. "It's a jungle out there," we'll say to ourselves. "These people are nuts."

But sociologists also ask another sort of question: How can so many people drive on clogged freeways, on too-little sleep, inching along for hours, surrounded by maniacs who are gabbing on their cell phones, ignoring speed limits and basic traffic safety—many also going either toward or away from stressful jobs or unbalanced home lives? How can we stuff nearly 2 million human beings, who neither know one another nor care very much for any of them, into large metal containers, packed like sardines, hurtling through dark tunnels at more than 60 miles an hour? How is it possible that these same people don't get so murderously angry at their conditions that people aren't pushed in front of subway trains at every single subway stop every single day of the year? How come more people aren't driving armed and dangerous, ready to shoot anyone who worsens an already difficult morning commute?

Is it simply the threat of coercion—that we'd all be wreaking murder and mayhem if we weren't afraid of getting caught? We think it's something more, and that's what sociology—and this book—is about.

Sociological Understanding

1.1.3 Explain why sociologists study both social order and social disorder.

Our interest is not entirely in social order, nor is it entirely social disintegration and disorder. Let's return for a moment to that person who pushed someone in front of a subway train. Sure, that person probably needs to have his or her head examined. But a sociologist might also ask about governmental policies that deinstitutionalized millions of mentally ill people, forcing them onto ever-shrinking welfare rolls and often into dramatically overcrowded prisons. And perhaps we need also to examine the income disparities that collide in our major cities—disparities that make the United States perhaps the most unequal industrial country and the modern city as the most heterogeneous collection of people from different countries, of different races, speaking different languages, in the entire world.

And what about that person who opened fire on a passing motorist? Can we discuss this frightening event without also discussing the availability of guns in America and the

Chaos or order? Cars, buses, rickshaws, bicycles, and pedestrians crowd the street in Dhaka, Bangladesh, in what appears to be a jumble. Yet everyone manages to get where they are going, without much violence or many accidents.

paucity of effective gun control laws? Shouldn't we also discuss suburban and urban sprawl, overwork, the number and size of cars traveling on decaying roads built for one-tenth that many? Or maybe it's just those shock jocks that everyone is listening to in their cars—the guys who keep telling us not to just get mad but to get even?

A comparison with other countries is usually helpful (see U.S./WORLD How Globalized Are We?). No other industrial country has this sort of road rage deaths; they are far more common in countries ruled by warlords, in which a motorist might unknowingly drive on "their" piece of the highway. And though many other industrial nations have intricate and elaborate subway systems, people being pushed in front of trains is exceedingly rare. And are those same countries far more homogeneous than the United States with well-financed institutions for the mentally ill or with a more balanced income structure? Or maybe it's that people who live in those countries are just more content with their lives than we are.

U.S./WORLD

HOW GLOBALIZED ARE WE?

The forces of globalization are evident in our daily lives, from the 3.6 billion people worldwide who watched the Rio Olympics in 2016, to the financial crisis that began with mortgage lenders in the United States and quickly sapped markets around the world. Four components have been used to measure the level of globalization: trade and investment flows, the migration of people across borders, use of communication technologies, and participation in international organizations. The KOF Globalization index relies on information about economic, social, and political globalization to come up with a globalization score for each country. Which countries are the most globalized in the world—and which are the least?

Top 10 Most Globalized Countries	Top 10 Least Globalized Countries
1. Netherlands	**1.** Virgin Islands (U.S.)
2. Ireland	**2.** Somalia
3. Belgium	**3.** San Marino
4. Austria	**4.** Democratic Republic of Korea
5. Switzerland	**5.** Northern Mariana Islands
6. Singapore	**6.** Marshall Islands
7. Denmark	**7.** Monaco
8. Sweden	**8.** Liechtenstein
9. Hungary	**9.** Isle of Man
10. Canada	**10.** Guam

SOURCE: Data from KOF Index of Globalization (2016). Available at http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/.

INVESTIGATE FURTHER

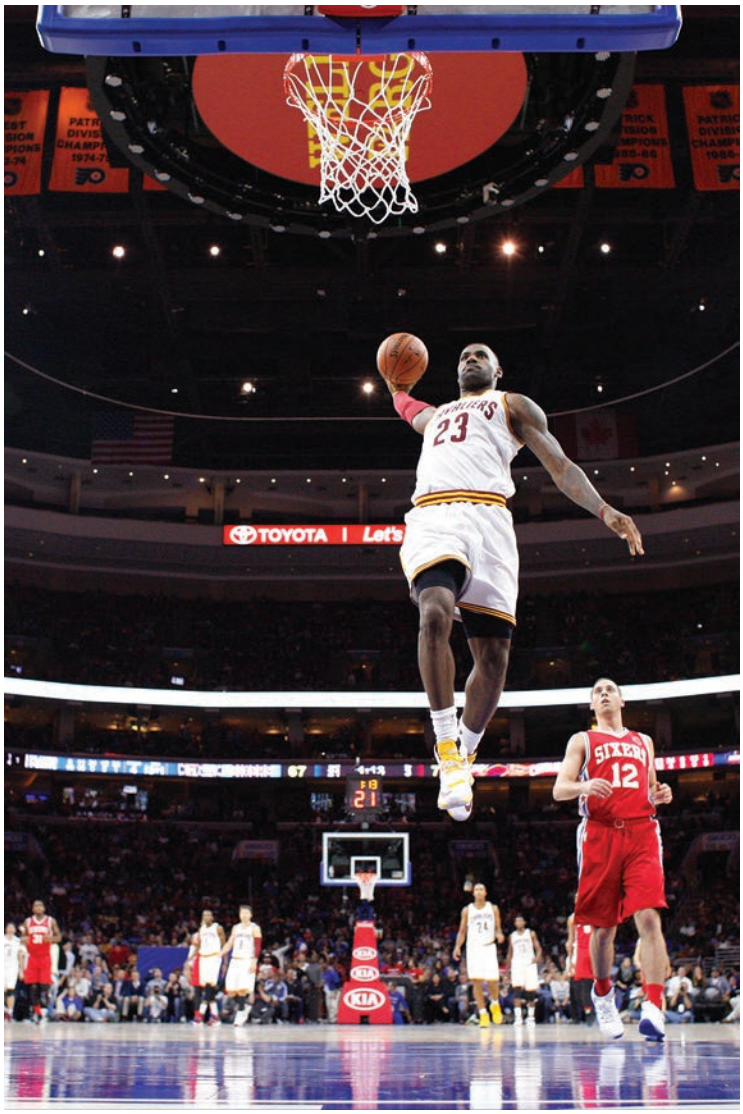
1. What factors do you think might explain the discrepancies between the most and the least globalized countries?
2. What social effects do you think the size of the globalization gap might have?

Getting beyond "Common Sense"

1.1.4 Using the nature–nurture debate as an example, explain why what passes as "common sense" is often more complicated than it first appears.

Sociology is not just "common sense," not simply what everybody knows. In fact, very often what "everybody knows" turns out, after sociological examination and study, not to be true. Commonsense explanations trade in stereotypes—"women are more nurturing"; "men are more aggressive"—that are almost never true of everyone. What's more, common sense assumes that such patterns are universal and timeless—that, for example, men and women are from different planets (Mars and Venus) and that we're programmed somehow to be completely alien creatures. But what if you actually decide you want to be different—that you want to be an aggressive woman or a nurturing man? Can you? Commonsense explanations have no room for variation, and they have no history. And they leave no room for freedom of choice.

Take, for example, that tired argument between "nature" and "nurture." It describes a debate about whether we behave the ways we do because our biology, our "nature," determines our actions—as they say, because we are "hard-wired" to do so—or because our ancestors millions of years ago found it to their evolutionary advantage to behave in such a way to ensure their survival? Or, in contrast, do we do the things we do because we have been taught to do them, socialized virtually from the moment we are born by institutions that are bigger and more powerful than we are?



Nature and nurture: LeBron James may have been born with prodigious athletic ability, but if he didn't have lots of help along the way, and practice extraordinarily hard, he would never have become the one of the greatest basketball players in the history of the NBA.

To the sociologist, the answer is clear but complex. Our behavior does not result from *either* nature *or* nurture; our behavior results from *both* nature *and* nature. Looking through a sociological lens reveals that it's not a question of either–or. It's all about seeing both–and as well as investigating how that relationship is playing out. Of course the things we do are the result of millennia of evolutionary adaptation to our environments, and of course we are biologically organized to do some things and not others. But that environment also includes the social environment. We adapt to the demands and needs of the social contexts in which we find ourselves, too. And we frequently override our biological drives to do things that we are *also* biologically programmed to do. Just as we are hardwired to preserve ourselves at all costs, we are also biologically programmed to sacrifice our own lives for the survival of the group or for our offspring.

But to the sociologist, the two sides of the nature–nurture debate share one thing in common: Each considers the individual person a passive object of larger forces, with no real ability to act for himself or herself and therefore no role in history. According to the either–or perspective, nature or nurture, we can't help doing what we do: We're either biologically destined or socially programmed to act as we do. "Sorry, it's in my genes!" is pretty much the same thing as "Sorry, I was socialized to do it!" Neither of these positions sees the *interaction* of those forces as decisive. That is the domain of sociology.

What makes a more thorough analysis of social life possible and makes the sociological perspective possible is the way we have crafted the lens through which we

view social problems and processes. It is a lens that requires that we see events in their contexts and yet remain aware of how we, as individuals, shape both the contexts and the events in which we participate.

A sociological perspective helps you to see how the events and problems that preoccupy us today are timeless; they do not come from nowhere. They have a history. They are the result of the actions of large-scale forces—forces that are familial, communal, regional, national, or global. And they enable you to see the connections between those larger-scale forces and your own experience, your own participation in them. Sociologists understand that this history is not written beforehand; it is changeable, so that you can exert some influence on how it turns out.

That's why Mills's definition of the sociological imagination, the connection between biography and history, is as compelling today as when it was written half a century ago. Sociology connects you, as an individual, to the larger processes of both stability and change that comprise history. Sociologists see the link between your identity and larger structures of inequality. And we see identity and inequality in constant operation, in every interaction with others and in every institution in which we find ourselves. We call it "iSoc."

WHAT DO YOU THINK? WHAT DOES AMERICA THINK?

How Scientific Is Sociology?

Some people perceive great differences between what are sometimes referred to as the "hard" and "soft" sciences—with the former being more "scientific" than the latter.

What do you think?

- ❍ Sociology is very scientific.
- ❍ Sociology is pretty scientific.
- ❍ Sociology is not too scientific.
- ❍ Sociology is not scientific at all
- ❍ I haven't heard of it.

What does America think?

The question "How scientific is sociology?" has been asked on the General Social Survey to a random sample of Americans in 2006 and again in 2012. Although Americans in general appear uncertain of the status of sociology, they rated sociology as more scientific in 2012 than they did in 2016. See how Americans' opinions changed over these 2 years:

	2006	2012
very scientific	8.6%	10.2%
pretty scientific	43.8%	40.7%
not too scientific	30.3%	32.9%
not scientific at all	9.1%	7.7%
haven't heard of it	8.2%	8.5%

SOURCE: Data from General Social Survey, 2006 and 2012.

Today, around 1 in 10 Americans suggests that sociology is a "very scientific" field. Interestingly, this belief is highly correlated with education. Those with graduate degrees rate sociology as "very scientific" at a rate of about 1 in 6 as of 2012.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT SURVEY DATA

In 2012, more than 50 percent of Americans ranked sociology as a field as either "pretty" or "very" scientific. Perhaps you'll reconsider your assessment of the field over the course of your reading this text and taking the associated class. What do you think? Just how scientific is sociology?

iSOC AND YOU Sociology as a Way of Seeing

Sociology is about you—not as some free-floating individual, who somehow magically plopped down where you are right now, but someone with a story, a history, a background, a context. You are socially located in all the locations that make you a unique person because of larger historical and social circumstances. Sociology understands your roots, but also measures the conditions of the soil and light and nutrients. But it doesn't tell the branches exactly which way they should bend toward the sun, though it provides lots of clues for where you might end up or will likely end up. But, sociologists also know that you're still you.

1.2 iSoc: Sociological Frames of Analysis

Every academic field uses a framework or a lens through which to view the phenomena it observes, a "story" that is the field's master narrative. For example, for economists, it's how individual rational actors interact to maximize their individual interests in a self-regulating market. For psychologists, it's that what makes us human is our minds—whether we try and understand it through dreams, cognition, developmentally, or by brain chemistry. For anthropologists, it's how people form and sustain lasting communities, whether by symbolic or material means.

For sociologists, as C. Wright Mills said, it's how to locate your biography in history—that is, sociology is about who you are—but in context. Because the sociological lens examines the "both–and" and not the "either–or," we can explain the sociological framework with two sets of "I's": (1) *Identity, Intersectionality*, and *Inequality*, and (2) *Interaction* and *Institution*. Understanding these five "I's" is what we mean by the sociological perspective—or, as we like to call it, "iSoc."

Sociology is about your identity but in the context of social dynamics, and particularly the unequal distribution of rewards, or what we'll call inequality. And it's about the processes by which we experience identity and inequality, both in our daily interactions with others and in every institution in which we find ourselves. More than that, it's about the connections *between* identity and inequality, and *between* interactions and institutions, and also about the connections between identity and inequality on the one hand, and interaction and institutions on the other. Sociologists examining these connections are looking at intersections. Learning to see the world around you from the perspective of iSoc is what it means to understand the sociological perspective.

Identity, Intersectionality, and Inequality

1.2.1 Define the first three components of the iSoc perspective (identity, intersectionality, and inequality) as well as how they are interrelated.

Sociology is concerned with identity: what makes you *you*. Who are you? How do you know? How do you become who you are? Really, you have a collection of identities that all overlap to shape what you come to think of as a singular identity. Your age, race, ethnicity, social class, gender, sexuality, religion, height, musical interests, talents, and abilities all help to construct your **identity**. And each element of your identity affects each of the others, producing a unique individual—the sum of all those overlapping identities—and a distinct way in which each of those affects where you will end up in society. So, somewhat paradoxically, what makes you unique is your connections with other people and groups. It turns out that some of the very factors that you use to construct your social identity are those factors that express the unequal distribution of rewards in society. The combination of all these factors is what sociologists mean when they use the term **intersectionality**. Sociologists are interested in the ways that

identity
The unique combination of group affiliations and social characteristics that each individual develops.

intersectionality
Sociological term for the ways that different identities "intersect" with one another to shape our social identity and our experience of inequality.

social inequality
The social process by which valued goods, opportunities, and experiences are unequally distributed throughout a population.

social groups
A collection of individuals bound by a common social identity or by some shared goal and purpose.

different identities "intersect" with one another to shape our social identity and our experience of **social inequality**).

Take, for example, an exercise I often do in my introductory sociology class. Write down five social groups to which you belong, that define who you are, from which you derive your identity. I don't mean five adjectives that describe you, like "tall" or "pretty." I mean **social groups**. Here is what happens in my classes. Very few men write down "male" or "man" but almost all the women write down "female" or "woman." Virtually no white students write down "white" but virtually all the students of color write down their race. No one has ever written down "English" or "Scottish" but lots of students with Italian, Turkish, Korean, and with other racial or ethnic heritage write that down. Almost no one writes down "Protestant," but I get a lot of Jewish, Catholic, evangelical, and Muslim responses that note religion. Most wealthy students don't say anything about class—indeed, few middle-class students do. But poor students often say something about being poor or working class. I have rarely seen anyone write down "heterosexual" or "straight," but virtually every single out LGBT student makes note of their sexual orientation or transgender identity. Able-bodied students rarely think of this as a central element of their identity, but students with disabilities always write it down.

What do you make of this? It's not that young men with English ancestry, who are straight, white, and Methodists don't use gender ethnicity, sexuality, race, and religion to construct their identities. Of course they do! But what a sociologist makes of this is that the aspects of our identity that are the most visible to us are often those in which we feel we do not fit into the mainstream, by which we are discriminated against.

Consider another example. You probably use Google to search the Web all the time; most of you reading this probably rely on Google in one capacity or another every day. But when you go to the website www.Google.com, you may not be aware that you are actually searching the Web as an American. Have you ever thought about why it's uncommon to have Japanese websites suggested to you after you search for something on Google? Or Irish websites or Mexican websites? If you are from a country outside of the United States or if you have visited a website from another country, you may have noticed an important difference in the Web address—it ends with a "country code." So, for example, if you were searching google in Ireland, you'd have to visit www.Google.co.ie (the ".ie" is the country code). You'd finish the Web address to search Google in South Africa with ".za," or ".jp" for Japan, or ".uk" for England (United Kingdom), or ".mx" for Mexico.

But when you search Google in the United States, you simply use ".com" (which is digital shorthand used for "commercial"—a designation for websites). ".com" is not the country code for the United States. We simply don't have one. Why is it that the United States doesn't have a country code? The aspects of our identity that are most visible to us are those in which we experience inequality. As a powerful nation, one privilege Americans receive is that their national identity is often invisible to them on a daily basis. Even on the Internet!

Identity and inequality are not separate features of social life. They are linked. And, identities intersect with one another to shape different and unequal opportunities and experiences for different groups. The most visible elements of our identities are often those aspects that are based on social inequality.

Google websites are a powerful illustration of an invisible privilege Americans receive. In other countries, Google websites remind users where they are geographically located (as in "Google France" for instance). Here, Google France changed the home page in January of 2015, reading "Je Suis Charlie" (I Am Charlie) following an Islamic terrorist attack on the main offices of the satirical magazine, *Charlie Hedbo*.

Interactions and Institutions

1.2.2 Define the final two components of the iSoc perspective (interactions and institutions) as well as how they are interrelated.

How are identity and inequality linked? That's the other both–and pairing: Sociologists look at different levels of social life, different patterns of behavior. Identity isn't something that is done *to* you. You construct your identity

actively, through your interactions. But you undertake this process in circumstances not entirely of your choosing—you construct it in social arenas, what sociologists call **social institutions**. Institutions are patterned sets of interactions that work to meet collective needs that are not easily met by individuals working alone. They include such social arenas as markets, families, schools, corporations, factories, and prisons.

social institutions
Patterned sets of interactions that work to meet collective needs that are not easily met by individuals working alone. They include such social arenas as markets, families, schools, corporations, factories, and prisons.

Often we think of these as two separate levels of analysis—micro and macro, for example. And, yes, sociologists often study society and social life from one level or the other. But we are also interested in the relationships *between* the two, between our day-to-day interactions with our friends, for example, and the social institutions in which those interactions take place. After all, you don't exactly interact with your friends the same way in church as you might on a sports field. Your interactions aren't the same in front of your parents or your teachers as they are when you are by yourselves.

Perhaps you've had that uncomfortable experience when a professor walked into a bar where you were hanging out with your friends. Or imagine the way you might interact with your instructor if you were to invite him or her over for dinner with your family. What would happen if your instructor turned to you, in the course of the conversations, and said "You might want to take notes on what I'm going to say next. It's important." You'd think he or she was truly strange, right? And what if he or she turned to your parents and said that? You'd think he or she was crazy.

Why? Because the way we interact with others often depends on the context of that interaction. Those patterns of interaction are how we express and achieve our identity, but we shape it differently depending on where we are.

Looking at the world from a sociological perspective can be a little disorienting. One sociological truism is that we are a lot less in control of our lives than we often like to believe. It doesn't mean that we exert no control over our lives, but various social forces push us around and encourage us to take some paths over others. Learning to understand how this works and what the consequences of it are requires learning to look at the world around you like a sociologist. And the trouble with learning to *see* like a sociologist is that sociologists don't actually see in just one way. They have a variety of ways of looking at and analyzing the world around them. It depends on what questions they are asking, where they are, what they hope to highlight, and more.

Think about it this way: Have you ever been to the eye doctor to be fitted for a pair of glasses? Even if you haven't, you'll probably recognize the device I'm talking about. Eye doctors refer to it as a refractor and it's a common device used by eye-care professionals in an eye examination. It's the device the eye care professional asks you to sit up and look through when they determine whether you need glasses and, if you do, what prescription. It looks like a pair of high tech binoculars with lots of knobs on them for adjustment. Typically, patients sit down looking through the refractor at an eye chart placed on the wall. As a patient, your job is simply to tell your eye-care professional when an adjustment makes your vision clearer, or less focused. The lens you look through is changing; the idea is to find the lens that works best for you, the lens that helps you see the world as clearly as possible. Sometimes, the eye chart is then moved closer to you and you do the exercise again because some people require a separate lens for reading. Pairs of glasses with two prescriptions built in are called bifocals. They allow people to look through their glasses one way throughout much of their life, but read through a separate lens.

Learning to see the world around you from the perspective of the iSoc model requires five separate lenses—one for each component: *identity, interaction, intersections, institutions*, and *inequality*. Sometimes, sociologists are looking through just one of those lenses, such as when they look for patterns in social interactions. More commonly, sociologists use overlapping lenses or examine the same phenomenon from various different perspectives.

Think about the example of identity formation. How do we come to understand who *we* are? Sociologists have long been interested in the question of social identity. So, they will

be looking through the *identity* lens. But, understanding how people come to understand who they are requires examining the social interactions that help shape their sense of self. So, we need to include the *interaction* lens as well. But, really appreciating why social interactions look and feel the way they do means that we need to consider how various social institutions shape and give meaning to interactions. So, we need our *institutional* lens as well. And, if identity formation processes are different for different groups, we need to be able to think about what aspects of social identity produce these differences. We need to examine the ways that the collection of different identities each of us has intersect with each other to produce different kinds of outcomes and experiences. And to fully appreciate this, we need to examine the world through our *intersectional* lens. Finally, if people in different groups end up with not only different identities, but also different experiences and opportunities, sociologists want to examine how this social inequality is produced. Add in the *inequality* lens.

So, what started out as a simple question turns out to be more complex. What started out as a question about individuals turns into an examination of the relationship between the individual and society. And this is how sociologists learn to see the world around them. They are constantly switching lenses, overlapping lenses, and looking through all five in an attempt to examine social issues and phenomena from different perspectives. Learning to see like a sociologist means getting comfortable with this process. And throughout this book, you'll see how different research and ideas highlight the distinct components of the iSoc model. By the end of the book, you'll see the world through sociological lenses too.

That's what we mean when we talk about "iSoc." iSoc consists of these five levels of sociological analysis. Using these five levels of analysis provides you with both a theoretical lens through which to view social life *and* the analytic method to situate any particular phenomenon. It is the sociological lens, our framework. It is how sociologists *do* sociology now. Next, we provide an example of thinking sociologically with iSoc by looking at a practice that often feels intensely personal but is actually guided by social forces: selecting a name for a child.

iSoc in Action: What's in a Name?

1.2.3 Explain how sociologists look at changes in popular baby names to describe changes in other parts of society.

IDENTITY—What could be more "you" than your name? Your name is the first signpost of your *identity*, a reference point throughout your life. Yet to a sociologist, nothing could be more individual and more social at the same time. Your name itself is a good example of what C. Wright Mills said was the core imperative of sociology: to connect biography to history. In fact, we can learn a great deal both about you as well as about the society in which you live by looking at the ways parents choose to name their children. Consider the following example. A list of the Top 10 names for boys and girls in the United States in 2016 follows along with the frequency of each name (the percentage of babies born in the United States given each name). This means that, for example, 1.01 percent of all baby girls born in the United States were given the name Emma—or, about 1 in 100 baby girls born in 2016 was named Emma (see TABLE 1.1)

What do you notice? Some of you might see some similar names. William and James, for example, appear on both lists. But not a single girl's name appears on both lists. And you're probably thinking that a lot of the names from 1916 (perhaps for girls especially) seem rather, well, "older," more "traditional." Do you think that people will think that Emma and Liam and Mia and Mason are going to sound "older" and "traditional" a hundred years from now? It's also true that the boys' names seem more familiar than the girls' names.

INEQUALITY—Popular names change over time. And we can learn a lot about a group from understanding which names are popular among which groups, how popular, and when and why they change. We learn about the power of distinct social *institutions* in a

TABLE 1.1 Top 10 Names for Boys and Girls in the United States

Top-Ranked Boys' Names and Frequencies (1916)	Top-Ranked Boys' Names and Frequencies (2016)	Top-Ranked Girls' Names and Frequencies (1916)	Top-Ranked Girls' Names and Frequencies (2016)
1. John 5.42%	1. Noah 0.95%	1. Mary 5.66%	1. Emma 1.01%
2. William 4.38%	2. Liam 0.90%	2. Helen 3.01%	2. Olivia 1.00%
3. James 3.85%	3. William 0.78%	3. Dorothy 2.53%	3. Ava 0.85%
4. Robert 3.44%	4. Mason 0.77%	4. Margaret 2.30%	4. Sophia 0.84%
5. Joseph 2.59%	5. James 0.74%	5. Ruth 2.14%	5. Isabella 0.77%
6. Charles 2.56%	6. Benjamin 0.73%	6. Mildred 1.44%	6. Mia 0.75%
7. George 2.53%	7. Jacob 0.72%	7. Anna 1.40%	7. Charlotte 0.68%
8. Edward 1.84%	8. Michael 0.70%	8. Elizabeth 1.38%	8. Abigail 0.61%
9. Frank 1.66%	9. Elijah 0.69%	9. Frances 1.27%	9. Emily 0.57%
10. Thomas 1.30%	10. Ethan 0.68%	10. Virginia 1.15%	10. Harper 0.56%

SOURCE: Data from U.S. Social Security Administration (2017). Available at: https://www.ssa.gov/oact/babynames/index.html#&ht=1.

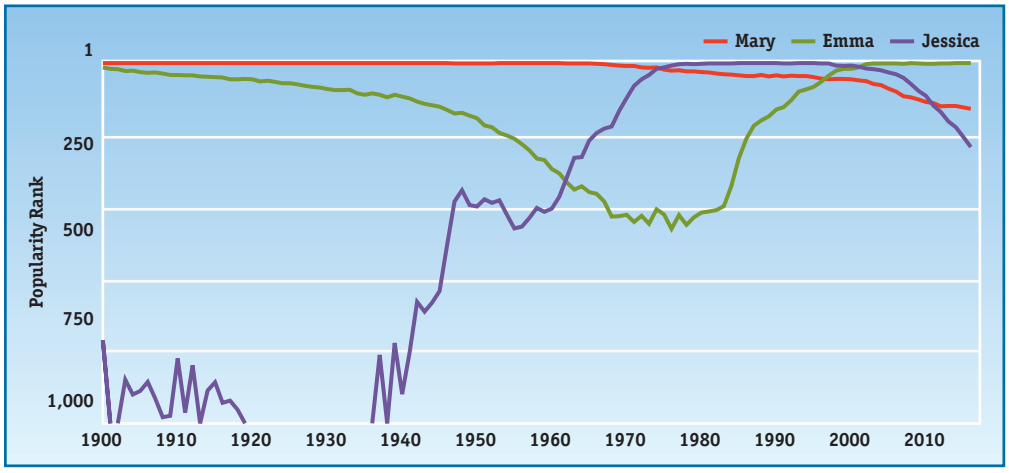
society. We can learn about *inequality* by examining which names become popular and unpopular and when. And we learn about how these things change over time. Name popularity appears to move through a population in a manner similar to an infectious disease. It catches on, and spreads. Sometimes they spread slowly or only appear to spread to some states and not others. But other times, they spread quickly.

The name given to you feels intensely personal, and it's an intimate part of your *identity*. Indeed, part of the reason parents labor over the decision of what name to give a child is because they understand this on some level. But when parents choose names for their children, they do so in a particular historical moment in a particular social context. And these particularities of history and social context help shape the names parents select, whether they are aware of this fact or not. It's a powerful illustration of Mills's sociological imagination—your biography is connected to history. Consider trends in the popularity of three names given to girls in the United States: Mary, Emma, and Jessica (see FIGURE 1.1).

Mary was the most popular name between 1880 and 1961—after that, Mary has declined in popularity quite a bit. In 1900, Emma was a top 20 name given to girls. Emma gradually became much less popular, hitting a low point of the 461st most

FIGURE 1.1 Rank of Mary, Emma, and Jessica among Most Popular U.S. Girls' Names at Birth, 1900–2016

What can we learn about the types of institutions that shape our lives and how that might have changed by examining shifts in the popularity of the different kinds of names we select for children? Choosing a name feels like an intensely personal decision. But like so many things sociologists study, it's a decision that is powerfully influenced by the world around us.



NOTE: Name ranking stops at 1000.

SOURCE: Data from U.S. Social Security Administration.

SOCIOLOGY AND OUR WORLD

WHY POPULAR BOY NAMES ARE MORE POPULAR THAN POPULAR GIRL NAMES

What can we learn about society by examining just how common popular baby names actually are?

In 1880, the top 10 names given to baby boys accounted for more than 40 percent of all baby boys born that year; almost 23 percent of girls born in 1880 received a name from the top 10. Having a popular name was the norm. But having a popular name has become less common. In 2016, the top 10 names given to babies born that year accounted for fewer than 8 percent of them. Using one of the lists of names we just examined, we saw that 5.66 percent of all baby girls born in 1916 were given the name Mary. That means that more than 1 in 20 girls born that year were named Mary. The same is true of John. The most popular boy and girl names weren't just trendy; they were incredibly popular and widespread. Giving a child the most popular boy or girl name was extraordinarily common by today's standards. If you had a baby girl and named her Mary and so did your friend down the street and your cousin, it might not have been so strange. The most popular names today are simply much less common than the most popular names a century ago (see Proportion of Boys and Girls Receiving Top 10 Name by Birth Year, 1880–2016).

But what does this mean? Sociologist Stanley Lieberson wrote a book examining all we can learn about a society by looking at the names people select for their babies—*A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashion, and Culture Change* (Lieberson 2000). And he was interested in this trend in particular—why is it that the most popular names aren't as popular as they used to be? It's a great example of iSoc analysis. His theory is that as institutional pressures associated with names decline, we see the proliferation of more diverse names. By "institutional pressures," Lieberson is referring to pressures associated with social *institutions* like extended family rituals or religious rituals associated with the naming of children. Lieberson refers to this as the "modernization theory" of name trends. And it's been documented in other societies as well.

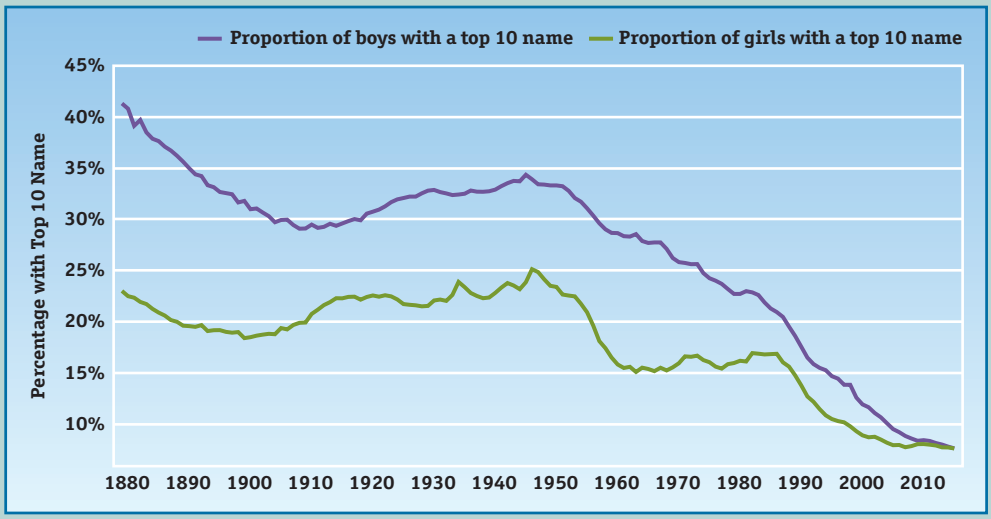
But you might notice that this is an incomplete explanation if you examine the graph. It's true for both boys and girls that the most popular names have become less popular over time. But, in the United States, the most popular boys' names have always been more popular than the most popular girls' names, though the gap in popularity has decreased over time. In 1880, the top 10 boys' names accounted for almost 20 percent more of the boys born that year than the top 10 girls' names did for girls. That's a big gap! And you can see that it's narrowed over time. But, even in 2016, the top 10 boys' names accounted for more than did the girls, by just a fraction of a percent. Why?

Sociologist Alice Rossi (Rossi 1965) suggested that gender inequality accounts for this discrepancy. Because men are often seen as symbolic carriers of the family from one generation to the next (think of how heterosexual couples often both take *his* last name, for instance), they are more likely to be given names ensuring the family's continuity over time. Many boys have the first name of their fathers or grandfathers—like Robert Smith IV. This is really rare among women.

It's an interesting example of how much we can learn about a society from looking at something as simple as data on how we name our children. From this chart, we can see how certain institutional pressures on individuals have loosened over the last century. We can also see one small way that gender inequality has been challenged, in a way you might not have noticed.

SOURCE: Tristan Bridges (2016). "Why Popular Boy Names are More Popular than Popular Girl Names." *Feminist Reflections*, blog. Available at: https://thesocietypages.org/feminist/2016/02/25/why-popular-boy-names-are-more-popular-than-popular-girl-names/

Proportion of Boys and Girls Receiving Top 10 Name by Birth Year, 1880–2016



SOURCE: Data from U.S. Social Security Administration.

popular name in 1976. But by 2015 and 2016, Emma was the top name given to baby girls born in the United States. The name Jessica follows a different trend entirely. Not until 1947 is Jessica among the top 500 names given to baby girls in the United States. Starting in the 1960s, the name Jessica saw a dramatic increase in popularity. For 20 years, between 1977 and 1997, Jessica was a top 5 name given to girls at birth. But as of 2015, Jessica is not even among the top 200. Why? What happened? And what can we learn about our society from these cultural trends?

Names fall in and out of fashion. And some fall out of favor and then climb back up. For example, what happened to Emma? (Here are a few hints: the revival of interest in Jane Austen, the fact that Ross and Rachel named their baby "Emma" on television sitcom *Friends*, and the proto-feminist witch Hermione in the *Harry Potter* movies was played by Emma Watson.) Names can often be celebrity driven, but they need to be common enough that it might appear you thought of it yourself. So there aren't a lot of 70 year-old Elvises or Ringos running around these days, nor are there a lot of tiny LeBrons or Gagas. But "Isabella" and "Jacob" increased dramatically following the publication of the *Twilight* novel series in 2005 and movies starting in 2008.

On closer examination, you might notice if you look at the differences in the popular names from 1916 versus 2016 (see FIGURE 1.1) reflect changes in institutional pressures. Family names and Biblical names are high on the list (this is what accounts for the incredible popularity of Mary for such a long period of time). Over the course of the twentieth century, religion appears to exert less pressure on naming practices in the United States. This is consistent with the **"modernization theory" of name trends**. By 2016, media and popular culture appear to have started to play the role that religion and family tradition once did in helping many parents select names for their children. Though Biblical names are not entirely absent either.

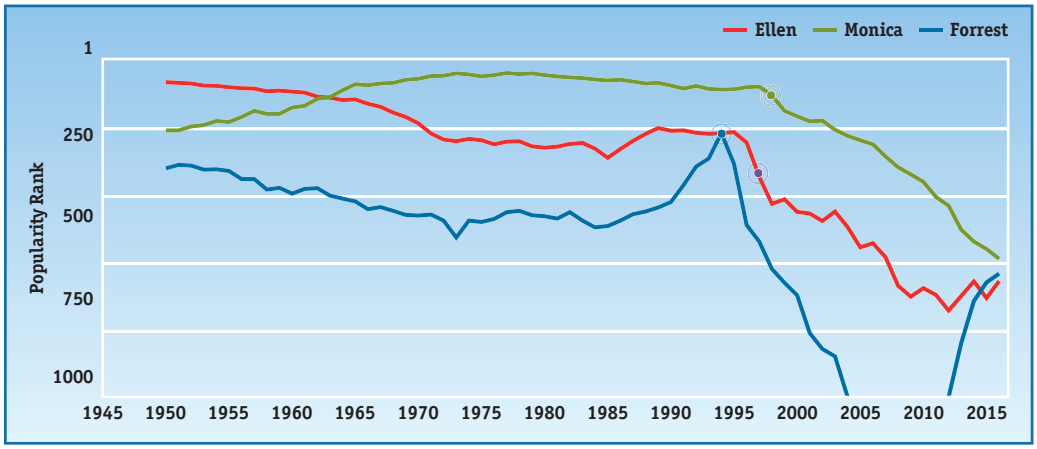
"modernization theory" of name trends

Stanley Lieberson's explanation for the reduction in pressures associated with social institutions like extended family rituals or religious rituals associated with the naming of children—trends that led to more name diversity.

But, pressure to name children works in two ways: Social forces help us consider some names and steer clear of others. In the 1990s, three popular names in the United States took a nose dive in popularity because of their association with particular historical events. Forrest, Monica, and Ellen had held steady as reasonably popular names—in the top 200–300 until Ellen DeGeneres came out as gay (Ellen falls in the rankings from 245 to 655); the President Clinton/Monica Lewinsky scandal hits news headlines (Monica went from 79 to 589); and the movie *Forrest Gump* was released in theaters (Forrest fell from 217 to outside the top 1,000 from 2004 to 2012—climbing back to 633 in 2016) (see FIGURE 1.2).

FIGURE 1.2 Name Popularity for Ellen, Monica, and Forrest, 1950–2016

Just as we can learn a lot about a society by looking at the names that become popular, so too can we learn about a society by looking at the baby names that lose popularity. Often, this is a powerful way to learn something about systems of inequality that shape a society.



NOTE: Name ranking stops at 1000. Read more about name contamination at Cohen, Philip. 2012. "Big Name Drops in the News." Family Inequality (blog). December 12. Available at https://familyinequality.wordpress.com/2012/12/10/big-name-drops-in-the-news/.

SOURCE: Data from U.S. Social Security Administration.

When names become less popular, it often tells us something about society. In this case, we can see how certain groups are viewed unfavorably and subject to social inequality, just by watching name trends. Names are one indicator of social inequality in our society—of the ways that different groups receive systematically different treatment (like individuals identifying as gay or lesbian, for instance, or disabled persons, or women with sexual desires).

Names therefore not only provide us with a primary identity, but they reveal patterns of inequality as well. For example, in a classic study, students at Harvard were given a story about Heidi Roizen, a successful venture capitalist in the Silicon Valley, who had become successful partly because of her outgoing personality and networking skills. Half of the students, however, read a story about "Howard" Roizen. Same exact story, but the names were different. The students were then asked a series of questions about Howard and Heidi. Students found them both equally "competent," but Howard was rated as far more "likeable" than Heidi, who was seen as "selfish" and "not the type of person you would want to hire or work for." In her book *Lean In* (2013), Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg argues that this shows that for men, success and likeability are linked, but for women, they are seen as a trade-off. All this, remember, from a name!

Not only Heidi and Howard, but also Jamal and Lakisha. People who have distinctly "black" sounding names on their resumes get 50 percent fewer callbacks for interviews than those with white-sounding names like Emily or Greg—even when they have equivalent credentials. The phenomenon also affects other minority groups (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2003; Yoshino 2006). We will learn more about this in Chapter 14.

And yet, it's also true that a politician named Barack Hussein Obama from an interracial family was elected president of the United States in 2008 and reelected in 2012. In 2004, when Obama was a Senate candidate for the state of Illinois, he delivered a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in Boston. In his speech, he mentioned his name. He said: "My parents shared not only an improbable love; they shared an abiding faith in the possibilities of this nation. They would give me an African name, Barack, or 'blessed,' believing that in a tolerant America, your name is no barrier to success." Of course, sociologists know that names are barriers to success for many people. But, as President Obama illustrates so well, just what qualifies as a "barrier" and for whom is something that will change over time and by social context.

Names and the Sociological Imagination

1.2.4 Summarize the ways that trends in baby names illustrate each element of the iSoc perspective.

That names carry elements of *identity* and reproduce *inequality* has long been known to us. If your parents or grandparents were immigrants, ask them if your current last name was the one they were born with. A large number of Americans, with very "American" sounding names, both first and last, were born with very different names, and they "Americanized" their names to better fit in. In some cases, their names were Americanized for them by immigration officials who found it tedious or difficult to try and pronounce Donatelli (Donald) or Estrovic (Strong). Donald Trump's grandfather's surname was originally Drumpf when he immigrated from Germany. A friend of one of the authors is named Charlie Lee. He was born Xiou-Su Li in Shanghai, but feared that if people couldn't pronounce his name correctly he might have a harder time getting ahead in the United States.

INTERACTIONS—This leads to the third and fourth components of the iSoc model—interactions and institutions—the how and the where of social life. Names