SOLUTIONS MANUAL

RODNEY STARK

TENTH EDITION

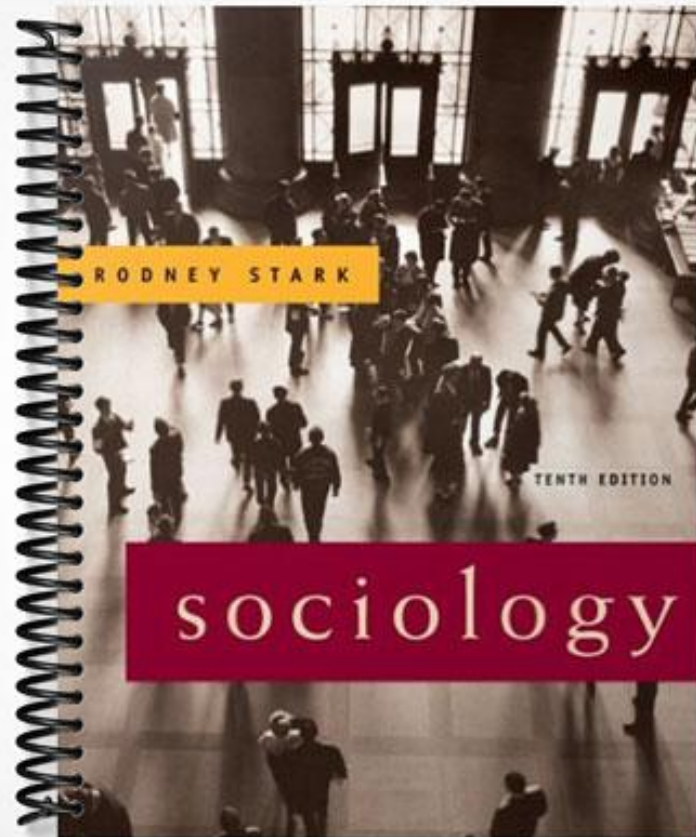# sociology

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS FOR SOCIAL AND
CULTURAL THEORIES

Extended Abstract

- A distinct change in the pattern of U.S. immigration was noted at the turn of the nineteenth century. Immigration from eastern and southern Europe outpaced immigration from Great Britain and northwestern Europe. The "new immigrants" included large numbers of Jews and Italians, and it was feared that these groups would not assimilate well. However, data from the 1911 Immigration Commission Report revealed that the average weekly income of Jewish men was higher than that for white men while Italian men earned significantly less. How could this be? Stark maintains that social and cultural theories provide a framework for answering this question. He uses this general discussion about comparative ethnic mobility to introduce many important concepts related to "society" and "culture."
- After defining the term "society," Stark points out that societies vary in their structure.
  - A social structure is any characteristic of a group (rather than individuals) such as population density or sex ratio.
  - One of the most important social structures is stratification. Since rewards are not evenly distributed among a society's members, societies may be stratified or "layered" by social class. Over time individuals or groups may experience upward or downward mobility. In addition, their social position or status may be based on merit (achieved status) or inherited and fixed (ascribed status).
  - Finally, a complex web of social ties or networks characterizes societies. These networks reflect varying degrees of power. Granovetter argues that weak, nonredundant ties enable persons to spread information effectively while strong, redundant networks facilitate influence. Similarly, local networks are small, more intimate and geographically concentrated; whereas, cosmopolitan networks are large, less intimate and geographically diverse. Meanwhile, societies as a whole may have a single internal network or two or more parallel networks. When isolated networks exist within larger societies, social conflict may result. While societies may have one, or more, cosmopolitan networks, they will always include many local networks.
- Stark next notes that cultural as well as structural dimensions of social life must be explored. Key cultural concepts introduced in this chapter are values and norms, roles, multiculturalism and subcultures, prejudice and discrimination, assimilation and accommodation and modernization and globalization.
  - Culture includes the things people learn and pass from generation to generation.
  - Two important things learned are a group's values, ideas or beliefs about what is good or bad, and its norms, rules of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.
  - Norms are combined to create social roles, or behavioral guidelines that are associated with social positions. People are rewarded or punished depending on how well they perform their roles.

> ➤ A society may be comprised of many different cultural groups. Multicultural societies are characterized by extensive cultural diversity. Particular racial and ethnic groups such as African Americans and Italians are thus examples of subcultures within U.S. society.
> ➤ However, within multicultural societies groups may seek to impose their cultural standards on others. When this occurs, multiculturalism may reinforce ascribed statuses, promote negative beliefs (or "prejudice"), and encourage unequal treatment (or "discrimination") of groups.
> ➤ Multiculturalism also raises questions concerning cultural assimilation and accommodation. If groups are expected to exchange their culture for the prevailing dominant group norms, assimilation may occur. If groups seek to address shared interests while ignoring some important cultural differences among them, accommodation may occur.
> ➤ Finally, globalization of culture is introduced as an outcome of modernization, a process of extensive technological and economic change.

- Stark then proceeds to apply these social and cultural concepts to the study of Jewish and Italian mobility in North America. Ethnic stereotypes were promoted in many publications at the beginning of the twentieth century. By 1921, strict immigration quotas were established. Jews and Italians experienced less prejudice and discrimination as they began to assimilate and achieve economic success, and as religious differences were accommodated. But in the midst of all of this, Jews experienced upward mobility sooner than did Italians. Why?

> ➤ Cultural theories suggest Jews experienced more mobility because educational achievement was stressed. Zborowski and Herzog note that traditional Jewish city (shtetl) life favored the maintenance of strong school systems, and that Jewish families stressed the virtues of a good education. Jewish immigrants were thus prepared to fill well-paying occupations as they immigrated to North America. Conversely, Covello observed that rural families from southern Italy stressed family loyalty over academic performance, and it was not unusual for children to quit school at an early age.
> ➤ Developing a social theory of ethnic mobility, Steinberg maintains that an immigrant group's status in the home country is the best predictor of the group's eventual status in their new country. Jewish immigrants were previously concentrated in high status occupations while Italians were concentrated in lower status jobs.
> ➤ Analyzing data on educational attainment, Perlmann and later Glazer both synthesized social and cultural explanations for the different rates of Jewish and Italian mobility. They concurred that faster Jewish upward mobility was influenced by both favorable occupational status in the home country *and* by a value system that stressed education.

- Turning to Italian immigration, Stark shows how reference group theory also helps to explain differences in ethnic mobility.

> ➤ For many first-generation Italian immigrants, southern Italy remained the primary reference group. Italian immigrants expected they would return home soon and were less willing to assimilate North American culture. This meant hanging on to rural southern Italian norms and values.

> ➢ In one final study, Greeley demonstrates that the importance of family loyalty among Italians has persisted. What may have changed is that education is now perceived as a viable means of honoring family obligations.

Key Learning Objectives

After a thorough reading of Chapter 2, students should be able to:

1.   define society and culture and note how the concepts are interdependent.

2.   distinguish key concepts associated with social and cultural theories.

3.   understand how social and cultural theories may be utilized to explain differences in ethnic mobility.

4.   identify characteristics of social structure.

5.   know how mobility, status and class reflect stratification.

6.   determine how network structures facilitate the spread of information and shape power relationships.

7.   understand how values, norms and roles define and regulate social behavior.

8.   appreciate the complex nature of the interdependent associations among multiculturalism, subcultural variation, ascribed status, prejudice, discrimination, assimilation and accommodation.

9.   note how modernization impacts globalization.

10.   identify examples of prejudice, discrimination, assimilation and accommodation experienced by Jewish and Italian immigrants to North America.

11.   understand the different roles education plays in cultural explanations of ethnic mobility.

12.   know how social position and educational attainment interact to enhance ethnic mobility.

13.   determine how ethnic mobility may be tied to reference group identification.

14.   document how traditional Italian cultural values have persisted throughout the twentieth century.

15.   gain a clearer understanding of how data may be utilized in testing theoretical claims.

Chapter Outline

I.   Introduction to Social and Cultural Analysis
      A.   Changing Immigration Pattern
      B.   Immigration Commission Report of 1911
      C.   Economic Success Differences among Ethnic Groups

II.   Concepts for Social Theories
      A.   Society: A Web of Social Relationships
      B.   Social Structure: Any Group Characteristic
      C.   Stratification: Unequal Distribution of Rewards among Groups.
            1.   Groups may be organized into a system of classes.
            2.   Groups may change social position through upward or downward mobility.
            3.   Individuals or groups are identified according to their social position or rank.
            4.   Rank may be based on merit (achieved status) or inheritance (ascribed status).
      D.   Network Structures: Systems of Social Ties
            1.   Weak, nonredundant ties spread information.
            2.   Strong, redundant ties enhance influence.
            3.   Local networks are small and geographically concentrated, and are characterized by strong interpersonal bonds.
            4.   Cosmopolitan networks are large and geographically scattered, and are much less intimate than local networks.

III.   Concepts for Cultural Theories
      A.   Culture: Things Each Generation Creates, Learns and Uses
      B.   Values: Standards for Determining What Is Good and Bad
      C.   Norms: Rules that Guide Behavior
      D.   Roles: Collections of Norms Associated with Particular Positions
      E.   Multiculturalism and Subcultures: Cultural Pluralism and Cultural Distinctiveness
      F.   Prejudice and Discrimination: Negative Attitudes and Action that Promote Inequality
      G.   Assimilation and Accommodation: Models of Cultural Conformity and Cultural Diversity
      H.   Modernization and Globalization: The Spread of Technological and Economic Change throughout the World

IV.   Developing Cultural and Social Theories of Ethnic Mobility
      A.   Jewish and Italian North American Experience

           1.   Urban settlement on East and West Coast of the U.S. and Canada.
           2.   Proliferation of ethnic stereotypes in the mass media.
           3.   Patterns of Jewish and Italian assimilation and accommodation.
           4.   Jewish immigrants experience upward mobility earlier.

    B.   Cultural Theories Addressing Differences in Jewish and Italian Mobility
           1.   Zborowski and Herzog argue that the key is the traditional Jewish family's focus on the virtues of education.
           2.   Covello notes how family loyalty takes precedence over academic study among Italians from southern Italy.

    C.   Steinberg's Social Theory of Ethnic Mobility
           1.   A group's social status in its country of origin impacts its eventual social status in its country of destination.
           2.   Jewish immigrants were previously concentrated in high status Occupations, whereas Italians were concentrated in lower status jobs.

    D.   Perlmann and Glazer's Syntheses: Social Position and Cultural Values Interact in Impacting Ethnic Mobility

    E.   Reference Groups and Cultural Assimilation
           1.   North American migration was viewed as temporary by many Italians.
           2.   Reference group for Italian immigrants thus remained southern Italy.
           3.   Italians were also thus more reluctant to learn English.
           4.   Giannini's Bank of Italy and shifting reference group identity.
           5.   Greeley documents the persistence of Italian family solidarity and loyalty in contemporary North America.

Key Research Studies

Listed below are key research studies cited in Chapter 2. Page references are in parentheses.

Granovetter: weak network ties promote the spreading of information while strong network ties enhance influence (35-36).

DiMaggio and Lough: buyers prefer to purchase items from within their social network, but sellers prefer selling to people outside their social network (37).

Gans: neighborhoods with strong redundant social ties (urban villagers) are less able to block unfavorable urban policies (37-38).

Zborowski and Herzog: traditional urban Jewish families stressed the virtues of education and scholarship (48-50).

Covello: traditional Italian families from southern Italy stressed family loyalty and responsibility over academic learning (50-51).

Steinberg: among first-generation immigrants, a group's status in a new society is influenced by their status in their former society (52-55).

Perlmann: social position and cultural values impact ethnic mobility (55-57).

Glazer: (same basic idea as Perlmann's, above) (57)

Greeley: Persistence of Italian family loyalty and solidarity in North America (61-62).

InfoTrac Search Words

Students should be encouraged to try out the InfoTrac searches identified in the box on page 65. You may consider the following to use InfoTrac to stimulate class discussion and/or provide student assignments while helping students to improve their information literacy. When entering the initial keyword, students should always make sure that the default "Subject Guide" choice is selected, not "Keywords."

Keyword: Antisemitism. Is antisemitism still a problem in today's Germany? Have students select "View: Periodical References" after searching on the term "antisemitism." Then, have them click on "Limit Search" near the top center of the Web page that appears. They should then just enter "German" under "Limit the current search…by entering a word." Tell them they are looking for the article that deals with perceptions of antisemitism among German Jews *recently*. (They will find it in an article entitled "Jews in Germany Today," from Society, May-June 1995. But you may wish to let them find the specific article on their own.) They should focus on a section entitled "Experiences with Discrimination." After reading the article, they should be able to discuss the extent to which modern German Jews still believe that antisemitism is a problem for them in Germany. They also should know how this was measured, what focusing on discrimination here meant (namely, that the focus was on behaviors directed against Jews because they were Jews, and not so much on negative attitudes and stereotypes), and how often Jewish respondents experienced anti-Semitic discrimination on the job, were rejected by neighbors, or had non-Jewish acquaintances.

Keyword: Italian Americans. Were Japanese Americans the only ethnic group that suffered discriminatory treatment on the "home-front" during World War II because the nation of their ancestry was at war with the U.S.? After they do a search on the key term "Italian American" (note: without a hyphen, this is important), have students click on "View: Newspaper References." Tell them they are looking for the article that covers mistreatment of Italian Americans during World War II (the article is entitled "Italian Americans Seek Acknowledgement of Wrongful Treatment During World War II," by Rita Giordano of Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service). Then have them provide an overview of what ways Italian Americans were mistreated by the U.S. government during World War II, what rationales were used by the government to justify this, and how many Italian Americans were affected by these policies. To apply concepts from this chapter— did these things involve prejudice, discrimination, or both?

Teaching Suggestions

The objective of Chapter 2 is to continue the introduction to sociology by concentrating on various concepts relating to culture and society. The chapter also shows students how a research theme unfolds and is revised as tentative answers bring more questions.

Lecture Suggestions

1. "The Amish."
❑   This is a lecture on the Old Order Amish in North America emphasizing their ways of making a living as well as their customs. Lecturing on the Amish is a good way of illustrating how definitions of culture, society, and subculture can blur.
❑   More specifically, do the Amish comprise a distinct society within the larger North American one? Given their ecological distribution, the practice of meidung, and their mode of subsistence, rather than simply defining them as an North American subculture, we might more accurately define them as a "subsociety" (given that they are (a) dispersed geographically, (b) clan-based, and (c) preindustrial agrarian capitalists).
❑   Here are some helpful resources for this lecture: (a) Hostetler, J. Amish Society. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980, probably the single best piece on the Amish; (b) Kraybill, D. The Riddle of Amish Culture. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, which is an interesting work that shows how the Amish have struck a bargain with modernity.

2. "Culture versus Society"
❑   First, begin by providing formal definitions of society and culture. The definition of culture should emphasize its symbolic character (define "symbol" here), as well as the fact that culture must be learned and transmitted inter-generationally (it is often good to draw on cultural anthropology in defining culture.) The definition of "society" should emphasize its more structural character, but particularly the fact that elements of "society" are not symbolic and must be learned in order to exist and exert influence.
❑   A good example of something that is "social," a "social structure," is "sex ratio." Sex ratios (the ratio of males to females) exert enormous influence (see Chapter 12) upon people, but are not symbolic and do not need to be "learned." The same is true with things like income inequality.
❑   Then, point out that one way to distinguish whether or not one of the things being defined in Chapter 2 is "cultural" or "social" is to ask whether or not this is commonly a feature of non-human animal groups, or something that exists almost solely among human beings. What is cultural is most common and obvious among humans, while minimal and much rarer among non-human animals (but not non-existent among non-human animals— see Chapter 5 for example on chimpanzee culture). What is "social" exists about as much among non-human animals as among humans.

❑   So, for example, non-human animal groups have sex ratios, display patterns of dominance and submission, reciprocity, conflict, the formation of coalitions, division of labor, and so on (society). Ants and bees make good examples here. Students easily see the degree to which both have fairly complex "societies." But true language, aesthetics, learned self-images that accompany rank, religious ideals, and so on are the kind of things one does not easily find in the non-human world (culture)!

❑   Finally, put various basic cultural and social concepts that are covered in Chapter 2 up on the board. Get students to identify which ones can easily be find in the non-human world, and which are rare or non-existent among them.

Suggestions for Class Activities

1. "Ascribed versus Achieved Statuses."
Here is a way to introduce students to thinking about the profound impact status has on their lives while previewing the relevant Chapter 2 information. First, try to engage them by listing what they think are key sociological variables. When the list is complete (according to them), partial out from and/or add to the list so that it includes some of the following: age, gender, race or ethnicity, citizenship, composition and size of family, any special physical traits (i.e., completely healthy vs. being physically challenged), religion, social class, education, language spoken, geographic area, and rural-urban residence. Next, get them to discuss ways that each profoundly impact their lives.

Point out to your students that they are all, in a sense, "born into" each of the above variables. That is, relative to each variable they are assigned at birth, by their society, an ascribed status inherited, directly or indirectly, from their parents. If they are skeptical, then ask them: "When you are born and for your formative years, did you have any choice regarding these variables?" Now ask them when they began to feel that they could do something about any of these variables. In other words, which variables stay with them their whole life regardless of anything they may do (for example, race), and which are things that they could actually change, though they may not wish to (for example, religion and class).

2. "Identifying Culture."
Culture can be a hard concept to grasp. Here is something to do in class to help make it clearer. Break culture down into its major components: symbols, artifacts, and behavior. Show that the elements of culture do not randomly exist contiguous to one other. A simple example for students is something with which they are all familiar: note-taking in the college classroom. It is a learned behavior involving rich symbolization using specific artifacts such as pens and notebooks. Get your students to identify the cultural symbols, artifacts, and behavior involved in doing this. Also, have them consider the same for lecturing. Here, guide them into identifying not only the obvious but the less so. For example, try to tease out the insight that even the body language, facial expressions, and so on that their instructor uses are culturally learned and defined. Get them to identify that chalk, overheads,

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computers, or other tools used to present information are also cultural artifacts. A discussion might lead to envisioning customs as analogous to group habits— learned, vital to maintaining a group's way of life, and performed unconsciously.

3. "Buy American? An Introduction to Some Elements of Globalization."
A sure-fire way of getting at least some of the students going is to introduce the notion of "Buy American" and then apply it to that All-American love object: the automobile. You may start by discussing whether or not to "Buy American" is a value (an ideal to strive for) or a norm (a prescriptive rule of behavior). After you get much of the class to agree that buying American is a good thing, then ask how you might define American when it comes to car buying. To illustrate:
   a. Does it mean buying an American nameplate to be sure of an American-made car?
   b. Or does it mean buying an American-designed car?
   c. Or does it mean buying American cars only made with American parts (do any exist)?
   d. Or does "Buy American" mean putting American workers to work?
   e. Or does it mean buying American to assure that profits "stay home?"

By the late 1990's, automobile production and assembly had yielded truly "world" cars and that give lie to the notion of 'buying American." (If you really want to drive the point home then use the examples of the manufacture and assembly of stereos, VCRs, and TVs.)

Suggestions for Class Discussions: (Note: these are suitable to
starting on-line discussions in WebTutor.)

1. Much of Chapter 2 compares and evaluates "cultural" versus "social" explanations as to why Southern Italians did not rise as quickly in the American class system as did Jews. On balance, are either of these theories more or less likely to lead to the conclusion that one ethnic group was "superior" or "inferior" to the other? Are either of these types of theories inherently more or less conservative? Explain.

2. On balance, is it "better" for people to be involved in close, local networks, or more cosmopolitan networks? In what way(s) (for example, job and income advantages, education and personal growth, emotional satisfaction, social support, and so on)?

3. As new immigrants come to America (or Canada) today, is it preferable that they assimilate, or that they adjust to America through accommodation? Why?

Additional Student Readings

Kephart, W., and W. Zellner. Extraordinary Groups, 4ᵗʰ edition. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. An extraordinarily well-written and engaging collection of essays on the

Old Order Amish, the Oneida Community, the Hasidim, the Father Divine Movement, the Shakers, the Mormons, the Gypsies, and the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Kraybill, D. and S. Nolt. Amish Enterprises: From Plows to Profits, 1995. Focuses on shifts from "plows to profits" among Lancaster, Pennsylvania Amish. This includes how their religious subculture is influencing their (very successful) approaches to entrepreneurship but also being shaped by it.

Malcolm, A. The Canadians. Toronto: Paperbacks Ltd., 1985. An affectionate but balanced and perceptive look at Canada and Canadians. Comprehensive, informative, and highly recommended.

Miner, H. "Body Ritual Among the Nacirema," American Anthropologist (1955): 57: 503-507. Yes, Virginia, social scientists do have a sense of humor but often at the expense of the foibles of American culture.

Redekop, C, S. Ainlay and R. Siemens. Mennonite Entrepreneurs, 1995. This fine book looks at Mennonite successes in the business world and the reasons for them, and how this has not undermined "orthodoxy" for upwardly mobile Mennonites. Pursues further the relationship between religious culture and upward mobility touched on in this chapter.

Weatherford, J. Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988. Important cultural, political, and economic contributions of Native Americans to advanced societies. Absolutely engrossing and highly readable.

Weatherford, J. Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1991. An extension of the approach of Indian Givers. Also very well done.

Sociology Online

- ➢ Go to the Internet and type: www.socstark10.com.
- ➢ When this page appears, select "2000 General Social Survey."
- ➢ Where you see "Select your variable by clicking on its name in the following list," scroll to "SOCFREND." The survey item here reads "How often do you spend an evening with friends who live outside the neighborhood?" Then click on "Analyze Now."
- ➢ Look at tables for education and for income.
- ➢ Assume that people who *never* socialize with friends from outside their neighborhoods are limited entirely to *local* networks. Here is a question you may wish to raise: Are these findings consistent with the discussion of local and cosmopolitan networks in the text? How and how not?

➢ Do older people spend time with people outside their own neighborhoods less often than younger people? (Answer: it appears so.) If so, why do you think this is so? How about white versus African American people? (Answer: there is no racial difference here.)

➢ After discussing the latter results, you may wish to click on "Select New Data Set."

➢ Then, click on "The 50 States."

➢ Select "% COLLEGE." The item reads "Percent of those over 25 who have completed college." Then click "Analyze Now."

➢ Ask students to consider what they have already learned (above) regarding the relationship of education to being involved in local networks. Now discuss the following: in which state would you expect the highest percentages of people to be involved in local networks? In cosmopolitan networks?

➢ In what region is the biggest concentration of states with the highest percentages of college graduates? (Answer: Northeast/Mid-Atlantic.) Why do you suppose this is? Do these states *draw* more educated people, or *produce* them? (It will help to actually look at the state names in the rankings to deal with this.)

➢ Now choose "Select New Data Set" again, and then click on "Nations of the Globe." Choose the variable "COLLEGE." The item reads "College and university students per 1,000 population." Then click "Analyze Now."

➢ Here are some more excellent questions for class discussion. (a) Which five nations should have more local networks? More cosmopolitan networks? (b) Can you suggest ways in which nations lacking in college graduates are like states that are also lacking in college graduates? (c) Consider nations with higher and lower rates of college students. Could this just reflect the proportion of younger people in these countries? (For example, nations with more youth have more college students, so that very educated nations could have low rates here just because, due to low birth rates in earlier decades, they have a lower proportion of traditionally college-aged people.)

Essay Questions

1) Distinguish between society and culture. Show why it is important not to use the two concepts interchangeably.

2) How would you describe the stratification system of this campus? Include the following concepts: achieved and ascribed status, prejudice, discrimination, mobility, and caste.

3) Distinguish between values and norms in the college classroom. In what ways are classroom norms negotiated and how do students enforce these norms?

4) Compare and contrast the immigrant experiences of Jews and Italians in light of cultural theory and social theory.