CHAPTER 4
SOCIALIZATION

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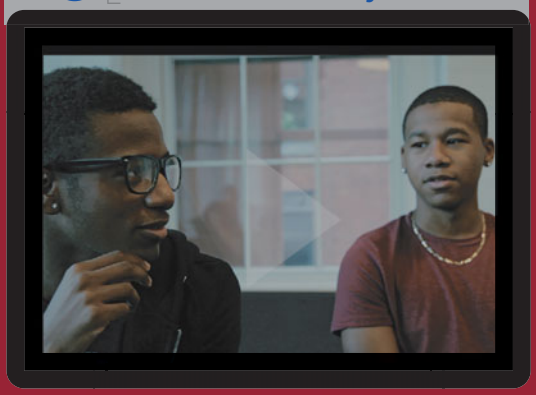

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GETTING STARTED

Did you know that society makes us human? I can just hear your response: "That's ridiculous. I was born a human. I think you sociologists push the envelope a little bit too far."

I don't blame you if your response is something like this. I remember when I was first introduced to this idea. It just didn't seem reasonable. So let's see why sociologists say that society makes us human.

As we explore this fascinating idea, we'll be looking at what *you* would be like if animals raised you or if you had bad parents who locked you up in an attic when you were just a baby. We will also look at how you developed your mind, personality, emotions, and ideas. In other words, let's try to understand how YOU became YOU.

A market in Panama City, Panama

UNIT Extremes in Socialization

4.1

Let's begin by introducing the major term of this chapter, **socialization,** how we learn the ways of society. Socialization refers both to our childhood experiences and to all the learning we go through in life. When our mother explains why we need to be polite to our neighbor, she is socializing us. When our teacher tells us to be quiet in class, we are being socialized. When we watch television and learn that it would be nice to have some new computer, car, or cola, we are being socialized. Socialization is an ongoing experience, one that ends only with our death.

This lifetime process of socialization began when you were a baby. Let's ask this question: What would you be like today if you had been raised by animals? Let's see if we can find an answer to this provocative question.

Read the **Document**
"Final Note on a Case of Extreme Isolation" by Kingsley Davis in **mysoclab**

Feral Children

The naked child was found in the forest, walking on all fours, eating grass, and lapping water from the river. When he saw a small animal, he would growl and pounce on it. He would rip the animal with his teeth and ferociously tear chunks from its body.

One of the reasons I went to Cambodia was to interview a feral child—the boy shown here—who supposedly had been raised by monkeys. When I arrived at the remote location where the boy was living, I was disappointed to find that the story was only partially true. When Mathay was about two months old, the Khmer Rouge killed his parents and left him to starve. Months later, villagers saw a female monkey carrying a human baby. They shot the monkey and took the baby to an orphanage. Only briefly a feral child, but an actual feral child, and the only one I'm likely to interview.

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. Explain how "society makes us human."
2. Summarize the effects of low human contact (isolation, institutionalization) on human development.
3. Use the case of Jack and Oskar to illustrate how our attitudes come from social experiences.

You might find this hard to believe, but this is probably what you would be like if you had been raised by animals. At least, this is what **feral children** were like, the wild children who were occasionally found in past centuries.

Why am I even mentioning stories that sound so exaggerated? It is because of what happened in 1798. In that year, a feral child was found in the forests of Aveyron, France. We could ignore "The wild boy of Aveyron," as he became known, writing him off as just another folk myth, except for this—French scientists took the child to a laboratory and studied him. Like the feral children that people heard about from time to time, this child, too, gave no indication of feeling the cold. Most startling, though, the boy would growl when he saw a small animal, pounce on it, and devour it uncooked.

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

feral children children assumed to have been raised by animals, in the wilderness, isolated from humans

Ever since I read Itard's (1962) account of this boy, I've been fascinated by the seemingly fantastic possibility that animals could raise human children. In 2002, I received a report from a contact in Cambodia that a feral child had been found in the jungles. When I had the opportunity the following year to visit the child and interview his caregivers, I grabbed it. The boy's photo is on the left.

Another way to see what you would be like if you were untouched by society is to study the pitiful accounts of isolated children. Let's see what we can learn from them.

Isolated Children

In 1938, Isabelle, a 6½-year-old girl in Ohio, was discovered living in a dark room with her deaf-mute mother. Isabelle couldn't talk, but she did use gestures to communicate with her mother. An inadequate diet and lack of sunshine had given Isabelle a disease called rickets.

[Her legs] were so bowed that as she stood erect the soles of her shoes came nearly flat together, and she got about with a skittering gait. Her behavior toward strangers, especially men, was almost that of a wild animal, manifesting much fear and hostility. In lieu of speech she made only a strange croaking sound. (Davis 1940/2012:156–157)

Isabelle couldn't talk, and some thought she was mentally impaired. It certainly looked that way—she scored practically zero on her first intelligence test. But after a few months of language training, Isabelle was able to speak in short sentences. In just a year, she could write a few words, do simple addition, and retell stories after hearing them. Seven months later, she had a vocabulary of almost 2,000 words. In just two years, Isabelle reached the intellectual level that is normal for her age. Sociologist Kingsley Davis, who followed this case, said that Isabelle then went to school where she was "bright, cheerful, energetic . . . and participated in all school activities as normally as other children" (Davis 1940/2007:157–158).

Another isolated child who came to the public's attention is Genie, who was 13 when she was discovered. She had been locked in a small room and tied to a chair since she was 20 months old:

Apparently Genie's father (70 years old when Genie was discovered in 1970) hated children. He probably had caused the death of two of Genie's siblings. Her 50-year-old mother was partially blind and frightened of her husband. Genie could not speak, did not know how to chew, was unable to stand upright, and could not straighten her hands and legs. On intelligence tests, she scored at the level of a 1-year-old. After intensive training, Genie learned to walk and to say simple sentences (although they were garbled). Genie's language remained primitive as she grew up. She could not make friends, would take anyone's property if it appealed to her, and went to the bathroom wherever she wanted. At the age of 21, Genie was sent to a home for adults who cannot live alone. (Pines 1981)

Add Genie's pathetic story to that of Isabelle's, and we can conclude that the basic human traits of intelligence and the ability to establish close bonds with others depend on early interaction with other humans. Genie's experience also indicates that there is a period prior to age 13 in which children must learn language or they cannot become intelligent or grasp the basics of human relationships.

What would you be like, then, if you had the misfortune of having evil parents who kept you locked up in a dark attic and no one talked to you? Language is the key to human development, and language allows you to develop thought and communicate your experiences. From your world of internal silence, you would have no shared ideas, and you would lack connections to others.

In *Making It Personal,* let's consider a little more how culture has influenced you.

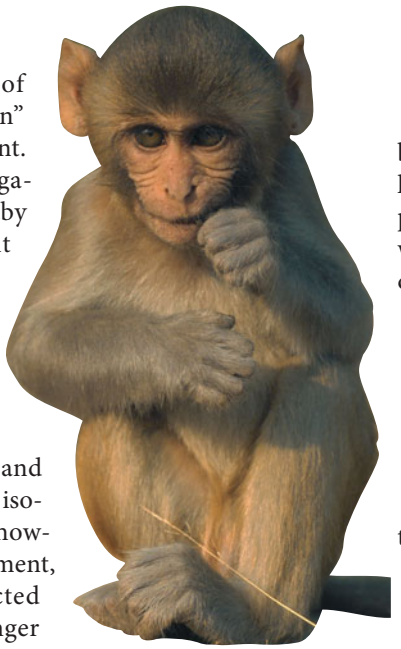
MAKING IT PERSONAL

Biology, Language, and You

The body you were born with is certainly your biological heritage. Society doesn't give you arms and legs or skin color. But your biological heritage does not determine your behaviors, attitudes, or values. Your culture—which depends on language—superimposes the specifics of what you become onto your biological heritage.

Try to trace one of your behaviors, one of your attitudes, and one of your values to specific social experiences.

Isolated Animals



Monkeys that are deprived of normal "monkey interaction" also suffer in their development. Psychologists Harry and Margaret Harlow (1962) isolated baby rhesus monkeys for different lengths of time and then put them in with the other monkeys. Monkeys that had been isolated for shorter periods (about three months) were able to adjust to normal monkey life. They learned to play and engage in pretend fights. Those isolated for six months or more, however, couldn't make the adjustment, and the other monkeys rejected them. In other words, the longer the period of isolation, the more difficult its effects are to overcome. In addition, if too much time passes after a learning stage is missed, it may be impossible to make it up. This seems to have been the case with Genie, too.

Because humans are not monkeys, we must be careful about how we apply animal studies to human behavior. The Harlow experiments, however, support what we know about children who are reared in isolation.

Institutionalized Children

Other than language, what else does a child need to develop into what we consider a healthy, balanced, intelligent human being? Part of the answer comes from an intriguing experiment from the 1930s. Back then, orphanages were common because parents were more likely than now to die before their children were grown. Children reared in orphanages tended to have low IQs. "Common sense" made it seem obvious that their low intelligence was because of poor brains ("They're just born this way"). But two psychologists, H. M. Skeels and H. B. Dye (1939), began to suspect a social cause.

Skeels (1966) provides this account of a "good" orphanage in Iowa, one where he and Dye were consultants:

> *Until about six months, they were cared for in the infant nursery. The babies were kept in standard hospital cribs that often had protective sheeting on the sides, thus effectively limiting visual stimulation; no toys or other objects were hung in the infants' line of vision. Human interactions were limited to busy nurses who, with the speed born of practice and necessity, changed diapers or bedding, bathed and medicated the infants, and fed them efficiently with propped bottles.*

Perhaps, thought Skeels and Dye, the problem wasn't poor brains. Maybe the cause of the babies' low intelligence was their lack of social interaction. To test their controversial idea, they placed thirteen infants who were so slow mentally that no one wanted to adopt them in an institution for women who were quite slow mentally. Although these women had celebrated 18 to 50 birthdays, their mental age was only 5 to 12. Each infant, about 19 months old, was assigned to a separate ward of women.

The women were pleased to have the babies. They enjoyed taking care of the infants' physical needs—diapering, feeding, and so on. And they loved to play with the children. They cuddled them and showered them with attention. They even competed to see which ward would have "its baby" walking or talking first. In each ward, one woman became particularly attached to the child and figuratively adopted him or her:

> *As a consequence, an intense one-to-one adult–child relationship developed, which was supplemented by the less intense but frequent interactions with the other adults in the environment. Each child had some one person with whom he [or she] was identified and who was particularly interested in him [or her] and his [or her] achievements. (Skeels 1966)*

The researchers left a control group of twelve low-IQ infants at the orphanage. These infants received the usual care. Two and a half years later, at age 4, Skeels and Dye tested all the children's intelligence. Their findings are startling: The children cared for by the women in the institution gained an average of 28 IQ points while those who remained in the orphanage lost 30 points.

What happened after these children were grown? Did these initial differences matter? Twenty-one years later, Skeels and Dye did a follow-up study. The twelve in the control group, those who had remained in the orphanage, averaged less than a third-grade education. Four still lived in state institutions, and the others held low-level jobs. Only two had married. The thirteen in the experimental group, those cared for by the institutionalized women, had an average education of twelve grades (about normal for that period). Five had completed one or more years of college. One had even gone to graduate school. Eleven had married. All thirteen were self-supporting or were homemakers

An orphanage in Mumbai, India.

(Skeels 1966). Apparently, "high intelligence" depends on early, close relations with other humans.

A recent experiment in India confirms this early research. Some of India's orphanages are like those that Skeels and Dye studied—dismal places where unattended children lie in bed all day. When experimenters added stimulating play and interaction to the children's activities, not only did the children's motor skills improve, but so did their IQs (Taneja et al. 2002). The longer that children lack stimulating interaction, though, the more difficulty they have intellectually (Meese 2005). If this continues, like Genie, the damage can't be repaired.

There is another fascinating case for you to think about and apply to your own life in the following *Making It Personal.*

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE *about identical twins Jack and Oskar,*

Read more from the author: Heredity or Environment? The Case of Jack and Oskar, Identical Twins in **mysoclab**

MAKING IT PERSONAL

Why Are You More Than a Big Animal?

Jack Yufe and Oskar Stohr are identical twins. Born in 1932 to a Roman Catholic mother and a Jewish father, they were separated as babies after their parents divorced. Jack was reared in Trinidad by his father. There, he learned loyalty to Jews and hatred of Hitler and the Nazis. After World War II, Jack and his father moved to Israel. When he was 17, Jack joined a kibbutz and later served in the Israeli army.

Oskar's upbringing was the mirror image of Jack's. Oskar was reared in Czechoslovakia by his mother's mother, who was a strict Catholic. When Oskar was a toddler, Hitler annexed this area of Czechoslovakia. As a boy, Oskar joined the Hitler Youth where he learned to love Hitler and to hate Jews. (Begley 1979; Chen 1979)

In this remarkable case, you can see how society (social experiences) trumps heredity. Jack and Oskar's sharply contrasting attitudes toward Hitler and Jews did not come from their heredity, which was identical, but from their stunningly different social experiences. Your ideas and attitudes, too, such an essential part of who you are, do not come from your biology, but from your experiences in society.

You have also seen that babies do not develop "naturally" into social adults. If children are reared in isolation, their bodies grow, but they become little more than big animals. Without language, they can't grasp relationships between people (the "connections" you call brother, sister, parent, friend, teacher, and so on). And without warm, friendly interactions, they can't bond with others. They don't become "friendly" or cooperate with others.

Now does the statement that "society makes us human" make more sense?

UNIT 4.1 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. This chapter is about socialization. This term refers to
   - **a.** learning to be sociable
   - **b.** mental processes being greater than biological ones
   - **c.** how we learn to control our body with our mind
   - **d.** how we learn the ways of society

2. As strange as it sounds, we know that feral children (children thought to be raised by animals) are not just folk myths because
   - **a.** French scientists studied a feral child in 1798
   - **b.** there are many feral children in Bosnia
   - **c.** the Latvians sometimes use animals to socialize their children
   - **d.** the U.S. Academy of Sciences has authorized and funded research on feral children

3. Isabelle was an isolated child studied by sociologist Kingsley Davis in the 1930s. Isabelle, who could not speak, scored practically zero on her first IQ test. After this, she
   a. was placed in a dark attic to live
   b. was placed in an orphanage to live
   c. learned how to communicate by sign language
   d. was given intensive training and developed like a normal child

4. Genie was an isolated child who was discovered in 1970 when she was 13 years old. Genie could neither walk nor talk. With intensive training, she learned to walk, but she could speak only in garbled sentences. She also went to the bathroom anywhere she felt like it. Genie's experience indicates that there is a period prior to age 13
   a. that controls bathroom functions
   b. in which personal hygiene must be learned
   c. in which children must learn language or they cannot become intelligent
   d. in which the area of the brain that governs morality must be stimulated

5. From the cases of Isabelle and Genie, it seems fair to conclude that
   a. most isolated children are girls
   b. the human traits of intelligence and the ability to establish close bonds with others depend on early interaction with other humans
   c. it is unethical for sociologists to study isolated children
   d. personal hygiene is a matter of individual preference

6. Psychologists Harry and Margaret Harlow did experiments with baby rhesus monkeys. Their experiments confirm the conclusion from the cases of Isabelle and Genie that
   a. if too much time passes after a learning stage is missed, it may be impossible to make it up
   b. learning pretend play (pretend fights for monkeys) is difficult for isolated children
   c. it is better for a child to be raised by a village of people than by a pair of parents
   d. children need two parents in order to become normal

7. Psychologists Skeels and Dye did an experiment with low-IQ babies in an orphanage (an experiment that would be prohibited today). Those in the experimental group were raised by institutionalized, low-IQ mothers, while those in the control group remained in the orphanage. The IQs of the children in the control group dropped, while the IQs of the children in the experimental group
   a. were almost identical to those in the control group
   b. dropped for a while, but then went up
   c. went up for a while, but then dropped
   d. increased

8. After their experiment with the orphanage children, Skeels and Dye concluded that
   a. they made an ethical error in research and apologized to the American Sociological Association
   b. intelligence is fixed at birth
   c. the development of intelligence depends on stimulating interaction
   d. low-IQ women make good mothers

9. Jack and Oskar were identical twins who were reared apart. Jack learned to hate Hitler and love Jews, while Oskar learned to love Hitler and hate Jews. From this case, it seems fair to conclude that
   a. some people still don't understand that Hitler was evil
   b. identical twins have different attitudes about Hitler and Jews
   c. you never know how identical twins are going to feel about things in life
   d. social experiences mold our ideas and attitudes

10. When sociologists say that "society makes us human," they mean that
    a. conception takes two people, which is a form of society
    b. humans make society
    c. our social experiences form such essential characteristics as our behaviors, ideas, attitudes, and intelligence
    d. there is nothing as social as humans

UNIT 4.2 Socialization into the Self and Mind

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. Explain the looking-glass self and why it is essential to the development of the self.
2. Explain how we develop the ability to take the role of the other and why this is essential to our socialization.

Besides what we have already covered, what else do you think is part of "being human"? Certainly essential to who you are is your **self,** your image of who you are. It might seem surprising, but sociologists point out that the self also comes from society. Let's see how this happens.

Cooley and the Looking-Glass Self

About a hundred years ago, Charles Horton Cooley (1864–1929), a symbolic interactionist, concluded that one way society makes us human is by producing our *self*, our image of who we are. This might sound strange to you, as most people think that the self just naturally unfolds from within us. Cooley pointed out that the *self develops from interaction with others. As we see ourselves in the eyes of others, we internalize that reflection.*

In other words, the people around us are a sort of mirror that reflects an image back to us, For this reason, Cooley (1902) coined the term **looking-glass self.** Here is how he said the looking-glass self works:

First, we imagine what people think about us. For example, we may think that others perceive us as witty or dull.

Then we interpret people's reactions. We figure out if they like us for being witty. Or do they dislike us for being dull?

Out of this comes our self-concept. How we interpret others' reactions to us frames our feelings and ideas about ourselves. A favorable reflection in this *social mirror* leads to a positive self-concept; a negative reflection leads to a negative self-concept.

In *Making It Personal* in the next column, let's consider how this applies to you.

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

looking-glass self a term coined by Charles Horton Cooley to refer to the process by which our self develops through internalizing others' reactions to us

Mead and Role Taking

Another symbolic interactionist, George Herbert Mead (1863–1931), pointed out that play is an essential way you develop a self. As you play with others, you learn to **take the role of the other.** That is, you learn to put yourself in someone else's shoes—to understand how that person feels and thinks and to anticipate how he or she will act.

This doesn't happen overnight. At first you can only take the role of **significant others,** individuals who significantly influence your life, such as one of your parents or a brother or sister. By assuming that person's role during play, such as dressing up in your parents' clothing, you cultivate the ability to put yourself in the place of someone else.

Watch the **Video**
The Basics: Socialization
in **mysoclab**

As your self develops, your ability to take the role of others expands. As you learn to take the role of many people, you eventually get an idea of how "people in general" think of you. Mead used the term **generalized other** to refer to our perception of how people in general think of us.

Taking the role of others is essential for you to become a

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

significant other an individual who significantly influences someone else

generalized other the norms, values, attitudes, and expectations of people "in general"; the child's ability to take the role of the generalized other is a significant step in the development of a self

MAKING IT PERSONAL

Your Social Mirror

Your self begins in childhood, but its development is a lifelong, ongoing process that is never complete. During your everyday life, you monitor how others react to you. As you evaluate their reactions, you continually modify the self. Your ideas of what others think about you can be totally inaccurate, but they still become part of your self concept.

Think about people who have been influential in your life. How did you evaluate their reactions to you? How do you think this has become part of your self concept?

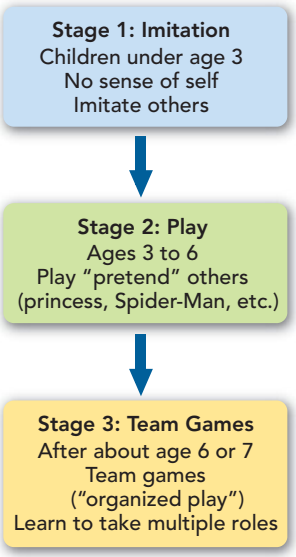
Why did Cooley use the term looking-glass self?

cooperative member of human groups—whether this is your family, friends, or co-workers. This ability allows you to modify your behavior by anticipating how others will react—something Genie never learned.

As Figure 4.1 illustrates, you went through three stages as you learned to take the role of the other. Let's look at these.

1. *Imitation.* Under the age of 3, you didn't have a sense of self separate from others. You could only imitate people's gestures and words. (This stage is actually not role taking, but it prepared you for it.)

FIGURE 4.1 **How We Learn to Take the Role of the Other: Mead's Three Stages**



Source: By the author.

2. *Play.* During the second stage, from the ages of about 3 to 6, you pretended to take the roles of specific people. You might have pretended that you were a firefighter, a wrestler, a nurse, Supergirl, Spider-Man, a princess, and so on. You might have put on your parents' clothing or tied a towel around your neck to "become" Superman or Wonder Woman.

3. *Team Games.* This third stage, organized play, or team games, began about the time you entered school. The significance for the self is that to play these games you had to be able to take several roles. One of Mead's favorite examples was baseball. To play baseball, it isn't enough to know your own role. You also must be able to take the role of others, to anticipate what everyone else on the field will do when the ball is hit or thrown.

Mead also said that the self has two parts, the "I" and the "me." The "*I*" is *the self as subject,* the active, spontaneous, creative part of your self. In contrast, the "*me*" is *the self as object.* It is made up of attitudes you internalize from your interactions with others. Mead chose these pronouns because in English "I" is the active agent, as in "I shoved him," while "me" is the object of action, as in "He shoved me." It is important to stress that you are not passive in this process of forming a self. Rather, your "I" actively evaluates the reactions of others and organizes them into a unified whole.

To make these ideas clearer, let's apply them to yourself in the following *Making It Personal.*

MAKING IT PERSONAL

Your Self and Mind as Gifts from Society

You could easily get lost in the many details here, and they all are important. But I want to stress a main point of Mead's theory, which some find startling: *Your self is a social product.* Your self-image has come from interaction with others. It is important to stress that you have been active in this process. Your "I" has been busy putting these many reactions of others together.

There is another major point, which some find even more startling: *Your mind is also a social product.* In graduate school, I read Mead's book, *Mind, Self, and Society*, in which Mead stresses this point. This was hard to understand—especially the way Mead wrote—that society gives us our mind. I always thought of my mind as developing within me, not as something imposed on me from the outside.

Actually, Mead did not mean that your mind is shoved into you. Rather, your mind developed (and is developing) as a process. Again, we go back to language. Simply put, you cannot think without symbols. And where do these symbols

How is play part of learning to take the role of the other?

come from? Society gives you these symbols by giving you language. If society did not provide these symbols, you would not be able to think—and so you would not possess that entity we call the mind. Like language, both your self and mind are products of society.

UNIT 4.2 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. Tricia, a six-year-old, has been sulking in her room for the past two hours. Her nine-year-old brother told her that she was dumb. He shouted it over and over. And he did this in front of his two friends. Tricia feels stupid. This is part of what Charles Horton Cooley called the
   - **a.** greater difficulty in socializing boys
   - **b.** problem of rearing two children who are close in age
   - **c.** reflective self
   - **d.** looking-glass self

2. In the looking-glass self, we don't actually internalize the reactions of others to us. Instead, we internalize
   - **a.** the behavior of others
   - **b.** the messages that others give us through their behavior
   - **c.** our evaluations of the reactions of others to us
   - **d.** the elements that match our self concept

3. To be able to get along with others, it is essential that we are able to put ourselves in the shoes of other people. George Herbert Mead called this being able to
   - **a.** follow the thinking of the other
   - **b.** take the role of the other
   - **c.** develop a self
   - **d.** see ourselves in the looking-glass mirror

4. Five-year old Alicia loves to tie a towel around her neck and pretend she can fly like Wonder Woman. She also likes putting on a pink princess dress that her mother bought her for her birthday, waving a little wand and pretending that she can turn the dog into a cat. Alicia is in this stage of learning to take the role of the other
   - **a.** play
   - **b.** imitation
   - **c.** team games
   - **d.** mastery of the self

5. Five-year-old Jarmaine loves to put his little feet into his father's shoes and clunk around the house. He also pretends to shave. Jarmaine is
   - **a.** going through a phase
   - **b.** trying to take the role of the generalized other
   - **c.** reflecting his developing self concept
   - **d.** taking the role of a significant other

6. It is twelve-year-old Barbara's turn at bat. As she prepares for the pitch, she can practically see the ball flying into the air and herself running the bases and making it home. She can imagine the opposing team looking stunned and her own team clapping, shouting, and lifting her onto their shoulders. Barbara is taking the role of
   - **a.** her team
   - **b.** a significant other
   - **c.** the generalized other
   - **d.** the winner

7. Little Teddy is just six months old. If you raise your hands, he'll raise his hands. If you smile, he will smile. Teddy is in this stage of learning to take the role of the other
   - **a.** trial and error
   - **b.** imitation
   - **c.** significant others
   - **d.** infancy

8. Mead said that the self has both an "I" and a "me." The "me" is the
   - **a.** self as object
   - **b.** same as the "I"
   - **c.** part that becomes active when it is threatened
   - **d.** less important part of the self

9. From Mead's analysis of the self, we can conclude that the self
   a. comes into being only with difficulty
   b. comes into being primarily during team games
   c. arises spontaneously from within
   d. is a product of society

10. From Mead's analysis of the self, we can also conclude that the mind
   a. is the inquiring part of the self
   b. is different for men and women
   c. arises spontaneously from within
   d. is a product of society

UNIT 4.3 Socialization into Emotions

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. Explain which emotions and facial expressions are universal and why.
2. Explain what sociology has to do with emotions.
3. Explain why the phrase "society within us" applies to emotions.

Emotions, too, are an essential aspect of who we become. And like the mind, our emotions depend on socialization (Hochschild 2008). This might also sound strange. Don't all people get angry? Doesn't everyone cry? Don't we all feel guilt, shame, and fear? What has socialization to do with our emotions? Let's find out.

Expressing Emotions: Biology

At first, it may look as though socialization is not relevant for our emotions. Paul Ekman (1980), a psychologist who studied emotions in several countries, concluded that everyone experiences six basic emotions: disgust, anger, sadness, happiness, surprise, and fear. He also found that people around the world show the same facial expressions when they feel these emotions. A person from Peru, for example, could tell from the look on your face that you are angry, disgusted, or fearful, and you could tell from the Peruvian's face that he is happy, sad, or surprised. These facial expressions, Ekman concluded, are hard-wired into our brains.

Research on facial expressions at the Paralympics supports Ekman's conclusion (Matsumoto and Willingham 2009). Both people who were blind from birth and sighted people showed the same facial expressions when they learned that they had won (or lost) an event. Those blind from birth could never have learned these facial expressions.

Expressing Emotions: "Feeling Rules"

If we have universal facial expressions to express certain emotions, then this is biology, something that Darwin noted back in the 1800s (Horwitz and Wakefield 2007:41). What, then, does sociology have to do with how we express emotions? Facial expressions are only one way by which we show our feelings. We also use our bodies, voices, and gestures.

> *Best friends since high school, Jane and Sushana were hardly ever apart until Sushana married and moved to another state a year ago. Jane has been waiting eagerly at the arrival gate for Sushana's flight, which has been delayed. When Sushana exits, she and Jane hug one another, making "squeals of glee" and even jumping a bit.*

If you couldn't tell from their names that these were women, you could tell from their behavior. To express delighted surprise, U.S. women are allowed to make "squeals of glee" in public places and to jump as they hug. But in the exact circumstances, U.S. men are expected to shake hands or to give a brief hug. If the men gave out "squeals of glee," they would be violating a fundamental "gender rule" of emotions.

Feeling rules for expressing emotions go far beyond gender. We also have "rules" of culture, social class, relationships, and settings. Consider *culture*. Two close Japanese friends who meet after a long separation don't shake hands or hug—they bow. Two Arab men will kiss. *Social class* is so significant that it cuts across other lines, even gender. Upon seeing a friend after a long absence, upper-class women and men are likely to be more reserved in expressing their delight than are working-class

What "gender rule" does this photo depict?

women and men. And you know that feeling rules change with *relationships*. You will express your feelings more openly if you are with close friends, more guardedly if you are being interviewed for a job. The *setting*, then, is also important. If you are at a rock concert, you will express your emotions quite differently than if you are in a classroom. Although you didn't realize it, a good part of your socialization during childhood centered on learning feeling rules.

What We Feel

Joan, a U.S. woman who had been married for seven years, had no children. When she finally gave birth and the doctor handed her a healthy baby girl, she was almost overcome with joy.

Tafadzwa, in Zimbabwe, had been married for seven years and had no children. When the doctor handed her a healthy baby girl, she was almost overcome with sadness.

You can easily understand why the U.S. woman felt happy. But why did the woman in Zimbabwe feel sad? In Zimbabwe culture, male children are so prized that to not give birth to a baby boy provides a reason for her husband to divorce her (Horwitz and Wakefield 2007:43). Socialization goes much deeper within us than simply guiding how, where, and when we express our feelings. It also affects *what* we feel as we go through life (Clark 1997; Shields 2002).

In the next *Making It Personal*, let's consider how feelings that society has placed in you help keep you in line.

MAKING IT PERSONAL

What Keeps You in Line?

If in a moment of intense frustration, or out of a devilish desire to shock people, you felt like tearing off your clothes and running naked down the street, what would stop you?

The answer is your socialization—*society within you.* Because of your socialization, you think along certain lines and feel particular emotions. This helps keep you in line. Thoughts such as "Would I get kicked out of school?" or "What would my friends (parents) think if they found out?" represent an awareness of the self in relationship to others. So does a desire to avoid shame or embarrassment. *Both your self and your emotions are internal controls that mold your behavior, fulfilling a primary goal of socialization to turn you into a conforming member of society.* Socialization into self and emotions is so effective that some people feel embarrassed just thinking about running naked in public!

Socialization is essential for your development as a human being. From your interaction with others, you learn how to think, reason, and feel. The net result is the shaping of your behavior—including your thinking and emotions—according to cultural standards. This is what sociologists mean when they refer to "*society within us.*"

UNIT 4.3 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. You can tell from the facial expressions of a woman from Angola or Canada or Brazil that she is happy, sad, surprised, angry, disgusted, or fearful. This means that these six expressions of emotion are
   - **a.** learned all over the world
   - **b.** not universal
   - **c.** learned at an early age
   - **d.** part of our biology

2. Compared with sighted people, when people at the Paralympics who were blind from birth learned that they had won or lost an event, they showed
   - **a.** more control of their emotions
   - **b.** less control of their emotions
   - **c.** the same facial expressions
   - **d.** that they were better sports

3. "I just learned that your salary is going to be doubled when you get the promotion," Darlene's friend and co-worker told her. As she entered her boss's office to get the news, Darlene kept telling herself, "Now don't get excited and start jumping up and down." Darlene is trying to follow
   - **a.** an office rule
   - **b.** a feeling rule
   - **c.** good advice
   - **d.** common sense

4. Research shows that when women first hold a child to which they have just given birth, their emotional reactions
   - **a.** are the same around the world
   - **b.** depend on their hormones
   - **c.** are different if they are married or unmarried
   - **d.** differ from one culture to another

5. That a woman in Zimbabwe who has given birth to a baby girl is likely to react differently than an American woman who has just given birth to a baby girl indicates that socialization
   - **a.** has reached its limits
   - **b.** no longer applies
   - **c.** affects what we feel
   - **d.** has greater effects on women than on men

6. Shirley's frustration at her job has been growing by the week. Today it was just too much. She got up from her desk to tell her boss just how she felt. Then she thought about how her family needs the money she is earning. She sat back down, quietly seething within as she continued her work. Sociologists say that this is an example of
   - **a.** second thoughts
   - **b.** society within us
   - **c.** putting monetary concerns ahead of emotional ones
   - **d.** worker alienation

7. In the example just given of Shirley deciding not to tell her boss off, you can see how the self is a form of
   - **a.** internal control
   - **b.** socialization
   - **c.** emotion
   - **d.** dynamic intervention

8. A primary goal of socialization is to
   - **a.** try to change the world
   - **b.** get people to strive for higher goals in life
   - **c.** overcome people's weak points
   - **d.** turn us into conforming members of society

UNIT 4.4 Getting the Message: Learning Gender

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. Explain what gender and gender socialization are.
2. Describe the Goldberg and Lewis study.
3. Explain how the family, peers, and the mass media socialize us into gender.

I'm sure you'll agree that an essential part of who you are is your "maleness" or your "femaleness." These characteristics seem to flow from within—the way you express yourself, from your gestures to your laugh. They seem to be a natural part of you, something you were born with.

"Are you going to tell me that these are a 'gift' from society, too?" I can practically hear you ask, anticipating what is coming next.

And right you would be if you wondered this. Let's find out why.

Learning the Gender Map

For children, society is unexplored territory. But children don't explore this wilderness on their own. They are given a social map that let's them know where to go and how to act. A major signpost on society's map is **gender,** the attitudes and behaviors expected of us because we are male or female. As we learn the attitudes and behaviors assigned to our sex (called **gender socialization**), we are nudged into different lanes in life. We take direction so well that, as adults, most of us act, think, and even feel according to the guidelines on this gender map. Let's get a glimpse of how this happens.

Gender Messages in the Family

Our parents are the first significant others to show us the gender map. Sometimes they do this consciously, perhaps by wrapping our newborn bodies in pink or blue, colors that have no meaning in themselves but that are now associated with gender. Our parents' own gender ideas are embedded so firmly, however, that as this classic research illustrates, they do most of their gender teaching without being aware of what they are doing.

> *Psychologists Susan Goldberg and Michael Lewis (1969) asked mothers to bring their 6-month-old infants into their laboratory, supposedly to observe the infants' development. Covertly, however, they also observed the mothers. They found that the mothers kept their daughters closer to them. They also touched their daughters more than their sons and spoke to them more frequently. By the time the children were 13 months old, the girls stayed closer to their mothers during play, and they returned to their mothers sooner and more often than the boys did.*
>
> *Then Goldberg and Lewis did a little experiment. They set up a barrier to separate the children from their mothers, who were holding toys. The girls were more likely to cry and motion for help; the boys were more likely to try to climb over the barrier.*

Goldberg and Lewis concluded that the mothers had subconsciously rewarded their daughters for being passive and dependent, and their sons for being active and independent. These results have been confirmed by other researchers (Connors 1996; Clearfield and Nelson 2006; Best 2010).

On the basis of our sex, then, our parents treat us differently. On a conscious level, they give us different kinds of toys. Boys are more likely to get guns and "action figures" that destroy enemies. Girls are more likely to be given dolls and jewelry. Some parents try to choose "gender neutral" toys, but kids know what is popular, and they feel left out if they don't have what the other kids have. The significance of toys in gender socialization can be summarized this way: Most parents would be upset if someone gave their son Barbie dolls.

gender the behaviors and attitudes that a society considers proper for its males and females; masculinity or femininity

gender socialization learning society's "gender map," the paths in life set out for us because we are male or female

Play also teaches gender. In ways we haven't yet studied, parents subtly "signal" to their sons that is okay for them to participate in more rough-and-tumble play. In general, parents expect their sons to get dirtier and to be more defiant, and their daughters to stay cleaner and to be more compliant (Gilman 1911/1971; Nordberg 2010; Henslin 2012). And in large part, parents get what they expect. Such experiences in socialization lie at the heart of the sociological explanation of male–female differences.

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE *about how socialization is so powerful that it can turn girls into boys, you might be interested in the sworn virgins*

Read more from the author: Women Becoming Men: The Sworn Virgins-For Your Consideration in **mysoclab**

Gender Messages from Peers

This sorting process into gender that begins in the family continues as we are exposed to other aspects of society. Especially powerful is our **peer group,** individuals of roughly the same age who are linked by common interests. Examples of peer groups are our friends, classmates, and "the kids in the neighborhood."

During your childhood, you saw girls and boys teach one another what it means to be a female or a male. You might not have recognized what was happening, however, so let's eavesdrop on a conversation between two eighth-grade girls studied by sociologist Donna Eder (2007).

CINDY: The only thing that makes her look anything is all the makeup . . .
PENNY: She had a picture, and she's standing like this. (Poses with one hand on her hip and one by her head)
CINDY: Her face is probably this skinny, but it looks that big 'cause of all the makeup she has on it.
PENNY: She's ugly, ugly, ugly.

Do you see how these girls were giving gender lessons? They were teaching one another images of appearance and behavior that they thought were appropriate for females.

And boys? They do the same thing. Sociologist Melissa Milkie (1994), who studied junior high school boys, found that much of their talk centered on movies and TV. Although the boys had seen many images, they would single

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

out those associated with sex and violence. They amused one another by repeating lines, acting out parts, and joking and laughing at what they had seen.

If you know boys in their early teens, you've probably seen a lot of behavior like this. You may have been amused, or you might have shaken your head in disapproval. But did you peek beneath the surface? Milkie did. What is really going on? The boys, she concluded, were using media images to develop their identity as males. They had gotten the message: "Real" males are obsessed with sex and violence. Not to joke and laugh about murder and promiscuous sex would have marked a boy as a "weenie," a label to be avoided at all costs.

In *Making It Personal,* let's consider how you learned gender.

MAKING IT PERSONAL

Your Gender Lessons

It is time to step back and reflect some more on your childhood. You've read about parents, peers, and toys. How did your parents nudge you into gender? What were your favorite toys? Looking back, what gender messages came with your toys?

Your particular experiences in your preteen and teen groups might have been different from those you just reviewed, but your groups, too, gave you strong lessons in gender. What were they? Gender socialization doesn't stop at the end of the teens, so what gender messages are your friends giving you today?

Gender Messages in the Mass Media

Watch the **Video**
The Big Picture: Socialization
in **mysoclab**

From the boys Milkie studied, another guide to our gender map is the **mass media,** forms of communication that are directed to large audiences. Let's look at how media images help teach us gender.

ADVERTISING

From an early age, the media bombard us with stereotypical images. If you are average, you are exposed to a blistering 30,000 commercials a year (Larson 2001). In children's commercials, boys are more likely to be shown as competing in outdoor settings, while girls are more likely to be portrayed as cooperating in indoor settings. Action figures are pitched to little boys, and dolls are pitched to little girls (Kahlenberg and Hein 2010).

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

As adults, we are still peppered with ads. Although their purpose is to sell products—from booze and bras to cigarettes and cell phones—these ads continue our lessons in gender. I'm sure you have noticed the many ads that portray men as dominant and rugged and women as sexy and submissive. The stereotypical images—from cowboys who roam the wide-open spaces to scantily clad women whose physical assets couldn't possibly be real—seep into our subconscious and become part of our own images of the sexes. So do the stereotype-breaking images that are emerging. Whether overt and exaggerated or subtle and below our awareness, the mass media continue our gender lessons.

MOVIES AND TELEVISION

Movies and television also give us gender lessons. Male characters outnumber female characters in prime-time television, pointing to the greater importance of males in society. But the times are changing, and more dominant, aggressive females are also being portrayed. In cartoons, Kim Possible divides her time between cheerleading practice and saving the world from evil. With tongue in cheek, the Powerpuff Girls are touted as "the most elite kindergarten crime-fighting force ever assembled." This changed gender portrayal is especially evident in the females who play violent characters in action movies, from the assassin in *Kill Bill* to Angelina Jolie in *Salt* (Gilpatric 2010).

The gender messages, however, are mixed. Although girls are presented as more powerful than they used to be, they have to be skinny and gorgeous and wear the latest fashions. Such messages present a dilemma for girls, for continuously thrust before them is a model that is almost impossible to replicate in real life.

The mass media both reflect and stimulate gender change. Shown here is Angelina Jolie in Salt.

VIDEO GAMES

The movement, color, virtual dangers, unexpected dilemmas, and ability to control the action make video games highly appealing. High school and college students find video games a seductive way of escaping from the demands of life. The first members of the "Nintendo Generation," now in their 30s, are still playing video games—with babies on their laps.

Sociologists have begun to study how video games portray the sexes, but we still know little about their influence on the players' ideas of gender. Females are even more underrepresented in video games than on television, with 90 percent of the main characters being male (Williams et al. 2009).

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE *about cutting-edge changes in sex roles, you might be interested in the box on video games*

Read more from the author: Lara Croft, Tomb Raider: Changing Images of Women in the Mass Media in **mysoclab**

In the next *Making It Personal*, let's briefly consider how significant gender is.

MAKING IT PERSONAL

Gender and Your View of the World

There are two reasons for an emphasis on gender. First, the powerful cultural symbols of "female" and "male" have vital effects on your life. At an early age, you learned that different behaviors and attitudes are expected of boys and girls, lessons that your social experiences have constantly reinforced. These symbols, which guide your behavior, have become integrated into your view of the world, forming a picture of "how" you think males and females naturally "are."

Why is gender a topic of sociology?

The second reason is that gender is a primary basis for **social inequality**. That is, some people are given privileges because of their gender, while others are denied those same privileges because of theirs. This makes your socialization into gender significant on a level that reaches far beyond your personal experiences.

UNIT 4.4 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. If in some culture, males are expected to be passive and females dominant, this would be an example of
   - **a.** cultural change
   - **b.** a peer group
   - **c.** gender reversal
   - **d.** gender

2. Her mother told 8-year-old Geneva to stop picking on her 6-year-old brother. "That isn't lady-like, Geneva," said her exasperated mother. This is an example of
   - **a.** a mother who is behind the times
   - **b.** a protective mother
   - **c.** gender socialization
   - **d.** gender

3. Psychologists Goldberg and Lewis observed babies and mothers in their laboratory. They noticed that the mothers held their little girls more than the boys, and they also talked more to them. In a few months, the boys were more likely to try to climb over a barrier to get toys, while the girls were more likely to cry and signal for help from their mothers. Goldberg and Lewis conclude that this difference in the children's behavior
   - **a.** came about because of the artificiality of the laboratory setting
   - **b.** was produced by the mother's behavior
   - **c.** reflected inborn differences between girls and boys
   - **d.** reflected the inequality of society

4. Children's toys are
   - **a.** a way that parents socialize their children
   - **b.** like a puff of smoke from a campfire, present for a moment, perhaps attention getting, but irrelevant for life
   - **c.** so different from one culture to another that we can't draw any conclusions about them
   - **d.** a way that advertisers take advantage of the poor

5. From sociologist Donna Eder's research on eighth-grade girls, we can see that girls
   a. who are entering adolescence need a lot of guidance to become good women
   b. are envious of one another
   c. tell others what their mothers have told them in confidence
   d. socialize one another into gender

6. From sociologist Melissa Milkie's research on boys in junior high school, we can see that boys
   a. prefer action videos and movies to any other type of mass media
   b. who are entering adolescence need a lot of guidance to become good men
   c. socialize one another into gender
   d. like to be with girls but don't want their peers to know it

7. The images of the sexes portrayed in the mass media—whether stereotypical or stereotype-breaking—
   a. seldom reflect the daily lives of real people
   b. help teach what is expected of men and women in our culture
   c. are irrelevant to the product being advertised
   d. reflect the ideas of a Hollywood elite

8. On television and in video games, male characters
   a. outnumber female characters
   b. are more likely to be portrayed as sexy
   c. are more likely to be portrayed as evil
   d. are more likely to be portrayed as having lower intelligence

9. Movies and videos are now portraying this stereotype-breaking character
   a. the sexy younger woman
   b. the aggressive and unhappy female CEO
   c. the mom who, torn between home and work, fails at both
   d. the more dominant, aggressive woman

10. The statement that gender is a primary basis for social inequality means that
    a. gender inequality is growing
    b. gender inequality is decreasing
    c. some people are given privileges because of their gender, while others are denied those same privileges because of theirs
    d. we live in what is called a zero/sum society, so if women gain something such as jobs, their gain comes at the expense of men

UNIT 4.5 Agents of Socialization

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. State what agents of socialization are.
2. Explain how social class makes a difference in socializing children.
3. Summarize findings on day care, peer groups, and the workplace.

By now, you have a good idea of how socialization has given you direction in life. Let's pursue this further by focusing on **agents of socialization,** the individuals and groups that influence people. As we considered gender messages, we already looked at the family, peers, and the mass media. Now let's look at how agents of socialization prepare us in other ways to take our place in society. We shall consider the family, then day care, school, peers, and the workplace.

agents of socialization people or groups that affect our self-concept, attitudes, behaviors, or other orientations toward life

The Family

The first group to have a major impact on you was your family.

Explore the Concept Single Parent Households in mysoclab

Your experiences in the family were and are so intense that their influence is lifelong. These experiences laid down your initial motivations, values, and beliefs. In the family, you received your basic sense of self, ideas about who you are and what you deserve in life. It is here that you began to think of yourself as strong or weak, smart or dumb, good-looking or ugly—or more likely, somewhere in between. And as already noted, the lifelong process of defining yourself as feminine or masculine also began in the family.

As you already know, there are huge differences in lifestyle between families in poverty and those in wealth. Sociologists have refined this idea considerably. Let's look at some of their findings on social class and how families socialize their children.

SOCIAL CLASS AND TYPE OF WORK

Sociologist Melvin Kohn (1959, 1977, 2006) found that a main concern of working-class parents is that their children stay out of trouble. They tend to use physical punishment to keep them in line. Middle-class parents, in contrast, focus more on developing their children's curiosity, self-expression, and self-control. They are more likely to reason with their children than to use physical punishment.

These contrasts puzzled Kohn. As a sociologist, he sought the answer in life experiences, which turned out to be differences in the world of work. In their work, blue-collar workers are usually told exactly what to do. Since they expect their children's lives to be like theirs, they stress obedience. The work of middle-class parents, in contrast, requires making more decisions, and they socialize their children into the qualities they find valuable.

Kohn was still puzzled. Some working-class parents act more like middle-class parents, and vice versa. As Kohn probed this puzzle, the pieces fell into place. This time, the key turned out to be the parents' type of job. Middle-class office workers, for example, are supervised closely, and Kohn found that they follow the working-class pattern of child rearing, emphasizing conformity. And some blue-collar workers, such as those who do home repairs, have a good deal of freedom. These workers follow the middle-class model in rearing their children (Pearlin and Kohn 1966; Kohn and Schooler 1969).

SOCIAL CLASS AND PLAY

Working-class and middle-class parents also have different ideas of how children develop, ideas that have fascinating consequences for how their children play (Lareau 2002; Bodovsky and Farkas 2008). For working-class parents, children are like wild flowers—they develop naturally. Since the child's development will take care of itself, good parenting primarily means to provide food, shelter, and comfort. These parents set limits on their children's play ("Don't go near the railroad tracks") and let them play as they wish. To middle-class parents, in contrast, children are like tender house plants—they need a lot of guidance to develop correctly. These parents want their children's play to help them reach goals. They may want them to play baseball, for example, not for the enjoyment of the sport, but to help them learn how to be team players.

Research on how day care affects children has provoked controversy.

Day Care

It is rare for social science research to make national news, but occasionally it does. This is what happened when researchers published their findings on 1,200 kindergarten children they had studied since they were a month old. They observed each child multiple times, both at home and at day care. They also videotaped and made detailed notes on how the children interacted with their mothers (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development 1999; Guensburg 2001).

What caught the media's attention? Children who spend more time in day care have weaker bonds with their mothers and are less affectionate to them. They are also less cooperative with others and more likely to fight and to be "mean." By the time they get to kindergarten, they are more likely to talk back to teachers and to disrupt the classroom. This holds true regardless of the quality of the day care, the family's social class, or whether the child is a girl or a boy (Belsky 2006). On the positive side, the children scored higher on language tests.

Are we producing a generation of "smart but mean" children? This is not an unreasonable question, since the study was designed well and an even larger study of children in England has come up with similar findings (Belsky 2006). Some point out that the differences are slight between children who spend a lot of time in day care and those who spend less time. Others respond that there are 5 million children in day care, so slight differences can be significant for society (*Statistical Abstract* 2012:Table 566).

Did these initial effects of day care follow the children, or did they wash out? To find out, the researchers continued to test these same children as they went through school. At age 15, the children who had spent more time in child care did slightly worse academically than the children who spent less time in child care. They still had slightly more behavioral problems. It was the same for children who had lower quality care (Vandell et al. 2010).

The School and Peer Groups

Let's turn back to you again. As your experiences with agents of socialization broadened, your family's influence decreased. Starting school marked only one of many steps in your transfer of allegiance, but it was significant. It exposed you to peer groups that helped you resist the efforts of your parents to socialize you. I don't know how closely your experience follows this, but here is what sociologists Patricia and Peter Adler (1998) found when they observed children at two elementary schools in Colorado:

> *The children separated themselves by sex and developed separate gender worlds. The norms that made boys popular were athletic ability, coolness, and toughness. Popularity for girls was based on family background, physical appearance (clothing and makeup), and the ability to attract popular boys. In this children's subculture, academic achievement pulled in opposite directions: Good grades lowered the popularity of boys, but they increased a girl's standing among her peers.*

You know from your own experience how compelling peer groups are. It is almost impossible to go against a peer group, whose cardinal rule seems to be "conformity or rejection." Anyone who doesn't do what the others want becomes an "outsider" and is cast aside. For preteens and teens just learning their way around in the world, it is not surprising that the peer group rules.

As a result, peer groups tend to dominate our lives. If your peers listen to rap, Nortec, death metal, rock and roll, country, or gospel, it is almost inevitable that you also prefer that kind of music. In high school, if your friends took math courses, you probably did, too (Crosnoe et al. 2008). If they specialized in physical education, you probably did, too. As you know, it is the same for clothing styles and dating standards. Peer influences also extend to behaviors that violate social norms. If your peers were college-bound and upwardly striving, that is most likely what you were. And if they used drugs, cheated, and stole, you were likely to do so, too.

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE *about how socialization in school can replace old values and ways of looking at the world with new ones,*

Read more from the author: Immigrants and Their Children: Caught Between Two Worlds in **mysoclab**

The Workplace

Another significant agent of socialization is the workplace. Those initial jobs that we take in high school and college are much more than just a way to earn a few dollars. From the people we rub shoulders with at work, we learn not only a set of skills but also perspectives on the world.

Most of us eventually become committed to some particular line of work, often after trying out many jobs. This may involve **anticipatory socialization,** learning to play a role before we enter it. Anticipatory socialization is a sort of mental rehearsal for some future activity. If you are interested in a particular career, you might talk to people who do that type of work, read novels about it, or take a summer internship in that field. This allows you to become aware of what would be expected of you and to gradually identify with the role. This helps some people avoid committing themselves to an empty career, as with some of my students who tried student teaching, found that they couldn't stand it, and then moved on to jobs more to their liking.

An intriguing aspect of work as a socializing agent is that the more you participate in a line of work, the more this work becomes part of your self-concept. Eventually you will come to think of yourself so much in terms of the job that if someone asks you to describe yourself, you are likely to include the job in your self-description. You might say, "I'm a teacher," "I'm a nurse," or, as you might expect in this text, "I'm a sociologist."

anticipatory socialization the process of learning in advance a role or status one anticipates having

UNIT 4.5 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. When Dominique started school, she entered a bewildering world. The ideas of her teachers and classmates stood in sharp contrast to what she had learned at home. For Dominique, her family, her teachers, and her peers
   - **a.** are in conflict
   - **b.** are challenging her thought world
   - **c.** reflect dominant and subdominant orientations to life
   - **d.** are agents of socialization

2. Working-class parents expect their children to do work similar to their own, which is closely supervised and centers on taking orders. These parents are mainly concerned that their children
   - **a.** do well in school
   - **b.** develop their total potential
   - **c.** stay out of trouble
   - **d.** get part-time jobs to provide their own spending money

3. Working-class parents expect their children to do work similar to their own, which is closely supervised and centers on taking orders. To discipline their children, they tend to
   - **a.** reason with their children
   - **b.** use physical punishment
   - **c.** make their kids sit in the corner
   - **d.** send their kids to bed without dinner

4. Middle-class parents expect their children to do work similar to their own, which is flexible and involves making decisions. These parents are mainly concerned that their children
   - **a.** develop their curiosity, self-expression, and self-control
   - **b.** take school seriously
   - **c.** get in the right schools so they can get good jobs
   - **d.** watch less television

5. Middle-class parents expect their children to do work similar to their own, which is flexible and involves making decisions. To keep their children in line, they tend to
   - **a.** deprive their children of television
   - **b.** physically punish their children
   - **c.** take away their children's dessert
   - **d.** reason with their children

6. Research on 1,200 children in day care and their mothers shows that the children who spend more time in day care
   - **a.** score lower on IQ tests
   - **b.** have weaker bonds with their mothers and are less affectionate to them
   - **c.** score lower on language tests
   - **d.** are lazier

7. Research on 1,200 children in day care shows that the children who spend more time in day care tend to
   - **a.** be meaner and smarter
   - **b.** aim for higher positions in life
   - **c.** be more motivated when they become workers
   - **d.** have poorer health

8. When it comes to grades, peer groups tend to push grade school boys and girls in different directions. For girls, good grades
   - **a.** come easier than they do for boys
   - **b.** are related to the amount of television they watch
   - **c.** make them more popular with other girls but less popular with boys
   - **d.** increase popularity

9. The research by Patty and Peter Adler indicates that these characteristics make grade school boys popular
   - **a.** good grades and having money to spend
   - **b.** family background, physical appearance, and the ability to attract girls
   - **c.** athletic ability, coolness, and toughness
   - **d.** good looks and being able to ask intelligent questions in class

10. Carmen, who wants to be a doctor, loves reading medical novels. She has just applied for a summer internship at a local hospital. Although the internship won't pay anything, she is excited about the coming experience. This term applies to Carmen's activities
    - **a.** delusional endeavor
    - **b.** anticipatory socialization
    - **c.** volunteer work
    - **d.** escape from reality

FROM ANOTHER STUDENT

"The information that you share makes me stop and think deeply about life and society, makes me question long-held beliefs, and makes me look at issues from other points of view."

Kelly Haywood
Kaplan University

UNIT 4.6 Resocialization

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. State what resocialization is.
2. Explain how total institutions work.

What does a woman who just became a nun have in common with a man who just divorced? The answer is that they both are undergoing **resocialization;** that is, they are learning new norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors

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

to match their new situation in life. In its most common form, resocialization occurs each time you learn something contrary to your previous experiences. A new boss or teacher who insists that you do things a different way is resocializing you. Most resocialization is mild—only a slight modification of things you have already learned.

Resocialization can also be intense. If you were to join Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), for example, you would be surrounded by reformed drinkers who affirm the destructive effects of alcohol. If you were to join a cult or begin psychotherapy, your resocialization would be even more profound, for you would learn views that conflict with your earlier socialization. If these new ideas "take," not only would your behavior change but also you would learn a fundamentally different way of looking at life.

Total Institutions

Relatively few of us experience the powerful agent of socialization that sociologist Erving Goffman (1961) called the **total institution.** He coined this term to refer to a place in which people are cut off from the rest of society and where they come under almost total control of the officials who are in charge. Boot camp, prisons, concentration camps, convents, some mental hospitals, some religious cults, and some military schools, such as West Point, are total institutions.

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

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

If you enter a total institution, you will be greeted with a **degradation ceremony** (Garfinkel 1956), an attempt to strip away your current identity and stamp a new one in its place. This unwelcome greeting may involve fingerprinting, photographing, or shaving your head. You might be ordered to strip, undergo an examination (often in a humiliating, semipublic setting), and then put on a uniform that designates your new status. Officials will take away your *personal identity kit,* items such as jewelry, hairstyle, clothing, and other body decorations you use to express individuality.

If you become a resident of a total institution, you will be isolated from the public. The bars, walls, gates, and guards will not only keep you in but also keep outsiders out. Staff members will supervise your day-to-day life. Your eating, sleeping, showering, recreation—all will be standardized. You will learn that your previous statuses—student, worker, spouse, parent—mean nothing. The only thing that counts is your current status.

You won't leave a total institution unscathed, for the experience will brand an indelible mark on your self and color the way you see the world. Boot camp is brutal but swift, while prison, in contrast, is brutal and prolonged. If you ever end up in either one, you will have no difficulty in knowing how the institution profoundly marked your attitudes and orientations to life.

A topic of research in sociology is total institutions, which have profound effects on people's lives.

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE *about how the Marines can transform civilians into soldiers ready to kill,*

Read more from the author: Boot Camp as a Total Institution in **mysoclab**

UNIT 4.6 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. A woman just entered boot camp and a man was just admitted to a locked ward in a mental hospital. They are both
   - **a.** trying anticipatory socialization
   - **b.** trying to get help
   - **c.** challenging norms
   - **d.** being resocialized

2. The woman who entered boot camp and the man who was admitted to the locked ward in a mental hospital are both residents of
   - **a.** anticipatory socialization centers
   - **b.** a totalitarian country
   - **c.** total institutions
   - **d.** places where social control is loosening

3. Joan was sent to prison for forgery. When she got there, she found herself in a large room with other new inmates. She was stripped, her body cavities

were examined, she was weighed, and she was sprayed with a liquid to kill body lice. In sociological terms, Joan underwent a

a. mental breakdown
b. degradation ceremony
c. classic change in her self concept
d. soul-searching, new experience

4. Which of these is not a total institution?

a. a college
b. a prison
c. West Point
d. boot camp

UNIT 4.7 Socialization through the Life Course

WHAT AM I SUPPOSED TO LEARN?

After you have read this unit, you should be able to

1. Explain how views of children change with history, citing the Ariès controversy.
2. Summarize the stages of the life course.
3. Explain how social factors influence the life course.
4. Analyze your experience with the life course, past, present, and anticipated future.

Watch the **Video** Sociology on the Job: Socialization in **mysoclab**

You are at a particular stage in your life now, and college is a good part of it. You know that you have more stages ahead as you go through life. These stages, from birth to death, are called the **life course** (Elder 1975, 1999). *The sociological significance of the life course* is twofold. *First*, as you pass through a stage, it influences your behavior and orientations. You simply don't think about life in the same way when you are 30, are married, and have a baby and a mortgage, as you do when you are 18 or 20, single, and in college. (Actually, you don't even see life the same way as a freshman and as a senior.) *Second*, your life course differs by social location. Your social class, race–ethnicity, and gender, for example, map out distinctive worlds of experience.

life course the stages of our life as we go from birth to death

The historical setting sets the stage for the life course.

This means that the typical life course differs for males and females, the rich and the poor, and so on. To emphasize this major sociological point, I will present a "life sketch" in which I will stress the *historical* setting of people's lives. Because of your particular social location, your own life course may differ from this sketch, which is a composite of stages that others have suggested (Levinson 1978; Carr et al. 1995; Quadagno 2007).

Childhood (from birth to about age 12)

Consider how different your childhood would have been if you had grown up at another historical time. Historian Philippe Ariès (1965) noticed that in European paintings from about A.D. 1000 to 1800, children were always dressed in adult clothing. If they were not depicted stiffly posed, as in a family portrait, they were shown doing adult activities.

From this, Ariès drew a conclusion that sparked a debate among historians. He said that Europeans of this period did not regard childhood as a special time of life. They viewed children as miniature adults and put them to work at an early age. At the

age of 7, for example, a boy might leave home for good to learn to be a jeweler or a stonecutter. A girl, in contrast, stayed home until she married, but by the age of 7 she assumed her share of the household tasks. Historians agree that these were the customs of that time, but some say that Ariès' conclusion is ridiculous, that other evidence indicates that these people viewed childhood as a special time of life (Orme 2002).

Having children work like adults did not disappear with the Middle Ages. In the 1800s, this practice was still common around the world. Even today, children in the Least Industrialized Nations work in many occupations—from blacksmiths to waiters. As tourists are shocked to discover, children in these nations work as street peddlers, hawking everything from shoelaces to chewing gum. The photo below reflects a view of children that is remarkably different from the one common in the Most Industrialized Nations.

Child rearing, too, used to be remarkably different. Three hundred years ago, parents and teachers considered it their *moral* duty to *terrorize* children. To keep children in line, they would frighten them with bedtime stories of death and hellfire, lock them in dark closets, and force them to witness events like this:

> *A common moral lesson involved taking children to visit the gibbet [jib-bit, an upraised post on which executed bodies were left hanging], where they were forced to inspect the rotting corpses as an example of what happens to bad children when they grow up. Whole classes were taken out of school to witness hangings, and parents would often whip their children afterwards to make them remember what they had seen. (DeMause 1975)*

Industrialization transformed the way we perceive children. When children had the leisure to go to school and postpone taking on adult roles, parents and officials came to think of them as tender and innocent, as needing more care, comfort, and protection. Such attitudes of dependency grew, and today we view children as needing the gentle guidance of adults if they are to develop emotionally, intellectually, and morally. We take our view for granted—after all, it is only "common sense." Yet, as you can see, our view of children is not "natural." It is, instead, rooted in society—in geography, history, and economic development.

Let's explore this idea in *Making It Personal.*

In some places, children still do adult work. This photo was taken in India.

MAKING IT PERSONAL

How Did Culture Shape Your Childhood?

Sociologists say that *childhood varies from culture to culture.* Think about your childhood. How did the point in history in which your childhood occurred set the stage for what people expected of you and for how you were treated as a child? How about your specific social locations, especially social class and gender? Although your *biological* characteristics as a child (being small and unable to survive on your own) are universal, the way you were treated because you were a child depended on your *social location.*

If you really want to get into this—and it is fascinating—ask your grandparents, or great-grandparents if you have them, what life was like when they were kids. The remarkable differences from your own childhood that you will uncover will reveal not just different behaviors but also different views of what children are.

Adolescence (ages 13–17)

It might seem strange to you, but adolescence is not a "natural" age division. It is a *social invention.* In earlier centuries, people simply moved from childhood to young adulthood, with no stopover in between. Then came the Industrial Revolution, which allowed adolescence to be invented. Industrialization brought such an abundance of material surpluses that for the first time in history people in their teens were not needed as workers. At the same time, education became more important for achieving success. As these two forces in industrialized societies converged, they created a gap between childhood and adulthood. The term *adolescence* was coined to indicate this new stage in life (Hall 1904), one that has become renowned for uncertainty, rebellion, and inner turmoil.

The direct transition from childhood to adulthood still occurs in tribal societies. At roughly the time when our society marks off adolescence, tribal children go through *initiation rites* that mark their transition into adulthood. This grounds the self-identity, showing these young people how they fit in their society. In contrast, adolescents in the industrialized world must "find" themselves. They grapple with the dilemma of "I am neither a child nor an adult. Who am I?" As they attempt to carve out an identity that is distinct from both the "younger" world

being left behind and the "older" world that still lingers out of reach, adolescents develop their own subcultures, with distinctive clothing, hairstyles, language, gestures, and music. We usually fail to realize that contemporary society, not biology, created this period of inner turmoil that we call *adolescence.*

Transitional Adulthood (ages 18–29)

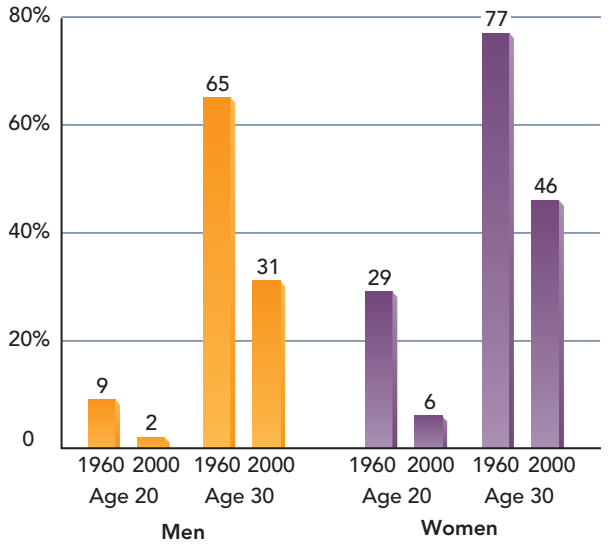
If society invented adolescence, can it also invent other periods of life? As Figure 4.2 illustrates, this is actually happening now. Postindustrial societies are adding another period of extended youth to the life course, which sociologists call **transitional adulthood.** (Some call it *adultolescence.*)

After high school, millions of young adults postpone adult responsibilities by going to college. They are mostly freed from the control of their parents, yet they don't have to support themselves. After college, many move back home, where they live cheaply while they establish themselves in a career—and, of course, continue to "find themselves." During this time, they are "neither psychological adolescents nor sociological adults" (Keniston 1971). At some point during this period of extended youth, young adults ease into adult responsibilities. They take a full-time job, become serious about a career, engage in courtship rituals, get married—and go into debt.

transitional adulthood a term that refers to a period following high school when young adults have not yet taken on the responsibilities ordinarily associated with adulthood; also called *adultolescence*

FIGURE 4.2 **Transitional Adulthood: A New Stage in the Life Course**

Who has completed the transition?



The bars show the percentage who have completed the transition to adulthood, as measured by leaving home, finishing school, getting married, having a child, and being financially independent.

Source: Furstenberg et al. 2004

The Middle Years (ages 30–65)

THE EARLY MIDDLE YEARS (AGES 30–49)

During the early middle years, most people feel more certain about "who" they are and of their goals in life. As at any point in the life course, however, the self can receive severe jolts, often coming from divorce, losing a job, or health problems. It may take years for the self to stabilize after such ruptures.

The early middle years pose a special challenge for many U.S. women who have been given the message that they can "have it all." They can be superworkers, superwives, and supermoms—all rolled into one superwoman. Reality, however, slaps them in the face: too little time, too many demands, even too little sleep. Something has to give, and attempts to resolve this dilemma are anything but easy.

THE LATER MIDDLE YEARS (AGES 50–65)

During the later middle years, people feel their bodies change, and health issues often appear. Many experience a fundamental change in thinking—*from time since birth to time left to live* (Neugarten 1976). They compare what they have accomplished with what they had hoped to achieve. Many people find themselves caring not only for their own children but also for their aging parents. Because of this double burden, people in the later middle years sometimes are called the "sandwich generation."

Some people experience few of these stresses. They find late middle age to be the most comfortable period of their entire lives. They enjoy good jobs and marriages and a standard of living higher than ever before. They have bigger houses (perhaps even paid for), drive newer cars, and take longer and more exotic vacations. Their children are grown, the self is firmly planted, and life seems good.

As they anticipate the next stage of life, however, most people do not like what they see.

The Older Years (about age 65 on)

THE TRANSITIONAL OLDER YEARS

In agricultural societies, most people died early, and old age was thought to begin at around age 40. As industrialization brought better nutrition, medicine, and public health, more people lived longer, and the beginning of "old age" gradually stretched out. Today, people who enjoy good health don't think of their 60s as old age, but as an extension of their middle years. This change is bringing *another new*

The transitional older years are a new stage in the life course.

stage of life, the period between retirement (averaging about age 63) and old age—which people are coming to see as beginning around age 75 ("Schwab Study . . . " 2008). We can call this stage the **transitional older years.**

THE LATER OLDER YEARS

As with the preceding periods of life, except the first one, there is no precise beginning point to this last stage. For some, the 75th birthday marks entry into this period of life. For others, that marker may be the 80th or even the 85th birthday. For most, this stage is marked by growing frailty and illness. For all who reach this stage, it is ended by death. For some, the physical decline is slow, and a rare few manage to see their 100th birthday mentally alert and in good physical health.

In *Making It Personal*, let's look at where you are in the life course.

transitional older years an emerging stage of the life course between retirement and when people are considered old; approximately age 65 to 75

MAKING IT PERSONAL

Social Location and Your Life Course

You have already experienced some stages of the life course, and you anticipate stages ahead of you. These stages go far beyond biology, things that naturally occur to you as you add years to your life. Especially significant is your *social location,* such as your social class, gender, and race–ethnicity. You experience society's events in ways similar to those of people who share your social location, but different from those of people who do not.

And how significant this is. If you are poor, for example, you are likely to feel older sooner than wealthy people for whom life is less demanding. Your health and the choices you make—such as marrying early, entering college late, or getting in trouble with the law—can also throw your life course "out of sequence."

For all these reasons, this sketch of the life course may not reflect your own past, present, or future. Being born just ten years earlier or later may mean that you experience war or peace, an expanding economy or a depression—factors that vitally affect what happens to you. As sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) would say, because employers are beating a path to your door, or failing to do so, you are more inclined to marry, to buy a house, and to start a family—or to postpone these life course events. In short, changing times steer your life course, sometimes into surprising directions.

UNIT 4.7 // TESTING MYSELF

DID I LEARN IT?

ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE CHAPTER

1. The sociological significance of the life course is twofold. One is that
   - **a.** the life course has a peculiar effect on gender
   - **b.** sociology has revealed the transitional stages of the life course
   - **c.** the life course changes society
   - **d.** as you pass through a stage of the life course, it influences your behavior and orientations

2. The sociological significance of the life course is twofold. One is that
   - **a.** society changes so quickly that you never know what you will experience when you reach the next stage in your life course
   - **b.** the life course puts pressure on society to change
   - **c.** a person's life course depends on social location
   - **d.** childhood is the same the world over

3. Three hundred years ago, European parents and teachers would frighten children with bedtime stories of death and hellfire, lock them in dark closets, and force them to look at the rotting bodies of executed criminals. They did this because
   - **a.** society was less civilized back then
   - **b.** they considered these activities as ways to make children moral
   - **c.** they lacked the violent entertainment we have today, such as slasher films and the Freddy Krueger horror series
   - **d.** children back then were harder to control

4. We consider it "common sense" that children need the gentle guidance of adults if they are to develop emotionally, intellectually, and morally. This attitude toward children is
   - **a.** not "natural," but is rooted in society
   - **b.** the same as that held by the Europeans that Ariès studied
   - **c.** now changing to the view that children are miniature adults
   - **d.** universal

5. The Industrial Revolution produced a new view of children, from miniature adults to little beings who need the gentle guidance of adults. The result was a new stage in the life course called adolescence. Adolescence came with industrialization because
   - **a.** there were more jobs, allowing teenagers to go to work
   - **b.** people possessed more material goods than at any other time in history
   - **c.** for the first time in history people in their teens were not needed as workers
   - **d.** prosperity increased and parents could afford to give allowances to their teenagers

6. Before the Industrial Revolution, children
   a. were less rebellious than they are now
   b. went straight from childhood to adulthood, with no stopover called adolescence
   c. matured earlier
   d. matured later

7. In tribal societies, children still go directly to adulthood. To help them in this process, tribal societies use a transitional device called
   a. initiation rites
   b. maturity measures
   c. celebratory change
   d. relational shifts

8. Adolescence developed when teenagers were no longer needed in the workforce and they became dependent on their parents. Today, fewer young adults in their twenties are needed in the workforce, and the dependency period is being lengthened further. This is producing a new stage in the life course called
   a. post-adolescence
   b. anticipatory socialization
   c. pre-adulthood
   d. transitional adulthood

9. During the later middle years (ages 50–65), as people feel their bodies change and health issues appear, many experience a fundamental change in their thinking that can be summarized as
   a. it's time to take early retirement
   b. youth has passed me by
   c. from time since birth to time left to live
   d. I missed the boat

10. In agricultural societies, most people died early, and old age was thought to begin at around age 40. Industrialization brought better nutrition, better health, and longer lives. Today, people are living longer than ever, which is producing another new stage in the life course. This period, from about age 63 to 75 or even 80, is called the
    a. post–baby boomers
    b. transitional older years
    c. post-retirement period
    d. pre-elderly period

Study and **Review** in **mysoclab**

PULLING IT ALL TOGETHER

REVIEWING THE LEARNING GOALS

You have just reviewed the major elements of the area of sociology called socialization. These materials should help you to better understand how socialization is vital for what people, including yourself, "become." You should also have a better idea of how your orientations to life, your ideas and attitudes, depend on your social experiences.

Again, it is time to "lock in" what you have learned. As you review this chapter, keep asking yourself, "Do I understand this?" If something isn't clear, please go back to the section where it was presented. There is a lot of material here, and it certainly is OK not to get everything the first time. Using this chapter review can help you find out what isn't clear.

Unit 4.1 Extremes in Socialization

1. Explain how "society makes us human."
   - The characteristics that distinguish us as humans—high intelligence, language, having ideas—come from socialization.

2. Summarize the effects of low human contact (isolation, institutionalization) on human development.
   - Isolated children who don't learn language don't learn relationships or the capacity to share ideas. Institutionalized children with little social interaction develop low intelligence. If caught early enough, the learning can be made up.

3. Use the case of Jack and Oskar to illustrate how social experiences shape our attitudes.
   - The almost polar opposite experiences of these identical twins led to almost polar opposite views of Jews and Hitler.

Read the **Document** "Final Note on a Case of Extreme Isolation" by Kingsley Davis in **mysoclab**

Unit 4.2 Socialization into the Self and Mind

1. Explain the looking-glass self and why it is essential to the development of the self.
   - We see ourselves in the eyes of others. As we evaluate this reflection, we internalize our ideas of how people are reacting to us. These images come into a more or less coherent whole called the self.

2. **Explain how we develop the ability to take the role of the other and why this is essential to our socialization.**
   - At first, our ability to take the role of the other—to stand in someone else's shoes and see the world as he or she does—is limited to that of significant others (individuals who are important to us). Our ability gradually expands so we can take the role of the generalized other (people in general). Team games are significant in developing this ability. Taking the role of the other is essential to our socialization, as our ability to get along with others depends on it.


Watch the **Video**
The Basics: Socialization
in **mysoclab**

Unit 4.3 Socialization into Emotions

1. **Explain which emotions and facial expressions are universal and why.**
   - Disgust, anger, sadness, happiness, shame, and fear are universal emotions, and all people show the same facial expressions when they experience these emotions. This indicates that they are part of human biology.

2. **Explain what sociology has to do with emotions.**
   - We are socialized to express our emotions in certain ways. The "feeling rules" we learn are based on gender, culture, social class, relationships, and settings.

3. **Explain why the phrase "society within us" applies to emotions.**
   - Our socialization affects not just how and where we express emotions, but even what emotions we feel. This is society within us. Our self monitors our emotional expressions to help keep us conforming to social norms, another instance of society within us.

Unit 4.4 Getting the Message: Learning Gender

1. **Explain what gender and gender socialization are.**
   - *Gender* refers to the attitudes and behaviors expected of us because of our sex. *Gender socialization* refers to our learning these attitudes and behaviors.

2. **Describe the Goldberg and Lewis study.**
   - Mothers who were observed in the laboratory held their girl babies more than their boy babies and talked more to them. The girl babies became more passive than the boy babies, which Goldberg and Lewis conclude was due to the mothers' behavior.

3. **Explain how the family, peers, and the mass media socialize us into gender.**
   - The messages that our family, peers, and the mass media give of what is culturally appropriate for the sexes become part of our internal images of the sexes. These guide our behavior and our orientations to life.


Watch the **Video**
The Big Picture: Socialization
in **mysoclab**

Unit 4.5 Agents of Socialization

1. **State what agents of socialization are.**
   - Agents of socialization are individuals and groups that influence people.

2. **Explain how social class makes a difference in socializing children.**
   - Working-class parents are focused on keeping their children out of trouble and likely to use physical punishment. Middle-class parents, more focused on developing their children's curiosity and self-control, are more likely to reason with their children. These patterns reflect the parents' type of work. They also show up in the children's play.

3. **Summarize findings on day care, peer groups, and the workplace.**
   - Children who spend more time in day care have weaker bonds with their mothers and are more likely to be disruptive at school and to be mean to other children. The influence of peer groups on children is often in opposition to the family. Anticipatory socialization helps us prepare for future jobs.


Explore the **Concept**
Single Parent
Households in **mysoclab**

Unit 4.6 Resocialization

1. **State what resocialization is.**
   - Resocialization, which ranges from mild to intense, is learning new norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors to match a new situation in life.

2. **Explain how total institutions work.**
   - Total institutions—from prisons and mental hospitals to convents and military schools—are places where the individual is cut off from the rest of society and made captive to the organization. The staff supervises the individual's daily life, from eating to work and recreation. Total institutions have profound effects on people's attitudes and orientations to life.

Unit 4.7 Socialization through the Life Course

1. **Explain how views of children change with history, citing the Ariès controversy.**
   - Analyzing paintings from A.D. 1000 to 1800, Ariès concluded that childhood in Europe was not a

special time of life. Views of what children" are" and how they are treated vary from historical period and culture to culture.

2. **Summarize the stages of the life course.**
   - These stages are childhood, adolescence, transitional adulthood, the middle years, and the older years. The middle and older years are divided into older and later substages.

3. **Explain how social factors influence the life course.**
   - The historical period sets the stage for what happens to people during their life course. Within this setting, other aspects of social location, such as gender and social class, come into play. Social factors even produce new stages in the life course, such as adolescence and transitional adulthood.

4. **Analyze your experience with the life course, past, present, and anticipated future.**
   - This is purely personal.

Watch the **Video**
Sociology on the Job:
Socialization in **mysoclab**

UNIT 4.1 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d** how we learn the ways of society
2. **a** French scientists studied a feral child in 1798
3. **d** was given intensive training and developed like a normal child
4. **c** in which children must learn language or they cannot become intelligent
5. **b** the human traits of intelligence and the ability to establish close bonds with others depend on early interaction with other humans
6. **a** if too much time passes after a learning stage is missed, it may be impossible to make it up
7. **d** increased
8. **c.** the development of intelligence depends on stimulating interaction
9. **d.** social experiences mold our ideas and attitudes
10. **c** our social experiences form such essential characteristics as our behaviors, ideas, attitudes, and intelligence

UNIT 4.2 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d** looking-glass self
2. **c** our evaluations of the reactions of others to us
3. **b** take the role of the other
4. **a** play
5. **d** taking the role of a significant other
6. **c** the generalized other
7. **b** imitiation
8. **a** self as object
9. **d** is a product of society
10. **d** is a product of society

UNIT 4.3 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d** part of our biology
2. **c** the same facial expressions
3. **b** a feeling rule
4. **d** differ from one culture to another
5. **c** affects what we feel
6. **b** society within us
7. **a** internal control
8. **d** turn us into conforming members of society

UNIT 4.4 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d** gender
2. **c** gender socialization
3. **b** was produced by the mother's behavior
4. **a** a way that parents socialize their children
5. **d** socialize one another into gender
6. **c** socialize one another into gender
7. **b** help teach what is expected of men and women in our culture
8. **a** outnumber female characters
9. **d** the more dominant, aggressive woman
10. **c** some people are given privileges because of their gender, while others are denied those same privileges because of theirs

UNIT 4.5 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d.** are agents of socialization
2. **c.** stay out of trouble
3. **b.** use physical punishment
4. **a.** develop their curiosity, self-expression, and self-control
5. **d.** reason with their children
6. **b.** have weaker bonds with their mothers and are less affectionate to them
7. **a.** be meaner and smarter
8. **d.** increase popularity
9. **c.** athletic ability, coolness, and toughness
10. **b.** anticipatory socialization

UNIT 4.6 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d** being resocialized
2. **c** total institutions
3. **b** degradation ceremony
4. **a** a college

UNIT 4.7 // TESTING MYSELF
DID I LEARN IT? ANSWERS

1. **d** as you pass through a stage of the life course, it influences your behavior and orientations
2. **c** a person's life course depends on social location
3. **b** they considered these activities as ways to make children moral
4. **a** not "natural," but is rooted in society
5. **c** for the first time in history people in their teens were not needed as workers
6. **b** went straight from childhood to adulthood, with no stopover called adolescence
7. **a** initiation rites
8. **d** transitional adulthood
9. **c** from time since birth to time left to live
10. **b** transitional older years