Encyclopedia of Sociology

Second Edition

VOLUME 4

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Preface

The idea for this *Encyclopedia of Sociology* was in gestation for a long time. Probably the notion arose when, as Sociology Advisory Editor for Rand McNally and Company, I arranged for a series of handbooks that were published in the 1960s and 1970s. This influential group of volumes covered most of sociology, especially with the *Handbook of Modern Sociology* (Robert E. L. Faris, 1964) as a key volume. Other titles in the list included: *Handbook of Marriage and the Family* (Harold T. Christensen, 1964); *Handbook of Organizations* (James G. March, 1965); *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research* (David A. Goslin, 1968); *Handbook of Personality Theory and Research* (Edgar F. Borgatta & William W. Lambert, 1968); *Handbook on the Study of Social Problems* (Erwin O. Smigel, 1971); and *Handbook of Criminology* (Daniel Glaser, 1974). Effectively, the series functioned as an encyclopedia, especially since there was additional related coverage already provided by the *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, 1968). At that time Macmillan's *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (David L. Sills, ed., 1968) was also available, and a separate encyclopedia for sociology seemed superfluous.

With time, however, as social-science research and professional involvement grew, along with the proliferation of subfields, each of the social and behavioral sciences and, indeed, other specialties, such as statistics, area studies, and applied areas, developed useful encyclopedias. In the late 1970s I talked about an encyclopedia of sociology with F. E. (Ted) Peacock (F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc.), who encouraged the development of the project. However, since it takes time for these things, it was not until the early 1980s that I actually started reflecting actively on what would need to be done, and I sought advice on what actually would be involved in such a project. Fortunately, Raymond J. Corsini, a good friend with whom I had worked on other matters, invited me to be an Associate Editor for the *Encyclopedia of Psychology* (Corsini, 1984). I got a close look at what was involved in undertaking a project of this magnitude and I was persuaded that the task would be a feasible one for sociology.

The field of sociology had been growing and evolving rapidly in the post-World War II period. Possibly the decades of the 1960s and 1970s will be seen in retrospect as one of the periods of great change for the discipline. Of course, different people will judge past developments differently, but some of the changes that have to be recognized as important include the following:

First. Sociology, which August Comte had blessed with the title of the "Queen of the Social Sciences," seemed to be losing much of the empire. In particular, applied fields dealing with social behavior blossomed, but as they did so, sociology seemed indifferent, uninvolved. The field of social work developed its advanced degree programs and established research interests that sociology relinquished as uninteresting because they were "applied." The field of industrial sociology virtually disappeared as the interest in research flourished in several specialties in psychology and in schools of business and management. Interest in the key institution, the family, was largely lost to

the special applied organizations in that area. And so it went in a number of other fields. The ''Queen'' appeared indifferent, possibly with the exception of the field of medical sociology, in which there was considerable development.

Second. Technical training in sociology became increasingly more demanding. When I taught the first graduate course in statistics for sociology at the New York University Graduate School in 1954, it included regression analysis and factor analysis. The reception and reputation was a bit like that greeting the arrival of extraterrestrials. The title (or epithet) ''Factor Analyst'' was definitely not meant to be complimentary. Nevertheless, in the 1950s, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and others supported the idea that the formal theory and technical bases of the social sciences required attention, and programs were initiated to foster a greater appreciation of mathematics and statistics. Particularly with the support of the National Institutes of Mental Health (NIMH) graduate training grants, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Michigan, and other centers concentrated on ''research methods'' during and following the 1960s. The discipline reflected this focus in its journals. Sociology also became known as the leader in research training in the social sciences, with the new generation of scholars becoming conversant with statisticians, econometricians, and psychometricians, and providing service to history, political science, and anthropology. The ''Queen'' again had some empire.

Third. The 1960s experienced the civil-rights movement, the student movement, the feminist movement, and, implicitly or explicitly, sociologists reacted to and sometimes participated actively in these social movements. Challenges arose to the ''traditional'' values of objective and ''value free'' science in sociology. These challenges ranged from positions asserting knowledge by intuition to the posing of more serious epistemological questions. Attention was drawn to the fact that sociology apparently had little utility in solving social problems, aside from assisting in exposing them, but, further, sociologists were often accused of not studying complex problems because they were limited and hampered by their methodologies. A resurgence of interest in ''qualitative'' approaches developed, which also provided a stimulus for a reexamination of existing research approaches.

Fourth. At the same time, the scope of what sociologists could accomplish more generally expanded with technical development. Two of the more prohibitive cost factors in research and scholarship have progressively been reduced, since the development of computing packages made possible the elimination of computing clerks at the same time that it made possible complex numerical and statistical analyses. Additionally, this development eliminated time losses as the labor intensive aspects were eliminated. Also, the availability of word processing packages made it possible for even the most helpless scholar to by-pass the secretary or typing pool and get materials into a readable and revisable format. As these earlier ''barriers'' to productivity were removed, presumably the social sciences responded accordingly. In any event, there has been a proliferation of journals, and increasing collateral publication continues in various media.

Fifth. The continued development of the field of sociology can be marked by the increase of special subfields. Aside from the increases in publication, the number of specialization sections in the American Sociological Association (ASA) continues to grow, as do the Research Committees in the International Sociological Association (ISA). A reflection of this may be seen by glancing at the topical coverage of *Contemporary Sociology*, the ASA journal of book reviews.

This broadening of the field of sociology affected the way topics were chosen for the *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. In the early stages, a broad set of topics was used to accumulate the important concepts and subfields included in sociology. Initially, the objective was to be as inclusive as possible and to avoid errors of omission. A constant problem in the process was that topics did not fit neatly into only one broad category. Often they could fit as easily into two, three, or four. In fact, the number of broad categories became increasingly elastic, but eventually these were reduced to seventeen, corresponding to no known system of organization other than expedience. The broad categories did not have any obvious theoretical basis of division, which was disconcerting, but represented the pragmatic result of many revisions. Our Advisory and Associate Editors participated in reviews of the total set of categories or of selected subsets for a few of the broad categories. It is fair to report that while we often saw consensus in the process,

sometimes we felt that there was no effective way to manage the procedure for selection of topics or to satisfy every piece of advice, sound as it might seem. At one point we had more than 1,700 potential entry titles. These eventually were consolidated into about 400 titles with notations of how overlapping concepts were handled, how related concepts were to be combined, and so forth. In making the arrangements with authors, further consolidation brought the final number of entries to the 370 in this 4-volume set.

The process of defining topics, thus, while driven by theoretical interests and strategic representations of the field, ultimately resulted in a pragmatic and eclectic product. Thus some topics became very comprehensive while others have more specific content. In areas where there is intensive attention by sociologists, such as social stratification, race and ethnic studies, gender, medical sociology, and aging, coverage by authors may overlap in a way that provides emphasis.

Other factors that guided the formulation of entry topics included defining the audience for whom the encyclopedia was intended. It was expected that sociologists would read about areas with which they were not familiar, but we wanted the materials to be useful to other scholars and professionals who need information about topics in sociology. Further, encyclopedias are gold mines for students, and so a central concern was that articles could be read and understood by younger and uninitiated persons looking for a first introduction to a sociological topic. This latter message was communicated to authors, and in large part it has been possible to provide presentations that will reach a broad range of literate audiences. There are some obvious exceptions. In some technical areas the presentations, while self-contained and elegantly presented, do require a preexisting knowledge base in order to be fully understood by the readers.

OCTOBER 1991
EDGAR F. BORGATTA, *EDITOR-IN-CHIEF*

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Preface for Second Edition

After the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* had been in print only three years, we began to receive inquiries about when there would be a revised edition. This was surprising given that the *Encyclopedia* was so well received, that its distribution had been much broader than even optimistic supporters of the project had anticipated, and that the articles were largely broad reviews and summaries of areas of knowledge in sociology. However, some areas in sociology changed quickly during the last decade as we approached the Millennium so that interest in a recapitulation and updating did not seem inappropriate. In addition, the social sciences appear to have softened their borders, and thus we realized that a substantial and thoughtful addition of titles would add breadth and depth to the *Encyclopedia.*

August Comte's description of sociology as the ''queen'' of the social sciences seems to have been awakened in a new generation, and the relevance of sociology to the social and behavioral sciences has been renewed. We took seriously our obligation to improve the representation of the areas of sociology in this edition of the *Encyclopedia.* The *Encyclopedia* was greatly improved through the input of Advisory Editors and authors who identified new content areas and titles that should be included and indicated which titles could be eliminated or consolidated. Some provided comprehensive reviews of the *Encyclopedia's* scope and coverage, as well as reviews of the content of many individual articles. Suggestions for additional titles for the revised *Encyclopedia* accumulated to a list of over 80 concepts and themes, resulting in the addition of 66 new titles, but in addition some of the revised articles also included substantially new and expanded topics.

With the help of the Advisory Editors and quite a few authors, we reviewed articles and sectors of coverage to determine what changes would be important in a new edition. We distilled the major points of emphasis provided by reviews and user comments, and incorporated them into the guidelines for revision provide to authors.

Reflecting the kind of question that comes up so often in sociology doctoral exams, reviewers repeatedly asked us why a particular article was included in an encyclopedia of sociology. Authors who are expert in a particular subject area assume too frequently that readers will know their topic's relevance for sociology. To guard against this we asked authors to note the sociological relevance of the topic and to show how it fit into not only the scheme of sociological knowledge but also social and behavioral knowledge in general. As a consequence, most articles have been expanded.

Authors, experts in their fields, often concentrate on the knowledge and the issues within their field but do not give sufficient attention to the *practical value* of that knowledge, particularly how it is important for policy formation and in applications to everyday life. Of course, this is a comment often made about academic scholars in general, namely, that they sometimes forget that an important reason for research and the accumulation of knowledge is to provide bases for useful and informed applications.

Reviewers raised another theme. Articles often did a wonderful job of summarizing knowledge but did not indicate what to expect from future endeavors in the field. In other words, what areas need more attention in scholarship and research to expand the knowledge in a given field? While this kind of presentation is speculative, we reminded authors of the need to give direction for future work.

An additional theme for the revised edition is one that is temporally controlled. There is no way that references can provide more information than what already has been published. Updating content is important, but equally important is providing information about easily accessible general resources for those who want to go beyond the relatively brief discussions in the *Encyclopedia.* We reminded authors that the purpose of the reference section is to provide users with an opportunity to explore the area further. Academic scholars can too easily become exhaustive bibliographers. Thus, we asked authors to give special attention to providing direction rather than overwhelming the reader, and we are impressed that most authors have been extremely successful in this task. In addition to the work of the authors, the professional sociological staff of the *Encyclopedia* prepared for some article a short list of additional references to broaden the scope of coverage and provide additional transitions to related concepts. We updated and provided new references for 20 articles from the earlier edition of the *Encyclopedia.*

Finally, reviewers commented that some of the presentations in the first edition were too brief, and some topics were too narrowly drawn. Thus, some topics have been combined, some topics have been eliminated and the content incorporated into related broader articles, and many articles have been expanded to cover neglected aspects of a topic and to provide greater detail for a more well-rounded presentation. Thirty-nine titles were eliminated and incorporated into more substantial articles, but some additional titles were changed when the original topic was expanded. In summary, there were 370 articles in the original edition, 39 were eliminated and 66 new articles were added, resulting in 397 in this revised edition.

In short, we have greatly improved the breadth and depth of coverage in the *Encyclopedia,* and we have paid particular attention to those articles that relate to other social and behavioral sciences. We have substantially increased the content of the Encyclopedia in this edition, and we have made every effort to ensure that the content is current, accurate, and representative of the field.

EDGAR F. BORGATTA, *EDITOR-IN-CHIEF*

Acknowledgments

The revision of the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* began with the optimistic hope that following reasonably on the original edition it would turn out to be easier to do. It did not turn out that way, but for good reasons. With the support and encouragement of Elly Dickason, Macmillan Reference USA's Publisher, the research and development for the project was more extensive than anticipated. On this score, our debt to the Advisory Editors in providing broad reviews and suggestions can hardly be emphasized enough. Further, as we proceeded in inviting old and new authors it became apparent that the Encyclopedia was getting a great deal of use and authors provided guidance from their experience on directions for development. Our authors are, of course, truly responsible for the Encyclopedia, but in addition through much interaction they provided support that was both welcome and of enormous value.

Marie L. Borgatta was the managing editor for the original publication, and for this edition she requested a less demanding role as a consulting editor. It was a nice idea, but she inevitably became involved and delivered support in quantities and quality that can only be described as exploitation. Many ideas and innovations are due to her participation in the project. As Managing Editor for the revision, Rhonda J. V. Montgomery provided a work and intellectual partnership for the project that contributed enormously to the breadth and quality of the Revised Edition. Her initiatives kept the progress of the project smooth and on a reasonable schedule in spite of often unanticipated demands.

During the preparation of this Revised Edition, the Gale Group acquired Macmillan Reference USA, and production moved from New York to Michigan. This was done with only minimal loss of time and effort because of the planning and management of Elly Dickason, the Publisher, but also because in the New York office Timothy Prairie generated a very effective program for copyediting manuscripts and managing the records of progress. Of course, the shift to Michigan was obviously not effortless, but Linda Hubbard guided the project into the capable hands of Pamela Proffitt, who took on the mammoth task of making the Revised Edition of the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* a reality. The devoted efforts of the publisher's staff are greatly appreciated.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

"Social structure" is a general term for any collective social circumstance that cannot be altered by isolated actions and thus is fixed or given for the individual. It thus provides a context, environment, or fixed backdrop for action. The size of organizations, the distribution of activities in space, shared language, and the distribution of wealth all might be regarded as social structural circumstances that set limits on feasible activities for individuals.

Social structure is objective in the sense that it is the same for everyone and is beyond the capacity for alteration by any individual. Accordingly, social structure often is spoken of in the singular and as a thing apart, as if there were only one from whose effects no one can escape. This usage masks disagreement about the exact extension of the term but reflects the intention of authors to highlight abstract patterns as an inflexible collective circumstance to which individuals must adapt.

Social structure, or the weaker structural regularities, arises because of the prevalence of social routine. Many social patterns change very slowly either through unmotivated inertia, through willful efforts to renew or reproduce them, or as a collective consequence of individual efforts undertaken for independent reasons. An image or picture, such as a map colored by the linguistic practices of the inhabitants of geographic areas, will lose accuracy slowly and often would remain largely accurate after a century or more. Such substantial durability, along with the accompanying slow continuous change, suggests the possibility of regularities or even scientific laws governing the phenomena that underlie the description.

Routines endure and structural regularities persist for at least three general reasons. Social life is subject to physical constraints such as distance. Thus, most people live close to where they work or do both at one place. For related reasons, many persons maintain stable residences. Furthermore, many people need or desire the company or cooperation of representative social types, such as those who share their religious convictions, or particular work skills. Accordingly, one can associate social attributes with geographic maps. This was a central activity of the Chicago school of sociology (Park and Burgess 1924) and gave rise to the perspective of human ecology (Hawley 1986). The specialization of social types and activities in space is subject to powerful incentives that induce similarity in the face of turnover among individuals. For example, ethnic concentrations result in specialized facilities, such as food shops, that attract replacements that conserve the ethnic character. Such patterns often persist beyond the lifetimes of the people who initiated them.

A second source of routine is limited learning capacity or the complexity of many social activities. Linguistic rules, moral codes, and work skills illustrate social capacities whose acquisition requires considerable time and effort. This socialization often requires extended exposure to others who know the routines well, especially when the delicate skills of interpretation are involved.

The difficulties of acquiring capacity can confound individual wills. Bernstein (1975) described how linguistic conventions acquired in the home reflect the conditions of adult work and render individuals unsuited for occupations that are not similar to those of their parents. In the same way, a New Yorker who wished to speak in Latin would have to make a huge investment in learning a novel linguistic code. However, this would not undo the investment in English by other New Yorkers, and thus Latin would be impractical for directing taxi drivers. Similar reasons impel the adoption of the abrasive social style of New Yorkers by newcomers. The general principle is that most people must adapt to many surrounding ways of doing things because those ways change so slowly.

A third source of structural regularity is laws governing averages. An example is the suicide rates studied by Durkheim. People commit suicide for a variety of personal motives and the act is never repeated by anyone, yet the frequency of the act is fairly stable over time and thus is stably different among different populations. This is the case because variable causes tend to average into stable totals whenever many instances are drawn from constant underlying conditions. Many of the rates that result are sufficiently stable to sustain plans and projections, which in turn can be embedded in routines, even though the underlying activity is very complex in its detailed causation.

The several sources of stable routines underlie the properties that frequently are associated with proposed structural regularities. Structural regu-

larities often are depicted as abstract, enduring, and operative across a large scale of units. These attributes reflect genesis, for many structural regularities ultimately stem from the long historical process of imposing routines that made a large scale feasible. For example, Tilly (1975) shows how the modern European state resulted from parallel decisions by state makers forced by military competition to pursue centralization by reordering the established routines of ordinary people. The history of collective contention (Tilly 1986) can be seen as the efforts of the victims to defend older patterns against intrusions by state agents such as tax collectors and against the vast reorganization of work and fortune implicit in the expansion of capitalism.

Mann (1986) argues that large-scale cooperation rests on enduring patterns of power. For example, shared religious ideology is a form of power because it makes people subject to claims on their activity. Rapid religious change is not infrequently the result of conquest. Once it has been established, religion is often compulsory. Coercion aside, religious conformity can provide insurance against the risks and pains of social isolation. Other large-scale patterns, such as the division of labor, are maintained in the face of considerable shifting by persons among different roles. This often is implemented by powerful actors who are motivated to induce (or coerce) approximate substitutes to fill in for those who withdraw (or die). In such terms, abstract stability, a large scale, and consequent duration often can be seen to be sustained through underlying causal regularities. In human terms, the reproduction of social structure consists of a myriad of modest efforts that sum to a stable result.

This interdependence underlies the transcendence of abstract structural regularity over individual will. Generally, one cannot learn more than locally applicable routines and must rely on others for critical needs. Thus, one assumes that the staff members in the emergency room will not all take the day off. This frees accountants from the necessity of acquiring medical skill to meet their own needs. As a result, the details of actual routines are known only locally, and the only possible knowledge of the overall pattern is coarse or abstract. Even accountants cannot count up the details they must count on. A further implication is that the alternatives to enacting the routines with which one is familiar are often limited. It requires time on a historical scale to construct such a pattern. That history has happened, and if the conditions that made narrow, specialized learning practical suddenly came unglued most people would be in a terrible fix.

A special case of social routines consists of those worked out with others, who then are often hard to replace. Replacement is generally more troublesome as the duration is longer, such as many kinship bonds, which can be effectively irreplaceable for many adults. These social relations can be mapped as social networks describing the pattern of the links that surround individuals. The analysis of such patterns is not infrequently (or unreasonably) called ''structural analysis,'' though it hardly exhausts the term.

Elaborate routines, especially social ties, are subject to pressures toward isomorphy, which is defined as a common anatomy or structure. An example is the formation of families, which are different in detail but share common features partly in response to common problems that must be solved within a shared environment. Goode (1970) analyzes the sources and consequences of such regularities. In modern societies, assumptions about such features often are written into administrative procedures such as tax codes, which provide further impetus for individuals to adopt a variant of the pattern defined as normal. Changing and varied individual desires are often in conflict with those pressures to cooperate in the reproduction of the supposedly ''normal'' pattern.

Emergent properties that apply to wholes but not to parts often are attributed to social structure. Some properties, such as size distributions and complexity, do not have direct individual analogues. Others arise because the net result of many partially independent actions can be different from the intentions of individuals. Thus, markets with many participants can experience crashes in value when many people try to sell in anticipation that others are about to do so, producing a result that no one desires. Kindleberger (1980) describes the recurrence of such crises. Routines are executed by fallible humans and are only locally adapted, somewhat independent, and imperfectly flexible. Many properties of the resulting averages or combinations do not follow from the components in any simple sense.

As the preceding analysis suggests, structural visions are various. One unifying theme is an appeal to abstract, extraindividual patterns that change slowly or not at all. A second unifying theme is that those regularities cause or condition many of the choices and behaviors of individuals. A final common theme is less unifying than divisive. Some structural visions are accompanied by claims of centrality. A particular array of simple elements is proclaimed, often on metatheoretical or philosophic grounds, to be the central deep structure whose inevitable unfolding underlies a vast array of surface appearances. Such comprehensive views have inspired competing, incompatible schools of thought on whose behalf a claim is sometimes made to *the* structural vision of society or the human condition.

Most of these structural visions are comprehensive worldviews that require detailed study in their own right. Among the most prominent are those of Marx and Freud, but there have been structuralist movements in nearly every field of social studies. Nearly all proceed from some highly abstract characterization of the human mind, laws of thought, or the human condition. All of social or mental life is viewed as a manifestation of the reproduction of such elements, often unfolding dialectically. This is presented as the inevitable underpinnings of individual or collective biographies. Piaget (1970) has provided an unusually concise description of an interdisciplinary structuralism based on mathematical progress; this description parallels his more famous theory of discontinuous advancement in human cognitive development. Originators and their descendants often delight in such subtle and insightful reductions of familiar patterns to the chosen central supports.

The term ''structure'' is most commonly employed in sociology without these all-encompassing ambitions. In empirical sociology, especially quantitative studies based on random samples of persons, the term is invoked for varied efforts to use the larger and often more durable features of social life as explanatory factors for individual conduct and outcomes. The most common contrast is with individual-level causes, including attitudes and aspirations. Sometimes attributes such as race, gender, and class are labeled structural to imply that the underlying mechanism is an external force imposed on individuals independently of their wills.

The reasoning behind this is not always explicit, but the usage is justifiable. Generally, the factors labeled structural are alternatives among a differentiated array of possibilities to which individuals are confined for substantial periods. ''Structure'' then refers to the differentiating average conditions in which people live their lives. At least implicitly, such differences correspond to differences in the routines employed to adapt to local conditions as well as to resources that render routines practical. Classifying people by indicators of the local conditions that surround them reflects the opportunities they have for association and hence for processes such as influence, cooperation, and victimization. Some characterizations also correspond to labels, most notably race and gender, and broadly indicate common tendencies in routines of others to which one is likely to be exposed. Such differences are quite stable, impersonal, and hard to evade. Taken together, these differences in conditions contribute to differences in average responses or individual behaviors.

There is some confusion about the nature of such structural causation, which often is framed as an alternative explanation to individual choice. Persuasive force often comes from stories in which the predominant outcome is made to feel inevitable. This is at odds with the normal empirical result of a difference in tendency or proportion. Rules that hold without exception are rare. This should be expected. Structural abstractions mask much detail that varies. The implicit reference is to averages over multiple executions of complex routines. To take an obvious example, racial discrimination involving job applicants is not invariant but occurs often enough to lead to considerable differences.

Structural causes are not literally the antithesis of individual choice. More precisely, they reflect patterns over which individuals have limited control. The binding force of structural regularity is intrinsically probabilistic. People almost invariably have options, and exceptions to regularities are somewhere in reach. However, established structure—ultimately routines acquired over time, bonds developed to particular others, and the meshed ways of doing that result—exerts a frictional tug. Friction is implicit in the pain of for-

gone routines and the time required to work out new ones. Such pains may be amplified when those who benefit from regularities exert their power to maintain them. On any large scale, the path of least resistance consists of acting today nearly the same way as one acted yesterday. By no means does this rule out individual exceptions, resistance, or willful alterations to parts of the overall web, but friction is cumulative. For example, the rupture and replacement of one bond are quite different from the rupturing of all bonds at once. Similarly, any single person may change jobs, although in practice only to a very limited range of alternatives, yet if all jobs were randomly reshuffled one day, nearly all would go undone, for every job would be subject to the incompetence of the "first day on the job." In summary, the frictional forces of social structure do not rule out rare and/or modest exceptions but generally ensure that wholesale, simultaneous exceptions are rare to the vanishing point.

Empirical applications generally draw on fragments of social structure that are taken as conditioning factors for particular outcomes. The larger challenge is to translate the impersonal, durable complexity of stable differences in condition into a formal calculus, or a theory of social structure. Parsons's (1951) extensive analysis of the logic of social systems was an early and seminal attempt. His student Merton, under the banner of "theories of the middle range," provided a more easily applied set of general tools for structural analysis. Several of Merton's students, including Boudon, Blau, and Coleman, further developed formal calculi for social structure that benefit from the use of mathematical tools.

Parsons's complex system begins with the conditions for stabilizing interaction or, in current terms, meshing routines. Parsons characterizes the routines that govern choice as extended chains of logic linking means to ends. At their most abstract, those chains are anchored in ultimate ends, or values. Durable stability results from consensus on the values that are installed in individuals by more or less extended socialization.

In Parsons's view, the logical chains governing decision making are morally potent norms, or rules governing social conduct. The durable web that shapes individual choice is therefore the complex of norms animated by the anchoring ultimate values. Parsons imposes on this a logical calculus of the different functions necessary for ensuring that the pattern is resistant to shocks that draw it away from equilibrium. A concomitant of this theme of differentiation is complementary specialization in distinct but interdependent expectations bundled into the social roles enacted by different players.

Parsons's calculus of the functional necessities of meshing differentiated normative specifications proved widely compelling but difficult to apply. His presentation is notoriously hard to read. Applications of the scheme usually consisted of classifying normative elements into taxonomies delimiting functional contributions. These qualitative operations were by no means mechanical or easily communicated as a stable procedure that would steer different investigators to identical results. This rendered moot the possibility of generating conclusions from initial conditions through the application of formal tools. In a similar way, while many were inclined to agree that Parsons's system illuminated how a social system governed by a logic over normative rules might work, it was less than evident that concrete social systems had such logical coherence.

Merton's (1968) "theories of the middle range" provided a more readily applicable set of tools. Like Parsons, Merton proposed that the enduring regularities that make up social structure are normatively defined. However, instead of attempting to calculate over extended normative webs, he drew attention to the implications of positions. Thus, he emphasized that roles place individuals in relations with concrete others or that membership in groups, both present and anticipated, provides reference points for calculating comparisons of expectations and outcomes. Unlike Parsons's more elaborate concerns, Merton's lent themselves to the construction and interpretation of surveys and other manageable research projects.

Merton did not assume, as Parsons did, that norms and roles can be divined from an overarching logic. More frequently, he treated contrasting norms as empirical counterparts of lay distinctions among different roles or group memberships. This can be viewed as a central motivation for the common use of the structural concepts outlined above. However, Merton more often used factual (or readily inferred) norms grounded in different

stable positions to highlight dilemmas. Concrete people could be understood as facing practical problems of resolving competing and often contrary normative standards. This strategy of framing the practical problem as the resolution of contrary expectations frequently leads to insight into choices that at first seem senseless or even self-defeating.

Merton's analyses rested on qualitative inferences, often turning on the meaning of norms. One of Merton's students, Boudon (1982), provides formulations in which social structure refers to numerically definite distributions so that the implications of such extraindividual constraints emerge from formal calculations. For example, he posits an array of young persons committed to personal advancement who make investments in education. However, when all do what is individually sensible, the collective result illustrates Merton's unintended consequences. If there is a fixed and therefore scarce supply of desired positions that will go to those who have the most education, many of those who invest will discover that their efforts are frustrated by the simultaneous striving of others. Boudon provides many illustrations of the perverse effects that can obtain when individual motive operates against a backdrop of a fixed system of positions.

Another of Merton's students, Blau (1977), presents a deductive structural theory based on the notion that social structure consists of arrays of positions, which he calls parameters. Blau divides differentiation into two types: among unranked or nominal categories such as religion and among continuous arrays of ranked positions that differ in their amounts of a scarce and valued resource. The distribution of individuals over positions gives rise to numerical properties of whole social structures, including the heterogeneity of nominal differences, inequality among ranks, and consolidation intersection, or the degree of correlation independence of positions on separate dimensions.

Blau's concept of social structure leads to differences in the sizes of collections of individuals occupying different positions. Size in turn strongly conditions the rate of interaction, or social association. More differentiated structures result in higher rates of intergroup association, and Blau argues that this leads to the successful meshing of routines, or social integration. The intersection of different dimensions, which results in even smaller subgroups defined by multiple positions, also enhances social integration. Conversely, the consolidation of dimensions, homogeneity rather than heterogeneity, diminishes rates of intergroup contact and hence hinders social integration. Inequality emerges as a special case that illustrates Blau's taste for paradoxical results. Greater inequality leads to smaller strata and fosters intergroup relations, but those relations often take the form of interpersonal conflict, including crime (Blau and Blau 1982).

Blau's notions are particularly suitable for research application because his notion of structure more or less directly corresponds to widely used operationalizations such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, occupational rank, and wealth. Of course, these are social constructs and in some final analysis are defined by norms and other ideal elements. At the same time, they are for most people most of the time subject to slow or even no change. This sustains the usefulness of a numerical calculus that rests on the notion that size is an objective, impersonal, and durable reality.

Coleman (1990) provides one of the most ambitious attempts to specify social structure as a mathematically tractable map of interdependence. He posits actors with rights of control over their own actions and over tangible things desired by others or resources. His actors maximize the achievement of their desires by exchanging their control in return for that which others control. The result in general is an equilibrium in which initial control in conjunction with the desires of others produces differential power. Within this apparatus, Coleman is able to provide a rigorous analysis of the emergence of larger-scale phenomena, including groups, norms, and corporate actors.

Although all these accounts lie along a single path of intellectual descent, there is a major divide with respect to the elemental nature of social structure. For Parsons, it is an interdependent complex of norms. Unfortunately, there does not exist at present any way to formalize or calculate the mutual implications in a web of symbolic elements. Later analysts who have gone much farther in rendering complexity calculable have done so from "hard" assumptions that take social structure from the outset as a set of objective positions (with objective properties) so that size,

distribution, rates of exchange, and so forth, can be treated mathematically.

More recent treatments have built on the rich, although eclectic, tradition of taking relations or social ties that are knitted into networks as fundamental. One point of departure is Granovetter's (1973) observation that weak ties are surprisingly efficacious in securing resources, notably access to better jobs. Weak ties are most likely to form bridges between clusters of interconnected and thus redundant strong ties. Burt (1992) generalizes this, suggesting that "structural holes," or gaps spanned by positions whose ties unite the otherwise disconnected, are a potent source of advantage. He was able to display supporting evidence from contexts as diverse as executives competing for promotion and sectors of an industrial economy. Burt's concepts are derivative in the best sense; that is, they are a conceptual refinement that moves on to novel terrain, building on what he can take as an established view of social structure.

Tilly (1998) has distilled from network concerns a potent challenge to much received thinking about stratification. He proposes that "durable inequality" reverberates from underlying schemas governing how networks are formed. Categorical divisions such as race, gender, nationality, and citizenship are embedded in widely shared, deeply learned propensities for action, or routines. Recurrent organizational problems, such as assigning work and dividing rewards, are most easily and durably resolved when they are consonant with widely shared assumptions about categorical differences. Somewhat like Burt, Tilly focuses less on origins and more on implications. He examines how relational considerations secure inequalities through persistent configurations of exploitation and resource hoarding that are diffused by emulation and ultimately underpinned by adaptation. In this view, social structure is not globally coherent or uniform but is, somewhat like DNA, a complex melange constructed from varying combinations of a few very simple elements.

A noteworthy gap here is that the proponents of formal theory (and those proposing building blocks) tend to posit or assume "hard" properties, giving limited attention to how or why the hypothesized elementary patterns emerged or became predominant. This leaves open issues of variability and interpretive options (or meaning) that others see as fundamental. Indeed, some authors believe that human judgment is distinctive and that no mechanical analogue or simulation of human society (Habermas 1987) or human cognition, (Penrose 1989) will ever be possible.

In summary, there are no widely accepted sets of notions that capture all the properties that have been seen as fundamental to the concept of social structure. The huge catalogue of demonstrated effects of structural regularities cannot be organized in a tidy way. Enthusiasm for the different attempts to represent the concept in compact terms varies widely. Sufficiently close attention to the details of competing claims could convince one that no shared subject is really at issue. As in the analysis of social structure itself, it is necessary to carefully select the right degree of abstraction and appropriate pattern of highlighting to discern any common pattern in the competing pictures, but there is nevertheless a pattern to be found.

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SOCIAL VALUES AND NORMS

Values and norms are evaluative beliefs that synthesize affective and cognitive elements to orient people to the world in which they live. Their evaluative element makes them unlike existential beliefs, which focus primarily on matters of truth or falsehood, correctness or incorrectness. Their cognitive element makes them unlike motives that can derive from emotions or psychological drives. Values and norms involve cognitive beliefs of approval or disapproval. Although they tend to persist through time and therefore faster continuity in society and human personality, they also are susceptible to change (Moss and Susman 1980; Alwin 1994).

The evaluative criteria represented in values and norms influence the behavior of subject units at multiple levels (e.g., individuals, organizations, and societies) as well as judgments about the behavior of others, which also can influence behavior. For example, values and norms affect the evaluation of individuals as suitable marriage partners and in that way influence marital behavior. Values and norms also affect evaluation of the governing policies and practices of societies and thus have an impact on diplomatic relations and the policies of one society's government toward other societies.

CONCEPT OF A VALUE

A value is a belief about the desirability of a mode, means, or end of action (Kluckhohn 1951; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987). It indicates the degree to which something is regarded as good versus bad. A value tends to be general rather than specific, transcending particular types of action and situations. As a general evaluative criterion, it is used to assess specific behaviors in specific situations.

The evaluative criteria represented by values derive from conceptions of morality, aesthetics, and achievement. That is, a mode, means, or end of action can be regarded as good or bad for moral, aesthetic, or cognitive reasons and often for a combination of those reasons (Kluckhohn 1951; Parsons and Shils 1951). For example, being considerate of others may be valued positively (i.e., be viewed as desirable or good) for moral reasons, neatness may be valued positively for aesthetic reasons, and intelligence may be valued positively for cognitive reasons. Since the distinguishing characteristic of a value is evaluation as good or bad, a value that has a cognitive basis is a function of cognitive appraisal based on competency and achievement rather than on scientific or utilitarian grounds. For example, the choice of steel rather than iron to construct a building is a decision based on scientific or utilitarian criteria rather than on values.

The concept of a value must be differentiated from other concepts that appear to be similar. One of those concepts is a preference. A value may be thought of as a type of preference, but not all preferences are values. The distinctive characteristic of a value is that it is based on a belief about what is desirable rather than on mere liking. A preference for an equitable rather than inequitable distribution of rewards is a value, but a preference for vanilla rather than chocolate ice cream is not.

The concept of a value also bears some similarity to the concept of an attitude. Some analysts have suggested that a value is a type of attitude (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Glenn 1980), but there are differences between the two concepts. An attitude refers to an organization of several beliefs around a specific object or situation, whereas a value refers to a single belief of a specific kind: a belief about desirability that is based in conceptions of morality, aesthetics, or achievement and transcends specific behaviors and situations. Be-