Social Change

In this chapter, you will learn about:

- **modern and traditional societies**
- **theories of social change**
- **factors that influence social change**

The time: Imagine the beginning of the 21st century, anywhere in the world. Joanie is feeling a bit bored and a little lonely, too, if the truth be told. She sits at her computer, cruising the information highway and looking for something that will pique her interest. Suddenly, she has an idea. She will start her own country! She'll declare herself President—or Monarch—or Dictator—and make up all the rules. Then she'll invite people to become citizens of her country. What fun!

As bizarre as the idea sounds, it's something that is already happening. Virtual communities are springing up every day. How will these societies influence "real" societies with "real" geographies, economies, politics, and citizens? How will this social change mix with other social changes?

This chapter explores how and why social change occurs. Various theories of social change and the factors that influence it are examined. Finally, the roles people might play as society moves into the future are explored.

Explaining Social Change

Social change occurs when there is a significant shift in the patterns of social and cultural behavior, relationships, institutions, and systems.

Change in a world where there are more than 6 billion individuals is clearly complex. Sociologists have a number of different approaches to understanding how and why social change takes place.

Traditional and Modern Societies

Much social change has taken place as societies have moved from traditional ways of life to the highly technological ways of the modern world.

Traditional Societies

Society in much of the developing world is traditional. In the agricultural communities, life is based on the rhythmic cycles of nature such as day and night and the changing seasons of the year. Spiritual values and cooperation among community members keep the society functioning smoothly. Ancestors and families are also important. People tend to look to the past for wisdom rather than to modern experts. Daily work is done as it has always been done. Decisions are made based on tradition.

In most of these societies, people have little opportunity to improve their lives economically. When goods are traded, the trade is part of the personal relationships between those who make the exchange. A traditional society tends to remain unchanged over long periods of time.

Modern Society

A modern society, in sociological terms, is one that has moved from an agricultural to an industrial focus. Its time orientation is linear and progressive rather than cyclical. Values of efficiency and productivity are added. Formal organizations rather than family units predominate. There is a rational-scientific basis to decision making.

Modernization is the process of change from a traditional to a modern society. Some sociologists argue that modern societies have lost tradition and with it the feeling that members are a part of something larger and have the ability to live in harmony with nature. However, societies such as India and Japan have undergone significant modernization and yet have maintained and, in some cases, strengthened, their traditional cultures.

Types of Social Change

Social change can be examined by asking questions such as:

* What are the differences between the original society and the one into which it has changed?
* When societies change, do they become more like each other or more different?
* What is the difference between large, systemwide changes and smaller, more rapid social changes?

Each of these questions has been addressed by sociologists.

Convergence or Divergence

As traditional societies become more industrialized, do they become like modern societies? **Two** theories pose opposite answers:

1. **Convergence** theorists say modernization will eventually erase cultural differences. Societies will come together—will converge—to produce a global society. They argue that norms and values change with major changes in technology and that exposure to Western technology and lifestyles will cause non-Western cultures to adopt Western values. They see the leadership in developing countries changing and expect that those who understand new technologies will gain economic advantages and will become a new "elite."

2. **Divergence** theorists point to the growing conflicts between Western and non-Western cultures. They argue that modernization will not override cultural differences. They note the ways in which some Muslim societies protect their culture from Western influence. In Saudi Arabia, for example, movies and dancing are forbidden, Western publications are censored, and Islamic law is rigidly enforced. Some countries reject the idea of a "global village" and see the incursion of Western fast-food franchises and theme parks as a form of "cultural imperialism."

Societies that are not hostile to the West, such as South Korea and Taiwan, however, have modernized and yet retained their unique cultures. They are very different societies from ours.

Macro- versus Micro- Social Change

Macro-change characterizes the gradual alterations in a society as it shifts from simple to more complex. These changes affect the entire society and occur over one or more generations. Some examples of macro-changes include:

* The shift from hunter-gatherer societies to agricultural societies.
* Industrialization.
* Modernization.
* The shift from an industrial economy to an information and services economy.

Micro-changes occur within small social institutions such as the family or a business. They are based on day-to-day situations. Although they may appear insignificant, these changes accumulate and eventually affect society as a whole. One example is the use of personal computers, which started very slowly in the 1970s. Today, at least in the Western world, it may be difficult for a person not to use something created or controlled by computer technology.

Some people look forward to change, and others fear it. Every society changes in its own way and its own time; it cannot help but move toward its future. The culture, traditions, and institutions currently in place in a given society both enable and limit the types of social change that can occur. In a country such as the United States where there is freedom of speech, social movements arise much more easily than in countries where it is dangerous to speak against the government or important people.

Theories of Social Change

The sociological perspectives you have been studying have application to macro-change at the societal level because it encompasses change in all social institutions. Sociologists have developed a number of specific theories to describe how and why social change occurs.

Functionalist Perspective

Functionalists assert that changes in society take place to maintain harmony in the social order. Society shifts in whatever way is necessary to maintain balance or equilibrium and stay on course. These changes take place gradually.

Functionalists use **three** different metaphors to further explain these changes:

1. **Functional Evolution.**
   Influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution, early sociologists proposed that societies evolve through stages from simple to complex. Such change is a unilinear process—one that "progresses" in one direction through stages, such as savagery, barbarism, and civilization.

   Auguste Comte referred to these stages as:

   * *Theological:* Society is governed by spiritual explanations and such notions as the divine right of kings.

   * *Metaphysical:* Such concepts as the social contract, the equality of persons, and popular sovereignty describe people's relationship to government.

   * *Positivist:* People take a scientific approach to political organization. Comte envisioned the ultimate society governed by a scientific elite using the methods of science to solve human problems and improve social conditions. He argued that this final stage was the most evolved, the ultimate stage of human development.

   Herbert Spencer argued that the survival of societies, as well as that of organisms, depended on their ability to adapt to a changing environment. Spencer believed that industrialized societies were better adapted to 19th-century conditions, and therefore were more "advanced." Spencer also supported the idea that more "civilized" societies had a moral duty to help more "primitive" societies advance.

   Ferdinand Tönnies disagreed that industrialization was the ultimate stage of development. Modern societies might offer people more opportunities and material wealth, but these benefits are offset by an increased sense of isolation and powerlessness that could lead to disenchantment and the decline of the society.

   Emile Durkheim argued that economic competition could lead to chaos. According to Durkheim, society would evolve from mechanical to organic solidarity. This transformation would maintain social order.

Neo-evolutionists have replaced the simplistic linear progression of society from one stage to the next with a more complex evolutionary theory. **Neo-evolutionary theory** argues that:

* The level of social complexity increases with the degree of **social differentiation:** As family, politics, economy, and religion become increasingly separate entities, society becomes more complex.

* There are many different ways in which society can develop and change. There is no "ultimate" state that is superior to others.

* **Gerhard and Jean Lenski** suggest that, rather than being a "natural" process through which all societies become transformed, social change is precipitated by such external forces as technology, population changes, and new ideologies.

* Change does not necessarily mean improvement.

2. Cyclical Theory.

Other functionalists describe social change as moving through cycles, not proceeding on a straight line.

Oswald Spengler, a German historian, believed that societies, like organisms, go through cycles of birth, adolescence, maturity, old age, and eventual death. He found examples to support his ideas in the decline and fall of the great empires of Rome, Greece, and Egypt.

Although sociologists found Spengler's ideas lacking in scientific proof, his cyclical theory influenced later theoreticians.

Arnold Toynbee, a British historian, agreed with the idea of the rise and fall of societies, but disagreed that such movements were part of a natural process. Toynbee proposed that social change resulted from environmental challenges. The way in which people dealt with the challenges influenced the direction in which the society moved. Toynbee suggested that the severity of the challenge is important. For example, when food is plentiful, the challenge is mild, humans can become complacent, and civilization declines. However, a severe food shortage may either strengthen or destroy the civilization. Toynbee argued that a moderate challenge produced the greatest stimulation to growth and change.

We cannot measure the severity of a challenge until it is over. Nonetheless, many sociologists feel Toynbee's theory helps people understand past events.
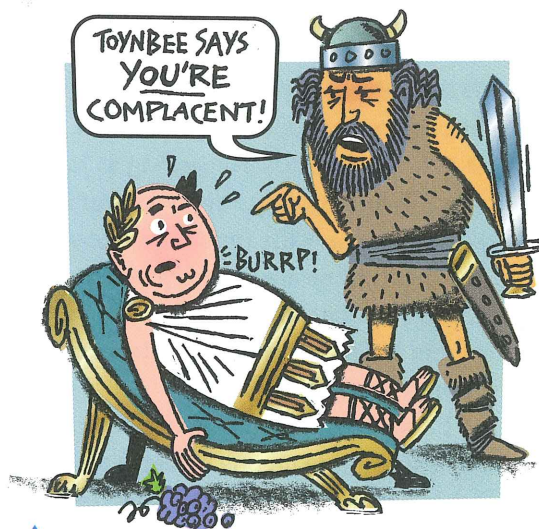
The End of Roman Civilization

Pitirim Sorokin, a Russian sociologist, theorized that society fluctuates between two opposing forms of culture. Similar to the traditional and modern society and the first and last of Comte's stages, the forms are:

* **Ideational culture**, in which faith or religion is the source of knowledge, and people value a spiritual life.

* **Sensate culture**, in which scientific evidence is the source of knowledge, and people value a practical, materialistic life.

Sorokin introduced a new concept, the **principle of imminent change**—the idea that a shift from one form of culture to another occurs when sufficient forces build within the society itself. Like Toynbee's theory, Sorokin's is more easily applied "after the fact."

3. **Equilibrium Theory.**
Rather than describing social change as linear or cyclical, one U.S. sociologist theorized that change occurs in an effort to keep balance within the society.

Talcott Parsons pointed to the importance of social institutions in the change process. According to his **equilibrium theory**, every institution in society has specific functions. Because the institutions are interdependent, a change in one evokes changes in the others in order to maintain the equilibrium of the society.

Parsons proposed that society, rather than shifting from one extreme to the other or through various stages, is constantly seeking balance.

EXAMPLE: Rising prices in the economic sector cause a shift in family structure as both parents seek employment. This in turn produces a need for more child-care services. The government gets involved through tax benefits and increased services. Similar changes in various social institutions occur in a constant attempt to maintain a harmonious social order.

Critics of equilibrium theory say that, while it takes an integrated look at the roles played by various social institutions, it doesn't explain revolutionary change. In addition, it tends to characterize societies as more stable and harmonious than they really are.
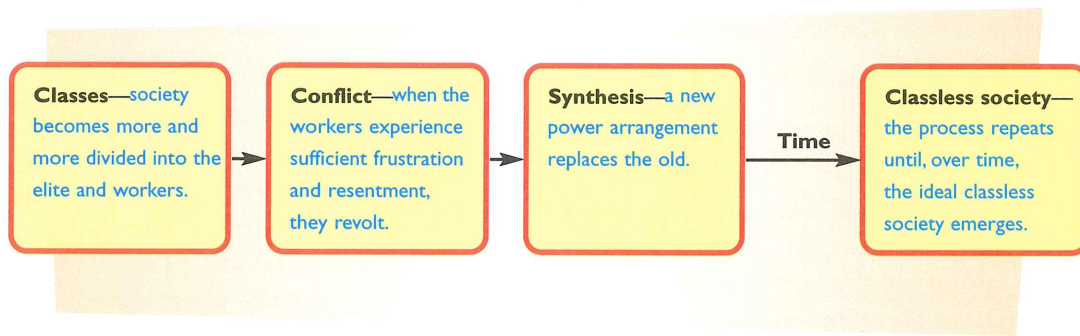
Conflict Perspective

Rather than focusing on the harmonious functioning of society and its institutions, conflict theorists emphasize the role of conflict, tension, and strain as sources of social change. These arise among individuals, groups, states, and, particularly, among social classes.

Karl Marx shared some of the ideas of the functionalists in explaining social change. He agreed that:

* Societies have to adapt to a changing world to survive.
* Social change is linear, proceeding in one direction.
* Societies move from simple to complex—in his model, from a class to a classless society.

Marx's Theory of Revolutionary Change

Classes—society becomes more and more divided into the elite and workers.	→	**Conflict**—when the workers experience sufficient frustration and resentment, they revolt.	→	**Synthesis**—a new power arrangement replaces the old.	**Time** →	**Classless society**—the process repeats until, over time, the ideal classless society emerges.

The diagram above describes how Marx thought the evolution to a classless society would occur.

Marx wrote in the mid-1800s. He did not anticipate the rise of a large middle class or the ways in which governments have worked to improve the status of workers. Later conflict theorists broadened Marx's approach by adding social conflicts, such as conflicts over race and religion, to the economic conflict that interested Marx.

Interactionist Perspective

Interactionists view social change in terms of how people's self-images and social interactions change as a result of major shifts in society.

In a traditional society, self-image and roles are determined by an individual's family, ancestors, and the collective needs of the society. Because little value is placed on acquiring power or wealth, the way people interact is natural and informal, as in primary groups (see Chapter 3).

In a modern society, where individual achievement is a fundamental value, people are expected to define their own roles. There is more uncertainty than in a traditional society, so people may be less self-confident. Their interactions outside of close friends and family are tentative and more formal.

The change from an industrial to an information-based society has raised new issues of identity and created new ways to interact. New tools, such as computers and the Internet, hold much interest for interactionist sociologists. The social networks open to individuals with access to these have no national borders. Communicating across age, gender, and social class barriers is facilitated because we cannot "see" the people we chat with or send e-mail messages to. New symbols are added to our language.

Will these tools break down social barriers? Most certainly they will. Will people erect new ones? Many sociologists worry that the biggest barrier is the economic one that keeps such tools out of the reach of many.

Virtual Communities

Worldwide, at any hour of the day or night, over 100,000 people are "talking" on-line. The Internet gives sociologists a laboratory for studying society in the making.

The Internet allows people to create their own social environments. For some, the fact that others in the community don't know who they "really" are is important. They use nicknames. They create themselves anew.

For others, the opportunity to connect with others who share a particular passion or need is their goal. Parents of a child with a disease so rare there are only 20 others in the country can find each other on the Internet. They can share ideas about how to cope with the problems their children face undergoing treatment. They can give each other moral support.

Virtual communities arise around issues, ideas, and common interests. Hobbyists discuss tools and techniques, activists organize social movements, scientists discuss their latest findings, and game players take part in ongoing tournaments. Just as in "real" society, friendships are maintained, power struggles and reasoned arguments take place. Norms have developed to control those who abuse the medium.

The emerging culture responds to the same pressures and achieves the same successes and failures as any other culture.

Because a virtual community can change rapidly, interactionists find it a useful tool for investigating society.

Comparing Perspectives

Each sociological perspective on social change offers insight into particular types of change. Each also has its limitations:

* Evolutionary theory provides little help in understanding internal social changes, such as political changes.
* Cyclical theories apply to many Western cultures but less well to societies in other parts of the world.
* Functionalist theories focus on stability and tend to ignore conflict.
* Conflict theories focus almost exclusively on economic strain and ignore other factors, such as technology.
* Interactionist theory provides little help in understanding macro-changes.

Several theorists have attempted to integrate the views, such as introducing tensions into the functionalist perspectives or describing the functions of conflict. As yet, no comprehensive theory of social change has emerged.

Causes of
Social Change

A variety of factors influence change. Natural disasters produce unplanned changes. Technological change can totally transform society. Economic factors can produce fads, which are short-term, or the rise of capitalism, which is a relatively permanent change.

The Physical Environment

The economy and much of the culture of a society are shaped by its geography. If something happens to change the physical environment, the society must change in response. Floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, and earthquakes all have the potential to destroy the economy of a society. Cities, such as the ancient Greco-Roman city of Pompeii, have been eliminated by natural disaster.

Global warming is of concern to society in general. If, as some predict, Earth's atmosphere warms sufficiently to melt polar ice, sea levels will rise and coastal communities will be destroyed. Natural habitats will change, and some species will not survive. Changes in temperature will result in changes in precipitation and growing seasons. Such changes will affect the trade of food and other resources among countries and have the potential to influence the population of the entire planet, not just single communities or societies.

Population Changes

Rapid changes in population size or make-up can place great pressure on society to change. There are **four** main demographic events that can lead to change.

1. **Population Growth.** Depending on the wealth and resources of a society, population growth can produce anything from a great weakening of society to rapid social improvements.
   EXAMPLES: The rapid growth in population in Bangladesh combined with the country's inability to produce sufficient food led to the starvation of millions of people. The baby boom in the United States during the 1940s led to an expansion of educational facilities.

2. **Loss of Population.** Decreasing population or population growth that is too slow may threaten a society because there are too few workers to perform the necessary jobs.
   EXAMPLE: In Montana, there are few opportunities for technological employment in many communities. Graduates interested in those positions have to move to find jobs. As a result, the communities cannot attract many businesses because they lack a skilled work force.

3. **Migration.** Movement of people forces changes in social institutions.
   EXAMPLE: The immigration of workers and their families from Mexico to the United States has increased pressure on U.S. institutions, such as schools. It has also challenged norms regarding the status and rights of illegal aliens. The

question of whether or not such individuals should be granted driver's licenses, for instance, is debated as society questions whether public safety is not more important than immigration law.

4. **Age Distribution Change.** An increase in the number of older or younger people in society can shift the emphasis of social programs.

   EXAMPLE: In the United States, changing age demographics have made Social Security and the cost of health care hot topics in political campaigns.

Social Structure

Conflict among competing members of society can lead to social change. The revolutionary wars in France and Russia arose out of conflicts between social classes. Following the wars, both societies changed radically.

In the United States, a social structure that included slaves was the argument over which the Civil War was fought. Out of it came major social change—no one was enslaved any longer; former slaves and their descendants moved into all strata of society.

Other changes growing out of conflict between groups occupying different places in the social structure include the gains won by the Women's Suffrage Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. While the social structure works to perpetuate itself, in democracies, severe strain among different groups generally leads to social change.

The Role of Technology

Since the invention of the wheel and the discovery of fire, technology has been responsible for tremendous social change. In just the 20th century, the world accessible to humans grew to the moon and beyond.

The invention of the automobile transformed society, enabling people to work at a distance from their homes and to develop social relationships with those whom they otherwise might never have met.

Other technological developments that created pervasive social change include the:

* Printing press.
* Cotton gin.
* Steam engine.
* Camera.
* Assembly line.
* Electricity.
* Telegraph and telephone.
* Airplane.
* Nuclear reactor.
* Television.
* Computer.

New technologies in genetic engineering, wireless communication, biotechnology, and electronics offer the promise (or the threat) of even more profound changes. Potential changes range from the ability to feed more people and improve health to having a society where corporations know the brand-name preferences of every citizen and governmental agencies know their whereabouts at all times.
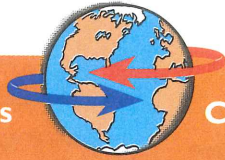
How the Axe Changed a Society

Sometimes, it takes a very small advance in technology to create a very large social change.

The first white people who encountered the aborigines of Australia were amazed at the hard stone axes they produced. The stone came from only one area, and the men controlled the making and use of the axes, passing the knowledge down from father to son.

When the missionaries gave the aborigines steel axes, the women no longer needed to ask permission to use an axe. They could have their own axes. As a result, men lost both power and status in the society.

Modernization and Economic Development

The economic development that brings modernization is ongoing in the developing countries of the world. Different theorists have tried to explain what is needed for the process to work successfully:

* *Modernization theorists* say that developing countries need democratic institutions, money for development, and an economic system that encourages personal initiative among its citizens. All these are lacking in many countries.

* *Dependency theorists* maintain that the industrialized nations of the world must take responsibility for improving conditions in the developing countries. They argue that the success of industrialized countries has come at the expense of poorer countries. Resources were taken and cheap labor was exploited, first from the colonialism of the 19th and early 20th centuries and later through the activities of big businesses.

* *Marxist theorists* focus on the class structure of developing countries and the appropriation of resources by the dominant class. Often, those in charge use a community's resources for their own personal gain. When the resources of a country are not properly used, the society stagnates and fails to modernize.

Human Action

Another factor in social change is the actions of individuals, either alone or in groups. In the history of the world, there have been any number of individuals who played a very large role in social change:

* Julius Caesar.
* Harriet Beecher Stowe.
* Karl Marx.
* Adolph Hitler.
* Martin Luther King, Jr.
* Add your favorites here.

While recognizing their contributions to social change, sociologists maintain that such individuals were products of their social and cultural environments. Their actions may have gone unnoticed had other factors not been present in society. The American patriot Patrick Henry stirred people with his "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech when the colonies were on the brink of war. Many found him a downright nuisance during peacetime. Revolutionary social change requires some major strain in the fabric of society.

Social movements are a major factor in social change. From revolutions to activism on local issues, collective action works to change society. Social change, like any activity humans engage in together, takes leaders. But it would not happen without the group of people who together share a different vision of society.

The Processes of Social Change

Sociologist William Ogburn proposed **three** processes that produce change:

1. **Invention** occurs when existing elements are combined to provide new ones. Invention is not only technological. Social inventions include bureaucracies and corporations.

2. **Discovery** involves a new way of seeing reality. Discovery produces social change only when other conditions are right. Viking Leif Eriksson's "discovery" of the North American continent preceded Columbus, but Viking settlements disappeared and the native populations remained largely unchanged. Not until Columbus did the huge transformation we call the Columbian Exchange begin to take place.

3. **Diffusion** is the spread of an invention or discovery throughout society. Diffusion also includes the spread of ideas, values, and social institutions. Ogburn maintained that cultural and social institutions in a society are slower to change than technology. He called this "cultural lag."

We can look at the introduction of the computer into the social institution of education to see an example of how cultural change lags behind technological change. While educators were quick to put computers into the schools, the uses of those computers mirrored the way teaching was traditionally done. Computers were primarily used for drill and practice. Computer

An End to Privacy?

People have grown accustomed to seeing security cameras in stores and remotely controlled cameras in offices. Such surveillance makes some people feel more secure. However, few people realize the degree to which personal privacy has become a thing of the past—thanks to technology.

* Grocery chains determine your buying habits when you check out. If you use a store's membership card to get discounts on your purchases, chances are good the store will sell information about you to other businesses.

* If you make a donation to a candidate for a national office or to a political action committee, your name, address, employer, and job title are by law reported to the Federal Election Commission and are published on their web site. Right-to-privacy advocates point out this information could be abused by an employer in making hiring or promotion decisions.

* When you cruise the web, the sites you visit are monitored and recorded. The next time you're on, ads pop up for products in which your "profile" suggests you are interested. If you actually register on a site, you have released even more information about yourself into the public domain.

The people who develop and use these technologies argue that they are providing services or acting in the public interest. There is no guarantee, however, that the technology won't be used by less scrupulous people. Hackers who have broken into highly secured government and business computers have shown us how difficult it is to protect our privacy.
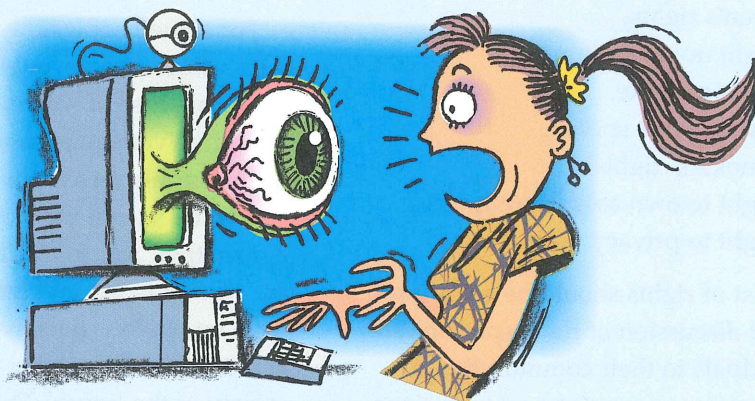
classes involved programming and such basic skills as how to use a mouse, a word-processing program, or floppy disks. The unique possibilities the computer offered to the process of learning—as a tool to let students investigate the world outside the classroom, as a tool to use in developing interactive projects, as a tool for exchanges with students and others around the world—were not tapped until much later.

The Future Is Now

When it comes to social change, the future is now. Ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, environmental movements in the United States, and unrest in other parts of the world are all evidence of ongoing change.

As societies modernize, people become more focused on individual rights. The news is filled with demands for:

* Human rights.
* Civil rights.
* Criminals' rights.
* Victims' rights.
* The rights of the unborn.
* Children's rights.
* The right not to go hungry.
* The right to strike.
* The right of free speech.
* Nonsmokers' rights.
* The right to own assault weapons.
* The right to privacy.

Any list of rights should be accompanied by a discussion of the responsibilities of individuals to their communities, to their countries, and to future generations.

The choices that people make today cannot help but influence the future. Among those choices is the role that each of us will play in society.

Individuals play **four** different roles in social change.

1. **Supporters** actively participate in social movements, from taking on leadership roles to volunteering their services, making contributions, engaging in letter writing, and helping with fund-raising.

2. **Resisters** oppose changes that violate their value systems or that threaten their present sense of security. They may use any of the same methods that supporters use.

3. **Passives** have no interest in change, but they do not actively fight it either. They are generally satisfied with society as it is. They ignore the processes of change that occur around them.

4. **Adaptives** are also indifferent to change and have neither strong resistance nor strong support for it. However, unlike passives, they do not ignore it; they adapt to it. They "go with the flow."

For some people, only a direct attack on their values or an event that threatens their personal sense of well being can trigger their involvement in social change. Others have a highly developed social conscience and take a global view of change. They recognize their role in the larger society and are willing to get involved, even when they have no obvious personal stake in an issue. What role will you play in creating the society of the future? The choice is yours.

Something to Think About

If the 600 million people in the world are represented by a group of 100 people, then:

* 60 are Asian.
* 12 are Europeans.
* 5 are North American.
* 8 are from Latin America.
* 13 are Africans.

The April 1997 issue of *Women's Press* reported further that:

* 51 are females, 49 are males.
* 70 are non-white.

* 70 are non-Christian; 30 are Christian.
* 17 live in industrialized countries.
* 6 individuals control 50 percent of the world's wealth—all Americans.
* The richest 20 would consume 86 percent of the world's goods and services.
* The poorest 20 would consume about 1.3 percent of the world's goods and services.
* 70 are unable to read.
* 50 suffer from malnutrition.
* 1 is near death and 1 is about to be born.
* And only 1 would have a college education.

Chapter 16 Wrap-up
SOCIAL CHANGE

Societies are constantly in a state of change, although not at the same rate or in the same direction. Types of social change include convergence, divergence, macro-change, and micro-change. Sociologists have proposed a number of theories to explain how change occurs, including functionalist theories—evolutionary, cyclical, equilibrium; conflict theories of social and economic tensions; and the interactionist theories that examine individual roles and relationships.

Social change is influenced by the physical environment, population shifts, conflict, technology, and economics as well as by individuals and groups.
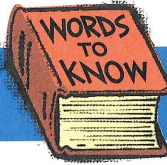
convergence theory—sociological theory that through modernization societies will come together and be more alike than they were before it. *p. 301*

divergence theory—sociological theory that modernization will not override cultural differences. *p. 301*

equilibrium theory—Talcott Parsons's theory that social change is a result of the interdependence of social institutions. *p. 304*

ideational culture—culture with faith or religion as the source of knowledge. People value a spiritual life. *p. 304*

macro-change—gradual alterations in an entire society that take place as it shifts from simple to more complex. Macro-change takes place over several generations. *p. 301*

micro-change—change within small social institutions, such as the family or a business. Cumulatively, micro-changes affect society as a whole. *p. 301*

modernization—process of change from a traditional to a modern society. *p. 300*

neo-evolutionary theory—sociological theory about how societies become more complex with an increase in social differentiation. *p. 303*

principle of imminent change—Pitirim Sorokin's idea that a shift from one form of culture to another occurs when sufficient forces build within the society itself. *p. 304*

sensate culture—culture where scientific evidence is the source of knowledge. People value a practical and materialistic life. *p. 304*

social change—significant shift in the patterns of social and cultural behavior, relationships, institutions, and systems. *p. 300*

social differentiation—in functionalist neo-evolutionary theory, the increasing specialization of different systems within a society that occurs with modernization. Thus the institution of family becomes separate from that of the world of work, for instance. *p. 303*

unilinear process—change that proceeds in one direction through different stages. *p. 302*