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Review

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vary a lot with the weather, and whether the German football team has won or lost. And why do people claim to be so happily married if many of them will shortly be divorced? (2) Statistical analyses, even with LISREL, cannot show causation, unless measures at more than one point in time are made. This has rarely been done; an exception is the Abbey and Andrews chapter. Inglehart and Rabier make causal inferences from answers to questions about recent changes in financial situations. (3) The mainly demographic variables used here can account for only about eight percent of the variance—age, sex, social class, and race, which are the main variables considered in this book. (4) There is almost no theory or explanation, apart from the goalachievement gap, that is irrelevant to most of the best predictors of happiness—social relationships, work, and so on. There are other theories of well-being, including physiological accounts of positive moods, the social psychology of nonverbal communication and close relationships, cognitive theories (adaptation and comparison), effects of objective satisfaction and positive life events, and individual differences-e.g., in extraversion.

I suggest that this great research machine needs a change of direction, and some new ideas: Social support is one of the key sources of happiness, and it does receive some mention here. Sutton and Kahn offer a general theory of social support in terms of prediction, understanding, and control, but there is nothing about friends, marriage, or kin, and how they provide the particular benefits that they do. Job satisfaction is found to be a good predictor of happiness, though less important than social relationships. The only mention of job satisfaction is in a short chapter by Michalos reviewing the Michigan research on this topic; some of the main causes of job satisfaction are not mentioned—intrinsic satisfaction, pay, status, working groups, and personality. Leisure receives almost no mention, though it has been shown (at Michigan) that it is more important than work for many people. Personality differences get very little mention apart from internal control; extraversion is a much stronger predictor, and such other factors as attributional style and ruminations are also impor-

This book is essential reading for those interested in sociological and demographic aspects of quality of life, but less so for those who want to know its real causes or explanation, which seem to lie mainly in personality properties in social relationships and in the intrinsic satisfaction from work and leisure. It could be read by graduate and final year students with profit. It is well written and presented.

Social Change and the Life Course, edited by GAYNOR COHEN. London: Tavistock, 1987. 248 pp. \$14.95 paper.

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This edited volume, the outcome of a series of seminars for British senior civil servants, explores the life course implications of social change in England. Its publication marks an effort among British social scientists to apply the life course approach to the understanding of human behavior. Under the theme of relating biographical and subjective perceptual processes to broader structural changes in British society, each contributor examines a specific topical connection between the individual and the family (or the household), and then explores that relationship within the context of wider society. There is differential success across chapters in achieving this objective, but the few successes are worth the read.

Gaynor Cohen's introduction, "The Economy, the Family, and the Life Course," alerts us to a number of issues: we consistently use biography to judge or analyze the behavior of others; adulthood, where interpersonal relationships have primacy over biological development, now has numerous substages elaborated by states of divorce, remarriage, and cohabitation; and, changing career structures and labor market experiences (such as parttime work) interact with gender in unique ways, which generate inequality and differential life course trajectories for men and women. One gains insights from this chapter as to how biography, often presumed to be fixed by objective life experience, can be socially constructed and socially negotiated.

Jacqueline Burgoyne's chapter, "Change, Gender, and the Life Course," is the best in the book. This chapter provides a fruitful exploration of the embeddedness of the life course in the social construction of gender, with occasional excursions into the interaction REVIEWS 401

of life course, gender, and social class. Thus, where gender differences may exist, class can take precedence in explaining divisions and diversity of life experience. In Burgoyne's words, "Although many of the effects of class inequality become apparent at an early age they do not generally affect one sex more than other. However, class-based differences in child-rearing and educational patterns are likely to deepen gender division in some instances" (p. 43). Gender, on the other hand, may reclaim primacy through the impact of anticipated sex-linked life patterns, foreclosing options for the future. Finally, women's and men's lives are not simply organized differently, they differentially make sense of their past biography. Thus, prospectively and retrospectively, their biographies can assume unique text and form.

The impact of class' interacting with gender, as conceptualized by Burgoyne, is intriguing, but the utility of the wholesale borrowing of class as an organizing construct in life course analysis is another matter. Explicit treatment in the chapter by Frank Coffield "From the Celebration to the Marginalization of Youth," discusses the unique impact of social origins among English youth. However, this chapter merely serves to underscore U.S.-England differences in social mobility and their not insignificant consequences for the life course. What is frustrating in this chapter, and others in this volume, is the absence of reference to cross-national research, which would make discussion far less parochial. Remaining chapters are equally parochial, albeit differentially successful in opening up for explanation new aspects of the life course, such as caregiving behavior and the family cycle.

Ultimately, the usefulness of this volume to U.S. scholars depends upon their familiarity with the life course perspective. This volume does not draw upon the burgeoning U.S. or European theorizing on this approach, nor do any of the contributors refer their insights back to that core. Those scholars who are unfamiliar with the life course perspective may feel enlightened after reading this book; those already familiar with the perspective may not.

Beyond Conformity or Rebellion: Youth and Authority in America, by GARY SCHWARTZ.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. 298 pp. \$24.95 cloth.

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Using fieldwork on six midwestern communities, Gary Schwartz finds that the choice for most high school-age young people is not between conformity to or rebellion against adult expectations of youth. Rather, most youth adopt strategies that allow a significant degree of autonomy in the world they create with their peers, while, at the same time, they accommodate to the economic and cultural realities of growing up. Thus, "The ways in which young people interpret the values, beliefs, and concerns of the adult world sheds [sic] light on the conflict between what Americans want for their children and how they actually live their lives" (p. 19). Parental goals and actions receive little attention. Rather, the focus is on teenagers as they react to the rules and routines formulated by parents, school officials, police, and other adult community authority figures.

The research was carried out in the early 1970s by a different fieldworker in each of twelve communities. The research sites were not chosen to be representative of any larger universe, but rather to cover a range of commonly found sorts of communities.

The six communities reported on in the book are arranged as three sets of two. The first pairs two rural communities, one a depressed coal-mining town, and the other part of a rich farming area. Adults in the mining community value freedom and self-expression. They do not push their children to excel except in sports. They are tolerant of youthful behavior and are slow to label children as bad or to take legal action against their misdeeds. They see kids as becoming much like themselves, making tolerable lives in a backwater where invidious distinctions are not sharply etched.

Although rich land surrounds it, the farming community is only somewhat more prosperous than the mining community because of the chronic depressed prices for agricultural products. Parents fear diversity and change. They place great value on order, permanence, security, and homogeneity. They expect the school to be vigilant of any deviant behavior, to punish transgressors, and to