THE WILEY BLACKWELL COMPANION TO

Sociology

SECOND EDITION

EDITED BY

GEORGE RITZER AND WENDY WIEDENHOFT MURPHY

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AND

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This second edition first published 2020
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Edition History
John Wiley & Sons Ltd (1e, 2012)

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Ritzer, George, editor. | Murphy, Wendy Wiedenhoft, editor.
Title: The Wiley Blackwell companion to sociology / edited by George Ritzer and Wendy Wiedenhoft Murphy.
Description: Second Edition. | Hoboken, NJ : Wiley, [2020] | Revised edition of The Wiley Blackwell companion to sociology, 2012. | Includes bibliographical references and index. |
Identifiers: LCCN 2019010515 (print) | LCCN 2019011464 (ebook) | ISBN 9781119429401 (Adobe PDF) | ISBN 9781119429326 (ePub) | ISBN 9781119429319 (hardback) |
Subjects: LCSH: Sociology.
Classification: LCC HM585 (ebook) | LCC HM585 .W55 2019 (print) | DDC 301–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019010515

Cover Design: Wiley
Cover Image: © Liyao Xie/Getty Images

Set in 10/12.5pt Sabon by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Introduction

George Ritzer and Wendy Wiedenhoft Murphy

Sociology is a highly diverse and ever-changing field. As a result, different observers of the field – and its subfields – will necessarily see and emphasize somewhat different realities. In part, this is a function of the diverse orientations of the observers. It is also related to the point in time at which the observations take place. The field is continually changing at least in part because the social world is in constant flux. As a result, analyses of the state of sociology and its sub-fields at one point in time will be different, perhaps very different, from those at another point in time. These thoughts are very relevant to a discussion of both the chapters that are carried over in revised form from the first edition of this *Companion to Sociology* (published in 2012) and the new chapters included in this second edition.

Many contributors to the first edition of this Companion graciously revised their chapters (several with new co-authors) for this edition of the *Companion to Sociology* to better reflect recent developments in their specialty fields. They include Alan Sica, Russell Schutt, Kimberly Rogers, Lynn Smith-Lovin, Nachman Ben-Yehuda, Charles Wellford, Ken Plummer, Brittany Chevon Slatton, Joe Feagin, William Cockerham, Christian Smith, Robert Woodberry (Christian Scheitle was added as a co-author to the Smith-Woodberry essay), Kevin Fox Gotham (Arianna King was added as a co-author to the Gotham essay), Richard York, and Riley Dunlap. New or very different entries were authored by Jeffrey Stepnisky, Nicholas Crossley, Laura Grindstaff and Ming-Cheng M. Lo, Medora Barnes, Joseph Merry and Maria Paino, Kevin Gillan, Miguel Ceteno and Vicki Yang, Noriko Matsumoto, Chris Andrews, Mary Chayko, Michelle Meagher, Jason Radford and David Lazer, Wendy Widenhoft Murphy, Alan Tomlinson, and Robert Antonio and Alesandro Bonanno.

The revised chapters in Part I of this edition the *Companion* provide a thorough reexamination of the foundations – sociological theories (classical and contemporary) and research methodologies (quantitative and qualitative) – of the discipline.

Similar to the first edition, the chapters that compose Part II deal with the most basic substantive topics in sociology. They are: identity and social interaction, social networks, culture, deviance, criminology, gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, families, education, religion, medicine and health, urban sociology, environmental sociology, social movements, armed conflict and war, immigration, sociology of consumption, social media, feminist theory, and intersectionality. These are the topics

typically covered in introduction to sociology texts and courses, but here they are dealt with in a more sophisticated and advanced manner. The chapters are written for professional sociologists and graduate students rather than undergraduates. While several chapters in Part II cover the same topics (e.g. family, culture, education, social movements, war) as those in the previous edition, many of the authors are different and the discussions, in most cases, differ enormously. This is due to differences in the orientations of the authors involved and a result of the passage of almost a decade from the publication of the first edition of this *Companion* and the production in the interim of a great deal of new work on those topics.

Several topics mentioned above have been included in Part II of this volume because they became more firmly established in the discipline after the publication of the last edition of this volume. In addition, several topics from the previous volume are now included as new chapters in Part II. They include consumption, social media, and war, because those topics are no longer at the margins of sociology. In the past several years, sociologists, especially in the United States, have devoted more attention to consumption (the Sociology of Consumers and Consumption became an official section of the American Sociological Association in 2013). We have also witnessed the proliferation of social media platforms and other user-generated websites since this topic was deemed "hot" in the last edition of this volume. Many sociologists are studying social media not only as a means of communication but for understanding these social networking sites and the internet more generally as "living" research laboratories where they can collect data via observation and participation. Like consumption and social media, the sociology of war has also become a more popular topic in recent years due, in part, to the fact that the United States has been at war in Afghanistan since 2001, as well as ongoing wars in Yemen and elsewhere. The refugee crisis in the European Union, stemming in large part from the Syrian civil war and other armed conflicts, has further motivated sociologists to examine the causes and consequences of war.

Other new topics included in Part II, such as social networks, feminist theory, and immigration, have also become increasingly important since the last edition. While the study of social networks was already a cutting-edge topic a decade ago, today social networks are even more heavily researched, discussed in introductory textbooks, and readily recognized as important aspects of social interactions and relationships. Feminist theory has also increasingly become ensconced in sociology and will continue to inform the discipline given, among other things, the increasing awareness of the effects of sexism, patriarchy, and the power of the #metoo movement. The current backlash against immigration in the United States and several European countries is partially responsible for the rise of populism that they are now experiencing.

Part III showcases topics that are beginning to capture the attention of an increasing number of sociologists: debt, sports, big data, and capitalism in the era of Donald Trump's presidency and Brexit. Taking the lead from anthropologists, the sociology of debt (and its ancillary, credit) aims to establish the social significance of personal and public debt in relation power and inequality. The global popularity of sports and the growing number of academic sports studies departments have helped sociologists who study sports to underscore the importance of this social phenomenon to the field and in everyday life. Fandom, race, gender, and the commodification of leisure are just a few

issues emphasized by the sociology of sports. Big data also takes into account variables like race and gender, building these social categories and others into aglorithms that attempt to better understand and predict social behavior. These algorithms are also used by practitioners to determine our preferences and ultimately affect our decisions. Technology and social media make it nearly impossible to escape the reach of big data today. This threatens our privacy, autonomy, and to some critics, democracy. In addition to technology the growth of populism in the West has many concerned about the durability of democracy. The election of right-wing populists in Brazil, Italy, Poland, and Hungary (to name just a few), the increasing presence of alt-right activists (e.g. in the United States and Germany), and the growth of protectionist economic policies have left some sociologists wondering if we can resist the political and economic authoritarianism associated with capitalism today.

Sociology, like the social world, is continually changing. This edition seeks to keep pace with these changes while retaining a focus on the essential core of the discipline.

Part I

Introduction

1

Classical Sociological Theory

Alan Sica

Defining "The Classical"

What is meant today by "classical theory"? Scholarly interests in the current period, like so much else in cultural life, are undergoing rapid change owing to the worldwide computerization of knowledge. Whereas nineteenth century theorists, writing mostly in German or French, might have expected reading audiences to number in the hundreds, perhaps a few thousand, today's potential "market" for sociological ideas is limitless, spanning much of the globe in English or another modern translation. Whereas early European theorists had to content themselves with a vague notion of what was being written in North and South America or Asia that might have influenced their thinking, daily interaction now among globalized scholarly groupings has become expected, even routinized. Though sometimes confusing the issues at hand, this cross-fertilization has often deepened and broadened notions of "the classical." Given all that, one would imagine that the canon long recognized as "classical theory" might have changed in fundamental ways over the last 20 years or so, as access to computerized knowledge proceeded apace.

An exact metric reflecting this historic change in globalized enlightenment could conceivably be constructed using big data sources, but until that is done systematically, other, more traditional means of measuring scholars' enthusiasms might be used. Take, for instance, a British serial founded in 2001 called *The Journal of Classical Sociology*. Thus far, it has dealt far more with theory than with the actual historiography of sociology as an institutionalized discipline in universities (recalling that it was only named as such by Auguste Comte on April 27, 1839). Not surprisingly, many articles have appeared in recent issues of this journal that deal exclusively with the generally recognized founders of social theory: Karl Marx, Emile

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Durkheim, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel. This continued veneration of a rather few thinkers, among dozens of possible contenders, has become standard practice among theory specialists and their readers for generations, and shows no signs, at least among this group of writers, of waning.

Special issues of *JCS*, such as "Durkheim in Germany," "Weber/Simmel Antagonisms," "Marx and Marxism," "New Durkheim Scholarship," and "Special Issue on Georg Simmel," have been published in the last several years as well. Yet within the last two years, articles have also found a home in this journal that attempt to resuscitate interest in a range of other classical thinkers who were at one time quite well known but are no longer included in course syllabi or reading lists for doctoral comprehensive exams – the standard site of canon-formation. These rediscoveries include Raymond Aron, Reinhard Bendix, Raymond Boudon, Patrick Geddes, Arnold van Gennep, Maurice Halbwachs, Leonard Hobhouse, Johan Huizinga, Robert K. Merton, Gunnar Myrdal, Talcott Parsons, Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart-Glennie, and Thorstein Veblen. Some of these thinkers have died in the last several decades (Aron, Bendix, Boudon, Merton, Myrdal, and Parsons), whereas most of the others did their important work in the early twentieth century. And yet for all these refreshed efforts, mostly among younger scholars, to "mine the classics" (or *Restoring the Classic in Sociology* [How 2016]), the four uniquely creative and noninterchangeable theorists around whom the majority of archaeological analyses still revolves remains unchanged since World War II: Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel. (Simmel's ideas had been vigorously pursued between 1894 and about 1935 in English translation, then resurfaced about 1990 as part of the "postmodernism debate.") There are voices that bemoan this situation, but they as yet remain small when compared with the loud volume of orthodox commentary.

Along similar lines, ever since 2000 *Max Weber Studies* has showered its dedicated audience with hundreds of articles and book reviews pertaining to Weber's work or extensions of his ideas into our world. The latest issue bears the inscription "Special Issue: *Hinduism and Buddhism*: Reflections on a Sociological Classic 100 Years On, Part One," and occupies 180 pages. Senior and junior international experts vie for the attention of their Weberian colleagues with articles about Indian religion and politics, comparative legal traditions, Hinduism and other worldviews, Weber's rationalism when applied to India, and so on.

It's worth recalling that Weber wrote *The Religion of India* over 100 years ago, regretting that he did not read Sanskrit, and surely believing then that the book would be superseded long before a century had elapsed. And yet experts continue to debate its significance vigorously. Perhaps it's unsurprising that there also exists another journal, *Durkheimian Studies*, now in its twenty-fourth year, as well as *Simmel Studies*, begun in 1990 as the *Simmel Newsletter*. Both these outlets feature articles in German, French, and English. Meanwhile as well, work on Marx and his tradition of socioeconomic analysis is booming, particularly after the global economic crisis of 2008.

In addition to this continuing fascination with classical European theorists, a new path has recently been carved into the forest of our theoretical ancestors by scholars who argue that W.E.B. Du Bois and what they call "The Atlanta School" have not been given their due as co-founders of American sociology. This follows a still-earlier effort to enshrine female theorists into the canon, which, though honored and

appreciated among its politically motivated adherents, has not changed textbook writers' listing of "who's who" among essential theorists. (See Lengermann and Niebrugge [1998, 2007] for treatments of and excerpts from Harriet Martineau, Jane Addams, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Anna Julia Cooper, Marianne Weber, Beatrice Potter Webb, and others.) It now goes without saying that omitting all female theorists from the history of sociological thought is indefensible, yet they remain largely unread and undiscussed on campus because so few courses make room for them in the typical college curriculum, even at the graduate level. That none of them offered a comprehensive theoretical program has also detracted from their perceived appeal and contemporary applicability.

But the case of Du Bois is more recent and contentious. While it has become obvious that women's roles must be acknowledged, it is less clearly the case that African-American sociologists, whose numbers were relatively small until the 1970s, offered a distinct mode of sociological research and thinking that could seriously compete with what was offered by Caucasian scholars at the same time. Most specifically, the "Chicago School" headed by Albion Small, W. I. Thomas, Robert Ezra Park, and Ernest Y. Burgess between about 1894 and 1935, has been criticized for its alleged racist tendencies and allied refusal to acknowledge Du Bois as an intellectual leader within the sociological camp.

Park's strong relationship with Booker T. Washington – who became Du Bois's political nemesis after 1903 – is particularly objectionable to those who currently champion the latter's role in early American sociology. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro* was indeed an astonishing ethnographic performance for a young, underfunded, and isolated scholar to create. And the research about African-Americans that he and his students did at the Atlanta University between 1897 and 1910 was pioneering as well.

Yet it is difficult to argue persuasively that Du Bois's sociological theorizing per se constitutes a separate universe of discourse, equally valuable to others writing at the time in the United States and abroad, and that he was consciously sidestepped as a "founding father" of sociology by his white peers (see Morris 2015, for the case in favor this interpretation). The fact that he and Max Weber shared a brief relationship adds to the complexity of the question: Who influenced whom, and how? (For a wisely pertinent appraisal of intergenerational understandings of scholarship, see Momigliano 1965.)

Continuity and Change in Evaluating "The Classical"

Thus, it can readily be seen that the precise definition of which bodies of writing should constitute "classical" social theory regularly changes, reflecting alterations in the intellectual and political goals of those who create theory, as well as those who teach it. Only quite recently has it become the case that the Holy Trinity: Marx-Weber-Durkheim, is widely viewed as a convenient surrogate for "classical theory" in toto, even serving as the title to some theory textbooks.

That these three titans are essential to this tradition is undebatable, but the supposition that they adequately represent "everything still worth knowing" from the history of sociological theory is unsupportable. When Pitirim Sorokin, the first

sociologist ever hired by Harvard University, published his *Contemporary Sociological Theories* in 1928 (two years before he left Minnesota for Harvard), his index names over 1000 scholars whom he showed had contributed to its development. Other important textbooks of the period were similarly generous in their portrayal of who should be included in theory's past and its consequent present (e.g. Becker and Barnes 1938; Bogardus 1940).

In a field often organized for pedagogical purposes around "great thinkers," favored names come and go with almost seasonal predictability. For example, during the Great Depression, major US publishers reissued the works of Karl Marx in student editions, while during the 1950s, it was dangerous to teach his work in US colleges for fear of becoming subject to politically motivated punishment. Similarly, the Italian economist and political theorist, Vilfredo Pareto, was widely known to the literate public in the 1930s, and regarded as an indispensable social theorist for scholars who worked in this area. Yet following the Second World War, after his named had been incorrectly linked to Benito Mussolini's, he was promptly and permanently banished from "the canon." The Italian fascist dictator was portrayed as Pareto's "student," whereas in fact he had only attended a few of Pareto's lectures on economics around 1900, encouraged to do so by his Russian lover, Angelica Balbanoff (Mussolini 1928, p. 14).

The case of Georg Simmel was less subject to gross political forces, yet his reputation waxed, waned, and waxed again in what has become a familiar pattern. He was interjected into US sociology during the 1890s by his American student Albion Small, editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, and for the next 20 years became the most often translated European theorist of his generation (Levine et al. 1976). His ideas played an essential role in the creation of social psychology, exchange theory, and urban sociology, yet from the 1930s through the 1970s, he took a back seat to other theorists.

When Talcott Parsons set about reshaping sociology's theoretical foundation in the 1930s, he omitted a chapter on Simmel, already written, when assembling his transformative book, *The Structure of Social Action*. He realized that Simmel was incommensurable with the other figures he chose to analyze, that his way of theorizing did not mesh well with the story Parsons wished to tell regarding an alleged "convergence" among Weber, Durkheim, Pareto, and Alfred Marshall, the economist (Levine 1957; Parsons 1937). Although important textbooks continued to include chapters on Simmel (e.g. Ashley and Orenstein 1985; Ritzer 1988), he was not generally viewed as a member of that small group of theorists who were indispensable to an understanding of the discipline's legacy. Only in the 1990s with the rise of postmodernism as a school and methodology was he rediscovered, in some ways redefined, and now seems again as "contemporary" as ever (among many, see Frisby and Featherstone 1997).

Examples of this kind abound, of course, since styles change in the academic world just as they do in any other human endeavor. History shows that genuine permanency is impossible to maintain in any sphere of human learning or the arts; it is worth remembering that Plato, Shakespeare, Bach, and Vivaldi were all neglected for long periods of cultural history, and other iconic presences in our own time will surely fall from view before the end of our century. Someday music by the Beatles will likely become a small footnote to cultural history, and the novels of Kurt

Vonnegut will seem as old-fashioned and unreadable as today do dozens of Victorian novelists who were household names in their time, yet now wholly forgotten.

Not only has the theoretical pantheon seen significant repositionings regarding its personnel during the last half-century, but the range of learning that scholars agree to identify as "social theory" has also undergone continual refashioning. Unlike today, between the two World Wars a US college student might well have been introduced to social theory of the classical mode by examining the ancient Egyptians, Persians, or Greeks (e.g. Becker and Barnes 1938; Bogardus 1940; Ellwood 1938; Hertzler 1936). For instance, consider Joyce Hertzler's unique volume, *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations*, published in 1936 by McGraw-Hill, still today a major source of sociology textbooks. This 400-page work, written by a Nebraska sociologist, begins with the Egyptians ("Imhotep and His Philosophy: 'Eat, Drink and Be Merry'"), moves to Babylonian (now Iraqi) thought, then through Hittite, Persian, and Indian ideas, concluding with investigations of Chinese and Hebrew social analysis. Hertzler closes by providing the student with a summary of the lastingly important notions offered by proto-sociologists in these major civilizations, and argues that knowing about these systems of thought achieves two major goals.

First, it demonstrates that "there is nothing new under the sun" when it comes to the most critical matters facing humans in social groups: how to control misbehavior and encourage normatively approved behavior, how to distribute goods and services fairly, how to maintain stable, satisfying families, how to encourage social cohesion rather than dispersion, how to use supernatural events and sentiments, and so on. Second, the proverbs and morality tales that circulated among all ancient civilizations, the purpose of which was always to transmit "social theory" to ordinary people, were far more entertaining and provocative than modern social science and sociological theory. This is in part why they were so well-regarded, even cherished, for so many centuries in ways that today's social science arguments seldom are. If one compares the contents, say, of the King James Bible or the *Bhagavad-Gita* with current articles in any social science journal, substantive parallels can surely be drawn, yet these "holy books" inspire people with emotionally satisfying narratives in ways that "bloodless" social science cannot. The rhetoric of storytelling and moralizing, the creation of appealing parables, shares very little with the "objective" language adopted during the twentieth century by social scientists in their effort to emulate the imagined "objectivity" of the natural sciences, and the technology they made possible. Hertzler was surely correct in these claims, and he wrote the book in part to substantiate them, probably reflecting his own broad educational and cultural background that no longer characterizes sociological "training."

The well-known sociologist, Emory Bogardus, offered the first edition of *The Development of Social Thought* a few years later, in 1940. After racing through the same historical texts and personalities in a few pages that Hertzler had required an entire book to traverse, he launches into the sociological ideas of Plato, Aristotle, Aurelius, early Christian thinkers, the Middle Ages, and then shifts into what we now regard as the "early modern period." He writes about Thomas More's *Utopia* (the predecessor to Orwell's *1984*, Huxley's *Brave New World*, plus dozens of other dystopian novels), the Enlightenment *Philosophes*, and Thomas Malthus (founder of demography), consuming a third of his long book before arriving at Auguste Comte – who invented the term *sociologie* in 1839 (Pickering 1993, p. 615). From

here, Bogardus pursues a long list of thinkers who no longer appear in any textbooks of "classical" social theory, but who were at that time still regarded as vital figures in the history of societal analysis. After an obligatory chapter on Marx (whose place in the pantheon remains secure despite political events since 1989), he allocates chapters to "[Henry] Buckle and Geographic Social Thought," Herbert Spencer, Lester Frank Ward (first president of the American Sociological Society in 1905), William Graham Sumner (first teacher of sociology at Yale), Francis Galton and eugenics, now entirely repudiated in sociological circles, Ludwig Gumplowicz, and conflict theory, Peter Kropotkin on cooperation and anarchism, Gabriel Tarde on imitation, the indispensable Emile Durkheim, and the founder of Chicago Sociology, Albion Small. Bogardus then produced chapter-length treatments of Franklin Giddings, Georg Simmel, Max Weber, Charles Horton Cooley, Vilfredo Pareto, Edward A. Ross, W. I. Thomas, Robert E. Park, Charles Ellwood, Karl Mannheim, Howard Odum, and Radhakamal Mukerjee.

With the solid exceptions of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel, none of these thinkers is any longer considered critically necessary for inclusion in the basic sociological theory course taught in every US sociology department, and even specialists in the field likely know little about them. There are niche enthusiasms for Cooley and Thomas, honorable memorialization of Comte and Sumner, occasional textual reference to Tarde and Mannheim. Yet 90% of Bogardus's textbook treatment (which went through four editions in the next 20 years) has been sloughed off in today's "marketplace of ideas." The reasons for this diluting of theory's past are many, some obvious, some not. Yet it is undeniably true that a very great deal of serious thinking about social life, individual or collective, has been thrown into the "dustbin of history" (Marx's phrase) without benefit of scholarly scrutiny.

It is surely comforting, if delusory, to believe that sociological theory, like physics or chemistry, has "moved beyond" its founders' plethora of notions, hunches, hypotheses, and arguments – that we no longer should study their writings, any more than today's astronomers need to master Copernicus's work before advancing their field. Were this true, it would surely ease the labors required to become expert in the study of social theory. Those who adhere to a natural science model of sociology make exactly this claim, and have been doing so at least since the days of the "social physicist," George Lundberg, in the 1930s (Lundberg 1939; also Lundberg 1947). In fact, the lineage of this belief-system goes back to the seventeenth century and exploded in the 19th – that earnest longing to launch social science into the same high regard the natural sciences have enjoyed since the seventeenth century when Newton showed the way. Sorokin's treatment of what he calls "the mechanistic school" begins with the philosophers Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Grotius, Malebranche and others, all of whom aimed during the seventeenth century to create a "social mechanics" (Sorokin 1928, pp. 2–62).

> The social physicists of the seventeenth century tried to do the same as the physicists themselves. In the first place they constructed the conception of a *moral or social space* in which social, and moral, and political movements go on. It was a kind of space analogous to physical space and superposed [sic] upon it. To the *position* of a material object in physical space, there corresponded, in social space, the conception of *status*, as of sex, age, occupation, freedom, religion, citizenship, and so on. In this

> way, they constructed a system of social coordinates, which defined the position of man in this moral space as exactly as the system of geometrical coordinates defines the position of a material object in physical space. Physical mechanics explains the motions, also, of physical objects by the principles of inertia and gravitation. Similarly, social mechanics regarded the social processes as a result of the gravitation and inertia of human beings or groups.... The social power and authority were interpreted as resultants of the pressures of "social atoms" (individuals) and "social molecules" (groups). (Sorokin 1928,pp. 8–9)

This mode of analysis continued into the eighteenth century with the philosopher George Berkeley and others. It blossomed in the nineteenth century in the work of H.C. Carey, whose *Principles of Social Science* (1858) preceded the more celebrated writings of Herbert Spencer (*First Principles*, 1862), and claimed that "the laws which govern matter in all its forms, whether that of coal, clay, iron, pebble stones, trees, oxen, horses, or men" are the same; "man is the molecule of society"; and social interaction operates under the "great law of molecular gravitation" (Carey 1858,pp. 62, 41–42; cited in Sorokin 1928, p. 13). These were heady arguments in the mid-nineteenth century, and Carey was not alone in proposing programs of social analysis built on them. But in the end, as Sorokin points out, these "childish mechanical analogies" (p. 39) did not pan out since the built-in irrationalities of human life are impossible to model, even with sophisticated math.

The French Mode of Classical Theorizing

There were other, competing approaches to the problem of dealing with human action in somewhat less "childish" ways, less tied to the belief that *Homo sapiens* could be understood by means of mechanical or molecular imagery. A few examples from a large pool of possible instances might illustrate how eager were gifted thinkers to make use of scientific reasoning, even if physics was not their preferred model. Marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794) came up with a "jury theorem" in 1785 based on simple probability reasoning, which shows, given strict assumptions, the likelihood of a small group arriving at a "correct" decision. He also invented Condorcet's paradox (or voting paradox), which demonstrates that majority preferences can be undone under certain conditions involving what is now called *nontransitivity,* so that the "correct" outcome is impossible to attain (Baker 1975, pp. 197–263).

In the same era, Henri Saint-Simon (1760–1825), Comte's mentor and competitor, even while developing a so-called "new religion" in the 1820s, nevertheless concurred that social life could be organized around indubitable laws of industrial life. He persuaded his followers that correct analysis of social processes would allow society at large to avoid the many miseries that inspired Marx and Engels to create their emancipatory theories (as in Engels 1987 [1845]). Like the Marxists, but much earlier, he believed that through scientific reorganization and management of industrialization, the poor could be protected from the ravages of factory life, proposing that the welfare of the weakest should be a society's highest goal. (A similar argument was considered "new" in 1971 when John Rawls published his *Theory of Justice*, long after Saint-Simon had been forgotten.)

Very unlike Marx and Engels, though, Saint-Simon thought that industrial "managers" could combine their technical administrative skills with high moral reasoning, thereby emancipating the working class from the chains that Marx claimed were the unavoidable accompaniment to industrial life. For all their differences, they agreed that *science* as a slogan and practice was the road to societal salvation, one that sidestepped the ideological and spiritual battles that always seemed to surround religiously motivated programs for social change.

The most scientifically accomplished of these early proto-sociologists was Adolphe Quetelet (1796–1874), a gifted mathematician and official Belgian astronomer. He invented the body-mass index measurement still used as an indicator of healthy body weight. While compiling statistics and observations relating to shooting stars, celestial movement, and seasonal vegetation changes, Quetelet found time to propose "social physics" in 1835 (as well as the first scientific criminology; Quetelet 1835) that Lundberg and other twentieth-century theorists regarded as the foundation of their positivism. By using a statistical construct that he called the "average man," he was able to employ Dutch and Belgian data to show that certain human behaviors followed recognizable patterns, and deviated more or less predictably from what we now call "the normal curve." He was particularly successful in correlating certain social characteristics with particular types of criminal behavior, coming up with 17 statements that summarized his findings, e.g. "1. *Age* is without contradiction the cause which acts with the most energy to develop or moderate the propensity for crime" (Quetelet 1984, in Sica 2005: pp. 166–68). From this work Durkheim and subsequent researchers took their lead when studying what has since come to be called *deviance*.

For example, in his most successful demonstration of "empirical" sociology, *On Suicide* (1897), Durkheim notes:

> When Quetelet directed the attention of philosophers to the surprising regularity with which certain social phenomena are repeated in identical periods of time, he thought that he could explain it by his theory of the "ordinary man," which has in fact remained the only systematic explanation of this remarkable feature of societies. According to him, there is a definite type in each society which the majority of individuals reproduce more or less exactly, with only a minority deviating from it under the influence of disruptive force. (Durkheim 2006, pp. 332–333)

After mentioning Quetelet's name in the body of his text, Durkheim added a knowing footnote:

> Notably in his two works, *Sur l'homme de la développement de ses facultés ou Essai de physique sociale*, 2 vols., Paris, 1835, and *Du système social et des lois qui le régissent*, Paris, 1848. While Quetelet was the first to try to explain this regularity in a scientific manner, he was not the first to observe it. The real founder of moral statistics was Pastor Süssenlich, in his work *Die Göttliche Ordnung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts, aus der Geburt, dem Tode und der Fortpflanzung desselben erwiesen*, 3 vols, 1742.

Nowadays no one remembers nor reads Pastor Süssenlich, who lives on only in Durkheim's footnote. But it is instructive to realize that a search for precursors – or

adumbrationists, as Pitirim Sorokin named them in his classic work – seldom fails to find someone who thought of a technique of analysis or an illuminating idea before those who are currently most often credited with a specific intellectual "discovery."

These early proponents of a scientific sociology – Condorect, Saint-Simon, and Quetelet – were the best known exemplars of what more recently has been named "humanothermodynamics." The central tenet of this field is that people can be portrayed for analytic purposes as "molecules" in a vast social system, and therefore studied in the same way physicists explore the subatomic world. Naively perceived, it makes sense to some optimistic thinkers that human action should be "modelable" in ways similar to techniques of analysis so successful in chemistry and physics.

The goal, of course, ever since the eighteenth century, has been to *predict* human action in order to propel people into behavior which strengthens rather than endangers social order, or to provide them with more pleasurable individual lives by helping them avoid pathological conditions of their own making. The idea behind this is always the same: Social life is difficult to interpret, so scientific reduction is necessary in order to clarify the consequences of various actions or lack of actions. "Laws" of social life have thus been sought ever since the *Philosophes* saw what the natural sciences had achieved after they determined how the "laws of nature" functioned (Mirowski 1989; Urry 2004).

A famous modern example of this tendency came from Charles Darwin's grandson, C. G. Darwin, who published *The Next Million Years* in 1952, where he proposed that "statistical mechanics" be used to study human behavior by conceiving of individuals as "human molecules" in a "conservative dynamical system" (Darwin 1952). More alarmingly, he predicted that humans would run out of food by 2000. Even though this school of thinking has found few followers within the ranks of American sociologists, the latent notion – that social laws ought to be discoverable through quantitative investigation and the application of probability – runs deep among many social researchers, even in unspoken form. Almost all quantitative research clings to this "domain assumption" (Gouldner 1970) in an unquestioning, unstated way, since without it there would be little justification in carrying out thousands of studies each year that portray human behavior as meaningfully reducible to correlation coefficients.

Scotland's Classical Contributions

Another vital inspiration for classical social theory came from Scotland during the mid-eighteenth century, where a talented, interpersonally connected group of men composed literate, even entertaining, treatises that shared very little with the French *philosophes*' view of human society, and their utopian recommendations for its restructuring along modern lines.

Inspired in part by the philosophy of Francis Hutcheson (1894–1746), including his *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions with Illustrations of the Moral Sense* (1728), the so-called "Scottish moralists" wrote clear prose about socially important issues that give their work continuing importance (see Broadie 1997). Those who participated in what has been called "the Scottish Enlightenment" (Camic 1983) included Adam Smith (1723–1790), Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), John Millar (1735–1801), and others like Millar's friend, the great philosopher David Hume (1711–1776).

Millar, a law professor, was more a sociologist than a philosopher, writing about what we now call social stratification (*The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, 1771), one part of which was "Of the Rank and Condition of Women in Different Ages." He also managed to anticipate Emile Durkheim's famous dissertation (Durkheim 1893) by more than a century with "Social Consequences of the Division of Labour" (Millar 1806). His observations gave rise to what is now called *comparative sociology,* as in this passage from his 1771 book:

> In the most rude and barbarous ages, little or no property can be acquired by particular persons; and consequently, there are no differences of rank to interrupt the free intercourse of the sexes. The pride of family, as well as the insolence of wealth, is unknown; and there are no distinctions among individuals, but those which arise from their age and experience, from their strength, courage, and other personal qualities. The members of different families, being all nearly upon a level, maintain the most familiar intercourse with one another, and when impelled by natural instinct, give way to their mutual desires without hesitation or reluctance. They are unacquainted with those refinements which create a strong preference of particular objects, and with those artificial rules of decency and decorum which might lay a restraint upon their conduct (Millar 1806; in Sica 2005, p. 55)

A common thread through all the Scottish moralists' writings was an overriding concern for the ways that industrialization, beginning to interject itself into quiet rural Scotland, was threatening to corrode interpersonal trust and the many societal virtues associated with it. Millar clearly argues in this passage that an "arcadian" condition of tranquility preceded modern, capitalist interactions, likely a reflection of comparing his life in Glasgow with work on his 30-acre farm. From this basic idea he adumbrates Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* by 130 years in pointing out that "preference of particular objects" – what Veblen called "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen 1899, pp. 68–101) – would also work to destabilize that "familiar intercourse with one another" which in preindustrial, preurbanized societies promoted harmonious interactions. He is not, like Rousseau or Hobbes, offering a utopian or dystopian vision of humankind's imagined history, but instead is simply reporting what he has seen in historical documents as well as everyday life in Scotland. It was this "common sense" philosophy that endeared Millar (the most popular law professor of the era) and his confederates to generations of readers.

The most famous of the Scots was Adam Smith, whose *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) has formed the backbone of what Marx called "bourgeois economics" ever since it was published. But for social theorists, his more important book was *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). It is difficult for some readers to reconcile the dog-eat-dog ethics that today's economists claim they see in Smith's book on wealth creation with the soft-hearted portrait of humankind he champions in his moral theory, though surely for Smith they were all of a piece. Smith's professor at Glasgow University, Francis Hutcheson, gave him the philosophic tools to consider the fundamental nature of humans as they interact. Anticipating Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), who inspired Max Weber and Georg Simmel, Smith proposed that sympathy and empathy for another person's suffering