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WHAT (ELSE) IS THEORY FOR?:

A HISTORICAL EXPLORATION OF THEORY USE IN SOCIOLOGY

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DECLARATION

No part of this thesis has been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or tertiary institution. To the best of my knowledge, any work that is not my own has been acknowledged in the text.

Work included in this thesis has been incorporated in presentations at several departmental seminars at the University of Sydney and Murdoch University. In addition, work related to the thesis has been included in refereed publications (Harley 2008; 2005a; 2005b) and conference papers presented at national and international conferences as follows:

Harley 2008   Chapters 1, 3-4, 6

Harley 2007   Chapter 5

Harley 2005a   Chapters 1, 3, 6

Harley 2005b   Chapters 1, 4

Harley 2005c   Chapters 1-4, 6

Harley 2004   Chapters 1, 3-4, 6

Harley 2003   Chapters 1, 4

ABSTRACT

The thesis documents and questions theory's prominent place in sociology and curious double position, as both a separate arena of expertise and ordinary sociological activity, through historical exploration of 'theory use' in sociology. Following most discussions of theory use, which emphasise research and understanding, it identifies uses including: conceptual tool; supporting social philosophy or science; enabling understanding, explanation, description, prediction and justification of social reality; and involvement throughout – and after – the research process. However, theory's utility extends beyond research, with theory employed for disciplinarity and as an individual resource. Disciplinary uses include: defining sociology's place in relation to other disciplines, including boundary- and bridge-work; constructing disciplinary foundations, with Parsons and others prominent via establishing Marx, Weber and Durkheim as classics; differentiating sociology from neighbours through distinctive theories; managing diversity through sociological perspectives; and, along with science, providing legitimacy. As an individual resource, theory allows sociologists to: build careers, providing intellectual satisfaction and status; position their work and selves as clever, interesting and relevant; import moral-political frameworks; engage in politics; and cultivate sociological personae. Citation of theoretical names presents work as novel, disciplinary or fashionable. Contrasting with the dominant picture in previous histories, an institutional history of the University of Sydney shows continuous sociology teaching in philosophy, Workers' Educational Association tutorial classes, anthropology, social work and more, before its formal establishment. Theory was instrumental in introducing sociological content, in turn delaying sociology's independent institutionalisation. Throughout, uses of theory are not always intentional or successful, and theory, like sociology, is plural, messy and historically variable.

Sources analysed include Australian, British and American introductory textbooks, theory textbook titles, histories of sociology (including the American Sociological Association, British Sociological Association and Australian Sociological Association), course descriptions and related archival material, and a European Sociological Association theory conference titled 'What is theory for?'.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASW   American Association of Social Workers

ACU   Australian Catholic University

AJS   *American Journal of Sociology*

ANU   Australian National University

ANZAAS   Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science

ANZJS   *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*

ASA   American Sociological Association

ASR   *American Sociological Review*

ASS   American Sociological Society

ASSA   American Social Science Association

ATN   Australian Technology Network

B.A.   Bachelor of Arts

BJS   *British Journal of Sociology*

BOSSM   Board of Social Studies Minutes and Board of Studies in Social Work
            Minutes (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)

B.Phil   Bachelor of Philosophy

BSA   British Sociological Association

BSc   Bachelor of Science

B. Soc Sci	Bachelor of Social Science
CDU	Charles Darwin University
CQU	Central Queensland University
CSU	Charles Sturt University
DSR	Department of Social Relations (Harvard)
ECU	Edith Cowan University
ESA	European Sociological Association
FAM	Faculty of Arts Minutes (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)
FHAG	Faculty of Agriculture Handbook
FHARTS	Faculty of Arts Handbook
FHARCH	Faculty of Architecture Handbook
FHECO	Faculty of Economics Handbook
FHLAW	Faculty of Law Handbook
FHMED	Faculty of Medicine Handbook
FHSCI	Faculty of Science Handbook
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
GO8	Group of Eight (prestigious Australian universities)
HNKSC	Human nature, knowledge and social change
IR	Industrial Relations
ISA	International Sociological Association
JCTCAR	Annual Reports for the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)
JCTCM	Minutes of the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)
JCU	James Cook University

LSE	London School of Economics
MA	Master of Arts
MIBAS	Most influential books in Australian sociology
M_O	Metatheory for overarching perspectives
M_P	Metatheory as prelude to theory development
M_U	Metatheory for understanding of theory
MWD	Marx, Weber, Durkheim
NCCC	National Conference of Charities and Corrections
NSW	New South Wales
PBM	Professorial Board Minutes (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)
PBMI	Professorial Board Minutes – Indexes (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)
P.P.E.	Philosophy, Politics and Economics
QUT	Queensland University of Technology
RC	Research Committee
RMIT	RMIT University (formally Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology)
SAANZ	Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand
SCU	Southern Cross University
TASA	Australian Sociological Association
TCMPP	Tutorial Classes – Miscellaneous Printed Publications (see Archival and Handbook Sources and Abbreviations)
TS	Theory Section
UB	University of Ballarat
UC	University of Canberra

UNE	University of New England
UniSA	University of South Australia
UNSW	University of New South Wales
UoN	University of Newcastle
UOW	University of Wollongong
UQ	The University of Queensland
USC	University of Sydney Calendar
USCS	University of Sydney Calendar Supplement
USQ	University of Southern Queensland
UTas	University of Tasmania
UTS	University of Technology Sydney
UWA	The University of Western Australia
UWS	University of Western Sydney
VU	Victoria University
WEA	Workers' Educational Association

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to my dear father

David Russell Harley

6/12/1936 – 14/2/2010

who told stories of enjoying his encounters with 'pop sociology' while studying town planning in the 1960s at the University of Sydney,

who, with Mum, was so generous with love, support and encouragement,

who made the heroic effort to read this thesis,

who died too soon.

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS THEORY FOR?

What is theory for? On the relationship between social theory and empirical research

The conference explores the relationship between social theory and sociological research. Does theory still need to be seen in deductive terms and research as a testing device? Is social theory about explaining the social realm, and if so, does it also predict? What, if any, is the difference between explanation and description? Does it make sense to say that theories correspond to the social world, or does their strength lie in the degree to which they abstract from reality? Should we conceive of theory as something that allows us to cope or come to terms with the empirical? (European Sociological Association, Social Theory Committee 2004a)

In September 2004 the Social Theory Committee of the European Sociological Association (ESA) held a conference in Paris organised around a question surprisingly uncommon in sociology: 'What is theory for?'. The liberal adornment of most sociology books and articles with theorists' names, the fact that the International Sociological Association's (ISA) top ten 'books of the [twentieth] century' are all, at least in part, theoretical works (International Sociological Association c. 1998),[1] the fact that textbooks introduce students to an assortment of theorists (or at least the 'holy trinity' of

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[1] Based on a 1997 survey by the ISA 1998 World Congress Programme Committee in which ISA members were asked to list five twentieth-century published books 'which were most influential in their work as sociologists' (International Sociological Association c. 1998; no date of publication is indicated on the website).

Marx, Weber and Durkheim (Becker 1979: 24)), the fact that students are urged to combine empirical with theoretical work, the prominent citation of theoretical articles,[2] and the very existence of the ESA Social Theory Committee testify to the prominence of theory in sociology. However, exactly what theory is useful for in sociology is often taken for granted.

This largely taken-for-granted prominence of theory invites inquiry into its role within sociology. However, as the ESA conference call for papers illustrates, a danger lurks here. Discussion of what theory is for tends to prioritise a particular, limited set of uses of theory, especially those related to research or understanding the empirical world, precluding a comprehensive picture of the place and complexity of theory in sociology.

Just as sociology is not simply a knowledge-endeavour promoting social inquiry, but a messy, complex, changeable mix of overt or covert agendas, institutions, practices, arenas, products, arguments, and careers, so is theory a messy, complex, changeable beast. There are many uses for theory – many possible answers to the question 'What is theory for?' – and these extend well beyond those concerned with research or any other single aspect of sociology. Theory might be used, for instance, to import or avoid political-moral agendas, authorise knowledge, undertake disciplinary 'boundary work', produce work that is fashionable or novel, achieve status, test ideas, sustain careers, make assumptions explicit, build knowledge, identify positions, impress or provoke audiences, facilitate collaboration, minimise effort, and provide intellectual enjoyment.

This thesis deals with a number of these uses of theory, considering the broad categories related to research and understanding, as well as disciplinary formation and employment of theory as an individual resource. The thesis draws on a range of historical materials. These include a particular focus on the twentieth-century history of sociology, especially in Australia but also in the US and Britain, and some sociological sites

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[2] See, for instance, Jacobs (2005: 2) on the dominance of theoretical and methodological articles in the *American Sociological Review*'s (*ASR*) list of most-cited articles, despite the journal's reputation for 'carefully crafted research reports'.

where theory use does receive explicit attention, specifically introductory textbooks, theory textbooks and the ESA conference on theory use, mentioned above. In addition to examining uses of theory in those contexts and taking a step towards constructing a history of theory use in sociology, the thesis contributes original primary and secondary research to the general history of sociology.

My research shows that sociology has not been dominated by a single or coherent way of employing theory, but there is a tangle of overlapping approaches, arguments and practices, of achievements and failures. My thesis does not attempt any dialectical untangling – suggesting that theory should be given priority over other sociological practices, for instance, or attempting to impose some fixed course on the history of the discipline in any country. Rather, I treat the complex plurality of theory as itself an argument against any case for such a coherent picture of the place of theory in sociology, or of the history of sociology itself.

Thesis organisation

Chapter One plays a definitional role in the thesis. In it I define theory use and its close relation, theory. A survey of some of the relevant literature reveals a proliferation of meanings of 'theory', all of which are embraced by my definition. We see that many, but not all, of the discussions about theory use relate theory to research and understanding the social world. This chapter also defines the approach of my thesis, as a historical – rather than theoretical – exploration of theory use in sociology, and outlines my sources and methods.

In Chapter Two I document the emergence of a double-position of theory in sociology, as both a separate realm of expertise, including the 'theorist' as a particular kind of sociologist, and an ordinary component of sociological work, in the United States, Britain and Australia. Examination of available historical literature on sociology courses, the differentiation and structure of theory textbooks and introductory textbooks, and professional identification and organisation of theorists indicates that theory has come to occupy this double place, although national trajectories differ.

The remaining chapters consider this curious double place of theory in sociology, as both an unexceptional part of ordinary sociologists' work and as an area of specialist expertise, using three, broad, interrelated categories of theory use – research, disciplinarity, and treating theory as an individual resource – along with a historical case study on the role of theory in institutionalising sociology. Importantly, these categories are not put forward as comprehensive or as a superior explanatory framework; they are not designed to be reified; rather they are a pragmatic device for organising material and demonstrating the messy plurality of theory and theory use in sociology.

In Chapter Three I focus on the relation between theory and research, as most discussions of the utility of theory do. Even with this artificial bracketing, there is much room for complexity. For instance, sociology's historical ambiguous 'third culture' position between science and literature (Lepenies 1988) offers alternative roles for theory in scientifically generating hypotheses for knowledge-building or assisting a more contemplative, evaluative understanding of the social condition. Nonetheless, it is easy here to comprehend the general requirement for all sociologists to 'use theory'. Specialisation in theory could be seen, within a broader context of disciplinary specialisation, simply as reflecting a sensible division of labour, allowing efficient development of theoretical tools for sociological research. I agree that we should take seriously the potential of theory to couple with research, for instance by promoting inquiry and framing analysis. However, there is sufficient evidence from within the sources examined and from the sociological literature relating theory and research of a gap between 'theoreticians' theory' and 'researchers' theory' (Menzies 1982) to indicate that we must look beyond theory's usefulness for research.

To consider the place of theory in sociology is to invite exploration of the ways in which theory is variously harnessed to, and disconnected from, disciplinarity, which is the subject of Chapter Four. Examination of theory as presented in introductory and theory textbooks, and examples of theory use in histories of sociology, show that it may have roles in forming and maintaining the discipline (for example, providing a foundation story, defining its object, conducting boundary work), and in 'undisciplining' (such as promoting boundary crossing or blurring, or even making a competing claim for theory's own disciplinary status (S. Turner 2004)). This line of think-

ing raises questions about how the separation of sociological (or social) theory from sociology helps and hinders sociology's disciplinarity.

Chapter Five considers these disciplinary matters via a historical case study of the institutionalisation of sociology teaching at the University of Sydney. This university is generally presented in histories of Australian sociology as both one of the first, and one of the last, sites for introduction of sociology. My research shows, however, that sociological content runs continuously through university curricula in the long period between cancellation of sociology teaching in Philosophy in the 1920s to granting of disciplinary status in the 1990s. I find that, in some important respects, theory led the introduction and spread of sociological content through curricula in other fields, but this in turn impeded the establishment of sociology as an independent area of teaching. The research in this chapter thereby corrects the record in relation to the role of the University of Sydney, as well as adding to our understanding of the changing nature of the discipline within Australia.

In Chapter Six the idea of theory as an area of specialisation, and the kindred idea of the theorist as a particular kind of sociologist, draws me to explore the idea of theory as an individual resource within the institutional contexts within which sociologists work. I show that theory can be used in different ways to position the sociologist's self, sustaining a career and enjoying the varying currency of theoretical names to convey status, fashion and novelty, to engage in politics, and to cultivate the persona. Differentiated uses of theory by 'theorists' and 'ordinary sociologists' are involved in the former becoming, and being, expert theorists, unlike the latter.

The Conclusion moves to the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, noting certain signs that 'theory' as a separate arena of specialty in sociology might be losing ground. In itself, this observation underlines a major point of my thesis, that the messy plurality of theory (and, indeed, of sociology) resists the imposition of a fixed historical course or an elevated position. Whether we are considering the practice of research, or disciplinary formation, or cultivation of the sociological individual, the usefulness of theory cannot be taken for granted.

THEORY USE IN SOCIOLOGY:

DEFINING MY OBJECT AND SOURCES

The word theory is a funny one – I'm never quite sure what it means. (John Rex, in Mullan 1987: 12)

As a prelude to my exploration of 'theory use', this chapter's tasks are broadly defini-tional. In the first section I define 'theory use', and its close, but more common, rela-tion, theory. While doing this, I aim to provide some indication of what has been said about theory and theory use, as well as presenting my thesis as a historical, rather than theoretical, exploration of theory use. In line with my historical, empirical emphasis, the second section identifies the sources surveyed, and discusses their limits.

On theory use and theory

My primary object of inquiry for this thesis – theory use – is clearly related to, but also different from, the more common object of 'theory'. In explaining this object, I outline what is meant by this word couplet, identifying how it is distinguished from theory, and then elaborate by discussing the diverse contents of the concept of theory. Rather than providing a comprehensive review of the sociological literature on 'theory' and 'theory use' (a task which would overtake the thesis), my intention here is to convey three central points. The first is the diversity, plurality and complexity of things that are, at times, labelled theory, and which are embraced by my thesis object. The second concerns the general nature of the discussion about theory use: much of this assumes that the utility of theory hinges on its role in research and understanding

social reality; some discussions focus on other uses of theory, and these are mentioned through this section and picked up in relevant parts of the thesis. The third relates to the nature of my thesis, and specifically, the point that my thesis task involves historical, rather than theoretical, exploration of theory use.

Theory use

In distinguishing 'theory use' from 'theory' I am drawing attention to the employment of theory – what is done with it – and hence to its multiple possible objectives, achievements and effects. Examples may include importing or avoiding moral or political agendas; authorising knowledge or knowledge-producers; undertaking disciplinary 'boundary work'; producing work that is fashionable or distinctive; achieving status; testing ideas; sustaining careers; making assumptions explicit; building scientific knowledge; identifying positions; impressing or provoking audiences; facilitating collaboration; minimising effort; finding something to say; and providing intellectual enjoyment.

Importantly, my use of 'use' should not be taken to include only intentional, clearly directed activities or imply that there is a straightforward relationship between objectives and achievements. While theory is likely to be employed towards particular ends, there will also be unintended and surprising results. As Jeff Malpas and Gary Wickham (1995) have argued, possibilities of resistance, internal tensions and the interplay of multiple, sometimes conflicting, attempts at government will mean that any attempt to govern an object (including the many different attempts implicated in 'using theory') will be subject to limitations and failure. The particular conditions of operation (e.g. ways in which knowledges circulate, employment conditions, government policies, etc.) and institutions (e.g. university departments, journals, committees, editorial guidelines, government agencies, collaborative networks, funding systems) of sociology shape and limit ways in which theory is used, but this, again, is subject to limits (Wickham 1991).

Part of concentrating on 'theory use', including its effects, involves sensitivity to the possibility of 'theory' occupying different places within sociology. Of particular in-

terest in this thesis is the (multi-trajectory) emergence of 'theory' as an area of specialisation and of the 'theorist' as a special type of sociologist, which I outline in Chapter Two.

What is theory?

In introducing his classic essays on theory, Robert Merton expressed concern that:

> Like so many words that are bandied about, the word *theory* threatens to become emptied of meaning. The very diversity of items to which the word is applied leads to the result that it often obscures rather than creates meaning. (Merton 1949a: 5)

In concentrating on theory use, and emphasising its plurality, I am embracing this diversity, and deliberately adopting a wide, polymorphous understanding of theory that allows the actual goings-on that have been treated as theory to be examined, and the variety of possible uses of theory to be considered. Thus 'theory' is treated here as a complex of (variously, interrelated) perspectives, tools, names, ideas, practices, conceptual schemes, approaches, grammars, writings, frameworks, explanations, laws, vocabularies, philosophies, paradigms or traditions concerning all, or aspects of, society or the social. Importantly, this understanding of theory is not homogenous, but embraces distinctive, even contradictory, sociological (and broader) notions of theory, and different categories within sociological and social theory. It accommodates historical changes and regional variations in emphasis, such as from social philosophy to theory, and between sociological and social theory. It transcends conceptions of theory/ies as, for instance, scientific or metaphysical, foundational or anti-foundational, modern or postmodern, grand or middle-range, conservative or radical, and inductive or deductive.

Another aspect of the diversity of theory involves the many possible approaches to theory available in sociology. While introductory textbooks tend to offer a range of 'theoretical perspectives' with a fairly consistent model of how these are adopted within research practice (Lynch & Bogen 1997), there are many different ways in which theory is taken up by sociologists. These may include, for instance, synthesis-

ing concepts from different theoretical traditions; engaging with, adopting, rejecting or amending the central problems of a theoretical tradition; extracting ideas from eclectic sources; adding a few theoretical-looking references that happen to fit what would have been said or done anyway; assessing theoretical biographies, on their own terms or against other theoretical positions; testing and amending theoretical ideas against research findings; banishment (or elevation) to a theory chapter or section; assessing strengths and weaknesses of different theories in dealing with a particular issue; and developing theoretical ideas without reference to previous traditions.

To unpack some of this diversity, I first outline and expand on the seven meanings of theory in sociology identified by Abend (2008), noting some of the internal diversity within, and interrelations between, his meanings. Abend's analysis is limited by not taking account of historic changes in the meanings of theory, but nonetheless provides a convenient starting point. Incorporated in my discussion are examples from various sociological accounts of theory and theory use. These do not always fit neatly into Abend's taxonomy (and there is no reason for a particular theorist's writings to stay within a single category). My aim here is neither to cement nor to replace Abend's typology. Rather, I draw on it: to offer a taste of the diversity of what is included within 'theory' in my thesis; in beginning to establish both a sense of the literature on theory use, including the dominant tendency to relate theory's usefulness to research (which we will see more of in Chapter Three); and in starting to convey how my thesis project, as a historical exploration of theory use in sociology, is itself related to theory and the (arguably) related categories of metatheory, and the history and sociology of sociology.

Gabriel Abend (2008) agrees with Merton's assessment, illustrated in the quotation above, that 'theory' is overloaded with meanings and that this very polysemy places it in danger of losing any semantic traction. Merton (1949b) responded to this problem by confining 'sociological theory' to only one of the six sociological activities commonly 'lumped together' under the heading of sociological theory, the 'so-called "scientific law"' ... a statement of invariance *derivable* from a theory', hence restoring by definition his desired theory/research relation whereby theory is only obtainable from research (1949b: 84, 92). Merton bracketed off other types of work (methodology,

general sociological orientations, analysis of sociological concepts, 'post factum' sociological interpretations, empirical generalisations) as not part of, or only ancillary to, sociological theory, and defined their relevance to theory in terms of his version of proper sociological theory and hence empirical research (for example, general sociological orientations were evaluated as providing 'only the broadest framework for empirical inquiry' (1949b: 85)). While Abend's (2008) 'semantic therapy' solution shares with Merton's a concern for definitions, it differs in calling for the particular meanings of theory to be lexicographically delineated and identified in any discussions of 'theory'. He therefore identifies seven meanings of theory (summarised in Table 1-1), all of which I take as potentially caught up within 'theory use'.[3]

Table 1-1. Seven meanings of theory

Theory$_1$	Universal proposition, or system of propositions, establishing relationship between variables
Theory$_2$	Explanation of particular social phenomenon, usually causal
Theory$_3$	Hermeneutic interpretation, or understanding, of social phenomenon
Theory$_4$	Study of extant writings of named theorists
Theory$_5$	A *Weltanschauung*, an overall perspective for seeing and interpreting the world
Theory$_6$	A fundamentally normative account
Theory$_7$	Writing about broad theoretical or philosophical issues and problems

Source: Based on Abend (2008)

Abend's first type of theory, theory$_1$, is 'a general proposition, or logically connected system of general propositions, which establishes a relationship between two or more variables'. Crucial here is that the relationship is seen as general or 'universally quantified', transcending particular historical or cultural contexts (Abend 2008: 177). Thus, for instance, Percy Cohen defined a 'scientific theory' as '*ideally*, a universal, empirical statement, which asserts a causal connection between two or more types of

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[3] Similarly, Chafetz (1993: 1-2) outlined five of the 'multiple personalities' of theory – exegesis of the classics (Abend's theory$_4$), paraphrasing of 'contemporary, mostly European, inevitably pretentious, often incomprehensible and typically "anti-positivistic" metatheories' (theory$_{3/5/6}$), 'abstract epistemological and ontological navel-gazing' (theory$_7$), conceptual development/application (related to theory$_{1/2}$), and 'substantive, explanatory theory' (theory$_{1/2}$) – but considered only the last should be treated as sociological theory.

event' (1968: 2-3). This generalising notion of meaning is invoked when theory is treated in terms of social laws, but it is also often what is meant when a 'theoretical contribution' is asked of empirical research – capacity to say something about relationships between two or more social phenomena (such as social capital, class and age) in general, rather than in particular cases investigated (Abend 2008: 177).

Abend's theory$_2$, like theory$_1$, treats theory as explanatory, but in this case the theory explains, generally in a causal way, 'a particular social phenomenon' (2008: 178). For instance, a theory$_2$ might explain what factors brought about a particular historical event, such as a specific change in Australian divorce laws or the 2009 'Global Financial Crisis' (GFC), or why a new concept came into being at a particular moment. Within the deductive-nomological model promoted by Hempel and Popper, theory$_1$ and theory$_2$ are related, such that:

> ... in empirical science, the explanation of a phenomenon consists in subsuming it under general empirical laws; and the criterion of soundness is ... exclusively whether it rests on empirically well confirmed assumptions concerning initial conditions and general laws. (Hempel 1965: 240)

That is, a set of general theories$_1$ (e.g. about globalisation, regulation, economic cycles, etc.) is necessary and sufficient to provide a theory$_2$ explanation of a phenomenon (e.g. the GFC). However, there are other epistemological models where the two are seen as antithetical (Abend 2008: 178).

Definitions of sociological theory as 'scientific' often imply that theory is explanatory in the sense of theory$_1$ and/or theory$_2$. While the 'scientific' label may be stretched in other directions, there is an implied, and generally stated, relationship here between theory and empirical facts. For instance, in Percy Cohen's definition of theory, above, it is crucial that, following Popper, empiricism implies falsifiability: 'a theory is empirical if it can, in principle, be *refuted* by empirical observation' (Cohen 1968: 3). Similarly, Jonathan Turner (1974: 2-7) understood scientific theory as composed of concepts, including variables, organised into theoretical statements with a consistent, and refutable, format; if statements cannot be disproven, 'theory is simply a self-maintaining body of statements which bears little relationship, except in their framers'

minds, to real phenomena' (1974: 7). Scientific theory, here, is directly related to empirical research.

Both Cohen and Turner noted that their formulations of scientific theory are ideal ones that much sociological theory does not realise in practice (this 'practised theory' also being included in my definition).[4] Cohen suggested that many theories can be untestable because they are quasi-analytic or tautological, true by definition, 'neither genuine universal statements nor statements of fact', or their generality makes them too vague to be tested (1968: 6-8). And for Turner (1974: 9):

> Much of what is labelled sociological theory is, in reality, only a loose clustering of implicit assumptions, inadequately defined concepts, and a few vague and logically disconnected propositions. ... most sociological theory constitutes a verbal "image of society" rather than a rigorously constructed set of theoretical statements organized into a logically coherent format. Thus a great deal of so-called theory is really general "perspective" or "orientation" for looking at various features of the process of institutionalization, which, if all goes well, can be eventually translated into true scientific theory. (J. Turner 1974: 9)

Cohen (1968: 5) suggested that, alternatively, some sociological theory may be metaphysical (which he defined simply as untestable, using a sense of metaphysical as speculative). He used the interesting example of the theory of natural selection to argue that some such theories may nonetheless be:

> ... part of science. They constitute useful assumptions which have a programmatic or suggestive role: they may delineate a broad field in which more precise formulations can be made; they may provide ways of interpreting evidence which is used to test more precise theories; or they may sensitize an observer to the kind of factors which are relevant to explaining a particular phenomenon. (Cohen 1968: 5)

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[4] Similarly, Ritzer (2004: 4, n. 1) notes that 'most classical (and contemporary) theories fall short on one or more of the formal components of [scientific] theory, but are nonetheless considered theories by most sociologists'.

On the other hand, Cohen mentioned, and discounted from consideration, those 'metaphysical theories [which] have little or nothing to do with science' (1968: 5). Much of social theory is metaphysical or 'post-metaphysical' in this sense of being immune to falsifiability, and deriving from philosophical speculation, rather than the results of research.

In his discussion of theory, Cohen was unusual in directly addressing 'the uses of social theory' (1968: 239-43). However, he framed this problem for his contemporaries in terms of sociologists' role in social science research and his four answers related theory to matters of generalisation and empirical observation.[5] The first, associated with Parsons, involved using general theory to guide empirical observation, necessary to make that observation 'meaningful and scientifically relevant' (Cohen 1968: 240). As Parsons put it:

> It goes without saying that a theory to be sound must fit the facts, but it
> does not follow that the facts alone, discovered independently of theory,
> determine what the theory is to be, nor that theory is not a factor in deter-
> mining what facts will be discovered, what is to be the direction of interest
> of scientific investigation. (Parsons 1968[1937]: 6)[6]

Parsons, consistent with theory$_1$ (but also potentially with theory$_5$), suggested that 'scientific theory' forms an 'integrated system', a 'body of logically interrelated "general concepts" of empirical reference' (Parsons 1968[1937]: 6-7). However, C. Wright

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[5] He suggested that, by contrast, natural scientists agree on the uses of theory – 'it explains what is observed; it directs attention to what is to be observed; and it permits the making of predictions concerning what will be observed' (Cohen 1968: 239).

[6] While Cohen agreed that theory guides empirical observation, he expressed concern about the related idea that development of general theory precedes formulation of testable hypotheses, a situation that typically does not apply in the natural sciences. He saw this as linked with two possible assumptions requiring caution: one, that 'the highest levels of social theory are statements about the properties of the mind, and these can be known by introspection', involving an untenable psychological reductionism (1968: 240); the other, that the most general properties of social situations can be derived intuitively: possibly valid, but likely to produce 'general statements' that are too vague, non-universal or tautological to produce testable hypotheses (241).

Mills' criticism of this 'grand theory' was that by beginning at an extreme level of generality, it is unable to 'get down' from its 'useless heights' to observation (1970[1959]: 42):

> In *The Social System* Parsons has not been able to get down to the work of social science because he is possessed by the idea that the one model of social order he has constructed is some kind of universal model; because, in fact, he has fetishized his Concepts. What is 'systematic' about this particular grand theory is the way it outruns any specific and empirical problems. It is not used to state more precisely or more adequately any new problems of recognizable significance. It has not been developed out of any need to fly high for a little while in order to see something in the social world more clearly, to solve some problems that can be stated in terms of the historical reality in which men and institutions have their concrete being. Its problems, its course, and its solution are grandly theoretical. (Mills 1970[1959]: 58)[7]

Underlying Mills' criticism was both the conservative ideological or political content of Parsons' theory, which he took as emblematic of 'grand theory' – specifically, the lack of attention paid to questions of power and domination – and the fact that the ideological/political stance was not explicitly set out. Such issues will be taken up under discussion of theory[6].

Cohen's second view, in contrast, treated social theory as progressing, 'like natural science theories, from the lower to the higher' (Cohen 1968: 241). This view is consistent with Merton's notion of theories of the middle range – 'logically interconnected conceptions which are limited and modest in scope, rather than all-embracing and grandiose' that are:

> ... intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved in abundance during the day-by-day routines of research, and the all-inclusive speculations comprising a master conceptual scheme from which it is hoped to de-

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[7] Gendered language in original texts is retained in quotes.

rive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behavior. (Merton 1949a: 5)

Importantly, Merton did not rule out the possibility or importance of such a 'master conceptual scheme'. Indeed, he argued that both development of an '"integrated" conceptual structure' and 'special theories' (of the middle range) were necessary (1949a: 9), but that the most productive way forward was an immediate focus on the latter, '*provided that*, underlying this modest search for social uniformities, there is an enduring and pervasive concern with *consolidating* the special theories into a more general set of concepts and mutually consistent propositions' (1949a: 9-10). Cohen saw this as closer to the way theoretical development usually proceeds, but seems to have shared Merton's concern about 'underestimat[ing] the value of the rather vague, but suggestive, meta-sociological theories', whose actual value, or use, he did not elaborate (Cohen 1968: 241).

Cohen argued against another view that treats theory as subsequent to observation, 'simply an array of concepts which are used for the description of social facts which, when brought together in certain ways, provide causal explanations, or better still, meaningful correlations' (Cohen 1968: 241). Mills' (1970[1959]: 60-86) 'abstracted empiricism', might fit here. This is exemplified in the work of Lazarsfeld, in which both 'theory' and 'data' are defined in restricted terms: '"theory" becomes the variables useful in interpreting statistical findings; "empirical data" … are restricted to such statistically determined facts and relations as are numerous, repeatable, measurable' (Mills 1970[1959]: 77). One approach to theory is illustrated by his observation that the literature chapters inserted into empirical research reports were 'all too often done after the data are collected and "written up" [and] often given over to the busy assistant', with the chapter then 'reshaped in an effort to surround the empirical study

with "theory" and to "give it meaning"', giving a false impression that the broader theory guided research design (1970[1959]: 80).[8]

Finally, Cohen's book promoted an understanding of theory use where:

> ... sociologists should bother less about imitating the natural scientists or about obtaining theories which permit them to derive others from them, and should attend more to the task of making statements which enable them to investigate the nature of social reality as adequately as possible. (Cohen 1968: 241)

Mills presented his work, and that of 'classic social science' more generally, in an analogous way. He considered that developing a philosophical model that brings together the empirical and theoretical can be productive, helping social scientists to clarify their approach:

> But its use ought to be of a general nature; no working social scientist need take any such model very seriously. And above all, we ought to take it as a liberation of our imagination and a source of suggestion for our procedures, rather than as a limit upon our problems. To limit, in the name of "natural science" the problems upon which we shall work seems to me a curious timidity. (Mills 1970[1959]: 134)

For Mills, the role of 'theory' in the research process involved 'paying close attention to the words one is using, especially their degree of generality and their logical relations'. Theoretical reflection helps us to reconsider and restate our problems. Both theory and methods should offer 'clarity of conception and economy of procedure',

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[8] Beilharz (1991a: 3) instead regretted that 'In the dominant understanding theory is something done in advance, a prophylactic like the literature review in an "empirical" thesis. ... not a perpetual participant in the process of thinking as such. ... Sociologists thus need theory, but need also to keep it in its proper place, back in the box, routinised, sanitized [sic], clearly marked and bounded'.

with promoting the sociological imagination the over-riding concern (Mills 1970[1959]: 135).[9]

Cohen's 'uses of theory', then, reduce to different ways of understanding the role of theory in the research process. However, his opening comment that philosophers, and past writers on social theory who saw themselves as philosophers, could justify doing theory work as 'an end in itself' (1968: 239), might open a space for thinking about some other 'uses' of theory. For instance, if the self-justification of philosophy adheres to theory, does this grant it legitimacy in making claims for disciplinary space? And if theoretical work is understood as being its own end, could we see this practice of theoretical work in terms of personal pleasures or work on the theorist's self? I will consider such uses in Chapters Four and Six. Importantly, it is not only as philosophy that theory's uses extend beyond research; for instance, the very definition of theory as scientific is complicit in constructing sociology as a scientific discipline.

Moving on through Abend's taxonomy, theory$_3$ shares with the previous two a concern with empirical phenomena, and hence research. However, this is conceived in hermeneutic, rather than scientific, terms. Instead of relating a phenomenon to variables, or causally explaining it, theory$_3$ provides a way of understanding, or interpreting or making sense of it (Abend 2008: 178-79). This is illustrated as an approach common in a sample of late twentieth-century sociological research articles from leading Mexican journals (and also more common in European, and Australian and British, sociology), contrasting with theoretical approaches found in U.S. articles, which tend more towards Theory$_1$ and/or Theory$_2$ (Abend 2006).[10] Abend describes these theories as diverse 'grammars', storytelling devices or '"ways of worldtelling"',

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[9] Mills went on to argue that 'every working social scientist must be his own methodologist and his own theorist' (1970[1959]: 135). Chafetz (1993: 2) agreed that 'Every sociologist should be a "theorist"', but went further, 'and none should be a theory specialist'.

[10] The samples consist of fifteen articles drawn from each of *Estudios Sociológicos* (1996-2000), *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia* (1996-2000), *American Journal of Sociology* (*AJS*) (1995-2001) and *American Sociological Review* (*ASR*) (1996-2001), excluding any non-refereed pieces and theoretical, methodological, exegetical and quantitative empirical articles (this last accounting for less than one percent of Mexican empirical articles, but 83% of *ASR* and 76% of *AJS* empirical articles) (Abend 2006: 3-4).

rather than a way of showing what the world is (2006: 14). In approximately half (47%) of the Mexican articles, theory is not explicitly employed at all, but is inextricably combined with the 'data' to produce a 'nonevident reading of the empirical world'. The theories here 'are constructed so close to the facts that they are sometimes inseparable from them – the theories *are* the facts; the theories *are the facts as they are told*' (2006: 6, 13). In the other half, and shading into theory$_5$, writings in 'grand theory' (e.g. Habermas, Luhmann, Giddens, Bourdieu), are broadly drawn on, in various ways, as a hermeneutic resource. Authors may 'borrow' or reference concepts, terminology, observations or definitions from theoretical writers, or 'use them to interpret or illuminate particular aspects of their arguments', not confining this to a discrete theory section (2006: 7-8). In some cases theory$_3$ coexists with theory$_5$, with theories providing broad orienting frameworks 'that suggest how to formulate questions and how to look at the world, and what is and what is not interesting' (Abend 2006: 7).

Next we come to theory$_4$, which refers not to the production or testing of a theory, but to the study of the existing writings of named theorists, such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Parsons and Bourdieu. Unlike the previous three meanings, theory$_4$ is not defined as always and immediately tied back to empirical research or the empirical world: although it often is, for example in promoting the relevance of theory$_4$ (e.g. Hurst 2000), suggestions that the great theoretical texts are also empirical or are empirically productive (e.g. Stinchcombe 1982: 8), or when such study forms part of a research monograph (see Wolcott 2002). Theory here is the study typically carried out by those academic sociologists calling themselves 'theorists' and teaching 'theory courses' (Abend 2008: 179). Abend points out the variety of terms for these studies: '"interpretations," "analyses," "critiques," "hermeneutical reconstructions," or "exegeses"', and, as these terms imply, that hermeneutic agendas are common, whether in seeking to identify 'what the author of a text "really" meant' or in the sense of the text's 'significance, relevance, usefulness, what was or is original about it, how it has been drawn upon, etc' (Abend 2008: 179). Likewise, there are many possible 'approaches to theory' that may be considered part of theory$_4$, such as constructing theoretical biographies (see Ritzer 1991a), and assessing them on their own terms or against other theoretical positions; engaging with (and adopting, rejecting, or amend-

ing) the central problems of a theoretical tradition; and critically synthesising writings from different theorists.

The 'classics' form a subset of 'existing writings' that attracts particular attention, including comment upon their uses: a strand of writing about theory use that commonly includes, but goes beyond, research and understanding. For example, Stinchcombe (1982: 2-10) has suggested that classic texts are likely to meet one or more of six functions: offering exemplars (both theoretical and empirical) that set aesthetic standards for sociological work to aspire to (the 'touchstone' function); challenging our thinking ('developmental tasks'); identifying our theoretical interests ('intellectual small change'); providing 'fundamental ideas'; suggesting problems for empirical research ('underexploited normal science'); and providing a basis for community ('ritual use'). While some of these uses extend beyond research, Stinchcombe cautioned sociologists about straying from empiricism. For instance, under 'intellectual small change' he suggested that the classics can be used as 'intellectual badges', differentiating us from others, identifying our intellectual interests and helping us choose whose work to read and who to talk to (1982: 6-7), but warned that, like conference session titles, this may be deceptive given the diversity of possible work grouped under one theoretical label:

> Our prejudices are not good guides to intellectual quality. The use of classics as identifying badges tends to produce sects rather than open intellectual communities. The badges tend to become boundaries rather than guides. (Stinchcombe 1982: 7)

Abend does not make this explicit here, but I take the object of theory$_4$, the 'existing writings of named theorists', as quite clearly also part of 'theory'. An implication, then, is that theory$_4$ is caught up in not only Abend's definition of theory, but definitions (such as those of Ritzer (1990; 1991b)) of metatheory. I will return to the relationship between theory and metatheory later.

In Abend's fifth category, a theory$_5$ is a '*Weltanschauung*', an 'overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world' (Abend 2008: 179). These relate to social research or the social world by providing a guiding framework with which to

'look at, grasp and represent it' (179), for instance, by understanding society as a system, or focusing attention onto the categories of gender and power. In providing an *a priori* framework, that is prior to and independent of sensory experience, theory$_5$ has close similarities with Kant's 'categories of understanding' (180). This version of theory may be related to others, such as providing a broader framework within which theories$_1$ and $_2$ may be constructed, and guiding theory$_3$. In thinking of examples of theory$_5$ – feminist theory, Marxist theory, structural-functionalist theory, game theory – it is also clear that they may in turn be derived from theory$_4$. Theory$_5$ is generally intended when reference is made to a 'theoretical approach', 'school', 'framework', 'perspective', 'tradition', 'viewpoint', 'orienting ... strategy' and 'paradigm' (Abend 2008: 180). While these terms all signify theory$_5$, there are clearly important differences in the way that they understand theory, and historical and regional patterning to how these notions of theory are taken up (as will be seen in later chapters).

One aspect of theory raised by the category of theory$_5$ is how these 'overall perspectives' come into being. What work is involved in transforming the object of theory$_4$ into perspectives, frameworks, schools or traditions? Typically, theoretical writers do not offer their own work as such comprehensive frameworks (although exceptions might be found, for instance in the work of Parsons), and the organisation of theoretical writing into perspectives (or frameworks, paradigms, etc.) is a metatheoretical task (e.g. Ritzer 1975), again a point I will return to later.

Two examples, Elias and Foucault, indicate two different positions individual theorists have taken in terms of how their work relates to theory$_5$. While Elias 'refrained from making the claim that he was developing a "theoretical system"' (van Krieken 1998: 43), there are many suggestions within his writing that he was not offering a theoretical perspective to add to others within sociology, but suggesting *the* theoretical and methodological framework, the *Weltanschauung*, which sociologists should

adopt.[11] This is apparent through examination of his introductory textbook, *What is Sociology?* (Elias 1978[1970]), published late in his career and life. The textbook discussion consistently adopts an Eliasian approach, for instance, treating 'society' and other social groupings as figurations of interdependent individuals (e.g. 1978[1970]: 15), focusing on long term processes, such as 'scientificization' of human thought (e.g. 1978[1970]: 17-18), and understanding these processes as not intended or planned but 'the consequences flowing from the intermeshing of the actions of numerous people' (146) (see also van Krieken (1998: 6-8, 42-83) for a more detailed discussion of Elias's theoretical approach). Where other theorists or alternative theoretical approaches are included, they are either integrated into Elias's approach (e.g. Comte is extensively discussed as instigating the 'sociological theory of science' developed by Elias (1978[1970]: 54); Durkheim's work on suicide is viewed in terms of 'interweaving structures' (98)), or highlighted as being caught up in previous ways of thinking, with resulting problems (e.g. Weber, while 'a great sociologist in his intellectual synthesis of empirical data, and a thinker of great insight' never 'succeeded in solving the problem of the relationship between the two basically isolated and static objects seemingly indicated by the concepts of the single individual and society' (116-117)).[12] And sprinkled through the book are comments indicating the need to turn away from previous theories, to 'reorientate one's comprehension' (14), towards 'new means of speaking and thinking' (111) by adopting his (developing) approach. For instance:

> With constant feedback from the increasing volume of empirical research
> we can now discard many traditional models of knowledge and thought,
> and over the years develop in their place other instruments for speaking

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[11] This is albeit a framework that is itself subject to long-term processes of development (e.g. Elias 1978[1970]: 21). Van Krieken (1998: 43) has argued that Elias was trying to 'avoid the tendency towards fetishizing theory, theorists and theoretical perspectives, at the expense of getting on with the practice of sociological investigation'. This raises questions about whether his belated reception as an important sociologist (van Krieken 1998: 2) was promoted by failure to present himself as a 'theorist'.

[12] As van Krieken (1998: 42) notes, Elias 'was never concerned to spend much effort criticizing or commenting on, let alone outlining or reconstructing, other theorists' ideas'. Terminology is sometimes borrowed without acknowledgement. For instance, he referred to the 'development of sociological imagination' without mentioning Mills (Elias 1978[1970]: 25).

and thinking, better suited to the scientific investigation of human social figurations. (Elias 1978[1970]: 19)

Despite these implications that Elias's work might provide a guiding framework for sociology,[13] he was clear that theories should always be closely tied to research and not transformed into *a priori* belief systems. Sociologists as scientists:

> ... *are destroyers of myths*. By factual observation, they endeavour to re-
> place myths, religious ideas, metaphysical speculations and all unproven
> images of natural processes with theories – testable, verifiable and cor-
> rectable by factual observation. Science's task of hunting down myths and
> exposing general beliefs as unfounded in fact will never be finally accom-
> plished. For both within and beyond groups of scientific specialists, people
> are always turning scientific theories into belief systems. They extend the
> theories and use them in ways divorced from the theoretically directed in-
> vestigation of facts. (Elias 1978[1970]: 52)

If Elias offered an overarching theoretical framework, it is one in which the role of theory is very much linked to research. Thus, *Sociological Theory: Uses and Unities*, a textbook by Stephen Mennell (1974), one of Elias's collaborators, addresses the use-fulness of theory exclusively by showing its relevance for research.

Despite the fact that Foucault's work is often treated as a theory5, he explicitly re-frained from and cautioned against understanding his own work in these terms. His genealogical studies always concerned specific local, historical situations, with no guarantee of transportability to other contexts (Barry et al. 1996: 5-6; Foucault 1991a: 380). For instance, he said:

> ... it will be no part of our concern to provide a solid and homogenous
> theoretical terrain for all these dispersed genealogies, nor to descend upon

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[13] A view also promoted by subsequent Eliasian scholars, e.g. Quilley and Loyal (2005).

them from on high with some kind of halo of theory that would unite
them. (Foucault 1980a: 87)[14]

He suggested an alternative, smaller-scale, metaphor for his work, as 'tool-box[es]'
(cited in Deleuze & Guittari 1981: 49), offering the '"gadgets" of approach or method
that [he had] tried to employ with psychiatry, the penal system or natural history' if
they are of service, with or without transformation, to other studies (Foucault 1980b:
65). This idea of theory as tools or tool-kits, as with the Mexican notion of theory as
grammars, emphasises an idea that theory-users need not be constrained to a defined
theoretical framework but may pick and choose elements of theory from different
writers as needed for any particular task.[15]

With theory$_6$ Abend delineates theoretical 'accounts that have a fundamental norma-
tive component', including critical, feminist, and postcolonial theory and much Marx-
ist and neo-Marxist theory (2008: 180). These may, of course, overlap with his other
meanings of theory, most obviously in the sense that these may also operate as *Welt-
anschauung* or be developed via the study of named theorists, but also in normativity
invoked in interpretations or even explanations of social phenomena.

For example, as mentioned before, Mills' criticism of Parsons' theoretical approach
was tied to its lack of engagement with matters of power. This, for Mills, did not ren-

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[14] I have previously argued that this stems from both the fact that Foucault's different geneal-
ogies are concerned with 'dismantling' particular objects and his self-transformative ambi-
tion, the fact that he is 'more an experimenter than a theorist' (Foucault 1991b: 27-28). In turn
the changeability and incompleteness noted in his portrayals of social phenomena (e.g. Dean
1994: 201-2; Fox 1998; Lloyd 1996: 247-48; Sawicki 1994: 288) reflect the extreme and in-
complete positions resulting from the different and specific targets of genealogy in his differ-
ent writings (Harley 2000; Harley & Thiele 2001).

[15] Wacquant (1992: 30-31) suggested that Bourdieu similarly treated concepts pragmatically
as Wittgensteinian '"tool kits" ... designed to help him solve problems', but 'anchored in, and
disciplined by, [his] limited set of theoretical postulates and substantive concerns'. Thus
Bourdieu (1985: 18) described his concept of 'field' as a 'thinking tool', although one
enmeshed with his other concepts, such as habitus, and unlike Foucault he emphasised gener-
alised 'theoretical principles'. For instance, he understood that realising the 'heuristic value'
of 'field' required its repeated application to different fields to distinguish those features spe-
cific to particular fields and those that are general.

der it value free or impotent, for within the 'bureaucratic ethos', '[t]heory serves, in a variety of ways, as ideological justification of authority' (Mills 1970[1959]: 131).[16] He is amongst many who would suggest that all theory, and theory use, is normative: 'There is no way in which any social scientist can avoid assuming choices of value and implying them in his work as a whole' (1970[1959]: 196). Mills argued that ideals of truth, reason and freedom are embedded in the social sciences, and outlined sociologists' 'political task' in terms of identifying the consequences of the actions of those in power, holding them to account, and revealing to ordinary people the connections between their 'personal troubles' and 'public issues' (205).

In his 1973 British Sociological Association (BSA) Presidential Address, 'The State of Theory and the Status of Theory', Peter Worsley (1974) celebrated both Mills' and Gouldner's (1971) assessments of the state of theory within sociology, like them, calling for more emphasis on social structure.[17] He noted that it is not only research with which theory is (or should be) in a 'dialectical and reflexive interplay', but also praxis, although regretted that this was 'hardly ever ... collective praxis in the form of "changing the world"'(1974: 5).[18] He saw the rise, amongst a minority of the 'new generation' of sociologists, of concern with praxis and Marxist theory as one reaction to the dominant state of American sociology in the 1950s and 1960s:

> Some of the new generation reacted to the intertwined crises of American
> theory and practice by attempting not just to cognitively map, but even to
> change the world. They naturally gravitated to Marxism, the only cultur-
> ally available world-view which places the societal production of exploi-

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[16] His particular concern was the bureaucratisation of both grand theory and 'abstracted empiricism', which 'serves to make authority more effective and more efficient by providing information of use to authoritative planners' (Mills 1970[1959]: 131-32).

[17] See discussion on sociology of sociology below for some details of Gouldner's approach.

[18] Unlike the theory-research-praxis ideal, 'sociological theory has generally been developed quite away from the world, often only slightly applied to it, rather than generated in the process of exploring and using that world. Theory of this kind has been "theory-in-itself"' (Worsley 1974: 5),

tation and inequality at the heart of its theory, and tackles these, too, not just as theory but as "theoretical praxis." (Worsley 1974: 15)[19]

Abend suggests that this sense of theory might be entailed in the opposition between disciplinary-transcending social theory, with its close connections to the humanities, and 'supposedly value-neutral sociological theory', or at least that 'self-defined "social theorists" are more likely to do theory$_6$ than, say, theory$_1$' (Abend 2008: 180). The most obvious distinction signalled between sociological and social theory involves matters of disciplinarity – sociological theory 'belongs' to sociology, social theory to the social sciences more broadly – but even this is not so straightforward. This is well illustrated by a 1998 discussion of what directions (European) social theory should take (Bertilsson et al. 1998), in which several participants described some kind of special, but not monogamous, relationship between social theory and sociology. For instance, Salvador Giner saw sociology as social theory's 'natural home', but over recent decades, 'other disciplines – economics, moral philosophy, political science – have made original contributions to areas of social theory and research that were once the preserve of sociology' (in Bertilsson et al. 1998: 128). Gerard Delanty described social theory as having 'become central to sociology' but as 'more than mere sociological theory; it must express the commonalities of the social sciences, drawing together cultural theory, political theory, sociological theory and legal theory, as well as the theoretical concerns of the other social sciences' (in Bertilsson et al. 1988: 127-28). And while some (such as Outhwaite and Sztompka) saw the crucial aspect of social theory that it transcends any single social science, it has a particular role of opening 'sociology toward history, political science, economics, ethnology, etc.' (Sztompka), or as 'a watch tower from which to view sociology's interfaces with social philosophy, political theory, psychology, and the life sciences' (Therborn) (Bertilsson et al. 1988: 130-32).

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[19] Worsley agreed with Gouldner that the turn to symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology was another response that ultimately failed to challenge broader structures of power, although considered these 'micro' approaches could be useful – 'to read [Goffman] is to experience a deepening of perception' – if harnessed to larger-scale (but not systems) theories of society to enable addressing 'the major problems of understanding social life' (1974: 9, 15-16).

As Abend notes, normativity is another feature that might distinguish social from sociological theory, and certainly, inclusion of writers such as Habermas and Arendt as social, but not sociological, theorists exemplifies this distinction (e.g. Beilharz 1991b). However, a normative dimension can also be found in writings about Marx, Weber and Durkheim (Thiele 2005). The distinctions between sociological and social theory might also, however, be considered in terms of oppositions (or continua) between foundationalism and anti- or post-foundationalism on one hand, and scientificity and hermeneutics or philosophy on the other. Thus Seidman and Alexander (2001) noted that the loosening of disciplinary ties on theory in the last decades of the twentieth century coincided with shifts away from foundationalist scientistic theory, where a scientific explanatory framework, subject to empirical testing, grounded knowledge about the social world, to a variety of both philosophically grounded foundationalist theories, such as those treating the individual or the group as basic to social analysis, and anti-foundationalist theories, not tied to a disciplinary framework, and with explicit connection to political positions and social movements, instead of science, providing legitimacy.

It is worth pointing out that matters of empiricism do not distinguish social from sociological theory. For instance, for Goran Therborn, 'Social theory is not only conceptualizations and discourse on other theoreticians' concepts. It is also explanatory accounts and models, and the confrontation of rival explanations in empirical fields' (in Bertilsson et al. 1988: 132).[20] And for Sztompka, 'Social theory should provide precise, coherent, systematic cognitive maps, conceptual models, explanatory hypotheses, and ex post facto interpretations providing better orientation in the chaotic field of actual experiences' (in Bertilsson et al. 1988: 131). If not theory$_1$ or theory$_2$, at least theory$_3$ is included here. Seidman and Alexander described a '"downward shift"' of social theory to empirical realms since the 1980s, though:[21]

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[20] Therborn's name is spelt Goran, rather than Göran, in the article.

[21] It is likewise worth noting that the European 'theory conference' mentioned in the introduction and discussed in this thesis was organised by the *social* theory group of the European *Sociological* Association.

> The new wave of problem-orientated studies can hardly be understood as "scientific" in the early, foundational sense. Not only are these investigations directly informed by metatheoretical concerns, but also their arguments are evaluated in terms that go beyond narrowly evidentiary criteria of scientific truth to embrace normative resonance, hermeneutic texture, and critical reflexivity. There is now a much more explicitly acknowledged, and far from delegitimating, relationship between social theory and social life. (Seidman & Alexander 2001: 3)

Both social theory and sociological theory are historically changeable categories, as is the relation between them. The main point for my thesis is that so far as sociological and social theory are employed within sociology they are both incorporated into my object of theory use. In much of the thesis, the distinction is not important, and where it is, this is signalled.

Abend's final category, theory$_7$, involves writing about broad theoretical or philosophical issues and problems. These might include, for instance, the '"micro-macro"' and '"structure and agency"' problems (Abend 2008: 181; e.g. Alexander et al. 1987; Ritzer 1991b: 207-34) or the social construction of reality (e.g. Hacking 1999). This may, but need not, be related to both theory$_4$ and theory$_5$ (and shaped by theory$_6$). While these are, in a sense, questions about the empirical world and inform analyses of research, they are not empirical questions as such. In a reflexive moment, Abend (2008: 181) suggests that his present paper 'might be said to be a "theory" paper mostly in the sense of theory$_7$', returning us to the question of the relation between theory and metatheory.

Theory, metatheory, metasociology, history?

Something that has become apparent in the above discussion is that there is potential overlap, and no clearly defined or agreed boundary, between theory and *metatheory* (Ritzer 1990; 1991b) – the study of theory. Several of Abend's (2008) categories of theory might also be included as metatheory. While Ritzer, as part of his aim of establishing metatheory as a separate endeavour within sociology, claimed that 'metatheory is not theory', he also pointed out that most theorists spend much of their

time doing metatheory (Ritzer 1991b: 1-3, 13).[22] For the purposes of my thesis, I include much of Ritzer's itself multi-faceted category of 'metatheory' (or metatheorising) within, rather than above, theory.

Delineating metatheory in terms of 'end products', Ritzer distinguished 'metatheorizing as a prelude to theory development' (M_P), 'metatheorizing as a source of perspectives that overarch sociological theory' (M_O) and 'metatheorizing as a means of attaining a deeper understanding of theory' (M_U) (1991b: 6).[23] The first two of these, involving theoretical study and analysis of existing theory, sit very comfortably in my (and Abend's) broad understandings of theory. Indeed, Ritzer indicated that he had only recently shifted these into the class of 'metatheorizing' (from theorising), helpfully, for him, outing the critics of metatheory as 'closet metatheoreticians' (1990: 3-4; 1991b: 8-13).

Ritzer argued that M_P is a very, and increasingly, common aspect of theory development, evident in the writings of Marx, Weber and Durkheim, along with theorists including Parsons, Alexander, Giddens and Habermas (1991b: 35-45). In effect, this is a subset of Abend's category of theory$_4$. Furthermore, M_p often occurs implicitly – captured in the idea of Weber's '"dialogue with the ghost of Marx"' (Salomon 1945: 596, in Giddens 1971: 185)[24] – making it more difficult to assess (Ritzer 1991b: 45-49). In reflecting on the increased role of theoretical writing as a resource for theory development, at the expense of empirical research, and hence the 'oft-observed serious gap between theory and empirical research' (Ritzer 1991b: 47-48), Ritzer underscores a

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[22] There are obvious parallels between Ritzer's work to establish metatheory as an 'independent and significant endeavour' (1991b: 2) and the establishment of theory as a specialty within sociology.

[23] While Ritzer claimed at one point to focus on 'the *process* of metatheorizing' rather than 'metatheory' (1991b: 13, n. 2), he elsewhere made clear that his focus was 'on the end products of metatheorizing', only one of which is metatheory, with 'similar work needed on the process of metatheorizing' (1991b: 14, n. 15). An emphasis on the process of metatheorising, or theorising, might share some similarities with my emphasis on theory use, in capturing the variety of approaches to theory and their objectives and effects.

[24] However, Giddens notes that it was not only Marx's intellectual influence, but the political influence of Marxism which Weber was confronting.

main motif of my discussion: that considerations of theory use tend to return to the importance of theory for research.

M_O involves studying theory to produce a perspective (or metatheory) that overarches some or all of sociological theory, including some of his own work (Ritzer 1991b: 51; 161-205).[25] It is arguable that quite similar work is involved in, for instance, identifying separate 'perspectives' or 'paradigms', which Ritzer would include in his internal-intellectual category of M_U. It seems to me that this choice was guided by his view that M_O, unlike M_U, is generally not a constructive exercise, and to protect M_U from the critics of M_O. He attributed this counter-productivity to two factors: an assumption that much, or all, sociological theory can fit under a single perspective, and that:

> ... metatheorists who do this kind of work have a tendency to argue that they are offering the "right" transcendent perspective and that all other approaches, including those that argue that there can be no such overarching orientation, are "wrong." Work of this type thus systematically and gravely underestimates the amount of diversity within sociology in general, and within sociological theory in particular. Because of this deep and pervasive diversity, there is little or no immediate possibility of coming up with a single, "right" transcendent perspective. (Ritzer 1991b: 53)

I certainly have sympathy for Ritzer's concern that attempting to contain sociological theory within a single perspective is challenged by, and disrespectful to, the diversity and plurality of theory and the discipline. However, I would suggest that claims to 'rightness' are not the sole province of metatheorists$_O$.

Ritzer's category of M_U involves the 'study of theories, theorists, communities of theorists, as well as the larger intellectual and social contexts of theories and theorists', so as 'to attain a more profound understanding of extant sociological theory' (1990: 4; 1991b: 17).[26] While M_U includes theoretical work (certainly work that

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[25] He distinguishes this from O_M, development of an overarching perspective without prior study of theory, which he considers generally counterproductive (Ritzer 1991b: 51).

[26] His suggestion that this category involves 'the highest degree of reflexivity' (Ritzer 2007) seems to suggest a certain meta-expertise enjoyed by meta-theorists.

would fit into Abend's schema), it also includes work that is more marginal to theory. It also comes closer than his other categories to the aim of my thesis, although I do not consider myself to be doing meta-theory as such. To show some of the complexity of this category, Ritzer identified four sub-types (internal-intellectual, internal-social, external-intellectual, external-social), depending on whether they focus on intellectual/cognitive (intellectual) or social issues (social) and whether they use concepts or consider factors from within (internal) or outside sociology (external) (1991b: 17-18). Thus internal-intellectual includes, most commonly, re-examination of theories and theorists' work, which again fits comfortably into Abend's theory$_4$ (Ritzer 1991b: 19-20). Ritzer also included here development of 'metatheoretical tools' for probing the underlying structure of theory, making comparisons and developing new theories (such as Gouldner's (1971) 'background assumptions' and 'domain assumptions'), and various analyses of macro-micro relations, which overlap with Abend's theory$_7$ and others. Also seen as internal-intellectual M_U are studies that, focusing on the cognitive level, categorise theories into paradigms or broad schools of thought (I assume 'perspectives' would also fit) or attempt to account for historical changes in these paradigms or schools, as well as responses to these, whether they involve commentary, debate, theoretical extensions or empirical testing.

In incorporating work that examines and explains changes, growth and decline in paradigms and similar categories, Ritzer included 'various aspects of the history of sociology'. His choice of examples – Shils' (1970) work on the history of sociology and Lengermann's (1979) more specific historical study of the 1935 founding of the *American Sociological Review (ASR)* – are indicative of the difficulties of delineating the treatment of theory within histories of sociology and his category of metatheorising for understanding theory, and signal the danger that the latter might swallow the former. I suspect it might be Shils' (1970: 762) understanding of sociology as 'an intellectual accomplishment' that renders it, for Ritzer, a case of internal-intellectual M_U, for Shils' explorations of 'intellectual tradition[s]' within which 'the practice of sociology – that is, sociological research and sociological reflection –' takes place paid only peripheral attention to the cognitive level.[27] Rather, in an essay that roams

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[27] Ritzer also includes this under external-social.

over the prehistory of sociology, stretching back to the Ancient world and medieval Islam, and takes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments in the United States, Britain, France and Germany, Shils (1970) argued that the extent of institutionalisation of particular sociological traditions is crucial in determining their influence and longevity. His other example here, Lengermann's (1979) study, involved a straightforward historical tracing of the founding of the *ASR* but also a delineation of three sociology of science approaches to understanding scientific change – the development, Kuhnian and critical-conflict approaches – and an application and assessment of those approaches to her case study (with a tentative perspectivalist conclusion that each approach is partial and that a full explanation requires adopting the factors from each approach). I take it that for Ritzer it was not the historical aspect of this study that qualified it for membership of M_U, but this analysis of approaches.

The internal-social segment of M_U 'emphasizes the communal aspects of various sociological theories' (Ritzer 1991b: 20), whether examining links between those associated with different sociological 'schools' or 'theory groups' (Mullins 1973), or using biographical approaches to trace how individual experience shapes theoretical choices. Generally the intention of these studies is to understand development (or otherwise) of theories taking account of the contribution of social factors, such as relationships, not just the intellectual value of the theories. Usefully, for my thesis, in drawing attention to the roles of relationships in theory, they open the possibility of theory being relational in various ways (for instance, in positioning the self or defining disciplinary boundaries), uses of theory that I will discuss in later chapters.

The external-intellectual quadrant of M_U uses tools from other disciplines to analyse theory. Ritzer mentioned philosophy (in relation to paradigms) and linguistic discourse analysis (he might also have included disciplinary history here, except that it has other homes in his taxonomy). External-social considers the influence of broader social factors, such as national setting, sociology as a profession, and processes of institutionalisation, with Shils' (1970) history of sociology again given as an example (Ritzer 1991b: 21). These kinds of work do not fit obviously into any of Abend's meanings of sociological theory.

The categories of metatheory in general, and particularly M_U, highlight one of the dangers of my employing such an expansive understanding of theory: that everything will be included, even members of categories (like 'research', 'methods', 'evidence', and 'practice') that are sometimes opposed to theory. In accepting this risk, my strategy is to be mindful of the different, potentially shifting ways in which 'theory' is cordoned off from 'non-theory', how the distinction is mobilised, and to what ends.

This distinction also brings me to the nature of my thesis, and specifically, how it relates to metatheory (and hence theory?), and other traditions, such as the sociology of sociology, and history of sociology. To be frank, an important consideration is that I do not want the thesis (or myself as writer) to represent itself as theoretical, and hence tangled up in a recurrent loop of theoretical self-reflexivity. I do not wish to follow the convoluted lead of Pierre Bourdieu, whose *Homo Academicus*, which aimed 'to trap *Homo Academicus*, supreme classifier among classifiers, in the net of his own classifications' (1988: xi), involved 'a considerable proportion of self-analysis by proxy' (Bourdieu 1988: xxvi). He claimed to negotiate the coexistence of his ordinary knowledge of and position within the field he was studying, and the 'scientific' knowledge of the field he aimed to produce, via an 'epistemological break' with his intuitive knowledge – 'the end product of a long dialectical process in which intuition, formulated in an empirical operation, analyses and verifies or falsifies itself, engendering new hypotheses, gradually more firmly based, which will be transcended in their turn, thanks to the problems, failures and expectations which they bring to light' – and then 'reconstituting the knowledge which had been obtained by means of this break' (Bourdieu 1988: 1, 7). Illustrating the complexity of this task (not to mention his rhetorical style – surely a display of his cultural capital, although I have never read

any mention of this by Bourdieu[28]), Bourdieu suggested that for 'the sociologist' (i.e. himself):

> ... his freedom in the face of the social determinisms which affect him is proportionate to the power of his theoretical and technical methods of objectification, and above all, perhaps, to his ability to use them on himself, so to speak, to objectify his own position through the objectification of the space within which are defined both his position and his primary vision of his position, and positions opposed to it; it is proportionate to his capacity simultaneously to objectify the very intention of objectifying, to take a sovereign, absolute view of the world, and especially of the world which he belongs to, and to work at excluding from scientific objectification everything that it might owe to the ambition to dominate by means of the weapons of science; finally, it is proportionate to his capacity to orientate the effort of objectification towards the dispositions and interests which the researcher himself owes to his trajectory and to his position and also towards his scientific practice, towards the presuppositions which this entails in its concepts and problematics, and in all the ethical or political aims associated with the social interests inherent in a position within the scientific field. (Bourdieu 1988: 15)

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[28] Although he does begin the preface to the English-language version of *Distinction* fearing that 'this book will strike the reader as "very French" – which I know is not always a compliment', in part reflecting its empirical object, but also that 'the mode of expression characteristic of a cultural production always depends on the laws of the market in which it is offered' (Bourdieu 1984: xi-xiii). While in *Homo Academicus* Bourdieu was included in his own analysis – appearing for instance in the lower left quadrant of his graph of individuals in the space of the arts and social science faculties (lacking university power but enjoying other forms of power or prestige, and lacking institutional recognition, as opposed to tenured) (1988: 276) and equal thirty-sixth on the *Lire*'s list of those voted as having a profound intellectual influence in his 'The hit parade of French intellectuals, or who is to judge the legitimacy of the judges?' (1988: 263) – and commented that he is part of the contested field he was studying, he did not specifically comment upon how the field and his position in it had shaped his trajectory (although he let slip an occasional comment from the field, so to speak, for instance snapping that 'Raymond Boudon, forever concerned with the external trappings of scientific appearances' has adapted one of his terms 'without acknowledging his source' (1988: 17)). He seems to have been trapped in the difficulty that in demanding both reflexivity and objectivity he both could not, and must, reflect on his own experiences.

While I believe that theory can be useful for research and thinking about social life (for instance, in sparking research questions, making assumptions explicit, and suggesting ways to conceptualise social phenomena that do not oversimplify or essentialise them) and admit that I enjoy the intellectual puzzling and argumentation that theory work can entail, I do not regard this as a theoretical thesis, certainly not a *primarily* theoretical thesis. (My qualification here reflects the sense that an a-theoretical thesis might be an impossible undertaking, particularly given the broad definition of 'theory' my thesis is embracing).[29] This is one important reason why I have not approached this thesis as a Bourdieusian analysis, a study of *homo theoreticus*, or *homo sociologicus australis*. Interestingly, there is not a strong emphasis on theory in Bourdieu's analysis (for instance, the kinds of capital analysed do not include theoretical capital (e.g. Bourdieu 1988: 39-40)), perhaps because in the French academic context, theoreticality can be taken for granted, evident in Bourdieu's equation of theorising and intellectualising when he indicates that the 'scientific profit' from 'attempting to discover what is entailed by the fact of belonging to the academic field' is that:

> ... above all it reveals the social foundations of the propensity to theorize or to intellectualize, which is inherent in the very posture of the scholar feeling free to withdraw from the game in order to conceptualise it, and assuming the objective, which attracts social recognition as being scientific, of arriving at a sweeping overview of the world, drafted from an external and superior point of view. (Bourdieu 1988: xiii)

This contextualising of academic life, in general, as being more than an intellectual- or knowledge-endeavour focused on research or understanding makes an important contribution, and a Bourdieusian analysis of Australian sociology or social theory might be interesting – perhaps treating competing claims to the importance of theoretical versus empirical capital by theoretical and empirical sociologists in terms of

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[29] While writing this I started wondering about analogies with Ian Hacking's (1995) 'looping effect of human kinds': how does definition of an individual as a 'theorist' shape that individual's work, and how is the category 'theorist' shaped by it? And (how) do self-definition and other-definition differ in relation to the looping effect? But in the spirit of the broader point I am making, I will confine such questions to this brief footnote.

symbolic violence. But my preference is to take a historical approach that emphasises the empirical, is not predicated on the assumption that sociology or theory use are reducible to matters of capital or power, and is sensitive to matters of historical contingency.

Likewise the work of my thesis overlaps somewhat with Ritzer's M_U, in the general sense that it is adding to our understanding of theory. However, it is not theory, as such, that is my object, but theory use, the ways in which theory has been employed in histories of sociology, textbooks, conferences and the like. Unlike the examples provided by Ritzer, my concern is not with the conceptual substance of different theories, or any critical assessment of or adjudication between the claims made for them. My aim is to demonstrate the plurality of uses of theory, rather than arguing for or against the conceptual claims of different theories or theoretical frameworks.

As Ritzer noted, metatheory can largely be treated as a subset of metasociology, or the sociology of sociology (1991b: 4), and indeed much of the work on sociology of sociology is concerned with theory.[30] The heyday of work defining itself as sociology of sociology was the 1970s, with Friedrichs' (1970) *A Sociology of Sociology*, Gouldner's (1971) *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, and Tiryakian's (1971a) edited reader in the sociology of sociology all published at the beginning of the decade.[31] Tiryakian provides an explanation for this timing. He suggested that the relevance of the genre was related to the identity crisis faced by sociology resulting from expansion and fragmentation in the postwar decades, including dissipation of consensual support for '"structural-functional analysis"', with the possibility that study of sociol-

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[30] Although Ritzer argued against the approach taken by Furfey, who claimed to coin the term metasociology, for imposing on his analysis 'the view that sociology is a science and metasociology is "an auxiliary science which furnishes the methodological principles presupposed by sociology"' (Furfey 1953: 14, in Ritzer 1991b: 4).

[31] Although, as Tiryakian's collection suggests, the tradition of sociological writing on sociology goes back to the beginning of the discipline, and certainly Mills' (1970[1959]) *Sociological Imagination* sits alongside Gouldner, and parallels can be seen with Bourdieu's (1988) *Homo Academicus*. While 'structural-functionalism' provides an adversarial foil for much of this work, Tiryakian's collection also includes some writing within that tradition, including Parsons (1971[1959]).

ogy as a '"total social phenomenon"' might prove 'the basis for collective reflection', and perhaps 'a renewed basis for corporate identity' (1971b: 2).

The timing is also clearly relevant to the fact that much of this work is 'critical', and directed against liberal, especially structuralist-functionalist, sociology. Briefly, Friedrichs (1970) treated sociology as constituted by two warring paradigms, system theory and conflict sociology, which he analysed as forms of value-neutral 'priestly' sociology, and prophetic sociology, and then advocated a dialectical solution that combines the two. Gouldner defined his sociology of sociology, or 'reflexive sociology' – 'concerned with what sociologists want to do and with what, in fact, they actually do' – as moral, radical, and concerned with praxis, all strong themes throughout his work (1971: 489). To be successful in its aim of transforming the sociological self and sociological discipline (an aim more ambitious than mine), reflexive sociology needs to be a 'radical sociology':

> Radical, because it would recognize that knowledge of the world cannot be advanced apart from the sociologist's knowledge of himself and his position in the social world, or apart from his efforts to change these. Radical, because it seeks to transform as well as to know the alien world outside the sociologist as well as the alien world inside of him. Radical, because it would accept the fact that the roots of sociology pass through the sociologist as a total man, and that the question he must confront, therefore, is not merely how to *work* but how to *live*. The historical mission of a Reflexive Sociology is to transcend sociology as it now exists. In deepening our understanding of our own sociological selves and of our position in the world, we can, I believe, simultaneously help to produce a new breed of sociologists who can also better understand other men and their social worlds. (Gouldner 1971: 489-90)

Included in Gouldner's sociology of sociology is his 'theory of social theories' (1971: 488), a theory which, again, assumes 'that theory is made by the praxis of men in all their wholeness and is shaped by the lives they lead' rather than 'one-sidedly stress[ing] the role of rational and cognitive forces' (1971: 483, 488). He argued that 'theory' is related to 'facts', but often not 'the reliable facts painstakingly yielded by

rigorously designed social research' in the way that 'the methodologists and logicians of science suggest'; more importantly, theorising is a quest for understanding the '"facts" yielded by ... personal experience' (Gouldner 1971: 483-84).[32] This is not to say that he eschewed research; reflexive sociology 'has an empirical dimension' including research 'about sociology and sociologists, their occupational roles, their career "hangups", their establishments, power systems, subcultures, and their place in the larger social world'. But this research would not 'provide a factual basis that determines the character of its guiding theory' and its 'originating motives and terminating consequences would embody and advance certain *values*. A Reflexive Sociology would be a moral sociology' (491).

My thesis is not an exercise in reflexive sociology, understood in these terms. Gouldner did relate theory to research, but emphasised that this process is driven by personal experience and values. As an example of theory use, this is grist for my thesis, rather than the model my thesis follows. Similarly, my thesis is not concerned with developing, or advocating, a theory of theory.

Tiryakian suggested that the sociology-of-sociology genre has three dimensions: sociology's 'external relations' to the wider society, its values and ideology, both implicit and explicit, and the internal structure of sociology as a profession[33] (Tiryakian 1971b: 4-13). The first dimension has some parallels with Ritzer's external-social category of M_U, although its scope is not limited to understanding of theory. Much of the material grouped into Tiryakian's second category involves broadly epistemologi-

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[32] As Gouldner begins to elaborate his theory of theories we see how his notion of theory incorporates the theorist's values. He argued that theory is concerned to stablise the theorist's 'permitted' (morally acceptable, normal) social world and reduce the threat of any unpermitted (abnormal, morally dubious) social worlds; 'the pressure to situate social objects in terms of their moral value abides and shapes the work of social theorists, whatever their professed conception of their technical role' (Gouldner 1971: 484-85). Where not explicit, these value judgements may be disguised by equating moral value with potency, with various strategies for implying that the powerful is good. For instance functionalists say that social objects powerful enough to survive are socially useful and hence good; and their value-free sociology enables 'Academic' sociologists to live with an 'unpermitted' social world in which the powerful are not considered good by 'avoiding the reality of power' (Gouldner 1971: 487-88).

[33] Tiryakian did not give any particular weight to the treatment of sociology 'as a profession'.

cal argument about matters of ideology and value-freedom (for instance, the discussion between Bendix (1971) and Merton (1971)), which could be seen as a subset of Abend's theory[7]. But other chapters present empirical data, such as on the political orientations or class of sociologists (e.g. H. Turner et al. 1971[1963]) and Mills' (1943) analysis of American 'social pathology' (social problems/social disorganisation) textbooks. Mills characterised the textbooks as lacking abstraction[34] and 'not focused on larger stratifications or upon structured wholes', but underpinned by a conservative ideology that defines the pathological against norms predicated on traditional rural values (Mills 1943: 166). He attributed this largely to the homogenous backgrounds of the textbook authors, almost all born in small towns or farms, and with similar careers, and hence their shared values, with the historical relation of social problems to the broader discipline also relevant. While my object of theory use includes moral-political uses of theory, my project does not fit primarily into either of these two dimensions: my thesis does not consist of ideological analysis or debate, or turn to the broader social context to explain theory use in sociology.

Tiryakian's third dimension, concerned with the internal structures of sociology, includes material of relevance to my thesis. For instance, Julius Gould's (1963) examination of sociology's vocabulary, including its theoretical vocabulary, identified sociology's theoretical relations with other disciplinary traditions, although his main concern was to criticise particular theoretical conceptualisations. Simpson's (1961) analysis of expanding and declining fields in American sociology, while not focused on theory, provided some data on the changing prominence of theory, which I discuss in Chapter Two. Etzioni's advocacy for the vocation of social analysis, 'the *systematic* exploration of societal issues' (1971[1965]: 373), treated 'grand theory' and micro methodology as resources that should now be applied to a systematic understanding of social issues. He also pointed to the dominance of theory and methods – for instance as required courses, amongst *American Journal of Sociology* (*AJS*) and *American Sociological Review* (*ASR*) articles, and in the presentation of introductory textbooks

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[34] With some explicitly eschewing theory, for instance, Fairchild (1921: vii, in Mills 1943: 166) said "'Dealing with applied sociology [this book] devotes itself to facts rather than theories'". Mills generalised aspects of this argument beyond social problems textbooks in *The Sociological Imagination* (Mills 1970[1959]: 98-103).

and teaching – in explaining the neglected positions of sociologist as intellectual and social commentator (Etzioni 1971[1965]: 377-81).

Following Mills (1970[1959]), Seymour Leventman (1971) described the rationalisation of post-1945 American sociology, and especially theory and method. He suggested that the rise of expert methodologists and theorists was a misguided reaction to a sense that earlier sociology had been a mix of social philosophy, reformist welfare and unscientific journalism, since in fact earlier sociologists, such as Cooley, Park, Wirth, Burgess and Thomas 'nevertheless allowed their problems of inquiry to guide the selection of research techniques and explanatory theory' (1971: 350). He saw the results in an increased tendency to focus on individualist and situationalist explanations, and an 'estrangement' from classical traditions which emphasise the independence and constraint of social structure (353). Rather than a 'deductive system of logically interrelated hypotheses', the role of "theory" in (then) current sociological research publications:

> ... usually consists of a number of unrelated concepts, definitions, hypotheses, and some "pithy" quotations dutifully but artlessly gleaned from the classical writings of Weber, Durkheim, or Simmel. "Theory" is also derived from a "review of the literature" that seeks to justify an inquiry by demonstrating that it conforms to current folkways of research. Testing a theory usually involves little more than providing empirical illustrations of certain concepts. ... Building theory ... is often reduced to rearrangement of concepts and their syntactic interrelationships with little or no reference to substantive problems, nor to high order generalizations. (Leventman 1971: 359-60)

While Leventman (1971: 362) thought theory should be used by the sociologist to 'transcend his data to new levels of understanding', and particularly an understanding in which social structure has a powerful influence on individuals and groups, he saw 'rationalised' theory as being used to legitimate a particular individualistic style of research and drawing attention away from substantive problems.

My thesis draws on some material from the sociology of sociology, while not sharing its critical project. Importantly, I see my thesis as working towards a history of theory use in sociology. For Tiryakian, the *sociology* of sociology and *history* of sociology share similarities, but are distinct in that:

> The latter tends to focus on the narrative description of the intellectual development of sociological thought as conveyed by individual sociologists or perhaps by formal sociological schools. On the other hand, the sociological study of the phenomenon of sociology, while agreeing as to the significance of the historical becoming of sociology, is sensitized to sociology not as a collection of abstract ideas but as a resultant of intersubjective consciousness, a social reality (and even multiple realities) produced by the actions of persons acting in concert with, and in opposition to, one another. (Tiryakian 1971b: 3)

It is telling that his vision of the history of sociology is confined to a history of sociological thought – of theory. There is a tendency in much of the history of sociology to elevate theory, or a series of theorists, to a privileged place (e.g. Barnes 1948; Coser 1971).[35] My thesis does not presuppose that theory should be, or is, on (or, for that matter, off) a pedestal. One of the intentions behind making theory use, rather than theory, the object of my historical exploration is to approach theory empirically, as connected in variable ways to a varying complex of practices and activities within sociology. I am not developing a theory of theory, but making a start on developing a history of theory use in sociology.

In the preceding discussion we have seen that theory eludes simple definition. There are many ways of talking about and understanding theory, many terms available to denote components of theory. To some extent these are context specific: as Abend

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[35] That theory is more often the subject of history than sociology is also quickly demonstrated by a google search: "history of social theory" brings up a hundred times as many sites as "history of sociology" (13.1 million vs. 131 thousand, at July 2009), influenced by teaching, as well as research and writing, in the area. There are, of course, also general and institutional histories of sociology (e.g. Crozier 2005[2002]; Platt 2003; Shils 1970), and histories that focus attention on other aspects of the discipline, such as methods (Platt 1996) or interdisciplinary relations (Lengermann & Niebrugge 2007).

noted, the meaning of 'theory' in the context of a 'theory course' is different from that invoked when discussing development of 'a theory'. But we have seen enough to gain a sense that even within a particular context there might be different ways of understanding theory.

Running through the discussion have been some comments specifically about theory use, with much of this relating theory to research and understanding the empirical world. However, we have already seen some glimpses of other uses of theory. In recommending companions for theory, perhaps the most common addition to 'research' involves praxis and politics, seen, for instance, in our discussions of Mills, Gouldner and Worsley. Other types of theory use have also been suggested that relate to aspects of disciplinarity and work on the self. Within the remaining chapters of this thesis I will refer to relevant literature on particular uses of theory, such as Worsley (1974) and Clegg (1992) on status, Bryan Turner (1986a) on politics, and Stinchcombe (1982) on naming. In completing this section of the chapter I turn to three additional discussions of theory that are compatible with my object of theory use, and use them to further clarify the approach of my thesis.

In his histories of theory and of philosophy, Ian Hunter (2006, 2007) concentrates on the persona of the theorist and the philosopher. The persona, with a particular sense of self and particular attitudes, 'is approached via historical investigation of the manner and degree to which the acquisition of an ensemble of intellectual arts, through the formation of a special philosophical [or theoretical] self, determines what counts as philosophical [or theoretical] understanding for some historical milieu' (2007: 584). It is thus a central means for Hunter of undertaking historical reflection that is empirical, rather than caught up within theory or philosophy. It would be possible, instead, to reflect on theory 'from within the theoretical contest itself', but such reflection could only be 'in the form of philosophical history and historical hermeneutics', shaped to fit one's theoretical presumptions (Hunter 2006: 79). While the persona concentrates attention on certain aspects of theory use – specifically those related to the individual, that I will discuss in Chapter Six – there is a clear parallel with the role of my object of theory use in this broader sense of undertaking historical exploration of theory that avoids being caught up within its object.

Joel Isaac (2009: 401) takes a similar, but broader, approach, adopting what he calls a 'subcultural or practice-based view of theory' derived from both science studies and work such as that of Hunter. He thus treats theories:

> ... as forms of intellectual activity – that is, as themselves historically spe-
> cific and culturally defined forms of practice. These theoretical practices
> involve a panoply of activities: operations of the self upon the self, with
> the aim of producing the kind of subject or persona who could be the
> bearer of the knowledge expressed in the theory; the production and skil-
> ful manipulation of certain kinds of instruments; and the use of theoretical
> tools and vocabularies as premises for certain kinds of social intervention.
> In a word, these ways of reading theory as a practical activity suggest that
> some of the major theoretical traditions in the human sciences may use-
> fully be treated as a form of *subculture*. That is to say, certain modes of
> human-scientific theorizing would seem to have embodied "forms of life"
> as much as cognitively grasped bodies of doctrine. (Isaac 2009: 399)

This treatment of theory as diverse forms of practice shares important similarities with my 'theory use'. First, like Hunter's persona, it enables what is done with theory to be subject to empirical investigation. It also directs attention towards the possible diversity of theory-in-practice (or theory use). Isaac uses this conception of theory to analyse some of the different relations between Cold War human science theories and academic, political and cultural practices (2009) and in his analysis of the theoretical work of the Department of Social Relations at Harvard (2010). I draw on the latter in Chapter Four.

Finally, in defending and arguing for social theory as a 'vocation', Donald Levine (1997) outlined four different meanings of 'theory', various tasks of 'theory work' and three kinds of 'value' deriving from it. First, he elaborated the meanings of theory by observing four kinds of work with which it may be contrasted: theory may be abstract (contrasted with empirical), general (not particular), contemplative (vs practical) and exegetical (contrasted with heuristic) (Levine 1997: 2). Clearly, none of these oppositions is definitive. Levine himself notes, and we have already seen (for instance in the variety of ways of moving between levels of generality), that these theory/non-

theory pairs may be pursued together, as well as separately.[36] And certainly some of his 'non-theory' categories are incorporated into other definitions of theory (for instance, the particular, in Abend's theory$_2$, and the heuristic in versions of theory as concept or model (e.g. Bourdieu 1985: 18)).

Levine's discussion of 'theory work' is suggestive of some of the diversity of approaches to theory available within sociology, and in turn suggests some of its uses. The first involves ongoing exegetical 'appropriation' or 'recovery' of classical writings, translating, communicating, and interpreting them so as to challenge and transform one's thinking, and correct and reinterpret previous versions (Levine 1997: 3). Codifying theory involves identifying continuity (with disciplinary unifying implications?) and reviewing divergent approaches and conclusions to a particular problem, in turn providing fodder for 'specification of ignorance and problem finding'. Levine here cited Merton, but treated 'problems' not solely as ones requiring empirical work for their solution, but in terms of those leading to further theoretical work. Thus 'problem-finding' theory work can include 'articulating and refining concepts', with endless potential, developing 'conceptual typologies', and constructing models (1997: 3-4). In formalising theory by generating theoretical propositions, he noted that 'much of this work, appropriately, is conjoined with substantive empirical work' (4). Problem-finding theory work can also include differentiating theoretical concepts, and hence generating new (sub)concepts, adding intervening variables to theoretical explanations, synthesising two theories into a single framework, replacing one theoretical explanation with another, redirecting existing lines of inquiry, and 'opening up new areas for theorizing', whether by inventing or finding 'a new conceptual angle' on familiar phenomena, or turning attention to a new phenomenon (Levine 1997: 4-5). Theory work can also address disciplinarity, linking sociological conceptions with those of other disciplines, and defining epistemic and ontological foundations (Levine 1997: 5). This can shade into questions about the role of moral values in sociology, which for Levine, joined with 'broad interpretive work', offers 'the genre of social diagnosis and social criticism' as 'a legitimate domain for the social theorist':

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[36] And he argued the stronger case that theory in any of these terms is valuable even unrelated to 'non-theory' (1997: 2), interesting for my thesis as a counter-example to the general tendency to treat usefulness of theory in relation to research and the empirical.

> If the role of the [disciplined observer-critic] shades into that of the public
> intellectual, so much the better for democracy, and so much the better for
> legitimating the work of social theory. It is time for social theorists to dust
> off that role again, clarify its mission, and exemplify how social theorists
> as public intellectuals can function in a credible and constructive way.
> (Levine 1997: 6)

Levine has, in effect, covered several uses of theory that I will discuss in my thesis, including some related to research and understanding social phenomena, and some involved in disciplining. In defining a role for the theorist, and opening up avenues for further important, and self-generating, theoretical work, Levine has also here suggested the usefulness of theory in providing work for the theorist, in creating the theorist-expert role, and in his clarion call, quoted above, we see that theory might be used to legitimate that role. He augments these points in his articulation of three kinds of value for theory work. Theoretical understanding and knowledge, first, provides 'a kind of intellectual power, a level of mastery over social reality' and, second, 'sophisticates the pursuit of any substantive empirical or practical project'. While these values can both be seen to benefit research (or practical applications of theory), they also concern the status and potency of the theoretical persona or self. His third kind of value is that much introductory sociology teaching 'is carried by the distinctive perspectives and conceptual tools that sociology provides' (Levine 1997: 3). Again, we could see an implication here that part of theory's usefulness is in providing a way of teaching sociology, and hence structuring individual careers.

Levine's commentary then has pointed to the three broad categories of theory use my thesis will discuss. However, his task is different from mine. Guided by his polemical project of promoting and justifying 'social theory as a vocation', and theory as a separate specialty within sociology, Levine selects 'exemplars of valuable work' to illustrate the varieties of theory work he considers worthwhile. My thesis is not guided by any such desire to paint theory in its best light; through systematic analysis of a variety of specified historical sites, I identify a collection of examples of theory use considerably more variable in their degree of success.

Sources, methods and limits

In exploring the potentially vast territory of theory use in sociology, it has been necessary to be selective about the historical sites and sources examined. My selection has been strategic and pragmatic. One set of sources concerns sociological sites with an explicit focus on theory use: introductory sociology textbooks, theory textbooks, and a theory conference entitled 'What is theory for?'. These are particularly productive in providing data on how theory and its use are understood within sociology. The other involves work on the institutional history of the discipline, including a case study on the history of sociology teaching at the University of Sydney based on primary historical research, analysis of existing historical writing on the discipline, and (for Chapter Two) historical literature on sociology courses and on the structure of professional associations and their members' interests. These enable theory to be treated as a historical object. Of course these sources, both collectively and individually, present methodological difficulties, advantages and limits, as will be detailed in this section.

Containment lines

As a group, the sources I use are focused in terms of both geography-language and sociological practice. They are largely limited to Anglophone sociology, primarily, but not consistently, that of Australia, the United States of America and Britain (and Europe, in the case of the theory conference, which was conducted in English by the European Sociological Association). This has the practical advantages of accommodating my language proficiency and providing necessary containment. Inclusion of these three countries, stretching from core to periphery, also importantly allows for some comparison of sociology, and the place of theory within it, in different but related national-historical contexts. The specific, although not homogenous, historical conditions in which Australian, American and British sociology have developed have clearly shaped the disciplines in different ways. But these national sociologies have also been influenced by each other (not in equal amount), and also by others, most notably continental European sociology, through the influence of theoretical (and research) traditions, translation and dissemination of texts, and the biographies of individual sociologists who travel, spend periods working in different countries, collabor-

ate internationally and address international audiences. Thus the potential charge that the thesis ignores large slabs of global sociology, especially the historically primary and continuingly influential sociology of continental Europe, and the peripheral sociology captured for example in Connell's term (2007) 'southern theory', while valid, is only partly so.

A second major boundary for this thesis concerns the sociological activities or areas of practice that are included as sources of data. There are major emphases on teaching (via examination of textbooks and courses) and academic institutionalisation of sociology, and more limited coverage of research, writing, presentation, and organisation in relation to the social theory conference. Within the context of the spatial and temporal limits on a PhD thesis, I would argue that my selection of sources is sensible and sufficient to show some of the diversity of theory use in sociology. Including sources directly associated with other arenas of sociological practice – such as administration, networking, politicking, applying for funding, journal and monograph publishing, editing, reading, research collaboration, thesis writing, consulting, involvement in professional associations, applying for jobs and promotions, peer reviewing, and work outside academia – might well change the variety and emphasis of different kinds of theory use apparent. But, again, it is worth noting that my containment line is somewhat fluid. For instance, some of the conference papers contain writing that could be destined for publication in journals, monographs or edited collections, and some reflected on practices of research, consulting and teaching. And, to a limited extent, some of these other sociological arenas are picked up in the general research literature on theory incorporated into my thesis.

Introductory textbooks

Introductory sociology textbooks provide what could be considered a textbook site for exploring the uses of theory in sociology (Harley 2004; 2008). While textbooks are renowned for their simplified accounts, conventional standardisation and lack of engagement with cutting edge research and thinking (see, for instance, Lynch & Bogen 1997; Perrucci 1980; Platt 1996: 33-34), as part of their role of introducing students to the discipline, introductory texts do provide explicit, if limited, discussions and advice

about the usefulness of theory for sociology. Furthermore, like other sociological products, albeit shaped by the demands of publishers, marketers, teachers and course formats (e.g. Kendall 1999), textbooks do exhibit certain uses of theory.

The thesis examines explicit advice about, and demonstrations of, the use of theory in a small selection of twentieth century introductory texts published in Australia, Britain, and the United States of America. The 24 textbooks were selected from amongst those published in the United States of America, England and Australia in the twentieth century, and (for pragmatic reasons) available at university and public libraries located in Sydney or personal collections.[37] The sample was limited to textbooks which had more than one edition listed in Sydney-based catalogues, taken as a crude indicator that ongoing use was made of them as textbooks (see also Appendix A for information about the full list of twentieth century Australian-published general introductory textbooks that I have been able to identify). Generally, only first editions were consulted, to avoid complicating decade-based analysis.[38] For each decade from the 1920s to the 1990s,[39] I selected up to five textbooks, aiming for a spread across the three countries of publication, from amongst those that met the above criteria. Discussions with colleagues provided a 'reality check' on books used in teaching in

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[37] The library catalogue at the University of Sydney was used as a starting point. Possible introductory textbooks were identified via searches for titles beginning with sociology, and textbooks with keywords 'Sociology' and variations of 'Introduction', and these were examined in cases of doubt. While the University of Sydney does not have a comprehensive collection, by any means, more than 280 textbooks were identified.

[38] The second edition, Park and Burgess (1924), was used because the 1921 first edition was not available; Haralambos et al. (1996) was the first Australian edition of a textbook that followed in the footsteps of the British Haralambos and Heald (1980).

[39] No textbooks that met my criteria were available for the 1940s. It seems likely that few were published during the War years (Platt (1996: 36) similarly notes a hiatus in production of new American methods textbooks during this decade). Some sources list (American) introductory sociology textbooks published during that decade: for instance, Keith & Ender (2004) includes a sample of sixteen 1940s introductory texts, ostensibly derived from Odum (1951). Only three of these, John F. Cuber's 1947 *Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles*, John Lewis Gillin and John Philip Gillin's 1942 *An Introduction to Sociology* (revised as *Cultural Sociology: A revision of An Introduction to Sociology*), and William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff's 1940 *Sociology* were the first of multiple editions. None of these was available in Sydney-based libraries, and any available later editions were from later decades.

Australian universities and some additional suggestions.[40] The final sample is listed in Table 1-2.

Table 1-2. The introductory textbook sample

	USA	England	Australia
1920s-30s	Park & Burgess (1924) Hankins (1928) MacIver (1937)		
1950s	Broom & Selznick (1955) Fichter (1957) Young & Mack (1959)	Mitchell (1959)	
1960s	Horton & Hunt (1964)	Cotgrove (1967) Goldthorpe (1968)	
1970s	Hodges (1971) Popenoe (1971)	Worsley (1970) Cuff & Payne (1979)[a]	Congalton & Daniel (1976)
1980s	Zeitlin (1981)	Haralambos & Heald (1980) Giddens (1989)	Sargent (1983) Waters (1989)
1990s	Macionis (1992)	Fulcher & Scott (1999)	Haralambos et al. (1996) Bessant & Watts (1999)

Notes

a. Cuff & Payne (1979) identifies itself as an introductory sociology textbook. However, some Australian academics I spoke to said that it would be used for teaching social theory.

To simplify comparisons and limit scope, I included only general textbooks aimed primarily at introductory sociology students, based on the textbooks' own self-identification. I did not include readers (although textbooks with excerpts were allowed) or textbooks clearly targeted to an audience from another discipline, such as Chapman's (1977) *Sociology for Nurses*. Similarly, books like Berger (1963), which, while adopted as a textbook, openly positioned itself as 'intended to be read, not studied. It is not a textbook ...' (Berger 1963: 7) were excluded, as were collections of national social research, such as Davies and Encel's (1965) *Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction*, despite being used in introductory courses alongside disciplinary introductions.

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[40] Thanks to Alec Pemberton, Bettina Cass, Fran Collyer, Naomi Berman, Robert van Krieken and R.W. (now Raewyn) Connell from the University of Sydney, and Gary Wickham from Murdoch University, and to participants at the BSA Annual Conference 2004 who provided feedback.

While this is not a comprehensive or representative sample, it provides some indication of the spread of texts available over the relevant period. The authors represent diverse institutions in (and beyond) the three countries.[41] Furthermore, it includes some textbooks that are regarded as having significant influence. For instance, Broom and Selznick (1955, and later editions) is nominated by Mullins (1973: 37) as the key textbook associated with the 'Standard American Sociology' theory group organised around Parsons and Merton; Haralambos et al. (1996) and its successor are the bestselling introductory sociology textbooks in Australia;[42] and Lynch and Bogen's (1997) list of the (then) ten bestselling textbooks in the United States included a later edition of Popenoe (1971) and a variation of Macionis (1992).

Examination of the textbooks was focused on theory use. In particular, I studied organisation of the textbooks using tables of contents, and contents of prefaces, introductory chapters, and any other chapters or sections dealing directly with the nature or history of sociology, theory (under various guises), methods and the research process. In addition the number of pages attributed to the five top-ranked names (excluding textbook authors' self-citations) for each textbook was traced through indexes. All of those names, along with the number of textbooks referring to them, and the overall number of pages attributed to them, are listed in Appendix B.

This analysis is of course limited by variability in the accuracy and indexing conventions adopted by different textbook authors, and takes no account of the amount or style of coverage per page (e.g. prominence on page; positive or negative; discussion, picture, citation; biographic vs conceptual). In one case, Zeitlin (1981), the index was

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[41] As far as I have been able to ascertain, at the time of textbook publication these included: Chicago (Park, Burgess), Smith College (Hankins), Columbia (MacIver), UCLA (Broom), Berkeley (Selznick), Loyola (Fichter), Northwestern (Young, Mack), Western Michigan (Horton, Hunt), San Jose State College (Hodges), Rutgers (Popenoe), Toronto? (Zeitlin), Kenyon College (Macionis); Exeter (Mitchell), Bath University of Technology (Cotgrove), Leeds (Goldthorpe), Manchester (Worsley), Manchester Polytechnic (Cuff, Payne), Giddens (Cambridge), Leicester (Fulcher), Essex (Scott), UNSW (Congalton, Daniel), Sydney (van Krieken), Tasmania (Waters), Queensland (Smith), Preston College? (Holborn), Australian Catholic University (Bessant) and RMIT (Watts).

[42] Robert van Krieken, February 2004.

so obviously inaccurate that a visual scan was used to estimate figures (Durkheim, for instance, was indexed as appearing on 12 pages but sighted on 41 pages, while for Marx the figures were 9 and 42 respectively). I have not attempted the difficult, and in some ways problematic, task of distinguishing 'theoretical' from 'non-theoretical' names. There is not a straightforward relation between prominent referencing and influence or importance (see Platt (1995) for a nice discussion of the problems of inferring influence from citation), but this does give us some indication of which authors received most coverage in the different textbooks.

Theory textbooks

In their institutional analysis of American sociology, Turner and Turner (1990: 23) suggested that before the First World War, it was through textbooks, 'a distinctly American obsession that exists to this day', that '"[t]heory" ... became academicized, and theoretical writing began to take traditional academic forms'. While they went on to note that theory was not thereby the 'resource base on which academic sociology rested', it may be argued that textbooks were one avenue by which theory became useful, in particular ways, for academic sociology. One obvious category of theory-use facilitated by textbooks was the development of theory as a particular sociological teaching specialty, which can in turn be seen in the emergence of theory textbooks as a subspecies of sociology textbook, discussed in the next chapter.

The thesis presents historical analysis of theory textbooks published in the United States of America and less textbook-obsessed Britain (see also Harley 2005c). Complementing the detailed analysis of introductory textbook contents, discussed above, the focus here is on discussing broad trends in the emergence and shifts of theory evident from the process of identifying social or sociological theory textbooks or readers, and a content analysis of the identified titles. As the first point of contact potential readers have with a textbook, the title plays an important role in succinctly conveying a key message about the book's contents and approach. While my method is un-

usual,[43] it allows us to glean some insights into the changing ways in which 'theory' as a broad category is conceptualised across a much larger sample than could be subject to detailed scrutiny. Selected excerpts from the textbooks are used illustratively to discuss key points.

The first part of my task involved finding possible general social/sociological theory textbooks and readers published in the United States of America and/or Britain. To do this I adopted a multi-pronged process. I searched library catalogues at the Universities of Sydney and Auckland,[44] examined relevant library bookshelves, and found course and publisher listings online. I scanned all relevant book reviews in *British Journal of Sociology* (*BJS*) and *American Journal of Sociology* (*AJS*), listing any books that were reviewed as theory textbooks. I extracted lists of theory textbooks/readers discussed or analysed in Connell's (1997) listing of introductory and theory texts in 'Why is Classical Theory Classical?', Menzies' (1982) *Sociological Theory in Use*, Joseph Hopper's (2000a, 2000b) collection of views on theory textbooks in the ASA Theory Section newsletter *Perspectives*, Lewis and Alshtawi's (1992) analysis of American social theory texts, Morgan's (1983) systematic collection of assigned textbooks in nineteenth century American sociology course documents, and Platt's (2005) work on Merton's influence in Britain.[45] And I noted down any other candidates I came across in general reading.

However, finding possible theory textbooks was only the first step. As discussed above, in tracing the history of theory textbooks, one immediately confronts the difficulty that identifying whether a particular book *is* a theory textbook is not a straightforward matter and, indeed, such a task becomes decreasingly straightforward the further back we delve. The fact that initially theoretical sociology was largely (if not ex-

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[43] Although, see Klein and Smith (1985) for a historical content analysis of marriage and family textbook titles.

[44] Searches were for titles with 'social theory' and 'sociological theory', and keywords 'social or sociological theory' and 'intro' or 'text'. Obviously inappropriate books were rejected, along with books relating social theory to specialist areas such as the law, environment or archaeology.

[45] Platt (2005) (including the list of theory books – not necessarily textbooks – she consulted, kindly provided by the author) was consulted after the list had been examined by 'experts'.

clusively) taught through general sociology courses makes it difficult to distinguish early 'theory' textbooks from other sociology textbooks.

A second classificatory difficulty concerns the distinction between theory textbooks and readers, and other books of or about theory. Again, this difficulty is somewhat more pronounced with earlier books, where authors (and perhaps publishers?) were less likely to be explicit about their intended readership.[46] While the United States is distinctive for its early production of sociology textbooks, in conjunction with the proliferation of courses (Morgan 1983: 52), these have tended to become more unambiguously identifiable as textbooks with growth of textbook markets. Thus in the case of introductory sociology textbooks, a standard American 'blockbuster' model has developed, and Platt (2008a: 170) shows that British texts are now following a similar style.

It is clearly not always a straightforward matter to determine whether a particular book is a social/sociological theory textbook or reader. My strategy for addressing this has been to require each book in my list to meet at least one of the following criteria: the book's title/preface/introduction/jacket or publisher's description (e.g. on publisher's website) clearly positions it as a theory textbook or reader; it has been included in a list of social/sociological theory textbooks in one of the above-mentioned articles or books;[47] it has been reviewed *as* a theory textbook/reader in *BJS*, *AJS* or other relevant journals; or it has been listed as a textbook/reader on social/sociological theory course outlines (found online). It is likely that the list includes some books that were intended by authors/publishers as theory textbooks, but not widely (or even narrowly) adopted; or conversely some that were not intended as theory textbooks, but have nonetheless been used or reviewed as such; and also that I have excluded books that might reasonably be included (e.g. ones that have been used in courses in the past

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[46] Wright (1975: 45) logically suggested that the fewer publishing options available in earlier years meant that (introductory) textbooks authors were likely to target their books at both a student and scholarly audience, and the same seems likely of theory textbooks.

[47] Connell (1997) and Morgan (1983) list theory textbooks amongst sociology textbooks without distinguishing them, and Platt (2005) lists general theory books that are not necessarily intended or used as theory textbooks. In these cases, judgements have been made about whether to include texts as theory texts, based on their titles.

but for which course outlines have not been found). My list should not be taken as definitive.

The 160 books (counting only first editions) thus identified are listed in Appendix C. Year of publication for first (or first known) edition is given, and books are grouped by decade on this basis. Asterisks (*) indicate those textbooks nominated as significant by one or more of the 'theory-workers' I consulted – Patrick Baert, Alec Pemberton, and George Ritzer, with whom I cross-checked my list. The country with which the (first) author/editor was mostly associated, or the country of their institution if given in the book, is indicated in square brackets – A for the United States of America, B for Britain.

Chart 1-1 groups them by decade of first publication and main country of first author.[48] It is not surprising that the vast majority (consistently 80% or higher) are American until the 1950s, with the number of British-authored texts increasing, but consistently below the number of American ones after that. Relative population sizes mean that American sociology operates on a larger scale than British sociology; unlike the American case, teaching of sociology in Britain only took off after the Second World War, and textbooks have been much more central in the practice of sociology teaching in America than in Britain (Morgan 1983: 52; Platt 2008a: 173).

Having found this collection, the thesis presents key findings of a historical content analysis of the titles, and discusses what this reveals about the changing shape of 'theory' as a pedagogical category, and in relation to theory as a broader sociological category. Key words (nouns, verbs and adjectives) are categorised and tabulated in respect of the primary way that titles refer to their theoretical object (all titles), additional aspects of theory mentioned (in some titles), different uses of theory (some titles), description of the theory as sociological or social (all titles), and ways in which titles incorporate historicity (some titles). A table containing full details appears at

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[48] Since it has become fairly common for theory textbooks to be published in multiple locations, country of first author/editor is taken as a more reliable indicator of textbooks' 'nationality'. It could certainly be argued that theory textbooks are less national in character than, for instance, introductory textbooks, although some of the comparative analysis of titles presented in the thesis suggests significant divergence based on 'nationality'.

Appendix D, and details highlighting relevant aspects of the analysis are included within the chapters of the thesis.

Chart 1-1. Theory textbooks by main country of author
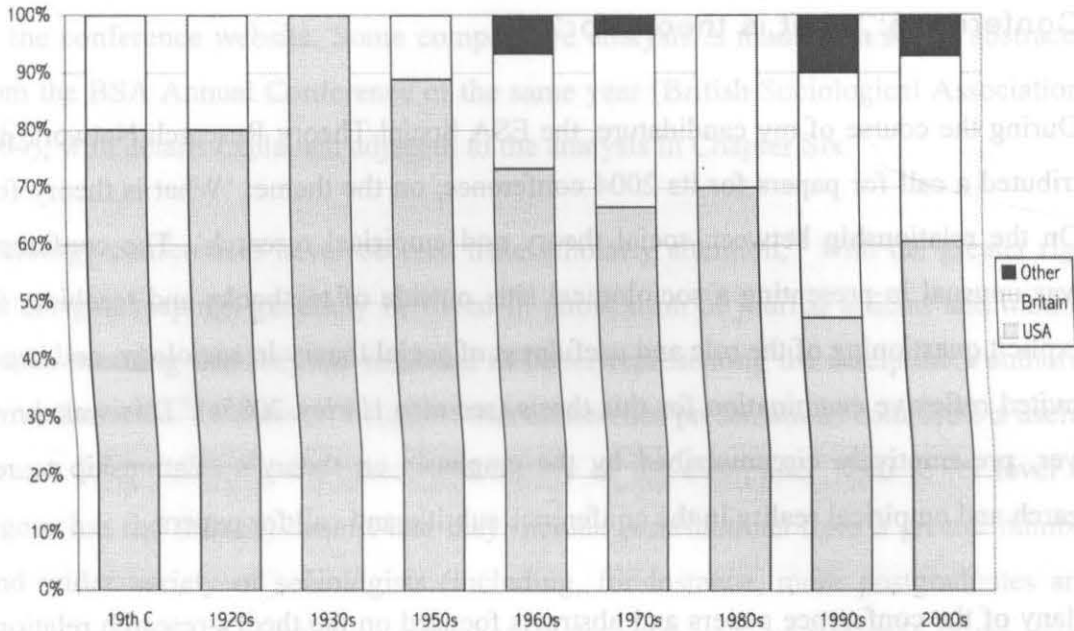
Two broad cautions need to be borne in mind concerning this analysis. The first concerns the nature of my sample. While every effort has been made to identify available theory textbooks, I cannot guarantee that the sample is complete or representative. Related problems of delimitation have already been discussed above. The second concerns the uncertain relations between the textbook titles, textbook contents and the nature of the discipline more broadly: how much do titles reflect the actual contents of textbooks, and how much do textbooks reflect (and affect?) the actual state of the field. These relations are increasingly likely to be affected by the role of publishers and marketing considerations in shaping titles and books (for instance, see Ritzer (1988: 376-78) on the pressures by publishers, and complicity of some sociology teachers, to produce '"cookie-cutter"' introductory textbooks, although he considers the main problem with upper level texts is publishers' lack of interest in publishing them). Even so, we might expect titles to provide an indication of what is considered saleable to a market of academics and students, and hence to convey something about

the way social theory is perceived.[49] Similarly, theory texts, like introductory text-books, might not include the newest work in the field, but are likely to provide a sense of what is mainstream. At the very least, they provide an indication of what is being taught as theory (Platt 2008b: 147-48).

Conference: What is theory for?

During the course of my candidature, the ESA Social Theory Research Network distributed a call for papers for its 2004 conference, on the theme: 'What is theory for? On the relationship between social theory and empirical research'. The conference was unusual in presenting a sociological site, outside of textbooks and teaching, for explicit questioning of the role and usefulness of social theory in sociology, and hence invited reflexive examination for this thesis (see also Harley 2005a). This was, however, pre-emptively circumscribed by the emphasis on theory's relationship to research and empirical reality in the conference subtitle and call for papers.

Many of the conference papers and abstracts focused on the theory-research relationship, discussing various aspects of, and taking different positions on, the role of theory in research, to be discussed in Chapter Three. Importantly, several papers indicated that employment of theory towards these various ends might be problematic, with theory only a partially effective tool for research and engaging in empirical reality (e.g. Poochigian 2004; Pryke 2004; Wahlström 2004). This incompleteness sits curiously with the emphasis on research in discussions of theory use, and, it seems, sometimes actually facilitates deployment of theory towards alternative ends.

In addition to identifying research-related uses of theory discussed in the conference papers, I examined the actual presentations, abstracts, and published papers that constituted the conference as exhibits or performances of theory use. This suggests a variety of additional categories of theory use, not directly harnessed to research, in-

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[49] In a different field, as Klein and Smith (1985: 214) note, Miller and Klein's (1981: 16-17) data on coverage in a sample of marriage and family textbooks provides some support for a link between book titles and contents.

volved in the very practices of writing and presenting abstracts and papers at a socio-logical conference.

Illustrations in the thesis are taken from the full set of abstracts,[50] notes about papers in sessions I could attend[51] and the subset of full written papers that were published on the conference website. Some comparative analysis is made of a set of abstracts from the BSA Annual Conference of the same year (British Sociological Association 2004), with details explained adjacent to the analysis in Chapter Six.

Sociology conferences have received little scholarly attention,[52] with the greater rig-our (or gatekeeping) generally involved in publication of journal articles and mono-graphs meaning that they are regarded as better representing the discipline's authori-tative literature.[53] However, I suggest that conference presentations contribute a useful source for considering the nature and history of the discipline. Their lower level of rigour has the (mixed) benefit that they include contributions from a greater number and wider variety of sociologists (including, for instance, more postgraduates and early career sociologists), thus representing the work of a greater slice of the disci-pline. Both the shorter times taken for presentation/publication, and the tendency for

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[50] See European Sociologial Association, Social Theory Research Network (2004b).

[51] Excluded are papers from two (of a total eight) sessions that I could not attend, because there were two streams running concurrently at those times, and papers which were not actu-ally presented in the final program: in such cases I relied solely on abstracts.

[52] Although personal reviews of particular conferences are relatively common and some in-clude observations about the state of the discipline. Kiss (1983) noted that presentation of theory at conferences also entails presentation of the self, which is relevant for my Chapter Six. See also: Stan Cohen's (1995) delightfully cheeky 'Conference life: the rough guide' for a personal account of conference strategy; Infestas and Lambea's (1993) analysis of relation-ships between presenters' backgrounds, gender and main themes at the XIIth World Congress of Sociology held in Madrid in 1990; Schuerkens' (1996) historical analysis of the interna-tionalisation of sociology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries using proceed-ings of the International Institute of Sociology; Simpson's (1961) use of topics of ASA mem-bers' presentations at Annual Meetings as one source of data about areas of specialisation; and Lin's (1971) analysis of commuication between presenters, attendants and those request-ing papers at an ASA Annual Meeting.

[53] Thus Simpson (1961) uses a ratio of journal publications to ASA Annual Meeting presenta-tions to provide a measure of the quality of work in different subfields of sociology.

many to present work at an earlier stage in its formulation, means that conferences might be seen as earlier reflectors of change than other publications. And, of considerable relevance for my work here, the more informal nature of conference presentations means that authors might be more willing to reflect candidly on the actual practice of sociology than generally occurs in formal published contexts.

Histories of sociology/theory

Given the historical nature of my exploration of theory use in sociology, it makes good sense to draw on relevant historical work. However, while histories of both sociology and social (or sociological) theory are plentiful, histories of 'theory use' in sociology are much harder to come by. I am not so much interested in a history of theoretical ideas, or a series of stories of 'great men' and their great concepts, but in a history of the places occupied by theory within sociology – the ways in which theory has been used within sociology and by sociologists, including the very fact that the story of sociology can be told as a story of theory. Histories of sociology, nonetheless, do provide some useful insights into some of the ways in which theory has been used in sociology. Thus, the thesis examines a selection of histories of sociology in Australia, Britain and the United States, and extracts from them relevant fragments towards constructing a history of theory use in sociology, focusing particularly on the institutionalisation of sociology as an academic discipline (see also Harley 2003; 2005b).

I should clarify here that it is well beyond the scope of the thesis to construct from these histories (or, indeed, from the sum of evidence examined) a complete history of theory use in sociology. Its necessarily more modest task can be clarified by identifying four of its limitations. First, my reliance here on secondary historical accounts, rather than primary historical documents, means that I must accept the selections, foci (and errors)[54] of their writers, which are likely to be shaped by their particular argumentative tasks and theoretical frameworks. I consider this a reasonable trade-off since this approach provides convenient access to decades of material and is complemented by the primary historical research undertaken for the thesis. Likewise, what I

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[54] In the Australian case, some of these are identified and noted in Chapter Five. It is quite possible that in other chapters I reproduce factual inaccuracies from historical accounts.

take from the accounts is guided by my interest in the relation between sociology and theory use. Second, these histories of sociology may omit incidents, arguments or details that would be included in a complete history of theory use in sociology. Again, additional exploration of the materials discussed in this section will, to some extent, fill in the gaps. Third, I concentrate on specifically Australian, British and American histories of sociology's institutionalisation, ignoring to a large extent the real permeability of national boundaries, the international aspects of sociology's history and the different implications of 'core' and 'peripheral' positions for theory and sociology.[55] The national focus also means that the source texts are histories of sociology, rather than of social theory, since the latter tend not to be organised on a national basis. And finally, I have here drawn on only a limited collection of histories of sociology: other accounts may suggest further examples of theory use.

Sociology courses, organisation of professional associations, and members' interests

For Chapter Two, on the place of theory in sociology, I consult historical literature and research concerned with the teaching of sociology courses, organisation of professional associations and research on the interests or section membership of members.[56] My interest here is in identifying trends in the separate treatment of theory and theorists, evident in the separate teaching of theory courses, formation of theory sections in professional associations, and registering of 'theory' as an interest. While material is drawn from the United States, Britain and Australia, the bulk of it is American, so my depictions for the other countries are sketchier. In addition to historical material, I include my own small scale analyses of course offerings in Britain and Australia in 2008, based on internet searches. Methodological details are included in the discussion in Chapter Two.

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[55] For some accounts see Connell (1997) and B. Turner (1986a).

[56] Aspects of my analysis of introductory and theory textbooks are also included in Chapter Two.

Sociology teaching at the University of Sydney

Complementing the broad brush stroke approach of considering histories of sociology in Australia, Britain and the United States, here I focus on establishment of sociology at a single institution (see Harley 2007). Specifically, Chapter Five presents a case study of the teaching of general/introductory sociological material at the University of Sydney over the course of the twentieth century. At one level, this case study operates as a straightforward contribution to the history of sociology in Australia, importantly correcting the place of this institution within the historical literature and adding information (and raising new questions) about the early nature of sociology. Of particular relevance for the thesis, it also draws attention to the ways in which theory is conceptualised in the context of sociology teaching over the course of the century, and in a number of different departmental contexts, and the role of theory in the path to establishment of sociology.

In undertaking this research, calendars (and in later years, relevant faculty handbooks) for years ending in '0' or '5' were initially sampled for course descriptions, textbook listings and other relevant details.[57] Intermediate volumes were also examined where needed to trace changes to course offerings and to examine Senate Reports for further information. Additional material from the University of Sydney Archives provides extra information about the tutorial classes and the decision-making behind some courses.

My emphasis on introductory or general sociological material introduces questions of demarcation, especially as it is important for my project to include material that does not explicitly label itself sociological. For courses that are not plainly labelled as sociology, I have used the assignment of introductory sociology textbooks in reading or textbook lists at least once in the sampled years as one guide to the presence of at least some sociological content within a department's teaching. However, sole reliance on these would introduce the twin dangers of paying too much attention to

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[57] Handbooks for the Faculties/campuses that became part of the University with the 1990 amalgamation – notably Health Sciences, Nursing and the Institute of Teaching – were not included, although sociology has been taught at at least some of these.

courses with only marginal sociological content, and excluding some departments where courses do contain appropriately sociological material, whether because it is taught without introductory sociology texts, or textbooks in general are simply not used or not listed in the sample years, and placing too much emphasis on courses whose general flavour is not well represented by a particular textbook. Thus, decisions about what to include have involved careful reading of course descriptions and individual judgement about their content in terms of deciding what is and isn't included. I have aimed in my text to reflect the fact that along with the black and white cases, there are many shades of grey. Considerable further detail about courses listed is included in Appendix E and assigned introductory textbooks are listed in Appendix F.

There are of course limitations to the documentary evidence. University Calendars and Faculty handbooks have the advantage of being publicly available, and they are the officially recorded version of course offerings, which is why they form my primary source. However, that does not mean that they are perfect records: occasional volumes are missing; it is likely that there are some typographical errors, or out-of-date information; and where Calendars anticipate the next year's courses, they may not reflect courses actually taught, where, for instance, a particular academic has been sick or enrolments have been too low. Different versions of course descriptions sometimes appear in the Calendar and the Faculty Handbook. In some cases, archival data, especially minutes of relevant faculties, departments and committees, provides a means of cross-checking and filling in gaps in the information. Records for the last thirty years are closed, so have not been consulted here. Robert van Krieken and Alec Pemberton, both teachers of sociology during this more recent period, provided additional comments on a draft of the text, and pertinent information is noted in footnotes. Archival and handbook sources, and the abbreviations used to refer to them in the text, are listed at the beginning of my references section.

A note on referencing

I have adapted a standard author-date referencing system to suit my sources and aid legibility. Throughout the thesis, where in-text references with multiple sources would

run over a line, the details are moved into a footnote. When discussing material from the ESA 'What is theory for?' conference, my referencing system indicates the nature of sources. Where I am relying on the abstract, I cite only the author's name. Citations for presented papers also include the year, (i.e. author 2004), while page numbers are added when citing the written paper, and where these are available a URL is included within the reference list. Finally, in Chapter Five I use abbreviations to refer to documentary and handbook sources: these and the relevant sources are listed at the beginning of the reference list, and also in my abbreviations list.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented my thesis as a historical, rather than theoretical, exploration of theory use in sociology. And yet, readers of this chapter might consider this a disingenuous claim. It is true that this chapter is not a theory chapter as such. But, in the very process of defining the 'theory' that is used in 'theory use' with sufficient breadth to cover the empirical variety of theory use in sociology, I have engaged in conceptual elaboration, analysis and questioning of the writings of theorists, intellectual positioning against that writing, and the like, all activities included within my definition of theory. It remains in this conclusion for me to contain this relatively theoretical component of my thesis, and re-stress my project's historical, empirical ambitions.

When Harry F. Wolcott (2002: 92) suggested that qualitative researchers resist 'The Chapter Two Problem',[58] his concern was that students avoid adhering to reporting conventions that stipulate that theory be presented as though it underpinned the research from the beginning, regardless of its actual place in the research process. Separating 'theory' into its own chapter might be seen as a way of elevating theory, treating it as a special aspect of sociological work requiring special attention, but might also be seen as a containment of theory, a way of meeting (or paying lip service to)

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[58] Transposed to 'The Chapter One Problem' in my thesis, due to my un-numbered introduction.

disciplinary demands for theoreticality, without letting that theoreticality spill over into, and change, the way the thesis as a whole is written.

In my thesis, containment of explicit theoreticality into this chapter plays a different role. Theory is central to my thesis object of theory use. To approach this object theoretically – whether linking variables to construct an explanatory account of theory use; deriving from theoretical writings a vocabulary of theoretical concepts to understand theory use; adopting and operating within a consistent named theoretical *Weltanschauung*; embarking on a critical pilgrimage to change theory, myself, the discipline and the world; or examining theory use as a philosophical puzzle – would involve both making theory use my object and using theory as my method. Such an approach would require a thesis full of reflexivity, jumping back and forth between questionable empirical claims, theoretical expositions, and positionings of myself within this theoretical exploration of theory use. I fear that this would involve much thinking about theory use, but little connection with its empirical contents. I believe that I can make a more useful, and less distracting, contribution to our understanding of theory use in sociology through a historical, empirical exploration.

As I have argued, my choice of theory use, rather than theory *per se*, as the object of my research is itself conducive to empirical exploration. For 'theory use' involves what is done with theory, and its effects. Thus I survey the particular historical sites outlined in the second main section of this chapter to identify uses of theory in certain aspects of sociological practice. While the remainder of my thesis is an empirical, historical, exploration, like any historical research it involves some conceptual work. I deal with this in a pragmatic way, as an ordinary sociologist (or historian-of-sociology) – providing explanations and making connections as I go, and drawing on named theoretical writing only where needed to make my point – rather than as a 'theorist'. In the next chapter I turn to the historical emergence of the situation in which this distinction, between ordinary sociologist and theorist, is possible.

CHAPTER 2

THE PLACE OF THEORY IN SOCIOLOGY

Theory, like a pantry, is a separate room in the boarding-house of sociology; being separate, however, renders the room neither irrelevant nor unconnected. Its separateness is a matter of focus. (Dowd 1994: 4)

Every working social scientist must be his own methodologist and his own theorist. (Mills 1970[1959]: 135)

Introduction

In considering the multiple uses of theory in sociology, the focus for this chapter is on the historical place of theory in sociology. Specifically, my task here is to document what has become a curious double position of theory: the emergence and continuing existence of 'theory' as a separate, distinctive realm of endeavour and expertise within sociology, including the 'theorist' as a particular kind of sociologist; and the coexistent idea that theory is an integrated, quotidian part of sociology. As foreshadowed in the Introduction, the thesis provides three interrelated ways of thinking about theory's place, as both a requisite component of sociological activity and a discrete specialty, reflecting the variety of uses of theory in sociology. Later chapters will consider: the relationships between theory and research, whereby theory can be seen as generally useful for undertaking research, and specialisation as reflecting a division of labour that allows development of theoretical tools for sociological research; the role of theory in assisting, or hindering, sociology's disciplinarity; and the employment of

theory as an individual resource for positioning, engaging in politics and cultivating a persona, for both 'ordinary sociologists' and 'sociological theorists' within their institutional contexts. For this chapter, however, I remain focused on the task of revealing the place of theory in American, British and Australian sociology.

I should preface this task by noting that the observation that theory has become a specialisation in sociology is not an original one. To give just one example, Johnson et al. (1984) note that this has been one feature of a broader tendency towards specialisation within the discipline:

> One peculiarity of this fragmentation process has been the persistence and entrenchment of a specialist area variously referred to as "theory", "social theory", or "theoretical sociology", as if the sociological analysis of particular areas of social life had at best an indirect, and at worst a tenuous, link with the specialism, "theory." It is as though our imperial sociological army marched off to its colonial adventures leaving at home-base all the maintenance services, to retool and refine their procedures. (Johnson et al. 1984: 2)

This chapter does, however, present an original collection of data that reveals some of the historical contours of this process in three national contexts. This documentary task is undertaken by considering, first, the available historical literature surveying sociology courses, particularly in the United States and, more patchily, Britain and Australia. Related to this is the rise of theory textbooks as a quite separate subspecies of sociological text, mirroring – and perhaps driving – the development of theory as a separate realm of expertise within sociology. Similarly, we see the emergence of 'theory' as a separately labelled section in introductory textbooks. Finally, we look beyond the teaching arena to professional associations, noting the establishment of separate theory sections of the American Sociological Association (ASA) (formerly American Sociological Society (ASS)) and the British Sociological Association (BSA), and some available data on section membership and members' interests in the ASA, BSA and the Australian Sociological Association (TASA).

While theory can be seen to have occupied an important, and double, place in American, British and Australian sociology, national trajectories differ. Given the availability of evidence, much of this discussion concentrates on the American case. Some evidence is presented for Britain, and this shows an earlier and stronger emphasis on theory than in the United States. There is less available historical information about the place of theory in Australian sociology. What there is suggests that there has been a recent decline in the treatment of theory as a separate specialisation within sociology, itself raising questions about the place and uses of theory within sociology.

My focus here is on the place of theory within twentieth and early twenty-first century sociology, but we should be aware that sociology has not always been social theory's domain and has never been an exclusive one. Social theory certainly pre-dated any idea of social science, and specifically sociology in its disciplinary or institutional form. Thus, for instance, Johan Heilbron (1995) has traced the beginnings of social theory in France to the mid-eighteenth century, when peaceful competition enabled by an absolute state provided a pre-condition for the emergence of a separate, secular 'society' and the rise of secular social theories, modelled on natural law. Ideas of scientisation, from the strengthening natural sciences, only began to be applied to social phenomena in the late eighteenth century, and this 'application' was itself theoretical, rather than empirical, until considerably later. Likewise, theory is engaged across disciplinary and interdisciplinary projects in the social sciences and humanities, and Stephen Turner (2004) has even argued that it should be considered an autonomous and mature academic field.

Teaching

United States of America

Histories of sociology courses provide one measure of the areas that have been considered most important, both for general introduction to the discipline, and for those at

higher levels majoring or undertaking (post)graduate study in sociology.[59] Examination of the American literature surveying sociology courses from the late nineteenth century to the 1990s presents us with the first inkling that social theory has not always had the prominent, separate place in the curriculum it now claims. Different sampling populations, measures and taxonomies used by different writers, historical gaps, and the inherent role of subjectivity in categorising courses make it somewhat problematic to piece together a coherent account. Nonetheless, we are able to see from what follows that, from the beginning, theoretical content has widely (but not universally) been treated as an integral part of courses in general or introductory sociology – consistently the most common course. Theory has also appeared as a discrete element of sociology in the form of separate theory courses whose popularity has grown and fluctuated, with visible highpoints in the 1930s and 1980/90s (when more than 90 percent of surveyed institutions offering sociology conducted theory courses), and a dip in the 1940s. More recently, theory courses have also become an important, near-universal component of course offerings, and indeed requirements, for sociology majors and graduate students. Theory by the beginning of the twentieth century was regarded as both an integrated part of the discipline to which all students should be introduced, and an area of specialisation, available for those who seek it and especially important for those seeking admission to the discipline/profession via majors or graduate study in sociology.

I begin looking at the historical details by considering Graham J. Morgan's (1983) discussion of nineteenth-century American sociology courses and assigned textbooks. His analysis, based on data gleaned from a systematic survey of catalogues and yearbooks from some 683 separate institutions of higher education, contains what appears at first sight to be a curious discrepancy. On the one hand, his listing of the 813 sepa-

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[59] However, it should not be assumed that curriculum development involves an organised process, with decisions carefully made about which content is important or essential for induction into the discipline. For instance, Berheide (2005: 3) writes: 'In my experience, the courses listed in college and university catalogs are more often a result of faculty interests and expertise than of student needs or interests ... sociology curriculum often takes shape in a piecemeal fashion through a laissez-faire process ... that over time produces a series of individual decisions, historical idiosyncrasies ..., rather than through any kind of deliberate processes designed to construct a coherent set of experiences for students'.

rate annual courses includes only 67 (or 8.2%) that he classified as 'Sociological Theory' (1983: 45).[60] The average number of separate courses in sociological theory per sociology-teaching institution, from the time of establishment through to 1900/01, was 0.295, meaning that at most 29.5% of institutions which taught sociology had any courses in sociological theory. On the other hand, one of his general observations about the listing of courses was that 'the most important differentiation was that between the conceptual and theoretical aspects of sociology (as these were then understood) and sociology as a viewpoint crucially concerned with social problems' (Morgan 1983: 46).

How is it that such a small fraction of courses accounted for one side of 'the most important differentiation' structuring sociology courses? The answer, which becomes clear as Morgan discusses the nature of courses in more detail, is that the 'conceptual and theoretical aspects of sociology' appeared more often as part, or all, of the mix in 'General Sociology' courses (258 or 31.7%), and others, than in those with explicit theoretical labels.[61] Thus, for instance, "The Outlines of Sociology" at Colorado University in 1900/01 dealt with 'sociological thought' as well as the 'chief problems of sociology':

> "This course aims to present a brief outline of sociological thought; a discussion of the elements of association underlying social relations and institutions; the results of race, group and individual competition; the conditions of progress; some of the chief problems of sociology – population, degeneration, pauperism, dependent classes, crime, immigration, divorce, great cities, education." (quoted in Morgan 1983: 47-48)

The general courses were even more theoretically inclined when partnered by social pathology ones (themselves not necessarily eschewing all things theoretical), illustrated by the University of Illinois' 1893/94 duo:

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[60] The boundaries could be stretched a little, to include the subset he dubbed 'History of Sociology/Social Philosophy', but that would add only another 25 courses, giving a total of 92 (or 11.3%) social theory courses.

[61] Institutions teaching sociology averaged 1.137 courses in general sociology. See also Hinkle (1980: 266) on the equation of general sociology and theory in early American sociology.

"1. Sociology. In this course it is intended to study society in its normal structure. The theories of the nature of society, which have been advanced by various writers, are discussed in the light of the history of social institutions; and an effort is made to formulate some of the laws of social growth.

2.   Social Pathology. This course comprises a somewhat detailed study of the problems of charity and crime, with a consideration of theories and methods of reform." (quoted in Morgan 1983: 48)

Similarly, the number of listed sociology courses at Stanford grew from four in 1891/92 to thirteen by 1895/96 (including 'Principles of Household Management'), but none had a clear theoretical label.[62] Instead, the 1895/96 course titled 'Sociology' was parenthetically described by Morgan as 'a course in theory' (Morgan 1983: 49-52). Once again, theory was lurking in the curriculum under the guise of sociology-in-general.

Theory was not yet treated as a 'division' of sociology in the questionnaire circulated to colleges, universities, theological schools and state normal schools for the ASS's 1909 survey of sociology teaching (Bernard 1909: 164-66), suggesting it still had a low profile as a separate area of expertise. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of courses offered in each of ten divisions, and to add others not listed, and similar data were sought in the catalogues of institutions which did not respond to the questionnaire (1909: 191). Chart 2-1 summarises responses, with the divisions not provided in the questionnaire asterisked. Again, most of the institutions teaching sociology included at least one course in 'general sociology', with any courses in social theory subsumed under other headings.

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[62] However, Morgan (1983: 50) pointed out that the listed 1891/92 courses were not actually given, because the instructor, Amos Warner, was absent.

Chart 2-1. Percent of American institutions with sociology including courses in listed divisions of sociology, 1909 questionnaire (N=305)

Division	Percent
General sociology	79.3
Descriptive sociology	55.7
Social technology	41.6
Social psychology	31.5
History of sociology	25.6
Methodology	24.6
Urban sociology	19.3
Rural sociology	19.0
Family & ethical problems*	10.8
Ecclesiastical sociology	9.5
Anthropology & ethnology*	8.5
Biblical sociology	6.9
Socialism*	3.0
Biological sociology*	1.3

Percent of sampled institutions (0.0 10.0 20.0 30.0 40.0 50.0 60.0 70.0 80.0 90.0)

Source: Bernard 1909

Notes

'Social technology' includes 'discussion of social problems, especially abnormal problems and attempts at their solution' (1909: 191).

N includes 139 institutions which responded to this question in survey, and 166 additional institutions from which the catalogues yielded data on sociology courses.

* Asterisked topics were not included in questionnaire but suggested by respondents.

However, the fact that there was at least some teaching in theory, if under other names, becomes apparent, interestingly, when we see the results on the question about methodological emphasis: 'To what extent is emphasis laid upon: (1) psychological method; (2) statistical method; (3) historical method; (4) theoretical sociology; (5) practical or applied sociology?' (1909: 166). In this case 109 institutions responded, and Chart 2-2 shows for each method the percentage indicating that they placed slight, medium or strong emphasis on the method (and two that simply reported all methods were used) (191-92). Theoretical sociology was nominated by 70 (64%) of the 109 institutions responding, with less emphasis than the other listed methods apart from

statistics. Similarly, in a survey reported by Chapin (1911), of the 128 institutions that reported teaching an introductory sociology course, 40 (31%) of those courses included an emphasis on sociological theory (1911: 782).[63] Again, Chapin did not consider theory to be one of the six 'general divisions' of sociology, but he found that sociological theory overlapped these divisions and was present in a substantial minority of introductory courses (1911: 781-82).[64]

Chart 2-2. Percentage of American institutions indicating emphasis upon listed methods in their teaching, 1909 questionnaire (N=109)
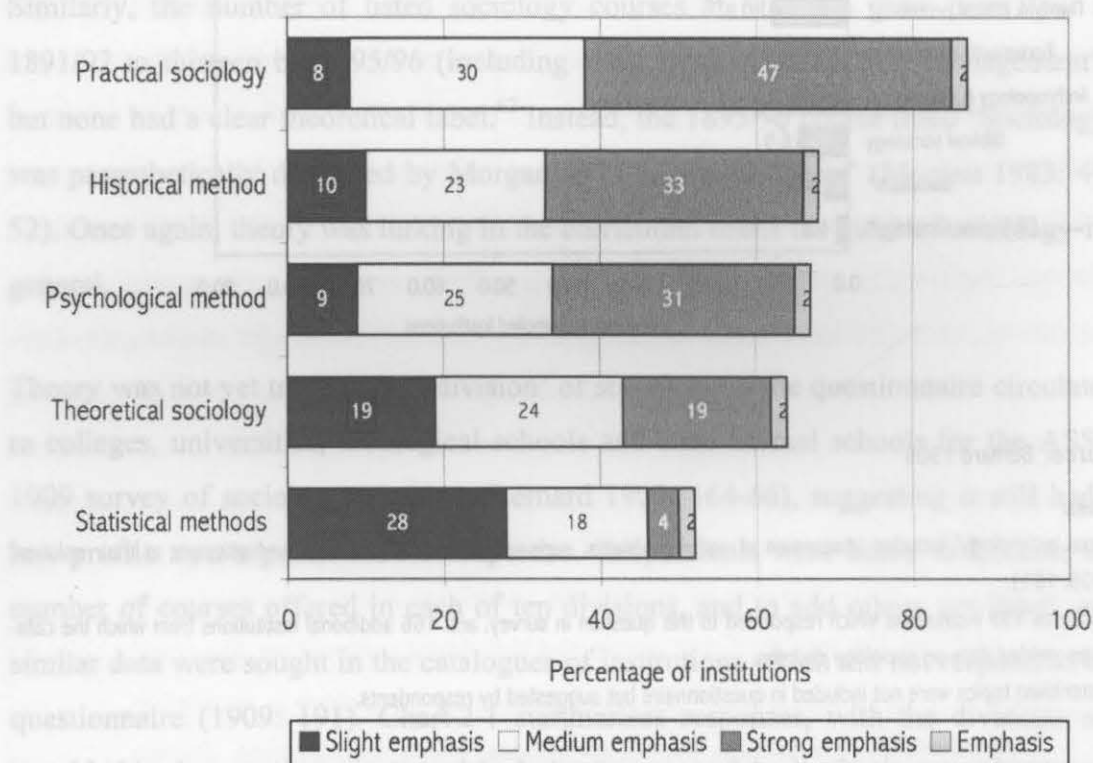
Source: Bernard 1909

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[63] Chapin's (1911) surveyed institutions were 111 colleges and universities, 5 theological colleges and 12 state normal schools.

[64] The 'general divisions' were historical (84 or 65.6% of courses), psychological (80 or 62.5%), practical (56 or 43.8%), economic (22 or 17.2%), descriptive and analytic (21 or 16.4%), and biological (16 or 12.5%).

By contrast, Helen Irene McCobb's (1932) analysis suggests that by the early 1930s social theory-titled courses were standard fare in her sample of universities offering sociology. McCobb (1932: 355) examined the course catalogues of forty 'representative American universities' for 1931-32. She found that courses in Social Theory were offered at 35 (or 92%) of the 38 universities at which sociology was taught, and in addition 12 (32%) of the surveyed universities had courses in recent or contemporary social theory and 10 (26%) in principles of sociology. We can deduce from this combination that multiple courses in social theory were taught at some universities, with at least 57 courses or an average of 1.5 courses per institution teaching sociology. All 38 had courses in introductory sociology, and these were only matched by criminology (35 universities) in terms of popularity.[65]

This strong showing for theory courses in the early 1930s appears to have dropped off by the 1940s. Raymond and Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy's (1942) survey of 1939-40 and 1940-41 course catalogues from 607 universities, colleges and teachers' colleges offering four-year curricula found a total of 5,544 undergraduate sociology courses, which they classified into thirty-one broad content categories using both course titles and descriptions.[66] Of these, they identified thirteen 'main-line' topics that accounted for three quarters of all undergraduate sociology courses taught (1942: 667). General sociology was the most popular, accounting for 11.7% (approximately 649) of all

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[65] McCobb found a total of 803 courses in sociology (taught by faculties/departments of sociology, some combined with economics, anthropology, social technology and government), but for each category provided only the number of universities at which courses were taught, not the number of courses. Course topics available at 10 or more universities were: Introductory courses (38), Social Theory (35), Criminology (35), Family (26), Population (25), Social Work (23), Social Pathology (22), Rural Sociology (21), Child Welfare (19), Methods of Social Research (18), Social Control (18), Urban Sociology (17), Immigration (15), Social Psychology (15), Case Work (15), Statistics (14), Community Organisation (13), Poverty (13), Principles of Sociology (12), Recent or Contemporary Theory (10) and Anthropology (10).

[66] The Kennedys surveyed 65.1% of the population of institutions offering four-year curricula. They included all courses listed in undergraduate sociology departments, and sociology courses found listed under other departments for institutions which had no sociology department. Note that graduate schools (along with junior colleges, two-year normal schools and professional schools) were excluded. Perhaps including them would have increased the proportion of social theory courses.

courses: '[v]irtually every college that offers sociology at all has at least one course in General or Introductory Sociology or Principles' (665). Social theory tied with anthropology as equal ninth most common course, with 4.3% of the total, or approximately 238 courses (665-66).[67] L. L. Bernard's (1945) account of sociology teaching in the United States for the half-century to 1945 also suggests a shift away from specific theory teaching, although his aside that the war was likely to have reduced the number of courses available during the 1940s should be noted (1945: 535). The large jump in average number of sociology courses taught per university (from 2.16 in 1909 to 10.72 in 1940-44)[68] (1945: 535) explains a reduced emphasis on introductory courses after 1940:

> The elementary courses ("Introduction," "Principles," "General Sociology," "Elements," and "Fundamentals") together absorb 9.03 [percent] of the teaching energies of the departments. As departments have increased in size, the proportion of time bestowed upon this last group of courses has necessarily diminished. (Bernard 1945: 545)

In contrast to the prominence of theory courses in McCobb's 1932 account, 'theory' was not directly mentioned in Bernard's discussion (1945: 545-47) of common subjects. However, 'history of sociological ideas courses take 3.54 per cent of the teaching force of departments' (1945: 545) and he invoked theory in describing an emphasis on practical courses – 'emphasis upon "practical" applications of social theory

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[67] Actual numbers of courses in each category are not given in the article, so these approximations are calculated using the percentages given. Similarly, the article does not state how many of the 607 institutions included any courses in sociology, so I cannot determine from the available information what proportion of sociology programs included social theory courses. The 13 'main-line' courses in rank order were: general sociology (11.7%), social problems (9.2%), marriage and family (8.1%) ('a large proportion of which would seem to concentrate more upon clinical advice to students than upon strictly sociological analysis of the family institution' (670)), social work (5.9%), criminology (5.8%), research methods (5.2%), social psychology (5.1%), rural sociology (4.6%), anthropology (4.3%), social theory (4.3%), race and ethnic groups (3.7%), urban sociology (3.5%) and public welfare (3.0%).

[68] This only includes those institutions for which comparisons were made. A different, more comprehensive study by the same author found an average of 11.93 courses per institution after 1940 (Bernard 1945: 535).

to social problems or illustrations of theory from actual social conditions' (1945: 544) – suggesting, again, its integration into general curricula.

Separate theory courses were again somewhat prominent in the 1950s, at which point we have our first data showing a stronger theoretical focus for graduate students. Podell et al.'s (1959) analysis of 1957 undergraduate sociology courses from a 25% sample of institutions offering a four year curriculum (equivalent to the Kennedy & Kennedy 1942 study discussed above) found that 5.4% of courses were in social theory, ranking it eighth amongst their list of subject areas (compared to 4.3% and equal ninth in 1942) (Podell et al. 1959: 89).[69] On average there were 14.3 sociology courses and 0.76 theory courses per institution.[70] The article also presents data on graduate courses, based on the 23 universities that had granted 15 or more doctorates since 1948 (1959: 95). There were 111 theory courses available to graduate students, constituting 8.5% of the total 1,302 courses, and representing 4.83 theory courses per university, considerably higher than the figures for undergraduate courses (1959: 92). Theory was the third-ranked category of graduate courses, after 'Other Anthropology' (13.7%) and Research Methods (9.3%). Theory here seems to have been treated as an area of expertise particularly suitable for higher level students being trained for full induction into the discipline.

Similarly, jumping now towards the end of the twentieth (and beginning of the twenty-first) century, we see that theory courses have become a standard, and commonly required, component of an undergraduate major in sociology. Thus an ASA study of 86 programs in 1989-90 found 'remarkably high consensus' on the requirements for majors, as one or more methods and statistics courses, and one or more theory courses (Berheide 2005: 9, quoting Eberts et al. 1990: 8; Howery 1991: 6). These results were confirmed a decade later (Berheide 2005: 9). Likewise, while

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[69] For this analysis they used the same categories as the Kennedy and Kennedy (1942) study. More common courses were in Anthropology (10.5%), General Sociology (9.1%), Marriage and the Family (7.6%), Criminology (7.2%), Social Problems (6.3%), Social Work (6.1%), and Social Psychology (5.5%) (Podell et al. 1959: 89). I have excluded their 'Deviants' category of courses that did not fit their taxonomic system, which constituted 5.8% of courses.

[70] It is not apparent from the article how many (if any) of the sampled 263 institutions did not include any courses in sociology.

Guppy and Arai's (1994: 221) comparative analysis of 1989-90 (and some 1990-91) US and English Canadian undergraduate curricula emphasised the greater attention to methods over theory, and the greater theoreticality of English Canadian over American course offerings, it nonetheless showed that all of the 36 US sociology degree program offerings they examined had at least one theory course, with an average of 1.8 and a maximum of 5.[71] The number of required credits in theory for majors in sociology ranged from 0 to 6 (equivalent to two one-term/semester courses), with an average of 3.4 (just over one course) (1994: 221). While the sample of theory syllabi collected in the ASA's *Teaching Sociological Theory* resource book (Niebrugge et al. 2007) is small and non-random, this again lends support to an impression that theory courses are commonly required of sociology majors or graduate students. Of their sixteen *undergraduate* theory syllabi, fourteen are for *required* theory courses, and in the remaining cases: one is in a group of four courses of which the students must take three; and one is not required, but often leads to undergraduates taking another theory course that is required for the major.

Recent data confirm the continuing prominence of theory courses for *graduate* students. Markovsky (2008) found that, in 1999-2000, 48 (96%) of the top 50 graduate sociology programs had one or more *required* theory courses. Forty-six of these programs totalled at least seventy-seven required theory courses (an average of 1.7 per program): forty-two (55%) in classical theory, twenty-three (30%) contemporary theory, seven (9%) combined, four (5%) theory construction, and one (1%) combining contemporary theory and theory construction (428-29). Similarly, for their examination of inclusion (or otherwise) of early women sociologists in classical theory courses, Thomas and Kukulan (2004) found 108 (mostly 2000-01 and 2001-02) syllabi for graduate theory courses from 40 of the top 65 sociology graduate programs –

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[71] Overall, eighteen (50%) of the departments had a course in general theory, eighteen (50%) in classical theory, and thirteen (36%) in contemporary theory, while there were two courses (6%) in each of theory construction and conflict theory, and one (3%) in Marxist thought and ethnomethodology (Guppy & Arai 1994: 223-25).

an average of 2.7 courses for these 40 schools.[72] Of these, forty-six (43%) were classical, thirty-eight (35%) contemporary, seven (6%) combined (classical/contemporary), four (4%) about theory construction, and thirteen (12%) focused on particular theoretical topics. And all but one of the seven graduate courses collected in the 2007 ASA resource book were required of graduate students, six of them also part of a sequence of theory courses (Niebrugge et al. 2007).

Table 2-1 summarises some of the key indicators of the prominence of theory courses outlined in the preceding discussion. Since the nineteenth century, theory courses have become a fairly standard component of sociology curricula, particularly as a requirement for sociology majors, and with multiple courses offered to (and required of) graduate students. Through its integration into many introductory or general courses in sociology, theory has also been treated as a necessary component of sociology for all students, evident initially in Morgan's (1983) report of nineteenth-century courses. From then it did not consistently register as a separate arena of study (or expertise) for the first half of the century, with Bernard (1909, 1945) and Chaplin (1911) not mentioning it amongst their divisions of sociology, but noting theoretical influence in the teaching of 64% of responding institutions (Bernard 1909: 191) and 31% of introductory courses (Chapin 1911: 782). However, McCobb (1932) in the early 1930s found that courses in social theory were taught in at least 92% of surveyed sociology-teaching institutions, with an average of 1.5 courses per university; and Kennedy and Kennedy (1942: 667) included it as equal ninth ranked of their 13 'main-line' topics, accounting for 4.3% of sociology courses: theory was by now fairly widely offered as an area of specialisation. By the 1950s, its rank had improved slightly to eighth, accounting for 5.4% of courses (Podell et al. 1959). Here we also see that theory courses played a much more significant role in graduate (than undergraduate) course offerings, accounting for 8.5% of all courses; being the third-ranked topic; and with 4.8 theory courses offered per sociology-teaching institution (1959: 92). In the nineties

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[72] The article does not provide information on the status of theory courses at the remaining 25 schools – presumably some or all did not provide any, and perhaps some had no theory syllabi – although it implies that most programs required graduate students to take theory classes: 'A small number of programs did not require theory classes. In those cases, a selection of syllabi for theory courses was sent' (Thomas & Kukulan 2004: 256).

and 'noughties', theory courses have been found to be available to all sociology major students (Guppy & Arai 1994: 221) and as a standard requirement of sociology majors (Berheide 2005: 9; Neibrugge et al. 2007). Likewise in these decades nearly all top-ranked sociology graduate programs offered theory courses and required one or more to be taken by their graduate students (Markovsky 2008; Thomas & Kukulan 2004).

Table 2-1. Summary indicators of prominence of theory courses in the US

	19C[a]	1931-32	1939-41	1957	1957 (grad)	1989-91
Rank of theory courses[b]	=3	=2	=9	8	3	-
% of sociology institutions offering theory courses	-	≥92.1[c]	-	-	-	100
Theory courses as % of all sociology courses	8.2	≥7.1[d]	4.3	5.4	8.5	3.8
Average num theory courses per sociology inst.	0.3	1.5	≥0.4[e]	≥0.8[e]	4.8	1.8

Sources: Morgan 1983; McCobb 1932; Kennedy & Kennedy 1942; Podell et al. 1959; Guppy & Arai 1994

Notes

a. Unlike the other sources used, Morgan's figures are based on separate courses over multiple years, available catalogues and yearbooks 'consecutively examined from the institution's inception to the academic year 1900/01' (Morgan 1983: 45). Thus the base figures are likely to be higher than they would be from a one-catalogue-per-institution sample, but it is not clear how this affects the rank and percentage figures.

b. This should be taken as indicative only, as categorisations of courses, including number of categories, inclusions and exclusions (e.g. of courses associated with other disciplines), etc., vary considerably.

c. The percentage of sociology-teaching institutions at which 'Social Theory' was offered. The figure may be higher if 'Recent or Contemporary Institutions' (26% of sociology-teaching institutions) and 'Principles of Sociology' (32%) were included.

d. This is a minimum figure, based on the conservative assumption that there was only one course per institution in each of the theoretical categories listed (Social Theory, Recent or Contemporary Theory, Principles of Sociology).

e. These figures are number of theory courses per all sampled institutions, with information not available about how many of those institutions included any sociology courses. The 1939-41 figure is based on an approximation for the total number of theory courses available (calculated using the figures for theory as a percentage of all courses and the total number of courses provided in article).

Details of courses offered from 1889 to 1968-69 by the (relatively theoretically inclined) sociology department at the University of Kansas, possibly the first sociology

department in the United States, and hence world, provide some further insights (Sica 1983: 605, 612-16).[73] Courses whose titles imply a probable central concern with general sociology or social theory are listed in Table 2-2.

Consistent with Morgan's general findings, the first course – 'Elements of Sociology', the introductory course taught by the prolific Frank Wilson Blackmar and still available today – included theoretical content. It was described as '"Lectures on the evolution of social institutions from the primitive unit, the family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society"' (quoted in Sica 1983: 608). The other 17 courses first offered in the nineteenth century included a graduate theory course (no. 10 in Table 2-2),[74] another apparently theoretical undergraduate general sociology course (7), an undergraduate principles/theory course still available (13),[75] and a course associating social theories and problems (18).

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[73] The Kansas Department was originally titled History and Sociology. Sica (1983: 605) considered Kansas was 'arguably the first' department with a sociological name, since Small reported that this was Blackmar's recollection (around 1915) and could not find any counter-evidence, and more recent claims that Chicago was first are untrue.

[74] 'Political and social institutions' was the first graduate course, offered in 1893. Principles and Theories of Sociology was one of the next batch of four graduate courses offered in 1896 (the others being Anthropology, Social Pathology, and Special Studies in American and European Charities).

[75] The Spring 2009 course description is for an upper level undergraduate course: 'The study of social life, including how human groups are organized, how they change, and how they influence individuals. Consideration is given to a variety of human organizations and social institutions and how these groups and institutions both determine, and are determined by, human beings' (University of Kansas Department of Sociology 2008a: 2).

Table 2-2. Theory courses in the Department of Sociology at the University of Kansas, 1889-1968/69

No.	Course Title	Year First Offered	Graduate Course	Still Taught 1982-83	Still Taught 2008-09[a]
1	Elements of Sociology	1889	-	X	X
7	Sociology: Dynamic & Descriptive	1893	-	-	-
10	Principles & Theories of Sociology	1896	X	-	-
13	Principles of Sociology	1897	-	X	X
18	Social Theories & Social Problems	1899	-	-	-
20	Social & Political Theories	1902	X	-	-
34	Development of Social Theory	1912	X	X	X[b]
35	Introduction to Social Theory	1913	-	-	-
60	Advanced General Sociology	1937	-	X	X[c]
104	Seminar in Role Theory	1960	X	-	-
114	Theory & Method in Human Ecology	1964	X	X	-
121	Theories of Social Problems	1966	X	-	-
123	Seminar on Sociological Theorists	1966	X	X	-
130	French Social Thought	1968-69	X	-	-
132	Seminar on Sociological Thought & Model Construction	1968-69	X	X	X

Source: Sica (1983: 612-16)

Notes
a. Based on course listings on the University website: (University of Kansas Department of Sociology 2008b, 2008c).
b. The Rise of Social Theory.
c. A graduate course in 2008.

Three of the 29 courses first offered during 1900-1919 were centrally concerned with social theory: two graduate courses (20, 34), the latter still available in 1982-83 and today,[76] and an undergraduate introduction to social theory (35). An advanced under-

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[76] Now 'The Rise of Social Theory. This is less a survey of intellectual history than an effort to trace the "preclassical" roots of sociological theory. We explore the rise of paradigmatic concerns in the writings of such key figures as Aristotle, Marsilius of Padua, Martin Luther, Etienne de la Boetie, Michel de Montaigne, Charles de Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, G.W.F. Hegel, Flora Tristan, and Ludwig Feuerbach, among others' (University of Kansas Department of Sociology 2008b).

graduate course in general sociology was the only general/theoretical course (of 20) added in the next twenty years (1920-1939), and it was still taught in 1982-83 and is now available as a graduate course. None of the 30 new courses offered during 1940-1959 were theoretically labelled: post-war construction, social problems and marriage/family dominated. There was a burst of 34 total new course offerings in the final period, from 1960 to 1968 (and Sica (1983: 616) wrote that 'this explosive pace has continued'), including six labelled as theoretical. According with Podell et al.'s (1959) evidence of the particular role of theory in graduate programs, all six of these were graduate courses, accounting for 37.5% of all graduate courses first offered during this time. A new feature of most of these courses was their focus on particular theories (104, 130), or relating theory to particular areas of sociology (114, 121, 132). The most recent on Sica's list, linking sociological thought and model construction, is the only one still available.

Sica reported that there were many required courses for sociology majors until 1964, but for the listed years of 1923 and 1937 no theory courses were required (perhaps the closest being the introductory 'Elements of Sociology' course in 1923). By the 1980s, 'few' courses were required, but no details are recorded (1983: 617). However, sometime in the period from 1964 to the present, theory had become a requirement. In 2008-09, students majoring in sociology had to complete a course in sociological theory, as well as one of three elements or principal courses and courses in methods and statistics (University of Kansas Department of Sociology 2007: 1); there were ten courses in history and theory of sociology approved for graduate students, and PhD candidates were required to take two of these (University of Kansas Department of Sociology 2008d).[77]

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[77] The Spring 2009 course description document lists three for the required course in sociological theory (one dealing with classical theorists, one with principal classical texts and ideas, one with principal texts and ideas ranging from medieval to contemporary times) and restricts it to those majoring in sociology (University of Kansas Department of Sociology 2008a: 3).

Britain

There is little available historical literature on sociology curricula in the UK, and most of it concentrates very much on research methods, with an implication, sometimes stated (e.g. Guppy & Arai 1994) that theory is well established.[78] Thus, Payne et al.'s (1989) analysis of methods teaching in mid-1980s public sector tertiary sociology programs found a strong emphasis on theory.[79] Typically the teaching time devoted to Sociological Theory outstripped that for Methods (itself the subject of at least one compulsory course in all but one of the 30 degree programs they studied) by a ratio of between 3:2 and 2:1 (1989: 264).[80] Wakeford (1981: 505) also implied that generally theory was treated separately in the 1960s, noting that in the handful of 1960s sociology departments in which methods was not 'identified, presented and taught ... as a discrete body of knowledge', the joint course had '"theory" and methods sections ... taught separately by "theory" and "methods" specialists'.

Peel's (1968) summary of details for courses 'mainly concerned' with sociological theory and methods was not comprehensive, but provides some useful insights about the extent of theory teaching in the late 1960s. He presented information about undergraduate courses[81] from Sociology departments (single or joint) at twenty-nine British Universities.[82] Of these, Peel identified twenty-one sociology departments (72%) with undergraduate courses in sociological theory, plus another four (14%) with combined

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[78] See, for instance, Burgess & Bulmer (1981), and other articles in issue 15(4) of *Sociology*.

[79] Public sector meant non-university higher education institutions, including polytechnics, which the authors indicated currently accounted for around half of higher education students (Payne et al. 1989: 262).

[80] In their discussion of sociology in the polytechnics during 1970-1980, Brennan and Wein (1980: 177) also noted that, despite an increase in the number of, and time devoted to, optional courses, 'Sociological Theory' remained 'the universal core'.

[81] With the exception of Oxford where details were from B.Phil courses.

[82] Jennifer Platt, who provided a copy of the relevant course document summaries (excluding those for methods-only courses or which contained only lists of essay/exam questions), notes that the coverage is very good relative to sociology departments at the time: the most notable omissions being Leicester (an important department under the leadership of Neustadt and Elias, see Rojek 2004), Stirling, York and the joint sociology/anthropology departments at Kent and Swansea.

theory/methods courses[83] – a total of twenty-five (86%). Figures for methods courses were similar (twenty-two (76%) methods courses plus four combined totalling twenty-six (90%)). The theory courses for which I have documentation are listed in Table 2-3. Of those universities for which theory course documents are available, fourteen (58%) spanned two or more years, sometimes with different labels but more often not.

Capacity to generalise from these data is limited by lack of information about criteria for inclusion and exclusion of universities (e.g. does non-inclusion mean that course information was not sought, no response was provided, no theory and methods courses were taught, or a mixture of the three?). However, it does suggest that courses in sociological theory were common amongst sociology curricula, and that these were, in general, clearly labelled as such.

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[83] No summary is available for the University of Sussex 'combined' course, which Jennifer Platt (who taught it) noted was predominantly a methods course. Documents provided for the other combined courses clearly indicate a substantial theoretical component.

Table 2-3. Selected sociological theory courses at British universities, c1968

University	Course (and years)
Bath	Introduction to Sociological Theory (I - compulsory, II, III & IV)
Birmingham	Sociological Theories and Models (II & III)
Bradford	Sociological Analysis (II & III)
Bristol	Sociological Theory (II)
Cardiff	Sociological Theory (II & III)
Durham	Sociological Theory (III)
East Anglia	Sociological Theory (III)
Edinburgh	Introduction to Sociological Theory (II & III)
Essex	Theoretical Sociology (II & III)
Exeter	Principles of Sociology (II & III)[a]
Hull	History of Sociological Thought (III)
Keele	Sociological Analysis (II & III)
Leeds	Contemporary Sociological Theory (II), Development of Sociological Theory (III)
Liverpool*	Sociological Theory & Methods (III)[b]
London (Goldsmiths)*	Theories and Methods in Sociology (II & III)
London (LSE)	Theories and Methods in Sociology (II)
Manchester	Sociological Theory (III)
Nottingham*	Theories and Methods of Sociology (II)
Oxford	Sociological Theory (B.Phil)[c]
Salford	Development of Social Theory (II & III)
Sheffield	Development of Sociological Thought (I — compulsory), Sociological Theory (II & III)
Southampton	Principles of Sociological Analysis (II & III — 'basic')[d]
Strathclyde	Theories and Methods (IV)
Swansea	Sociological Theory (II & III)

Source: Peel 1968

Notes

* Combined theory/methods course.

a. Comprises History and Theory of Sociology and Theoretical Problems in Sociology.

b. One term on survey design, two on theories of social change.

c. A course in sociological theory is also offered in undergraduate P.P.E. (Philosophy, Politics & Economics) paper.

d. 'Analysis of contemporary societies' is another theoretically oriented 'basic' course (compulsory for a major), and there is an optional course on Ideas and Society.

Mennell and Rex's (1988: 6) examination of thirty-one course documents found that inclusion of theory courses remained high.[84] All ten of the specialist sociology degrees examined included sociological theory courses (most more than one). Most of these were compulsory, and some had a compulsory theory course followed by an optional one. Five had two theory courses, and four had three, running through two or three years of the degree. Of the twenty-one combined social science degrees, fifteen had courses in sociological theory (mostly not compulsory), two included considerable theoretical content within more generally titled courses (e.g. Sociological Analysis), and four appeared to have no theory courses.[85]

My own small-scale analysis of contemporary British sociology curricula finds a similar strong emphasis on theory into the twenty-first century. I consulted module offerings and requirements for the Bachelor degrees in Sociology for a random sample of 10 (of 102) institutions listed on the BSA website as offering sociology pro-

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[84] They did not directly state the origins of their course documents, although they implied that they were from polytechnics, and it seems likely that they were from the mid-to-late 1980s.

[85] They noted that figures on numbers of courses should be treated as indicative only, given different conventions around course-duration and intensity. Amongst the social science degree programs, it is not clear how their figures of fifteen theory courses and two with theoretical content tally with their statement that ten of these programs had only one theory course, and six had two.

grams.[86] Nine (90%) had at least one core (required) module explicitly titled to indicate a focus on theory; one (10%) had three, and four (40%) had two theory cores. Additional theory options were available in three programs. It seems likely from the above that within the early years of establishment of sociology teaching in British Universities (beyond the original LSE course), theory was treated as a separate area of specialisation and required component of sociological training, and that this position has continued.

Australia

Very little published information is available about Australian sociology curricula and the place of theory therein. However what there is suggests an interesting picture. In some cases, theory courses have been offered in sociology curricula since the early days of their establishment,[87] and, like America and Britain, they developed into a standard requirement for majors in sociology, as well as being integrated into the introductory (and other) courses. However, in the late twentieth/early twenty-first centuries, we have seen a repositioning of theory, with many sociology curricula no

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[86] I consulted the first, and then every tenth institution in the BSA's listing of sociology departments in October 2008 (British Sociological Association n.d.). Of these, Oxford did not have an undergraduate degree in sociology, so has been excluded from the above, although sociological theory is one of the five 'sociology papers that can be taken as part of an interdisciplinary degree' (Oxford University Department of Sociology 2006-7). The institutions included, and core (c) and options (o) modules, were: Anglia Ruskin University (c: none, except Theories of Crime, Deviance and Social Control, not counted in above analysis); Cornwall College (c: Contemporary Sociological Theory; note that Applying Social Theory (Crime & Justice) is not counted in above analysis; o: A History of Western Social Theory), Liverpool John Moores University (c: Sociological Perspectives; Sociological Theory; o: Postmodernity and Social Theory), Nottingham Trent University (c: Classical Sociological Theory; Contemporary Sociological Theory), St Mary's University College Twickenham (c: Introduction to Classical Sociological Theory; o: European Thinkers), University of Birmingham (c: Modern Sociological Theory; Contemporary Sociological Theory), University of Durham (c: Conceptualising Society), University of Huddersfield (c: Social Theory), University of Sunderland (c: Social Theory of Industrial Society; Modern Social Theory), University of Wolverhampton (c: Classical Social Theory; Theorising Social Life).

[87] I consider the curious case of the University of Sydney, where introductory sociology was introduced via a course entitled Social Theory, in Chapter Five.

longer including separate theory courses, and what theory there is sometimes hidden or combined with other sociological subjects.

It appears that theory courses were available in at least five Australian universities' sociology offerings from at least the late 1960s. While Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 234-39) presented selected comments, rather than quantitative details, from his review of course outlines from 1969/1970 calendars/handbooks, he noted that further research might include comparison of 'the teaching of sociological theory at the Universities of New South Wales, Monash, New England, Queensland and La Trobe' (234). He further advocated 'greater stress on theory and research methodology than is given at present, and perhaps better integration between the many substantive fields of sociology that are now being taught and the current sociological enterprise of theory and research' and a shift from the (current) 'textbook treatment of selected bits of theory' to more detailed 'leisurely examination' of a handful of works focused on central social matters (236). Steven Thiele's (1999) departmental history of sociology at the University of New England confirms that a course in social theory was introduced by one of the foundation members of staff and, along with research methods, was made a prerequisite for postgraduate enrolment sometime in the period 1970 to 1993.

Near the end of the century, in her TASA Presidential address, Sharyn Roach Anleu recorded the impression that theory had formed part of most Australian sociology majors both as part of the introductory course and as a separate second year course:

> Arguably, with a few variations, the curriculum of the sociology major in most Australian (and perhaps everywhere else) universities was relatively settled and standard. This consisted of: a general first year topic with the uninviting title of Sociology 1; second-year sociology constituted by a mixture of more theory and social research methods; a third year composed of different substantive topics: a rather solid and stolid undergraduate training. (Roach Anleu 2005[1998]: 314)

However, she went on to note that her department (at Flinders University) had renovated its course – principally through providing increased choice in first year and by adjusting the role of theory:

> ... it is most unsettling to discover that one of the most settled components
> of sociology – the so-called founding fathers – are no longer palatable to
> students. Theory has become dreaded: much like cod-liver oil. ... We can
> convey their (and others') central ideas and conceptions, visions of society
> and perspectives via everyday practices and concerns, which are familiar
> to our consumers. (Roach Anleu 2005[1998]: 315)

My examination of a sample of contemporary curricula for nine (of thirty-four) Australian universities offering sociology appears to support this suggestion of a shift away from separate theory courses, with theory instead integrated into other courses.[88] I consulted unit offerings and requirements for the Bachelor degrees in Sociology, and found that four of nine (44%) had sociological theory units required for sociology majors (although in one of these cases, the unit was required for a sociology major in a Bachelor of Social Science, but not a Bachelor of Arts). Six (67%) had some theory course(s) available to those undertaking a major (or minor) in sociology. Furthermore, many of these courses concealed their cod-liver oil contents with somewhat ambiguous titles, such as 'Love, Death and Power: Introduction to Sociological Theory' and 'Law and Social Theory' (a striking contrast to the list of late 1960s British course names shown in Table 2-3, most of which bore straightforwardly sociological theory titles). It appears that Roach Anleu's observation about Flinders, above, had some wider currency.

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[88] The sample was based on the list of sociology departments (and other centres or groupings with identifiable groups of sociologists) available on the TASA website (The Australian Sociological Association 2006a), with research centres excluded and universities only counted once in cases of multiple listings (in which case the sociology department, or closest similar grouping, was used). Online curricula from the first, and then every fourth, institution was examined. Institutions, and theory courses – core (c) and optional (o) – were: Australian Catholic University (c: Sociological Theory and Practice – in B.Soc Sci, not B.A.); Charles Sturt University (c: Sociological Theory); Flinders (o: Love, Death and Power: Introduction to Sociological Theory; Knowing the Social World); Macquarie (o: Sociological Theories of Modernity; Key Contemporary Theorists); RMIT (none); University of Canberra (none); UNSW (none, although Social Theory and Policy was a core for all students in the B.Soc.Sci, whether or not majoring in sociology); University of Sydney (c: Sociological Theory; o: Contemporary Sociological Theory; Law and Social Theory); University of Wollongong (c: Explaining Society; o: Contemporary Social and Political Theory).

Preliminary (Marshall & Robinson 2008) and finalised (Marshall et al. 2009) reports of a recent scoping study on sociology teaching in Australia must be interpreted cautiously, but also suggest a move away from separate theory courses. Helen Marshall and colleagues found that 35 (of 37) public Australian universities offered undergraduate sociology courses, with most offering a three-year sequence and 21 an additional honours year in which sociology is a listed specialty (Marshall et al. 2009: 16).[89] Almost all of these were not in sociology departments (or schools, etc.), as such, but in combined departments (e.g. Sociology and Social Practice), generic social science units, or schools bearing a name without an obvious social science connection (e.g. Business and Government) (2009: 19). Subjects were initially found using internet searches of university websites, categorised using TASA's list of members' interests, and then refined following checking with individual departments (2009: 16). The most commonly taught subjects are listed in Table 2-4, with preliminary (pre-check) and final (post-check) data provided.[90]

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[89] Exact numbers should not be given too much weight as there is some ambiguity in the report. Of the 35 universities offering sociology, 31 are said to provide a first-, second- and third-year level sequence; but 5 to offer sociology subjects not as part of a major (three-year) sequence (3 'minors', 2 more ad hoc collections) (Marshall et al. 2009: 16). Only 34 universities offering sociology are listed in Table 2 (Marshall et al. 2009: 21).

[90] Preliminary data are included because there are some discrepancies within the final report, including different totals for the number of theory courses found (22 in Table 1; 24 in Table 5). In this table I use data from Table 1 (Marshall et al. 2009: 18-19) rather than Table 5 (2009: 23-25).

Table 2-4. Most common sociology subjects at Australian universities by TASA member interests, 2008

Subject/Interest	Num of courses (rank) Preliminary data (Marshall & Robinson 2008)	Num of courses (rank) Final data (Marshall et al. 2009)[a]
Methodology	37 (1)	52 (1)
Health, Medicine & the Body	35 (2)	41 (2)
Deviance, Social Control & Criminology	28 (3)	30 (3)
Introductory ('Sociology 101')[b]	25 (4)	38 (4)
Feminism, Gender & Sexuality	22 (6)	24 (5)
Industrial Sociology, Work & Organisations	19 (7)	23 (6)
Social Theory	12 (12)	22 (7)
Environment & Ecology	16 (8)	21 (8)
Social change & development	7 (=19)	20 (9)
Youth	24 (5)	19 (=10)
Sociology projects[b]	13 (=10)	19 (=10)
Applied Sociology, Teaching and Sociological Practice	7 (=19)	19 (=10)

Source: Marshall & Robinson (2008: 5); Marshall et al. (2009: 18-19, Table 1)

Notes

a. Topics with fewer than 19 courses (final data) were: Law & Society; Political Sociology (18 each, =13th); Honours units (17, 15th); Immigration, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (including race) (16, 16th); Family; Globalisation[b] (15 each, =17th); General sociology (not intro)[b] (13, 19th); Introductory/General courses on Australian Society;[b] Media, Communication, Information & Public Opinion (12 each, =20th); Culture & Cultural Policy (including art); Religion; Social Psychology (includes 'self and society' subjects) (10 each, =22nd); Demography & Population Research (9, 25th); Knowledge, Language, Science & Ideology; Welfare Issues and Human Services (including poverty) (8 each, =26th); Social Movements & Collective Behaviour; Sociology internships/exchanges[b] (7 each, =28th); Education; Rural Sociology & Sociology of Agriculture (6 each, =30th); Aborigines & Indigenous People; Anthropology;[b] Community Research; Emotions or Intimacy;[b] Leisure, Recreation, Sport and Tourism; Sociology of Everyday Life[b] (5 each, =32nd); Consumption and consumerism; Urban sociology (4 each, =38th); Asia;[b] Class, Stratification and Mobility (includes inequality); E-sociology/sociology of cyberspace;[b] Human Rights;[b] Political Economy; Social Problems;[b] Terrorism[b] (3 each, =40th); Ageing and Gerontology (2, 47th); Disasters; Networks; Timor (1 each, =48th). TASA interests for which there were no courses were Comparative Sociology, Historical Sociology, Nationality & Citizenship, and Occupations & Professions.

b. Subject area not listed as TASA interest.

According to the initial internet-only search, social theory was only the twelfth most commonly taught subject, with twelve social theory subjects found amongst the

thirty-five universities offering sociology courses. After checking with individual departments, the position of theory had improved to seventh, with twenty-two theory subjects offered.[91] This, nonetheless, still left at most only about two thirds of sociology-teaching departments offering courses in social theory, reinforcing a picture of a recent decline in the salience of theory as a separate category of expertise in Australia.

Analysis of the courses offered by university type provides more insight, although unfortunately again comparable historical data are not available. Marshall et al. (2009: 20-25) have divided the universities into four categories: 'Establishment', the prestigious old 'sandstones' and newer 'redbricks', most of which are members of the Group of Eight (GO8); 'Unitechs', former large institutes of technology which became universities in the late 1980s/early 1990s, and members of the Australian Technology Network; the rural and regional 'Gumtrees'; and the remaining 'New Universities' founded after the 1960s.[92]

Table 2-5 again sets out the most common sociology courses by subject, but this time also by type of institution.[93] Figures show the number of courses, as well as the average number of courses per institution (in brackets), for each subject and institution type. We can see that, overall, 24 courses in social theory were taught, averaging 0.7 courses per institution. However, these were not evenly spread. Some of the (sociol-

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[91] The increase in the number of 'theory' subjects from 12 to 22 (or perhaps 24), with some subjects with a theoretical focus originally either not found or grouped into other categories, suggests that theory subjects might be well hidden. Perhaps the ambiguous naming of theory subjects, consistent with Roach Anleu's description of her department's approach and the course names found in my search (discussed above), is relevant here.

[92] Establishment: ANU, Melbourne, Monash, UQ, Sydney, UNSW, UTas (UWA and Adelaide would also be included here, but are the two public universities for which no sociology courses were found); Unitechs: Curtin, QUT, RMIT, UniSA, UTS; Gumtrees: CQU, CDU, CSU, Griffith, JCU, UoN, SCU, USC (University of the Sunshine Coast), UNE, UB, UOW; New Universities: ACU, UC, Deakin, ECU, Flinders, La Trobe, Macquarie, Murdoch, Swinburne, UWS, VU. USQ has been omitted from the tables (it is not clear whether this is an error or no sociology subjects were found), but would presumably be in the Gumtree category. See 'Abbreviations' for full names.

[93] These figures are sourced from different tables to those in Table 2-4, and do not always tally with them.

ogy-teaching) 'establishment' universities offered more than one theory course, with an average of 1.4 per institution; probably most of the 'unitech' universities offered theory (average 0.8); but fewer than half of the 'gumtree' and 'newer' universities' course offerings included theory courses. We can deduce from this that at most 21 (62%) of sociology-teaching universities included undergraduate courses in theory.

Table 2-5. Most common sociology courses by subject and university type: total number of courses/(average number of courses per institution), Australia, 2008

Subject	Establish-ment[a]	Unitech	Gumtree[b]	New Uni	Total
Methodology	16 (2.3)	6 (1.2)	11 (1.0)	18 (1.6)	51 (1.5)
Health, Medicine & the Body	11 (1.6)	3 (0.6)	12 (1.1)	15 (1.4)	41 (1.2)
Introductory ('Sociology 101')	7 (1.0)	3 (0.6)	11 (1.0)	18 (1.6)	39 (1.1)
Deviance, Social Control & Criminology	11 (1.6)	2 (0.4)	10 (0.9)	7 (0.6)	30 (0.9)
Feminism, Gender & Sexuality	8 (1.1)	3 (0.6)	7 (0.6)	6 (0.5)	24 (0.7)
Social Theory	10 (1.4)	4 (0.8)	5 (0.5)	5 (0.5)	24 (0.7)
Industrial Sociology, Work & Org'ns	4 (0.6)	5 (1.0)	7 (0.6)	7 (0.6)	23 (0.7)
Environment & Ecology	4 (0.6)	1 (0.2)	9 (0.8)	7 (0.6)	21 (0.6)
Social change & development	7 (1.0)	3 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	8 (0.7)	20 (0.6)
Youth	5 (0.7)	1 (0.2)	9 (0.8)	5 (0.5)	20 (0.6)
Total (all subjects)	211 (30.1)	60 (12.0)	158 (14.4)	197 (17.9)	626 (18.4)
Total Number of Institutions	7	5	11	11	34
Total (%) of institutions offering majors	7 (100%)	4 (80%)	8 (73%)	10 (91%)	29 (85%)

Source: Marshall et al. (2009: 21-25, Tables 2, 4, 5)

Notes

For each subject and institution type, the first figure in the cell is the number of courses found; the second is the average number of courses per institution.

a. Excludes Adelaide and UWA, for which undergraduate sociology courses were not found.

b. Excludes USQ, about which no information is provided in Marshall et al. (2009).

Two partial explanations for the distribution can be seen in the rows at the bottom of Table 2-5. First, the establishment universities, which are most likely to offer theory (and multiple theory courses), have the largest average sociology course offerings.

This is not a complete explanation, though, as the unitechs, with the next largest theory course average, have the smallest sociology course offerings. Second, the fact that the establishment group is the only one in which all universities offer majors in sociology (apart from the two that offer no sociology) fits with the earlier picture of theory being seen as part of a sociology major, although the figures for other university types show that that picture is no longer completely valid. Another possibility is that theory is still regarded as high status in the prestigious universities. In any case, overall we do see something of the shift away from separate teaching of theory that was foreshadowed by Roach Anleu.

Textbooks

Emergence of theory textbooks

The historical place of theory in sociology seen in the shift in the United States from a central part of 'general sociology' to a separate area of teaching is mirrored in the publication of textbooks. For American texts at least, a clear distinction between theory textbooks and general or introductory sociology textbooks only emerged gradually during the first half of the twentieth century, with a process of general sociology textbooks becoming somewhat less theoretical, and then development of theory textbooks as a quite separate subspecies of sociological text, mirroring – and perhaps driving – the development of theory as a separate realm of expertise within sociology.

Thus, while many of the nineteenth and early twentieth century textbooks were strongly theoretical in flavour, very few were distinctively visible as theory textbooks, rather than general or introductory sociological textbooks. For instance, in Morgan's (1983: 59-62) listing of all (91) textbooks listed in nineteenth-century course documents, only three titles included the word theory: J. Bascom's 1895 *Social Theory* (recommended by five institutions), S. N. Patten's 1896 *The Theory of Social Forces* (two), and F. H. Giddings' 1894 *The Theory of Sociology* (two). Similarly, Chapin (1911: 785) listed thirty-seven 'texts and authorities' (including textbooks, authors with titles not specified, the *AJS* and the US Census) cited by at least 5 institutions (of

145 in total, 128 of which taught an introductory course in sociology). None of the titles includes the word theory.

Table 2-6. Theory textbooks by main country of author

	USA	Britain	Other	Total
Pre 1900	4	1	-	5
1900s	-	-	-	0
1910s	-	-	-	0
1920s	4	1	-	5
1930s	8	-	-	8
1940s	-	-	-	0
1950s	8	1	-	9
1960s	11	3	1	15
1970s	20	9	1	30
1980s	14	6	-	20
1990s	19	17	4	40
2000s[a]	17	9	2	28
Total	105	47	8	160

Notes
a. Does not include books first published after mid-2005.

Table 2-6 shows the numbers of (first edition) theory textbook titles I have been able to identify, following exhaustive searches in 2004-2005, by main country of (first) author.[94] I found only a handful before the 1930s (some of which may not have been intended, or used, as theory textbooks). They began to take off in the 1930s, disappeared during the WWII decade of the 1940s, and resumed climbing from the 1950s, with the 1970s and 1990s strong years for both American- and British-authored textbooks. Not surprisingly, the pattern reflects some of the high- and low-points in the development of separate theory courses within the sociology curriculum.

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[94] See section on methods in Chapter One for more details. Note that only textbooks published in Britain or the US (and often both) were included: I did not include Australian texts since the small market size would render a sample too small for historical/national comparison. Otherwise I would have included books such as Beilharz (1991b). The listing of theory textbook titles appears in Appendix C.

While general growth in sociology textbook publishing is clearly partly responsible for the expansion, that is not the whole story. This can be seen when we consider a listing of introductory textbooks published in the United States from 1900 until the 1960s (Platt 1995: 99, n. 5).[95] Table 2-7 compares the numbers of theory textbooks and introductory textbooks for the 1900s to the 1960s, and shows continuing growth in the ratio of these from the 1920s to 1960s (with the striking exception of the 1940s).

Table 2-7. Ratio of US theory textbooks to introductory textbooks

	US theory textbooks (number)	US theory textbooks/ Introductory books	Introductory textbooks (number)
1900s	0	0	12
1910s	0	0	10
1920s	4	0.15	27
1930s	8	0.21	38
1940s	0	0	29
1950s	8	0.25	32
1960s	11	0.31	35

Analysis of the theory textbook titles also reveals some shifts in the way in which theory has been conceptualised, and particularly, a growing tendency (with some notable fluctuations) to denote the contents using 'theory' and related terms (theories, theorising, theorists, etc.), rather than alternatives such as thought, sociology and perspectives. Table 2-8 shows the primary way in which the textbook titles refer to the theoretical nature of their object.[96]

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[95] Jennifer Platt's listing of textbooks was kindly passed on by R.W. (now Raewyn) Connell. I have included all titles in her document, which counts multiple editions (unlike my list), and have re-organised the decades (1910-1919 instead of 1911-1920, etc.), so the numbers do not correspond entirely with hers.

[96] These are the primary, but in many cases not the only, ways in which titles refer to their theoretical object. The first section of Table D-1, in Appendix D, shows the incidence of terms denoting theory, and its alternatives, as well as aspects and uses of theory, and (unlike Table 2-8) may include multiple terms per title.

Table 2-8. Primary way theory textbook titles refer to theoretical nature of object

	19 C	1920s	1930s	1950s	1960s	1970s[a]	1980s	1990s	2000s
	no (%)	no (%)	No (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	No (%)
Theory etc.[b]	3 (60)	4 (80)	2 (25)	7 (78)	9 (60)	19 (63)	16 (80)	30 (75)	28(100)
Thought etc.[c]	-	1 (20)	2 (25)	2 (22)	4 (27)	4 (13)	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Perspectives etc.[d]	-	-	-	-	-	6 (20)	-	1 (2)	-
Sociology	1 (20)	-	1 (12)	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Sociological tradition/s	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	-	1 (5)	3 (8)	-
Principles/laws	1 (20)	-	1 (12)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other[e]	-	-	2 (25)	-	-	3 (10)	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
N	5	5	8	9	15	30	20	40	28

Notes

a. Three of the 1970s titles contained overlapping phrases (theoretical thinking; theories and paradigms; theoretical perspectives) so could not fit single categories. Thus 33 items are tabulated here for the 30 book titles, with actual percentages, totalling 110%, given above. Weighting items in these overlapping phrases as 0.5 each would give: theory: 17.5 (58%); thought: 3.5 (12%); perspectives: 5 (17%); sociology 1 (3%); other 3 (10%).

b. Also includes: theorists, theories, theory groups, theorising, theoretical.

c. Also includes: thinking, thinkers.

d. Also includes: paradigms, approaches.

e. These items appeared in one title each: the problem of social change, social philosophy (both 1930s), the classic statements, discovery of society, sociological analysis (all 1970s), sociological spirit (1980s), key ideas, and sociological life (both 1990s).

Before the 1950s, and especially in the 1930s, we see a variety of alternatives instead of 'theory': thought (and related terms), sociology, principles and laws, social philosophy, and the problem of social change. The most prominent of these is thought (including thinking/thinkers) (3 of the 18 pre-1950s titles), which captures some notions and uses of theory – theory as conceptual tool, theory-work as 'clever' (with status implications), and indulgence (theory for thinking, rather than doing) – that will be considered in later chapters. It continued to appear in titles through to the 1990s, although dwindled after the 1970s. This does not necessarily imply a rejection of 'thought' and its connotations: rather it may be that these have been absorbed into the dominant category of 'theory'. 'Sociology', similarly, appeared in two pre-1950s titles and several later titles. Its early significance reflects the general pattern found in these titles and more broadly discussed in this chapter, of movement from theory as an integrated, undifferentiated part of sociology to a distinct component of the disci-

pline. Principles and laws contributed two pre-1950s titles, and social philosophy one, but both have subsequently disappeared from the title list, with a turn away from the nineteenth century quest for general laws and the dwindling influence of social philosophy on sociology.[97] The 1970s also saw a burst of conception of theory in pluralistic terms, with a significant number of textbook titles portraying sociology as composed of competing (or complementary) perspectives: this will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

Since then we see the development of 'theory' as the dominant, stable label for identifying this area of sociological teaching and textbook publication, to the extreme of it appearing in all 28 of the sampled titles first published this decade.[98]

Introductory sociology textbooks

The trend of development of theory as a specialisation is also reflected in the organisation of introductory sociology textbooks (see section on methods in Chapter One for more details). Examination of a sample of twentieth century introductory texts found that, while all contained an introductory chapter or preface discussing the nature of sociology, not all contained separate discussions of theory.

Recent books were more likely than older books to include explicit chapter/section titles to indicate that they cover theory, and to devote whole chapters, rather than just sections, to it. Table 2-9 shows which books have chapters or section titles directly or loosely identifying discussion of theory or theory use. The British book, Mitchell (1959), was the first to include an unambiguous 'theory' title. Only half of the six other pre-1960 books included sections with titles more loosely identified with theory or research practice. Amongst the 11 books from 1960 until the mid-1980s were three dedicated chapters and three section titles addressing theory and its use, and two more

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[97] With the exception of 1970 title, *The Social Philosophers: Community and Conflict in Western Thought*, where the emphasis is on thought.

[98] This effect may be exaggerated by the methodology employed in compiling my list, since my library catalogue searches included the term 'theory', other lists consulted (detailed in Chapter One) did not include textbooks from the 2000s, and there is some lag time between publication and appearance of textbooks on course lists and in library catalogues.

subtle mentions. On the other hand, all six books published after 1988 had chapter titles addressing theory, including combined introductory chapters, chapters focused only on theory, and both.

If we group the books by country of publication, somewhat different patterns appear. For the US, there were sections titled with indirect references to theory (social research, and fundamental viewpoints) in the 1920s, a section on conceptual framework in 1957, and most books from the 1970s had sections or chapters on theory or concepts.[99] In the UK, theory was much more clearly and consistently treated as a separate section/chapter, beginning with the first textbook, published in 1959. Australia was somewhere between these two: the two sampled books to the mid-1980s did not include sections on theory, whereas the three from 1989 all did.

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[99] Similarly, Meroney's (1933) choice of twelve categories for classifying the contents of introductory sociology textbooks published before 1933 did not include a theory category, and nor was this part of his generic 'Sociology' category (which did include 'Definitions, subject matter, scope, methodology, relation to other studies, and history' (1933: 62)). Keith and Ender's analysis of the structure of a sample of 16 American introductory sociology textbook editions published during the 1940s and 19 published during the 1990s found that only 2 (13%) of the 1940s textbooks but 18 (95%) of the 1990s ones included chapters on theory (2004: 24). And Herrick's (1980: 617-18) analysis of 19 introductory texts published in 1978-79 found that all included a chapter or 'Significant Unit' on Theory (note that Herrick's table combines Theory and Research, but his text makes clear that theory is treated in all of these).

Table 2-9. Introductory textbook chapter/section titles with theoretical connection

Textbook	Country	Chapter/Section
Park & Burgess (1924)	US	'Sociology and Social Research', in Chapter 1
Hankins (1928)	US	'Fundamental Viewpoints', in Chapter 1
MacIver (1937)	US	-
Broom & Selznick (1955)	US	-
Fichter (1957)	US	'The Conceptual Framework', in Chapter 1
Young & Mack (1959)	US	-
Mitchell (1959)	Britain	Part One, Introduction to the History and Theory of Sociology
Horton & Hunt (1964)	US	-
Cotgrove (1967)	Britain	'Types of Sociological Theory', in Chapter 1
Goldthorpe (1968)	Britain	'Theory', in Chapter 3
Worsley (1970)	Britain	Chapter 2 The Logic and Method of Sociological Inquiry
Hodges (1971)	US	Chapter 2 Explanation: The Quest for Theories
Popenoe (1971)	US	'Sociological Concepts', in Chapter 1
Congalton & Daniel (1976)	Aus	-
Cuff & Payne (1979)	Britain	Chapter 1 The Nature of Sociological Perspectives
Haralambos & Heald (1980)	Britain	'Theories of society' in Chapter 1 Chapter 13 Sociological Theory
Zeitlin (1981)	US	-
Sargent (1983)	Aus	-
Giddens (1989)	Britain	Chapter 1 Sociology: Problems and Perspectives Chapter 22 The Development of Sociological Theory
Waters (1989)	Aus	Chapter 1 Concepts and Theories
Macionis (1992)	US	Chapter 1 Sociology: Perspective, Theory and Method
Haralambos et al. (1996)	Aus	'Sociological perspectives' in Chapter 1 Chapter 13 Sociological Theory
Fulcher & Scott (1999)	Britain	Chapter 2 Theories and Theorizing
Bessant & Watts (1999)	Aus	Chapter 2 Mapping Sociological Theories

While factors like increased textbook size and standardisation of textbook formats must not be ignored, this increase in the prominence given to theory in introductory texts again conveys a double message about the place of theory. First, it implies that some degree of theoreticality is required of all sociologists; that induction into the discipline of sociology involves induction into sociological theory. Second, the de-

marcation of theory into its own special chapter can be seen as a metaphor for the development of theory as a specialisation.

Professional associations: sections and interests

In the preceding sections I have shown that theory emerged as a separate teaching and textbook specialty. But does that mean that it was an area of expertise outside of the classroom? Simpson's (1961) study, which examined multiple sources (courses, ASA members' areas of competence, and topics of ASA papers and *ASR* articles) for indications of recent trends in areas of specialisation, found that the patterns for courses and the other indicators of sociological expertise were 'either unrelated or negatively related' (1961: 464).[100] This suggests that it is wise to consider another source. In this section I look beyond teaching to the formation of separate theory sections/study groups in the American and British sociological associations, which surely marks emergence of an area as a separate realm of disciplinary expertise, and to work on members' interests, particularly in the United States.

American Sociological Association (ASA) Theory Section

While there were opportunities for sections of the American Association to form from the 1920s, the theory section was not established until the late 1960s. Thus by 1930 the (then) ASS had sections on rural sociology, social statistics,[101] educational sociol-

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[100] His case for this in relation to theory is not strong. His trend for theory courses (including social processes in 1942, and social change in 1957) was 'expanding', although this was based on a modest change from 7.0% to 7.4% of courses (fifth to fourth rank). He considered directory listings of fields of competence to show a 'declining' trend where the field had proportionately fewer listings amongst people with recent PhDs (1950-54 and 1955-59) than any of the three earlier groups (before 1935, 1935-1944, 1945-49), and theory 'fits [this definition], though its curve is irregular and it advanced in 1955-59 over its low point of 1950-54' (1961: 463-64). However, theory was neither expanding nor declining according to the measures of ASA papers and *ASR* articles, and its overall rank in all the late 1950s measures was fourth or third (1961: 462).

[101] Previously social research.

ogy, teaching of sociology,[102] community, sociology of religion, sociology of the family, sociology and social work, and sociology and psychiatry – but not theory (American Sociological Association 2005). This structure remained in place until the late 1950s.[103] A new procedure for establishing sections 'for accommodating "special interest" groups' was instituted in 1958 (Rhoades 1981: 47). The 'Theoretical Sociology'/'Theory' section, founded in 1968, was the seventh of eight sections established by 1970, twenty by 1980 and forty by 2000 (McAdam 2007: 418; Rosich 2005: 145, 154-55).[104]

Figures for the theory section (TS) membership are available for selected years from 1975, and show growth in absolute membership numbers (although with some dips), sustained high rankings despite considerable increase in the number of sections, and significant growth compared to section averages (see Table 2-10). Thus, from 1975 to 2005, the number of TS members increased 59 percent from 515 to 819; the percentage of ASA members belonging to the TS grew from 3.7% to 5.9%; the TS remained

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[102] Previously teaching of sociology in schools.

[103] Rhoades (1981: 47) noted that 'Sections had existed since 1921, but their activities were primarily limited to organizing a session for the Annual Meeting'.

[104] The section changed its name from 'Theoretical Sociology' to 'Theory' in 1994 (Rosich 2005: 155). The other sections are Methodology (founded 1961), Social Psychology (1961), Medical Sociology (1962), Crime, Law and Deviance (1966), Sociology of Education (1967), Family (1967), Theory (1968), Organizations, Occupations, and Work (1970), Sex and Gender (1973), Community and Urban (1973), Undergraduate education/Teaching and Learning (1973, not included in McAdam 2007), Environment and Technology (1977), Marxist Sociology (1977), Peace, War & Social Conflict (current name) (1978), Population (1978), Sociological Practice (1979), Aging and the Life Course (1980), Political Economy of the World System (1981), Collective Behavior and Social Movements (1981), Racial and Ethnic Minorities (1981), Comparative Historical Sociology (1983), Political Sociology (1985), Asia and Asian America (1986), Emotions (1988), Culture (1988), Science, Knowledge and Technology (1990), Communication and Information Technologies (1990), Mental Health (1993), Alcohol, Drugs and Tobacco (1993), Latino/a Sociology (1994), Children and Youth (1994), Law (1994), Religion (1994), Rationality and Society (1995), International Migration (1995), Race, Gender and Class (1997), Mathematical Sociology (1997), Sexualities (1997), History of Sociology (1999), Economic Sociology (2000), Labor & Labor Movements (2002), Animals & Society (2002), Ethnomethodology & Conversation Analysis (2004), Evolution (2004/2005) (American Sociological Association 2008; McAdam 2007: 418; Rosich 2005: 154).

seventh most popular, despite increase in the total number of sections from 12 to 44; and the TS membership increased from somewhat less (94%) than average section size to more than one and a half times (156%) average section size. It is still the case that only a small minority of American sociologists belong to the TS (more than 90% of ASA members do not): however, theory is more than retaining its place as specialisations proliferate.

Table 2-10. ASA Theory Section (TS) membership growth

	Number of TS members	TS members as % of ASA members	TS Rank (and total number of sections)	TS membership/ Average section membership
1975	515	3.7	=7 (12)	0.94
1980	450	3.5	9 (20)	1.00
1985	416	3.6	8 (23)	1.02
1990	615	4.8	4 (27)	1.25
1995	749	5.7	7 (35)	1.45
2000	653	5.1	7 (40)	1.36
2005	819	5.9	7 (44)	1.56
2008	838	N/A	6 (44)	1.48

Sources: American Sociological Association (2008); Erskine & Spalter-Roth (2006); Rosich (2005: 145)

British Sociological Association (BSA) and the Australian Sociological Association (TASA)

In Britain, the BSA's first 'study groups' were founded in 1955, just four years after the association (Platt 2003: 54). Theory was, here, treated as a specialist area much earlier in the national history of the discipline, with the study group on Theoretical and Comparative Sociology established in 1957, more than a decade before the American equivalent (2003: 54).[105] Interestingly, Platt notes that most of its early speakers were 'of foreign origin', including Norbert Elias, Zygmunt Bauman, Ernest

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[105] Study groups on Industrial Sociology, Urban Sociology, and Sociology of Education pre-dated it. Note that Bulmer (1985: 29) also treats the formation of a Teachers' Section of the BSA around 1960 as 'crystallising' 'a growing interest in theory'.

Gellner and Talcott Parsons, 'suggesting the significance of the contribution of refugees from countries with other intellectual traditions, and perhaps also less concern to respond to local policy issues' (30, 59). Thus the theoreticality of British sociology has been, in part, shaped by theoretical influences from, especially, continental Europe but also the United States. The group was initially very active, holding 17 speaker meetings in 1959-60 (47), and like some other early groups declined in the early 1960s. However a reinvigorated replacement study group on Theoretical Sociology was established in 1965-66, and has remained lively for most of the time since then, with the newly formed Weber study group to some extent taking over for a period in the late 1980s (59, 187-90).[106]

Specialist sections of the Australian Sociological Association (TASA) have not included 'theory'. A few special interest groups were established at various points in the twentieth century – a Medical Sociology Section of the then Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand (SAANZ) in 1968, later renamed the Health Sociology Section and still active, a Sociology Teachers' Section in 1970, and a Women's Section in 1976 (Germov & McGee 2005: 357). A new system for establishing thematic groups was instituted in 2005, and the sixteen groups listed on the TASA website by November 2008 (fourteen at August 2009) did not include theory.[107] This failure to establish a theory section suggests that theory has not been a strong area of specialisation in Australian sociology.

We can obtain some measure of Australian sociologists' interest in theory using the TASA online membership directory. TASA members electing to include their details

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[106] The current website for the BSA Theory Study Group is http://www.warwick.ac.uk/go/ bsatheorysg, last accessed August 2009.

[107] The thematic groups listed at August 2009 are: Cultural Sociology; Economic Sociology; Media; Migration, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (all established 2005); Environment and Society; Sociology of Indigenous Issues (established 2006); Applied Sociology; Crime and Governance; Mobilities; Work and Labour Studies (established 2007); Critical Disability Studies; Science, Technology and Knowledge; Families, Relationships and Gender (2008); and Health (2009 – replacing Mental Health (2005) and Health (2006)). Social Stratification, established in 2005, was listed in November 2008, but not in August 2009 (The Australian Sociological Association 2006b). Note that other groups may exist informally: for instance, a group on Teaching Sociology edited the December 2008 issue of the newsletter, *Nexus*.

in the directory are given an opportunity to select up to five interests from a list of 36 items. Searches of the directory show that in January 2009, Social Theory was selected by 187 members (35% of those in the directory), second only to Feminism, Gender and Sexuality (190, 35%) (The Australian Sociological Association 2006c).[108] Social theory ranked ahead of Health, Medicine and the Body (170, 32%), Methodology (164, 31%), Community Research (146, 27%), Culture and Cultural Policy (124, 23%) and many more. This shows that a sizeable proportion – more than one third – of Australian sociologists are 'interested' in social theory, yet none have formed a TASA theory group. Clearly nominating an interest, particularly when multiple options are allowed, requires little commitment or investment (compared to section/group formation or membership), and presumably some of its popularity is explained by its 'integrated', rather than its 'specialist' place. In addition, the fact that theory is a particularly transportable aspect of sociology means that 'activist' Australian theorists might participate in expert theory groups separate from the national association.[109]

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[108] Searches were conducted on 21 January 2009, when the directory still included details of 2008 members who had not yet renewed membership for 2009. A total of 534 members (of 536 in directory) listed one or more interests (some more than 5 despite instructions: thus, amongst those whose surnames begin with A or B, the mode and median were 5, but average was 6.65 and standard deviation 4.33, with only one person listing 1 interest, and two listing 25). Marshall et al. (2009: 18-21) also provides data on members' interests from the membership directory, probably from later in 2009. The numbers are bigger in each case, but the ranking for at least the first six interests is the same. In 2004, Social Theory (207) was third-ranked, after Feminism, Gender and Sexuality (263), and Health, Medicine and the Body (216), with no difference in the order of the remaining top six (Germov and McGee 2005: 371).

[109] For instance, the Australian journal, *Thesis Eleven: Critical theory and historical sociology*, was established in 1980, and the Thesis Eleven Centre for Critical Theory in 2001 (Thesis Eleven 2007), although see later discussion about the centre's subsequent name change. Several Australian-based sociologists have been Board members of the International Sociological Association (ISA) Research Committee 16 (RC) on Sociological Theory, founded in 1990: Bryan Turner (1998-2002), Philip Smith (2002-2006), Paul Jones (2006-2010) (International Sociological Association 2008; 2009).

ASA members' interests

Documentation of ASS/ASA members' 'interests' or areas of competence also shows the emergence of theory as a (growing) area of expertise within sociology, developing from a position where theory was not offered as a category in which members might be interested, in the first half of the century, through ranking as fifth or sixth most popular interest in the 1950s to third in the 1970s and 1990s. In the early 1930s, the ASS listing of interests of members still did not include 'theory' as an option, but did list General and Historical Sociology as one of the thirteen possible 'divisions' of sociology (Lundberg 1931: 459). However, there was recognition, at least by some, that theory was an area of interest, with Duncan and Duncan (1933: 212) considering it an important omission.[110]

By the 1950s, members were invited to nominate up to three 'sociological fields in which [they were] qualified to teach or to do research', with these then classified into 33 fields of sociology (Riley 1960: 923). Theory received 14% (206) of all mentions in 1950 and 12% (434) in 1959, with the rank marginally increasing from sixth to fifth place over that time (1960: 925).[111] When just the first-listed field of competence from 1959 is included, Theory (including 'sociology of knowledge and related fields') received 9.8% of mentions, making it the third most popular field in Simpson's (1961: 459) different classification into 22 subfields.[112] In 1970, by which time members

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[110] In 1930, 110 of the 1832 ASS members checked General and Historical Sociology as their '*major*' area of interest, ranked third after Sociology and Social Work (152) and Social Psychology (118). When *all* indications of interest are considered, 24.9% of members checked this division, sixth ranked after Social Psychology (37.4%), Family (31.2%), Social Research (29.9%), Sociology and Social Work (28.2%), and Community Problems (25.7%). Four hundred and seventy-nine (26.1% of) members did not indicate any area of interest.

[111] After Social Psychology (22%), Marriage and Family (19%), Methodology (15%), Race and Ethnic Relations (15%) and General Sociology (14%) in 1950, and Social Psychology (25%), Methodology (18%), Marriage and Family (17%) and Sociology of Organisation (13%) in 1959 (Riley 1960: 925).

[112] More popular were Social Psychology (12.8%), and 'Community (includes ecology, rural and urban)' (10.3%) (Simpson 1961: 459). In this case specialities outside sociology, including Anthropology, Psychiatry, Social Science, Social Work and Social Ethics, were excluded. In Riley's analysis (1960: 924), Sociology of Knowledge attracted 40 mentions (1%) in 1959.

were invited to indicate two areas of competence, theory had improved to third place, with 466 (5.3%) declarations (Stehr & Larson 1972: 5).[113] For the 1990 ASA members' directory, members were asked to specify up to four areas of interest from a list of 54 possibilities. Across all mentions, theory was third ranked, with 2,034 (15.3%) of 13,265 members listing it as one of their interests (Ennis 1992: 260-61).[114]

Conclusion

From the discussion above, we see that theory has emerged as a separate area of expertise in American, British and Australian sociology, but the trajectories have been different in each country.

In America, the first evidence of clear separation of theory from 'general sociology' appeared in the 1930s, via teaching and theory textbooks. However, this dipped right back in the 1940s (probably affected by the War), and theory did not register as a particular interest of ASA members, or have sufficient following to prompt establishment of an ASA section, in the first half of the century. It regained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s, when Parsons' influence was strongest,[115] with: specialised theory courses becoming more prominent in undergraduate and graduate teaching; the take-off in publication of theory textbooks; establishment of the ASA theory section (in 1968); and development of theory's popularity in surveys of ASA members' interests. There was consolidation in the 1970s, with theory appearing as a separate section/chapter in most introductory textbooks from then, and theory has remained a clear, and increasingly popular, area of specialisation since then.

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[113] After Social Psychology (9.2%) and Methods and Statistics (5.7%). Overall, Stehr and Larson suggest that this 1970 ranking of interests 'is similar to course offerings in the United States departments offering graduate degrees in sociology' and corresponds to the 'areas most frequently and least frequently represented in the 1965 and 1966 volumes of the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *American Sociological Review*', aside from Medical Sociology (1972: 5).

[114] After Social Psychology (2,551) and (just) Marriage and the Family (2037).

[115] The role of Parsons will be discussed in later chapters.

Less information is available from Britain, but there is evidence from the late 1950s and 1960s that shows that theory was already an arena of specialisation, as well as a standard part of the discipline, as sociology was established in British universities and polytechnics. Thus the BSA theory study group was established in 1957; three social theory textbooks appeared in the 1960s;[116] the sampled British introductory textbooks, from the first published in 1959, all included separate sections/chapters about theory; and it was common to include separate theory courses in the late 1960s and mid 1980s. Since then, the number of theory textbooks has grown, the BSA theory study group has flourished, and one or more modules in theory were generally included in sociology courses in 1980s polytechnics and universities, as well as universities in 2008.

Even less information is available for Australia, and what there is presents a less uniform picture. Theory subjects seem to have been included in at least some sociology programs since the 1960s, anecdotally since becoming fairly mainstream, and theory was separated into its own chapter of introductory textbooks published in the late 1980s and 1990s. However, it has been observed that, in teaching at least, the notion of theory as a separate area of expertise has retreated somewhat in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, with a tendency to enhance its appeal to students by integrating theory into other areas of teaching. Certainly, two different surveys of contemporary sociology curricula suggest a decline in the provision of theory courses: in one, less than half the surveyed curricula required sociology majors to take courses in theory; and in both, approximately one third of the sociology programs offered no separate theory courses. In organisational terms, theory has not proved important enough as an area of expertise to motivate formation of a theory group in TASA, although theory rates very highly in analysis of members' interests. While there have been alternative theoretical fora in Australian sociology, the 2007 name change of the Thesis Eleven centre at La Trobe University, from Centre for Critical Theory to

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[116] Only three earlier ones were found: one nineteenth century text by Herbert Spencer, and two by G.D.H. Cole, who was Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford, and had a significant involvement in social research there (see Halsey 2004: 103).

Centre for Cultural Sociology, might provide another indication of a diminishing role for theory as an area of expertise in Australian sociology.[117]

Thus we have seen the emergence, very early in British sociology's academic history, later in America's, of theory as a separate realm of expertise in sociology. Australian sociology has witnessed both the rise, and the beginnings of a fall, of theory as a separate speciality. At the same time, theory is a part and parcel of ordinary sociologists' work: theory is typically cited and used, in various ways, in sociology textbooks, courses, journal articles, monographs and, indeed, theses. This double position of theory, as specialisation and general requirement, invites questions about the uses of theory – the diverse, and not necessarily intentional or successful, aims and accomplishments of theory – in sociology, questions to which the signs of change in the Australian context add weight. In the next chapter I consider my first set of uses, following the typical account of theory's role, which relates theory to research, with theory seen as facilitating research and specialisation reflecting a division of labour that allows development of theoretical tools to assist research.

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[117] The Centre's Director, Peter Beilharz, notes that reasons for the change included: misunderstandings of 'critical theory' (as literary, in America, and as limited to the Frankfurt School in Australia), the better alignment with their host sociology department facilitated by the title 'Cultural Sociology', and interests in cultural sociology research areas and researchers (personal correspondence, November 2008). It is interesting to observe that the Culture Section of the ASA became the Association's most popular section in 2008 (American Sociological Association 2008).

CHAPTER 3

THEORY AND RESEARCH

I could paraphrase Kant and say that research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 162)

Theory and research are not enemies, though the mood of specialization often makes both of them feel that they are. (Collins 1986: 1355)

Introduction

One of my central arguments in this thesis is that most discussions of theory, and how it is employed in sociology, are limited in that they consider theory solely or primarily in relation to research (or its objects, 'facts' or 'reality' or 'the social world'). In this chapter I consider two key sets of discussions about theory that share this focus: one drawn from a historical sample of Australian, British and American twentieth-century introductory sociology textbooks, with some additional illustrations from social theory textbooks; the other from observation of presentations at, and analysis of published papers and abstracts from, a 2004 conference titled 'What is theory for? On the relationship between social theory and empirical research'.[118]

While the two sets of discussions are quite different, in both cases I find that notions of understanding and/or explanation (sometimes bundled together; sometimes un-

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[118] See Chapter One for more details of sources. Note that for the conference my referencing system indicates whether I am citing the abstract (author name only), the presented paper (author name (2004)) or the published paper (page numbers added, and URL provided in reference list).

twined, and with one or the other emphasised) are common and often underlie other categories of theory use. There is also considerable diversity and disagreement in the uses of theory identified and how they are conceptualised, evident in terms of changes over time and national differences in the textbook sample, and variety within a contemporary sample of conference paper accounts of theory's role in sociological research. Thus, even with the restricted emphasis in this chapter on the standard way of thinking about what theory is for – uses of theory related to research – we begin to gain a sense of the messiness, plurality and complexity of theory use in sociology, the second main argument of my thesis.

One factor promoting both the taken-for-granted focus on research and social reality in discussions of theory use in sociology and the diversity found when we look at research-related uses of theory is sociology's historical ambiguous 'third culture' position between science and the humanities.[119] For instance, Lepenies (1988) has shown how the distinctive intellectual climates of France, England and Germany from the nineteenth century were dominated by a contest between emotional literature and rational science, producing a sociology which has 'oscillated between a scientific orientation which has led it to ape the natural sciences and a hermeneutic attitude which has shifted the discipline towards the realm of literature' (1988: 1). Building on Lepenies' account, Krishan Kumar (2001) argued that the late and limited establishment of English sociology, and its relative paucity of social theory, stems partly from the fact that disciplines of English literature and history got in first and hosted rich work on social theory and investigation. Stephen Turner (2007a) shows how American and European sociologies were assembled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries out of ingredients including social statistics and philosophy of history, jettisoned by the newly reformed disciplines of economics and history respectively, hence incorporating 'the fundamental conflict between science-like fact and the problem of large scale historical truth inherited by "social theory" [which] reappeared in many

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[119] Haralambos et al. (1996: 17) offer a third option, suggesting it is 'a matter of dispute whether sociology should be regarded as a science, a humanist exercise in achieving greater understanding, or a more political enterprise aimed at having an impact on the social life that sociologists analyse'. This 'political' emphasis on effecting social change is clear in discussions of the nature and goals of sociology, but is dealt with more in Chapter Six.

guises' (S. Turner 2007a: 5). For Immanuel Wallerstein (1999) the two antagonistic cultures of the last two centuries are represented by science, claiming privileged access to truth, and philosophy (or the humanities), 'relegated to the search for the good (and the beautiful)' (Wallerstein 1999: 187). The 'divorce' between these two has been internalised within the third culture of the social sciences as a *Methodenstreit* between those social scientists favouring the humanities' idiographic epistemology, with its emphasis on individual particularities and understanding, and those preferring the natural sciences' nomothetic epistemology with the quest for universally applicable laws (Wallerstein 1999: 190).[120]

In this way sociology has inherited both a scientific emphasis on empiricism, whereby theory's role might be seen as limited to generating hypotheses for empirical testing and knowledge building, and a humanitarian emphasis on philosophy, where theory's role might be seen more in terms of contemplating and understanding the human condition. While there is a more-or-less easy consensus that sociology does both of these things, there is no such consensus, and certainly not a fixed one, about the specific location or management of its in-between position.

Theory use and research: the textbook and theory conference versions

As I noted in Chapter One, introductory textbooks' role of introducing students to the discipline of sociology makes them a fruitful site for discussions of theory in sociology. My sample of 24 twentieth-century introductory textbooks shows that clear identification of 'theory' as a separate topic in sociology has not always been present (discussed in Chapter Two). However, all of the books do contain some discussion about the nature, use and/or content of theory. Theory textbooks do not generally share the strong disciplinary focus of introductory texts, rather emphasising the idea of theory

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[120] Wallerstein argued that this division has hindered the development of knowledge (in general), for instance through a false distinction between, and covert reunifying of, searches for 'the true and the good' (1999: 188), and that new areas of research, such as complexity studies and cultural studies, are productively challenging the division by questioning the assumptions of both sides.

as a specialisation,[121] with the effect that they are less consistent in relating theory to research: nonetheless, there are clues in some titles about the changing ways this relationship has been conceived, and these, and in some cases illustrative quotations, are briefly discussed here. Also unlike introductory textbooks, the presented and published papers and abstracts from the ESA social theory conference do not focus on the nature of the discipline. However, the conference theme – 'What is theory for?' – and context provided more room for discussion about the limited successes (and failures) of theories in achieving goals within particular research contexts, again enabling us to identify and illustrate various categories of theory use related to research and the social world.

Concepts and terminology

Textbooks

One relatively common topic of discussion about 'theory' in introductory textbooks, albeit often not under that heading, is the use of language and concepts (14 of 24 books, beginning with MacIver 1937, and going to Fulcher and Scott 1999, but concentrated around the 1960s, with 8 of the 9 books from 1957 to 1971).[122] This notion is echoed, in a minor way, in the titles of social theory textbooks, with 'concepts' or

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[121] Even if, at the same time, regarding theory as an ordinary activity not just for sociologists, but for humans in general. For instance, Lemert (1999: 2) suggested that social theory is 'the normal accomplishment of socially adept human creatures figuring out what other creatures of the same sort are doing with, to, or around them', an idea that might rankle 'professional social theorists'.

[122] Note that there were arguments during this period about whether or not to treat concepts as components of theory. For instance, Julius Gould (1963: 35-36), particularly opposing Parsons' theoretical approach, supported a clearer distinction between theory as sets of independent propositions comprising an explanatory model, and conceptual schemes. Nonetheless, he went on to problematise both functionalism and neo-Marxism via an analysis of the sets of concepts in their opposing theoretical vocabularies. Also in this period, Etzioni (1971[1965]: 380) lamented the fact that in commonly used introductory textbooks 'sociology is still introduced as a set of theoretical perspectives and concepts around which some substantive material is arranged as illustration', for its failure to inform students about their society and engage them in social analysis: 'For many of them sociology will remain forever largely a distasteful conceptual machinery which one masters for the exam and forgets soon after'.

'ideas' appearing as aspects of theory in a small proportion of titles from the 1930s, 1980s and 1990s. The idea of theory as conceptual tool is also apparent in the substantial minority of titles featuring 'thought' or 'thinking' and variations from the 1920s to 1990s (over 20% for each decade from the 1920s to the 1960s), and the 2003 case of theory text as a 'tool kit', equipped with five 'fundamental concepts' required for social explanation (Parker et al. 2003: xii) (see Appendix C and Appendix D).

The introductory textbooks' most common justification for using technical language or specifying concepts, given in all but three cases, involved tying sociology to a particular style of knowledge and practice (or knowledge-makers and practitioners). This started out as science (MacIver 1937, through to Goldthorpe 1968) and then shifted to academic or specialist, rather than being specifically scientific (Hodges 1971, through to Fulcher and Scott 1999). The explanation took one of two possible forms: sociology needs technical terms/concepts, just like other sciences/specialists/ disciplines; or sociology needs technical terms/concepts because it is a science. Other explanations were also common and organised around several related factors: precision and clarity, communication, analysis and generalisability, knowledge and understanding, and distance/objectivity.

Hodges (1971) provides one example:

> ... new words, "neologisms," are often quite necessary because they lend a degree of exactness to sociological communication and enable the sociologist to know more or less exactly what another sociologist means when he uses such words as contracultural, marginality, Gemeinschaft, binomial distribution, functionalism, servomechanism, nonparametric, and human ecology. Because they express whole paragraphs of meaning, such words and terms are useful shortcuts rather than the frivolous claptrap they might seem to the uninformed.

> On the other hand, when the sociologist uses such familiar terms as public, culture, society, status, and institution, he uses them in narrowly defined ways that make fairly exact sense to his fellow sociologists and to students of sociology. ...

> ... an explicit, uniform, and intelligible conceptual apparatus is a worthy
> ideal, but it is not, unfortunately, a constant practice. (Hodges 1971: 27-
> 29)

In seeking a 'uniform ... conceptual apparatus', Hodges echoed a theme that pre-
vailed in most of the discussions from the late 1950s through to then. He stood out in
his acknowledgement that this aim had not been realised (which, given his list of ne-
ologisms, seems hardly surprising).[123] In the next discussion of concepts, Cuff and
Payne (1979: 6-11) put another position, that just as conceptual frameworks distin-
guish the various social sciences, concepts employed (along with assumptions, ques-
tions, etc.) distinguish the different perspectives within sociology. The question of
uniformity or plurality did not arise in any of the more recent concep-
tual/terminological discussions (most of which inhabited textbooks comfortably offer-
ing multiple different terminologies from different theoretical frameworks).

Some of these discussions about terminology were framed as a response to accusa-
tions of jargon. Generally, this took the form of an explanation to the student that
sociologists do need to use a special language, for the kinds of reasons given above.
Sargent, however, with her Marxist hat on, denounced 'the mystifying language of the
social sciences designed to flummox the layman and to make life difficult for students
[which] also makes communication between any two sociologists unlikely' (1983: 5).
She offered to minimise and explain jargon words, so that students can understand
their sociological reading, and advocated a 'profound scepticism which will cause

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[123] Keith and Ender's (2004) analysis of concepts in samples of 1940s and 1990s introductory
sociology textbooks confirmed that only very small proportions of concepts (taken from main
index items in the 1940s, and glossaries in the 1990s) were common within either set of text-
books, and even fewer were common across both sets. Amongst the 1940s texts, 11 concepts
(0.7% of all concepts) were in 100% of the 16 textbooks, and 28 (1.8%) were in 90% or more
of textbooks. Amongst the 1990s books, there were again 11 concepts (0.5%) common to all
19 textbooks, and 61 (2.7%) included in at least 90%. Two concepts (culture, and race/racial
group) appeared in all textbooks for both periods, and another nine were in at least 90% of
both sets of textbooks (caste, ethnocentrism, family, folkways, group, institutions, religion,
society and sociology). This analysis does not tell us anything about the uniformity or other-
wise of treatment of those particular concepts, but Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1963 [1952])
famous collection of definitions of culture, for instance, suggests plenty of room for diversity
(and presumably this flexibility is helpful in prolonging a concept's textbook life).

them to seek a definition each time they meet a jargon filled exposition. In this way they will call the bluff of those who use jargon to disguise their theoretical confusion and to *obfuscate* the reader' (1983: xiii-xiv). In a more recent (also, post-technical-terminology-for-science) textbook, we see a concession that sociologists may have 'sometimes adopted cumbersome terminology in a misguided attempt to justify their claims to a scientific status', alongside adherence to arguments for a particular sociological language (Fulcher & Scott 1999: 22).

'What is theory for?' conference

It is clear from papers presented at the 2004 ESA theory conference that concepts and conceptualisation (and especially reconceptualisation) remain prominent aspects of theory and theory use. As with recent textbooks, the quest for a uniform conceptual framework appears to have been abandoned, expressed in Francisco Linares' introductory claim that:

> As far as sociology is a multi-paradigm science, a consensus over its basic concepts will, probably, never be reached. The reason is obvious: because different theories hold different epistemological and methodological assumptions, they also construct their objects (usually, the same objects) in different ways. (Linares 2004: 1)

Most authors did not directly address this aim, but Linares was one of many who in their treatment of particular concepts and, especially, arguments for or against particular conceptualisations of those concepts, lent support to his general claim. In Linares' (2004) case, the concept was 'social norms', and he argued for a refinement of Homans' social exchange theory approach, using evolutionary game theory's instrumentalist theory of action. In (some) other examples, Haldun Gülap (2004) reconceptualised the concept of secularisation, accomplished by adding to Durkheim's sociology of religion Robert Bellah's (and Rousseau's) distinction between traditional and civil relations; and Sam Pryke (2004) focused on Bourdieu's theories of habitus and doxa, both in relation to his empirical research into the Boy Scout movement, and in constructing a broader argument about the tension between the abstractness – and

hence wide applicability – of theoretical concepts, and the specificity required to validate research findings.

In some instances, papers explicitly linked the usefulness of (particular) concepts to processes of conducting research and interpreting empirical reality. For instance, Dreher argued for an inductive, rather than deductive, model of theorisation, with concepts developed via the empirical research process through ongoing comparison with both the data and pre-existing 'theoretical conceptions' (Dreher). Marta Herrero considered the efficacy of the concept of 'glocalisation' for understanding Irish art auctions in both Dublin and London, and their role in constituting Irish art as international, local, or both. Ulas applied Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field to understand the career trajectories of Charlie Chaplin and other silent comedians. And Svetlana Kirdina (2004) discussed the usefulness of the concept (or, interchangeably, theory) of institutional matrices in a consulting research project undertaken in Russia.

As we can already see from some of the examples above, concepts were often used illustratively or evidentially in papers to assist in formulating broader arguments. For instance, Araújo and Brandão used Durkheim's 'conceptualisation of social time' and 'the concepts of primary and secondary socialisation' as examples for their overall argument about how sociological theory is useful for indicating possibilities for social intervention (in addition to understanding and explaining social reality). And Christian Papilloud relied on scrutiny of Luhmann's particular conceptualisation of inequality to problematise his notion of contingency and argue that mass media, and especially the interactive 'new media', tend not towards a single 'world-society' but towards 'a society for oneself'.

The research process

Textbooks

Most introductory textbooks describe the use of theory in relation to hypothesis testing and/or the research process. This is generally (except for a few recent texts) re-

lated to an understanding of sociology as science.[124] For the earliest textbook, this use of theory was not a current reflection of sociology's scientificity, but would enable sociology to become scientific:

> Sociology seems now ... in a way to become, in some fashion or other, an experimental science. It will become so as soon as it can state existing problems in such a way that the results in one case will demonstrate what can and should be done in another. Experiments are going on in every field of social life, in industry, in politics, and in religion. In all these fields men are guided by some implicit or explicit theory of the situation, but this theory is not often stated in the form of a hypothesis and subjected to a test of the negative instances. (Park & Burgess 1924: 45)

From the 1960s through to the 1980s, the research process was commonly set out in some variation of the cyclical 'hypothetico-deductive' model, often illustrated with a diagram.[125] Briefly, the model has hypotheses derived from existing theory, then tested through inquiry and observation, and the theories supported or modified as a result. While suggesting that this model was dominant, all but the first of these texts nonetheless reflected on its inadequacies as a description of the research process.[126] For instance, the two English texts, Worsley (1970: 71-72) and Cuff and Payne (1979), drawing on Kuhn and Kaplan, identified the distinction between the scientific method as abstract model required to legitimate research as scientific and the actual practice of scientific research:

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[124] Waters (1989), Fulcher & Scott (1999), and Bessant & Watts (1999) did not contextualise the discussion in relation to science. Further, some 1950s textbooks that do emphasise the scientific method as important for sociology do not discuss the role of theory or hypothesis-testing in the research process (Fichter 1957; Young & Mack 1959); and some discussions of the research process mentioned theory only in the sense that a hypothesis is a theory (Broom & Selznick 1955; Horton & Hunt 1964; Congalton & Daniel 1976; Zeitlin 1981).

[125] See: Horton and Hunt (1964: 18-19); Worsley (1970: 69-71); Cuff and Payne (1979); Sargent (1983); Waters (1989). Further, Cotgrove (1967: 32-33), Hodges (1971: 21-25), Congalton and Daniel (1976) and Zeitlin (1981: 9) also referred to hypotheses in ways that (could) fit into this model, and Popenoe's (1971: 10-12) account of the research process is consistent with the model, but does not detail the role of hypotheses.

[126] The implications for theory are not developed in the textbooks, but are considered speculatively in the next subsection.

> An account of "logics-in-use" seldom reaches the surface in published
> form because, when it comes to writing up and presenting scientific re-
> search, the sociologist is involved in the business of demonstrating to oth-
> ers the scientific nature of his work. He is more concerned with showing
> how the work done meets the canons of scientific research, i.e. the prevail-
> ing reconstructed logic, than with describing the detailed and specific cir-
> cumstances of practical research work. (Cuff & Payne 1979: 157-58)

Two more recent texts, one American and waving the 'scientific research' flag (Ma-
cionis 1992), the other Australian and generally adopting a more humanitarian ap-
proach (Bessant & Watts 1999), instead present linear models of research. They out-
line their ten-step (Macionis 1992: 25) and six-stage (Bessant & Watts 1999: 67-89)
research models in terms of specifying and answering questions, rather than using hy-
pothetical language, and comment on the role of theory in assessing previous work in
the area, informing questions, choosing methods and evidential standards, and inter-
preting data. Thus, for instance, Macionis (1992: 25) cautioned students that 'there
may be several ways to interpret the results of your study, consistent with different
theoretical paradigms, and you should consider them all' and counselled alertness to
the influence of pre-existing values and assumptions. Bessant and Watts shared, but
did not treat as problematic, an expectation that assumptions, and in turn theoretical
preference, shape research results, suggesting that:

> The kinds of assumptions or prejudices you are working with will lead you
> to favour certain theories. For example, you may favour a Marxist, femi-
> nist or a functionalist style of sociology. Your theoretical preference will
> shape the research question, and you will already be disposed to look for
> certain kinds of evidence or to rely on certain techniques of research.
> (Bessant & Watts 1999: 76)

Given their specialist nature, we would not expect the majority of theory textbook ti-
tles to emphasise the relationship between theory and research, and indeed, only one
title – Abrahamson's 1981 *Sociological Theory: An Introduction to Concepts, Issues,
and Research* (see Abrahamson 1990) – uses the actual term. The book takes up this
relationship in two ways: many of the chapters dealing with theoretical approaches or

problems include some discussion of relevant (though not necessarily sociological) research and empirical applications; and a final chapter on 'Theory in a Neutral Science' (1990: 206-220) discusses theoretical debates about formalisation, operationalisation and testing of theories, Merton's suggestion of middle range theory as a productive joining of theory and research, and Wagner and Berger's arguments about ways in which theory growth may occur in response to existing theory and research.

In addition, some of the theory textbook titles hint at the role of theory in aspects of the research process – generating and investigating problems, applying theories in analysis, interpreting results, and building knowledge – through their use of terms such as problem/s (1930s, 1960s), study (1930s), inquiries (1960s), analysis (1970s), uses (1970s), knowledge, sometimes contested (1990s), investigation/detection (2000s), and application (2000s), as well as the variants on concepts/ideas and understanding discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Thus, for instance, in his *Key Problems of Sociological Theory*, John Rex (1961) suggested that sociological theory is important not only for choosing appropriate problems for sociological research, but in carefully defining and operationalising terms used so as to avoid hidden values:

> The type of scientific approach to sociology which is advocated here is that which emphasises the role of theoretical models in the orientation of the sociologist to his research problems. The attempt to use such models need not, as is sometimes suggested, lead to abstract system building or armchair theorizing. The point is that if we are not explicit about their use, we are likely to use them implicitly in the form of undisclosed hunches in terms of which research data is selected and ordered. (Rex 1961: vii)

In a more recent example, Westby (1991), in *The Growth of Sociological Theory: Human Nature, Knowledge and Social Change*, was less directly concerned with the research process but noted that an important test of a great sociological theorist concerns 'the manner in which their ideas come to life in their (or in some instances, perhaps, others') empirical work' (Westby 1991: xiv). Charles E. Hurst's (2000) *Living Theory* emphasised to students the practical nature of classical social theory for understanding social reality:

> Considering its uses as an explanation and a model, nothing is more prac-
> tical than a good theory. Theories are not just for academics or scholars
> who want to publish in obscure journals to impress their colleagues. They
> are of use to the average person who wishes to understand why events
> happen, or trends occur, or people behave as they do. (Hurst 2000: 7)

He drew on a mix of empirical research and anecdotal examples in demonstrating this applicability of theory: it was not the relationship between theory and research that was foregrounded, but the relationship between theory and 'social reality', with no import placed on whether that 'reality' is accessed through personal experience or systematic research.

'What is theory for?' conference

Examination of the 2004 ESA social theory conference presentations, papers and abstracts also suggests that theory might be used in various stages of the research process: providing an initial overall framework, framing and answering research questions, organising and analysing data, and, ultimately, building knowledge. Before illustrating these, however, I should draw attention to the fact that actual uses of theory within the research process are not necessarily traceable from *post hoc* presentations of research.

Dreher's (2004) paper was one which did seem to leave the actual theory-research relationship on display. On one hand, his abstract and presented paper argued for extending an inductive 'grounded theory' model of theory generation beyond specific cases to produce larger theories of social structure. On the other, his presentation, in describing the research (on dance and community in South America) intended to illustrate this process, betrayed the intrusion of prior general theorisations, which it seemed the data were required to – and did – fit. This discrepancy might have been tidied away in a more formal, written style of research presentation. In this case, the distinction referred to in the previous subsection, between an idealised scientific research model and actual research practice (Cuff and Payne 1979: 157-58), seems applicable. But it might be extended to the role of theory in another way. Just as the everyday logics-in-use messiness of scientific practice may be dressed up in the le-

gitimating garb of 'reconstructed logic' scientific method, sometimes a formal theoretical veneer is added to legitimate research work regardless of whether it had any real influence on how the research was carried out or understood. Thus, Sam Pryke (2004) noted that:

> ... one often finds [somewhat] oblique references in introduction and conclusion in the write up of empirical research to a well known social theorist, something perhaps thought necessary by both author and editor to bestow a degree of scientific credence. ... Often one feels that the use of a theorist is a formalistic aspect of sociological research, something that supplies intellectual respectability, rather than something that genuinely allows generalisation. (Pryke 2004: 2, 5-6)[127]

Perhaps the most general means by which theory can be considered useful for sociological research is by providing a framework that itself outlines the relation between theory and research, clarifying and containing a package of epistemological and ontological assumptions that underpin research. This was evident, for instance, in the quite different assumptions and ways of understanding the theory/research relationship entailed by New and Carter's (2004) 'social realist', Spurk's (2004) 'critical' and Dreher's (2004) 'grounded' theoretical frameworks.

Approaches which understand research as evaluating or testing theory (e.g. Linares 2004) or advocate 'theory oriented empirical enquiry' (Buchinger) imply that theory

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[127] Alan Sica suggested that this 'primping ... last-minute grafting of theoretical apparatus onto research already committed to descriptive enumeration' was a response to the tension between the non-theoretical interests of funding bodies, seeking research about fashionable social problems, and the disciplinary (or 'social "science"') demands 'for a potent presence of theory in any respectable study' (Sica 1989: 230).

assists in developing research questions and projects.[128] Thus, Spurk (2004: 8) argued that for Adorno a 'theoretical framework and the theoretical construction of research experiments' were important to produce non-trivial, assessable research data. Similarly, research on jazz musicians was conducted 'within Bourdieu's theory of tastes' (Sutherland). Theory must, according to Bourdieu and Passeron, be engaged to construct research topics in a way that breaks with pre-existing notions (Bertaux 2004),[129] and enables translation of data to answer pertinent questions (Boyne 2004).

Perhaps it is more common, in practice, for theory to be engaged during analysis. While Pryke noted that the flexibility offered by theoretical concepts' abstraction can allow theory use in formulating and testing hypotheses, data gathering and analysis, he suggested that it is often (including in his own project) only 'discerned and used' at the analytic stage (2004: 4, 16). Furthermore, this very abstraction compromises the rigour of the theory/research relationship, leading to:

> ... the realisation that ... findings might be thought to occur within the wider framework of a theoretical approach(s), but ... that such is the seeming distance of the data from theory that the interrelation is that of affinity or even just of possible correspondence. (Pryke 2004: 2)

Finally, theory's role in the research process might be considered useful for building knowledge. New and Carter (2004: 4-5) suggested such a role, but emphasised the partiality of this knowledge. On the other hand, Bertaux (2004) said that we should acknowledge (but not waste time on) the necessary artifactuality of factual knowledge, and argued that sociology has no stockpile of established knowledge due to lack of clear criteria for establishing one.

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[128] Interestingly, Snizek's (1975) statistical study of a large selection of American sociology journal articles from the 1950s and 1960s found that, in terms of the very broadly defined (and since problematised) theoretical orientations of realism and nominalism, and a scale of methodological approaches from highly empirical (inductive, quantitative) to nonempirical or rationalist (interpretive), theoretical orientation affected choice of data collection technique more than vice versa, but choice of statistical analytic procedure had a greater influence on 'theoretical orientation' than theoretical orientation had on analytic method.

[129] Although Bertaux questioned whether their work on 'cultural capital' actually achieved this.

While questions of scientificity (or philosophy) were raised by several of these papers, this was less common than in introductory textbooks, and generally not in relation to the role of theory in particular research projects: presenters no longer found it necessary to directly describe their research as following, or deviating from, the hypothetico-deductive model. Those that did explicitly discuss sociology's relations with science and philosophy tended to question any strong claim to science. Thus, papers by Neil Gross and Timothy W. Luke examined the historical relationship of sociology to philosophy and science. Gross (2004) challenged the general historical account of sociology escaping its philosophical roots in the quest to define itself as scientific by showing the ongoing influence of various philosophical strands in twentieth-century American sociology. And Luke explored the entrenchment of a natural science model, and the mathematicisation involved, for the social (and political)[130] sciences as historically contingent and 'hotly contested' (2004: 5) – including via the science studies/philosophy arguments he developed about the possibilities of such a model even within the natural sciences – and as serving particular disciplinary and institutional arrangements. Donald Poochigian presented a condensed argument that social scientific and natural scientific theories share similarities, but are distinctive in being particular and general, respectively (2004: 11). And in his abstract Linares framed his analysis of variations on social exchange theory with the claim: 'If there is a sociological theory involved in the quest for a "hard" scientific status (deductive explicative models, empirical testing of theories and so on) that will be social exchange theory', implying the possibility of social theories not pursuing this end.[131]

Theory and facts

A related, but more abstract, discussion common in introductory textbooks (but not a feature of the theory conference) concerns the relationship between theory and facts.

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[130] Luke focused on political science, but suggested his arguments apply to the social sciences, including sociology.

[131] In his written paper, Linares described Homans' research and theorising in scientific terms (e.g. making theoretical choices on the basis of their scope for producing testable hypotheses Linares 2004: 2), but did not draw attention to this as a particularly scientific approach within sociology.

This first appeared in books published in 1959, and was most prominent in those published in England (six of the eight English books, compared to three of eleven American-published books and one of five Australian ones). It was often explicitly, and sometimes implicitly, expressed in response to an 'empiricist' claim that 'the facts should speak for themselves'. For example, Worsley (1970: 41-49) argued at length against empiricist anti-theoreticality, saying 'Now if there is one thing that facts never do it is to speak. What does happen is that men select certain facts, interpret them, and then take actions which may or may not be closely dependent upon the analysis they have made' (1970: 41).[132] He argued that all inquiries involve at least implicit theoretical assumptions, and that these shape decisions about which facts are important, how they are perceived, and the categories that are used to classify them. Other textbooks made the similar point that facts and theory are intimately related, and Cotgrove (1967) argued the case for theoretically informed, rather than merely descriptive, studies.[133]

Goldthorpe (1968: 50) provided some historical context for concern to confront the idea that 'facts speak for themselves':

> From the beginnings of sociology until very recently it could broadly be said that there was a great gulf between theory on the one hand and observation and empirical research on the other. The early sociologists' theories were attempts to reach general laws or conclusions about the development of societies and the ways they worked. In attempting to be comprehensive they were so vague as to be incapable of being tested by observation or experiment and virtually useless as a guide to empirical research. ... At the same time, empirical researches, like those of the English poverty studies or the American polls, went on unrelated to the systematic if grandiose ideas of Comte and Spencer on evolution, or Marx on class and class conflict.

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[132] The point that facts require theory to speak was also made in Young and Mack (1959) (with the modification that facts speak via their relationships with other facts), Haralambos and Heald (1980), Giddens (1989) and Haralambos et al. (1996).

[133] See: Mitchell (1959), Hodges (1971) and Popenoe (1971).

> Since about 1945, especially in the United States, serious attempts have
> been made to end this division and bring theory and research into a closer
> relation to one another. (Goldthorpe 1968: 50)[134]

Interestingly, this discussion of the need for theory alongside facts persisted beyond the naked empiricist threat it was countering. Both Goldthorpe (1968) and Hodges (1971) thought that few, if any, sociologists continued to aspire to the 'mere collection of "facts"' (Hodges 1971: 21).

Social philosophy: science and assumptions

Another conception of theory can be seen in the term 'social philosophy', which was used by a small number of introductory textbooks in two contrasting ways, revealing different stances on sociology's third culture place. Firstly, two American textbooks (Horton & Hunt 1964; Young & Mack 1959) saw it as opposed to science, and hence associated with a form of sociology that should be avoided like the plague. Horton and Hunt (1964: 9-10), for example, acknowledged that 'some sociologists believe that sociology should be a mixture of science and social philosophy ... not only analyz[ing] society but ... also recommend[ing] social reforms'. They, on the other hand, firmly 'believe[d] that sociology should be strictly a science'. For Congalton and Daniel, however:

> If sociology is a science, it is nevertheless rooted in philosophical origins,
> for every study begins with some assumptions about the nature of man and
> the condition of his life. ... Most commonly, the philosophical assump-
> tions are implicit rather than explicit and become apparent as the discourse
> proceeds. (Congalton & Daniel 1976: 3)

Somewhat surprisingly, Congalton and Daniel did not proceed to advocate using theory to make explicit those philosophical assumptions shaping research. Among all

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[134] The American text, Popenoe (1971: 6-7) made a similar point, although he considered the combination of facts and theory to have been achieved in the second decade of the twentieth century.

the textbook writers, J. E. Goldthorpe and Park and Burgess (1924: 45),[135] were curiously alone in pointing out that research is most useful and significant when 'guided by a theory which is explicit and valid' (Goldthorpe 1968: 49).

Ellwood (1938) (published as both *A History of Social Philosophy* and *The Story of Social Philosophy*), one of two theory textbooks that defined their subject in terms of social philosophy, showed that debate about sociology's relationship to science and philosophy predated the Second World War.[136] Dedicated to 'the sociologists of the future', Ellwood's book covered what he variously termed social philosophy, social theories and social thought, from before the twentieth century, and focused on the Western European traditions. His deliberate choice of 'social philosophy', rather than 'sociology', was framed in response to a perceived antagonism between philosophy and science, although he argued (using a particular conception of science)[137] that the two were, and should be, brought together within the social sciences:

> We call this the story of social philosophy, rather than of sociology, because, according to the views of certain sociologists, scientific sociology did not begin until about a generation ago, although we shall see that from the time of Aristotle onward the social thought of our western nations was not unaffected by scientific methods. It was, however, so interwoven with the development of general philosophy and with philosophical implications of various sorts that it is better to speak of the social thought previous to the twentieth century, for the most part, as social philosophy; and this will happily save us the trouble of trying to draw a line between sci-

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[135] The Park and Burgess (1924: 45) quotation appears at the beginning of the section on Research Process (textbooks) in this chapter.

[136] The other is also American: Robert Nisbet's (1974[1973]) *The Social Philosophers: Community and Conflict in Western Thought*, which defined its object as western social thought, typified as always involving a quest for community and developed in a context of conflict.

[137] Ellwood was not a fan of the 'drift to "natural science methods[,] which take into account only the observable and the measurable"' (Ellwood 1944, in S. Turner 2007b: 115), but saw sociology as made scientific through its connection and compatibility with existing science, especially biology and psychology (2007b: 131, 153). Influenced by Dewey and Mead, he argued for a 'psychological (or process) approach' to understanding the nature of society (119).

ence and philosophy. Then, too, historically, "science is not to be dissociated from philosophy, any more than philosophy from science." Both have developed together; and practically we shall see that Professor Flint's dictum, that "science can only prosper when it strives to become philosophic, as philosophy can only prosper when it strives to be scientific," has been especially exemplified in the social sciences. (Ellwood 1938: viii-ix)

Stephen Turner (2007b: 131-32) has identified Ellwood's strong connections with philosophy as fostering a commitment to theory both in himself, and in his department at the University of Missouri: a commitment that sat comfortably alongside his interests in (processual) social psychology, social problems, education, charity, reform and social work, (social) Christianity and evolution in forming his version of sociology.[138] His social philosophy textbook showed similar eclecticism, its final 'sociological movement' chapter incorporating Saint-Simon, Comte and the reaction to his work, Spencer, the Organismic School, Conflict School and the debate between Sumner and Ward, and, as Turner (2007b: 132, n. 20) notes, contrasted with the trifold canon established after 1945 (see Chapter Four).

Understanding and explanation

A central notion articulated in many conference papers, most of the sampled introductory sociology textbooks and, to a lesser extent, theory textbooks, is that theory is used to understand or explain social phenomena. There is diversity in terms of whether theory is seen as explaining, providing understanding, or both; and in the ways these notions are linked to ideas of sociology as science, conceptualisation, and empiricism.

'What is theory for?' conference

Amongst conference papers, this category of theory use for explanation or understanding was commonly taken as a goal, but recognised as not always successful. Dif-

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[138] For Ellwood's involvements in social psychology, see Turner (2007b: 119, 130), social problems and education (116-17, 122, 134-36), charity, reform and social work (120, 123-25, 137), (social) Christianity (128-29, 141-49) and evolution (128).

ferent papers advocated different explanatory processes. For instance, social realism was seen to prescribe passing superficial statistical associations to reach deeper causal mechanisms, produced in the interplay of 'people' and 'structures', each with their own causal powers and properties (New and Carter 2004: 12-16). Rios similarly advocated mechanistic explanations, which explicate causal mechanisms, over traditional ones offering law-like generalisations, and specifically outlined the idea of 'sociological machines', which can 'reproduc[e] automatically the state of affairs that we wish to explain' (Rios). Particular theories and concepts were said to 'account for' or 'explain' (Gülap), and 'take forward our understanding of' (Ulas), various phenomena, including transference of technological knowledge, Turkey's religious status, social implications of interactive new media, Chaplin's film career, and understanding of knowledge relations (Buchinger 2004; Gülap 2004; Papilloud; Ulas; Verpraet 2004). Similarly, Durkheim's theoretical metaphors were employed by Greve as conceptual tools, facilitating both development of new concepts and 'deciphering' of sacred spaces (Greve).

More strongly, theory can be seen as not only capable of explaining, but useful for predicting (and hence accommodating or ameliorating), aspects of social reality. For Kirdina (2004), institutional matrices theory enabled prediction of an efficient legal format for a Russian power firm to adjust to market liberalisation. And predictive capacity was implied by Erben's (2004) confidence in his theory's ability to help understand data, and explain and work towards halting increases in male youth suicide.

While a common goal, theory's explanatory power was often called into question, as with, for example, Vogel's (2004) assessment of Parsons' work in explaining economic change. Limits to social theory's explanatory capacity might be seen as more general (Poochigian 2004), including the suggestion that, given the impossibility of proving hypotheses without experimentation, we should forego definitive explanation as an ideal (Bertaux 2004). Furthermore, different theoretical frameworks enable multiple possible explanations of any social phenomena. As Kyrtsis (2004) suggested, like choosing which hill to stand on, aesthetic decisions at all points of the process shape the forestry reality seen, and hence the explanatory path found through it.

Description is a related, but more modest, goal of theory use. For example, Charles Turner (2004) rejected Runciman's contention that social theory should add description of subjective experience to naturalistic (natural science) explanation, favouring 'an expanded sense of "description"', producing insightful new ways of seeing the world, for both social inquiry and quotidian sense-making. Again, some papers identified limits to theory's descriptive role. Treating theory as social description, involving translating one social practice to another, Wahlström (2004: 17) concluded that exactness cannot be universally assessed, but depends upon 'the use that one tries to make of' it. For Araújo and Brandão (2004), social theory is embedded in, but only a partial portrayal of, social reality. Similarly, the variety of different descriptions produced about single objects, shaped by different possible theoretical frameworks (Reumaux), implies the impossibility of perfect description.

Textbooks

Turning now to textbooks, some of the diversity in the relative importance of understanding and explanation relates to different conceptions of what theory is. Bessant and Watts (1999: 33-34) point to the difficulty:

> It is neither easy nor simple to say what "social theory" or "theory" is. ... Nowadays the word "*theory*" has a number of different meanings ... *Theory* can mean a certain kind of explanatory generalisation ... close to the idea of a scientific law. ... *Theory* can be a generalisation that includes no "facts" or empirical observations. ... The word *theory* is used in discussions about "practice" ... seeing theory as being opposite to [and] separate from practice ... Or *theory* can mean the use of a general perspective ... a framework of thinking [with] its own language, questions and answers. (Bessant & Watts 1999: 33-34)

In the case of theory textbooks, the titles give some, although relatively little, hint of the importance of theory for understanding, and none for explanation. Thus terms such as understanding, illumination, making sense, images and visions appear in some titles from the 1960s through to the 2000s (most prominent in the 1990s). However, descriptions of theory within these textbooks, as in introductory texts, often emphas-

ised the role of theory in both understanding and explanation. For instance, Mennell saw theories as 'attempts to explain limited and specified properties of social reality' (1974: 1). Dodd (1999: 2) defined theory as 'a system of interrelated concepts, categories and modes of explanation that are, at the very least, designed to make sense of the world around us'. And for Adams and Sydie (2002: 3) sociological theory is 'an abstract, symbolic representation of, and explanation of, social reality'.

Through most of the time period and in all countries covered by my introductory textbook sample (but not the four American books from MacIver (1937) through to Young and Mack (1959)), it has been common for texts to describe theories *as* explanations, or as enabling explanation of the social world. For instance, Giddens (1989: 17) defined theories as involving 'constructing abstract interpretations which can be used to explain a wide variety of empirical situations'.[139] Fulcher and Scott is one of many texts that unite understanding with explanation as goals of theory:[140]

> Theory lies at the heart of sociology. Theories enable us to understand and explain the nature of the social world. ... The choice between theories is not made on the basis of individual preference ... or political standpoint ... Preferences and politics do, of course, enter into sociology, but they do not determine the merit of particular theories. The choices that we must make among theoretical positions are shaped, above all, by empirical consider-

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[139] See also the US books – Park and Burgess (1924); Hankins (1928); Hodges (1971); Macionis (1992); British books – Mitchell (1959); Cotgrove (1967); Worsley (1970); Haralambos and Heald (1980); Fulcher and Scott (1999); and Australian books – Congalton and Daniel (1976); Sargent (1983); Waters (1989); Haralambos et al. (1996). In a couple of additional cases (Horton & Hunt 1964; Zeitlin 1981), explanation and understanding were described as goals of (scientific) sociology, with theory's role in meeting this goal only implied, not spelt out explicitly.

[140] For discussions that treat understanding as potentially enabled by theory, see the US books – Hankins (1928); MacIver (1937); Broom and Selznick (1955); Fichter (1957); Popenoe (1971); Macionis (1992); British books – Mitchell (1959); Goldthorpe (1968); Worsley (1970); Cuff and Payne (1979); Haralambos and Heald (1980); Giddens (1989); Fulcher and Scott (1999); and Australian books – Congalton and Daniel (1976); Sargent (1983); Waters (1989); Haralambos et al. (1996); Bessant and Watts (1999). For Horton and Hunt (1964), Hodges (1971 and Zeitlin (1981), understanding was presented as a general goal of sociology.

ations. When judging a theory, what really matters is its capacity to explain what is happening in the real world. (Fulcher & Scott 1999: 22-23)

Although one might be expected, there is not a necessary relation between introductory textbooks' conceptualisation of sociology as scientific and an emphasis on explanation over understanding. For instance, the 1950s American textbooks that did not describe theories as explanations were strongly concerned to treat sociology as scientific.

Some textbooks stretch understanding and explanation with addition of other related goals. For instance, Mitchell (1959) described functionalist theory as useful for explaining *and describing* social life; for Sargent, 'establishment sociology uses theory which explains *and justifies* the existing social order and its dominant interests' (1983: 4, emphasis added), and Macionis pointed out that for some sociologists theory is not just for understanding but for social change: 'many sociologists who embrace the social-conflict paradigm attempt not only to understand society as it is *but also to reduce social inequality*' (1992: 13, emphasis added). There is a tendency for later texts to emphasise the selectivity, partiality and limits of theory's capacity for explaining and providing understanding, linked to the emergence of a perspectivalist approach to theory that will be discussed in Chapter Four.

On the theory/research relationship

The chapter thus far has provided some support for the logic of framing consideration of the utility of theory, or theories, in sociology by focusing on the relationship between theory and research. And I agree that we should take seriously the potential of theory to couple with research, for instance by promoting inquiry and framing analysis. Theory has potential, in many ways, to help research. And there is wide agreement that sociological research is an important, perhaps defining, aspect of the socio-

logical enterprise.[141] It is also possible to account for the double place of theory in sociology, outlined in the previous chapter, in these terms. On the one hand, it logically follows from the notions that theory helps sociologists to conduct their research, and research is a central sociological practice, that ordinary sociologists should have a theoretical repertoire. And, on the other hand, the development of theory as a separate area of specialisation can be understood in terms of a sensible division of labour, allowing efficient development of theoretical tools for research.

As early as 1903, Albion Small argued the case for a somewhat similar division of labour, albeit using different language:

> The genus sociologist includes ... a great many species. Some of them are dealing exclusively with the largest generalizations that can be derived from discoverable facts of human society. They are working away upon a positive philosophy of visible human experience, as a substitute for all the philosophies built upon preconceived notions of life. Insofar as they succeed in bringing the facts into focus they will presently make life easier and better for everybody; but they are of practically no immediate use whatever to the average man, and it would be much better for all concerned if in professional matters this type of sociologist and the average man could be content to go their several ways and never bother themselves about each other. ... Then there are sociologists whose immediate interest is in some concrete religious, or educational, or industrial, or political, or charitable, or criminological improvement. They want to find out what is worth doing, and how to do it. ... The general sociologist does his generalizing with a view to its bearings at last upon all particular cases, and the concrete sociologist does his particularizing under control of regard for all

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[141] However, note that social research is also conducted outside of sociology, either related or unrelated to other disciplinary contexts, to the extent that Williams (1999) suggested that there is a case for treating social research as an independent discipline.

the general truths that the social philosophers may formulate. (Small 1903: 472-474)[142]

In Small's species of generalising social philosopher we might recognise the sociological theorist, whose object in this account is importantly empirical, dealing with 'visible human experience', not 'preconceived notions', and judged on their capacity to 'bring the facts into focus'. And in his 'concrete sociologist' we see one forebear of the later sociological researcher, conducting research to tackle particular sociological, if not social, problems. Importantly he saw a synergy between the two, working together, in their different ways, to accomplish the sociological task. The significant growth and diversification of sociology in the more than century since Small wrote can be taken to strengthen the case for inclusion in the discipline of specialist theorists to make their particular contribution to sociological research.

Thus, this emphasis on research might seem to provide a reasonable explanation of the place of theory in sociology, and a sufficiently diverse set of uses of theory within sociology. However, turning to three sources, one from the accounts examined in this chapter, the others from the sociological literature relating theory to research, we see that the relationship between theory and research is not unproblematic, suggesting that any exploration of the place and use of theory in sociology predicated on this relationship is limited.

First, some of the ESA theory conference papers, and some more recent introductory textbook comments about the selectivity and partiality of theories' explanatory and

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[142] Small here also discussed species 'working on some minute phase of social activities' and 'sociologists who prefer to call themselves psychologists, or historians, or economists, or political scientists' (2003: 472-73). The idea of quarantining certain sociologists from 'the average man' could be seen as a forerunner to Burawoy's (2005) typology, in which professional and critical sociology speak to an academic audience, and public and policy sociology to multiple publics (including students) and clients. Burawoy does, however, warn of some dangers for professional sociology (and the others): 'Those who speak only to a narrow circle of fellow academics easily regress towards insularity. In the pursuit of the puzzle solving, defined by our research programs, professional sociology can easily become focused on the seemingly irrelevant. In our attempt to defend our place in the world of science we do have an interest in monopolizing inaccessible knowledge, which can lead to incomprehensible grandiosity or narrow "methodism"' (Burawoy 2005: 16-17).

enlightening capacity (spelt out further in Chapter Four), suggest limits to the efficacy of theory in fulfilling the research-related objectives summarised at the beginning of this conclusion. While some papers treated the objectives as straightforward matters, others indicated that various ends may be problematic, and not necessarily successful or complete, yielding an impression that theory is only a partially effective tool for research and engaging with empirical reality. This incompleteness – the fact that, for instance, the interrelation between theory and empirical research is often only 'affinity' or 'possible correspondence' (Pryke 2004: 2) – sits somewhat curiously with the emphasis on research in discussions of theory use. Of course this does not, on its own, mean that there are necessarily other uses of theory, or that theory would be more successful in achieving any other aims, but it does open the question.

Second, the literature dealing with the relationship between theory and research often exhibits a certain anxiety about this relationship, raising suspicions about its fidelity, whether by openly conceding its fragility or, like the protestations of the Queen in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, by persistent insistence. Just a few examples are needed to illustrate this point.[143] There is little subtlety in Alan Sica's description of sociology's problem:

> It may be possible, but not easy, to call to mind another period during the first century of American sociology when theorists stood on one side, researchers on the other, and bridges over the chasm between them were so few and flimsy. ... The two cultures are well entrenched in sociology and neither seems likely to give up any territory, despite the ritualized hope for

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[143] It is important to note that these writers were sometimes dealing with different, even contradictory, notions of theory, complicating any historical construction of the theory-research relationship based on their statements. For instance, Alan Sica rejected any notion of theory as 'testable ideas' or enabling prediction: 'The very juxtaposition of "ideas" and "test" is nonsensical, since any ideas, so-called, reduced to testable propositions, at least with the current analytic techniques available to sociologists, are hardly worthy of the name' (1989: 229). On the other hand, Merton's focus was on a 'systematics of theory', outside whose bounds sat any ideas which had 'not so far survived the tests of empirical research' (1949a: 4).

theoretically informed research that is first sounded in graduate school and continues to the grave. (Sica 1989: 227)[144]

Sica was particularly pessimistic about the state of sociology in the last decades of the twentieth century, but suggested that this was a continuation of a state of play in place since the 1920s, and particularly since mid-Century:

> Sociology's promise was enormous in 1920, when the writings of a dozen European and British "theorists" began to fall into American hands. That material was not used up by and large in some productive frenzy of brilliant research – though we have a handful of fine books over the last 70 years. Those slowly accumulated, concocted, rethought notions that filled the heads and writings of the virtuosi around 1920 were the result of labours that took 150 years to complete – and only 30 years or so to forget. (Sica 1989: 232)

While he contrasted this with the state of sociology in the first decades of the century,[145] his discussion of Small's 1920 address to the ASS Annual Meeting on the future of sociology, which called for 'the mixing of theory and research' in such a way as to avoid obsessive technicality or distracting abstraction (239-40), reveals that the 'split between aimless computation and collection of data and speculation about how things fit together was alarmingly deep and wide even then' (238).

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[144] Sica was disappointed by the incidence of 'openly theoryless' articles, but even more so by the many that were 'cosmetically theoretical' (1989: 230).

[145] Sica (1989: 234-240) did this via the, themselves contrasting, views of Giddings and Small, as articulated at the fifth (Giddings) and fifteenth (both) meetings of the ASS in 1910 and 1920. Giddings in 1910 praised the early theorising of Comte, Spencer and Bagehot for addressing particular political concerns and being grounded in the collection of empirical facts: 'Giddings' faith in science, so typical of his pre-skeptical age, succored his optimism about social theory making a difference in the world by operating in rigorous fashion, but always prompted by some deep, even if modulated, moral concern, or some political objective with other than opportunist dimensions' (234). His 1920 talk was consistent with this but more strongly moral, '[throwing] aside all pretense of removed objectivity, pushing sociology straight into territory normally occupied by ethics, religion, philosophy, even the arts' (236).

Thirty years on from Small's address, Merton's (1949a; 1949b; 1949c) famous essays relating theory and research, and calling for sociologists to pay more attention to theories of the middle range, acknowledged that his plea for the collaboration of the two was 'suspiciously irreproachable. Where will one find a social scientist disclaiming the desirability of the "integration" of theory and empirical research?' (Merton 1949a: 4). Merton was remarkably consistent, within these essays, on the desirability of uniting theory and method; what did vary, however, was his opinion on the extent to which this has been realised. The first-published of the essays, on theory (1949b, originally published 1945), began:

> The recent history of sociological theory can in large measure be written in terms of an alternation between two contrasting emphases. On the one hand, we observe those sociologists who seek above all to generalize, to find their way as rapidly as possible to the formulation of sociological laws. ... At the other extreme stands a hardy band ... [of] radical empiricist[s] ... it is abundantly clear that there is no logical basis for their being ranged *against* each other. Generalizations can be tempered, if not with mercy, at least with disciplined observation; close, detailed observations need not be rendered trivial by avoidance of their theoretical pertinence and implications. (Merton 1949b: 83)

Thus in 1945, Merton freely admitted that there was a problem in the relationship between theory and research.[146] Similarly, his suggested assessment of the poor showing of the 'scientific laws' that he felt constituted proper sociological theory was that their paucity 'perhaps reflects the prevailing bifurcation of theory and empirical research' (1949b: 92).

However, it seems that there had been a momentous change by 1948, when his essay on research (1949c) was first published:

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[146] In Chapter One I referred to his definitional solution to this problem, which left open the question of the relationship between the forms of theory he excluded (including the 'history of theory') and research, along with non-research related uses of theory.

The stereotype of the social theorist high in the empyrean of pure ideas uncontaminated by mundane facts is fast becoming no less outmoded than the stereotype of the social researcher equipped with questionnaire and pencil and hot on the chase of the isolated and meaningless statistic.[147] For in building the mansion of sociology during the last decades, theorist and empiricist have learned to work together. What is more, they have learned to talk to one another in the process. At times, this means only that a sociologist has learned to talk to himself since increasingly the same man has taken up both theory and research. Specialization and integration have developed hand in hand. All this has led not only to the realization that theory and empirical research *should* interact but to the result that they *do* interact.

As a consequence, there is decreasing need for accounts of the relations between theory and research to be wholly programmatic in character. A growing body of theoretically oriented research makes it progressively possible to discuss with profit the actual relations between the two. (Merton 1949c: 97, originally published 1948)

It is not clear how much Merton's change of heart reflected any actual increase in research-oriented theory, or his perception of an increase (or increased perception).[148] Merton's efforts to effect greater theory-research collaboration in American sociology may have increased his perception of what collaboration was happening, and may already, by 1948, have influenced the extent and nature of that collaboration. The difference in his stated positions might also have been somewhat rhetorical: since the 'research' paper could be framed as addressing the problem of an overly narrow understanding of the role of research, it had no need to bemoan the separation of theory and research, which did, conversely, provide a convenient problem for framing the 'theory' paper. Regardless, Merton's essays do convey a sense that, whether or not there is a chasm between theory and research, there was more work to be done in con-

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[147] Merton did not mention here his role in reinforcing this stereotype.

[148] His introductory essay, presumably finalised after the first two, described them as attempting to summarise the theory-research relationship 'presently obtaining' in sociology, and does not offer guidance on resolving this change (1949a: 11).

summating the marriage he sought. His introduction of the concept of theories of the middle range, and call for sociologists to focus more attention on them (while retaining a longer-term goal of consolidating them into a general theory) was presented as another step in that direction (1949a: 5-10). Blalock's ASA Presidential Address three decades later, which noted that 'One particularly disappointing feature of our discipline is that we have not had the productive interplay between theory and research called for so eloquently by Merton ... several decades ago' (1979: 881), suggested that Merton's dream for sociological theory and research had not been realised.

Across the Atlantic, Burgess and Bulmer's (1981: 478) claim for British sociology that the 'importance of connections between theory and method hardly need [sic] emphasizing', introducing a volume in which many papers were 'explicitly or implicitly concerned with how to forge effective links between theory and method and keep them strong and binding', perhaps unwittingly underscored the point that combining the two was at most an incomplete process. And the (sometime) celebration of Bourdieu's endeavours in combining theory and research has occurred not because this is typical of sociological practice, but because it is not. As his collaborator, Loïc Wacquant (1992: 3), pointed out: 'the unsettling character of Bourdieu's enterprise stems from his persistent attempt to straddle some of the deep-seated antinomies that rend social science asunder, including ... the continued divorce of theory from research'.

Finally, empirical research on the theory/research relationship reveals that it has not always been as tight-knit as is often assumed or desired. For instance, Menzies (1982) showed that, despite widespread agreement among sociologists (expressed also by the writers we have just examined) that theory should be based on and integrated with research (1982: 1), there is a yawning gap, in many cases, between 'theoreticians' theory' and 'research theory'. Theoreticians tend to cite other theoreticians; research theory often remains concerned only with its immediate problem; and the theories which garner most attention differ between theorists and researchers (1982: 175-87; 189-90). Menzies analysed the theories 'explicitly or implicitly embedded in' a sample of 570 research articles published in the 1970s in major British, Canadian and US general sociology journals, and 110 theoretical articles from the same journals (1982:

2, 6).[149] He identified eight main 'research theories' – functionalism, symbolic inter-actionism, role theory, interests-based theories, action theory, middle range theory, new causal theory of status attainment, and research related to Durkheim's and Weber's ideas – and compared these to theoretical versions, finding that, especially in the cases of functionalism, interests-based theories, action theory, and middle-range theory, there was a significant mismatch.[150]

I illustrate his point with just one of these theories – functionalism (Menzies 1982: 9-24). *Research* functionalism was generally presented in terms of locating a strange-appearing activity within a system, identifying the consequence of the activity as a function of the system, and hence explaining why the activity occurs. Menzies suggested that this explanation was actually incomplete, since it asserted, rather than showed, that the particular consequence 'is essential to a causal explanation of the activity' (12). This was resolved by instead treating this version of functionalist research as 'presentation of a researcher's hunch' (12), useful as a preliminary step, but with comparative or historical evidence of the causal relation between the activity and its consequence required to test the theory.[151] On the other hand, 1970s *theoreticians'* functionalism was based on the early functionalist organic metaphor, in which the various parts of society are adapted to collaborate to sustain the whole, with social activities explained in terms of how they function to meet social needs. This version was faulted for being teleological, in the sense that an original cause is explained by its subsequent effect, with a most common remedy to invert them, such that:

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[149] The journals were *BJS, Sociological Review, Sociology, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, ASR, AJS,* and *Pacific Sociological Review.* Menzies also considered a small collection of general theory books and theory textbooks from the 1970s.

[150] Marxism was excluded to avoid the complication of including praxis alongside theory and research in the analysis (Menzies 1982: 8).

[151] Ironically, Menzies acknowledged his debt to a minority strand of 'theoreticians' functionalism' in developing his argument about this problem with, and corrective to, research functionalism (1982: 19), which can be seen as providing support for the idea that theory (or meta-theory) specialisation assists in the process of sharpening theoretical tools for research. Nonetheless, as discussed above, he showed that much theoreticians' theory is different to, and disengaged from, research theory (and research), hence opening space for alternative accounts of theory use.

> Functionalist explanations are seen as explaining not the structure or process under examination, but the persistence of other elements of the social structure. An explanation of the initial process or institution exists when a functional explanation of all other institutions in society has been given. (Menzies 1982: 20)

Menzies' concern about this 'feedback loops' approach was its logical requirement that all elements of the system contribute functionally to the maintenance of all others, which he considered implausible (Menzies 1982: 21). He concluded that research and theoretical functionalism provide different responses to this logical gap, but that the research approach outlined was more plausible.

Other empirical research has shown historical shifts, including increases, in the extent to which research makes use of theory, but nonetheless has implied existence of a continuing gap. Thus, Brown and Gilmartin's (1969: 283) analysis of articles published in the *AJS* and *ASR* during 1940-41 and 1965-66 found a decreased percentage devoted to theory (31.0% to 15.8%),[152] a modest increase in methodology (12.0% to 13.9%) and a significant increase in those with substantial research (50.5% to 69.8%) (1969: 283). They stated:

> It is even possible that substantive research has prospered at the expense of theory over the past quarter-century, but the more probable explanation is that theory-building is now less likely to be an isolated activity, and is more frequently incorporated into the discussion and interpretation sections of empirical papers. (1969: 284)

Similarly, Simpson's (1961: 466) analysis of articles from the *ASR* from 1945-1959 showed that, of those reporting data, there was an increase in the proportion that emphasised the conceptual over those that were primarily descriptive, from 15.1% (of

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[152] 'Theory' included history and status of sociology (eight in 1940-41, four in 1965-66), discussions of classical theories (two in 1940-41, four in 1965-66), social commentary, speculative essays, impressionistic analyses (eleven in 1940-41, four in 1965-66), and discussions of concepts and general theoretical schema (forty-one in 1940-41, twenty in 1965-66), totalling sixty-two (of two hundred) in 1940-41, thirty-two (of two hundred and two) in 1965-66.

166) in 1945-49, to 35.9% (of 262) in 1950-54 and 40.3% (of 248) in 1955-59. While this appears to mark a period of increase in the combining of theory and research, it still left a majority of data-bearing articles where this connection was not obvious. In Britain, Martin Bulmer (1989: 394-95) found that of the 52 substantial *BJS* articles published in 1986 and 1987, 21 (40.3%) were 'purely theoretical', and characterised the relationship between theory and method in British sociology as one of 'divorce'.[153]

On the question of whether research methods (and practice) are dictated by theory, Jennifer Platt (1996: 106-41) showed, for American sociology of the 1920s to 1950s, that this was not the case. Tracing of the emergence of prominence of theorists/theories and methods often understood as related – functionalism and survey methods, Weber and participant observation, Marxism and feminism and some kind of distinctive (qualitative) critical/feminist method – provided little support for the claimed relationships:[154]

> It cannot be taken for granted that what is done in particular research projects has a clear relationship even to the stated abstract positions of those carrying them out, let alone to the positions of others whose views might be seen as characterising their institution or era. In many cases general

[153] Bulmer's sample included all articles longer than ten pages. While his article is about 'theory' and 'method', in most cases he used 'method' interchangeably with 'research'. He suggested that the promotion and pluralisation of theory played a part in the 'devaluing of empirical inquiry': 'The changes which took place in British sociology between 1965 and 1975 ... tended to push [theory and method] further apart. This was a result of the flowering of a variety of different sociological "schools" and the institutionalisation in the teaching of sociology of a pluralism or eclecticism in which different approaches contended and no standard approach held sway. This pluralism tended to undermine the place of "method", since the thrust of some of the critiques of particular approaches was often directed against particular so-called "positivist" methods' (Bulmer 1989: 401).

[154] Platt also presented a logical argument against the idea that method necessarily implies theory. I would suggest that not all of the assumptions treated as necessary for this to hold (and then carefully interrogated) are absolutely necessary: for instance, the idea 'that everyone has fundamental theoretical commitments, preferably but not necessarily conscious ones, with which to determine their practices' (1996: 108) might be replaced with an assumption that researchers bring particular theoretical commitments to particular research projects. Her overall argument nonetheless stands.

> theoretical/methodological stances are just stances: slogans, hopes, aspirations, not guidelines with clear implications that are followed in practice.
> (Platt 1996: 275)

Together, these examples suggest that the calls, at various points, for uniting of theory and research in sociology attest not to the ongoing closeness of this relationship, but to its fragility.

Conclusion

In summary, examining textbook advice on theory and its use and conference reflections on what theory is for has enabled me to identify a variety of possible objectives and achievements of theory use in relation to research and empirical reality. There are suggestions that theory can be employed as conceptual (and reconceptual) tool, can give voice to facts, can be linked to social philosophy or science, and can enable understanding, explanation, description, prediction, justifying and changing social reality. It can be involved at various points in the research process, including articulating and clarifying the nature of the theory/research relationship, defining underlying assumptions, framing and answering research questions, deriving hypotheses for testing, assessing previous research, gathering data, assisting analysis and building knowledge. Theory might also be added on at the reporting stage, adding authority to research without actually shaping it.

My textbook sample has revealed historical changes and national differences in ways of understanding theory and its role in sociology. The need to employ theoretical concepts and terms, strongly linked to an ambition for, then idea of, sociology-as-science through to the late 1960s, has more recently become linked to a subtly different idea of sociology-as-academic-discipline or arena of technical expertise. Relatedly, an earlier quest for uniformity of conceptual apparatus has largely been abandoned, replaced by an acknowledged diversity of competing conceptualisations. The role of theory in hypothesis-testing and the research process was a central concern in textbooks published from the 1960s through to the 1980s, with more linear models more recently advanced. Particularly prevalent in British textbooks was the notion that

theory is an intrinsic component of empirical research, necessary in giving voice to facts.

There is a sense in which many of these textbook pages and conference papers attempt to package theory neatly: sociologists need to agree upon concepts and use technical language; follow this model, or that, in incorporating theory into your sociological research; my theory lets me explain and address a social problem. But even given my emphasis in this chapter on research, reflections on theory-in-practice, and the diversity of uses of theory evident when we bring them together, overwhelm this neatness.

Similarly, my closing section of this chapter left us with the sense that theory can be related to research in various ways, but that this is an incomplete picture of the role of theory in sociology. The particular instances of theory failing to meet specified objectives, the sense that various calls for a closer relationship between theory and research reflected historical ambitions rather than realities, and empirical evidence of a theory/research gap all suggest that theory has other uses in sociology. In the next chapter I turn to another way of considering the use of theory in sociology by focusing on questions of disciplinarity and boundary work.

CHAPTER 4

THEORY AND DISCIPLINE

Disciplinarity is an optimistic imaginary of collectivity, science and usefulness, discipline itself is a "congenitally failing" set of lived practices, and disciplining is the normative linking of the two. (White 1998: 8)

Introduction: disciplinarity and disciplining

While they may sometimes feel like it from inside, disciplines are not organised around pre-existing, natural divisions of knowledge. For instance, Bryan Turner has made the point that disciplines are fragile 'artificial constructs', always able to 'be either reconstructed or deconstructed' (1999: 276). Wallerstein similarly suggests that, as (in part) intellectual categories, disciplines are:

> ... modes of asserting that there exists a defined field of study with some kind of boundaries, however disputed or fuzzy, and with some agreed modes of legitimate research. In this sense they are social constructs whose origins can be located in the dynamics of the historical system within which they took form, and whose definition (usually asserted or assumed to be eternal) in fact can change over time. (Wallerstein 2004: 166)

This emphasis on construction (and reconstruction) draws attention to the fact that disciplines are not inherently stable, but must be 'laboriously produced' (Lenoir 1993: 75), thus should be seen in terms of processes of construction, reconstruction and deconstruction – or disciplining. Disciplinary work is involved in generating:

> ... the coherence of a set of otherwise disparate elements: objects of study, methods of analysis, scholars, students, journals, and grants, to name a few. To borrow from Foucault, we could say that disciplinarity is the means by which ensembles of diverse parts are brought into particular types of knowledge relations with each other. (Messer-Davidow et al. 1993: 3)

This is not solely an intellectual exercise, as disciplines are rarely considered to be solely intellectual categories or fields of knowledge. For many, they are this and more. For instance Wallerstein (2004: 166-167) regards disciplines as having a three-fold existence, adding institutional structures (university departments, titles, journals, etc.) and disciplinary cultures (shared classics, central debates, styles of scholarship, etc.) to intellectual categories. Timothy Lenoir's Foucaultian definition of disciplines as 'dynamic structures for assembling, channelling, and replicating the social and technical practices essential to the functioning of the political economy and the system of power relations that actualize it' (1993: 72) captures an appreciation of disciplines as social-technical-institutional-power-knowledge complexes, with knowledge-contents and institutional forms interconnected (75). They simultaneously are infra-structural embodiments of science, organise and provide 'tools of cognition and communication', distribute status, provide disciplinary and hence scholarly identity and career structure, and 'regulat[e] the market relations between consumers and producers of knowledge' (72).

Stephen Turner (2000) goes further, treating these last two functions of providing shared disciplinary identity and market regulation as the crux of his disciplinary definition. Treating them simply as collectivities that operate as 'cartels that organize markets for the production and employment of students' (2000: 51) appears to discount any intellectual basis for disciplinary boundaries. Certainly, for Turner, there is no essential intellectual grounding to disciplines: 'Everything else about the notion of disciplinarity, including notions about canons and common intellectual cores – that is to say about the nature of knowledge contents – is ... open to challenge' (2000: 51-52). Disciplinary myths about their guardianship of unified and cleanly bounded fields of knowledge are just that: myths. Rather, 'disciplines' are 'shotgun marriages'

of different specialties or 'often conflicting purposes' kept together by imperatives of the academic market (55). Nonetheless, disciplines, like any form of academic organisation, do presuppose some intellectual division of labour, if one forged in response to a mix of possibly conflicting ends and historical accidents. Thus:

> ... rather paradoxically, ... interdisciplinarity precedes or is a more fundamental phenomenon than disciplinarity. The organization of any academic unit or any research or training collectivity is a matter of establishing a division of labour directed at some set of purposes. The creation of internal protected disciplinary markets for specialized degree holders is a phenomenon that is subsequent, both logically and temporally, to the creation of intellectual divisions of labour. (Turner 2000: 56)[155]

What I am suggesting here is that while (and because) disciplines are neither exclusively, nor naturally, bounded patches of intellectual/knowledge territory, their formation and continuing existence – disciplining – does rely upon some kinds of intellectual territorial claim. The fact that they are not simply neat packages of knowledge-production adds to the weight and complexity of this process, and helps explain why a successful intellectual claim is no guarantee of disciplinary existence or continuing success.

Notwithstanding an etymology that de-stresses its role, the question for this chapter is what role theory plays in this process of disciplining (or undisciplining) sociology.[156] How has theory been variously harnessed to, or disconnected from, disciplinarity?

The chapter is organised into two parts. The first draws from historical accounts of sociology's institutionalisation two related themes that influence the ways in which to

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[155] As such, I treat interdisciplinarity as continuous with disciplinarity for the purposes of this chapter.

[156] Shumway and Messer-Davidow (1991: 202) wrote: 'According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "discipline" pertained to the disciple or scholar, while "doctrine" was the property of the doctor or teacher. As a result, "discipline" has been associated with practice or exercise and "doctrine" with abstract theory. Given this opposition, we can see why "discipline" might have been chosen to describe the new science based on empirical methods and claiming objectivity'.

understand its disciplining: sociology's status as relative latecomer, and its interactions with both academic and extramural traditions. These set the scene for investigations of theory's role in disciplining and boundary work. Second, I turn to some of the different ways theory has been used to discipline sociology, drawing on my sample of Australian, British and American introductory sociology textbooks, analysis of theory textbook titles and examples from histories of sociology in my three countries.

Before turning to these two themes, I should note that in employing histories, it is not my intention in this chapter to produce a comprehensive historical account of the disciplining of American, British and Australian sociology. Rather, my focus is on exploring some of the uses of theory involved in that history. Thus, some patches and threads of the history are presented, but they are not stitched together into a historical patchwork quilt.

(Inter)disciplinary themes in the history of sociology

While national histories of sociology's institutionalisation reveal significant variations in timing and location, they share some commonalities. Two related themes running through histories of sociology point to the importance of negotiation of disciplinary space and boundaries as central to that history, and raise questions about these uses of theory. First, sociology's slow and troubled path to institutionalisation highlights the challenges of negotiating disciplinary space. And second, sociology's competitive and cooperative interactions with both other disciplines and non-disciplinary traditions suggest the importance of boundary work. The challenge for those seeking to 'discipline' sociology was to construct a version that was sufficiently distinctive to warrant a disciplinary place, but to do this without disenfranchising important constituencies.

Sociology's late institutionalisation

In Australia, England and even the United States, sociology could be seen as having dawdled its way to the academic dinner table. This is reflected in Crozier's (2005[2002]: 126) description of Australian sociology as 'in many respects stillborn in the pre-war period'. As told in Australian historical accounts, pre-World War I at-

tempts to institutionalise sociology departments or courses at the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne soon fizzled out, and the first chair of sociology, at the University of New South Wales (UNSW), was only established in 1959.[157] A similar point has been made in the case of England, expressed in Bulmer's (1985: 14) view of pre-war English sociology as at best a 'sickly infant'. The first sociology department, established at the London School of Economics (LSE) in 1903, remained small in scale and the only centre for academic sociology until after the Second World War.[158] Even in the United States, which is commonly regarded as the benchmark for disciplinary formation of sociology, with Krishan Kumar (2001: 51) arguing that it is the only place where sociology 'can ... be truly said to have been institutionalized in the decades around the turn of the century', sociology was nonetheless a younger social-science sibling, trailing behind big brother/sister economics (Ross 1991: 122).

As with its establishment in the academy, professional establishment of sociology was often relatively tardy. The American Sociological Society (ASS) was formed in 1905, some twenty years after establishment of the American Economics Association (Hinkle 1980: 42; Ross 1991: 110, 219). While it survived continuously (albeit with a name change in 1959, to the more astutely acronymed American Sociological Association (ASA) (Rhoades 1981: 76)),[159] the original 'professional associations' in Australia and England were hardly robust. The Sociological Society of London was formed as early as November 1903, and it published the *Sociological Review*, the only British sociology journal in existence before 1950. However, it soon lost touch with those involved in academic sociology: the single academic sociologist, Hobhouse, withdrew after 1911 after intellectual disagreement and competition for the LSE chair

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[157] See: Baldock and Lally (1974: 3-5); Bourke (1981); Crozier (2005[2002]); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 219-225). The Australian material is treated more briefly here, as it will be discussed further in Chapter Five, where some new historical evidence changes the picture of the fate of sociology at the University of Sydney in particular. In this chapter I use the existing Australian historical accounts.

[158] See: Bulmer (1985: 5); Halsey (2004: 3); Kumar (2001); Lepenies (1988: 154); Shils (1985: 166-67).

[159] As Gary Wickham (2001) put it, '[t]he founders displayed a sense of humour (or considerable naïvete) in calling it the American Sociological Society (the acronym ASS – those wags! – lasted until 1959, when "Society" was changed to the more sober "Association")'.

with another founding member, Geddes, and the social workers and eugenicists also soon left the society. It became focused on Geddes' Le Playsian civic sociology, and was transformed in the 1930s into the Institute of Sociology.[160] After a cooperative first few years, internal tensions fostered by a change in leadership undermined academic support, and in 1939 it was moved from London to Worcestershire (Rocquin 2006). It was no longer active when the current British Sociological Association (BSA) was formed in 1951, formally an initiative of LSE but assisted by the independent policy research group, Political and Economic Planning (Platt 2002: 180-82; 2003: 18-19). In Australia, Professor A.P. Elkin founded the Australian Institute of Sociology in 1942, but neither the Institute nor its journal, *Social Horizons*, outlasted the Second World War. It was not until 1963 that the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand (SAANZ) was formed (incorporating the Canberra Sociological Society, established in 1958), and its journal, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* (*ANZJS*) was first published in 1965.[161]

Sociology's relations

Sociology's 'late arrival' in Australia, Britain and America has to some extent stemmed from, and in turn affected, its relations with other disciplines and traditions. It is not simply that sociology had to play 'musical chairs', pushing other disciplines aside to find a university seat: it has also emerged out of (or been accommodated on the laps of) pre-existing disciplines and traditions.

Australia

In Australia, early advocates for sociology departments in the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne included people drawn from philosophy, economics, law and anthro-

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[160] See: Barnes (1981: 13-14); Bulmer (1985: 10-11); Kent (1985: 65-66); Lepenies (1988: 149-54); Platt (2003: 8-10); Rocquin (2006).

[161] See: Baldock (2005[1994]: 273-74); Baldock & Lally (1974: 3); Beilharz (1995: 123); Encel (2005: 46); Germov & McGee (2005: 381); Mitropoulos (2005[1999]: 141, n. 45); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 222-23). The SAANZ split into the Australian Sociological Association (TASA) and Sociological Association of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1988, and the Australian journal later became the *Journal of Sociology*.

pology. The cause was also championed by the English Workers' Educational Asso-
ciation (WEA), which sought, through university education, 'the moral uplift and
transformation of the worker into the informed citizen who would eschew the class
war in favour of the social whole' (Bourke 1981: 28-29). The failure of the first at-
tempts to establish sociology departments or courses at the Universities of Sydney
and Melbourne has been attributed in large part to economics' greater success in argu-
ing its worth.[162] Before its disciplinary reinstitution, social surveys and research were
conducted under the auspices of university departments of agriculture, anthropology,
economics/commerce, psychology, social studies and social work, some sponsored by
church agencies and the Commonwealth Government, and even when established in
departments, sociology was often combined with anthropology, and also taught in a
range of other departments, such as education, politics and social work.[163]

Baldock and Lally (1974: 3) particularly identify its close relationship with anthro-
pology as one of the defining characteristics of Australian sociology. The tenuous
boundary between the two subject areas is reflected in the earliest instances of
social/anthropological research in Australia, mostly conducted by overseas visitors.
Anthropological accounts of Aboriginal culture, collected by missionaries and other
delegations, informed the sociology of Engels, Marx and Durkheim; and Sidney and
Beatrice Webb and English economist-to-be, William Stanley Jevons, were amongst
nineteenth century visitors interested in the new colony's social landscape (Baldock
1994: 587-88; Baldock & Lally 1974: 4-5; Davison 2005[2003]). More recently, both
sociology and social theory have often been taught by anthropologists, as we shall see
in the case of the University of Sydney in the next chapter. And Thiele (1999) notes
that most of the early sociology staff at the University of New England (UNE), in-

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[162] Mitropoulos provides a competing account, arguing that the early version of sociology,
driven by a conservative campaign of social efficiency, centrally employed 'socialised' ver-
sions of economic categories, and that sociology was disbanded because '[n]otwithstanding
its anti-communism, sociology continued to bear the burden of its epistemological relation to
Marxism ..., which was to mark even it as suspicious in the anti-communist hysteria of the
1920s' (Mitropoulos 2005[1999]: 115).

[163] See: Baldock and Lally (1974); Beilharz (1995: 123); Bourke (1981, 2005[1988]); Connell
(2005: 16-18); Crozier (2005[2002]); Davison (2005[2003]); Encel (2005); Zubrzycki
(2005[1971]).

cluding Uma Pandey who introduced and for many years taught a course in social theory, were trained in anthropology, raising questions about choice of theories for disciplinary boundary work.[164]

United States of America

In the United States, too, early sociology emerged from, and remained associated with, a mixture of traditions, with various social reform movements, many Christian, most prominent (Turner & Turner 1990: 12-15). Before the formation of separate disciplines, social science was incorporated in moral philosophy in the pre-Civil War colleges, 'a milieu heavily religious and increasingly elitist in tone' (Ross 1991: 35). In this context, the ultimate authority of Christianity was able to coexist with science, and a 'trust that empirical observation would yield, through rational reflection upon the evidence, the highest truths of science' (Ross 1991: 37). The American Social Science Association (ASSA) was originally founded in Boston in 1865, and united clerics, other social reformers, and academics in its aim of researching and discussing:

> "... those questions relating to the Sanitary Condition of the people, the Relief, Employment and Education of the Poor, the Prevention of Crime, the Amelioration of the Criminal Law, the Discipline of Prisons, the Remedial Treatment of the Insane, and those numerous maters [sic] of statistical and philanthropic interest which are included under the general head of 'social science'." (letter circulated by Massachusetts Board of Charities, c. 1865, in Cleary 2008: 987)

The ASSA held biannual meetings and published the *Journal of Social Science*, hosting a mix of political, theoretical, and practical articles on matters of contemporary politics and social reform (Lengermann & Niebrugge 2007: 76). It was gradually to be

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[164] Interestingly, the UNE Arts Faculty's original plan to institute social anthropology alongside sociology was not sustained, although there is a strong anthropological flavour evident in the University Calendar course description for the early 1966 sociology subjects. Thiele (1999) explains this in terms of: funding imperatives promoting a choice between the two; a strange belief that sociology was closer than anthropology to newly-introduced archaeology; and a fear of conflict between sociology and anthropology, given the difficulty of defining a boundary between them.

replaced by separate disciplinary organisations – the American Historical Association in 1884, the American Economics Association in 1885, the American Political Science Association in 1903, and the ASS in 1905 – along with sectoral organisations such as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC), formed in 1874 (Cleary 2008).[165] This is illustrative of a late nineteenth-century tendency towards specialisation and a division, and parallel shift of authority, between practical vocation and more theoretically focused university disciplines, which promised greater professional autonomy and career stability (Cleary 2008: 989-90; Ross 1991). This shift generated competition between sociology and the other social sciences for places within the academy, with the playing field shaped by ongoing relationships with their reformist origins. Indeed, sociology's later disciplinary development may be related to its closer association with already well established religious social reform movements:

> Sociology, the last developed of the social sciences, gained only a toehold in the universities in the 1880s. ... There was, however, a growing reformist "social science" of experts in charities and corrections and of social gospel ministers addressing the "social question." Through the 1880s leading figures from the ASSA lectured in the universities on the dependent, delinquent, and defective classes, and reform-minded clerics began to teach courses in "social ethics." (Ross 1991: 122-23)

The challenge for sociology was not simply that of distancing itself from its reformist and religious beginning and becoming 'scientific' or 'theoretical' to gain academic respectability. As Turner and Turner (1990: 14) have argued, sociology needed the patronage of the reform movement to provide funding, students and an audience, producing for it a tension between the goals of science/theory and religion/reform. In

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[165] The ASSA ceased to exist by 1912, replaced by the National Institute of Social Sciences. Cleary (2008) also traces the emergence from the ASSA of the identically acronymed Allied Social Sciences Association, a collection mainly of economics organisations. The peak national professional body for social workers – the American Association of Social Workers (AASW) – was formed in 1921, out of the National Social Workers Exchange, and with its professionalisation organised particularly around casework (Lengermann & Niebrugge 2007; Lowe & Singer 2008: 83-84).

this, sociology and social work were particularly closely related – both reliant on reform activism and driven to professionalisation, with collaboration often evident in the formation of departments and journals (such as Odum's *Social Forces*, started in 1922), shared research and teaching programs, and overlapping organisational membership – but also defining themselves in opposition to one another:

> Essentially, sociology and social work faced each other "with affection beaming in one eye and calculation in the other," each wishing for something from the other – social workers wanting some useful theory, and sociologists wanting some base for practical action. (Lengermann & Niebrugge 2007: 93)[166]

Sociology's connections with both the reform movement, and with other social science disciplines, can be seen throughout the early period of its establishment. Most of the early presidents of the American Sociological Society had social reformist backgrounds (Turner & Turner 1990: 13). Of the four most prominent founding American sociologists (Sumner, Ward, Small and Giddings), all but Ward were themselves, or were sons of, clergymen (in Small's case both) (Breslau 2007: 50-53). Not surprisingly, many early sociologists also combined sociology with a variety of disciplinary traditions. For instance, Ward was a government palaeobotanist with degrees in law and medicine, Giddings, Charles Horton Cooley and E.A. Ross were amongst those to come to sociology from economics, Sumner had studied philosophy, philology and theology, and Small, in addition to his theological training, had studied history and historical economics (Breslau 2007: 50-53; Ross 1991; Turner & Turner 1990: 13). Into the twentieth century, the synergistic effects of professionalisation of sociology and growing emphasis on empiric work increased the attractiveness of academic sociology for those committed more to intellectual work than social justice or government

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[166] Lengermann and Niebrugge (2007: 98-110) consider as particularly ironic the case of the settlement movement, most notably associated with Jane Addams. It saw itself (and is seen in 'critical histories') as a particularly coherent blending of 'theory, method, practice, and purpose' (98) that identified with both sociology and social work, but was marginalised in sociology for being "'too practical" or "applied"' and in social work for being "'too theoretical" or "abstract"', and, in both cases, lacking in professional objectivity (107) as "'the science of reform'" (110).

work, and sociology drew many recruits with training in mathematics, natural science or engineering (Platt 1996: 195; Ross 1991: 305).[167]

Britain

British sociology's relations with other disciplinary and non-disciplinary traditions are also complex, and bring into play questions of the relationships between theory, research and practice. Abrams treated political economy as an original host for what might be considered sociological research from the 1830s. Importantly, for my purposes, at this time researchers saw theory-building, empirical data-collection and policy formation as complementary endeavours, with an expectation that definitive solutions were possible (Abrams 1968: 8-12; 1985: 185-87). However, as the evidence collected tested this hope:

> Social inquiry was formally separated off from social theory (in the form
> of political economy) as a service technology (very aptly named statistics)
> which "neither discussed causes nor reasoned upon probable effects, but
> sought only to collect, arrange and compare the class of facts which can
> alone form the basis of correct conclusions with respect to social and po-
> litical government." (Abrams 1985: 186-87)

Interestingly, Kumar (2001: 49-50), drawing on Lawrence Goldman's historical work on the late nineteenth-century English National Association for the Promotion of Science, argues that the very success of this marriage of science and reform in Victorian England meant that there was no need for the reformers to pursue an academic sociology, turning on their heads accounts that are dismayed at the late academic development of sociology. By contrast, the American ASSA and continental Verein für Sozialpolitik (founded in Germany in 1872) and (French-Belgium) International Social Science Association are seen as having failed to significantly influence local policy: there, the 'consequence was a turn to academic sociology, to "theory" as a ref-

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[167] Notable examples are Lazarsfeld, Blalock and Coleman (Platt 1996: 195, see also n. 34).

uge from the unaccommodating world of practice' (Kumar 2001: 50).[168] In any case, the British division could be seen as a starting point for the mainly separate development of two broad, if internally heterogeneous, traditions continuing until well after the Second World War: one, social research, dominated by government bodies and amateurs, and generally disconnected from and even antagonistic to, the academy, and particularly academic sociology (Platt 2002: 180); the other, social theory, much more strongly associated with the universities, but not solely sociology.

Thus, the government's role in social research can be seen, for instance, in the conduct of censuses from 1841 (Bulmer 1985: 6), although Hakim (1985: 47-49) noted a trend from broadly social scientific to narrowly economic topics, reflecting economics' prior claim on and dominance of the public agenda. Kent described the late nineteenth-century sociology surveys as 'poorly connected, if at all, with the development of academic sociology in the universities', with Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree understanding their large poverty surveys in terms of accumulating facts, not testing theories (though theory, often implicit, might eventually evolve out of their expansive statistical frameworks) (Kent 1985: 52-54). Into the twentieth century, Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford's utopian movement of local communities conducting their own surveys, which continued to provide inspiration for the surveys conducted under the auspices of the later Institute of Sociology, was very much focused on practical application, and hence fostered a mutual antagonism between the survey movement and the universities (Abrams 1985: 195-96; Bulmer 1985: 4, 10-11; Rocquin 2006: 11-12).[169] Dominance by amateurs in the interwar years was also exemplified in the voluntary 'mass social ornithology' (Bulmer 1985: 4) of Mass-Observation, established by Tom Harrison, Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings (Platt 2003: 11-12). There was some limited academic influence on survey work in the interwar period,

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[168] Lepenies similarly commented: 'Paradoxically the late institutionalization of sociology in England was due to the early readiness of statisticians, officials and reformist politicians to apply sociological statistics to the solution of social problems: this infiltration of sociological knowledge into the administration made the security of sociology through an organized structure seem far less pressing a matter than it was on the Continent' (Lepenies 1988: 154).

[169] Albrow (1986: 336) described the activities of Branford, Geddes and the Sociological Society as 'just as much to be understood in terms of cults and missionaries as in terms of academic disciplines'.

through A. L. Bowley's introduction of random sampling statistical techniques to sur-veys, but Bowley was Professor of Statistics, not sociology, at LSE (Bulmer 1985: 9, 17; Kent 1985: 54-55).[170] The Government Social Survey and Government Statistical Service were instituted during the Second World War, and various independent social and market research organisations and government research departments developed (Bulmer 1985: 5). Even as late as 1953, founders of the Institute of Community Studies at Bethnal Green deliberately avoided allying themselves with a university in part because their focus was on social research geared towards solving social problems, not advancing social theory or disciplinary interests (Willmot 1985).[171]

Also emphasising practice over theory, but in this case satisfying a sufficient demand to gain academic institutionalisation, were the related fields of social work and social policy/administration. Thus, for instance, the Liverpool University School of Social Science, established in the first decade of the twentieth century, was 'intended to train social workers, voluntary or professional, in the skills needed for their tasks' (Platt 2003: 13). The Charity Organisation Society's School of Sociology and Social Economics, established in 1905, was in 1912 absorbed into LSE's Department of Social Science, also geared towards the training of social workers (Halsey 2004: 66; Platt 2003: 7-8). It:

> ... had an orientation distinct from sociology, including a distrust of philo-sophical systems. E. J. Urwick, the first head, was sharply critical of Hob-house and maintained that "the claim of the general sociologist is invalid at every point." (Bulmer 1985: 22, quoting Abrams 1981: 6)[172]

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[170] Notably Bowley and Burnett-Hurst's 1915 *Livelihood and Poverty* and Bowley and Hogg's 1925 *Has Poverty Diminished*. Bowley also contributed to Beveridge's 1920s 'Second Survey of London Life and Labour, envisaged as a replication of Booth's work of forty years before' and funded by a Memorial in New York grant for a study of '"the natural basis of the social sciences"' (Bulmer 1985: 17).

[171] Although see later discussion about their engagement with theory.

[172] The 1981 Abrams paper quoted in Bulmer (1985) is 'Sociology – could there be another 150 years?', Contribution to Social Science Symposium no. 9, York meeting, 2nd September. London: British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Courses in social work were to be a major academic substitute (or competitor) for sociology for the first half of the century (Halsey 2004: 12-13; Kumar 2001: 49). These were eventually, after the Second World War, to lead to institutionalisation of academic programs in social administration (Bulmer 1985: 22; Halsey 2004: 12-13, 66-67; Shils 1985). The ongoing close relation between these and sociology can be seen in the observation that:

> ... there are plenty of ... universities in which it is almost impossible to disentangle sociology from social work, social administration, or social anthropology. The relative ease with which one can isolate lecturers in economics and politics compared with the difficulties in sociology may in itself tell us something about the professional identity and organisation of sociology in Britain. (Heath & Edmondson 1981: 42)

Compared to social work and the extra-mural survey tradition, the theoreticality of academic sociology before 1945 is evidenced in the appointment at LSE of social philosophers, Hobhouse and later Ginsberg, as the first, and for a long time only, academic British sociologists.[173] As Bulmer (1985: 5-6) put it: 'it is surely remarkable that for forty years the standard bearers of the discipline in Britain were devoted to the primacy of armchair reflection'. Ironically, the Webbs' appointment of economist and social worker William Beveridge as Director of LSE, from 1919 to 1937, brought an increased emphasis on scientific empiricism:

> When he came to the L.S.E. he was convinced that the social sciences were too theoretical, deductive and metaphysical and the way ahead lay in empirical studies of social phenomena. He combined the Webbs' inductivism with a belief in the possibility of framing general social laws, an aim to which his own unfinished research on the history of prices was devoted. (Bulmer 1985: 17)

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[173] Finnish ethnologist E. A. Westermarck also taught in sociology part-time at the LSE from 1903 to 1929, Tom Marshall became a Reader in Sociology in 1930, and Karl Mannheim was a lecturer from 1933 until 1941 (Harper 1933: 337; MacRae 1982: iv; B. Turner 1999: 111).

But Beveridge saw greater chances for this combination in the nascent field of social biology, dealing broadly with matters of population, including genetics and eugenics/dysgenics, and also supported by the Webbs (Bulmer 1985:18; Lepenies 1988: 126). The eugenicists, buttressed by influential upper-class academics, had been closely associated with sociology under the leadership of statistician Francis Galton, through membership of the Sociological Society (although this was primarily strategic, in an attempt to increase academic recognition of the movement, and ended with the founding of the alternative Eugenics Education Society) (Rocquin 2006: 6-8). While the Chair of Social Biology, and teaching in the area, only lasted from the appointment of Lancelot Hogben in 1929 until his resignation in 1936, his legacy can be seen in the work of the demographers he trained, including later LSE Professor of Sociology, David Glass (Bulmer 1985: 18-19).

Hobhouse's theoretical sociology faced competition from other already established academic disciplines, as well as those fighting for academic space, some of which provided an alternative site for social theory. Kumar (2001), following Lepenies (1988), has argued that English literature and history, themselves institutionalised only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, provided competitive disciplinary sites for social theory and investigation, thus hosting a kind of 'implicit sociology':

> They could ... offer sociological understanding along with what was often seen as their more explicit purpose, to give moral and practical guidance. Building on this tradition, ... later intellectuals working within these disciplines were able to make important contributions to social theory. ... In a sense it was the very richness of the offering that crowded out sociology and drew many intellectuals into history and literature who in other countries might have gone into sociology. (Kumar 2001: 44)

For Kumar, it was the combination of 'social and moral analysis' afforded by literature, particularly the literary criticism tradition of intellectuals like Matthew Arnold and F.R. Leavis, that provided a venue for social theory and made it a more than adequate substitute for sociology (Kumar 2001: 55). Thus, for instance, the Leavisites claimed that literary criticism provided a superior version of sociology, with novels

like those of Dickens offering an 'analysis of contemporary society whose liveliness and precision no professional specialist could equal' (Lepenies 1988: 183).

English history gained acceptance as an alternative discipline to the classics, for its particular contribution to providing an understanding of nationhood in the service of nation and empire. Sociology, by contrast, was 'more likely to undermine faith in national institutions than strengthen commitment' (Kumar 2001: 58). History, unlike sociology, attracted bright students, and could thus 'lead away from its original cele-bratory propagandistic purpose. In the right hands it could become a tool of acute theoretical analysis and penetrating social criticism' (Kumar 2001: 58-59), illustrated perhaps best in the work of E. P. Thompson.[174]

Social anthropology was another close neighbour of sociology, and for several rea-sons it had a competitive edge. This derived from its earlier establishment, in part due to its association with physical anthropology and biology, which in turn enhanced its status, in combination with its direct relevance to matters of empire (Bulmer 1985: 12-14; Halsey 2004: 65; Kumar 2001: 42). As we shall note later, also important for anthropology's comparative success was its clearer integration of research and theory (Bulmer 1985: 13, 20). A longstanding tradition of anthropology 'colonis[ing]' soci-ology can be seen in instances such as the appointments of E.A. Westermarck to a sociology chair at LSE, Evans-Pritchard to a lectureship in 'African Sociology' at Ox-ford in 1935, and John Barnes as first Professor of Sociology at Cambridge in 1969 (Bulmer 1985: 13; Halsey 2004: 65; Rocquin 2006: 34).[175]

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[174] Kumar (2001: 59) discusses many more examples, both left/Marxist (Rodney Hilton, Christopher Hill, Keith Thomas, Eric Hobsbawm, Asa Briggs and Raphael Samuel), and lib-eral/conservative (Hugh Trevor-Roper, Harold Perkin, Peter Laslett, Jonathan Clark).

[175] With the establishment of the Association of Social Anthropology, in 1946, anthropology was also seen as (successfully) adopting more exclusionary professional standards in terms of its membership rules and emphasis on postgraduate over undergraduate teaching, compared to sociology (Halsey 2004: 65).

Interdisciplinary relations and boundary work

This combination of sociology's late arrival and its relations of both competition and cohabitation with a variety of other disciplines and extra-disciplinary traditions (themselves also continuing to fight for their space) provides a context for its need to negotiate disciplinary space and boundaries.

In turning to the possible use of theory for boundary-work in creating and maintaining sociology as a discipline, we should not expect theory to be the only possible resource for boundary-formation and -maintenance, nor for it to be employed in consistent or consistently successful ways. Discussing scientists' boundary-work between 'science' and 'non-science', Thomas Gieryn (1983) clearly illustrates the point that the nature of the boundary, and hence the version of science on one side of it, is shaped by the characteristics of the particular version of non-science being opposed.[176] An example can be found in the nineteenth-century addresses and writings of John Tyndall, Michael Faraday's successor as Professor, then Superintendent, at the Royal Institution in London (Gieryn 1983: 784-87). Tyndall encountered two contrasting entities hindering the authority and position of science within the university: one was religion, particularly following publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*; the other, engineers and mechanicians, with their practical technological accomplishments (1983: 784-85). On the one hand, in presenting science as 'Not-Religion', Tyndall emphasised its practical utility, empiricism, scepticism and non-emotional objectivity (1983: 785-86); as 'Not-Mechanics', however, science was portrayed as systematic, theoretical, disinterested (in personal profit), providing the foundational knowledge required for technological progress and simultaneously not requiring 'technological applications' for legitimation, since 'science has nobler uses as a means of intellectual discipline and as the epitome of human culture' (1983: 786-87). Thus, notably, for my purposes, as 'Not-Religion', science was emphatically empirical, whereas as 'Not-Mechanics', science was emphatically theoretical. The ground to be claimed for, and boundaries to be drawn around, sociology likewise have varied, depending in part upon which par-

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[176] Gieryn noted that the rhetorical boundary-work involved in distinguishing science from non-science 'is no doubt useful for ideological demarcations of disciplines, specialties or theoretical orientations *within* science' (1983: 792).

ticular 'not-sociology' sociology is being demarcated from. Shumway and Davidow further point out that disciplinary boundary work can have different purposes – establishing and protecting a discipline, attempting its expansion, and regulating disciplinary practitioners – and the location of boundaries and techniques used to establish them varies accordingly (1991: 209).

Using theory to discipline sociology

In looking to the evidence, from theory textbook titles, introductory textbooks, and examples from histories of sociology, we see suggestions of several different ways in which theory might be employed to discipline sociology: the treatment of theory itself as a disciplinary (sociological) or interdisciplinary (social) category; theorisation of sociology's relationship with other disciplines; construction of disciplinary foundations; harnessing of theoretical diversity; provision of a particular, distinctive selection of theories (or theorists) as part of a distinctive disciplinary culture; and finally the interrelated employment of theory and science for disciplinary legitimacy. Not surprisingly, my different sources provide different treatments of these themes. Introductory textbooks are themselves disciplining objects, and employ theory towards this end. By contrast, the illustrative examples found in histories of sociology, along with historical patterns in theory textbook titles, reveal instances where theory has been employed to discipline sociology, but others where theoreticality has not helped to shape the discipline.[177]

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[177] However, note that in some cases the historicising of the discipline is also an act of disciplinarity (Heilbron 2004: 25). See for instance Alan Sica's (2007) tellingly titled account of the early historiography of American sociology, 'Defining Disciplinary Identity', in which he notes that the earliest works were by 'a handful of pioneers ("participant observers") whose historical writings conveyed great enthusiasm for their new professional identity, if occasionally at the expense of factual accuracy in favor of rhetorical zeal' (Sica 2007: 713-14). Lengermann and Niebrugge (2007) exemplify this through both their taxonomy of disciplinary histories – natural, social and critical – and, in showing the progressive turn away from recognition of sociology and social work's common roots in the 'natural histories' written during the early twentieth century (68-71): of course the other forms of history they present are also shaped by particular, if not disciplinary-forming, agendas and arguments.

Theory as disciplinary or interdisciplinary: sociological vs social theory

I start by considering how theory itself has been treated as variously a category belonging to sociology as a discipline, or as an interdisciplinary social science category. Is theory identified as specifically sociological, or is it treated as a resource more broadly available to and useful for the social sciences? This is done by tracing trends in the naming of theory, as social or sociological, in theory textbook titles.

Charts 4-1 and 4-2 and Table 4-1 show trends in identification of theory as sociological (or related to sociology) or social (or related to the social sciences or society) in theory textbook titles. In Chart 4-1, the percentage of titles treating theory as sociological and social are shown by decade. Chart 4-2 compares the percentage of titles that are sociological for American-authored and British-authored textbooks by decade. Table 4-1 provides the numbers of titles and percentages, with some additional details. The total sample (Chart 4-1) exhibits some striking patterns. With the (admittedly small number of) textbooks published during the 1920s to mid-1950s, there was some preference for 'social'.[178] This reversed by the 1960s, with over 70% of titles identifying theory as sociological for each of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. There was a return to preference for the social in titles from the 1990s and the first half-decade of the twenty-first century.

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[178] During the 1950s, all the 'social' titles appear before 1955, and all the 'sociological ones' from 1955 on.

Chart 4-1. Theory textbook titles, sociological vs social
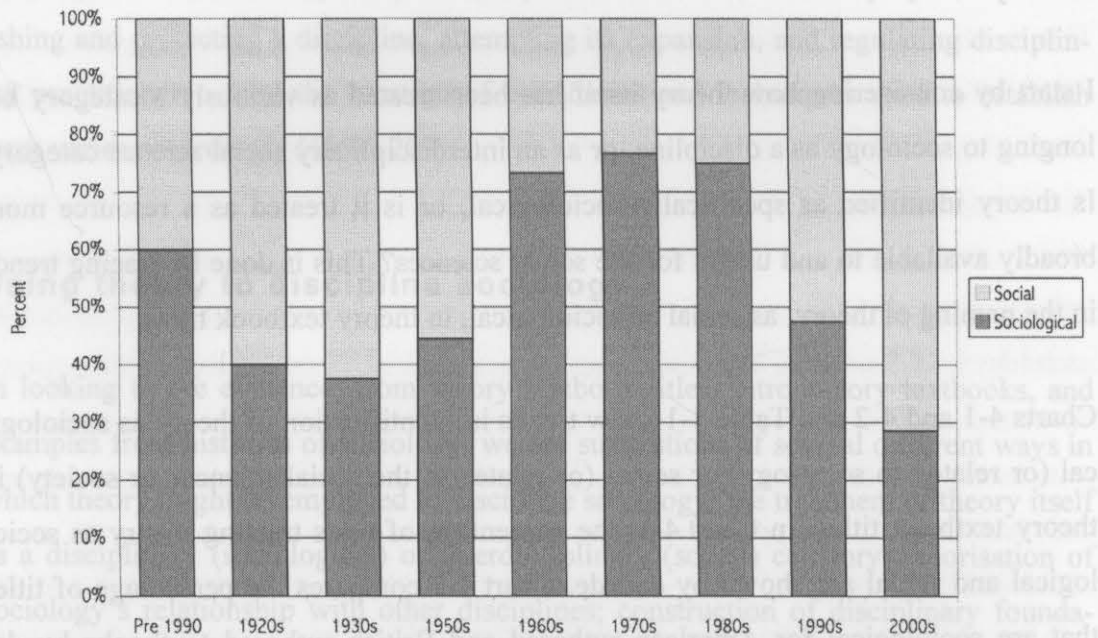
Table 4-1. Social versus sociological theory in theory textbook titles

	19 C	1920s	1930s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
	no (%)	no (%)	No (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	No (%)	no (%)	No (%)
Social[a]	2 (40)	3 (60)	5 (62)	4 (44)	4 (27)	6 (20)	4 (20)	20 (50)	18 (64)
Social sci/society	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	1 (3)	1 (5)	1 (2)	2 (7)
ALL SOCIAL[bc]	2 (40)	3 (60)	5 (62)	5 (56)	4 (27)	7 (23)	5 (25)	21 (52)	20 (71)
Sociological	-	2 (40)	1 (12)	4 (44)	10 (67)	12 (40)	14 (70)	15 (38)	8 (29)
Sociology	3 (60)	-	3 (38)	1 (11)	1 (7)	11 (37)	1 (5)	4 (10)	-
ALL SOCIOLOGICAL[b]	3 (60)	2 (40)	3 (38)	4 (44)	11 (73)	23 (77)	15 (75)	19 (48)	8 (29)
N	5	5	8	9	15	30	20	40	28

Notes

a. Includes: one 'social philosophy' (Ellwood 1938), one 'social philosophers' (Nisbet 1973), and one 'social and political theory' (Ashe et al. 1999).

b. Where the theory is described as 'sociological', and the object of theory is defined as 'social', it appears under 'Sociological', not 'Social'. These titles are Ellwood 1927 (*The Psychology of Human Society: An Introduction to Sociological Theory*); Parsons et al. 1961; Brown 1979; Lemert 1977; and Mouzelis 1991.

c. Also includes: one 'critical theory' in the 2000s (How 2003).

Nonetheless, the patterns deserve some consideration. Clearly the size of the socio-logical market for sociological theory has grown with development of the discipline. But the predominance of 'social' titles before 1955 also reflects the eclectic 'history of social thought' tradition in theory writing which dominated until Parsons pioneered a new, more specifically sociological, approach (Calhoun & VanAntwerpen 2007: 390-91; Turner & Turner 1990: 71, 121-23), which I discuss later in this chapter. Those early titles labelled 'sociological' tended to come from authors specifically working to forge the discipline of sociology. For instance, four of the eight (Giddings, Ellwood, Ward and Sorokin) were, or were to become, Presidents of the ASS/ASA.

The rise of 'sociological' theory texts from 1955 could be seen initially to reflect the expansion of the discipline and the role of Parsons in making theory central to the dis-cipline. The rise of sociological paradigms and then perspectives (which I discuss later in relation to introductory textbooks) also seems likely to have helped maintain sociological theory as a publishing category. Even more than the 'history of social thought', sociological perspectives provided an organising framework for writing textbooks about, and teaching, theory.

For some of the period, especially in America, labelling theory as sociological was equivalent to labelling it as scientific. For instance, Walter L. Wallace's (1969) *Socio-logical Theory* sticks to its sociological guns throughout, and for Wallace, these guns were, importantly, scientific guns. His preface, describing the uses of theory and of the book (and acknowledging in a footnote his debt to Merton), began with:

> To the extent that sociology is a scientific discipline, it may be said to
> consist of five parts: methods, observations, empirical generalizations, hy-
> potheses, and theories. In order to examine the uses of theory, or any other
> single part, its interrelations with the others must be shown. (Wallace
> 1969: vii)

The resurgence of social theory appears to mark a decline in disciplinary allegiance, forged to some extent by theoretical themes of postmodernism and interdisciplinarity, and perhaps (if belatedly) also the broader flourishing of social theory associated with

what Hunter (2006) has called the 'moment of theory'.[179] For instance, two of Ritzer's 1990s textbooks are titled *Classical Sociological Theory* (1992) and *Postmodern Social Theory* (1997), the former doubly disciplinary, combining its sociological label with its invocation of the sociological classics, the latter doubly interdisciplinary. And in introducing his *Critical Social Theories*, Ben Agger explicitly links the rise of interdisciplinarity with the rise of critique (including, but not limited to, a critique of positivism), and hence a move from sociological to social theory:

> The ongoing theory explosion across the humanities and social sciences merges the critique of positivism and certain critical-theoretical themes of social and cultural analysis into an interdisciplinary project that opposes not only positivism and neoconservatism but the nineteenth-century German model for the departmentalized academic division of labour. (Agger 1998: 10)

While many of these titles maintain some kind of connection with sociology, the rise of social theory titles might also be seen as a kind of disengagement of theory from sociology. For instance, Patrick Baert's *Social Theory in the Twentieth Century* emphasises the 'clear distinction between the abstract nature of social theory and the practical orientations of empirical sociology', and notes that theory has in many countries developed into an academic field, separate from sociology (Baert 1998: 1-2).

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[179] This will be discussed briefly in Chapter Five and in detail in Chapter Six.

Chart 4-2. Theory textbook titles, percent sociological, US vs British authors
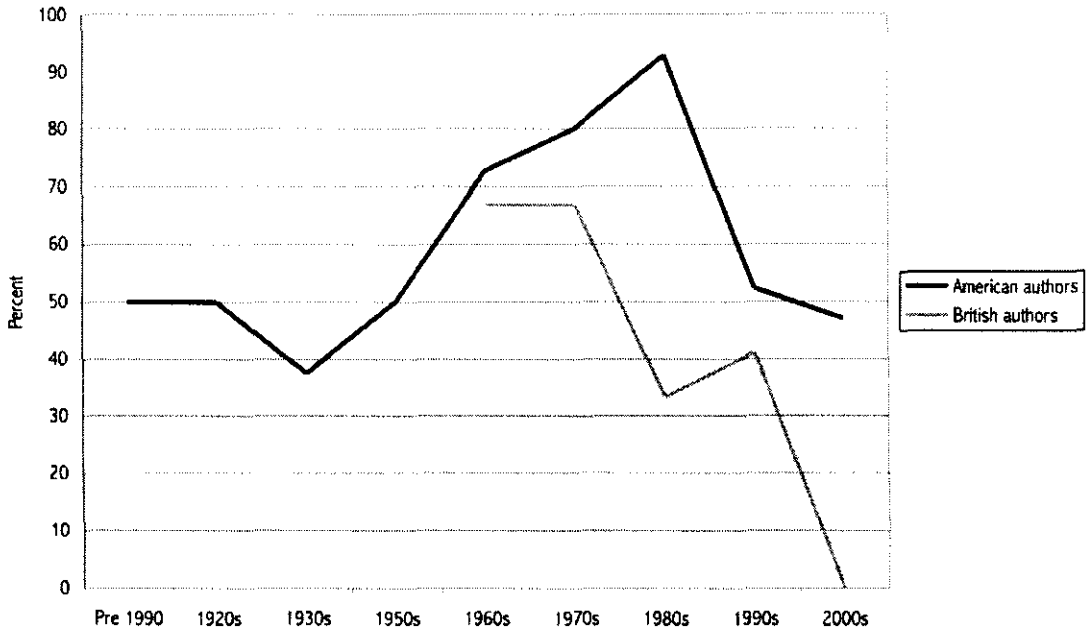
Note

Figures for British-authored books not included before the 1960s, as sample sizes are too small for percentages to be meaningful.

As is shown in Chart 4-2, there are differences in the patterns based on whether the books' first authors/editors are American or British. The overall tendency is for 'sociological' titles to be relatively more popular in American-authored books and 'social' titles for British ones. The American trendline is similar to the overall one already discussed, except that the proportion of 'sociological' titles is even higher, especially from the 1960s on, and the proportion climbs from the 1960s (73% socio-logical) to the 1980s (93% sociological). Amongst British-authored theory textbooks, the majority are 'sociological' in the 1960s (2 of the 3 textbooks) and 1970s (also 67%, 6 of 9 textbooks), and the majority 'social' from the 1980s (67% of 6 titles),

going to the extreme that none of the nine British-authored theory titles identified in the first half of the 2000s was about sociological theory.[180]

Defining sociology's disciplinary place

In the context of a discipline forging its existence alongside pre-existing disciplines, we might expect the definition of a disciplinary place to be an important role for theory. In introductory textbooks, it has been common, although is becoming less so, to include some discussion of the relationships between sociology and the other (social) sciences.[181] One strong theme, particularly in the pre-WWII American texts, was the assertion of some kind of central, encompassing, fundamental or regal role for sociology. This motif also appeared in the ways early advocates for sociology understood the discipline's place in all three countries. Broom and Selznick's (1955) textbook[182] marks the emergence of another common thread – the lack of clear, natural boundaries distinguishing the social sciences – which in some of the US (1955-1964) and Australian (1976-1996) texts extended into support for interdisciplinary collaboration. Explanations and descriptions of sociology's neighbourly relations identify a number of disciplinary elements, including theory alongside 'level of analysis', subject matter, research techniques, etc. Those textbooks that do discuss theory in this respect illustrate a range of ways in which it can be used in defining disciplinary place.

One of the earliest books in the introductory textbook sample, Hankins (1928: 31-35), employed the writings of Auguste Comte to discuss sociology's disciplinary place.[183] In Hankins, the names of Spencer and Lester Ward, together with the term coined by Ward – 'filiation' – provided added weight to Comte's theoretical claim about sociol-

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[180] David Parker nontheless regretted, in 2001, the tendency for British social theory texts to be 'informative', rather than 'interrogative', and their 'failure to engage adequately with sociological thinking beyond the disciplinary fenceline of sociology' (Parker 2001: 216).

[181] Such discussions appeared in 18 of the 24 textbooks in my sample.

[182] Associated with the influence of Parsons on sociology, which will be discussed later.

[183] See also Heilbron (1995: 201-204, 220-36) for a detailed discussion of the important and neglected role of Comte's theory of science in defining a space for sociology.

ogy's place in the development of the sciences. A 'natural sequence' was said to lead to sociology's arrival as both the final and the highest science, the 'synthetic social science seeking a generalized view of social life, social forms or structures, social processes and cultural achievement' (Hankins 1928: 31, 35). Comte's theory was used, by Comte and by textbook author Hankins, to define sociology as not only supremely important amongst the sciences, but, indeed, as a science, and as the integrative social science.

While Comte's name has been much bandied around in later (and earlier) textbooks (particularly in relation to his naming of sociology, his influence in theorising and shaping sociology as a science, and as a pioneer of functionalism), there is only one other that directly uses his arguments about sociology's scientific relations to explain its disciplinary place. The first Australian textbook sampled, Congalton and Daniel (1976: 2), also invoked Comte, but this time to argue sociology's dependence on the other sciences, and hence that sociologists should take account of geography, chemistry, physiology and psychology in explaining social activity.

Park and Burgess (1924: 1-14) outlined in some detail Comte's theories about science and sociology, and they concurred with his desire for 'History [to] become ... an exact science, and sociology [to take] the place of History in the social sciences' (Park & Burgess 1924: 5). However, they did not share his belief that this was inevitable: 'Comte's error was to mistake a theory of progress for progress itself' (Park & Burgess 1924: 4). Perhaps their position influenced later writers; in any case, it seems that Comte's fading legitimacy meant that he was not considered helpful in supporting their views. Thus most of those who mentioned Comte's positioning of sociology did so in a way that distanced their textbook view from his. For example, Fichter (1957: 1) questioned his scientific legitimacy; Mitchell (1959: 1-4) said his 'theoretical ideas [are] now considered crude'; Sargent (1983: 31-32) noted that he 'made a number of claims for sociology in the hope of persuading academics of his age of its respectability and high prospects' but sneered that his expectations were still held by functionalist theorists; and Waters (1989: 8) described him as having 'dogmatic commitment to the science of society'.

Other theoretical names have only rarely been invoked to justify sociology's place,[184] though Young and Mack (1959) and, more cautiously, Hodges (1971) used Pitirim Sorokin's analogy, again to explain sociology's general, integrative role amongst the social sciences. According to Sorokin, sociology:

> ... more perhaps than the other social sciences, is so concerned with the many-faceted phases of social man that it cannot afford to chop him into neatly compartmentalized "economic" or "political" or "psychological" or "primitive" men. The man the student of sociology will be concerned with is each of these - and more. (Hodges 1971: 14-15)

Park and Burgess (1924: 42-43) employed two different conceptions of theory to describe sociology's disciplinary place. First, sociology was distinguished from history on the basis that 'history is the concrete, sociology the abstract, science of human experience and human nature'. Here, and in several 1967-1971 textbooks, sociology was said to be theoretical and generalising, where history deals with specific events.[185] Second, sociology (along with psychology) was distinguished from the technical or applied social sciences – politics, education, social service and economics – on the basis that it deals with general principles that they apply. Here, sociology is theoretical in that it deals with fundamental principles, rather than practical applications.

Textbooks thus use a number of different theoretical conceptions to define sociology's place as distinct from the other social sciences. We see a shift over time, from a Comtean view of sociology as the ultimate, integrating social science to a more mod-

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[184] Mitchell (1959: 18-25) did note the contrasting theoretical efforts of Durkheim and Weber (also taken up by Parsons) to establish a place for sociology – Durkheim by distinguishing sociology from the other social sciences, particularly psychology; Weber in relating them – but did not thereby set out his own program for the relationships between the social sciences.

[185] This distinction was also made by Cotgrove (1967: 21), who said: 'The historian asks "What happened?" and strives to achieve a chronological reconstruction of events. ... Sociology places more emphasis on "how" questions, and on building general theories of social systems'; Worsley (1970: 31) described empiricist forms of history as 'quite non-sociological ways of approaching the study of past societies'; and Hodges (1971: 15) distinguishes history's 'individualizing', 'particularizing' and 'descriptive' approach from sociology's 'generalizing' and 'analytical' one.

est idea of sociology as needing to cooperate with, and rely upon, the other social sciences. The most recent textbooks no longer contain discussions of sociology's place in relation to other disciplines. The phase-out dates vary by country: 1971 in American textbooks; Cuff and Payne (1979), and briefly Giddens (1989), in Britain; and Waters (1989) and, again briefly, Haralambos et al. (1996) in Australia. While the timing follows the stage of national institutionalisation, their disappearance may reflect difficulties in defining disciplinary place within an increasingly interdisciplinary academic context. Haralambos et al.'s (1996: 729) solution was to celebrate the social sciences' 'increasing integration and cross-fertilisation, so that the supposedly post-modernist decline of disciplinary metanarratives seems to be reinvigorating *all* of the social science disciplines and increasing the importance of *each* of their contributions'.[186]

While textbook accounts might be more eager than historical ones to present sociology as a coherent discipline, we nonetheless see in sociology's histories examples of theory being employed to establish sociology's place. The Comtean theme is evident in the ways in which sociology was theorised by early Australian advocates for the discipline. Uniting them was a conception of sociology as scientific, and more than that, as 'the "central science" itself, or, as they variously termed it, the "mother-science" and the "fundamental science"' (Bourke 1981: 26). For instance, Anderson (2005[1912]: 85) specifically counterposed sociology to economics, which '"deals with a fragment, and not with the whole"' and Irvine (1914, in Bourke 2005[1988]: 146) believed sociology to be the only subject capable of understanding the '"one great unity – human experience"'. Irvine cited E. A. Ross's *Foundations of Sociology*: '"Sociology no longer falls apart into neat segments like a peeled orange. State, law, religion, art, morals, industry, instead of presenting so many parallels of development, are studied rather as different aspects of one social evolution"'. Echoing the integrative understanding of sociology from his native England, and claiming the space of

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[186] Worsley (1970: 28) provided an interesting twist on this theme, arguing against sociology's queenly status, but only on the basis that anthropology (his shared disciplinary home) was more regal.

other social science disciplines, WEA Director of Tutorial Classes, John Alexander Gunn, argued that sociologists should present society as a complex of four factors:

> ... breed, by which he meant the biological factor, population and family; livelihood, which was the economic element; government, which covered the nature and purpose of the state; and culture or "social mentality", which included ideas of citizenship and mentality. (Bourke 2005[1988]: 154-55)

Nonetheless, Bourke noted that the versions of sociology espoused by such people as the first WEA tutor at the University of Sydney, Meredith Atkinson, drew on a number of disciplinary frameworks but failed to play this integrative role. Australian historian W. K. Hancock (1954: 70), who studied sociology with Atkinson at Melbourne, remembered the course as 'pretentious mumbo jumbo', a collection of 'second-hand fact, disreputable generalizations and a pretentious vocabulary' (see also Bourke 2005[1988]: 152-53).[187]

This view of sociology, and the opposition sociology faced in finding a place amongst the social sciences, is well expressed by philosopher P. H. Partridge in this mid-century assessment:

> Many Australian social scientists judge sociology by the very inferior work that has been produced by some sociologists in other countries, and they regard sociology as a synonym for woolliness and pretentiousness. And there are many others who are not convinced that there *is* any separate discipline of sociology; they argue that all the important problems dealt with by sociologists can be more minutely and rigorously studied by one or other of the existing social sciences. ... It is not very easy to say whether the introduction of courses called sociology into the existing family of social science subjects would draw attention to important problems in the study of society, would acquaint Australian students with new techniques of social research, or would open up fields of research into as-

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[187] He considered the situation had improved by the 1950s: 'A young historian today would be offered under this heading something coherent and scholarly' (Hancock 1954: 70).

pects of Australian social structure. I am inclined to think that the absence of sociology under that name is not serious in the present organization of social science teaching and research in Australia. ... many psychologists, political scientists and anthropologists follow the work of contemporary sociologists in other countries, and their own work is influenced by the theories and techniques they find there. ... I doubt whether the direction or quality of present research in the social sciences would be very different from what it is now if sociology had been for the last twenty years or so a standard course in the universities. (Partridge 1955: 250-51)[188]

The available histories of Australian sociology reveal little about whether, and if so how, theory was used in the process of successfully claiming that place as sociology institutionalised from the late 1950s. However, in the next chapter we shall see that introductory sociology crept into curricula at the University of Sydney in other disciplinary guises, including a social work course called social theory.

Similarly, in Britain, many early proponents shared a 'grand synthetic conception of sociology as the master science', exhibited in a statement of the Sociological Society's purpose. It saw the field as comprehensive, covering the 'whole phenomena of society', and as such, the Society:

"... affords the common ground on which workers from all fields and schools may profitably meet – geographer and naturalist, anthropologist and archaeologist, historian and philologist, psychologist and moralist, all contributing their results towards a fuller Social Philosophy ... physician and the alienist, the criminologist and the jurist, have here again their common meeting ground with hygienist and educationist, with philanthropist, social reformer and politician, with journalist and cleric." (Galton et al. 1904: 284, in Platt 2003: 9)

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[188] Partridge (1955: 250) also suggested that institutionalisation of sociology might promote theory: 'There is not a great deal of work on social function and structure of a more abstract or formal theoretical kind being done in Australia; and this sort of work might gain some momentum from the introduction of a formal discipline of sociology. But I do not want to put much weight on this point ...'. I originally found this source quoted in Baldock and Lally (1974), quoted from Zubrzycki (1971).

Hobhouse reiterated this view of sociology as the integrative social science in his response to the threatened institution of social biology and social psychology at LSE. In a letter to the Director, he argued, unsuccessfully, that they were already incorporated within sociology:

> "I am afraid most biologists would simply give biology in general with a very faint and grudging recognition of ... any branch of sociology as barely having a claim to a place in science. They think ... that social progress is not a matter of eduction but of gametes ... As to Psychology, I have taught it at the School all these years. [...] Sociology as developed by the School is the attempt to correlate these things – the psychological and biological conditions of human society ... to form a Social Philosophy. Our methods and definitions of subjects are largely the result of the experience of nearly 20 years." (Hobhouse 1926, in Rocquin 2006: 15)

However, within the rhetorical 'broad church' of the emerging discipline were those who sought in sociology continuation of particular disciplinary agendas or a focus on specific social problems. As Osborne and Rose put it:

> ... there was a pervasive uncertainty about whether sociology should be a specialist discipline or an over-arching social science – should it be "a science coordinating all the other sciences which are designated as social sciences", thus including anthropologists, psychologists, economists and all the other nascent social disciplines, or should it be a special science taking its place alongside these other specialisms? To put it simply, there was no agreement as to what the object of sociology was, what its problems were, what its methods might look like, or what its specific task might be within the intellectual field. (Osborne & Rose 2008: 554, quoting Collini 1979: 199)[189]

As we have seen in the case of Hobhouse, those making the theoretical case for sociology as an umbrella for the social sciences came up against the problem of resistance

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[189] The quote is reproduced in Collini from an introductory pamphlet to the first volume of *Sociological Papers*, published by the London Sociological Society.

from established disciplines from whom sociology appeared to be attempting to claim territory (Platt 2003: 14-15). In an interwar article on English sociology published in *Social Forces*, Harper's assessment was that the 'catholicity' of Hobhouse and Ginsberg's conception of sociology hindered its expansion. In '[m]inimizing rather than accentuating its differences from older sciences and concentrating on its more philosophic and integrative functions', they had failed to gain wide acceptance for sociology as providing a 'distinct scientific technique' (Harper 1933: 339). As a result, the 'social came to be defined as a miscellaneous residual category grouping together whatever economics, history and psychology between them had not already appropriated' (Abrams 1981: 5, in Bulmer 1985: 4).

Thus once again, a universalist definition of its social object went hand-in-hand with an idea of sociology as an integrative discipline, providing a meeting ground for all comers.[190] However, in practice, few of those initially drawn to this meeting place stayed long, and not all agreed with this inclusive vision. In these attempts to define sociology's disciplinary place, theory was employed not so much to forge boundaries, but to locate sociology as bridge-builder or boundary-crosser. In these examples, at least, this attempt did not succeed.[191]

In the United States, sociology's academic pioneers employed powerful combinations of elements of the writings of Comte and Spencer in theorising sociology's disciplinary object and place, positioning sociology in relation to not only the competing social sciences, but also the culturally ascendant humanities and the reform movement

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[190] Andrew Sayer (in McLennan 2003: 550) argues that the objects of all (social science) disciplines can be seen as universalist, at least from their own perspective – everything has duration (history), location (geography), etc. – undermining sociology's claim to supreme supra-disciplinary status. However McLennan (2003: 551) suggests that this 'can be put in an ironic rather than "imperialist" way: now that geography, history etc., have become so vague, so meta-theoretical, and so over-stretched, they resemble nothing other than dear old sociology itself!'.

[191] That does not discount the possibility of sociology being defined as an integrative discipline. For instance, Walter R. Gove responded to concerns about sociology's lack of 'an essential core of knowledge' by suggesting that it be centred on its role as 'integrative discipline' for the study of human behaviour, an approach with which he thinks 'most sociologists can identify' (Gove 1995: 1198).

(Breslau 2007; Turner & Turner 1990: 17-18).[192] From Comte they took the 'mutually reinforcing' ideas of sociology as the 'more general and complex of the sciences', and society as its 'unified and organismlike object', the irreducibility of the object an argument for sociology's irreducibility to any of the more specific social sciences (Breslau 2007: 46). And Spencer's 'evolutionary naturalism of social wholes' indicated 'how the new science is to be implemented. His hierarchies of categories were also hierarchies of knowers, with the functionally integrated social whole corresponding to the work of integration carried out by the sociologist' (Breslau 2007: 48). Because society had evolved out of nature, sociology and the other social sciences could lay claim to being a branch of the natural sciences (2007: 57). Spencer's theory that individual classes of phenomena could only be understood in relation to the whole organism thus provided grounds within the academy to position sociology as the most general, integrative social science; and without, for privileging 'the rationalist labour of the coordinator and systematizer over the Baconian empiricism of nonacademic investigators' (Breslau 2007: 55). The reformers' contribution was welcomed as "practical sociology", but this was subordinated to 'the competence of coordinating theorists' (2007: 56).

While the substance and emphases of the writings of Sumner, Ward, Small and Giddings differed, and (apart from Sumner) they rejected Spencer's laissez-faire political philosophy, they shared his conception of sociology as a 'holistic, naturalistic, and evolutionary science of society' (Breslau 2007: 40, 47-49, 57). Sumner, appointed to teach social science at Yale in 1872, who saw sociology as using 'historical and statistical induction' to discover social laws, agreed more than the others with Spencer's politics, and adopted Spencer's evolutionary naturalism in a way that fit his circumstances, with its prioritising of 'theoretical knowledge above practical knowledge,

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[192] Breslau is careful to point out that his argument is not simply that in their 'struggle for legitimation', the social sciences, specially sociology and economics, adopted natural science methods and conceptual schemes 'to appear "scientific".' Rather, they genuinely considered the social world to be amenable to scientific analysis; they wanted not simply an emulation of the natural sciences, but 'a natural science about society. They did not begin with a discipline-building project and then cast about for theories and methods that would lend them an air of scientific legitimacy. ... the discipline was not an end but a means to secure an institutional home for a new form of cultural authority' (Breslau 2007: 42-43).

scholarly distance over direct experience, knowledge of the social whole over exper-
tise regarding part of society' (Breslau 2007: 51, 57; Ross 1991: 86). And Ward re-
specified Spencer's evolutionism in terms of successive layers of aggregation, with
human societies the ultimate result (Breslau 2007: 49-50). Following Comte, he saw
sociology's task in terms of 'scientific rationality' providing the 'key to future pro-
gress, the culmination of which would be government by 'sociocracy' (Ross 1991: 56,
85-97).

Small was appointed to the first Chair in Sociology at the University of Chicago in
1892, and Giddings the second, at Columbia, two years later. They agreed sociology
should be the fundamental science, but had different bases for this view, along with
contrasting versions of the nature of sociology and of society (Ross 1991: 123). Small
was a Baptist minister, and brought to sociology 'the ethical and reformist aims of the
social gospel ministry' (Ross 1991: 123), but he emphasised the need to understand
society as a whole, differentiating sociology from the partial perspectives of both
practical social reformers and political ideologues. This distinction between practical
sociology, and theoretical sociology as its necessary coordinator, was manifest in the
organisation of his department and courses at Chicago (Breslau 2007: 53-54). His ver-
sion of sociology had a tripartite task which he considered simultaneously ethical and
scientific: descriptive sociology was to distinguish the '"accidental"' from the '"per-
manent"' components of society; statical sociology was to scientifically identify soci-
ety's '"immanent ideal"' or perfect equilibrium, predefined to involve social equality;
and dynamic sociology was to seek out mechanisms to bring about the ideal (Ross
1991: 125-26). His sociology was firmly aimed at a moral end, but required scientific
research to get there, although he modified and rebalanced his emphases on sociol-
ogy's active social-change role and scientific description several times, not least in
response to the changing fate of American politics.

While for Small, sociology's comprehensiveness explained why sociology was the
fundamental science, for Giddings it was because sociology was the 'science of the
elementary psychological principle of consciousness of kind' (Ross 1991: 130), which
he theorised was fundamental to sociality. He defined the sociological task – of un-
covering the natural laws underlying social evolution, which he was confident would

bring about an ideal society – as entirely descriptive and strictly separate from social ethics (Ross 1991: 123-38). Giddings made two particular contributions to defining sociology as a discipline. First, he introduced statistics, but in a way that again continued the Spencerian/Comtean traditions. He transformed Comte's law of three stages, replacing the theological, metaphysical and positive stages with the speculative, observational and metrical, with the sociologist clarifying concepts in the first, before they were confirmed by observations and made '"metrical"' (Turner & Turner 1990: 27, quoting Giddings 1901). Thus 'systematic empirical inquiry' (specifically statistics) was 'guided and coordinated by the scientist who would assemble the data in a way that would represent the whole social organism and its evolution' (Breslau 2007: 53). This introduced to sociology a coupling between theory and research, to test the theory, that 'could serve practical and academic purposes simultaneously' and neatly fitted into the requirements and constraints of a university department (Turner & Turner 1990: 27-28). And second, in defining the social object, he retained Spencer's evolutionism, but newly conceptualised it in terms of 'interaction among minds, which form patterns of association and conflict based on elaborations of a fundamental "consciousness of kind"' (Breslau 2007: 53, quoting Giddings, 1896).

Daniel Breslau suggests that professionalisation of social work, evident for instance in the 1904 founding and increasing independence of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, denuded sociology of its role 'as the credentialing discipline for practical sociologists', and this may have 'prompted the shift in academic sociology from social wholes to social processes and the conferral of scientific status to empirical work within university departments' (Breslau 2007: 61). The turn-of-the-century work of Edward A. Ross and Charles Horton Cooley, both originally from economics, was to slowly open up this new direction for sociology. In sociology, E.A. Ross's central concept of social control called attention to 'the distinctly social processes by which individuals were bound together in society'.[193] This led to a disciplinary refocusing on 'sociopsychological processes of social control', illustrated by arrival of '"socialized" and "socialization"' and later flowing into the 'emphases ... on social psychology,

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[193] The idea of social control, or just control, was also 'widely taken up by economists and political scientists to designate the new liberal economic task' (D. Ross 1991: 236).

social interaction, and social disorganization' (Ross 1991: 230-36). Cooley's work also contributed to this sociological current (Ross 1991: 240-47, 251). Again, this theoretical stance defined a particular role for sociology, of providing access to social laws that could enable social control (Ross 1991: 249), as I discuss further in Chapter Six.

Dorothy Ross suggested that with professionalisation, some 'adjustment' was needed between sociology and its neighbours, especially economics, with rivalry exacerbated as sociology attracted more students (although not as many as economics). As we have seen above, with varying degrees of subtlety, sociologists asserted their discipline's broader and more fundamental territorial claims, while 'economists continued to make known their disdain for sociological pretensions and doubts that it would succeed' (Ross 1991: 222). However, Ross describes the reality as a 'de facto truce', with 'little substantive interference from either side'. The rise of marginalist neoclassical economics meant that ultimately 'sociology was not much of a threat' (Ross 1991: 222-23). Despite its integrative claims, American sociology became established as an academic discipline as 'the undefined residual category in the social sciences, a situation that allowed sociology to become responsible for reformist topics', incorporating the reform and charity work which 'had no other academic home' (Turner & Turner 1990: 23; see also Mills 1970[1959]: 31).

So far we have seen that the early American sociologists had greater success than their British and Australian counterparts in negotiating an academic place for sociology alongside the existing social sciences, and, especially, the reform movement, incorporated as its practical side, in part through their employment of Comtean and Spencerian models of the discipline (Breslau 2007: 55). As part of this process, and with the expansion of teaching programs and publication of textbooks, theory itself became a more important element within the academic discipline. However, theory itself did not, at this point, provide the 'resource base' for academic sociology (Turner & Turner 1990: 23-24).

A final example I discuss here is the late 1940s and early 1950s work of Parsons and colleagues, represented in the 1951 *Toward a General Theory of Action*, edited by

Parsons and Shils. This, and the (for a time) remarkable prominence of Parsons within sociology, is a somewhat curious case because the theoretical program was explicitly developed not to distinguish sociology, but to provide a theoretical underpinning for the interdisciplinary field institutionalised as Harvard's Department of Social Relations (DSR) in 1946 (Isaac 2010; see also McLennan 2003: 551; B. Turner 1999: 277). The 'Project on Theory', generously funded by the Carnegie Foundation, aimed to formulate '"the theoretical fundamentals of the field of social relations, that is, of Sociology, Social Anthropology, and Psychology, insofar as they converge in terms of a common conceptual scheme"', as Parsons wrote to John W. Gardner in 1949 (quoted in Isaac 2010: 13).

In part, the explanation may be found in the fact that while this was an exercise in forging interdisciplinary ties, disciplinary promotion was still very much on the agenda. The particular disciplines brought together formally in the DSR, informally in Henderson's well-known Pareto seminars, and in other seminars and committees since the 1930s, were united by their marginality to the '"big three"', History, Government and Economics, which had long dominated Harvard social science (Isaac 2010: 9, quoting Parsons 1944). While 'the conceptual convergence of modern social theorists on the master social-scientific concept of action' was important for Parsons' insistence on social science unification, claiming space for sociology, social anthropology and psychology in relation to economics, government and history was also on the agenda (Isaac 2010: 3).

In the end the project was a failure, with Parsons in a later departmental review noting that the 'general theory' did not become '"an 'official' theoretical line for the Department"' (Parsons 1956, in Isaac 2010: 2) (I will discuss later in this chapter, and in Chapter Six, Parsons' successes in delineating sociology, and in promoting the status of a particular understanding of theory, and the theorist, within sociology). Several management and recruitment errors in the transition from informal collaborators to formal colleagues hindered cooperation and theoretical agreement (Isaac 2010: 11-17). But also undermining the attempt at interdisciplinarity was Parsons', and the others', insistence on their disciplinary visions. As anthropologist David Schneider, a graduate student and lecturer in the DSR, later recalled in an interview:

"[Clyde] Kluckhohn was competing with Parsons." Battle was joined over
students and the conceptual primacy of "culture" (i.e. anthropology) ver-
sus "social systems" (sociology). Stouffer, meanwhile, "tended to want
statistics to explain everything." (Isaac 2010: 12; see also Schneider 1995:
69-83)

Constructing disciplinary foundations

Related to defining disciplinary place is the use of theory to create disciplinary foun-
dations. This is particularly evident in introductory textbooks in the way certain theo-
rists are defined as 'founding fathers' or 'classics' and their lineage traced through to
the contemporary discipline. Zeitlin illustrates this:

> The essentials of the sociological approach are best conveyed by introduc-
> ing the student to the masters of sociological theory and analysis who
> wrote in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. ... the classic
> tradition provides the theoretical foundations of the sociological perspec-
> tive. ... Not all sociologists would agree on the thinkers to be included in
> the classic tradition. ... However, most lists would have to include at least
> three of the masters who receive detailed consideration in this book: Emile
> Durkheim, Karl Marx, and Max Weber. (Zeitlin 1981: 3-4)

Many of the textbooks, particularly more recent ones, include some discussion of the
history of sociology, often told primarily as a series of stories of 'great theorists'.[194]
This commonly takes the form of a disciplinary history,[195] sometimes relating the dis-
cipline's current theoretical landscape to its 'founding fathers'. For example, Giddens
(1989: 695) showed that the 'main theoretical divisions in sociology today reflect the
different approaches established in earlier periods'. Sometimes the histories of con-
temporary theoretical 'perspectives', singly or as a whole, are told, grounding each of

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[194] Along with criticisms of some of their ideas, demonstrating the development of sociology
and the superior position it has now attained.

[195] For example, see Bessant and Watts (1999: 31-33); Fulcher and Scott (1999); Giddens
(1989: 691-702); Hodges (1971: 20); Macionis (1992: 8-11); Mitchell (1959: 1-27); Park and
Burgess (1924); Popenoe (1971: 6-8); Waters (1989: 7-19).

them in the classics (e.g. Cotgrove 1967; Haralambos & Heald 1980; Haralambos et al. 1996). And sometimes the lineage is literally shown, with diagrams linking the classical theorists to contemporary perspectives (e.g. Fulcher & Scott 1999).

Bierstedt (1981: 496-497) noted that before Parsons, none of the '"Holy Trinity"' of Marx, Weber and Durkheim was prominently influential in American sociology.[196] Durkheim's work was well-known and cited, and aspects of Weber's work discussed by some, but until 'Parsons placed their statues in the pantheon in 1937 they were simply two names, of no more importance than many others' (498). Likewise, Connell (1997) has shown that the elevation of Marx, Weber and Durkheim to canonical classical theorists was a *post hoc* affair, achieved through the efforts of canon-makers including Talcott Parsons and C. Wright Mills (and Collins 1997 added Merton).[197] The elevation of Marx, Weber and Durkheim can indeed be seen in the present names index analysis, as shown in Table 4-2.[198] Also interesting is the prominence that Parsons himself, and to a lesser extent Merton and Mills, achieved, in part through use of the 'classical' theorists.

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[196] Bierstedt's observation was based on his close reading of the work of ten key American sociological theorists: Sumner, Ward, Cooley, Ross, Znaniecki, MacIver, Sorokin, Lundberg, Parsons and Merton. He credited Howard S. Becker (1979) with this term. Becker (1979: 24) suggested that the current prominence of the 'Holy Trinity' might be explained because it provides a 'common ancestor myth' shared by the increasingly fragmented subfields within sociology, providing some sense of unity for 'in fact quite different areas of work'.

[197] Connell's argument was, briefly, that this was to create a new foundation story, for a new sociology concerned with local problems of the metropole, displacing the actual origins of sociology as a global endeavour, organised around ideas of progress and otherness, and intimately linked to colonisation. One of my sampled textbooks, Waters (1989: 14), draws attention to the importance of Parsons' *Structure of Social Action* in this process. Hamilton (2003: 284) notes also the role of Americans who studied in Europe (including Parsons, but also Park and Howard P. Becker) and of European scholars who migrated to the United States, in promoting Durkheim and Weber in American sociology.

[198] Based on number of pages attributed to authors (who are in the top five in any of the sampled textbooks) across textbook indexes. See Chapter One for more details.

Table 4-2. Ranking of 'canonical' and 'canon-forming' theorists by decade in introductory textbooks

	20s/30s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
Marx	=13	=15	3	3	1	1
Weber	16	=10	=4	2	2	2
Durkheim	5	=8	6	1	3	3
Parsons	=23	=10	1	5	4	4
Merton	=23	=10	2	4	6	7
Mills	-	=19	7	6	=10	=11

While we need to be cautious about considering national figures, because of the small samples, it seems that in each case there were national differences, with establishment of the 'classics' later in US texts. For the texts sampled, Marx, Weber and Durkheim were relatively high from the first British (1950s) and Australian (1970s) texts but much further down the American lists in those decades, only reaching the top three in the 1980s.[199] And Parsons ranked higher in British and Australian texts than American ones for equivalent periods, whereas Merton was top ranked in 1960s and 1970s American books.[200] Using different measures of prominence but larger samples, data is available on those most cited in American introductory textbooks from the periods 1958-1962, 1963-1967 and 1968-1972 (Bain 1962; Oromaner 1968; Swatos & Swatos 1974). For each period, those cited at least five times in more than four of the ten sampled textbooks from the period were included on the list (24 names in the first period, 23 in the second, 20 in the third), along with the number of textbooks in which they were cited at least five times, and total citation counts.[201] The citation figures

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[199] Within this sample, Marx, Weber and Durkheim were within the top six names in British texts in the 1950s and 1960s, and were top three in both Australian and British books by the 1970s. By comparison, for example, in American books Marx ranked equal twenty-second in the 1950s and equal eleventh in the 1960s and 1970s, by which time Durkheim and Weber were second and equal fourth respectively. In each decade, Durkheim ranked lower in Australian books (equal third in the 1970s, fifth in the 1980s and 1990s) than in American and British ones.

[200] Parsons was top-ranked in British books in the 1960s, and from then remained in the top five, but was never in the top five in American textbooks.

[201] Total citation counts exclude any textbooks in which there were less than five citations.

confirm that Marx, Weber and Durkheim had not yet become the 'top three' by 1968-72: indeed, Marx was not on either of the first two lists, and was only equal tenth in the third; Weber and Durkheim fared better, Weber climbing from thirteenth in 1958-62 to second in 1963-67 and fourth in 1968-72 and Durkheim from fifteenth in 1958-62 to fourth in 1963-67 and seventh in 1968-72. Merton's high ranking in these periods is also confirmed – he received most citations in 1958-62 (equal with Linton) and 1963-67, and second most in the third period. However, Parsons appears much more prominently than my figures suggest: fourth in 1958-62, third in 1963-67 and first in 1968-72.[202]

Baehr and O'Brien (1994: 80) have suggested that in his 1937 *The Structure of Social Action*, 'Parsons' pioneering and unrelenting role in introducing the classic texts of Durkheim and Weber to other sociologists ... helped assimilate his contribution to theirs', in part explaining its reception as a classic.[203] Importantly, Parsons did not claim that the model of social action laid out in *Structure* was an original synthesis: 'he claimed instead to be merely describing the "emergence of the theoretical system"', a '"convergence"' found in the writings of Marshall, Pareto, Durkheim and Weber (S. Turner 2007a: 53, quoting Parsons 1937: 14; see also Parsons 1968: 12-14). In this way, Parsons 'established each of those authors ... as a producer of general theory in the same sense Parsons himself sought to produce it', eclipsing the empirical research of Weber and Durkheim (Calhoun & VanAntwerpen 2007: 391).

Parsons saw his provision of a '"well-articulated generalized theoretical system"' as an essential element in making sociology into a '"mature science"' (S. Turner 2007a: 57, quoting Parsons 1954[1949]: 212). Importantly for this project, the 'convergence that Parsons manufactured' also rewrote the theories he claimed to be simply repeating (2007a: 59). Of particular note was his rejection of Weber's value pluralism (54), in part enabling him to produce a:

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[202] Mills was fifth in 1958-62, but had declined to equal twelfth a decade later.

[203] They suggested that its immense scope, role in shaping sociological theory, and the possibility of distancing it as one of Parsons' 'early' works also allowed it to become a 'classic', even while Parsons was 'alive and productive' (Baehr & O'Brien 1994: 79-80).

... distinctively "sociological" conception of values in which values were both essential to action explanation, thus providing an ineliminable and basic place for the science that studied them, and at the [same] time made values essentially social, and ... in some sense necessarily univocal. (S. Turner 2007a: 59)[204]

Understanding social action thereby required one to be sociological in Parsons' theoretical terms. And, despite his famous question, 'Who now reads Spencer?', Parsons' unifying concept of system, which required all aspects of social life to be understood as interconnected, continued 'in a far more professional way' the Spencerian understanding of early American sociologists that promoted theoretical systematising sociology over particular research projects, reform activities or more partial social sciences.[205]

In addition to the prominence of Parsons' particular theoretical work – evident in the initial widespread popularity of functionalism, its influence on, for instance, the work of Geertz and Jeffrey Alexander's cultural sociology,[206] and later as a 'regular target of critics' – he created a new genre of sociological theory that led the way for other approaches that '"scientiz[ed]" sociology through the elevation of theory' (Calhoun & VanAntwerpen 2007: 390-91; Turner 2007a: 59-60). Thus it is suggested that even Gouldner's (1970) *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, that was so critical of functionalism, 'reproduced the overwhelming emphasis on theory – in more or less the Parsonian sense – as constitutive of sociology' (Calhoun & VanAntwerpen 2007: 385, n. 27).

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[204] Turner also shows that Parsons incorporated a hermeneutic notion of function from British and American anthropological traditions that was 'theoretically thin' (2007a: 53).

[205] See: Calhoun and VanAntwerpen (2007: 386-87); Parsons (1968[1937]: 3, quoting Brinton 1933: 226). Note that Parsons acknowledged that it was Spencer's 'social theory as a total structure' that had died, not all aspects of his thought.

[206] Turner and Turner have noted that his continuation of the spencerist language of earlier American sociologists helps explain this: 'Sociologists in the Midwest were comfortable paying homage to Parsons, while in practice ignoring him entirely because they believed his account added nothing of substance to what they already had, except perhaps in providing the legitimating *mana* of the great European sociologists' (1990: 120).

Table 4-3. Terms denoting historical treatment of theory in theory textbook titles

	1920s no (%)	1930s no (%)	1950s no (%)	1960s no (%)	1970s no (%)	1980s no (%)	1990s no (%)	2000s no (%)
General[a]	2 (40)	4 (50)	1 (11)	2 (13)	7 (23)	3 (15)	2 (5)	-
Classic/al[b]	-	-	1 (11)	3 (20)	1 (3)	1 (5)	9 (22)	4 (14)
Contemporary[c]	1 (20)	-	-	1 (7)	5 (17)	3 (15)	6 (15)	6 (21)
Modern[d]	-	-	-	4 (27)	1 (3)	2 (10)	4 (10)	-
Post-modern	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (8)	-
Combined[e]	-	-	1 (11)	-	1 (3)	2 (10)	3 (8)	3 (11)
Total historical	3 (60)	4 (50)	3 (33)	10 (67)	15 (50)	11 (55)	27 (68)	13 (46)
N	5	8	9	15	30	20	40	28

Notes

a. Includes: histor-y/-ical, development, growth, from lore to science, a hundred years, progress, trends, emergence

b. Also includes: 'from Hammurabi to Comte' (1950s), Montesquieu, Comte, Marx, de Tocqueville, Durkheim, Pareto, Weber (1960s), 'Multicultural and classical' (90s)

c. Also includes: 20th century (60s, 90s), 'since 1945', 'today' (80s), 'Contemporary ... From Modernity to Post-Modernity' (90s), 'Understanding contemporary society: Theories of the present' (00s), new/contemporary (2 in 00s)

d. Also includes: 'Modern ... From Parsons to Habermas' (80s), modernity

e. Classical/contemporary or modern/postmodern. Also includes: present/past (1950s), traditional/radical (1970s), 'the classic tradition to postmodernism' (90s), 'from modernity to post-modernity' (90s), classical/modern (00s). Note that the growth of classical/contemporary partnerings was actually stronger in the 2000s than is indicated by these figures, with Calhoun et al., Delaney and Ritzer all authoring pairs of books, one classical and one contemporary.

In theory textbook titles we also see the idea of theory as providing a foundation for the discipline in a handful of titles from the 1950s through to the 1980s.[207] What is more pronounced is the historical treatment of theory, with a shift from general notions of history, development or progress, to the emergence of 'classical' and other temporal categories of theory. These are set out in Table 4-3. Overall, 55% of all the textbook titles make some mention of theory's temporality, with historical terms in book titles in each decade from the 1920s, dropping to a low point of 33% in the 1950s (when the 'history of social thought' had been largely displaced) and hovering between 46% and 68% in subsequent decades.

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[207] Two of the three are coauthored by Parsons: Parsons & Shils, 1951, *Toward a General Theory of Action: Theoretical Foundations for the Social Sciences*, and Parsons et al., 1961, *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory*. The other was: Johnson, 1981, *Sociological Theory: Classical Founders and Contemporary Perspectives*.

Almost all mentions of history in the 1920s and 1930s were general: about theory's general historicism, growth, or development, in one case specified as its scientisation.[208] With the rise of Parsons and the canon, this general idea became much less prominent in textbooks from the 1950s on, although continued into the 1990s.

One interesting subset of these general titles literally takes sociology, rather than social theory, as the object of history (e.g. House's 1936 *Development of Sociology*, Mitchell's 1968 *A Hundred Years of Sociology*, Abraham's 1973 *Origins and Growth of Sociology*). What is interesting here is that these are nonetheless 'theory' textbooks – that a history of sociology can be cast as a history of social theory – suggestive of the essential place that theory can be seen as occupying within sociology.[209]

We also see the emergence of 'classical' theory and titles with other historical categories – contemporary theory, modern/ity and postmodern/ity. This began in earnest in the 1960s, when just over half of the 15 titles were categorised as classical, modern or contemporary. Classical and contemporary theory have since stabilised as standard divisions of theory, at least (although not only) in the context of textbooks and teaching, with books combining both also beginning to appear. Postmodern theory, on the other hand, has not survived as an ongoing textbook genre, appearing only in 1990s titles. Of course the actual contents of these categories may change over time. For instance, it is unlikely that recent textbooks on 'contemporary sociological theory' contain the same 'schools' covered by Sorokin's (1928) 'contemporary sociological theories': mechanistic; Frédéric Le Play's; geographical; bio-organismic; anthropo-racial, selectionist and hereditary; sociological interpretation of the "struggle for existence" and the sociology of war; demographic; sociologistic (formal and economic); psychological; and psycho-sociologistic (see also Shils 1970: 798).

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[208] Examples include: Bogardus, 1922, *A History of Social Thought*; Beach, 1939, *The Growth of Social Thought*; Lichtenberger, 1923, *Development of Social Theory*; and Becker & Barnes, 1938, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, respectively.

[209] A tendency to focus on theories in histories of the discipline is often stated as a limitation of the history of sociology (e.g. Lengermann & Niebruggen 2007: 71).

As was hinted at earlier by my discussion of national differences in the prominence of the 'classics' and 'founders', the stories of sociology's history and present told in introductory textbooks do not just construct disciplinary foundations, but (to varying degrees) national disciplinary foundations. Thus, for example, Waters (1989: 18-19) both narrated the history of institutionalisation of Australian sociology and sketched the country's contemporary theoretical map. Not surprisingly, Australian theoretical developments are not elaborated in the British or American texts: Connell, ranked third within the Australian textbooks, rates a total of two pages across all non-Australian textbooks. The prominence of 'locals' in the textbooks for each country, and the distribution by 'nationality' of names in each country's 'top 20', is shown in Table 4-4. Pre- and post-Second World War lists are given for the US so that international comparisons may be seen for roughly the same postwar period, as well as the whole sample. While local authors are relatively prominent in each country, the numerical dominance of American names is evident. This clearly reflects the dominance and size of American twentieth-century sociology, and is also likely to be affected by duration of national sociologies, illustrated by the increase in American names cited in postwar (compared to prewar) American textbooks.[210]

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[210] Earlier establishment of American sociology provided earlier availability of authors to be discussed. Similarly, earlier 'names' have more opportunities to be covered by texts than more recent ones, although this does not prevent recent writers from ranking high. Jennifer Platt's data on high-ranked authors in British textbooks (2008a: 177-78) also shows dominance by postwar Americans (especially Parsons, Merton, Mills and Goffman), with Spencer, Hobhouse and Ginsberg appearing in earlier textbooks, and J.H. Goldthorpe the only recent British author to appear frequently. Comparison of her data with Oromaner (1980) led to the conclusion that each 'side ... neglects the other's more local ancestors, and British introductory sociology maintains a more theoretical cast' (Platt 2008a: 178). Oromaner (1970) showed that no contemporary non-American sociologists were amongst the most-cited influentials in his samples of *ASR* articles from 1958-62 and 1967-68, but contemporary American sociologists were prominent in *BJS* articles for the same period (especially the latter), similar to my post-1945 textbooks.

Table 4-4. Most used 'names' in introductory textbooks by country of textbook publication and 'nationality'

	USA	USA Pre WW2	USA Post WW2	UK	Australia
1	Durkheim	Simmel	Durkheim	Marx	Marx
2	Marx	*Darwin*	Weber	Weber	Weber
3	Simmel	*Spencer*	Marx	Durkheim	CONNELL
4	Weber	THOMAS	MERTON	*Parsons*	*Parsons*
5	*Darwin*	Durkheim	K DAVIS[a]	*Merton*	Durkheim
6	*Spencer*	LOWIE	LIPSET[a]	JH GOLDTHORPE	*Giddens*
7	Freud	Le Bon	PARSONS	LOCKWOOD	*Merton*
8	MERTON	Comte	Freud	*Goffman*	*Goffman*
9	THOMAS	*Galton*	MILLS	*Mills*	*Mills*
10	K DAVIS[b]	ZNANIECKI	BENDIX[b]	Comte	*Berger*
11	LIPSET[b]	*Pearson*[c]	WILLIAMS[b]	RADCLIFFE-BROWN[c]	Foucault
12	BURGESS	SOROKIN[c]	BURGESS[d]	SPENCER[c]	Comte
13	PARSONS	Marx[e]	WARNER[d]	*Lipset*	*K Davis*[e]
14	LOWIE[f]	VEBLEN[e]	BERGER[f]	*Garfinkel*	*JH Goldthorpe*[e]
15	MILLS[f]	Freud	GOFFMAN[f]	*K Davis*	ENCEL
16	SOROKIN	Weber	LINTON	*Berger*	*Garfinkel*
17	Comte	BURGESS	Simmel	EVANS-PRITCHARD	Freud
18	BENDIX[g]	PARK	M MEAD	Foucault	*Lenski*
19	WILLIAMS[g]	WS THOMPSON	LENSKI	Freud	*Lockwood*[h]
20	Le Bon/PARK/ WARNER[i]	HILLER	SMELSER/WS THOMPSON[i]	RICHARDS	Simmel[h]
American	58%	45%	75%	40%	40%
British	10%	20%	0%	30%	15%
Australian	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%
European	32%	35%	25%	30%	35%

Notes

CAPS = 'local'; *Italics* = from one of the other two countries surveyed. The table employs a crude measure of nationality (or continentality), based on information provided in textbooks or general knowledge about institutional affiliations or ascribed nationality, and clearly simplifies what are, in some cases, more complex biographies.

a. =5th   d. =12th   g. =18th
b. =10th   e. =13th   h. =19th
c. =11th   f. =14th   i. =20th. Treated as one for calculation of percentages.

While theory is employed for national sociologies, we might also consider here the internationality of theory, especially in its grander or more abstract variants, compared to, for instance, empirical sociological research. This is evident in historical details, such as the dominance of foreign-born theorists in the BSA theory study group's early speaker list (Platt 2003: 30). It can also be seen in the different publishing practices of introductory sociology and social theory textbooks. When introductory texts are published in multiple countries, there is generally an effort to include national research from relevant countries, or different national editions are published (e.g. Furze et al. 2008 is tailored to both national markets of Australia and New Zealand, and is itself one of several national editions of the American textbook Brym and Lie 2003); this is not the case for theory textbooks. The ready transferability of theory across national (as well as topical) boundaries contributes to the audience and status of theory, and of its practitioners within sociology.

Theoretical unity and sociological perspectives

Turner and Turner (1990: 164) have argued that in America, 'lack of complete conceptual integration was evident from sociology's beginning', and this was only going to increase. At a discussion about the teaching of sociology at the ASS's first meeting in 1906, Professor Frederick Morgan Davenport was recorded as saying:

> I think there is no longer cause to fear that we may split up into warring sects like the theologians. Our sociological geniuses, though they seem to differ, are in reality only laying emphasis upon important phases of the whole subject. Although no one would claim that we have a complete and authoritative body of principles, enough is clear, I think, to form a simple and beautiful body of theory. (Ellwood et al. 1906: 220)[211]

While formation of the Society brought with it a certain 'professional convergence', a homogenising of the theories of former combatants around a broadly liberal understanding of the 'evolution of modern society, and America along with it' (Ross 1991: 219-24), or a tri-stranded '"macroevolutionary mentalism"' (Turner & Turner 1990:

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[211] I originally found (part of) this quotation in Ross (1991: 220).

19-21), theoretical difference has remained a hallmark of sociology for most of its history. Thus, the introductory textbooks in my sample present some degree of theoretical plurality for most (but not all) of the period covered. Along with this, we see changes over the twentieth century in terms of both how different theories are categorised and how these theoretical categories are seen as relating to one another within the discipline of sociology.

Some of the earliest introductory textbooks refer to different, competing theoretical positions. Park and Burgess (1924: 27-29) described the 'schools of thought' into which 'sociologists are divided' in terms of their different attempts to grapple with the problem of social control. And Hankins (1928: 15) argued that all theories are divided into two opposing camps – 'the *theological* and the *scientific*, the *supernatural* and the *natural*, the *indeterministic* and the *deterministic*, or the *creationist* and the *evolutionary*' – with himself firmly in the latter.

The historical accounts accord with this view that sociology in the 1920s and 1930s was subject to theoretical diversity, a matter of some concern to those for whom conceptual unity would strengthen the discipline. For instance, when Earle Edward Eubank tried to systematise 'sociology's key concepts with the hope of finding a substitute for the unity provided by Spencerian sociology and the organic analogy', he was disturbed to encounter significant '"conceptual disarray"':

> "However natural and explicable this condition may have been in the past,
> its continuance constitutes a serious handicap both to sociological teaching
> and to research, to say nothing of the way in which the discipline itself is
> left vulnerable thereby to the attacks of its none-too-sympathetic critics."
> (Eubank 1932: 50, in Turner & Turner 1990: 73)

Eubank might be seen as having paved the way for Parsons, and we see the effects within the introductory textbooks, where recognition of variety is displaced in the 1950s by a tendency to present a particular functionalist version of sociology, some-

times accompanied by reference to 'a' or 'the' sociological perspective.[212] However, by 1967, the existence of theoretical disagreement had begun to reappear. For Cotgrove (1967: 33-35), 'Two broad theoretical schools demand particular attention for an understanding of contemporary sociological perspectives – functionalism and social behaviourism', the latter including symbolic interactionism and social action theory. Hodges' (1971) title, *Conflict and Consensus*, recognised what J.E. Goldthorpe (1968: 29) called the 'controversial ... great debate in modern sociology' (between functionalist and conflict approaches), and the book noted the existence of 'Many "schools" of thought undergird[ing] American sociology' and 'family squabbling' about its 'objectives, the modes of analysis, or even all of the basic assumptions' (Hodges 1971: 8, 10).

Hodges also marks the beginnings of a shift in the textbook approach to the existence of competing schools. Rather than taking one position, he adopted 'eclecticism ... because we believe that no single model, no one approach, can capture, let alone convey, the multi-faceted essence of sociology'. Unlike those loyalists blind to the validity of opposing positions, he 'wear[s] two sets of lenses, the one attending to the structure and the cementing (or integrating) facets of social life, the other to the changing, shifting nature of reality' (1971: 10). This shift is even more explicit in Cuff and Payne, whose title, *Perspectives in Sociology*, none-too-subtly declared that sociology is constituted by different 'perspectives', none of which provides superior access to the truth as they are 'simply different ways of trying to understand the social world' (1979: 2).

Ironically, it might be that treatment of sociological theory as a collection of perspectives has provided a sense of disciplinary unity. Lynch and Bogen (1997) found that this approach predominated in their sample of 20 (mostly) 1990-1995 American introductory texts. They suggested that:

> Textbook sociology's translation of the Kuhnian notion of "paradigm"
> into a more prosaic perspectivism preserves the idea of a singular, stable

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[212] See Broom & Selznick (1955), Fichter (1957), Young & Mack (1959), and Mitchell (1959).

> object domain – the "social world" – in the face of the many competing or
> contradictory descriptions of that world that sociologists continue to pro-
> duce. In contrast to Kuhn's metaphors of revolution, factional struggle,
> and warlike maneuvering, sociology textbooks present a more benign pic-
> ture in which different perspectives are integrated at the level of an objec-
> tive field that they "cut up" in different ways. (Lynch & Bogen 1997: 487)

One interesting feature here is that this textbook treatment of theory is not necessarily reflected in the practice of sociologists. Turner and Turner (1990: 164) suggested that the treatment of topics in terms of 'three or four "theoretical paradigms"' implies lack of theoretical integration, and that most practitioners 'probably find it amusing to have their work analyzed into these alien theoretical (metatheoretical) "paradigms"'. Indeed, Cuff and Payne, in explaining the perspectival organisation of their textbook as pedagogically motivated, also admitted that 'practising sociologists do not operate with all of these perspectives. By and large, they tend to opt for one or another in pursuing their empirical studies' (Cuff & Payne 1979: vii).

The novel approach of perspectivism continued to be employed and celebrated through most of the remaining texts.[213] Haralambos and Heald (1980), for example, again signalled the approach in their title (*Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*), and suggested that:

> Like all theory, sociological theory is selective. No amount of theory can
> hope to explain everything, account for the infinite amount of data that ex-
> ist or encompass the endless ways of viewing reality. Theories are there-
> fore selective in terms of their priorities and perspectives and the data they
> define as significant. As a result they provide a particular and partial view
> of reality. (Haralambos & Heald 1980: 521)

Fulcher and Scott did not use the term perspective, but argued that:

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[213] The only (partial) exceptions are: Zeitlin (1981: 2-3), describing sociology as diverse, but sharing a sociological perspective grounded on the classical tradition; and Sargent (1983) acknowledging a variety of theoretical perspectives in sociology, but adopting a deliberately partisan 'critical theory' approach. Waters (1989) discussed different theoretical positions, but not how they relate to one another.

> ... the leading theorists of the sociological tradition have attempted, in
> their different ways, to understand the modern world. They have each,
> however, concentrated on particular aspects of that world. None has given
> a full and complete picture. ... If it is possible to produce a comprehensive
> understanding of the social world, this is likely to result from the slow
> synthesis of these partial viewpoints. ... For the present, then, different
> theories must be seen, in principle, as complementary to one another.
> (Fulcher & Scott 1999: 23)

While perspectivism has remained common, the number and grouping of these perspectives has changed. Some earlier introductory books nominated two approaches: conflict and consensus (Hodges 1971) or 'order theory' (functionalism) (Sargent 1983). Many named three, variously delineated as structuralism (subdivided by conflict/consensus), interactionism and ethnomethodology (Cuff and Payne 1979); functionalism, Marxism and symbolic interactionism (plus a mention of ethnomethodology in the final chapter) (Haralambos & Heald 1980);[214] functionalism, structuralism, and symbolic interactionism, all straddled by Marxism (Giddens 1989); structural-functional, social-conflict, and symbolic interactionism (Macionis 1992);[215] and consensus, conflict and action theories (Haralambos et al. 1996).[216] The number grows in late 1990s textbooks. Fulcher and Scott (1999) add feminist theories and postmodern influences to structuralist-functionalist, interaction and conflict theories, and Bessant

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[214] Inclusion of ethnomethodology in two of my sampled textbooks, both British, around 1980 reflects distinctive national sociologies. See also Platt (2008a: 174-75) for discussion of the growth in theoretical perspectives included in theory chapters in British introductory sociology textbooks.

[215] Herrick (1980: 618) found that functionalist, conflict and symbolic-interactionist perspectives were introduced in all 19 of the American introductory textbooks published in 1978-1979 that he reviewed. A few added to this trio: three included an 'evolutionary perspective', one added exchange theory and ethnomethodology, two emphasised/adopted a particular approach (Marxism, and symbolic interactionism), and one used macro- and micro- as overarching categories (618-19). Likewise, Norris (2005: 131-37) found this trio was standard in his sample of twelve mainstream US introductory sociology textbooks in print in 2004, with a perspectivalist approach still dominant.

[216] While distinguishing these perspectives (or Kuhnian 'paradigms'), Haralambos et al. (1996: 7-17) cautioned that these categories should be used carefully, that they are a matter of dispute and that some theorists transcend categorical boundaries.

and Watts (again noting that their categorisation is a simplification) outline 'seven sociologies' or 'perspectives': structural functionalism, Marxism, feminism, Weberianism, symbolic interactionism, critical theory, and post-modernism or post-structuralism (1999: 34-35).

Table 4-5. Terms denoting plurality of theory in theory textbook titles

	19 C no (%)	1920s no (%)	1930s no (%)	1950s no (%)	1960s no (%)	1970s no (%)	1980s no (%)	1990s no (%)	2000s no (%)
Theories	-	1 (20)	-	-	1 (7)	3 (10)	1 (5)	1 (2)	1 (4)
Theorists	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	-	-	-	2 (7)
MWD[a]	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	-
Paradigms	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	3 (10)	-	-	-
Types/varieties	-	-	-	-	3 (20)	-	-	-	-
Perspectives	-	-	-	-	-	3 (10)	1 (5)	-	-
Traditions	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Other[b]	1 (20)	-	2 (25)	-	4 (27)	6 (20)	2 (10)	8 (20)	2 (7)
Total[c]	1 (20)	1 (20)	2 (25)	1 (11)	8 (53)	15 (50)	4 (20)	11 (28)	5 (18)

Notes

a. Marx, Weber and Durkheim.

b. Includes: principles/laws (19C; 1930s), concepts (1930s; 1980s), currents/trends (1960s; 1970s), inquiries (1960s), images (1960s), problems (1960s), masters (1970s), themes (1970s), unities (1970s), social philosophers (1970s), approaches (1970s), issues (1980s), founders (1980s), elements (1990s), key ideas (1990s), visions (1990s), debates (1990s), thinkers (1990s), directions (2000s), tool kit (2000s), mosaic (1970s), many worlds (1990s), and numbers (of traditions/theories): three (1980s), four (1990s - 2), and seven (1980s).

c. Totals may be smaller than sum of columns if multiple terms appear in individual titles.

The late 1960s shift to viewing theory in pluralist, perspectivist terms is also reflected in theory textbook titles, especially in the 1970s. In the 1960s and 1970s, 50% or more of the theory textbook titles include terms denoting the plurality of theory, compared with less than 30% in all other sampled decades and only 11% in the 1950s. Table 4-5 breaks down some of the key terms by decade. Before the 1960s, plurality was expressed in the straightforward sense of multiple theories, theorists, concepts, principles and laws. In the 1960s we began to see the addition of paradigms, reflecting especially the influence of Thomas Kuhn's (1962) work on the role of paradigms in scientific knowledge, as well as different varieties of theory, theoretical inquiries, problems and currents, images, and the theories of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Per-

spectives came to the fore in the 1970s, together with paradigms appearing in one in five theory titles; masters (and still Marx, Weber and Durkheim), social philosophers, themes, unities and approaches were also added. Perspectives and paradigms tend to disappear from (new) titles by the early 1980s - not, I think, because theory is no longer articulated to students in those terms, but because the perspectival textbook format is common enough not to require advertising – and new pluralist terms, shown in the table and notes, are added.

Distinctive bodies of theory

An idea both presented and demonstrated in textbooks is that sociology is distinguished from the other social sciences, at least in part, by their different bodies of theory. Worsley (1970: 28, 31-33) made this point in general terms, with 'techniques of inquiry', 'specialized subject-matter' and 'specialized occupations' accompanying their theoretical resources to distinguish the social sciences, with its 'perspective' rather than 'domain' most distinctive about sociology. Cuff and Payne's (1979: 6-7) perspectival approach operates at the interdisciplinary, as well as intradisciplinary level. Thus sociology is differentiated from the other social sciences on the basis of the different 'concepts they use, the questions about the world they pose, the methods they use to deal with these questions and the sorts of "results" or explanations or solutions they consider to be satisfactory ... [and] other important assumptions': in other words, their different perspectives. And Goldthorpe (1968: 5) grouped together sociology with social anthropology (reflecting his departmental base) and explained their umbrella relationship with the other social sciences by reference to an unnamed theory of society as a system only properly comprehensible as a whole. In a later chapter, he went on to examine the relationship between sociology and its next-door-neighbour, social anthropology. He suggested that, while it is impossible to formally delineate the two:

> ... there remain differences in approach, in tradition and in method. ... the
> literature and traditions of the two subjects, though they overlap, are ap-
> preciably different. Durkheim seems to be common to both, but university
> students of social anthropology may be required to read the works of Mor-
> gan, Robertson Smith, and Rivers, which would not be included in most

sociology reading lists, while sociologists are called on to study the works
of Parsons and Weber. (Goldthorpe 1968: 32)

Table 4-6. Ranking of anthropologists in introductory sociology textbooks by decade

	20/30s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
Mead, M.	22	17	=8	=17	-	=18
Warner	-	=8	=12	23	=26	=27
Lowie	6	=23	=32	-	=35	-
Linton	=23	=4	=14	=28	=35	=29
Radcliffe-Brown	-	=10	=14	=25	=29	=29
Evans-Pritchard	-	=23	=14	=40	=29	=32
Galton	9	-	-	-	-	-
Redfield	-	=30	=27	=21	-	-
Richards	-	=33	=10	-	-	-
Bennett	-	=21	-	-	-	-

Thus, the theories and theorists taught to students (and employed within the broader discipline) constitute a mechanism for establishing and maintaining disciplinary boundaries. This is evident, for instance, in that the anthropologists Goldthorpe named are not in my list of top five names (by number of pages attributed in indexes) from each of the sampled sociology textbooks. There are, nonetheless, several anthropologists (some multidisciplinary) in the list, shown with their ranking by decade of textbook publication in Table 4-6. It shows that these anthropologists were more prominent in the 1950s and 1960s than in any of the other decades.[217] The fact that functionalist theory was then in favour in both anthropology and sociology, and the related move to provide a shared 'social relations' theoretical framework, might well have contributed. It also seems likely that there was relatively heavy reliance on an-

[217] Norris's (2005: 179) lists of 25 most-cited scholars in his samples of 12 sociology and 12 cultural anthropology introductory textbooks (in print in the US in 2004) had only a handful common to both. These were Freud (equal ninth in anthropology; equal twenty-third in sociology); anthropological theorist Marvin Harris (third anthropology, equal twenty-third sociology), Marx (twelfth anthropology; first sociology), and Durkheim (fourteenth anthropology; third sociology).

thropology as sociology was steadying itself on its new institutional feet (outside America), but the emphasis shifted later to identifying itself as a separate discipline.[218]

Theory and/or science for disciplinary legitimacy

A final category of theory use I consider here is that of providing disciplinary legitimacy as an appropriate academic activity. The earlier-mentioned involvement of non-academic traditions – reformism of various kinds in America, the different social survey movements in Britain, etc. – highlights the importance of shaping boundaries between what is suitable for an academic discipline and what is not. While theory might be expected to play an important role here, what becomes clear from the limited evidence available in historical accounts is that theory has not consistently been used to legitimate institutional sociology.

One possibility suggested by a US example is that scientificity and theoreticality may be competing grounds for legitimacy. In her article comparing research in the histories of sociology and anthropology, Henrika Kuklick (1999: 228-29) suggested that US sociology textbooks' emphasis on 'founding fathers' increased as American sociologists' confidence in its scientificity decreased – that is, that as science lost its potency as a legitimating device, theory stepped in. My introductory textbook sample demonstrates that both science and theoretical ancestry provide possible sources of authority. This is most strongly evident in the transition from lack of reliance on theoretical foundation stories in those 1950s and 1960s texts which most insist on sociology's scientificity, through to increased emphasis on theoretical over scientific foundations in more recent texts. In the former category, Fichter (1957: 1-2) and Horton and Hunt (1964: 7) tell the story of sociology not through theoretical names (with the

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[218] This accords with David Mills' (2001) suggestion that as student demand led to expansion of sociology in Britain, the importance of its relationship with anthropology declined, and the intellectual content of the two disciplines diverged. Similarly, Oromaner (1970: 327-29) found a relatively large number of anthropologists in his list of most-cited 'influentials' in a sample of *BJS* articles from 1958-62, but none in the *BJS* articles from 1967-68, and offered the same explanation. As has already been noted, shared sociology/anthropology departments have been common, specially in Britain, and this was the case for at least two of our textbook authors – Goldthorpe and Worsley. However, this was not confined to the 1950s and 1960s.

one exception of Comte), but as a story of increasing scientisation, and Young and Mack (1959) forego historical tales altogether. It should be noted, however, that science and theoretical ancestry are not mutually exclusive options for providing authority: as I showed in Chapter Three, the idea of sociology-as-science continued in many post-1960s texts, if with increasing recognition of the diversity of science-in-practice.

Turning to histories of sociology, we see both science and theory utilised in attempts, many unsuccessful, to legitimate the sociological enterprise. In each of my three countries, agreement by its advocates and practitioners on sociology's scientificity (at least in theory) was gained early, seemingly preceding agreement on its 'object'. Even before the twentieth century, most American sociology practitioners agreed that sociology deserved scientific status:

> When Ira Howarth, a student at Chicago, sent queries to all those academics loosely connected with the new subject in 1894, he found a "chaotic condition of social thought." What sociology was and what relation it held to either its neighbouring or constituent fields was widely disputed. ... despite the substantive disagreement, three-quarters of those polled thought sociology was or was becoming a science, defined as a "systematized body of knowledge," and the great majority thought it should occupy a separate university department. Professional ambitions obviously outran intellectual development. (Ross 1991: 131)

In accepting this scientific focus, I should briefly note that the idea of 'scientism' that has been such a significant focus of twentieth-century American sociology was far from a straightforward, agreed upon category in practice (Platt 1996: 67-105; Ross 1991: 346-71, 428-48, 469-70). For instance, Ross has suggested that in the 1920s, the major conflict in sociology was around the idea of scientism, which translated into a variety of different methods attached to different theoretical frameworks. Platt (1996: 69-82) considered the evidence for those individuals or writings commonly treated as causing or influencing the scientistic bent of mid twentieth-century American sociology – Durkheim's *The Rules of Sociological Method* (see also Platt 1995), the Vienna Circle, and those around George A. Lundberg and Stuart C. Dodd – and

found that it does not stand up to scrutiny. Lundberg and his circle did not always agree on what constituted scientific sociology, his published work was not always consistent with his scientific vision, and some '"scientific parts"' of his empirical work 'seem like *post hoc* comments and future aspirations rather than visibly inform-ing the research practice' (Platt 1996: 77-91). Further, there have been countercur-rents to scientism running through the history of American sociology (Platt 1996: 105; Ross 1991: 473-74).

In Britain, foundation of the Sociological Society conveyed widespread agreement on the desirability of a social science, but no such agreement on '"what was the social and just what would be involved in studying it scientifically"' (Abrams 1981: 5, in Bulmer 1985: 4). In a 1916 article, first presented to the Sociological Society in 1913, on the relationship between sociology and psychology, W. H. R. Rivers saw little progress towards agreement:

> It is now our task to establish methods and principles by means of which these facts may be used to build up one of those systematized and coherent bodies of knowledge which we call science. How little has been done to-wards the construction of such an edifice is shown by the widely divergent directions of the attempts which have been made to this end and by the ab-sence of generally accepted principles comparable with those upon which others sciences are based. This absence is so conspicuous that it has been possible, not merely to deny the existence of a science of sociology, but even to deny the possibility of such existence. (Rivers 1916: 2)[219]

Its scientificity was also central in the early Australian rhetorical versions of sociol-ogy (Bourke 2005[1988]). The need for a science of society was seen as being par-ticularly acute in the Australian case, which as a new democracy was considered a social laboratory awaiting empirical evaluation, although the social measurement

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[219] He did, however, consider that most students of sociology would agree that 'the final aim of the study of society is the explanation of social behaviour in terms of psychology' (Rivers 1916: 2). Interestingly, the main example developed in this paper concerned research on Melanesia, reflecting what was one of Rivers' disciplinary homes (social anthropology, the other being psychology) (Langham 1981), and the relationship between the two disciplines at that point.

called for by Anderson and others failed to eventuate (Bourke 2005[1988]: 147, 158; Crozier 2005[2002]: 125-26).[220] Elkin's vision for his ephemeral 1940s Australian Institute of Sociology included 'instil[ling] the scientific attitude in, and spread[ing] scientific knowledge amongst those who are tempted to regard sociological research as a dilettante occupation' (Elkin 2005[1943]: 99; see also Crozier 2005[2002]: 141, n. 45).

While early Australian sociologists were unable to substantiate their claims about the scientificity of their discipline, Helen Bourke has suggested that another feature of their stymied attempt to institutionalise sociology was the failure to mobilise European social theory in defence of the discipline:

> And, if there was no methodology of research to identify the specific nature of the field, there was also no legitimacy deriving from any inheritance from the classical European tradition of sociology, of LePlay, Durkheim or Weber. Early sociologists in Australia were much more indebted to British liberal social theory. (Bourke 2005[1988]: 159)

In Britain, we see that theory provided an entrée to academia, but that the limited development of sociology before the Second World War stemmed from its inability to harness theory to science as a more powerful legitimating device. Thus, the choice of social philosophers (or theoreticians), Hobhouse and later Ginsberg, to lead sociology at the LSE has been seen as an (also apparently unsuccessful) attempt to establish the

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[220] Colouring this scientific quest was a distinctly moral tone, evident in the view of sociology's goal expressed by early leaders of the WEA tutorial classes, indicated in the title of the second Director, John Alexander Gunn's, inaugural address, 'social progress'. Similarly, the 1918 doctoral thesis of Clarence Northcott, one of Anderson's former students who did his doctorate at Columbia with Giddings, was the first 'explicitly sociological evaluation of Australia's progress', attempting to 'produce guidelines for continued progress' towards 'a more moral social order characterised by harmony and not by class conflict' (Bourke 2005[1988]: 148, 154).

'academic status of sociology' (Kent 1985: 67; see also Bulmer 1985).[221] While theo-reticality was clearly linked to academic respectability in early twentieth-century Brit-ain, the 'peculiarly English brand of "ethical socialism" that [Hobhouse] elaborated – a [liberal] concoction compounded of "moral collectivism" and "Idealist teleology" ... – ... proved wholly incapable of providing the tools for a systematic sociology' (Kumar 2001: 45). Hobhouse and Ginsberg both expressed preference for their native discipline of philosophy (Bulmer 1985: 14-15, 71; Halsey 2004: 54),[222] but both, in their different ways, understood that more was required of sociology. Hobhouse wanted a sociology that could guide political action, for which he thought it needed to involve 'scientifically collected evidence in a frame of values' (Halsey 2004: 52).

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[221] Bulmer (1985: 5) stated that neither Hobhouse nor his successor, Ginsberg, 'was particu-larly interested in systematic empirical research, and they did rather little to foster it before 1945', but also noted that the pair collaborated (along with Wheeler) on 'a major, compara-tive, quantitative institutional study that was a rare example of its kind' (14). This was, how-ever, a work in anthropology, not sociology – the 1915 study, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples: An Essay in Correlation.* A contemporary review in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* described it as attempting to show the extent of statistical association between material culture, defined primarily in terms of means of acquir-ing food, and social institutions grouped as government/justice, the family, and war and social structure. The broad method was praised, but it was criticised for not utilising available statis-tical techniques (specifically, using percentages rather than coefficients of contingency) (E.C.S. 1916). When it was reprinted 50 years later, it was reviewed (by an anthropologist) as 'chiefly useful as an object lesson in methodological error, as an exemplification of almost everything that good contemporary comparative research should not be' (Murdock 1966: 262), and Naroll noted a significant body of cross-cultural works in American anthropology that 'study social development by methods similar (but, hopefully, in most cases somewhat improved detail) to those in his book', and expressed surprise that Ginsberg seemed to be un-aware of this tradition (Naroll 1967: 236).

[222] See, for instance, Albion Small's (1924) review of Hobhouse's 1924 *Social Development* and the four-volume *Principles of Sociology* of which it was the final book. Small suggested American sociologists respected Hobhouse but found his work strange because he was 'one of the few men who have made a strong impression upon sociological theory, with general phi-losophy as their base of operations' (1924: 217). However, he considered the collection would disappoint on not living up to its titular promise: 'It does not yet appear that the center of Pro-fessor Hobhouse's interest is in sociology rather than in general philosophy. ... In fact, until the middle of this fourth volume he leaves his readers in uncertainty as to whether he will reach distinctively sociological problems at all' (1924: 219). He concluded that the book was eminently worthy of study 'not for its sociology, but for its pre-sociology' (1924: 220).

However, this political-moral agenda was seen to 'undermine its scientific claims' (Rocquin 2006: 15).

Ginsberg (1927) saw two key conceptions of sociology that differentiated it from the other social sciences. First, following Simmel, it could focus on the form, so that sociology dealt with the same topics but 'from a special aspect, viz. the aspect which makes them social phenomena, or modes or forms of social life' (1927: 136). The second, more common approach saw sociology as 'the science which deals with social life as a whole in contradistinction from the special sciences which deal with special aspects of human life', treating aspects of social life too general to be included within specialist social sciences, and bringing together their results (1927: 139). He thought the former version of sociology was potentially fruitful, provided that 'the classification of social relationships is carried out inductively, and their conditions and consequences in each case carefully studied'. However, in practice such sociologists engaged in 'excessive formalisation' based not on 'inductive comparison and generalisation, but on armchair philosophising', with empty and ungrounded generalisations resulting (137-38). The abstract theoreticality of the former method led him to:

> ... doubt ... whether sociology in [the first] sense can ever be an independent science. It may have use as one method amongst others, but its conclusions will always have to be tested by appeal to the concrete facts of social life, and this surely necessitates a sociology in the second sense, which seeks to interpret social life as a concrete whole. (Ginsberg 1927: 140)

Thus, Hobhouse's particular sociological theory, inherited and continued by Ginsberg, was insufficient to establish sociology as a 'science of society'. This was compounded by the more firmly established academic position of neighbouring disciplines, including biology, psychology and anthropology, which in the latter case has been attributed, in part, to 'its alliance of first-hand inquiry with a commitment to rigorous general theory' (Bulmer 1985: 12-13, 20-21).

That theoreticality was academically acceptable, but did not by itself translate into the academic acceptance of sociology, is also seen in a later Cambridge example. Gov-

ernment funding for social science was provided to Cambridge in 1948, and this was interpreted as including establishment of a Chair in Sociology. However, as Bulmer, perhaps euphemistically, put it, 'either the university failed to find a suitable person, or it could not agree upon the type of person it wanted', so no appointment was made (1985: 25). Instead, the money was spent on a scheme for 'distinguished Visiting Professors in Social Theory', with figures from Harvard and Chicago, including Parsons, Lloyd Warner and George Homans, giving lectures during the 1950s.[223] This 'did not lead to the immediate introduction of the subject', with the first Professor of Sociology (and then a social anthropologist, John Barnes)[224] not appointed until 1969 (Bulmer 1985: 13, 25).

An interesting case is provided by the Institute of Community Studies, established in Bethnal Green in 1953 with founding members Michael Young, Peter Townsend and Peter Willmott (Willmott 1985). Willmot explained their decision not to seek alliance with a university as a deliberate rejection of the twin aims of 'advancing social theory' and promoting sociology's disciplinary standing, in favour of 'understanding social problems' (1985: 144). He pointed out, however, that this did not mean their work was atheoretical:

> We were not much interested in comprehensive theoretical structures, but to some extent developed "middle range" theories. We did so pragmatically and eclectically, drawing upon whatever ideas seemed helpful. We wanted to use theory – or, rather, particular theories – to help provide explanations for the behaviour we were studying ... and in the writing we certainly played down such theory as there was, in the sense that we presented it in everyday language. All this did not endear us to most academic sociologists. (Willmot 1985: 145)

Importantly, Willmot saw that theory and science may collaborate to authorise knowledge endeavours, with the preoccupation of British sociology in the 1950s and 1960s

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[223] Several histories have gleefully noted that Parsons' involvement delayed the introduction of sociology by a decade (e.g. Bulmer 1985: 25; Heath & Edmondson 1981: 40).

[224] Barnes held Chairs in Anthropology at the University of Sydney and ANU (Canberra) before moving to Cambridge (W. F. Connell et al. 1995: 190).

to 'show that, like economics, it had a body of theory with which all sociologists worked' to be part of its attempt to emulate the natural sciences, 'so as to establish its academic credibility' (1985: 145). This can also be seen in the role of theory in accounts of attempts to professionalise sociology soon after its establishment.[225] This came within the context of rapid 1960s expansion of the educational system and was initiated by a group of younger university teachers, who began meeting in 1960 and were to formalise as the Teachers' Section of the BSA (Barnes 1981: 15; Platt 2002: 184-85; 2003: 34-35; Rex 1983: 1000). Philip Abrams has suggested a link between the work of 'winning space for sociology' in universities and the idea that 'the main intellectual components of professionalism' were 'rigorous training in largely quantitative methods and a grasp of sophisticated general social theory' (Abrams 1985: 196). Thus, with the first post-expansion generation of university sociologists:

> ... there was a dramatic turning towards the exploration of every conceivable mode of theory, a search for some sort of specifically academic intellectual grounding for the pursuit of whatever other uses might more furtively have been cherished. (Abrams 1985: 197)

It appears that theory, here, linked with research techniques, was helpful for establishing and promoting sociology as a discipline. The success of early American sociologists in institutionalising sociology might also be seen as deriving, in part, from their employment of theory, developed from Spencer and Comte, to legitimate sociology as a scientific discipline. Also crucial to their early success was their presumption that 'discovery of the laws about human organization could be used for the progressive betterment of society', which helped to legitimate sociology 'in the eyes of its reformist constituency' (Turner & Turner 1970: 17). However, theory use here was also directly related to their notion that sociology could and should operate as a natural science:

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[225] Of course, there is no essential link between 'professions' and 'disciplines'. Barnes (1981) takes sociologists, both those who champion and those who oppose the idea of sociology as a profession, to task for not having taken a properly sociological approach to the idea of professionalisation.

It was, indeed, general theory which was believed to confer academic re-
spectability on the discipline and to prevent the field from "degenerating"
into mere practical amelioration of social problems. General theory or
general sociology sought to discover the first principles, causes, and laws
of the origin, structure and change of human association, human society or
social phenomena generically and irrespective of variant, particular, idio-
syncratic, or unique forms. Irrespective of what they might be or become,
all special (or specialized) sociology (or sociologies) were assumed to be-
gin from, contribute [to], and eventually return to general sociology or
general theory. (Hinkle 1980: 267)

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that histories of sociology in America, Britain and
Australia all share an understanding of sociology as having arrived late, and compet-
ing and coexisting with other disciplinary traditions. The timing and details of their
biographies differs. In Australia, early twentieth-century attempts to establish sociol-
ogy at the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne were short-lived, and widespread
institutionalisation of the discipline only began to occur in the late 1950s. Amongst its
neighbouring disciplines, anthropology has been especially close, and economics a
strong competitor. In England, before the Second World War academic sociology was
represented only by a handful of theoretical academics at the LSE; non-academic
sociology, especially various survey traditions, was considerably healthier. Along
with these, in fighting for disciplinary territory, the traditions sociology had to con-
tend with included the better-established social anthropology, the 'implicit sociology'
present in English literature and history, the more practical fields of social work and
social policy/administration, and social biology (including eugenics, and a precursor
of demography as well as influencing sociology).[226] American sociology was institu-
tionalised as an academic discipline around the turn of the century, but well behind

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[226] In his 1986 BSA Presidential Address, Martin Albrow noted that British demography at-
tracted considerably greater bureaucratic respect than sociology, but that there was only one
single-subject degree in demography (at LSE), compared to 78 for sociology (Albrow 1986:
335-36).

economics and some other neighbouring social sciences. It had its origins largely in the multi-stranded social reform movement, later professionalised as social work, and had an ongoing complex relationship of both incorporation and differentiation with this tradition. Thus in negotiating disciplinary space, sociology has had to contend with a variety of interests and the established locations of existing disciplines.

I then considered ways in which theory has been employed in this process of negotiating disciplinary space. First, the titles of theory textbooks revealed historical patterns in the treatment of theory as belonging specifically to the sociological discipline or as an interdisciplinary resource for the social sciences. In the relatively small sample of theory textbooks available until the mid 1950s there was some preference for 'social theory' titles, coinciding with a strong tradition of theory understood and taught as the history of social thought, which contained a series of lessons to be learnt for current scientific theory (Turner & Turner 1990: 121-22). In American textbook titles, the turn to sociological theory came in the mid-1950s, and this term was used increasingly until the 1980s. In Britain, the highpoint for sociological theory was the 1960s and 1970s. During these periods, it seems that a particular kind of sociological theory was seen by many as important for the discipline, linked to the related factors of Parsons' (and then others') influence in constructing a particular formulation of sociological theory, the development of sociological 'perspectives' (specially in textbook sociology), and establishment of the sociological 'classics'. From the 1980s in British-authored textbooks, and the 1990s in American ones, there was a swing from sociological to social theory, particularly strong for British texts, in line with the rise of postmodernism and various movements towards interdisciplinarity. In some cases, this might also be seen as a disengagement of theory from sociology.

Introductory textbooks reveal that theory is only one of the elements of sociology that might be used to define sociology's neighbourly relations, but nonetheless exhibit a number of ways theory is employed to define sociology's location. Notable in pre-WWII textbooks was a Comtean idea of sociology as the integrative social science, and variants on this theme also appeared in the statements of early advocates for the discipline in all three countries. The attempt here was not so much to forge impregnable boundaries between sociology and other social sciences, but to define its place

in terms of providing bridges to and between the other disciplines. The histories indicate, though, that such claims had at best limited success in Australia and Britain, with the sociology that (eventually) emerged in those countries being defined in more residual terms. In America, the Comtean and Spencerian conceptions of society and sociology were extended by early sociologists not only to justify sociology's place amongst other disciplines, again as integrative social science, but also to privilege general or theoretical sociology over reformist practical sociology. While this seems to have helped in the early establishment of American sociology, here, too, it was seen to initially occupy space unwanted by other disciplines. The Carnegie Project on Theory, led by Parsons in the late 1940s/early 1950s, as an attempt to unite the social sciences with a general theoretical framework organised around the concept of action, was ostensibly not designed to distinguish sociology. However, its object – social relations – included sociology along with social anthropology and psychology, in opposition to economics, history and government, fitting the local Harvard departmental context, and disciplinary agendas were one factor preventing its adoption as a general framework underpinning the department's work. Nonetheless, several American introductory textbooks published in the 1950s and 1960s promoted interdisciplinary collaboration.

A textbook account of sociology suggests that the discipline has theoretical foundations built on the classical work of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Recent textbooks use a number of techniques, such as diagrams and disciplinary histories, to naturalise this classical foundation. However, tracing this trio's place in introductory textbooks through the century shows that their elevation only occurred after the Second World War, with 'top three' status cemented only in the 1970s. In theory textbook titles we also see the rise of 'classical' and other temporal categories of theory from the 1960s. Parsons, Merton and Mills have all been seen as having a role in the construction of these disciplinary foundations, and they have also had a prominent place in introductory textbooks. Parsons' 'discovery' of a theoretical convergence in the writings of Weber and Durkheim, in particular, was instrumental in this construction process, as well as in strengthening the role of theory within sociology. Further research on their place in national textbook samples could prove enlightening. Within my sample we

see that textbooks to some extent construct national disciplinary foundation stories, and international influences reflect the dominance of American sociology.

Both textbooks and historical accounts show that for much of its twentieth-century existence, sociology has been a theoretically heterogeneous enterprise. This is reflected in most of my sampled introductory textbooks. The particular theories included and how they have been categorised and related to one another has changed. What is most interesting here are shifts in whether and how a sense of disciplinary unity has been maintained amongst this variety. Historical accounts have suggested that the diversity of early twentieth-century theories was somewhat contained by a broadly Spencerian evolutionary framework, which handily also suggested an academic place for sociology as an integrative science. Following Parsons, functionalism had a period of dominance in the 1950s and 1960s. Explicit difference reappeared in the late 1960s, which in introductory textbooks and theory textbook titles was soon translated from conflicting paradigms to complementary perspectives. While at one level enhancing the sense of theoretical difference, these can be seen as providing an overall sense of disciplinary unity through their treatment of the social object as a coherent domain which might just appear different from different sociological perspectives – if only within the world of textbook sociology. Just as sociology's interrelations with other disciplines raise questions of competition and collaboration, this theoretical diversity poses questions about individual sociologists' use of theory in positioning themselves and their work, which I address in Chapter Six.

Some textbooks make the point that the collections of theorists and theories taught within disciplines provides a mechanism for differentiating them from one another. Along with the 'classics' mentioned earlier, this might be considered an aspect of disciplinary culture (Wallerstein 2004: 166-67). In this chapter I illustrated this by looking at the prominence of anthropologists in my introductory sociology textbook sample. Several authors considered important in anthropology did not appear amongst my most-indexed authors, and the prominence of those who did appear was temporally patterned, with particular attention paid to them in the 1950s and 1960s (Linton, Warner, Margaret Mead, Radcliffe-Brown and Richards were all in the top ten in one of these two decades). In part this reflects the dominance of functionalist theory in both

disciplines and moves to see the two disciplines as related. It also seems to suggest that sociology's reliance on anthropology declined with growth of the discipline in (especially) Britain and Australia.

Towards the end of the chapter I reflected on the relationships between theory and science in legitimation of sociology as an academic discipline. There is some suggestion, in textbooks, of a broad transition across the century from reliance on science to reliance on theory (particularly in the form of theoretical ancestry) to authorise the discipline. However, while there is some truth to this, the story is more complex: even in textbooks, the decline in reliance on science has been by no means absolute. Historical accounts (focusing on the period up until the 1960s), suggest that both theory and science have been important legitimating devices, particularly in combination with one another, but this is evident as much through instances of failure as of success.

This characterisation, of a mixture of successes and failures, holds true for the range of ways of employing theory to discipline sociology discussed in this chapter. On the whole the introductory textbook accounts tend to paint a glossier picture. In textbooks, theory has been used to define sociology's place in relation to other disciplines, to found and legitimate the discipline, to provide some sense of disciplinary unity-in-diversity, and to differentiate sociology from its neighbours. Even in this textbook version, we see some incompleteness in this exercise: definitions of disciplinary place have been as much about bringing disciplines together as sharpening boundaries, and the particular boundaries examined, between sociology and social anthropology, demonstrated permeability. The neat perspectivalist solution to theoretical diversity evident in textbooks does not translate into the realities of non-textbook sociology. In histories there are more failures (along with some successes), with claims for an integrative social science not wholly realised, and instances where theory's potential legitimacy was not claimed.

The recent rise of interdisciplinarity, signalled in the shift to social theory in textbook titles, also poses challenges for theory's role in disciplining sociology. Perhaps we might see theory as being as much about promoting interdisciplinarity as disciplining.

In arguing for the maturity of social theory as a self-contained academic field, Stephen Turner (2004) has taken this a step further. Limiting 'empirical sociology' to statistical causal modelling, and defining 'theory' as 'primarily commentary' concerned with the genealogy and applicability of concepts (2004: 156), Turner argues that the two make little contribution to one another. In these terms, theory is:

> ... "mature" ... autonomous, that is to say with its own purposes and problems, but also sufficiently rich in its means of approaching these problems, and sufficiently balanced between the alternative ways of approaching problems, that it is not likely to collapse into a sectarian school of "application." (Turner 2004: 160)

This is not to deny a valid relationship between 'theory' and 'research' or 'data'. Turner suggests such data 'is not restricted to the sorts of data that empirical sociology valorizes, and theory does not rest on it' (2004: 153): it may be drawn from sociological research understood more broadly. Nonetheless, theory's turn away from sociology, noted in some (but not all) of the recent social theory textbooks, makes sense in these terms.

In the next chapter I consider theory's variable role in disciplining sociology within the historical context of institutionalisation of sociology at a particular university, the University of Sydney.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIOLOGY COURSES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY:

A CASE STUDY

> Francis Anderson, professor of philosophy at the University of Sydney ... introduced sociology as a strand in his department before World War I. .... The subject disappeared from the University of Sydney in the 1920s and did not return until the 1980s. (Encel 2005: 43)

Introduction

In 'Sociology: Some Notes on the Early Years', based on a paper presented as part of the History of Australian Sociology session at the 2003 TASA Conference, Sol Encel (2005) suggested that most TASA members would be familiar with 'the general outlines of the prehistory' of Australian sociology, quoted above. Here, as in many historical accounts of Australian sociology, the University of Sydney figures curiously as both the earliest, and one of the latest, sites for the introduction of sociology. While there is sometimes brief acknowledgement of what amounts to the continuous presence of sociological teaching, albeit mostly under other names, in between, the rich details are glossed over by historical accounts organised around these two 'bookends'. This chapter traces this less familiar presence of introductory sociological content in University of Sydney courses in, especially, philosophy, anthropology and social work, but also many other departmental hosts, through the twentieth century, via a careful survey of university calendars and handbooks and drawing on the available historical and archival literature. Historical details are corrected, and relevant shifts in course descriptions are noted for what they reveal about how theory and the discipline have been taught.

In addition to correcting the history of Australian sociology in relation to the role of the University of Sydney, and adding to our understanding of the changing nature of the discipline within Australia, in this chapter I pay attention to the pivotal role of theory in the teaching of sociological content. What will become apparent is that, in some important respects, theory led the introduction and spread of sociological content through university curricula, but this in turn helped impede the establishment of sociology as an independent area of teaching. If 'theory' was a Trojan horse for sociology, it was not an altogether successful one. Thus it adds to the picture in the last chapter, of the usefulness of theory for disciplinarity promised in introductory textbooks, but not necessarily realised in practice.

This chapter focuses unashamedly on courses, particularly those containing introductory or general sociological material, at a single Australian tertiary institution. I argue that it nonetheless makes a useful contribution to the overall history of Australian sociology. First, teaching is of course only one component of the discipline: a complete institutional history might also cover research projects, surveys, meetings, the activities of associations, journals, books, student numbers, conferences, conceptual developments, employment patterns, theses, politics, etc. However, given the pragmatic need to limit my scope (and my overall interest in theory use), introductory sociology courses are a good place to start. Their likely occupation of relatively simplified sociological territory (compared, for instance, to journal articles or research monographs) and (more or less) pedagogic purpose mean we could expect course descriptions, like introductory textbooks (Platt 2008b: 147), to convey succinctly something about what is considered centrally important at different points of the discipline's history (or pre-history).[227] Furthermore, while introductory teaching is not consistently regarded as the most important component of academic work, it does constitute the 'bread-and-butter', providing an interface with, and hence influencing,

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[227] They can also, as Anna Larsson (2008) suggests in the case of Sweden, themselves play a role in shaping the discipline.

the largest numbers of people.[228] Hence I would argue that it is a crucial component of the history of disciplinary institutionalisation.

Second, my focus on the University of Sydney fits within a tradition of writing in the history of sociology that is concerned with particular local sites.[229] On one hand, good national disciplinary history relies upon the details and particularities of individual institutions. The particularly protracted disciplinary introduction at the University of Sydney, closely matched only by Melbourne University, makes this the story not of a representative case, but one that is important for revealing some of the diversity of Australia's sociological history.[230] By enabling examination of relevant course descriptions as far back as the beginning of the twentieth century, well before the 'official' establishment of Australian sociology, this case study provides at least one extended picture of some of the changing conceptions of sociology taken up within Australia. On the other hand, while the details differ, parallels could be seen between the challenges faced by, and influences upon, sociology here and at other universities, particularly in terms of the relationships between sociology and other disciplines.

The three starting points for sociological teaching at the University of Sydney (and hence Australia) offered in historical accounts all involve philosophy professor Fran-

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[228] The styles and amounts of research funding available in Australia, unlike in the US, have not led to development of a division between a small elite of funded researchers and a majority of teaching academics (c.f. S. Turner 2007b).

[229] For example, Crozier (2005[2002]); Platt (2003); Rhoades (1981); Sica (1983); Turner (2007b).

[230] On the protracted introduction of sociology at the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne, see, for example: Beilharz & Hogan (2005[2004]: 400); Bourke (2005[1988]: 152-59); Bryson (2005: 29); Crozier (2005[2002]); Encel (2005: 44); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 220).

cis Anderson.[231] One is his well-known and well-received address to the 1911 meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS), in which he called for establishment of a Chair and teaching program in sociology in Australian universities (Anderson 2005[1912]).[232] Even earlier is his short-lived course, 'Elements of Sociology', taught within the undergraduate philosophy program, which Zubrzycki (incorrectly) dates to 1909, and the masters program which he (also incorrectly) describes as replacing the course (Zubrzycki 2005[1971]: 219).[233] The third, documented especially by Helen Bourke (1981; 2005[1988]) (although again with some errors, as we shall see), is the introduction of tutorial classes in sociology by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in 1915, supported by Anderson.[234]

The histories describe this initial disciplinary incarnation as 'abortive', with a department of sociology only established at Sydney in the late twentieth century (Zubrzycki 2005[1971]: 220).[235] There is some, usually brief, acknowledgement of a sociological

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[231] Undergraduate sociology teaching was also introduced at Melbourne University, again via the WEA, a few years later, but only remained in place until the late 1920s (Bourke 2005[1988]; Crozier 2005[2002]; Zubrzycki 2005[1971]). Some accounts have mentioned arguable earlier antecedents to Australian sociology. For instance, Connell (2005: 7) cited Hearns' (1878) *The Aryan Household* as 'a reasonable choice for the first important text of sociology to be written in Australia'; and Baldock (2005[1994]: 267-8) highlighted the role played by data on Aboriginal culture in nineteenth-century European sociological writing, including that of Durkheim and Engels, and quasi sociological observations of the white population by visiting researchers such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb (see also Beilharz 1995: 122).

[232] See also: Beilharz (1995: 124); Bryson (2005: 29); Connell (2005: 7); Davison (2005[2003]: 171); Mitropoulos (2005[1999]: 103); Richmond (2005: 86-7); Serle (1949); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 219).

[233] See also: Baldock (2005[1994]: 268); Baldock & Lally (1974: 4-5); Bourke (2005[1988]: 151); Bryson (2005: 29); Timms & Zubrzycki (1971: 4).

[234] See also: Connell (2005: 16); Mitropoulos (2005[1999]: 102); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 219-20).

[235] See also: Austin-Broos (2005[1989]: 245); Baldock (2005[1994]: 268); Baldock & Lally (1974: 5-6); Connell (2005: 17); Crozier (2005[2002]: 124); Encel (2005: 43, 47); Mitropoulos (2005[1999]: 115); Richmond (2005: 57, corrected http://www.tasa.org.au/tasa-publications/hisassoc.php).

'afterlife' (Crozier 2005[2002]: 124), which takes on a more complex multi-stranded appearance with combination of information from the different histories of Australian sociology. These strands include sociological course content and postgraduate work in the Anthropology Department, specially in the 1940s under A.P. Elkin, who also established the short-lived Australian Institute of Sociology;[236] some social surveys (Connell 2005: 16-17; Davison 2005[2003]); a single reference to approval for establishment of a chair in sociology in the 1960s;[237] some sociological courses and long-unsuccessful attempts to establish a sociology program in the Department of Social Work;[238] and, from two snapshot surveys of courses conducted around 1970, sociological material in courses in Education (see also Beilharz 1995: 123), Anthropology, Social Work (Baldock & Lally 1974: 16-17), Architecture and Town Planning, Medicine and Geography (Zubrzycki 1971: 28-32). However, more emphasis is placed on the failure of Anderson's proposal and the university's belated and reluctant jump onto the post-World War Two bandwagon of establishing departments of sociology.

As I turn next to the available documentary evidence – mostly from university calendars and faculty handbooks, and supplemented by University of Sydney Archives[239] – we shall see that the teaching of sociology at the University of Sydney began some-

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[236] See: Austin-Broos (2005[1989]: 245); Beilharz (1995: 123); Connell (2005: 16); Crozier (2005[2002]: 124); Davison 2005[2003]: 180-82; Mayer (2005[1964]: 205); Richmond (2005: 62, n.1); Timms & Zubrzycki (1971: 4); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 220-21, 226, 231).

[237] Kurt Mayer said, in an article finalised after November 1963 and published in 1964, 'A further step of great importance is impending at the University of Sydney, where the creation of a new chair in Sociology has recently been approved' (2005[1964]: 205). This appears to have been a somewhat optimistic view: while support for a Chair had been expressed at the Faculty level, as will be discussed later, I found no further discussions minuted at a higher level of the university.

[238] See: Beilharz (1995: 123); Encel (2005: 47); Mayer (2005[1964]: 205); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 233-34). The Mayer sentence is incomplete: 'Both at the University of Adelaide and at the University of Sydney, first-year sociology courses by T. Brennan, well known for his earlier urban studies in England [sic]'. Presumably he intended to indicate that the courses were now being taught.

[239] University Calendars and Faculty Handbooks are the sources unless otherwise specified. See section on Archival and Calendar Sources, at the beginning of reference list, for abbreviations used to identify quotations from Calendars, Handbooks and Archival sources, and section on sources and methods in Chapter One for more details.

what earlier than has previously been recognised, and that courses containing socio-
logical content, albeit more often bearing another disciplinary label, have been con-
tinuously present since then. The main disciplinary antecedents to introductory soci-
ology were in philosophy, anthropology, and social studies/work. Sociology was also
taught in a small number of evening tutorial classes associated with the WEA. The
chapter treats these four main sites of sociological teaching in chronological order –
philosophy, tutorial classes, anthropology and social work – with occasional refer-
ences to relevant courses from other disciplines, then includes a section that highlights
key themes in the teaching of sociology across the decades, incorporating some ex-
amples from the host of other disciplines in which sociological content was taught as
well as those already discussed. Further details of courses in which sociological con-
tent was taught are presented in Appendix E, and assigned textbooks in Appendix F.

Philosophy

The initial introduction of sociology within Philosophy must be seen in the context of
philosophy being a relatively well-established discipline, and the role of Sir Francis
Anderson within the School. Anderson came to Sydney in 1888 'to inaugurate, as lec-
turer, the study of Philosophy' and within two years had been appointed to its first
Chair (G.V.P. 1921: 158). Anderson's interests were wide and his conception of phi-
losophy (like his conception of sociology) embraced multiple disciplines, reflected to
some extent in the school's name – Logic, Mental, Moral and Political Philosophy.[240]
G.V.P. (1921: 158) noted that Philosophy 'became the foster-mother' of education,
economics, psychology and sociology, with these all appearing in the philosophy
classroom, but, tellingly, Anderson's 'monuments' were the establishment of Chairs
of Education (in 1910), Economics (1912), and Psychology (1920), not sociology.

While Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 219) treated the 1909 listing of 'Elements of Sociol-
ogy' in the philosophy syllabus as Australian sociology's academic beginning, in fact
this course commenced in 1907, and both a masters option in sociology and another

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[240] This name last appeared in the 1927 Calendar, although it was also called the School of
Philosophy, and the School of Logic and Mental Philosophy, in some previous years.

sociologically-intentioned course began even earlier, and continued (with some name changes) until 1926. This might be seen as a relatively minor historical correction. I would argue, however, that this is important even if only for the sake of setting the historical record straight. Furthermore, it does also suggest a somewhat more established academic sociological presence than is generally implied in historical accounts. The failure to translate these courses into an ongoing sociology program could, then, be seen as a greater failure, adding emphasis to the failure of sociology to live up to the promises of its early advocates (Bourke 1981; 2005[1988]).

As far back as 1903 there was an intention to introduce 'Sociology and Political Philosophy' as a Logic and Mental Philosophy subject in 1905, but what was actually introduced that year was the third year course 'Ethical and Social Philosophy' (USC 1903: 119, 1905: 134-5).[241] While the sociological label had been lost and the course description emphasised ethics and philosophy, an introductory sociology textbook (Fairbanks' *Introduction to Sociology*)[242] was assigned for the first time at the university, and we can see that the course included several recognisable sociological topics, such as class, family, the State, and social theory:

> The scope and method of ethics. Ethics as a deductive and normative science. Relation of ethics to psychology, sociology and metaphysic. The development of ethical theory. Psychological and metaphysical basis of ethical theory. Contrast between ancient and modern ethics. Kant and modern

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[241] The 1905 Calendar describes this as a subject for 1904, but this appears to be a typographical error.

[242] Fairbanks continued to be assigned for philosophy courses into the 1920s. Other required reading in 1905 was Külpe's *Introduction to Philosophy*, Mackenzie's *Manual of Ethics* and Mackenzie's *Outline of Metaphysics*; three others – Bosanquet's *Psychology of the Moral Self*, Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*, and Spencer's *Principles of Ethics*, Vol 1 – were listed as additional for distinction. From 1919 to 1925, one of the additional texts assigned for distinction students was Clarence Northcott's (1918) *Australian Social Development*, which Encel (2005:43) has described as the first Australian sociology textbook. Northcott was one of Anderson's former students, and the book, his doctoral thesis from Columbia, contained an analysis and program for future social efficiency, dedicated to 'The democracy of Australia in hope and confidence of a glorious destiny' (see also Bourke 1981: 27-28 for details).

> Hedonism. Empirical and evolutionary ethics. The ethics of idealism. His-
> torical and critical account of the main problems of modern philosophy.

> The sociological basis of ethics. Nature and influence of custom. The
> family in ancient, medieval, and modern times. The formation of classes.
> The development of the State from ancient to modern times. The social
> ideal – order, freedom, justice. Analysis of the conceptions underlying dif-
> ferent theories of society. Modern socialism and the State. (USC 1905:
> 134)

Notably, social theory was seen here as including different strands ('different theories of society') and there is an interest in 'evolutionary ethics', paralleling the diversity and Spencerianism apparent in American sociology at the same time, as we saw in Chapter Four.

In 1906, sociology formally joined logic, psychology, ethics, metaphysics, education, economics and politics as a subject in which Master of Arts (MA) students in Logic and Mental Philosophy could 'offer themselves for examination'. No books were pre-scribed. Again, this differs from Zubrzycki's account, which had the masters program arriving in 1910 to replace 'Elements of Sociology'. Indeed informally sociological elements, such as Auguste Comte's Social Philosophy and Herbert Spencer's '*Socio-logical view* of Ethics' (USC 1891: cxciv), even appeared in Anderson's MA courses in Philosophy during the previous decade. Sociology remained a Masters option within Logic and Mental Philosophy until 1926.

For undergraduate students, Francis Anderson introduced the first course bearing a sociological moniker in 1907. Amongst the Calendar's listing of subjects available that year to Philosophy II/III students was Elements of Sociology:

> The position of sociology in a classification of the sciences. The present
> condition of sociological theory. The main phases in the evolution of soci-
> ety and of the family. The problem of the succession and causal relation of
> different social phenomena – economic, juridical, political, moral, reli-
> gious and æsthetic. The nature of the laws of social evolution. (USC 1907:
> 127)

In even this brief course description we get a feeling for the Comtean and evolutionary flavour of Anderson's brand of sociology, its claims to scientificity, and the idea of sociology, and the social, as catch-all.[243] We also see that, from the beginning, the teaching of sociology included treatment of sociological theory.[244]

Elements of Sociology was again available in 1909 (with almost identical course description, minus evolution of the family), but then did not reappear in the Calendars for subsequent years. However, Ethical and Social Philosophy was frequently made available to philosophy students. There was some tinkering with course descriptions until 1911, but in 1914 the course was renamed Social and Ethical Philosophy, and this more detailed description was used in Calendars for the remainder of its life:

> The social aspect of self consciousness. Primitive forms of society. Origin of the state. Law and Morality.

> The moral consciousness, its nature and development. Theories of the moral judgement. The economic theory of values. Biological and psychological theories. The moral will and the moral character.

> Liberty and solidarity as conditions of morality. Kant and Bergson on liberty. Determinism and indeterminism. Liberty, equality and fraternity.

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[243] As I noted in the last chapter, Francis Anderson, and other early Australian, and British and American, proponents for sociology, were vocal about their understanding of sociology as scientific and an umbrella for the social sciences. Elkin later explained Anderson's philosophical embracement of sociology and the other social sciences – evident in the inclusion of sociology and other courses in the philosophy curriculum: 'To him as a philosopher, education, psychology, anthropology, economics and sociology were not something apart, but of the essence of life, life being social. Nor were they fields of investigation of which he as a philosopher should only take note in building up his world view and interpretation. Far from it; they were necessary disciplines, into the advancement of which he would, and did, throw his energy, sagacity and oratory' (Elkin 1952: 27). This raises the question of how Anderson's view of sociology as integrative social science related to his view of philosophy as embracing the various social sciences.

[244] Philosophy also included courses in The Psychological Basis of Ethics, and Ethical and Political Philosophy (apparently a one-off renaming of Ethical and Social Philosophy, since the course description is broadly continuous with those for Ethical and Social Philosophy in the previous (1906) and subsequent (1909) years in which it was taught).

> Economic, social and religious solidarity. Theories of justice from Aristotle to Karl Marx.
>
> Theories of the moral end. Naturalism, Hedonism, Utilitarianism. Mill, Spencer and Kant.
>
> The moral community. Family, society, and state. Class consciousness. Rights of person, property and contract. Powers and functions of the state. Crime and punishment. Church and State. Nationalism and Internationalism. (USC 1914: 165-6)

Interestingly, the promotion of the social in the course title coincided with a much greater emphasis on morality in this wide-ranging course description. While still a philosophically based course, inclusion of topics such as the relationship between the self and society, the 'moral community', family, society, class and the state, and writers such as Karl Marx and Herbert Spencer points to a sociological influence, with the integrative combination of disciplinary influences evident in, for instance, 'biological and psychological theories'. It appears that others in the university considered this to be a course in sociology: from 1914 to 1917, the By-Laws for Economics listed 'Sociology' as one of the half courses from the Arts Faculty that economics students could undertake (USC 1914: 46), while from 1918 through to 1924 this was respecified as 'Philosophy II (Sociology)' and listed as one of the half courses that could (with another half course) be substituted for Public Administration (USC 1918: 53).

Both Social and Ethical Philosophy and the Sociology option for MA students in philosophy finished in 1926 (the year that Anderson's replacement, Bernard Muscio, died prematurely, and the year before John Anderson, with his neo-realist, pluralist and empirical social philosophy, was appointed Challis Professor of Philosophy (Baker 1979; Partridge 1952: 77-9)). Perhaps if sociology had continued being taught under Professor John Anderson, a stronger pluralist tradition would have developed. But sociology's (temporary) departure from the philosophy syllabus was not its departure from the University, with Anthropology the most prominent amongst those taking the baton, as we shall soon see.

In addition, sociology (or the social sciences/social theory) was to pop its head up now and then within later philosophy courses, two of which I discuss here (see Appendix E for other examples). First, reflecting the critical and reflexive bent common in the social sciences of the time, Critique of Social Theory[245] appeared as both a component of General Philosophy I in 1980 and 1985, and as a senior (II) optional unit. While the first year course description speaks generally about 'attempt[ing] to single out and criticise some common assumptions in the social sciences' (USC 1980: 537), the 1980 senior unit challenged the prevalence of 'positivism (empiricism/individualism)' in 'modern social theory' and suggested 'historical materialism' as a 'critical alternative' (FHARTS 1980: 342-43).[246]

Another first year option in 1995, Foundations of Social Theory, covered the same sociological trinity then being taught (alongside Simmel and others) in, at least, the Sociological Theory and Classical Sociological Theory Sociology courses (FHARTS 1995: 280, 282), but this time from a philosophical perspective:

> The course will discuss the emergence of modern social theory with reference to philosophy. It will be divided into three sections: Marx and the beginnings of 'critical theory'; Weber's sociology and the method of understanding (*Verstehen*); Durkheim and the seeds of structuralism. In this way we shall examine the historical foundations of what are still three major streams in social theory. The reference to philosophy will be twofold. We shall look at the emergence of social theory out of philosophy, and examine the philosophical assumptions of these three social theorists. (FHARTS 1995: 252)

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[245] In the 1980 Calendar the General Philosophy I component was named 'A Critical Introduction to Moral and Political Philosophy and Critique of Social Science', but 'Social Theory' (rather than science) was the object of critique listed in the Arts Handbook course description (FHARTS 1980: 336).

[246] The 1985 version focused on (social) psychology (FHARTS 1985: 181). Since the 1980 course was taught by Dr Irmingard Staeuble, critical historian of psychology, that may well have been the disciplinary focus in 1980 as well.

In 'look[ing] at the emergence of social theory out of philosophy', this course, near the end of the century, reminds us that at Sydney sociology also first emerged from philosophy. And teaching sociology as philosophy went hand-in-hand with the emphasis on theory that we have seen in course descriptions. This, then, is our first indication that theory helped lead sociology into the university's curricula.

Tutorial classes

Another early strand of the university's sociology teaching, associated with the Workers' Educational Association, was offered through tutorial classes run throughout NSW and open to the general public (see Helen Bourke 1981; 2005[1988]). While only limited information about the details of course contents is available, it is worth including here because careful examination of the available information alters and augments the picture of early Australian sociology teaching available in previous histories of sociology.[247]

We can see from the University Calendar that there was, from 1912, a legislative basis, and indeed requirement, for the teaching of sociology within the tutorials program, perhaps in part an effect of Anderson's 1911 call:

> The Senate shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of evening tutorial classes in science, economics, ancient and modern history *and sociology*, and may provide for evening classes in other subjects. (*The*

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[247] The University of Sydney Calendars provide no information about contents or textbooks for these courses. Annual Senate Reports published retrospectively in the Calendars include Reports of the Tutorial Classes, though these vary in the presence (or otherwise) and comprehensiveness of subject listings. Annual Reports for the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes generally include more data, and these and other relevant publications have been consulted where available from the University of Sydney Archives.

> *University and University Colleges Act 1900* (amended 1912), s.14A, em-
> phasis added)[248]

The relevant University regulations on Tutorial Classes, first published in the 1918
Calendar, expanded the list of subjects, while retaining sociology:

> The subjects in which courses may be taken are not specifically limited,
> but will in general comprise such subjects as are taught in the Faculty of
> Arts in the University of Sydney, namely, Philosophy, Literature, History,
> Economics, *Sociology*, Political Science, with such of the pure sciences as
> may be treated in a non-technical manner, such as Biology. (e.g. Univer-
> sity of Sydney 1918: 111, emphasis added)[249]

Table 5-1 presents available data on the number of classes taught for a selection of
subjects from 1914, when classes were first taught, to 1939, the last year in which a
number of classes is listed for sociology (although not the last year in which sociol-
ogy classes were offered, as we shall see).[250] It shows that one or two classes in soci-
ology were sometimes (but more often not) amongst the courses taught between 1915
and 1939. This differs from previous historical accounts in two important respects.

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[248] This legislative provision remained for 60 years, until a 1973 amendment granted greater
autonomy: that 'The Senate shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of evening
tutorial classes in such subjects as it shall determine. ...' (s.14A).

[249] It is interesting for our previous discussion that the Senate at this time treated Sociology as
one of the subjects taught by the Faculty.

[250] Notes below Table 5-1 indicate where data came from Annual Reports for Tutorial
Classes, and explain gaps in the information.

Table 5-1. Number of tutorial classes for select subjects, 1914-1939

	Sociology	Anthro-pology	Social Problems	Econo-mics	Psycho-logy	Litera-ture	Int'ional relations	History	Total
1914	0	0	0	2+[a]	0	0	0	0	3+[a]
1915	2	0	0	17[b]	0	0	0	0	21
1917[c]	2	0	0	21[b]	1	6	0	3	40[d]
1921[c]	0	0	16	16	5	5	0	8	56
1922	0	0	13	11	12	3	0	10	59
1923	1	1	12	5	13	5	0	8	55
1924	1	0	5	5	16	6	4	8	58
1925	0	1	5	10	10	10	4	7	61
1926	?[e]	?[e]	6	9	9	10	3	6	57
1927	?[e]	?[e]	11	10	10	8	8	?[e]	63
1928	?[e]	?[e]	9	6	13	10	?[e]	?[e]	58
1929[f]	0[f]	1	[g]	17[g]	14[f]	8	0	6	58
1930	0	0	[g]	11[g]	12	8	2	8	58
1931[h]	0	1	[g]	20[g]	10	6	0	6	57
1932[c]	0	1	0	9	9	6	1	5	44
1933[h]	0	1	[g]	17[g]	7	5	2	4	50
1934	0	1	[g]	21[g]	8	7	2	1	54
1935	0	0	[g]	19[g]	7	7	4	5	55
1936	1	0	[g]	19[g]	8	5	9	4	57
1937	1	0	[g]	15[g]	9	8	6	4	57
1938	0	2	[g]	14[g]	8	7	15	5	68
1939[h]	1	2	[g]	14[g]	7	9	42	4	132[i]

Notes

a. 'All the classes except one' chose to study Economics; the other was Biology (USC 1915: 580).

b. Economics and Industrial History.

c. No tutorial classes report included in 1916 Senate Report. The only mentions of subjects in reports for 1918-1920 were that several new classes in 1918 studied 'problems of the Reconstruction after the War' (1919: 653) and that two of the 1919 classes were in Finance and Credit, and Music Appreciation. Total class numbers in those years were 45 (37 tutorial classes plus 8 study circles) (1918), 40 (1919) and 51 (1920). There is no JCTC Annual Report available for these years. It seems likely that some sociology would have been taught in the latter years, as Reverend E. H. Burgman was recommended to the Senate for appointment as a tutor in sociology in May 1919 (JCTCM 21/5/1919: 6).

d. 32 tutorial classes and 8 study circles.

e. Only the most popular subjects are listed in reports for 1926-1928, and no JCTC Annual Report is available for those years. A question mark (?) indicates that the subject was not listed. JCTC Minutes say that a proposed class on biology and sociology, for which 32 students' names had been submitted, would probably not proceed due to Professor Harrison's ill health (JCTCM 3/7/1925: 2), and that he planned to give a lecture in 1926 on '"The Biological Basis of Sociology"', 'with a view to forming tutorial classes' (JCTCM 24/5/1926: 1). Launcelot Harrison was Professor of Zoology, although if sociology was introduced into university zoology courses it is not evident in Calendar course descriptions (e.g. USC 1925: 288-90).

Table 5-1 Notes continued

f. Only the most popular subjects were listed in the Annual Report in the Calendar, which noted that 'Psychology and Economics (with its allied subject Social Problems)' accounted for 'more than half' the 58 classes (1930: 910). Additional data are taken from JCTCAR 1929. Note that while sociology is not listed as one of the subjects taught this year, 'Marxian sociology' appeared in the list of new classes, presumably categorised under Economics and Social Problems.

g. Combined figure given for Economics and Social Problems, listed here under Economics. In 1939, separate figures were given for Economics (3), Economics and Social Problems (9) and Social Problems (2).

h. Calendar report is missing (1931) or does not provide full subject listing (1933, 1939). Data are taken from the JCTCAR.

i. 1939 figure includes both 70 tutorial classes and 60 discussion groups. Counting only tutorial classes, there were: 1 sociology; 2 anthropology; 9 economics & social problems; 7 psychology; 4 literature; 16 international relations; 4 history.

First, sociology's contribution is rather meagre, dwarfed by the most popular courses – economics, psychology, social problems, literature, history and international relations – and also matched or beaten by subjects including art of expression, child study, biology, music, and physiology. This seems somewhat removed from Bourke's (2005[1988]: 151, italics added) claim that 'Economics *and sociology*, along with economic or industrial history, were the basic diet of the WEA's tutorial classes'.

Sociology's role would be greatly augmented if I included Social Problems, which was also available from 1921 (or earlier) until at least 1938. It was, furthermore, a considerably more popular subject, not surprising given both the service-oriented ethic of the WEA (Bourke 1981: 28-29) and the neat fit between academic teaching of social problems and those interested in social reform (noted in the case of America in the Chapter Four). Including social problems as part of sociology would seem to be consistent with Bourke's elaboration that 'What [WEA Director of Tutorial Classes, Meredith] Atkinson meant by sociology had less to do with the analysis of social data than with the study of social problems' (2005[1988]: 151). This might well have been true of those first few sociology classes taught under Atkinson, who by 1918 had moved to the University of Melbourne to become Director of the Extension Board and tutorial classes there (Bourke 2005[1988]: 151; Crozier (2005[2002]: 126). And there may have been a sociological element in some of the later classes (e.g. see Table 5-1, note f). However, in 1921, the first year we can be sure that Social Problems was taught, it was treated as one of the 'kindred studies' of Economics (USC 1922: 754). The Annual Report of the JCTC for 1923 points out that:

> ... a great deal of the instruction given in the Social Problems classes is economic in character. The Social Problems class is designed to meet the needs of students who want to range more widely over contemporary questions than a study of pure Economics would permit. (JCTCAR 1923: 5)

And by 1929 Social Problems was not only described as Economics' 'allied subject' but grouped with it for counting class numbers (USC 1930: 910). This alignment of Social Problems with Economics, rather than Sociology, leaves sociology's role in the tutorial classes more paltry (if longer-lived) than has been evident from the historical literature. It might also be understood in the context of a relationship between sociology and economics that was close, but sometimes acrimonious, and in which economics was to come out ahead.

The early close relationship between sociology and economics can be seen in the views of some of sociology's advocates. For Atkinson study of both '"economics and sociology"' was required to '"give Australia the new ideas she so badly needs"' (1915: 28-9, in Bourke 1981: 29). Anderson, while supportive of Economics, considered that it needed to be harnessed to Sociology:

> Economics is one of the social sciences, but it is not Sociology. It deals with a fragment, and not with the whole. Its results are valid and intelligible only when brought into connection with the larger life of society, of which they form but one partial aspect. (Anderson 2005[1911]: 85)

Anderson, then, saw the two subjects as coexisting, but with sociology taking the upper hand. R. F. Irvine, Sydney's Chair of Economics, was also supportive of sociology, likewise seeing it as the integrative social science.[251] The University's first course description for Economics I, taught by Irvine from 1913 to 1917, emphasised the 'social character of economic science' (USC 1913: 179) and by 1917 included an introductory sociology textbook as recommended reading, suggesting the disciplines

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[251] As quoted in the previous chapter.

might be like friendly neighbours with a shared backyard. But by 1930 all references to the social had been erased (see Appendix E for details).

Other economists, who by the 1920s were becoming increasingly influential in the Australian public service, policy and social research, were not to share Anderson's or even Irvine's view (Crozier 2005[2002]: 126, 134-35). This is exemplified by Douglas Berry Copland, appointed to Melbourne University's newly established Chair of Commerce in 1924, for whom 'in many problem areas, "the economist is really king". In place of the (unrealised) aspirations of sociology as the "queen of the social sciences", the economist-king could and would deliver the scientific guidance on the big problems of society' (135). Copland had great success in promoting the utility of economics and economists to politicians and business (Bourke 2005[1981]: 159; Crozier 2005[2002]: 134), but saw the sociology taught at Melbourne as an unnecessary 'flotsam and jetsam of everything', and successfully recommended that it be demolished and the contents distributed amongst three new subjects, political philosophy, constitutional history and international relations, and modern political institutions (Bourke 2005[1988]: 158; Crozier 2005[2002]: 127). In this light, the tutorial class adoption of 'social problems' by economics at Sydney seems conducive to strategic positioning of economics as more useful than sociology.

A second point of difference involves the end of sociology teaching. Bourke's (1981) analysis finished at the late 1920s, which has hence been taken as the 'suspension' of sociology teaching (e.g. Crozier 2005[2002]: 125). However, my data shows that it continued at least into the late 1930s. In fact, while none of the later Calendar Reports or Annual Reports for the JCTC lists sociology amongst classes taken, there is archival evidence that sociology, or something closely related, was later taught.[252]

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[252] For instance, the class listing for 1942 does not include Sociology, but does include one class in 'Social Theory', taught by P.H. Partridge (an Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy, who was then teaching Social Philosophy to Social Studies students: see later section) (JCTCAR 1942). And from 1946, the Annual Reports grouped together Economic, Political and Social Studies, but the detailed listing for 1947 includes 'Social Studies' as a subject, taught by Miss J. Allsop (JCTCAR 1947).

Available publications from the 1950s advertising tutorial classes show that sociology courses were offered in the 1950s, and provide more insight into their nature. The Autumn 1957 edition of *Evening Courses for Adults* lists 'Society', taught by H. Philp in Sydney:[253]

> The course is designed as a general introduction to some of the basic ideas used by sociologists to explain or describe the functioning of societies. While the main emphasis will be placed on general issues which have to be faced by all societies, some attention will be paid to the particular institutions which have evolved in Australia. There will also be discussion of the theories advanced by a number of sociological thinkers like Marx, Mannheim, Pareto, Sorokin and Parsons, to account for the various types of society which exist.
>
> The general order of the discussion will be:
>
> 1. The organization of society; the basic requirements of any social system.
> 2. The family as the basic institution of almost all known societies.
> 3. The reward system, authority structure, and means of social control; class and government.
> 4. Sustaining institutions; religion and society.
> 5. Inter-relationships between and within societies.
> 6. Socialization and the learning of social roles.

As with the previous philosophy course descriptions, theory figures prominently here. The description reveals the strong functionalist influence coming to dominate much of American sociology at the time, including being the first of the sociological courses listed (amongst all disciplines) that includes socialisation as one of its topics, but inclusion of Marx and Mannheim also reveals some theoretical diversity. Philp's educational background at Harvard (and Sydney) may contribute to this, and the fact that

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[253] University of Sydney Department of Tutorial Classes and the WEA, 1957, TCMPP. Philp was then a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education (USC 1957: 43).

Parsons, Pareto and Sorokin were three of the 'sociological thinkers' named.[254] Of those theorists named in the course description, only Parsons (equal tenth) and Marx (equal sixteenth) appear amongst the top 20 authors indexed in my small sample of 1950s introductory textbooks (see Chapter Six).[255]

Thus in the first three decades of the twentieth century we have sociology appearing in the organisational sites of Philosophy, Economics, and WEA Tutorial Classes, disappearing (at least temporarily) in the first two of those and remaining only in the sporadic venue of evening tutorial classes. It is not terribly surprising that historical accounts have heralded this as the demise of the subject. However, the late 1920s witnessed what was, in effect, a smooth handover of sociology teaching from philosophy to anthropology, which I turn to now.

Anthropology

The Chair of Anthropology was established at Sydney in 1926 by Commonwealth and State Governments, with the practical focus on training cadets and administrative officers for Papua and New Guinea, and training research workers (Dallen 1938: 29-30). From 1927 (until the 1980s), MA students were able to study in the Department of Anthropology, with Sociology now included here, instead of Philosophy, as a pos-

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[254] See Chapter Four for discussion of the complexities of the influence of Parsons (and Merton) in American sociology at this time. Turner and Turner (1990: 118-128) have shown that adoption of already-prevalent Spencerian language in the Harvard formulation of functionalism allowed it to be widely accepted without significant impact; though they were to make a bigger difference in resetting the purpose of theoretical writing. Mullins (1973: 40) notes that in American sociological theory courses of this time, 'standard American sociology' texts by Merton, Davis, Homans, Parsons, Shils, Williams and Levy, along with those of the group's 'forefathers', such as Weber, Durkheim and Pareto, were studied.

[255] The previous Autumn, Philp had offered a course called 'Social Class in Australia', which was to 'operate as a research group rather than a tutorial class in the usual sense' with the 'object ... to obtain some information about the meaning and consequences of social class in Sydney' (University of Sydney Department of Tutorial Classes and the WEA, 1956). Assuming this went ahead it might have made an interesting early contribution to the literature on social class. However, I have found no evidence that it was published: it is not cited in Davies and Encel's (1965) textbook chapter on class and status in Australia and there is nothing apparent from searches of databases and the University of Sydney library catalogue.

sible examination subject or (later) area of research.[256] Anderson has been seen as instrumental in the establishment of the department, initially under Radcliffe-Brown[257] and then Adolphus Elkin, who was one of Anderson's former students and had also previously been appointed a tutor in 'Sociology and Anthropology' in the tutorial classes.[258]

Undergraduate Anthropology courses were offered from 1930, and since then have consistently included some content of relevance to sociology. Mostly, this has reflected the neighbourly, if not cohabitational, relationship between the two disciplines.[259] For instance, minimally, there have consistently been courses or course components with 'socio-' titles (social anthropology, primitive sociology, comparative sociology, social theory). These courses have often contained content that could have been included in an introductory (or other) sociology course, and sometimes introductory sociology textbooks were assigned. And Elkin considered Social Anthropology to be 'really only Sociology writ large and wide. It is comparative sociology, for it is concerned with all peoples, irrespective of colour or "stage" of civilization' (Elkin 2005[1943]: 95). Another connection involves the appearance of anthropology courses focusing on or including material about industrial/modern/western societies, which, at least at one time, might therefore have been seen as sitting on the

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[256] In 1990, departmental regulations for the MA were replaced by faculty-based ones, and sociology no longer appeared alongside anthropology as a possible subject (although social studies was on the list). Sociology had, however, been added to the list by 1998 (or possibly 1997, in which year no Calendar was printed). Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 231) suggested that, based on titles, at least 16 of the 51 Masters theses and one of the 7 PhDs completed in the Department during 1947-1969 were of 'sociological character'.

[257] See Langham (1981: 288-89) on the decision to appoint Radcliffe-Brown.

[258] See: Baldock & Lally (1974: 5); JCTCM (8/5/1923: 4; 26/7/1923: 1); Timms & Zubrzycki (1971: 4); Zubrzycki (2005[1971]: 220-221).

[259] For instance, a 1971 introductory anthropology textbook suggests that the 'fundamental problems of anthropology and sociology' are sufficiently similar that 'the general body of theory should ultimately be similar, if not the same for both' (Beals & Hoijer 1971: 15).

sociological side of the fence.[260] In addition to these somewhat ambiguously socio-logical anthropology courses, in some years there have been pointedly sociological courses, providing either general coverage of the subject or focusing on particular specialist fields, as though the department was operating as a *de facto* combined de-partment of anthropology and sociology.

As I discuss the historical presence of these various kinds of sociologically relevant courses in the anthropology curriculum, it becomes apparent that much of the named, or obviously, sociological content was theoretical. Theory again became a means of introducing sociological content. At times, theory here might be seen as a 'boundary object', an 'interface' for coherently bridging the disciplines of sociology and anthro-pology (Star & Griesemer 1989; Lamont & Molnár 2002: 180).[261] However, while theory continued to be a mechanism for teaching sociological content within anthro-pology, course descriptions suggest that there was a transition from theory operating as interdisciplinary bridge to theory dividing the two disciplines.

From 1930 to 1955 (and beyond), anthropology curricula included 'social' courses – including social anthropology, primitive sociology and comparative sociology – with textbooks including the American Hankins' *An Introduction to the Study of Society*,

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[260] Anthropology textbooks again illustrate this shift. Beals and Hoijer (1971: 15) acknow-ledged that 'the subject matter studied has tended to be different with anthropology concen-trating upon the simpler and more isolated peoples and sociology concerning itself primarily with western European civilization'. Thirty years later, Monaghan and Just (2000: 2) said that '[i]n the latter part of the twentieth century mainstream anthropology has ... shifted its focus from an exclusive concern with non-Western, small-scale rural societies to groups that would have been the purview of sociology, such as labour unions, social clubs and migrant commu-nities found in urban and industrialized settings'.

[261] Star and Griesemer coined 'boundary objects' to describe objects created and maintained for 'developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds', in their case the diverse social worlds of biologists, funders, administrators, amateurs and staff brought to-gether in a Californian zoology museum (1989: 388, 393).

and British Ginsberg's *Sociology*.[262] Of note, Primitive Sociology was divided into the first year 'Descriptive' course – 'Introduction to the Study of Cultures ...' – and the second year 'Theoretical' course, covering 'Social Morphology; Economic Institutions; Moral, Juridical, and Political Institutions; Religious Institutions' (USC 1935: 247, 1940: 438).[263] This is an example where the 'theoretical' side of primitive sociology acted as a kind of interface between sociology and anthropology. This second year course had become Comparative Sociology by 1946 (through to 1955). It retained the earlier emphasis on social institutions, and wore its functionalist heart on its sleeve:

> Lectures are given on: A. The place of pre-history, archaeology and history in social anthropology; on the significance of a people's cultural pattern or social system for an understanding of its institutions; and the functional theory. B. The structure and organisation of society; social groupings; the individual's relation to society; "social," political, legal, economic, magical and religious institutions and customs; and the principles of social cohesion and change.

> The approach is dynamic, the aim being to understand functioning and changing human groups. The method is comparative, functional and in-

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[262] In 1930, the second year course was titled 'Social Anthropology' (USC 1930: 236); in 1935 and 1940, 'Primitive sociology' was taught in first year (Descriptive) and second year (Theoretical); by 1945 (and to 1955), first year had become Introduction to General Anthropology and Primitive Sociology and second year Comparative Sociology. Hankins (1928) was a first year textbook from 1930 to 1950, and Ginsberg (1934) a second year textbook from 1945 to 1955. Ginsberg (1934) was not explicitly addressed to university students, but was published as part of the 'Home University Library of Knowledge' series and seems likely to have been designed for both the small British sociology student population of the time and the general reader. Alec Pemberton (personal correspondence, July 2009) suggests that association of sociology with the LSE style of Hobhouse and Ginsberg coloured its reception at Sydney.

[263] This fits with Radcliffe-Brown's conception of his own Australian research as addressing problems "'of particular importance for the general theories of sociology'" (22 October 1923, in Langham 1981: 288).

ductive. Societies are studied so that we may understand society – and man. (USCS 1945-46: 227-28; USC 1950: 312; 1955: 788)[264]

This 1946-1955 emphasis on understanding society is clearly compatible with sociology. Historical accounts of the anthropology department suggest the 1940s were a time of particular encouragement of sociology, with its professor, A.P. Elkin, championing the new discipline, and involved in establishing the Australian Institute of Sociology in 1942. Elkin himself noted that 'from about 1940, an introduction to the study of our own society was given to undergraduates', as well as continuing encouragement of postgraduate study in sociology (Elkin 1952: 40; see also Connell 2005: 16). Zubrzycki, drawing on notes from Jean I. Martin, a former student and lecturer with the department, indicated that:

> Under [Elkin's] auspices, a considerable element of sociology was introduced into the anthropology course; from 1945 to 1950 the content of the fourth year honours course was predominantly sociological and included training in field research methods as well as sociological theory (Karl Mannheim highlighted as the most important of contemporary theorists).
> (Zubrzycki 2005[1971]: 222)

The inclusion of 'our own society' and emphasis on sociological theory can indeed be seen in the course description for Honours students. In 1946 to 1955 they were to 'write a thesis on an approved subject in *one of the anthropological-sociological fields*', including 'primitive *and civilised society*, the contact of peoples (acculturation and assimilation), applied anthropology and linguistics' (emphasis added). *Society, Its Structure and Changes*, by Scottish-born, Columbia-based Robert MacIver, was on the textbook lists. They were also expected to 'acquire a sound general knowledge of the scope and history of anthropology, and of anthropological and sociological

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[264] Course descriptions for 1946 (not 1945) were provided in the 1945-46 Calendar Supplement. In 1955, Part A was omitted but the course description was otherwise the same.

theory'. Ethnological and sociological writers[265] were specified in 1946 and 1950, but the italicised sociological ones were omitted in 1955:

> First-hand knowledge should be obtained of the chief contributions made to ethnological theory by such workers as Morgan, Tylor, Frazer, Haddon, Boas-Rivers, Perry, Schmidt, Levy-Bruhl, Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, Marett, Malinowski and Bateson; *and to sociology by Spencer, Marx, Simmel, Durkheim, Sorokin, MacIver, Mannheim and others.* (USCS 1945-46: 228; USC 1950: 312-13, USC 1955: 788-9, emphasis added)

The omission of sociologists by 1955 might have motivated Martin's observation that 'In the early 1950's the Department of Anthropology returned to a more strictly anthropological approach' (Zubrzycki 2005[1971]: 222). However, as we have already seen, the 1955 undergraduate courses retained the 1940s sociologicalesque content and textbooks. Social anthropology, and courses with sociological content (including

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[265] Interestingly, the former were described in terms of contributions to ethnological theory, but the latter to sociology, not sociological theory.

industrial society) also remained in the curriculum in subsequent years.[266] And furthermore, as we shall see, from the mid 1960s (when sociology had become established in other Australian universities, and was the central focus, if not by name, of a subject being taught in Social Work) the curriculum included explicitly sociological courses, including courses in theory, which I focus on next.

The 1960 third year Honours course overtly included both sociology and theory – now social, rather than sociological – alongside anthropology:

> Development of social theory. Sociology and anthropology. Social institutions of industrial society. Field techniques. The genealogical method. Changes in industrial societies consequent on European contact. (USC 1960: 833-34)

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[266] The overall courses were given disciplinary names (i.e. Anthropology I, II, III) in 1960, but retained social anthropological (and sociological) content, such as 'Systematic analysis of general features of social institutions' (USC 1960: 833-34). In 1965 and 1970 first year courses had named Social Anthropology components (the 1970 one including Industrial Societies) (USC 1965: 706; 1970: 803-5). By 1975, and from then on, social anthropology was an established stream running through all years of the degree for pass and/or honours courses. Other content that could be considered sociological included: a 1965 component of the fourth year (honours) course 'Social institutions of industrial society: Sociological analysis' (USC 1965: 707); a 1970 component on social change in third year (USC 1970: 803-5); and a 1975 third year option called Social Change, third year honours course on Rural Sociology, and fourth year honours courses on social stratification, rural sociology and media studies (featuring symbolic interactionism) (FHARTS 1975: 65-66). In 1980, first year social anthropology included a section dealing with 'study of modern societies', with Ron Wild's *Bradstow* (a well-known Australian sociological study) recommended (FHARTS 1980: 49-54); second year had a core on sociology of religion, and options included Race and Ethnic Relations in Western Societies, Complex Societies, and The Australian Way of Life (with Wild's *Social Stratification in Australia* on the textbook list); third year options included one on Complex Societies, and an honours course 'Towards a comparative sociology of literature and theatre' (FHARTS 1980: 62-63). In 1985, first year social anthropology had a component on Urban Societies and ethnographic material on 'white Australia' (FHARTS 1985: 41), second year units included comparative sociology, social inequality and sociology of religion, and fourth year units included anthropology of urban and complex societies (1985: 42-43, 50). Courses with potentially sociological content (overlapping with anthropology) in 1990 included the first year The Family in Social Life, explicitly considering both pre-industrial and industrial family forms, and the third year course Sociology of Immigration (FHARTS 1990: 85-88).

The implication here seems to have been that social theory shared a relationship with both sociology and anthropology. And this might have been helped by (and perhaps contributed to) the closeness of the disciplines in the 1950s and 1960s, seen in the previous chapter in the prominence given to anthropologists in introductory sociology textbooks from these decades. Theory continued to be an important component of anthropology teaching but there was soon a retreat from the idea of a common pool of social theory for sociology and anthropology. By 1965 there was a bifurcation into specifically anthropological (meaning social anthropological) theory, and specifically sociological theory. Thus the second year course included the segment: 'An introduction to anthropological theory: Outlines of the history of social anthropology; contemporary trends' (USC 1965: 706); while the third year course included 'Theories and methods of Sociology' (USC 1965: 707). This pattern continued. In 1975, there was a core second year unit called Anthropological Theory, which promised 'A critical examination of basic concepts in social anthropology: culture and enculturation; social structure; culture and personality; function and functionalism; cultural ecology and cultural materialism; structuralism' (FHARTS 1975: 50). But accompanying this was the third year (social anthropology) unit, Sociological Classics, covering 'The work of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. The unit examines some of their writings, the social context in which they lived and worked, and their impact on later sociologists and anthropologists' (FHARTS 1975: 57), with Giddens' (1971) *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory* as textbook. While this course implied some relevance of sociological theory to 'later anthropologists', it was clearly a course in classical sociological theory, as it was by then understood within sociology; by contrast the anthropological theory course marked out its disciplinary territory (in the 1970s) through its emphasis on structural functionalism and related concepts. A similar pattern appears in two third year social anthropology courses in 1980: one, Marx and Weber, featured two members of the 'sociological trinity'; the other, Marxist Analyses, took an anthropological bent, discussing 'some aspects of contemporary Marxist theory which seem relevant to social anthropology' and with a Marxist anthropology textbook (FHARTS 1980: 57-61). This pair of courses reveals that the anthropological/sociological theory split was not simply along functionalist/Marxist lines.

In 1985 the sociological/anthropological theory (or 'thought') split could be seen in a pair of third year units, both taught by Dr Diane Austin (now Austin-Broos), and emphasising disciplinary separation. 'History of Anthropological Thought' examined 'the context wherein anthropology emerged as a separate discipline, its development as a fieldwork enterprise, and the current crisis in anthropological thought' (FHARTS 1985: 46), while 'Perspectives in Australian Sociology' included examination of 'some major currents in Australian sociological thought' (1985: 47-48).

In 1990, there was again a sociological theory course, the third year course, Key Concepts in Sociology. It assumed familiarity with both Durkheim and Weber, the former not surprising, but the latter signalling students had some basic sociological background.[267] The concepts (and theorists) mentioned, while all clearly sociological, were a relatively eclectic collection of ideas from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century (apart from Goffman) German, Italian and American theorists.

> This will take some influential concepts in social explanation, and draw students' attention to the original statements in which they were first clearly spelled out. Some examples will be familiar: (e.g. those from Weber and Durkheim). But most attention will be given to those which are not: Veblen on conspicuous consumption; W.I. Thomas on the definition of situation; P.A. Sorokin on cultural and social mobility; Max Scheller [sic] on *ressentiment*; Michels on the iron law of oligarchy; Pareto on the circulation of ethics; W.G. Sumner on ethnocentrism; Georg Simmel on the "stranger", and Erving Goffman on "the presentation of self" in social life. (FHARTS 1990: 88)[268]

Also in 1990 were two theoretical courses concerned with aspects of the social, but which understood these in phenomenological and psychoanalytic terms and tied them

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[267] Keyes (2002) has traced several aspects of Weber's influence in anthropology, especially through Geertz (largely via his collaboration with Parsons at the DSR), and more tenuously via Bourdieu, but his presupposition is that Weber is little read by anthropologists. In a sample of twelve twenty-first century introductory cultural anthropology textbooks, Durkheim received 25 citations in ten textbooks, and Weber 10 citations in six textbooks (Norris 2005: 244-45).

[268] Scheler was misspelt in the course description.

back to anthropology. The optional third year course, The Problems of Social Theory, 'dealt with: (1) the notion of the unconscious and its import for anthropological interpretations of human reality; (2) the constitution and nature of inter-subjectivity as the ground of human sociality, and (3) Jean-Paul Sartre's interpretation of the human condition' (FHARTS 1990: 89). And for the fourth year honours option, The Constitution of Human Sociality: Narcissism, Identification and Imagination, the aim, through 'critical assessment' of writings by Freud, Lacan, Kohout, Sartre and Castoriadis in these areas, was 'to radicalise the anthropological understanding of the social being which, in spite of an acclaimed achievement as Lévi Strauss's *The Elementary Structures*, anthropology is regrettably lacking' (FHARTS 1990: 90).

Thus we have seen that it was initially, at least in part, social theory as a resource that could be shared by sociology and anthropology that fostered the introduction of sociological content in anthropology courses. With increasing disciplinary differentiation of sociological and anthropological theory, sociological theory was not abandoned but distinguished from anthropological theory in course descriptions: the implication is that sociological theory was seen as having some value within the department.[269] Into the 1990s there was a continuing strong emphasis on social anthropology, and the persistence of courses that covered overlapping sociological/anthropological territory, although mostly taking an anthropological slant. What had gone, by 1995, were courses like Key Concepts in Sociology (above), which were concerned with general sociology and sociological theory. This becomes less surprising when we note that for more than thirty years an introductory sociology course had been running, mostly under a *nom de plume*, in another corner of the Faculty of Arts, and that it was officially outed as Introductory Sociology in 1991.

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[269] This 'value' may, but need not, have been pedagogical or related to disciplinary strategies. Subject areas might be taught for pragmatic reasons to do with the expertise (and prepared course materials) of available teachers, or because there is a gap in an area that might attract student enrolments.

Social Studies/Social Work

This concurrent host for introductory sociology was social studies/social work. The Department of Social Studies (the Department of Social Work from 1956) was established in 1940, a year before similar ones at the Universities of Melbourne and Adelaide (Elkin 2005[1943]: 94, 99, n. 4) and focused on providing technical training to social workers. Elkin's (2005[1943]: 94-95) comment just a few years later that establishment of the Department of Anthropology had been a 'much greater step' for sociology was not merely a reflection of his personal interests: however, social studies, and particularly its later incarnation as social work, was to become an important site for sociology.[270] From 1940, a course in Social Philosophy was offered to students undertaking a Diploma of Social Studies.

The first available, and somewhat perfunctory, course description – for 1942 – allowed extensive scope to roam the fields of social, political and moral theory, social and political structure, ethics and contemporary political philosophies:

> This course is a brief introduction to the main problems of social, political and moral theory. It includes a discussion of the general principles of social and political structure and development, and also considers the ethical issues involved in social life and the outstanding political philosophies of the present day. (USC 1941: 403-4)[271]

The course descriptions continued to embrace the political, moral/ethical and social philosophy, but by 1946 there was a more sociological emphasis, with topics drawn from (1) the nature of society, (2) economic and political structure, (3) the social functions of law, morality and religion, and (4) contemporary social problems – all but the

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[270] Thus Zubzycki three decades later was to write that 'it is abundantly clear that the main weight of sociological teaching in the University of Sydney is not in the Department of Anthropology but in the Department of Social Work, where the two-year sequence of units in social theory provides a solid introduction to the theories and methods of sociology, and also includes work in depth on stratification, urban sociology and the sociology of family' (Zubrzycki 2005[1971]: 233-34).

[271] The 1941 Calendar listed courses of study for 1942.

second of these likely components of sociology teaching.[272] The introductory sociology text, MacIver's *Society*, had been added to the textbook list by 1950, and by 1955, the second and third options were replaced by 'the relation between ethics and sociology', for the first time explicitly signalling the sociological connection.[273]

An interesting continuity and shift across this decade is that the course descriptions incorporated two 'perspectives' for understanding society, seen in the subtopics elaborating (1) 'the nature of society'. This shifted from cooperation/conflict in 1946 – 'society and the individual; interests, associations, institutions; co-operation and conflict; social classes' (USCS 1945-46: 237) – to Freudian/Marxist in 1955 – 'society and human nature; ways of analysing society; Freudian and Marxist analyses of society' (USC 1955: 814). This contrasts with American textbook sociology of the time, which was dominated by a uniform version of the discipline (see Chapter Four).[274] The fact that this was a course in social philosophy, rather than sociology *per se*, might be seen as a contributing factor, which in turn has shaped, to some extent, the nature of sociology, and particularly theory within sociology.

The Diploma of Social Studies was (gradually) replaced by a Diploma of Social Work from 1956, and a Bachelor of Social Studies introduced in 1967 (and renamed a Bachelor of Social Work in 1984).[275] A third year subject called Social Theory (later Social Theory II) was also introduced in 1957, initially alongside Social Philosophy,

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[272] A Calendar Supplement with 1946 course descriptions was issued for 1945-1946.

[273] During this period of 1940 to 1955, the Diploma of Social Studies included other courses with sociological content: Social History & Legislation, and Public Administration & Social Organisation in 1940 and 1945, Social & Economic Problems in 1945 (with social problems again related to economics), Economic & Social Organisation in 1950, and Social History in 1950 and 1955.

[274] In my 1950s introductory textbook sample, Marx ranked equal fifteenth (compared to equal thirteenth in the 1920s/30s and third in the 1960s) and Freud equal thirtieth (compared to fifteenth in the 1920s/30s and equal twenty-fourth in the 1960s).

[275] The diploma was first listed in the 1957 Calendar, but minutes from the Board of Studies in Social Work indicate that two students enrolled in the first year in 1956 (BOSSM2 16/4/1956: 153). The 1967 Calendar indicated that the Diploma would be phased out by 1970, and replaced by the Bachelor of Social Studies, but by-laws for the Diploma remained in place until 1975.

and replacing it altogether in 1960 as a compulsory component of the Diploma (and later Bachelor) programs, and also available to students in other degrees from 1963.

Importantly, theory was again here the means of introducing sociology teaching, but in this case the actual phrase – 'Social Theory' – was the Trojan horse infiltrating the university walls with its cargo of sociological soldiers. Social Theory was the *de facto* introductory sociology course for more than three decades, with introductory sociology textbooks consistently listed. Course descriptions or subtitles often keenly pointed out that this was indeed an introductory course in sociology, rather than the social theory course signified by its name. For example, the course description in 1975 had the subtitle Introduction to Sociology, then started 'This course is not centred on theory but on a broad introduction to sociology with emphasis on structural data, deviance and social problems. ...' (USC 1975: 593). In 1961, Social Theory even underwent a temporary name change to The Study of Society, with two courses (Sociology – Social Structure and Change, and Social Theory and Policy) but after 1962 these reverted to Social Theory I and II with no change in course description.

Archival minutes of discussions around the proposal to make the subjects available to general arts students provide some indication that there were arguments surrounding the choice of name Social Theory (rather than sociology, or other options), although unfortunately no indication of the substance of these arguments, and also some of the various attitudes about introduction of the subject area to the broader student population. The proposal to make the courses more widely available originated from the Board of Studies in Social Work, led by the Director of Social Work, Tom Brennan.[276] Brennan's initial proposal to the Board of Studies in July 1959 indicates ambivalence over the names of the existing courses, Theory and Practice of Social Administration (second year) and Social Theory (third year), referring to them as 'Social Administration and Sociology I and II (or whatever title the courses are given)'

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[276] Brennan's background was in social administration. He commenced in this position in 1958, replacing Morven S. Brown, who had overseen the introduction of the Social Theory course and went on to become the first Australian Professor of Sociology, at UNSW.

(BOSSM3 21/7/1959: 1).[277] The draft submission was referred to a subcommittee, which decided to call the courses Sociology I and II, although William Robert Geddes, Professor of Social Anthropology, 'queried whether Sociology II was an appropriate title for the [third year] course' (BOSSM3 4/8/1959: 8-12). At the subsequent meeting of the Board of Studies, 'After discussion it was decided that the proposed titles be "Sociology" [third year course] and "Social Theory and Policy" [second year course]' (12), and Brennan's statement tabled at a Faculty of Arts meeting the next day referring to the 'proposed courses' with those names appears to have generated no dissent (FAM6 5/8/1959: 108-10). Then – with no record found of why 'Sociology' was dropped in intervening discussions – in late 1960, proposed amendments to the by-laws listed both subjects as Social Theory and Policy, but before the proposal was eventually voted upon, a motion by Brennan (seconded by philosophy professor, and chair of the Board of Studies, Alan Stout) changed the name to Social Theory (FAM6 5/5/1961: 180, insert; 12/12/1960: 170).

Within the Board of Studies, there was no opposition to the Social Theory I course that concentrated on social administration, but there were arguments expressed about the appropriateness of making Social Theory II (the introductory sociology course) available to Arts students. One of the (stated) concerns was about lowering of standards (Prof. Geddes, Anthropology), with D. H. Monro, from Philosophy, wondering 'if the subject could be satisfactorily taught if the teaching emphasis were to be placed on the technical needs of Diploma in Social Work students' (BOSSM3 21/7/1959: 7). Similarly, Professor J. L. Mackie, also in Philosophy, 'raised the general issue whether sociology courses could offer an education of a kind proper to an Arts Faculty'. In relation to the social administration course, the Board members agreed that 'a sufficient body of knowledge concerning the social institutions and groups of modern societies, and of methods of investigating these, now existed to form the subject of a course of study in an Arts Faculty'. But there was no unanimous endorsement that this applied to the general sociology course, with the minutes expressing somewhat vaguely one view 'that a second course in Sociology for an Arts student might need to

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[277] Similarly, his draft submission to the Faculty is titled 'Proposed Courses in Social Administration and Sociology I & II (Alternative titles – Social Administration and Organisation I and II or Social Administration and Theory I and II) within the Faculty of Arts'.

be planned on broader, or at any rate different lines' (BOSSM3 4/8/1959: 8). The second area of concern, championed by Professor Geddes, was about duplication of courses, particularly in relation to Anthropology. The points were made that there was overlap with textbooks already prescribed in Anthropology (21/7/1959: 7), and that:

> ... the future of Sociology as a subject in the Faculty was still unsettled. For example, the Department of Anthropology is making an appointment in an area of study concerned with modern societies, and may well be offering courses in this field to students with an anthropological background. (BOSSM3 4/8/1959: 8)

Brennan's revised memorandum to the faculty about these proposed changes addressed these concerns as follows:

> Sociology I overlaps a little as regards content with Anthropology II and Anthropology III but the bulk of the material, particularly Urban Sociology, is not taught elsewhere in the University. Some of the material used in Sociology II is also discussed in other Courses (Government II and History II), though from a different point of view.

> As regards standards, the only things than [sic] can be said are that, in other Universities the same material is taught at second and third year level and that here it will be taught by senior members of staff (at present mainly Professor Spann and myself). The Senate has recently approved the establishment of a new lectureship in the Department of Social Work. The person appointed to this post will be mainly responsible for teaching the Sociology II Course. (BOSSM3 4/8/1959: 10)

The eventual choice of Social Theory clearly reflects some of the misgivings about the course, but also raises questions about why 'social theory' was seen as a more acceptable synecdoche for 'sociology'. It is clear that one reason social theory was seen as preferable was simply for its distance (if not a great distance) from sociology. Second, perhaps the emphasis on theory was seen as moving away from the more 'technical' side of social work that had been seen as not measuring up to the standards required for arts students. Third, the relatively neutral, potentially interdisciplinary terri-

tory implied by social theory might have allayed the concerns of those (especially from anthropology) worried about the encroachment of sociology. And, while this has not been intimated in minutes, social theory could be seen as being closer to the subject's historical antecedent, social philosophy.

Before examining in detail the content of the Social Theory course, it is worth noting that despite the dissension mentioned above,[278] its introduction coincided with considerable discussion, and it seems some support, within the Arts Faculty for establishment of a Chair of Sociology. This highlights the (unrealised) possibility that a Chair, and Department, of Sociology might have been established at Sydney at around the same time as the subject was being institutionalised at other Australian universities. While Brennan was a strong champion of this cause and Faculty resolutions in the early 1960s, outlined below, indicate support for establishment of a Chair, the misgivings about the teaching of sociology highlighted above, competing departmental avenues for the teaching of sociology, and the pragmatic fact that chairs require funding and are not an automatic consequence of rhetorical faculty support, appear to have got in the way.

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[278] Sol Encel (2005: 47) describes Brennan as having been 'opposed by a formidable "coalition of the unwilling", drawn from anthropology, philosophy, psychology, and economics'. While it is not evident in the official documentation available, Alec Pemberton (personal correspondence, July 2009) suggests that two important factors were fear by other departments (specially anthropology and psychology) that an introductory sociology course would deplete their enrolments, and political opposition to sociology, which was equated with socialism. Pemberton has named three powerful conservative opponents to sociology within the university. Two were D. M. Armstrong, appointed to the Challis Chair of Philosophy in 1964, and to become Head of the Department of Traditional and Modern Philosophy when it split from the (radical) Department of General Philosophy in 1973 (see W. F. Connell et al. 1995: 165-68; and Abbott 1981 for a more contemporary account from the conservative side); and Peter Lawrence, who occupied a second Chair in Anthropology from 1971 (Connell et al. 1995: 190). But – complicating any interpretation of opposition to sociology as driven by left/right politics – the third was Professor Dick Spann, in Politics/Government, who Brennan named as one of those teaching Social Theory alongside himself (in the revised memorandum quoted above).

There were several discussions about a possible Chair of Sociology minuted at Arts Faculty meetings.[279] Running through these were some tension about its relationship with existing departments, and competition over their existing roles in teaching sociology: in particular, Tom Brennan from Social Work was a key advocate and saw the Chair as continuing the work of his department; Professor Geddes from Anthropology was supportive of a chair, but with the crucial proviso that it was not part of Social Work. In June 1962 'it was agreed that the Faculty would look with favour on the establishment of a Chair of Sociology but refrained from expressing any opinion at this stage as to whether the Chair should be in some established department or be in a new department' (FAM6 20/6/1962: 284). A Faculty committee established a year later to 'consider the relationship between the proposed Chair of Sociology (if and when established) and other University departments concerned with Sociology' (FAM7 26/6/1963: 95) recommended 'an independent Chair, not subordinate in any way to an existing department ... advertised in the broad field of empirical Sociology' (FAM7 17/8/1963: 103).[280] It is interesting here that 'empirical sociology' was specified: perhaps this was a deliberate differentiation from 'social theory', and hence social work.[281] A later committee established to prioritise chairs made sociology second priority after a chair of general linguistics, 'because the establishment of an independent Chair of Sociology will undoubtedly relieve several of the larger Departments of some work, for example the Departments of Anthropology, Psychology and Education' (FAM7 13/5/1964: 203).[282] A tangential reference by Tom Brennan minuted at a

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[279] See: FAM6 (6/6/1962: 273-74; 20/6/1962: 284); FAM7 (26/6/1963: 95; 17/8/1963: 103; 13/5/1964: 201-3).

[280] Committee membership represented departments of social work, history, psychology, anthropology, mathematical statistics, government and public administration and philosophy, with education later added. The Committee's report to the Faculty initially suggested mentioning existence of the department of Social Work in the advertisement, and examining the relationship between the department and chair at an appropriate time; however, Dr C. Jayawardena from Anthropology said this did not reflect the opinion of the committee, and the meeting of the Faculty agreed to delete the sentence from the report (FAM7 17/8/1963: 103).

[281] Alec Pemberton (personal correspondence, July 2009) suggests that 'empirical' stood for a technical and, most importantly, non-Marxist version of sociology.

[282] Other subject areas in the list were Fine Arts, Comparative Literature, Spanish, History of Ideas, Indian Studies and Semitic Studies.

Board of Studies in Social Work meeting on 15 June 1965 indicated that a Chair of Sociology was still considered a possibility:

> ... it was not anticipated that the establishment of an Honours degree be considered until after the Faculty of Arts had defined the scope of the proposed Chair of Sociology (if and when established) and its relationship with other University departments. (BOSSM3 16/6/1965: 75)

But I found no further mentions in Faculty or Professorial Board minutes or Senate Reports.[283]

The course descriptions reveal their introductory sociology content, and also illustrate some changing conceptions of the discipline (or at least changing ways of teaching it). I highlight here the general disciplinary and theoretical components of course descriptions; additional main topics featured are shown in Table 5-2. All the descriptions framed their courses as including introductions to the discipline, not just to society or the social. In 1960, the common duo 'theory and methods' is a featured topic (USC 1960: 855). For the remainder of the 1960s and into the 1970s, sociology was being defined in relation to other disciplines - 'The Scope and Methods of Sociology. Relation with other disciplines. Content of sociology and the nature of sociological generalisation ...' (e.g. USC 1965: 724; 1970: 823).[284] The 1975 course description considered the course to be a 'broad introduction to sociology'. In line with the practice that had become standard in introductory textbooks by then, it also re-introduced from

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[283] The Professorial Board was the precursor to the current Academic Board. I checked Arts Faculty minutes until 1969 (FAM8, FAM9), Professorial Board minutes from 1964 to 1968 (PBM21-26) and indexes from 1970-1975 (PBMI), along with Senate Reports (in Calendars) into the 1970s.

[284] While the 1965-1970 course description was not explicit about its theoretical stance, it seems likely to have been structural-functionalist. In a paper presented in 1970, Brennan said that a primary goal of sociology teaching to social work students was showing them 'the advantages of analysing social phenomena as products of a social system', and argued that, while structural-functionalism was limited 'particularly in the explanation of social change', it remained 'the most useful approach to analysis in the social work context' (1971: 124). The course description from 1972 to 1974 covered the four goals set out in that paper: the social nature of the social bond and analysis of social systems; sociology of the client; sociology of social problems; and social intervention and control (e.g. USC 1972: 487).

1955 Social Philosophy the notion of sociology as a theoretically contested terrain, although with some new contestants, and being sure to explain that this discussion of theory was not enough to overtake the introductory sociology content:

> ... Sociology as science and radical sociology compared. Functionalism, interactionism and the theories of Marx, Freud and Parsons treated critically but not discussed at length. Where available, Australian material is used. (USC 1975: 593)

Interestingly, this is one of the very few points in any of the sociology course descriptions considered in this chapter where the idea of sociology as a science was mentioned. However, it is not at all clear that a scientific approach to the discipline was taken or endorsed. I will return to consider the implications of this in the conclusion of the chapter.

By 1980, the key word in defining the course (and sociology) was 'critical': 'This is a one year introductory course in sociology, which seeks to provide a critical approach

to the concepts, theories and methods of the social sciences'.[285] The contested notion of sociology also remained, but now in the form of 'an introduction to sociological perspectives' (USC 1980: 603). The 'critical approach' continued until Social Theory had become Introductory Sociology (after which critical understanding or analysis was sought). Sociological perspectives also remained a topic in 1985, but by 1990 the description implied a more historical approach, emphasising sociology's 'historical development in response to the particular social conditions and the continuities of themes, concepts and arguments in the work of different theorists' (FHARTS 1990: 282).

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[285] The 'critical approach to the concepts, theories and methods of the social sciences' was introduced to the course description in 1978, when a basis for social work and for understanding development of sociology was also provided. This followed a strike in social work in the late 1970s, focused on both student complaints that the course was insufficiently radical, and the professional association's concern that the Sydney Social Work degree structure only provided two years of straight social work teaching. Stuart Rees was appointed as a new Chair of Social Work in 1978 to resolve the strike (initially with an understanding that Brennan would be returned to the Chair after two years, although this was opposed by staff and did not eventuate), and new staff Alan Davis and Robert van Krieken joined Alec Pemberton (who had been appointed in 1976, a year before the strike started). Van Krieken considers this staffing boost was a big impetus for sociology teaching (Robert van Krieken, personal correspondence, August 2008). Articles in the *Radical Education Dossier* ('A slap in the face for social workers' 1977: 20) and student newspaper *Honi Soit* ('Social Work: Brennan's done it again' 1978: 7) provide a flavour of the protracted and bitter nature of the strike and its aftermath, and the fact that Brennan was seen as a primary antagonist. A report in the national *Bulletin* magazine by Tony Abbott, later Minister in the conservative Howard Federal Government, quoted Brennan bemoaning an emphasis on activism over casework: '"Many social workers are neglecting their primary tasks; they'd rather hold protest meetings and teach lesbians how to make films ... At a time of unemployment in the profession, social work jobs in hospitals – which do not involve changing the world quickly – can't be filled"' (Abbott 1981: 34, quoting Brennan). Mendes (2001: 60) notes that 'Coincidentally or otherwise, Abbott's polemic was followed by more than a decade of significantly reduced social work commitment to social action campaigns and activities'. Conflict around disciplinary definition, generally represented as left/right divisions, was a feature of other parts of the university in the late 1960s and 1970s, with both Economics and Philosophy split as a result (e.g. see Abbott 1981: 40; W. F. Connell et al. 1995: 166-68). Alec Pemberton (personal correspondence, July 2009) suggests that Brennan's denial of tenure to Margaret Sargent (later author of a 'critical sociology' introductory textbook in my sample) was a matter of both personality and politics, and exacerbated tensions.

Social Theory continued to operate as a *de facto* introductory sociology course until, in 1991, it was replaced by Sociology I, offered in the Department of Social Work and Social Policy, with Social Theory II a higher level course (now actually a theory course), and additional sociology courses made available in 1992.[286] It could be said that sociology was, in the end, successfully established via 'theory', although the lapse of more than thirty years and failures of any initial strategic positioning suggest some departure from the Trojan horse metaphor. In 1995, Sociology 101 was very clearly a disciplinary introduction:

> The course is designed to provide students with a basic understanding of the concepts and vocabulary used in sociology and to familiarise them with the major theoretical orientations and areas of research in sociology. It aims to enable students to develop a critical understanding of Australian and other industrial societies, as well as providing them with a comprehension of diverse cultures and social systems.

> *1st Semester:* an introduction to the major concepts and areas of debate in sociology; the development of sociology as a separate discipline in response to industrialisation and urbanisation; social interaction, social institutions, social organisation, culture and socialisation.

> *2nd Semester:* an exploration of some major areas of sociological investigation, such as inequality in industrial societies, the social distribution of

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[286] According to van Krieken (personal correspondence, August 2008), this followed a late 1980s review to coordinate social science teaching across the university, and was assisted by appointment as Vice-Chancellor in February 1990 of Don McNicol, who was supportive of sociology. Social Work's existing Social Theory II course and teaching staff made it a logical home for the new program, but there was continued resistance in Arts. Both Anthropology and French Studies argued that they were already teaching sociology, and Anthropology adopted the stalling tactic of arguing that the question required more careful, and of course protracted, consideration. However, at the same time, the Board of Studies in Social Work was being required to become absorbed within a faculty, and both Architecture and Education were possibilities as well as Arts. This raised the spectre of a large sociology program in another faculty, so that fear of such competition for student enrolments was an important factor motivating the Faculty of Arts' agreement to host the program within the Social Work Department, despite its continued lack of enthusiasm.

knowledge; social change in modern society; the impact of war, technology and globalisation. (FHARTS 1995: 279)

Table 5-2. Additional main topics in 'Social Theory' course descriptions 1960-1990

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990[a]
Social structure/organisation	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
Groups, associations, institutions	-	X	X	X	-	-	-
Culture	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social stability & change	X	X	X	-	-	-	-
Research Methods	X	-	-	X	-	-	-
Status, stratification, class	-	X	X	X	-	-	-
Mobility	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Urban life/culture	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Ethnicity/race	-	X	X	X	-	-	-
Socialisation	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Social control	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Social problems/deviance	-	-	X	X	X	X	O
Social inequality	-	-	-	X	X	X	-
Family	-	-	-	X	-	-	O
Community/area studies	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Mental illness	-	-	-	X	O	O	O
Women	-	-	-	-	O	O	O
Social interaction	-	-	-	-	O	O	-
Crime/law	-	-	-	X	-	-	O

Notes

a. Option seminars in 1990, depending on availability of staff, may include: Psychoanalysis and Social Theory, Sociology of Deviance, Family and Society, Crime and the Law, Sociology of Mental Illness, Personality, History and Society, Nature and Society, Third World Development, Sociology of Health and Illness, Women and the Welfare State (FHARTS 1990: 282).

X. Part of course description (some overlap between topics).

O. Optional seminars or courses, depending on staff availability.

As we see in the 1995 course description above, theory remained important (in the form of 'major theoretical orientations' and 'concepts and areas of debate', and probably also in relation to 'the development of sociology as a separate discipline ...'). But there was also considerable focus on 'areas of research', with several substantive areas of sociology named.

In 1997, the Department became Social Work, Social Policy and Sociology, and in 2003 it was renamed Sociology and Social Policy, with Social Work moving to the Faculty of Education.

Multiple teaching sites: key themes by decade

I have shown that courses in introductory sociology, or with similar general socio-logical content, have been available for much of the twentieth century, taught initially under the auspices of philosophy, the tutorial classes program, anthropology and social studies/social work. Joining these, at various points and to varying degrees, have been disciplines including agriculture, architecture, economics, dentistry, educa-tion, French studies, government and public administration, history, Indonesian and Malayan studies, industrial relations, jurisprudence, linguistics, medicine, psychology, religious studies, and women's studies (later, gender studies) (see Appendix E). While topics covered, emphases and theoretical approaches have varied within and between departments, we can highlight here some key themes for the decades of the twentieth century.

In the first decades of the century, sociology was offered to students in philosophy. From the beginning descriptions emphasised theory, with this already understood as an internally diverse category. They also offered an evolutionary conception of soci-ology and the social, with the teaching of sociology (or social philosophy) tied up with a concern with morality. While we have little information about the version of sociology in the small number of tutorial classes available from the mid-teens through the twenties and beyond, the evolutionary theme seems likely also to have been pres-ent. In the 1920s they included one or more classes on biology and sociology, taught by a Professor of Zoology in whose courses evolution featured, as well as a class on Marxian sociology.[287] There are other hints that the interest in social biology that was prevalent in the UK in the 1920s and 1930s (as discussed in the previous chapter) had some resonance here: eugenics featured in public health teaching until the mid 1930s, and a 1946 course description for a first year biology course taught within the den-

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[287] See Table 5-1, notes e and f.

tistry faculty included, without elaboration, 'the sociological significance of biology' (USCS 1945-46: 219).

In the twenties – the aftermath of the First World War and the lead-in to the Depression – Social Problems was one of the most popular subjects for tutorial classes. However, this was generally linked to economics, rather than sociology. And during the teens and twenties, economics teaching exhibited an acknowledgement of a need to include an understanding of the social alongside the economic, but this had dissipated by the 1930s. A similar distancing can be seen in the case of psychology. Social psychology was incorporated into psychology teaching from the 1920s, becoming more 'social' in the 1940s, but in its course descriptions of social-psychological phenomena it carefully remained on the psychological side of the fence.

Sociology was taught in the contexts of anthropology, (later) social philosophy (in social work), and tutorial classes in the 1930s to 1950s. Concern with the social also began to be visible in jurisprudence (in which the law and legal institutions were related to 'other social phenomena' (USC 1943-44: 226)) from the 1940s, history (as social history) from the 1950s, and architecture, with Social and Economic Organisation offered from the early 1950s to 1970s as part of the Diploma in Town and Country Planning, and explicitly engaging sociology in its treatment of planning, class, urbanisation and demography. Where descriptions provide some detail we see that variations on 'theory' continued to be used. Thus, teaching about social morphology and institutions in 1930s-40s anthropology was labelled 'theoretical' (as opposed to 'descriptive'). Functionalist theory, both named explicitly and evident, for example, in topics on the functions of various social institutions (another common term), was prominent in 1940s-50s courses, dominating anthropology, and also visible in social philosophy and tutorial classes. There was nonetheless some theoretical diversity, apparent in the extensive category of 'social, political and moral theory' offered in 1940s social philosophy; anthropology honours students reading the work of several sociological writers in the 1940s and 1950s; 'the [social] theories' of several 'sociological thinkers' taught in the 1950s tutorial class; and Freudian and Marxist 'analyses' plus more particular 'theories of punishment' in 1950s social philosophy. Across the 1950s courses that named theorists, Marx was common to the tutorial

class, anthropology and social philosophy; Mannheim and Sorokin were in both anthropology and the tutorial class; and Durkheim, Freud, MacIver, Pareto, Parsons, Simmel and Spencer each appeared once. Discussion of the nature of society and its relationship to individuals (or human nature) was another common theme in the 1940s-50s, expressed in anthropology in terms of social cohesion and change, and in social philosophy as cooperation vs conflict (1940s) and Freudian and Marxist (1950s) approaches. Social Problems, which featured strongly (separately from sociology) in the tutorial program until at least the 1930s, was also taken up in social philosophy/theory courses (under Social Studies/Work) in most decades from the 1940s.

Into the 1960s, as sociology departments began to be established in other Australian universities, sociological or social content continued to be taught in the contexts of anthropology, the 'social theory' course that social philosophy had become, architecture, history and jurisprudence: it was joined by courses in sociology of education, and explicitly incorporated (with other disciplines) into Indonesian and Malayan studies. The duo – 'theory and methods' – featured in both anthropology and social theory courses in the 1960s, at the same time that separate theory chapters/sections were becoming common in introductory textbooks (see Chapter Two), heralding both those courses' direct intention of disciplinary introduction, and the treatment of theory (and methods) as special components of sociology. Development of social theory was also covered in an anthropology course in the 1960s.

While the introductory sociology course taught within social work under its 'social theory' *nom de plume* retained this disguise through the 1970s and 1980s, when sociology was well-established at other Australian universities, there was an explosion of sociology teaching across a wide range of professional, social science and humanities courses at the University of Sydney. In the other professional degrees, there was an increased focus on the sociological in courses in Architecture, Education and Law, and a new course in Behavioural and Social Sciences in relation to Medicine was established.[288] Sociology here allowed the professions to locate themselves in relation to the society in which they operate. In all these cases, theory was again important (al-

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[288] In the 1980s, this course was unusual in introducing students to 'scientific method in behavioural sciences' (FHMED 1980: 56).

though not the sole component of sociology employed), with sociological concepts, models, perspectives and/or theories related to the relevant area. For instance, the 'Sociological Perspectives on Education' course employed 'sociological concepts, models and theories in the study of aspects of education' (FHARTS 1975: 875), with the specific emphases changing through the life of the course. And the sociological jurisprudence strand examined:

> ... the place of law as part of the social system. It will include an outline both of modern sociological theory relevant to law and of the theories of the sociological jurists and will examine specific areas of the law and its workings in Australian society. (FHLAW 1980: 42)

In some of these cases, sociology was part of a collection of social science disciplines, with variation in whether they were treated individually or as an interdisciplinary resource. For instance, the introductory course in the Architecture 'Man-Environment Studies' stream broadly drew on 'the social and human sciences' (FHARCH 1975: 31), though senior courses included some that focused on sociology in tandem with social psychology and anthropology. The Medicine course included 'selected basic psychological and sociological concepts' relevant to that area of study (FHMED 1975: 42-43). In Education, in 1975 there was both a Level II course called 'Sociological Perspectives on Education' and an interdisciplinary Level III course, 'Perspectives on Education', which provided students with 'the perspectives gained from the psychologist, the sociologist and the historian' and 'some of the approaches used by the contemporary philosopher' (FHARTS 1975: 87, 89). The former remained in the curriculum until it was replaced in the 1990s by the multidisciplinary course, Social Perspectives on Education.

The emphasis on theory can also be seen in the ways in which sociological content was newly taken up by other social science and humanities courses in the 1970s and 1980s. In the political sociology course introduced in Government and Public Administration in the 1980s, there was 'a strong emphasis on some of the more important social theorists' (FHARTS 1985: 125). Joining social history were several courses in the history of social thought, such as American Political and Social Thought

(FHARTS 1970: 134) and Modern British Labour and Social *Thinkers* (FHARTS 1975: 177), which by the 1980s was retitled Modern British Labour and Social *Theorists* (1980: 254; 1985: 139, emphasis added). In Industrial Relations, the first optional course dedicated to industrial sociology began with 'a brief introduction to general sociological principles' (FHECO 1980: 151). In French Studies, the courses Introduction to the Social Sciences, and French Social and Political Thought from the 1980s both stressed social (and political/cultural) theory, the former shifting from emphasis on the social sciences in general, to individual disciplines, and later sociology in particular.

While this 1970s (and onwards) boom in social theory and sociological content across a range of disciplines sensibly followed from the popularity of sociology in other Australian universities, and the formal absence of a sociology program at the University of Sydney, it might also be understood in relation to the 'moment of theory'. Hunter (2006) describes this philosophical reworking of the empirical disciplines as beginning in the 1960s, but varying in both timing and degree in different disciplinary and national (and, no doubt, institutional) contexts, 'depending on the role played by local "theory-import" cultures and the resistance of existing academic disciplinary cultures' (Hunter 2006: 103).[289] As I will discuss in the next chapter, Hunter has identified a particular kind of persona as uniting this form of theoreticality, with critique a common element of this persona. This notion of critique ran through many of the course descriptions of this period, including social theory, philosophy and anthropology, as we have already seen, but also architecture, history and philosophy of science, and (later) sociological jurisprudence. In several cases, critique went hand-in-hand with an invocation of reflexivity, with sociology, social theory, or the social sciences, themselves an object of critique. We have already seen this in the 'Critique of Social Theory' components/options in Philosophy during the 1980s, where 'common assumptions in the social sciences' and the prevalence of 'positivism (empiricism/individualism)' in 'modern social theory' (emphasising social psychology in

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[289] This variability can be seen in that, contrasting with the examples above, during the 1970s the role of sociology was being backgrounded as one of the disciplinary resources for Indonesian and Malayan Studies, and while sociolinguistics and history and philosophy of science were introduced during these decades, course descriptions did not highlight the role of theory.

1985, and quite possibly also in 1980) were the target of attack. Similarly, but more clearly including sociology, undergraduate architecture courses in 1975 and 1980 encouraged students 'to develop a critical understanding' of both 'the way society operates' and 'the way sociologists [and social-psychologists, in 1980] think and work' (FHARCH 1975: 31; 1980: 38-39).[290]

The 'classical' trio of Marx, Weber and Durkheim first appeared in a description for the anthropology course, Sociological Classics, in 1975, by which time they were entrenched as the trinity in introductory sociology textbooks (see Chapter Four). In the same year, the Social Theory II course in Social Work 'treated critically' 'functionalism, interactionism and the theories of Marx, Freud and Parsons', possibly also utilising the trio if, as in common textbook treatments, functionalism and interactionism were seen as derived from Durkheim and Weber. They continued to appear in various courses into the 1980s and beyond: the three highlighted as some of the 'more important social theorists' in a 1985 Political Sociology course in Government (FHARTS 1985: 125); central to the Philosophy course Foundations of Social Theory in 1995; and, less tightly grouped, with Marx and Weber the eponymous heroes of an anthropology course in 1980, and familiarity with Weber and Durkheim the assumed knowledge in a more eclectic anthropology course on Key Concepts in Sociology in 1990. Despite his nationality, Marx was even allowed into a 1980 course on French Social and Political Thought, along with comrade Althusser, Durkheim (not Weber), and Lévi-Strauss and Foucault (FHARTS 1980: 175). Theoretical plurality and perspectivalism also extended beyond the 'trio' in these decades, with 'sociological perspectives' employed in education courses from 1975 to 1990 and the social theory course in the 1980s, and more than a dozen theorists' names scattered across course descriptions.

It is also worth pointing out that there were programs where sociology might have been a logical inclusion, yet it remained absent during this time. In other words, the extension of sociological content was not uniform or absolute. An obvious example is

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[290] The History and Philosophy of Science course, Perspectives on Science and Technology, in 1985 also included a term on 'Critique of the Human Sciences', but archaeology, psychology and anthropology were singled out, not sociology (FHSCI 1985: 62).

Women's Studies, taught during 1975 to 1985 by members of Economics, Government and, in some cases, Economic History and Fine Arts. The course descriptions were strongly framed in terms of those constitutive disciplines before 1985, with neither social work staff nor sociological approaches involved, despite the fact that the family and women had become part of the Social Theory II course by 1975 and 1980 respectively.[291] Thus, in 1975, the women's studies course 'look[ed] at women from three perspectives – economics, political theory and art. The subject is approached from these different points of view, but the issues raised will be seen to be common. ...' (FHECO 1975: 127-28). In another case, while a few recognisably sociological concepts remained, references to sociology were phased out of the course descriptions in Indonesian and Malayan studies during the 1970s, with the social demoted below language, culture, history, politics and literature.

Sociology was formally established, *qua* sociology, in the early 1990s. The response in other courses, in terms of their coverage of sociology and social theory, has not been uniform. In cases like anthropology, this saw an end to courses specifically focused on sociological theory. Similarly, the 1990s shift from sociological to social perspectives on education might be seen in this light. However, in other cases there was a continuation, or even a sharpening, of sociological content or social theory, in competition with the sociology program. Thus, for instance, we have the (already discussed) 1995 'Foundations of Social Theory' course in Philosophy, which considered the philosophical sources and assumptions underlying the social theories of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. The sociologisation of jurisprudence continued, with the sociological jurisprudence option introduced in 2000 (as one of the replacements for jurisprudence) including considerable general theoretical and methodological sociological content, introducing 'the basic concepts of sociological theory and methodology' and showing 'how these concepts can be applied to the observation of the functioning of the law. ...':

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[291] Alec Pemberton tells me that in the late 1970s, some of the left wing Social Work staff wanted to join Frank Stilwell and Ted Wheelwright in Political Economy, the radical arm of Economics (personal correspondence, July 2009).

> The first part of this unit will look at what sociological theory and research can offer today in the description of social life, the explanation of how societies are organised, why people do what they do. Elementary socio-logical concepts, like norm, role, group, power, class, social structure and social system will be related to the operation of the law. Concepts like these provide the tools which make it possible to examine and study sys-tematically and carefully the social organisation and structure of legal sys-tems, the operation and the social environments in which and in relation to which they are operating. (FHLAW 2000: 19)

And the French Studies course, 'Introduction to the Social Sciences', which since 1980 had been concerned with the social sciences in general, only sometimes singling out sociology along with other social science disciplines, by 1995 was quite pointedly sociological:

> Aspects of the main theories in the French tradition, of some of the foun-ders of modern sociology. This historical perspective leads to work on the different kinds of sociology practised in France today. The relationship be-tween social theory and cultural theory. (FHARTS 1995: 182)

Two additional recent courses are suggestive of reasons for this ongoing involvement by other disciplines with sociology, and especially social theory. A 2000 History course, Writing History, illustrates the translation that has occurred of social theory to disciplines other than sociology. The course, in part, discussed 'social theories (e.g. Marxism, feminism, structuralism, post-structuralism)' and emphasised 'the way in which theory grows out of the need to solve historical problems, questions, and is in-tegral to the construction of an historical narrative' (FHARTS 2000: 176). This inte-gration of social theory into history, along with other disciplines, provides one reason for its continuing inclusion.

Second, a 1990 French Studies fourth year Honours seminar course, 'Scène de la théorie: analyse de la "mise en texte" du discours', was also a course in theory:

> What range of discourses underpin the writings of contemporary French theoreticians? How can we go about decoding them?

> The course suggests that theoretical texts 'stage' a broad range of discursive material through texts which are richly allusive, requiring of the reader a specific grounding in a wide range of fields of knowledge, and a grasp of shifting positions within these.
>
> Participants will undertake a comparative reading of a number of theoretical texts, including work by Barthes, Foucault, de Certeau, Lacan, Derrida and Bourdieu. (FHARTS 1990: 167)

In suggesting that reading (French) theory requires a 'specific grounding in a wide range of fields of knowledge, and a grasp of shifting positions within these', this both positions theory as a multidisciplinary exercise, and argues that multidisciplinary cultural capital is both needed for, and demonstrated by, the capacity to read theory. Teaching theory, then, within different disciplinary contexts might be seen as both a way of participating in, and equipping students to participate in, this multidisciplinary academic arena, and elevating the status of a course.

Conclusion

This chapter is, necessarily, full of the small details that give life to history. It remains for the conclusion to draw together the chapter's argument and central observations, and set out the new questions it poses. I begin with the alternative portrait of the history of sociology at the University of Sydney presented in this chapter, and implications for the history of Australian sociology, and finish with some observations about, and implications of, the role of theory and nature of sociology taught at the University.

The chapter began by summarising the place of the University of Sydney in histories of Australian sociology as dominated by two 'bookends', an early short-lived burst of teaching in the tutorial program and philosophy at the beginning of the century, and belated establishment of a teaching program at the end. The questions or explanatory problems for these accounts concern abortion of this initial teaching program and the long wait before institutionalisation of a new teaching program. While the evidence

presented here does not contradict the fairly abrupt ending in the 1920s of sociology teaching within philosophy, nor the fact that a department of sociology was established only in the 1990s, it does augment and alter accounts of both the first 'bookend' and the intervening years.

While Zubrzycki (2005[1971]) wrote (and others repeated) that there was a single undergraduate philosophy course in sociology taught in 1909 and a masters option from 1910 to 1926, I have shown that in fact sociological content appeared in philosophy courses from 1905 and there was a sociology masters option from 1906. Both these finished in 1926, but both undergraduate teaching and the masters option were then picked up in Anthropology, and sociological content also reappeared in philosophy courses later in the century. Helen Bourke's (1981; 2005[1988]) account (to 1928) has sociology a prominent component of tutorial classes from 1915. Again, from the, admittedly incomplete, documentary evidence available, it appears both that no more than two (and most often one or no) classes in sociology was taught in any year, and that sociology classes were included, at least occasionally, until at least 1957. Social Problems was much more popular, and probably treated by Bourke as Sociology, but in reports was aligned with economics, rather than sociology. Economics teaching before the 1930s also incorporated the social, with introductory sociology textbooks included in reading lists for some of this time. Together, these points suggest a longer and in some ways more substantial 'pre-history' of sociology, with a less clearly defined ending, than had previously been understood, and one where the seeds of disciplinary competition were already present.

Despite domination by the 'bookends', some of the historical accounts acknowledge the existence of some sociology teaching under other disciplinary auspices after the supposed abandonment of sociology within philosophy and the tutorial program. This chapter has shown that this was both continuous through the century and hosted by many different departments, at some points simultaneously. While from the 1930s, Anthropology and Social Science/Social Work were the primary arenas, introductory/general sociological content also appeared, to varying degrees, in courses in agriculture, architecture, dentistry, education, French studies, government and public administration, Indonesian and Malayan studies, industrial relations, law, linguistics,

medicine, philosophy, psychology, religious studies and women's studies. Furthermore, treatment of Elkin's support for sociology within Anthropology during the 1940s as exceptional (e.g. Zubrzycki 2005[1971]: 222) draws attention away from the ongoing role of social anthropology, with feet arguably in both the anthropological and sociological camps, and a series of explicitly sociological courses in Anthropology that began in the 1960s.

In terms of the history of Australian sociology, one implication is that the University of Sydney's pre-departmental contribution needs to be seen as much more than an early, significant blip. Importantly there is evidence of sociological influence in teaching of other disciplines – specifically, architecture, anthropology, economics, jurisprudence, philosophy and social studies – before 1959, when the first Australian chair of sociology was established at UNSW, marking the beginning of the formal establishment and growth of sociology in Australian universities. This raises questions about the extent to which sociology crept into courses at other universities, and the legacy of the different disciplinary hosts: very little information about this appears in the historical literature.[292] The origins and training of these early teachers of sociology also raises questions about international influences on Australian sociology. For instance, Francis Anderson carried his social philosophy from Scotland; both the social anthropologists, Elkin and Radcliffe-Brown, and Tom Brennan were trained in England;[293] and Julius Stone and Philp were both educated at Harvard (and in England and Sydney respectively). What was happening at other Australian universities also affected the University of Sydney. This can be seen in the proliferation of courses influenced by sociology from the 1960s, when sociology was becoming both established and popular elsewhere.

For the University of Sydney, the question presented by this historical portrait is not why sociology disappeared from the University and took so long to re-emerge, but why it endured in these other departmental contexts and why it took so long for a clearly labelled departmental/disciplinary version of sociology to be established. This

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[292] A notable exception is Crozier (2005[2002]) on Melbourne.

[293] Langham (1981) has noted ongoing exchange between Cambridge and the University of Sydney under Radcliffe-Brown's Chair.

has not been the central focus of my research, but some limited evidence has been marshalled in this chapter, so some tentative suggestions can be made as I discuss the nature of sociology taught.

First, I have shown that there were several ways in which theory was important for the introduction of sociological content into different courses, including the three main disciplinary sites. The very fact that philosophy was the initial site of sociology teaching is suggestive of this, and these early (and later) courses explicitly offered students a variety of theories of society. In anthropology, the 'theoretical' side of primitive sociology, concerned with generalised social morphology, provided an interface between anthropology and sociology. While for some time theory acted as a bridge uniting the two disciplines, differentiation of sociological and social anthropological theory came to more clearly demarcate the disciplines, even as the primitive/industrial distinction became less potent. And while the general sociology course in social work also included theoretical content, what was more striking was that being called 'social theory', rather than sociology, was crucial to it being allowed into the Arts Faculty curriculum and to transcend its original audience of social work students. It seems that, in different ways, social theory was considered useful in the context of disciplines other than sociology. Theory thus assisted the introduction of sociology, but – to understate the case – the presence of theory did not lead directly to the introduction of sociology as an independent discipline.

A second, related point to be made about the nature of sociology exhibited in its teaching, apparent above, is its sheer diversity. Whatever it is that has hindered institutionalisation of sociology, as sociology, it has not been a lack of champions for, or interest in, sociology. Many people, in many different departments, have willingly engaged sociological concepts and writers in their teaching, and have even, in effect, taught introductory sociology. While some of the broad themes shaping (at least) Anglophone sociology – a period of dominant functionalism, emergence of the 'holy trinity', the rise of perspectivalism, and a turn to critique – are evident across multiple teaching sites, there is also considerable diversity. It seems likely to me that in fact the plurality of early sites for sociology, the multiple versions of sociology being taught,

actually hindered its disciplinary establishment.[294] The calls of people like Francis Anderson and Tom Brennan for establishment of a new sociology program came in the context of interdisciplinary competition, which I suggest included both competition over resources (funding, students, etc.) and intellectual competition over the nature of sociology that was taught.

This can be seen, for instance, in the establishment of new chairs. In Anderson's time, funding was an 'acute problem, especially during the war years' (Bourke 1981: 29). And we have seen that in the mid 1960s, sociology was one of eight subject areas competing for priority in the Faculty of Arts' list of desired chairs, with no guarantee that chairs would eventuate. These minuted discussions about a possible Chair of Sociology, and about the appropriateness (or otherwise) of making Social Work's introductory sociology subject (called Social Theory) widely available, also provide an indication that interdisciplinary turf wars hindered establishment of sociology as a separate discipline. It was not simply a matter of members of Anthropology or Philosophy opposing Brennan's attempt to establish the discipline. At least some of the opposition seems to have been to the idea of sociology being the responsibility of social work, and taught with the 'practical' and 'professional' emphases that implied.

Sociology can be seen as caught between science on the one hand and philosophy or literature on the other (Lepenies 1988; Wallerstein 1999). This tension is well-illustrated in the first sociologically-titled course at the University of Sydney: Elements of Sociology. Taught by a philosopher and within a philosophical context, the course description began by situating sociology within 'a classification of the sciences' and then went on to the 'present condition of sociological theory' (USC 1907: 127). Apart from this, there is remarkably little reference to sociology as science. Apart from general references to the social sciences, there are only two relevant courses: the Social Theory course in 1975 when 'Sociology as science and radical sociology [were] compared' (USC 1975: 593), with no indication that sociology as

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[294] Although one problem this raises is how it was eventually established. In the end, it appears that a supportive Vice-Chancellor, student demand coupled with Faculty anxiety about loss of enrolments, and accumulation of potential teaching staff and courses in social work all coincided to overcome this problem.

science was preferred, and the Behavioural Studies in Medicine course, which introduced students to the role of scientific method in the behavioural studies alongside introducing sociological concepts. On the other hand, sociology has been taught as social philosophy both in the initial stage of teaching, from 1905 to 1926, and as the immediate predecessor to Social Theory, from 1940 to 1959. While ideas of sociology as a science featured in the first calls for establishment of sociology at the University of Sydney, they do not appear to have been so important in presenting the subject to students. The fact that sociology was not harnessed early in the century to use Australia's situation as a social laboratory and build the promised scientific knowledge (Bourke 1981; 2005[1988]) may have been a factor. Rather, for important parts of its 'pre-history', the version of sociology presented was a philosophical, and hence theoretical one. This heritage can be considered one of the influences on the way sociology teaching developed at the University. It also raises the question of whether sociology's institutionalisation might have proceeded more quickly if it had turned to science, rather than philosophy and theory, as a source of legitimacy.

A fourth component of the teaching of sociology has been the role of social problems – an important aspect of sociology teaching in the US, well suited to the demands of reformists. While social problems featured in tutorial classes in the 1920s and 1930s, it was tied then to economics, rather than sociology, thus losing an opportunity to harness a constituency for sociology. Social Problems did not feature on course descriptions from Anthropology, but, as might be expected, was a feature of the Social Work curriculum, within the course descriptions for Social Philosophy (in 1946) and as part of a course in Social and Economic Problems (1946), included as an option in Social Theory through the 1970s to the 1990s, and in Sociology of Education also in the 1970s.

Finally, one of the common features of the employment of social theory we have seen in course descriptions from the 1970s has been an emphasis on critique. The 1985 philosophy course, Foundations of Social Theory, devotes part of its attention to 'Marx and the beginnings of "critical theory"'. It is worth noting that while here, and in other course descriptions from 1975, Marx often appears, sometimes solo, sometimes representing the critical third of sociology's 'holy trinity', there is a good scat-

tering of Marxist references in courses throughout the century. Marx's was one of the 'theories of justice' included in Social and Ethical Philosophy in the teens and twenties; there was a tutorial class on Marxian sociology in 1929; Marx was one of the sociologists that anthropology honours students were asked to read in 1946-1950, and whose theories were considered in a 1957 tutorial class in sociology; and Marxist and Freudian analyses of society were compared in the 1950s social philosophy course. We can not tell from these course descriptions whether Marxism was valorised, but they invite questions about the role of leftist social theory in both the discipline in Australia and the delayed institutionalisation of sociology at the University of Sydney.

In the next chapter, I focus not on the institutional context as such, but on the use of theory by individuals operating within those contexts. I will consider the ways in which theory can be a resource for those individuals, allowing for positioning of the individual, and their work, within competitive contexts, engagement in politics and the development and maintenance of different kinds of persona.

CHAPTER 6

POSITIONING, POLITICS AND PERSONA:
THEORY AS AN INDIVIDUAL RESOURCE

> We need theory, and so we need thinkers. We need thinkers about society, ways
> of thinking about society. We need sociological thinkers. (Stones 1998: 2)

Introduction

As its tautological excursion, quoted above, suggests, Rob Stones' (1998) *Key Socio-logical Thinkers* reminds us that sociological theory is produced by individuals. Stones' book is one of several theory textbook titles that draws attention to the role of theorists – whether *as* theorists (Mihanovich 1953),[295] or as masters (Coser 1971), social philosophers (Nisbet 1974[1973]), founders (Johnson 1981), or thinkers (Stones 1998) – in theory.[296] As Stones makes clear, the emphasis here is on theorists as theory experts, with the student's job merely being to learn from them:

> ... we all do have something to learn from a range of sociological thinkers
> who have taken the time and made the (disciplined, patient, dogged, gen-
> erous) effort to think long and hard about a whole variety of significant
> aspects of society that most of us will have barely sensed let alone spent as
> much time and energy considering. (Stones 1998: 1-2)

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[295] Mihanovich (1953) is an edited collection focused on Catholic social theory.

[296] Crow and Pope (2008: 219) note Marx and Engels' comment in *The German Ideology* on the value of personifying abstract ideas, and suggest this helps explain the tendency to study theory as theorists.

But if students take the time to learn about theory, might not they, and other ordinary sociologists, also employ it as a resource as they negotiate not only their research, but other aspects of their work, career and selves in institutional contexts?

While previous chapters have examined uses of theory related to research and disciplinarity, in this chapter I consider some of the other ways in which theory is used by individuals, both 'theorists' and 'ordinary sociologists', drawing on my sample of introductory textbooks, histories of sociology, presentations, papers and abstracts from the ESA 'What is theory for?' conference and the BSA annual conference, 'Sociological Challenges: Conflict, Anxiety and Discontent', held in the same year. The chapter is organised into three sections, representing interrelated categories of theory use. The first looks at individuals' use of theory for positioning both themselves and their work, including the relatively mundane ways in which theory as an object of expertise, teaching, etc. can provide a position – for instance, as theorist – within academia, and possibilities of exploiting the varying currency of theory in general, and particular theoretical names, in terms of status, fashion and novelty. The second considers political uses of theory, both in fighting political battles within academia and in importing moral-political frameworks that might guide action more broadly. Finally, I turn to the use of theory in cultivating various kinds of sociological personae, whether in constructing oneself as a theoretical expert within sociology, or as a 'sociologist'.

My main aim in this chapter, then, is to demonstrate that the role of theory in sociology is not merely to assist with sociological research, or to define and sustain sociology as a discipline, or to promote its role in an interdisciplinary project. Theory is also employed by individual sociologists to produce and sustain themselves, and their positions, politics and careers, in myriad ways. We shall see that, while both theorists and ordinary sociologists employ theory as an individual resource, their techniques, strategies and effects differ. The chapter thus also suggests that these differentiated individualised uses of theory both follow from and contribute to the situation described in Chapter Two, where theory is both a specialised arena of expertise and a universally shared domain in sociology.

Positioning

In this section I discuss ways in which theory as an object of study and expertise can be a resource for positioning the individual – both in the basic sense of providing material for the pursuit of a sociological career, and in terms of defining and displaying particular positions – providing examples from introductory textbooks, presentations and abstracts from the ESA theory conference, and abstracts from a comparative BSA annual conference from the same year. Theory may be useful not only for conducting research, but in writing, presenting, teaching and producing textbooks, and in applied sociological contexts, activities that may be translated into the financial, psychological and social rewards that a career may bring. And theoretical choices have consequences not only for the research (or theoretical work) produced, but for the ways that work and the authorial self are received by audiences.

Perhaps the most obvious use of theory evident at the social theory conference was as an object of writing (and reading/talking),[297] including writing conference papers and abstracts: social theory also enables conference trips to Paris. Without theory there would be no theory conferences, and likewise no books, articles or papers on social theory. Employment of theory also spilt over into the responses to papers, with ongoing theoretical grappling evident both in questions and comments within conference sessions, and in subsequent informal discussions between participants.[298]

Charles Turner's (2004) presentation, in focusing on how to make theory relevant to students, advocated a particular 'primary task of social theory as it is taught in universities', reminding us that teaching is another specific practice – perhaps the dominant

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[297] One interesting (but untested) observation that I will return to hypothetically later in the chapter is that most presenters either read their papers or talked to them, without using additional presentation technology. Only two of the presentations I attended used Powerpoint (and those both dealt with projects involving non-academic clients), contrasting with other sociology conferences I have attended where use of Powerpoint (or similar) is more common.

[298] Questions/comments commonly (but not always) also provided an opportunity to show off the questioners' theoretical prowess – sometimes in the formulaic way of suggesting the presenter make use of the questioner's own pet theorist(s), sometimes in displaying sophisticated understanding of the theoretical material dealt with in the presentation.

one for most academics – utilising social theory as an object of special expertise.[299] The primary twentieth and early twenty-first century location of sociology within university contexts means that development of theory as a teaching (and textbook) specialty makes theoretical expertise a valuable career credential. The theory courses outlined in Chapter Two could not be taught without access to theory as a resource within sociology, and without this theory teachers would be unemployed (or teachers of something else). Cuff and Payne (1979) suggested that theory might have a useful pedagogical role in general sociology teaching, stretching and engaging students intellectually. In explaining the choice of format for their book, they related with horror their involvement in sociology courses based on rote learning sociological findings, and expressed preference for 'a more worthwhile learning based upon the thinking which can derive from studying, comparing and contrasting different approaches to understanding something about the social world' (1979: 2).

Theory can also operate as a device to organise textbooks (and other aspects of teaching). The now standard perspectivist approach provides a framework that can be applied to individual chapters or whole textbooks. Cuff and Payne (1979) provided an extreme example: between the opening chapter ('The Nature of Sociological Perspectives') and closing chapters ('Sociological Perspectives and Research Strategies' and 'Some Conclusions') sit a series of chapters each devoted to one theoretical 'perspective'. More typically (e.g. Haralambos et al. 1996), the chapter(s) about the nature of sociology were accompanied by a series of chapters about particular segments of social life, each of which is considered from a variety of sociological perspectives.[300]

The use of theory for positioning can also be seen in the sense of the positioning of whole textbooks (and, by extension, other academic publications). Kuklick (1999: 228-29) noted that the choice of founders' portraits allows teachers to quickly ascer-

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[299] Turner's suggestion, that theory be offered to students not simply as an academic tool, but as a contribution to their 'understanding of ... the "art of living"', providing them with 'modes of world orientation' (D.C. Turner 2004), suggests another possible use of theory, one that transcends academic and disciplinary boundaries.

[300] Of course other versions of theory can also be employed to help organise textbooks. For instance, the social/individual dualism provides a framework for Congalton and Daniel (1976).

tain 'whether or not the books convey the views they hold dear'. Similarly, several books in my sample displayed their theoretical colours clearly through incorporation of names and theoretical ideas. It does not take many pages of reading to ascertain, for instance, that Sargent (1983) and Broom and Selznick (1959) would appeal to different audiences. Of course, the inclusion of multiple perspectives can also be seen as a positioning device, broadening the appeal to a wider theoretical market.

Conference presenters' opinions differed on theory's utility in dealing with non-academic clients in policy and consulting work. Particular theoretical conceptions were seen as useful for underpinning social policy formation (Erben 2004), with theory also having an 'ideological' role, allowing policy makers to justify decisions taken (Boyne 2004) and convey legitimacy. However, Kirdina (2004) argued that overt theoreticality would have hindered her consulting project: when questioned on this she stated that theory was seen as useful for analysis, but only 'in their heads', not discussed with clients.

This category of theory use, providing an object of expertise that enables individuals to position themselves within an academic (or other sociological) career, clearly goes beyond research. It may be harnessed to research: for instance, the very failures of a theory to gel with empirical data might furnish a new theoretical object, helpfully demonstrating a thoughtful, sceptical approach (e.g. Pryke 2004: 15). However, it may also be quite unrelated to research, fitting more with Menzies' (1982) category of 'theoreticians' theory'. Conference papers showed that theory as an object of expertise offers many possibilities, including 'theory' in general or the writings of specific theorists. Theory can become an object for taxonomic stratification, and indeed theorisation, especially as 'sociological theory becomes an infinitely complicated world in itself' (Kultygin 2004). And theory might constitute a historical resource, illustrated by an examination of the influence of American pragmatism on twentieth-century sociology (Gross 2004). A particular theorist's work can be traversed in search of key possibilities and problems, providing scope for criticism and invention. For example, following his advice that assessing any 'great thinker's work entails attempting to find and resolve tensions', Pryke (2004: 7-13) identified vulnerabilities to criticism in Bourdieu's work in terms of its own claims, such as scepticism towards grand theory.

Similarly, Papilloud (2004) developed his argument that interactive media lead to 'the society for oneself' through problematising aspects of Luhmann's argument that mass media lead to 'world society'.

Theory can be a resource for generating more, or more challenging, work, potentially providing direction for an intellectual career, status or the pleasure of tackling new puzzles, like the enjoyment for debate said to have motivated Bourdieu's ongoing scientific engagement (Bertaux 2004).[301] This was evident in papers that established programs of further sociological work: in one example, building 'a complete theory of collective action and norm emergence', which 'will not be an easy task' (Linares 2004: 4, 10, 15). And Araújo and Brandão encouraged us to follow the difficult theoretical path, resisting 'the temptation of completely surrendering ... to the interests of immediate and ready to consume theory' in favour of 'fundamental research demanding a long theoretical and methodological deepening'.

Araújo and Brandão's comment about the time that theoretical work can entail, together with Stones' point (quoted at the beginning) that the time and energy put into theoretical work distinguishes the great sociological thinkers, draws attention to the fact that both 'theorists' and 'ordinary sociologists' must make choices about which theoretical works and ideas they engage with.[302] Just as theory provides an object of expertise, it demands an investment of time, and it seems likely that to some extent theoretical choices are affected by the returns that might be earned on these invest-

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[301] Theoretical work might alternatively be seen as relatively 'easy' (and inexpensive) compared to forms of empirical work that require greater administrative coordination, dealings with subjects and project management.

[302] Empirical examination of how these choices are made suggests a further avenue for considering 'theory use' in sociology. Patricia Harris's (1998) interviews with eleven postgraduate students working in the social sciences or humanities from a particular Australian university provide some indication of the variety of factors shaping such choices. Students' previous academic histories, the theoretical fashion prevalent within the institution and supervisors' theoretical stances, negotiations with the subtle associated pressures to conform, a sense of how well different theories (particularly 'old' Marxist and 'new' Foucaultian ones) fitted their research materials, and notions of independent inquiry all influenced the theoretical positions they took.

ments.[303] One aspect of such theoretical choice involves the ways in which theory can help to define and display one's position. In assisting positioning, theory can be seen as both an intellectual resource and a marketing tool: enabling academics either to refine their arguments, or to pitch their work as interesting to a particular audience (or from the 'audience' side, prioritise reading, stream conference papers, identify potential collaborators, etc.), or both – with how these potentially competing goals are negotiated in individual cases an empirical question. While the work being positioned may, but need not, involve empirical research, positioning occurs in the context of other sociological activities, such as writing, reading, presenting, choosing textbooks, and organising and attending conferences.

Positioning can be seen as a strategy adopted by individual writers and presenters, with numerous examples in textbooks and conference papers of positioning the self, and others, through the use of theory. For instance, in just one textbook passage (Mitchell 1959: 18-22), we see the positioning of Mitchell, Parsons, Durkheim and Comte, as Mitchell supported Parsons' assessment of Durkheim's turn from Comtean positivism and utilitarianism. The ESA theory papers demonstrate that there are multiple ways in which theoretical work can be employed to position one's own. This may involve positively aligning one's work with another's – as when Dominguez (2004) 'follows' Rorty (at least partway) and develops an argument '[a]longside theorists such as Haraway, Cooper & Law, and Hetherington' – or may be oppositional, as with Gülap's (2004) argument presented against 'the theory of secularization'. In two cases critical comments about Bourdieu were complemented with complimentary ones: Sam Pryke (2004) prefaced his criticism by noting that he 'use[s] and admire[s]' Bourdieu's work; and Mattias Wahlström (2004: 16) claimed 'great respect' for aspects of Bourdieu's work before expressing doubt in one of his claims. While indicating their authors' genuinely complex relationships with Bourdieu's work, these statements also conveyed their nuanced expertise (perhaps especially useful for distinguishing themselves from the multitudes claiming familiarity with Pierre?). More provocatively, and demonstrating the relationality of self-positioning, Charles Turner

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[303] Textbooks and conference presenters did not discuss theoretical choices in these terms.

diagrammatically classified a gaggle of theorists into three columns: his 'basic argument' that 'the good guys are in the middle' (D. C. Turner 2004).

Waters' (1989: 22) textbook description of theory as 'the intellectual capital of sociology' invites consideration of its role in mediating plays for (intellectual) status amongst individuals or groups of academics.[304] The very prominence given to theory and theorists within many sociology textbooks – heralded as the '"great" writers' in sociology (Bessant & Watts 1999: 2), for instance – conveys the possible status rewards theory use might bring. Another illustration of the status effects that may be derived from theory is found in the status implications for Giddens (1989) of his own use of theory.[305] In describing Giddens' path to theoretical stardom, Clegg (1992: 590) noted the strategic importance of this textbook, which by 're-packaging the themes of structuration theory in the product of a first year sociology text, has a massive potential for enrolling the legion of first year teachers to structurationism'. This 're-packaging' was often done without fanfare, with, for example, structurationist claims about the relation between social structure and social reproduction presented as a sociological tenet, without reference to competing claims (Giddens 1989: 19). However, Giddens also drew attention to the sophistication involved in theoretical work,

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[304] Different explanations are available for the status of theory. For instance, Worsley (1974: 5) suggested its concern with generalisation, and hence widespread applicability, as an explanation. Chafutz (1993: 1) considered it ironic that the 'abstruse and impenetrable' nature of much theory writing means that its authors receive unwarranted prestige, despite such work not providing helpful explanations that can assist sociological research: 'the emporer is still not perceived as unclothed'. Stinchcombe (1984; 1986) has suggested that the very need for basic disciplinary consensus about allocation of prestige drives a demand for regularity and simplification, so both theory – especially the kind of theory whose objects are books, rather than complex, messy, flesh-and-blood people – and abstract methods become prestigious subdiscipines because of their distance from human reality and methodology. One side effect is that 'they tend to close themselves off from sources of information that would tell them that they are wrong' (Stinchcombe 1984: 54). Stephen Warner has suggested that we define as 'theoretical' work that is considered deserving of prestige. 'A really first-rate work on, say, the growth of science in the seventeenth century will get published under a title that includes "theory" because it grips our imagination and seems to illuminate our substantive understanding. Thus, whatever is prestigious is what we call "theory"' (Stinchcombe 1986: 51).

[305] Mullan (1987: 4) noted that Giddens' name by then had started appearing in larger print than the titles on his book covers.

informing students on page one that 'many of [his] previous writings have been concerned with theory' and, later, that assessing theoretical approaches 'is a challenging and formidable task' (1989: 715).

One way in which theory may be used to position the author as clever involves theoretical dualities, which provide endless possibilities for synthesis and reformulation (van Krieken 2002: 257), offering not only something to write about, but scope to demonstrate theoretical prowess by rejecting or transcending the duality and creating new middle ground. In his textbook, Giddens showed off his superior theoretical skills through his discussion of structure and agency. After suggesting that the structure/action 'controversy' was 'unlikely [to] ever be fully resolved', he deftly stepped in with his own solution for 'bridging the gap between "structural" and "action" approaches' – advising novice sociologists to 'recognize that we actively make and remake social structures during the course of our everyday activities' (Giddens 1989: 702-5). Similarly, in their conference paper, New and Carter (2004: 7-12) described the '"structure/agency debate" [as], as one recent commentator has put it, "widely acknowledged to lie at the heart of sociological theorising"', outlined the two dichotomous positions, and then filled in two middle-ground ones, arguing against Giddens' structuration theory and for their own realist version.

Fichter (1957: v-vi) adopted an unusual approach to footnoting in his textbook, omitting them 'because beginning students never read them, but also because it seems pedantic to refer to sources of common elementary knowledge'. His approach, of dropping names from the text, draws attention to the multiple uses and effects of name-dropping within texts. Referencing and citation have obvious rationales, such as allowing verifiability of sources, intellectual acknowledgement, and providing access to original texts for any students diligent enough to pursue them. But the connection of theories to names also allows other uses, as (to illustrate my point) Foucault's (1997: 321-22) playful thought experiment of the 'year without a name', during which books

would be published *sans* authors' names, suggests.[306] I turn now to one of these 'nominative' uses of theory evident in textbooks: positioning as fashionable.

There are only occasional direct comments in introductory textbooks about the shifts in fashionability of theorists and theories.[307] For example, Haralambos and Heald noted that:

> During the 1940s and 1950s functionalism was the dominant social theory in American sociology. Since that time it has steadily dropped from fa-vour, partly because of damaging criticism, partly because other ap-proaches are seen to answer certain questions more successfully and partly because it simply went out of fashion. (Haralambos & Heald 1980: 521; see also Bessant & Watts 1999: 37-38)

And Waters (1989: 9) commented that 'Spencer became an enormously prolific and popular author [but] today is seldom spoken of' (Waters 1989: 9).[308]

The changing fashionability of authors is evident in the changing ranking of names over the decades, shown, for instance, in Oromaner's (1980) comparison of most fea-tured names in US textbooks from 1958-62 and 1968-72.[309] Illustrations of the chang-ing fashionability of authors in my textbook sample can be seen in Table 6-1 (see sec-

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[306] See Cronin (1984) for a science-studies analysis of the role of citation in (broadly defined) scientific writing. He argued for a middle-ground understanding of citation, between a norma-tive 'scientific' account that includes functions such as paying homage to pioneers, giving credit for related work, and detailing methodology (1984: 30), and a subjectivist, contextual account emphasising authorial strategies, such as hat-tipping citation of eminent authors and 'conspirational cross-referencing' (1984: 64), and drew attention to the intensified interest in citation caused by development of citation indexes and their use as an evaluative tool.

[307] A more recent introductory textbook (not in my sample) enticingly has a section 'Applying the four theoretical perspectives: the problem of fashion', in its introductory chapter, but does not take up the opportunity to comment on theoretical fashion (Furze et al. 2008: 20-22).

[308] See Hamilton (2003) on the role of textbooks in promoting this decline.

[309] Although, not surprisingly, he found considerably more stability in textbooks than in jour-nal articles, comparing 1955 and 1970.

tion on methods in Chapter One).[310] The declining favour of Spencer, for instance, is evident, as he dropped from third place in the 1920/30s, down to a low of equal twenty-fourth in the 1960s and then returned to around twentieth for the following three decades;[311] as is the rise of Giddens (from equal thirty-seventh in the 1970s to ninth in the 1990s), Goffman (nineteenth in the 1960s to sixth in the 1990s) and Foucault (seventeenth in the 1980s to equal eleventh in the 1990s).

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[310] Of course there are many possible reasons for changes in 'fashion', including intellectual ones and those associated with theories' explanatory capabilities, as the Haralambos and Heald quote indicates. Obviously, simple factors like the dates of publication, and in some cases translation, of texts determine which names have the possibility of appearing in the list. Patterns of fashionability in textbooks may also be quite different from those in other contexts where theory is used, given, for instance, the disciplinary ancestry often emphasised in textbooks. For instance, of Beilharz's (1995: 133) 'dominant figures' for three decades of Australian social theory – Marcuse in the 1960s, the ugg-booted Althusser in the 1970s (thanks to participants in a University of Sydney Department of Sociology and Social Policy postgraduate seminar in July 2003 for this image, which highlights the influence of fashion, and specially fashion recycling, in theory) and Foucault in the 1980s – only Foucault ranked in the top five of any of my textbooks. The fact that Beilharz was dealing with social, rather than sociological, theory is a factor.

[311] Similarly, Simmel dropped steadily from second in the 1920s to thirty-sixth in the 1960s, then jumped to twelfth in the 1970s and has since remained in the top 25, and Freud also declined to a low of twenty-ninth in the 1950s and returned to a high of seventh in the 1980s. Urry suggested that the emphasis in sociology on novelty and innovation (rather than 'working through existing theory' and 'the puzzle-solving practices of normal science') encouraged 'cyclical repetition of theories, rather than for one wholly to replace that already in existence' (Urry 1981: 33).

Table 6-1. Most used 'names' in introductory textbooks by decade of publication

	20/30s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
1	Simmel	Davis	Parsons	Durkheim	Marx	Marx
2	Darwin	Hatt	Merton	Weber	Weber	Weber
3	Spencer	Lipset	Marx	Marx	Durkheim	Durkheim
4	Thomas	Bendix[a]	Lipset[a]	Merton	Parsons	Parsons
5	Durkheim	Linton[a]	Weber[a]	Parsons	Goffman	Connell
6	Lowie	Burgess[b]	Durkheim	Mills	Merton	Goffman
7	Le Bon	W.S. Thompson[b]	Mills	Davis	Freud	Merton
8	Comte	Durkheim[c]	Lockwood[c]	Lipset	J. H. Goldthorpe	Berger
9	Galton	Warner[c]	M. Mead[c]	Goffman[d]	Lockwood	Giddens
10	Znaniecki	Merton[e]	Bendix[e]	Smelser[d]	Connell[e]	J. H. Goldthorpe
11	Pearson[f]	Parsons[e]	Richards[e]	Berger	Mills[e]	Foucault[f]
12	Sorokin[f]	Radcliffe-Brown[e]	J.H. Goldthorpe[g]	Simmel	Davis	Mills[f]
13	Marx[g]	Weber[e]	Warner[g]	Williams	Giddens	Comte[h]
14	Veblen[g]	Spencer	Evans-Pritch[A]	Comte	Darwin	Lockwood[h]
15	Freud	Marx[j]	Linton[i]	Freud	Berger[j]	Freud
16	Weber	Park[j]	Radcliffe-Brown[i]	Lenski	Garfinkel[j]	Davis
17	Burgess	M. Mead	Form[k]	Bendix[k]	Foucault	Garfinkel
18	Park	Williams	Lenski[k]	M. Mead[k]	Comte[l]	M. Mead[l]
19	W.S. Thompson	Mills[m]	Goffman	Spencer[k]	Lipset[l]	Spencer[l]
20	Hiller	Tumin[m]	Comte	Garfinkel	Lenski	Simmel

Notes

a. =4th

b. =6th

c. =8th

d. =9th

e. =10th

f. =11th

g. =12th

h. =13th

i. =14th

j. =15th

k. =17th

l. =18th

m. =19th

A. Evans-Pritchard

Mullins (1973) provided an account of the rise (and fall) of new theoretical approaches in American sociology based on the formation and change of 'theory groups'. Successful formation of such groups relies upon a collection of contingent intellectual and social factors, such as some kind of initial (actual or apparent) intellectual success by an intellectual leader, coherence of the theoretical position into a

program statement, attraction of a sufficiently large group of collaborators (including colleagues and students) into a research centre, the parent discipline's treatment of the group's work as distinctive (and hence either incorporation as elite or rejection as revolutionary), publication of a textbook and other intellectual materials, and dispersal of students into new institutions. Baldock's (1994: 596-600) description of recent trends in Australian sociological theory and methods, using an amended version of Waters and Crook's (1990) schema of 'centres of intellectual leadership' (see also Waters 1989) – positivist-stratificationist-Weberianism at ANU, Marxism at Macquarie (and elsewhere), Olin-Wrightian-positivism at UQ, historical Weberianism at Flinders, and a geographically dispersed network of feminisms – with some intergenerational, and some theoretical stances migrating with individuals to new institutions, suggests a similar social patterning to theory work in Australian contexts. This notion of theory groups can be seen to go some way in explaining the shifts in ranking of names in textbooks. For instance, the 1950s and 1960s dominance of structural-functionalism or 'standard American sociology', derived from the theory group organised around Parsons and Merton, can be seen in the prominence in those decades of key figures, Kingsley Davis, Merton and Parsons, along with Lipset, Bendix and Tumin, and Durkheim and Weber, promoted by the group (Mullins 1973: 54-57).

Exploiting their capacity to convey particular meanings, theoretical 'names' can operate as 'intellectual badges' (Stinchcombe 1982: 6), so that inserting them into academic writing positions work – and, by implication, the authorial self – as fashion-

able, novel or relevant to a particular audience.[312] This is particularly pertinent in contexts such as conference programs, where first impressions are so important. Printed abstracts provide a convenient source for systematic examination of the use of names. While probably not naming all theorists discussed in full papers, abstracts seem likely to indicate any whose work is central to the papers' topics, and those considered helpful for 'selling' the papers to conference convenors and participants. Of course these names may be invoked in different ways, illustrating some of the many possible approaches to theory within sociology. For instance, in this ESA 'What is theory for?' conference collection, names were used in abstracts to signal a paper's central topic (e.g. Greve), indicate the theoretical framework for research (Sutherland), reference claims that are incorporated into an argument (Araújo & Brandão) or disputed (Turner), acknowledge conceptual developers (Kultygin) or leaders of traditions (Spurk), exemplify an approach (Baert), identify illustrative textual material (Boyne), critically appropriate an argument (Dominguez), name representatives of multiple approaches for comparison and synthesis (Verpraet), acknowledge sources of intellectual inspiration (Turner), and note similarity of approach (Dreher). Further, it is worth noting that excluding names may be as important as including them. That Bourdieu's footnotes included no references to then living French sociologists apart from his own disciples (Bertaux 2004) was presumably a self-promotion strategy that did not harm his trajectory.

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[312] The particular importance of theorists' names can be considered by comparing their role in theory textbooks or courses and methods textbooks or courses. It is quite common (although not universal) for theory textbooks to be organised by theorist, whereas methods textbooks are rarely organised in this way. Methods text chapters tend to concern particular methods, more general questions of epistemology, types of data, or aspects of the research process (see, for instance, Bryman 2004; Bulmer 1984; Lee 2000; Punch 1998; Ragin 1994. Platt (1996: 37-44) also noted that in pre-1960s American methods textbooks, chapters consistently emphasised different kinds of data analysis, with aspects of research design and analysis later added; where 'names' are prominent they represent chapters' authors, not their titles). In exceptional cases, such as the chapters in Silverman (1997) that name Foucault – Miller's 'Building Bridges: The Possibility of Analytic Dialogue Between Ethnography, Conversation Analysis and Foucault' and Prior's 'Following in Foucault's Footsteps: Text and Context in Qualitative Research' – linking Foucault's name to 'discourse analysis' imbues it with theory, in both the senses of implying a sophisticated conceptualisation of discourse and marking it as fashionable.

In this section I examine the ways in which names were used in the ESA theory conference abstracts, and compare them with those from the BSA Annual Conference – a general sociology conference – from the same year (2004). ESA theory conference abstracts were both more likely to contain names, and likely to contain a greater number of names, than those from the BSA conference. As Chart 6-1 and Table 6-2 show, most (75%) of the 32 printed abstracts for the ESA theory conference contained at least one name, while only 39% of the 239 BSA annual conference abstracts included one or more names. Overall, 34% of the ESA abstracts contained one or two names, and 41% three to seven, higher than the BSA conference, where 26% contained one or two names, and 14% contained three to thirteen. When abstracts which included no names are excluded, the results show that 54% of ESA theory conference abstracts with names included three or more names, compared to 35% of BSA abstracts. It seems likely that the ESA conference's theoretical emphasis contributed to this prevalence of 'naming', although further research would benefit from considering other possible contributing factors, such as cultural variations in 'European' and 'British' sociologies, conference themes, and differences in conference scale.[313]

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[313] Infestas and Lambea's (1993) statistical analysis of main themes of abstracts/papers for the XIIth World Congress of Sociology, held in Madrid in 1990, did not present data on 'names', but indicated variability by author's country/region. Of interest here, they found that questions of sociological theory and epistemology were more likely to be addressed by Western European and North American writers (particularly men) than those from other countries. Within Western Europe, theoretical questions were more likely to be addressed by Scandinavian writers, and epistemological ones by British writers.

Chart 6-1. Distribution of abstracts by number of names mentioned per abstract, ESA social theory conference and BSA annual conference, 2004
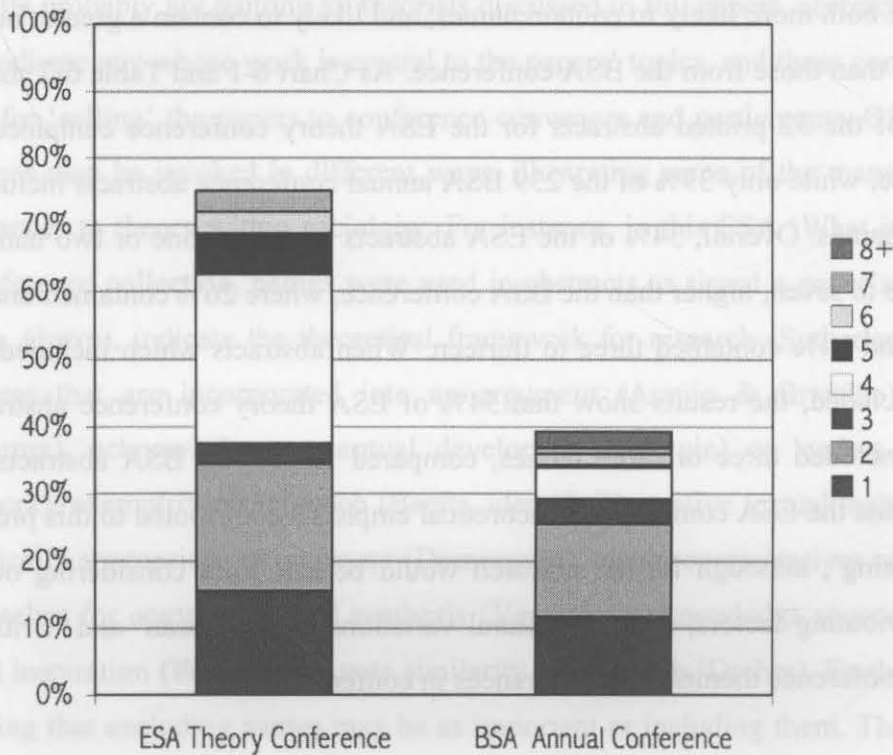
Table 6-2. Distribution of abstracts by number of names mentioned per abstract, ESA social theory conference and BSA annual conference, 2004

Number of names cited at least once	ESA theory conference Number (%) of abstracts	BSA annual conference No. (%) of abstracts
0	8 (25.0)	145 (60.7)
1	5 (15.6)	28 (11.7)
2	6 (18.8)	33 (13.8)
3	1 (3.1)	9 (3.8)
4	8 (25.0)	11 (4.6)
5	2 (6.2)	1 (0.4)
6	1 (3.1)	4 (1.7)
7	1 (3.1)	2 (0.8)
8+	-	6 (2.5)
Total	32 (100.0)	239 (100.0)

Chart 6-2. Most commonly cited authors in ESA theory conference and BSA annual conference abstracts
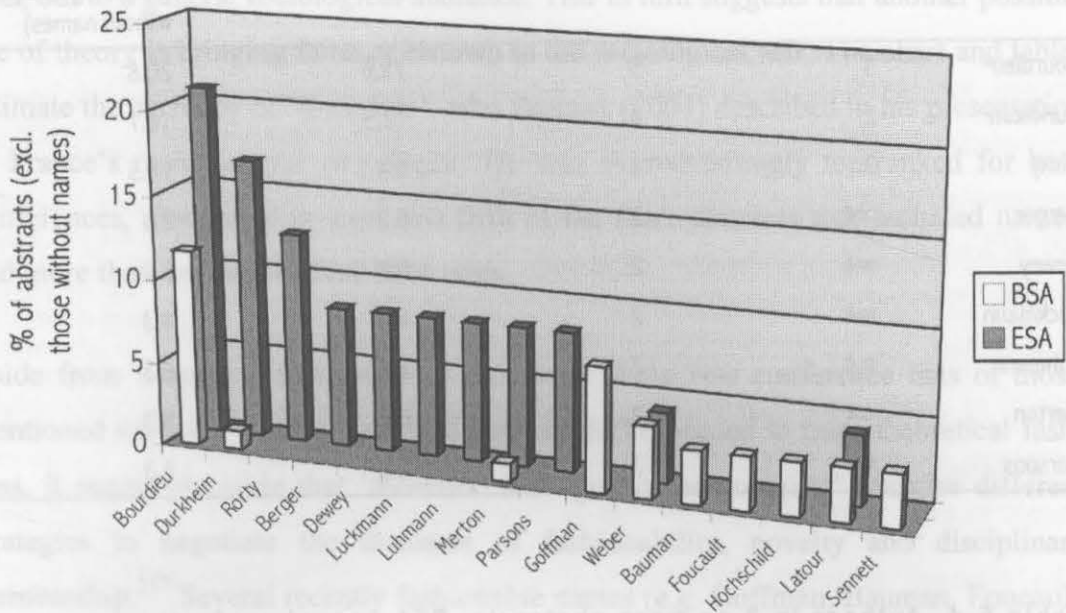
Note

See Tables 6-3 and 6-4 for data.

Chart 6-2, and Tables 6-3 and 6-4 show the top-ranked authors (first to equal fourth) from the ESA social theory conference abstracts and BSA annual conference abstracts respectively. For the ESA social theory conference (with only 32 abstracts), those appearing in two or more abstracts are listed,[314] while for the BSA annual conference, those in three or more abstracts are listed.

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[314] For the ESA conference, authors mentioned in only one abstract were: Adorno, Archer, Arendt, Bellah, Benjamin, Basil Bernstein, Richard Bernstein, Blau, Bottero, Boudon, Cartwright, Jose Casanova, Charlot, Coleman, Cooper & Law, Elster, Giddens, Glaser & Strauss, Haraway, Peter Heinz, Hempel, Hennion, Hetherington, Homans, Horkheimer, Lahire, Latour, Isaac Levi, Pierre Levy, Lopez, Alasdair MacIntyre, Moscovici, Namer, Nietzsche, Nowotny, Pawson, Pierce, Prandy, Ricoeur, Rousseau, Runciman, Salmon, Searle, Keith Stenning, Stewart, Stichweh, Teubner, Van Parijs, Weber and Wittgenstein.

Table 6-3. Authors appearing in 2 or more abstracts, ESA social theory conference

Name	Rank	Number of abstracts	Percent (of all abstracts)	Percent (excluding abstracts without names)
Bourdieu[a]	1	5	15.6	20.8
Durkheim	2	4	12.5	16.7
Rorty	3	3	9.4	12.5
Berger	=4	2	6.2	8.3
Dewey	=4	2	6.2	8.3
Luckmann	=4	2	6.2	8.3
Luhmann	=4	2	6.2	8.3
Merton	=4	2	6.2	8.3
Parsons	=4	2	6.2	8.3

Table 6-4. Authors in 3 or more abstracts, BSA annual conference

Name	Rank	Number of abstracts	Percent (of all abstracts)	Percent (excluding abstracts without names)
Bourdieu	1	11	4.6	11.7
Goffman	2	7	2.9	7.4
Weber	3	4	1.7	4.3
Bauman	=4	3	1.3	3.2
Foucault	=4	3	1.3	3.2
Hochschild	=4	3	1.3	3.2
Latour	=4	3	1.3	3.2
Sennett	=4	3	1.3	3.2

Notes (Charts 6-1 and 6-2 and Tables 6-2, 6-3 and 6-4)

Based on all printed abstracts distributed to conference participants, regardless of whether paper was presented. Percentages have been rounded to one decimal place. Co-authors are counted if named in abstract, and repeated names are only counted once per abstract. Names of cultural figures (e.g. movie-stars, politicians) who were the subject of papers are not included.

a. In addition, at the ESA theory conference Bourdieu was the main subject of Daniel Bertaux's (2004) plenary talk, for which there was no abstract.

The first point to note is that all of the top-mentioned names for both conferences could be described as social theorists or philosophers.[315] Theorists' names seem to be particularly useful in defining and positioning work, not only to an audience of theorists, but to a general sociological audience. This in turn suggests that another possible use of theory is bringing fame or renown to the sociological self. The chart and tables intimate the currency of 'Bourdieu', who Bertaux (2004) described in his presentation as France's most famous sociologist. He was overwhelmingly top-ranked for both conferences, mentioned in over one fifth of the ESA abstracts that included names, and more than one tenth of the BSA ones.

Aside from Bourdieu, there was no crossover in the two conference lists of most-mentioned names.[316] While historical data would be needed to trace theoretical fashions, it seems plausible that 'theorists' and 'general sociologists' exercise different strategies to negotiate the demands of fashionability, novelty and disciplinary membership.[317] Several recently fashionable names (e.g. Goffman, Bauman, Foucault, Latour) ranked high for the BSA conference but not the ESA theory conference (of these, only Latour was mentioned in any ESA abstract). Conversely, the ESA list includes philosophers Rorty (third) and Dewey (equal fourth), along with the ghost-of-sociology-past, Talcott Parsons (equal fourth): figures who receive no mentions in the BSA conference's 239 abstracts. One explanation is that the imperative to appear

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[315] Whether someone qualifies as a 'social theorist' is not straightforward. All but five of those listed here appeared in at least one of three recent social or sociological theory texts (Adams & Sydie 2001; Baert 1998; Elliott & Ray 2003). Of the remainder, Sennett is Professor of Social and Cultural Theory at LSE, Latour is known for ANT (Actor Network Theory) and Berger and Luckmann for social constructionism, and Gross (2004) discussed the contribution of the philosopher, Dewey, to social theory.

[316] However, as Chart 6-2 shows, Durkheim, Merton, Weber and Latour each appeared in one abstract from the other conference.

[317] Given shifts in fashion, as well as the contingencies of who attends and presents at particular conferences, I would expect the list of prominent names to vary from year to year. This limits the evidential weight that can be placed on the particular combination of names prominent at one conference. In the preliminary (4 August 2009) program for the 2009 ESA theory conference, names mentioned in paper titles (not abstracts) are: Jane Addams, Jean Baudrillard, Bauman, Beck, Bourdieu, Castells, Castoriadis, Erving Goffman, Habermas (three titles), Ian Hacking, Horkheimer, Luhmann (twice), Marx, Philip Rieff, John Searle and Wittgenstein (see Welz 2009).

theoretically innovative is more important at a theory conference, whereas engaging with mainstream theoretical fashion is more important at a general sociology conference. In the former case, drawing on philosophical writings and exhuming recently neglected texts can be techniques for achieving theoretical novelty.

Indeed, having noted several early sociologists' disciplinary boundary-work against philosophy (itself potentially using theory: see Chapter Four), Neil Gross (2004) commented on such a possibility for attaining 'novelty'. In a context where disciplinary historians and practitioners ignore the relations between disciplines, it remains possible for people to do 'ground-breaking work' by importing ideas from other disciplines into their own. It is not surprising that ESA papers constructed bridges from social theory to high-status philosophy (especially in Paris (Bertaux 2004)), rather than building barriers against it.[318]

The 'classical' (Connell 1997) sociological trinity of Marx, Weber and Durkheim figures quite differently in the two sets of conference abstracts. For the ESA theory conference, Durkheim was ranked second, appearing in four abstracts (16.7% of those containing names); Weber was equal tenth, included in one abstract (4.2%); and Marx was not mentioned. For the BSA annual conference, Weber was third (four abstracts, 4.3%); Marx (suffixed -ism and -ist) was equal ninth (two abstracts, 2.1%); and Durkheim was equal twenty-fourth (one abstract, 1.1%). It seems that social theorists might have returned to Durkheimian territory that was yet to broadly register as again sociologically fashionable. In so doing, they were able to combine the cachet associated with the classics with the innovation exhibited by 'rethinking' Durkheim. Marx's limited appearances, and then only as an 'ism', surely signify changeability of theo-

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[318] In relation to this incorporation of concepts from neighbouring disciplines, John Urry (1981) has argued that sociology's 'parasitic' relationship with other discipines is actually a strength, providing a site where concepts from multiple disciplines can be brought together, clarified and enhanced through this confrontation, then fed back to other disciplinary discourses. Sociology's capacity to play this role results from the failure of its concepts to provide unity or distinctiveness: 'because its central concepts neither generate a discursive unity nor demarcate it in a strong sense from neighbouring subjects which may well employ similar concepts (but not necessarily the same terms)' (Urry 1981: 26). Giddens' 'philosophization of sociology' (Rex 1983: 1005) does not appear to have hindered his elevation in sociology.

retical fashions.[319] The rankings for both conferences contrast with their trifecta status in post-1960s introductory sociology textbooks, in which references to these 'founding fathers' have served to legitimate sociology's disciplinary position (see Chapter Four).

Politics

There are two broad ways in which theory can be seen as related to politics. First, and related to the idea of positioning, theory can be employed in playing out of politics within the academic field: locating individuals on sides in theoretical battles (that might nonetheless have concrete effects). And second, theory can operate to import into sociology moral-political agendas that may transcend disciplinary or academic concerns. In this section I provide examples of each of these political uses of theory from conference papers, textbooks and histories of sociology.

The idea that theory might be used to fight battles – for particular theoretical positions, perhaps claims on 'truth', and wider political and status effects – was expressed at the ESA theory conference in Bertaux's (2004) reminder that Bourdieu 'tried to maintain his integrity in a field of "warlords"'. Thus, theory can be involved in arguing for one's position against another. For instance, one conference participant described the strategy exhibited in Verpraet's (2004) paper as 'ecumenical' (hence demonstrating wide theoretical reading and competence), and contrasted this with his own preference for defending a single position, 'even if it is a silly one'. An example of theoretical name-calling, a battle tactic, was Adorno's criticism of present-focused 'empirical sociology' as evilly 'reduc[ing] society to its essence, [excluding] the possible existence of a potential for progress within society itself' – as opposed to his

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[319] Some idea that an equivalent conference twenty-five years earlier might have been different can be seen via Halsey's (2004: 193) content analysis of 'ideologies' in British sociology journals, with 'Marxism' evident in 3% of surveyed 1950-70 articles, 21% of 1975-85 articles, 10% of 1990-95 articles, and 6% of 2000 articles. It is worth noting that 'Marxism' nonetheless influences the ESA theory conference abstracts via naming (and ideas) of various theorists working in Marxist traditions.

'transcendent' analysis, which assumed that 'society holds within it the potential to go beyond itself and its possible future' (Spurk 2004: 6-7).

Histories of Australian sociology point to a theoretical schism and a series of related battles, especially obvious in the 1970s and 1980s.[320] In clashes over such matters as association voting rights and editorship of the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* (*ANZJS*) (and, in turn, the nature and direction of the discipline, and with implications for individual careers), we see intertwinement of theoretical stances, political positions, and disciplinary conceptualisations and agendas. Thus, the side representing the existing *ANZJS* editorial team was characterised by its opponents as "'following the American pattern of the 1950s and 1960s i.e. trying to build the discipline around cautious empirical studies'", preoccupied "'with a narrow minded and inward looking professionalism'", seeking establishment of sociology as 'a "scientific" discipline', "'Old Guard'", and 'positivistic'. On the other side, the 'young "radicals"' or 'young conflict theorists' were 'Marxist', willing to express 'strong value commitments' and wanting to 'address ... ongoing social issues' (Baldock 2005[1994]: 285; Baldock & Lally 1974: 269-70).[321] It seems that this was a 'theoretical battle' both in the sense that it was a battle about which theoretical approach ('positivist' or 'conflict'/'Marxist') should prevail in sociological practice and in the sense that theory was employed to define sides, create opposition and fight the battle.

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[320] Baldock and Lally (1974: 270) noted that this controversy was 'strongly reminiscent (though not of the same magnitude) of that experienced by the American Sociological Association at its 1968 and 1969 conventions', and reflected 'generational as well as ideological conflicts found also in some European sociological associations'.

[321] Birrel et al. (1972, in Baldock & Lally 1974: 269) accused the existing editors of mimicking American sociology, empiricism, preoccupation with professionalism, and avoidance of strong value commitments or work addressing ongoing social issues; Timms (1971: 70-72, in Baldock & Lally 1974: 270) described the 1970 convention clash as being between "'Old Guard" sociologists and young "radicals"'; other characterisations come from Baldock (2005[1994]: 285). Frank Lancaster Jones (1973: 2), the deposed editor, noted that the actual election results were relatively close (49 to Lois Bryson, 31 to himself), and that he declined Bryson's invitation to be co-opted onto the editorial board, to which Connell, Don Edgar and Paul Wilson were elected unopposed.

Likewise, a decade later in a provocative presidential address to the sociology section of the ANZAAS 1984 Congress, Bryan Turner (1986a: 278) described Australian sociology as rent by 'sectarian conflicts' and bifurcated by a broad 'division between so-called "theoreticians" who are alleged to be innumerate and the "number crunchers" who are held to be illiterate'.[322] Here, theory was the banner under which one side stood, if not united. Turner treated this theoretical sectarianism and conflict, along with changes in theoretical belief, as effects of the competitive market conditions within which sociologists operate, particularly in a peripheral country like Australia:

> Australian sociology is thus characterised by intense competition for small
> prizes and the result is extreme fractionalism, internecine conflicts and fis-
> siparous confrontations. Divisions between paradigms are guarded with
> religious zeal and intellectual migration between these sects is a form of
> academic regicide. Australian sociology is characterised by intense loyal-
> ties which have the function of solidifying lines of patronage which are
> necessary in light of market restraints. (B. Turner 1986a: 278)

While helpfully drawing attention to the role of market conditions and occupational strategies in shaping theoretical stances, this seems unlikely to be the sole factor driving theoretical choices.[323] Lois Bryson's response, with its concern that Turner's 'analysis of sociological approaches is divorced from issues of ideology and power', and statement that the 'theoreticians'/'number crunchers' division is one of several that 'usually masks quite basic ideological cleavages' (1986: 283), emphasised that theoretical commitments can be, and often are, linked to political and moral commitments, bringing us to the second political use of theory.

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[322] Apparently many participants walked out during Turner's address. His acknowledgement thanked 'those persons who heard the paper through to the end for their observations on the original draft' (Turner 1986a: 280, n. 1).

[323] In reply, Turner acknowledged that his competition-focused explanation may be partial, and 'does not rule out a wider interest in the ideological, political and social contexts within which theories and sociological institutions develop' (1986b: 288); he did not comment on whether the subtitle of his reply, 'More on Trading', was intended as a pun.

In introductory textbooks, the discussions of sociology-as-science contain a strong thread imploring objectivity, or, as that became seen in more complex terms, a separation of factual from value judgements. This might seem to imply that morality and politics have no role in sociological theory. However, various categorisations of theories, as well as exceptions to the pro-objectivity stance, suggest that theory can be used to sneak in a moral or political framework.[324] For example, Mitchell (1959: 17-18) speculated that the desire to seek laws of progress in early – and in some cases still existing – sociology (he named both the theorists, Comte, Marx and Spencer, and the British social reformers and surveyors), stemmed from a lingering belief that humanity cannot be 'subject to capricious forces', despite a suspension in belief in control by God, along with the growing prestige of the 'law'-based natural sciences. Such theory (and research), he was saying, is motivated by a desire to replace God's role with an alternative moral force of progress. Hankins (1928: 14-30) made a similar point with his objection to '*theological* ...' rather than '*scientific* ...' theory, partly because it '*precludes inquiry* ... It seems to settle the fundamental problems in a final and absolute manner and thus removes them from the inquisitive research of the curiously-minded' (1928: 16). His theological theoretical category included the 'magical, the mystical, or metaphysical' versions of social evolutionism which:

> ... see social life as the arena of exploitation for such impersonal and disembodied "spirits" as the spirit of justice, the spirit of injustice, the spirit of individual liberty, the spirit of greed, the spirit of competition, the spirit of capitalism, the spirit of nationalism, and the spirit of democracy [including the long prevalent view that] there is a law of progress, that mankind is moving not only ever onward but ever upward. (Hankins 1928: 16-18)

His replacement Spencerian evolutionary view, however, contained assumptions that meant that it, too, imports a moral/political framework. There is, he said:

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[324] Steven Thiele (2005) has argued that most sociological 'perspectives' conceal a transcendent moral authority – dialectical social change for Marx, social solidarity for Durkheim, and (less clearly) the individual for Weber – and that these inhibit inquiry because results are forced to fit prior assumptions.

> ... in all living nature, including society, a complex interaction of life and
> its environment which tends toward an adjustment of interacting forms
> and relationships to each other. This means that some plants, animals,
> men, and social institutions are adapted to simple, while others are adapted
> to complex, conditions of living. This is the most marvellous feature of all
> animate nature, including man and society. ... There is thus a natural basis
> for rules of right living for the individual and for the social group as a
> whole. (Hankins 1928: 29-30)

In some cases adoption of a particular stance, such as Sargent's (1983: 3-4) advocacy of 'critical theory' (opposed to 'order theory or functionalism' and 'establishment sociology'), was explicitly political. She advocated use of theory to criticise and change society, and decried the use of theory to support the status quo.

Similarly, several ESA theory conference participants treated theory as having a political or moral role, linked in different ways to notions of critique. For several, this was related to its relationship with research. Theory may have an ethical interrogative role, guiding social research which questions prevalent 'deep-seated presuppositions' and 'strives to become aware of other forms of life' (Baert 2004). Theory's questioning may, in turn, be linked to 'point[ing] out intervention possibilities' (Araújo & Brandão 2004) and 'open[ing] up possibilities of change' (Vazquez 2004). Sometimes, as with critical sociology, theory is explicitly normative, seeking 'the betterment of ... living conditions', and critiquing contemporary society for 'a specific understanding of free society' (Spurk 2004: 4-5, 9).

Theory offers varying possibilities for negotiating such political or ethical agendas. For instance, Pryke (2004: 14) expressed concern that Bourdieu's aim of formulating habitus in a way that 'avoid[s] the term ideology with its immediate political connotations', moving beyond familiar forms to the 'deeper and seemingly less significant terrain of symbolic domination', was 'laudable but ... has the potential of becoming apolitical, and in the process discarding much of its analytic purchase'.

Moral uses of social theory might take on a religious tone. For instance, in enriching Durkheim's sociology of religion via the distinction between traditional and civic re-

ligions, Haldun Gülap (2004) treated Durkheim as prophet of his (civil) religion of sociology: a role emphasised by his comment afterwards that (admittedly critical) faith in Durkheim was required of a 'professional sociologist'.[325] This shows theory's power to confer both religious authority and 'professional' identity, bringing me to the question of how theory might be used to shape the sociological self.

Persona

Ian Hunter (2006) introduces the idea of the theoretical persona as a way of understanding, and more importantly historicising, the 'moment of theory', against arguments such as those of Derrida – from within the 'moment' – that treat philosophy (and theory) as '"the infinite opening to truth"', and hence unable to be accounted for using a finite '"structural description"' of history (Hunter 2006: 83, quoting Derrida 1978: 160).[326] While this provides a starting point for the question of how theory might be useful for establishing and maintaining particular kinds of theoretical and sociological persona, I need to first clarify some points of incongruence between Hunter's 'theory' and the 'theory' whose use in sociology is the concern of my thesis. In one sense, Hunter's 'theory' is a bigger category, transcending sociology and appearing, in different forms and with different languages and objects, in other disciplinary contexts including linguistics, literary criticism, political economy, the 'psy'

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[325] Friedrichs' (1970) use of religious metaphors to differentiate two main sociological roles instead would ascribe to Durkheim the 'priestly mode' of scientific neutrality, which he associated with the 'system paradigm', while the 'prophetic mode', traced back to Comte and early American sociology's roots in social reform, was ascendent in the form of the 'conflict paradigm'.

[326] Hunter (2007) also uses the concept of the persona in relation to (specially Kantian) philosophy, as a way of arguing against the need to treat philosophy as the method of intellectual history, an argument produced by offering two modes of intellectual history – rational reconstruction of past philosophies, and historical contextualisation – as dialectically opposed, and hence philosophising this question of method. The ensemble of techniques and exercises constituting the philosophical persona are approached 'in terms of their anchorage in a "higher" self made available in a finite series of philosophical institutions and pedagogies' (Hunter 2007: 574).

disciplines and jurisprudence (2006: 80).[327] In another, it is smaller: for while this 'certain kind of philosophical interrogation' includes much post-1960s social theory (especially that informed by Husserlian phenomenology), it is clear from its anti-empiricism that it does not include all forms of theory employed within twentieth-century sociology (2006: 87).

Hunter suggests that the various developments seen as constituting the 'theory boom' were brought together by a 'shared intellectual attitude or deportment', that was 'characteristic of a particular kind of intellectual persona sustained by a certain inner discipline'. This attitude is distinguished by its skepticism towards both empirical experience and 'a priori formalisms – which it regards as foreclosing a higher level ("transcendental") experience – and hence cultivates openness to breakthrough phenomena of various kinds' (2006: 81). Thus something like Husserl's transcendental *epoché*, whereby self-denial of the philosopher's own '"world-life"' allows him/her to '"stand *above* the world"' (Hunter 2006: 85, quoting Husserl 1970: 151-52) was repeated in many theoretical sites, including, for example: Derrida's infinite opening to truth, mentioned above; Chomsky's generative structuralism, which by uncovering language's 'deep structure' transformed linguistics from 'theory of an empirical object, language' to 'theory of the intellectual operations in man that allows language to be experienced as a particular kind of object' (88-89); the phenomenological post-structuralist reworking of Saussure's treatment of *parole* (actual speech) as grounded in the 'purely apositive' and atemporal *langue* (language system) (Hunter 2006: 91-93);[328] again, literary studies, where the role of the '"critical self-reflection which we know as theory"' (Eagleton 2003: 27, in Hunter 2006: 84) eclipses the finiteness of the author, the symbolic and the signified with the infiniteness of the 'transcendental anonymity of codes, ... a corporeal semiotic [and] the infinite play of signification' (2006: 107); and, of most relevance to sociology, in the social theories of Althusser

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[327] Paul du Gay has noted more recent instances of the 'moment of theory' beyond the humanities and social sciences (where it is 'running out of steam') in theoretical identity work in critical management studies, sports science and home economics (2007: 3-4).

[328] Hunter suggests that the greater accessibility of Saussure's semiotics over Chomsky's more technically sophisticated analyses contributed to his superior influence in the Humanities academy (2006: 91).

and Habermas. We see this in Althusser's reading of Marx's *Capital*, which treats Marx's identification of an object for political economy as not empirical but an irruptive philosophical (or theoretical) exercise:

> To see this invisible, to see these "oversights," to identify the lacunae in the fullness of this discourse, the blanks in the crowded text, we need something quite different from an acute or attentive gaze; we need an *informed* gaze, a new gaze, itself produced by a reflection on the "change of terrain" on the exercise of vision, in which Marx pictures the transformation of the problematic. (Althusser & Balibar 1970: 27, in Hunter 2006: 100-101)

Habermas 'treats history as a series of attempts to take hold of the contents of traditional metaphysics – the notion of an infinite, transcendent mind spontaneously intelligizing all possible meanings – and to detranscendentalize it, thereby making reason available in the register of politics and society' (Hunter 2006: 109). His 'concept of discourse, understood as the social communication of meanings in a suitably idealized speech situation' enabled him to complete the detranscendentalization process that Husserl's reliance on 'consciousness' impeded. Thus, in *The Theory of Communicative Action*, his treatment of society and its theorization as co-evolving was apparent in his presentation of the theory via a series of hermeneutic commentaries on Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Parsons, the Frankfurt school writers, and some philosophers of language. Each stage was seen as occurring through:

> ... a brief but fundamental breakthrough to lifeworld intuitions – Marx's grasp of the importance of productive relations, Durkheim's conception of society as the social form of religious and philosophical categories, Weber's understanding of the rationalization of society – that is then occluded through the elaboration of formal theorizations themselves complicit with society as system. (Hunter 2006: 109-10)

And the whole is understood as a 'progressive refinement of man's intellectual and social relations leading to the realization of a buried capacity for rational self-determination' (2006: 109). Here, Habermas's problematisations of the sociological

theories as 'repeated breakthroughs to and formalizations of the domain of lifeworld intuitions' operated as the transcendental *epoché*, with the 'ideal speech situation' promised as the ultimate opening to the infinite (2006: 110).

Uniting all of these examples is a deliberate 'act of inner abstention from a whole array of knowledges and judgements arising from the "factual" sciences and practical morality', so as to cultivate an 'inner attentiveness' ready for glimpses of the transcendental (86). For Hunter, this process of entering 'the critical frame of mind' occurs through a kind of self-transformative 'spiritual exercise', enabling formation of the individual as an updated 'university metaphysician' (2006: 84-87):

> Above all, we can note the shaping of a certain kind of intellectual persona, characterized by the desire to interrupt ordinary life and knowledge in order to rise above it, to look down on it, to be someone for whom and to whom the world declares itself in all its purity. This persona, who critically subordinates all of the regions of knowledge to the contemplation of a single irruptive source of meaning and structure, may be regarded as an improvisation on the figure of the Christian university metaphysician; for that was always the role of this personage. (Hunter 2006: 87)

Hunter suggests that this exercise, and persona, is supported pedagogically, for instance through 'the seminar of conscience overseen by an exemplary persona' that trains budding theorists in the critical art of abstention from the empirical.[329] This linking of theory's critical persona with pedagogy, along with the allure of the critic, is also suggested by a passage from Latour, quoted (in part) by Hunter:

> Do you see now why it feels so good to be a critical mind? Why critique, this most ambiguous *pharmakon*, has become such a potent euphoric drug? You are always right! When naïve believers are clinging forcefully

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[329] Hunter (2006: 107-8) illustrates with the case of Stanley Fish's seminar which presented students with a contrived 'devotional poem', designed to demonstrate the '"authority of interpretive communities"' in producing meanings from texts, arguing that it was actually Fish's role as exemplary persona that required students 'to abstain from the "natural" assumption that texts exist and have meanings, thereby enforcing a literary simulacrum of the transcendental reduction' (108).

to their objects, claiming that they are made to do things because of their gods, their poetry, their cherished objects, you can turn all of those attachments into so many fetishes and humiliate all the believers by showing that it is nothing but their own projection, that you, yes you alone, can see. But as soon as naïve believers are thus inflated by some belief in their own importance, in their own projective capacity, you strike them by a second uppercut and humiliate them again, this time by showing that, whatever they think, their behavior is entirely determined by the action of powerful causalities coming from objective reality they don't see, but that you, yes you, the never sleeping critic, alone can see. Isn't this fabulous? Isn't it really worth going to graduate school to study critique? "Enter here, you poor folks. After arduous years of reading turgid prose, you will be always right, you will never be taken in any more; no one, no matter how powerful, will be able to accuse you of naïveté, that supreme sin, any longer? ..." (Latour 2004: 238-39)

While 'critique', rather than 'theory' *per se*, is the object (or, in his terms, thing) of Latour's concern, the two are clearly related. Latour attributes this two-fold posture of 'critical barbarity' – a duo of antifetishist and determinist explanations of 'things' – to 'the tired routines of most social theories' (2004: 240, 245).[330] Rather than abandoning 'critique' altogether, he seeks a new and quite different 'critical attitude', one in which:

The critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles. The critic is not the one who lifts the rugs from under the feet of the naïve be-

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[330] He estimates that '90 percent of the contemporary critical scene' is typified by this attitude (2004: 237). The 'trick' sustaining this illusory sense of power involves keeping separate those objects that are simply blank screens for projection of human desire and those that are sufficiently powerful to determine human behaviour, both of which are segregated from a third class of 'real' objects sacred to the individual concerned (such as sociology for sociologists) (241) (he doesn't elaborate on what happens when 'critics' who locate a particular object in different categories confront one another). In a typically Latourian manoeuvre, diagrammatically illustrated, he brings together these two critical postures to expose their shallowness, suggesting that science studies practitioners have (despite trying) been absolved from this trickery by the resistant solidity of their objects: despite their efforts at critical dismantling, 'the black boxes of science remained closed and ... it was rather the tools that lay in the dust of our workshop, disjointed and broken' (242).

> lievers, but the one who offers the participants arenas in which to gather.
> The critic is not the one who alternates haphazardly between antifetishism
> and positivism like the drunk iconoclast drawn by Goya, but the one for
> whom, if something is constructed, then it means it is fragile and thus in
> great need of care and caution. (Latour 2004: 246)[331]

I turn now to consider the role of theory in cultivating personae in sociology. I emphasise that the main point of what follows is not to provide a comprehensive historical rendering of the personae associated with twentieth-century sociology, but to show that assisting in the construction and maintenance of a persona is one possible use of theory.

In the previous discussion of politics and morality, we have already seen some evidence of the critical theoretical persona depicted by Hunter in some (but by no means all) of the ESA theory conference presentations, and in textbooks. The emphasis in the conference call for papers on relating theory to empirical research would have discouraged presenters from rejecting a role for empirical research. Nonetheless the critical attitude is visible in suggestions that theory allows theorists to turn away from social life as it appears, and 'strive to become aware of other forms of life' (Baert 2004) or 'open up possibilities of change' (Vazquez 2004). The superior vision inherent in the role of theorist was conveyed by Spurk (2004: 4, 8) as she embraced Adorno's version of theory having a physiognomic role which 'makes the "facts" revealed by empiric research speak', and is required to 'reconstruct' '[o]bjective and abstract structures' inaccessible to normal human experience. Dominguez (2004) similarly outlined (but rejected) a historical understanding of theory as prosthetic device, allowing 'true vision' into social reality.

A similar potency of vision is evident in the critical sociologist portrayed in Margaret Sargent's textbook, where a 'student of critical sociology':

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[331] This raises the question of whether Latour's strategy of retaining a – dramatically reshaped – critical persona stems from his own occupation of this role (with his treatment of the 'critical barbarian' closer to 'debunking' than 'assembling') or whether its retention is itself a process of 'assembling' the critic.

> ... will refuse to accept appearances, and will be continually lifting the
> rock to see what life is *really* all about. Only by a healthy scepticism shall
> we free ourselves from "coercive illusions" and unexamined ideas which
> derive from the constraints imposed by our society. ... We can no longer
> accept things as they are, but must try and find creative solutions. (Sargent
> 1983: 6-7)

Adopting this critical persona was portrayed as a work of reflexive self-transformation:

> Critical sociology is described as *reflexive* by Gouldner and as *radical* by
> Szymanski, because sociological work becomes an essential part of the
> thinking and acting of sociologists. ... It is not possible to be self aware
> without the critical approach: *all* ideas and structures must be subject to
> examination – one's own included. (Sargent 1983: 10)

It must be said that there was considerable diversity amongst the 'theorists' presenting at the ESA conference, and many saw a more modest role for theory, and adopted a more modest persona, than that evident in Hunter's characterisation. One apparent feature that was remarkably common was evident in the decision by most participants to present their papers without using Powerpoint.[332] This seemed to me to be a rejection of a technical scientific persona, and an affirmation of the self as a crafter of complex ideas, conveyed via sophisticated discourse, rather than simplified to bullet points, charts or diagrams.

I now turn to histories of sociology, and present three different examples of sociologists adopting different personae. As Dorothy Ross described it, in the turn-of-the-century work of Edward A. Ross (and similarly Charles Horton Cooley), originally from economics, could be seen a theoretical focus that was also to define a role for sociologists. Edward A. Ross's central concept of social control focused attention on

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[332] Alternative readings of this might treat the theorist as adopting a literary persona for the purpose of presentation (see Hunter 2007: 587), and of emphasising the sense of theory as pure and opposed to practice (in contrast with the two presentations that did use Powerpoint, both dealing with consulting projects with non-academic clients).

the social nature of processes binding individuals together, and led to disciplinary interest in social psychological processes (D. Ross 1991: 230-36). Ross suggested that E. A. Ross's use of this theoretical notion of social control also conveyed a particular role and voice for sociologists as social scientists, by:

> ... implicitly identifying society's attempts to control its members with the sociologists' attempts to control society. By this identification, the social scientists, with their knowledge of the laws that controlled society, could speak for society; their means and purposes were but the socializing mechanisms and social purposes of society itself. The idea of social control that runs through so much of early twentieth-century social science generally carried that double meaning and double ideological freight. (D. Ross 1991: 249)

In the 1920s, William Fielding Ogburn (President of the ASS in 1929) understood that this scientific persona required careful cultivation. On realising that keeping to his own goal of eschewing theory ("'hypotheses unsupported by facts'"), "'there would be little to talk about in either social psychology or psychiatry (or, indeed, in much of social science)'", he urged ASS members to retain, but separate, their carefully disciplined scientific selves from their non-scientific selves:

> As a scientist, "it will be necessary to crush out emotion and to discipline the mind so strongly that the fanciful pleasures of intellectuality will have to be eschewed in the verification process; it will be desirable to taboo our ethics and values (except in choosing problems); and it will be inevitable that we shall have to spend most of our time doing hard, dull, tedious, and routine tasks." But then the scientist could "temporarily shut the door to his laboratory and open for a while his door to the beauty of the stars, to the romance of life, to the service of his fellow-men." (D. Ross 1991: 431, quoting Ogburn 1922, 1926, 1930)

He admitted that this too was a goal he struggled with, with only partial success. Ogburn seems to have understood that work on the self was required in maintaining an objective scientific persona, but not in enjoying the theoretical 'fanciful pleasures of

intellectuality'. In Parsons, however, can be seen deliberate construction of a persona that was at the same time 'theoretical' and 'scientific'.[333]

The Carnegie Project on Theory, introduced in Chapter Four, was:

> ... charged not just with *producing* a theory, but with making the *practice*
> of theory, the *identity* of the theorist, and the scientific *value* of theorizing
> salient – in the first instance within the local context of the DSR, but also
> for the behavioral sciences as a whole. (Isaac 2010: 17)

And in this goal, if not that of uniting the DSR, Parsons was successful. The very funding of the project might be taken as a sign of the increased importance given to theory and the theorist. Through the project, Parsons was successful in his endeavour to make 'theorizing seem a legitimate and discrete professional activity' (Isaac 2010: 17) and hence legitimated the persona of theorist. In contrast to my technophobic sample of twenty-first century theory conference participants, Parsons used a variety of techniques to give theoretical practices an aura of scientificity – constructing tables and diagrams, taping seminars for transcription and analysis, and commonly adopting scientific rhetoric of '"breakthroughs"' when discussing findings (Isaac 2010: 19-23).[334] He stressed the Project's 'practical significance': 'The theoretical propositions advanced in the Project on Theory, he insisted, should admit of "operational testing out" – that is, they would stand or fall on their consequences for empirical analysis' (Isaac 2010: 18). While it was common for postwar social scientists (particularly economists) to operationalise theoretical statements in such a way, Parsons and his colleagues focused much more on the role of theory:

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[333] See also Mills' (1970[1959]: 215-248) appendix, 'On Intellectual Craftsmanship', for a fascinating account of the role of journal-writing, filing and different styles of writing in the role of both social science research and the cultivation of a unified persona: 'Scholarship is a choice of how to live as well as a choice of career; whether he knows it or not, the intellectual workman forms his own self as he works towards the perfection of his craft; to realize his own potentialities, and any opportunities that come his way, he constructs a character which has at its core the qualities of the good workman' (216).

[334] Use of technical language advocated in some introductory textbooks as a way of ensuring sociology and sociologists were (initially) scientific and then properly academic can also be seen as an aspect of this persona (see Chapter Three).

> Theory did not just go cap in hand to the data, asking for its measure of legitimacy; it also acted as tutor or director to the unruly play of bare empirics. According to the *General Theory*, a system of scientific theory was uniquely able to codify "our existing concrete knowledge," and thereby "help to promote the process of cumulative growth of our knowledge." As such, it could act as a "guide to research" and as a source of "hypotheses to be applied and tested" in social inquiry. On this reckoning, the theorist was the master synthesizer and orchestrator of scientific research. (Isaac 2010: 18-19, quoting Parsons 1962[1951]: 3)

So theory was legitimised in part by relating it to research, but in such a way that the theorist was transcendent.[335] The persona he adopted, and offered to students, was importantly scientific, but its scientificity was subsumed under its theoretical expertise. Parsons' role here can be seen in combination with his earlier success, in *Structure*, of arguing a unique theoretical domain for sociology, and producing theory as a 'visible form of academic practice, which met a [distinct] set of student needs': 'his work served as a means of identity-formation for students, and his account of the pre-history of the problems served as a source of pride for those who shared these aims' (Turner & Turner 1990: 73-74, 122-23).

In these three historical examples, in contrast to the theorists attending the ESA conference, we see sociologists adopting scientific personae – sometimes atheoretical, sometimes primarily theoretical – defined, to some extent, by theory. While the scientificity in the persona carved out by Parsons has since been rejected by many bearing the theoretical mantle, his definition of a position for theorist as expert has continued historical resonance in sociology, an expertise linked sometimes to the role of critic.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that uses of theory extend beyond research and disciplinary formation, and include various aspects of formation and maintenance of sociolo-

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[335] There are parallels here with Small's (and other Spencerian) earlier treatment of theoretical sociology as sitting above and coordinating practical sociology, discussed in Chapter Four.

gists' careers, their strategic positioning in competitive institutional contexts, their politics and morality, and their personae or selves. These different aspects can be interrelated, and related to matters of research and disciplinarity, in different ways.

One important feature that can be seen in this chapter is the differentiated uses of theory by 'theorists' – the sense in which using theory can be about becoming or being an expert theorist – and by ordinary sociologists. The two sketches below, summarising findings of the chapter, show this.

For 'theorists', theory obviously provides the central object with which they work – something to study, write about, talk about, teach about – in turn allowing (at least some) to be paid and to advance up an academic career ladder. The conceptual nature of theory – the fact that theory is for thinking – offers special scope to theorists to display their intellectual prowess and sophistication, as well as the intellectual pleasures of thinking, and allows avoidance of the (potentially) mundane, time-consuming and expensive matter of empirical research. Working with theory provides an avenue (for some) to sociological fame, attracting a sociological audience that transcends the boundaries of a particular specialty. Theory also allows theorists to position their work, and themselves, as relevant to a particular audience (a 'theory' audience, keen to engage in theoretical repartee; or an audience interested in and knowledgeable about a particular theorist's work). It requires, and enables, theorists to pursue strategies that demonstrate their theoretical innovation, attempting to define, rather than follow, theoretical fashions. It provides a resource for fighting political battles, positioning and repositioning the self within the theoretical landscape, and might be harnessed to broader political or moral agendas. In all of these, we can see that a final use of theory can be in providing a theoretical persona, a sense of self that may – but may not – be critical or scientific, but is suffused with expertise.

For 'ordinary sociologists', concerned with sociological work in fields other than 'theory', theory nonetheless also provides a resource for organising their sociological work, career and selves. Theory is employed not only in conducting empirical research, but in writing it up, framing it as acceptable for publication, (perhaps) adding to its legitimacy in policy contexts, and teaching sociology to students. Perspec-

tivalism (or other meta-theoretical schemes) provides a ready organising framework for those writing textbooks or teaching sociology to organise their materials. Theoretical name-dropping in conference abstracts and other writing allows sociologists to position their work as appropriately sociological and up-to-date with theoretical fashions, and also communicates theoretical allegiances to attract like-minded audiences. This may also facilitate banding of allies for theoretical battles, with potentially tangible career results, and be linked to moral and political commitments. And, again, theory can contribute to cultivation of a sociological self.

In the word-pictures sketched above, I have exaggerated both the clarity of the boundary between 'theorists' and 'ordinary sociologists', and the efficacy of theory use for theorists: there are many theorists, but only one Bourdieu. One question this might raise is whether theoretical popularity reflects theorists' greater efficacy for the uses of theory outlined in this chapter. Here I do not develop a comparative assessment, but briefly sketch some aspects of Bourdieu's work that might contribute to his popularity, a popularity evident in his most-cited status in both the ESA 'What is theory for?' conference and BSA general sociology conference in 2004, but not confined to European/British sociology.[336]

First, Bourdieu's work proves helpful for positioning of the self as a theorist or general sociologist. The extent and diversity of Bourdieu's writing provides copious potential as an object for theorists to plunder, along with theoretical resources already tailored to a variety of particular applications (culture, education, consumption, etc.) (see King 2000: 417, n. 1). Similarly, Bourdieu's difficult writing style, his ongoing process of conceptual elaboration,[337] and the additional layering added by translation, provide extensive scope for hermeneutic exploration, and in turn associated status

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[336] For instance Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) found that 11% of all 2000-2004 articles in *AJS*, *ASR*, *Social Forces* and *Social Problems* cited Bourdieu at least once, and for the same period nearly one in three *Theory and Society* articles cited Bourdieu.

[337] Wacquant (1992: 6) described Bourdieu as 'endlessly revisiting and revisiting the same Gordian knot of questions, objects and sites, as his recursive and spiralling mode of thinking unfolds over time and across analytic space'.

benefits.[338] His 'attempt to straddle some of the deep-seated antinomies that rend social science asunder' – subjectivism and objectivism, symbolic and material, theory and research (Wacquant 1992: 3) – might be seen to expand the positions available from either/or to the infinitude of continua, again enabling a sharing of his clever sophistication.[339] The multitude of positions invited by his work is also suggested by his own relations to other theorists, specifically the suggestion that '"one can think with a thinker against that thinker"' (Bourdieu 1987: 63-64 in Brubaker 1993: 232, n. 14; see also King 2000).

Second, Bourdieu's work offers scope for theoretical engagement in politics. He himself engaged in politics (including 'a highly politicized reform of spelling') (Wacquant 1992: 53-56, 55, n. 101), perhaps suggesting translatability of his work to other political projects. His theorisation of academic work and the academic field as political (e.g. Bourdieu 1993: 37) might be taken as licence to use Bourdieu in playing political games within that field. And while Bourdieu distanced himself somewhat from Frankfurt School critical sociology, he was nonetheless influenced by it and saw sociology as ideally an 'emancipatory science', and 'a critical science, critical of itself and the other sciences and also critical of the powers that be, including the powers of science' (Bourdieu 1993: 28; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 190), again offering potential to align with Bourdieu in pursuing critical projects.[340]

In relation to employing Bourdieusian theory in cultivating a persona, two points might be made. First, his self-positioning between theory and research (or theoretician and empiricist) (e.g. Bourdieu 1993: 12-13) means that his work could be seen to provide models for both a theoretical (or critical) persona and a scientific one, widening

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[338] The 'difficulty' of his work might also explain his failure to register prominently in introductory sociology textbooks.

[339] However, see, for instance King (2000) for an argument that Bourdieu's work often fails in this attempt.

[340] On his relationship with the Frankfurt School, Bourdieu (1987: 30, in Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 190-91) said '"I have always entertained a somewhat ambivalent relation with the Frankfurt school: though the affinities between us are obvious, I felt a certain irritation at the aristocratism of that totalizing critique which retained all the features of grand theory, no doubt out of a concern not to dirty its hands in the kitchens of empirical research"'.

his appeal to a broad sociological market.[341] Second, there is a correspondence between the pedagogical aspect of persona cultivation suggested by Hunter and Bourdieu's emphasis on pedagogy to 'inculcate and propagate a particular way of sociological thinking, a particular sociological habitus' (Brubaker 1993: 216).[342]

This possibility that Bourdieu provides particularly fruitful theoretical resources for individual uses of theory – positioning, engaging in politics, and cultivating a persona – reminds us that the distinction between 'theorist' and 'ordinary sociologist' is not black and white. Nonetheless, the capacity to make some distinction, and the differences in the pictures drawn at the beginning of this conclusion, are indicative of the fact that the very treatment of theory as a separate realm of expertise within sociology, by fostering the expertise of theorists, helps to sustain the division.

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[341] Further development of this argument might involve comparing Bourdieu's 'epistemological break' (1988), discussed in Chapter one, with the Husserlian 'transcendental *epoché*' described by Hunter (2006). While there appears to be some similarity, Bourdieu's insistence on the empirical nature of his endeavours requires some consideration. Perhaps in line with his general approach of 'straddling', Bourdieu described the vision he (or 'the sociologist') achieves in terms of compromised transcendentalism: 'the sociologist can affirm that the representation which he produces through his study transcends ordinary visions, without thereby laying claim to such absolute vision, able fully to grasp historical reality as such. ... it marks a genuine step along the path leading to the *focus imaginarius* spoken of by Kant, this imaginary focus from which the perfected *system* could be discovered but which a properly scientific intention can only posit as the ideal (or regulative idea) of a practice which can only hope to approach ever closer to it in so far as it has renounced all hope of reaching it immediately' (Bourdieu 1988: 31-32).

[342] Further work might compare the persona with the alternative of treating theory as habitus (Brubaker 1983; see also Frangie (2009) on Bourdieu's socio-analysis as a process of self-creation).

CONCLUSION

WHAT (ELSE) IS THEORY FOR?

> No-one claims to do work that is a-theoretical. And that, in a lot of people's minds, is why it is possible NOT to have a specific set-aside sequence for "real theory" – because theory is "everywhere". ... [B]ut the "theory" in [other sociology courses] is pretty slim. Not requiring [separate theory courses] risks placing theory not "everywhere" but "nowhere". (Eliasoph, in Mukerji et al. 2004)

I began my inquiry, and this thesis, with an observation about the prominence of theory in sociology, and a questioning about its usefulness. What struck me was not just that theory seemed to me to be everywhere in sociology. I was also curious about what seemed to me a somewhat strange position, that theory was a separate area of specialisation and expertise as well as an expected component of ordinary sociological work. This prominence, and double position, of theory within sociology seemed to be largely taken for granted, with little consideration given to the usefulness of theory for sociology.

A survey of the literature on theory and theory use (in Chapter One) revealed that, despite attempts by many to pin it down, theory is a complex, changeable beast. In undertaking the thesis I have also discovered that there have been discussions of theory use, but that many of these, like the 'What is theory for?' conference I attended, are contained by emphasising a limited set of uses, particularly those related to empirical research and understanding the social world. I examined the historical patterns of the (double) place of theory in twentieth-century sociology in Chapter Two. I found that emergence of theory as a separate arena of expertise came very

early in British sociology's established academic history, relatively later in the United States, and in Australia there has been a rise, and perhaps the beginnings of a fall, of theory as an area of specialisation.

The remainder of my thesis has dealt with the messy diversity of uses of theory in sociology, a diversity illustrated by my introduction of three broad categories – theory for research, disciplinarity, and as an individual resource – to organise the discussion. Within each of these categories could be seen plurality and changeability.

In Chapter Three I considered the utility of theory in relation to research and the social world. There were suggestions that theory can be instrumental at all stages of research: articulating and clarifying the nature of the theory/research relationship, defining underlying assumptions, framing and answering research questions, deriving hypotheses for testing, assessing previous research, gathering data, assisting analysis, building knowledge, and in adding legitimacy when research is reported. With the broad move away from aspiring to, or claiming, scientific status for sociology we have seen changing conceptualisations of theory's role. For instance, in introductory textbooks, there was a transition in understanding the employment of theoretical concepts and terms from scientific until the late 1960s, to academic or technical, and understanding the role of theory in research has shifted from its inclusion in a cyclic hypothetico-deductive to more linear models. However, neither the move away from science nor related changes in treatment of theory has been absolute. For instance, emphases on theory for/as explanation and understanding have not aligned neatly with treatment of sociology as scientific or humanitarian in textbooks, and in the 2004 'What is theory for?' conference these uses of theory were both evident, along with both the more 'scientific' aim of prediction and the 'humanitarian' ones of description and social change. Attempts to neatly package these uses of theory or constrain theory use to research are thwarted by both the diversity of uses of theory in relation to research, and the collection of evidence that sociology's combining of theory and research has been, at best, an unfinished project.

Chapter Four explored the uses of theory for disciplining sociology, within a historical context in Australia, Britain and the United States where sociology arrived late for

dinner at the academic table, and needed to compete and coexist with other disciplinary diners. Trends in theory textbook titles reveal a concentration on sociological, rather than social, theory from the mid-1950s to 1980s in US titles, and in 1960s and 1970s British titles, suggesting a particular emphasis on theory for disciplining, linked also to the rise of the sociological theorist in the Parsonian mould, development of sociological perspectives, and establishment of the 'classics'. The later turn to social theory can be seen in relation to postmodernism and interdisciplinarity, and to some extent disengagement of theory from sociology. Examination of introductory textbooks and histories of sociology provided examples of disciplinary theory use including definition of sociology's place in relation to other disciplines, whether through demarcational boundary-work or bridge-building, construction of disciplinary foundations, and differentiation of sociology from neighbouring disciplines through a distinctive body of theory. Different strategies have been employed to unify the discipline by managing theoretical diversity, with a shift from a broad Spencerianism through dominant functionalism to the overarching coherence embracing perspectivalism, especially in textbook sociology. In relation to authorising sociology as an academic discipline, textbooks suggest a shift from science to theory, especially theoretical ancestry, to legitimate the discipline. However in histories of sociology we see attempts and failures to use both for disciplinary authorisation.

In Chapter Five I developed a historical case study detailing the teaching of sociology at the University of Sydney. In contrast to the dominant picture presented in histories of Australian sociology, of an abrupt end to the early teaching of sociology and its late reappearance in departmental form, sociology was taught in various disciplinary guises until its establishment as an autonomous discipline. Sociology's presence within philosophy courses began earlier, and in tutorial classes it was less prominent, but longer lived, than previous histories of sociology relate; the end of sociology teaching in philosophy was not the abrupt end of sociology teaching, but a handover to anthropology; social studies/work played an important role from the 1940s, with a course in 'social theory' the mechanism for eventual formalisation of sociology teaching; and sociological content appeared in the teaching of a host of other departments, both before and after the discipline formally took root in other Australian universities. In different ways, 'theory' was instrumental to the introduction of sociological content

in the main disciplinary sites of philosophy, anthropology and social work, but it seems that the resulting proliferation of sociology in different departments delayed the institution of sociology as an independent discipline.

In Chapter Six I explored the idea of theory as a resource not for research or disciplinary formation, but for individual sociologists in positioning their work and selves, engaging in politics and cultivating personae. Different ways of using theory could be seen for 'theorists', and 'ordinary sociologists'. For theorists, the very existence of 'theory' provides an object of study, writing and teaching allowing pursuit of a career and offers opportunities for thinking, and related intellectual satisfaction and self-presentation as sophisticated and clever. The generalisability of theory can attract greater attention from other sociologists. Theory and theorists' names might be used for positioning, as relevant, innovative and trend-setting, and offer scope to engage political-moral agendas and to engage in politics. And finally, theory can be used to cultivate a theoretical persona. While the distinction between 'theorist' and 'ordinary sociologist' is not black-and-white, the fact that some distinction can be made can be seen as, in part, an effect of these uses of theory.

My thesis suggests that no single use of theory can account for either the prominence or the specialisation of theory and theorists in sociology. Theory can be seen as providing tools for ordinary sociologists' research, and (some) theorists have (sometimes) seen their role in developing those tools. Elevation of theory has, at times, been involved in attempts to discipline sociology. And different individual uses of theory by 'theorists' and ordinary sociologists might sustain the distinction.

However, another point highlighted by my research is that the messy plurality of theory and theory use includes a mix of successes and failures. For instance, despite the tendency to treat theory use as coupled to research and understanding social reality, in many instances this relationship was seen to be fragile, with the understanding, explanation or generalisability sought of theory incompletely accomplished in practice. Theoretical attempts to define a place for sociology had at best limited success, with the discipline that emerged in my three countries defined in residual terms, contingent on what territory had not been claimed by other disciplines; and some re-

cent claims for theory's status involve disengaging theory from sociology. At the University of Sydney, theory was important, in different ways, for the introduction of sociological content into teaching programs, but this did not lead directly to the introduction of sociology as an independent discipline. And the efficacy of theory for positioning people into academic careers, producing work that is appropriately fashionable, novel or disciplinary, engaging in politics, and cultivating a persona can be seen as variable.

Such limits to theory's utility may have some bearing on what appears to be a shift, in the early twenty-first century, away from the special prominence of theory in sociology. In Chapter Two I noted this shift in the Australian case, where it is becoming less common for sociology students to be offered, or required to take, separate theory courses, and 2007 witnessed the renaming of one of Australia's few centres specialising in theory, the Thesis Eleven centre at La Trobe University, from Centre for Critical Theory to Centre for Cultural Sociology.

Signs that something similar might be occurring in the United States are evident in a 2004 discussion by members of the ASA Theory Section, a discussion which asked questions about theory's special status, and whether without this theory is 'everywhere' or 'nowhere' (Hall 2004; Lamont 2004; Wagner-Pacifici 2004; Mukerji et al. 2004). Lamont's (2004) survey of those teaching theory courses at the top ten sociology departments, and data on joint ASA Section memberships, revealed that many (particularly younger) theory teachers 'do not define themselves first and foremost as theorists', and that specially cultural sociology, but also comparative historical sociology, political sociology and gender sociology, were the main alternative subfields

with which theory teachers and TS members identified.[343] The significant overlap with cultural sociology is particularly interesting, given its ascendancy within sociology, perhaps signalling a move by the 'endangered species' of sociological theorists (Hechter in Mukerji et al. 2004) to the greener pastures of cultural sociology.[344] The treatment of theory as both a separate specialty and an essential part of ordinary sociology could be seen in terms of a division of labour between theorists and empirical researchers, or supporting sociology as a discipline, or the differentiated individual uses of theory by ordinary sociologists and theorists. If the twenty-first century is, indeed, bringing a shift away from theory as a distinct specialty, that may be because of the limits to these uses of theory.

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[343] Different ways of understanding these relationships between theory and these other subfields were proposed, including: treating the other subfields as 'satellites' to planet theory (Lamont 2004); the 'hybridization of theory' (Wagner-Pacifici 2004); Hall's (2004) shift from 'grand theory' to alternative, more dispersed, forms of theory production or Mukerji's 'distribution of theorizing' (that still allows 'theory junkies to read across fields to become sophisticated'); Armstong's suggestion of the role of gender, with the feminisation of sociology driving migration from the Theory Section ('the most disproportionately male of all large sections') to the more gender-balanced Culture Section; Lichterman's proposal, that could be applied to the discipline as a whole, that separately distinguishing 'theory' within cultural sociology might reflect an early stage of development, with the subfield having 'only relatively recently defined the basic terms for our conversations'; Turner's argument that the current situation reflects a decline in theory set in train with Parsons and Merton's dehistoricisation of theory; and Goodman's and Levine's counter-arguments that rejection of Parsons' and Merton's theoretical work has been part of the problem (Mukerji et al. 2004).

[344] The Culture Section was fourth most popular in 2001, overtook the Organizations, Occupations and Work Section to rank third in 2004, displaced the Medical Section by 2005, and ousted the Sex and Gender Section to take first position in 2008, when membership numbers for these sections were: Culture (1198), Sex and Gender (1165), Organizations, Occupations and Work (1024) and Medical (1023) (American Sociological Association 2008). The Culture Section began in 1988, after Cappell and Gutterbock's (1992) cluster analysis of overlapping ASA section membership during 1980-1986. They found high co-membership between Theoretical Sociology and Collective Behavior and Social Movements, Comparative Historical Sociology, Marxist Sociology, Political Economy of the World System, Political Sociology, and Sociology of World Conflicts (Sociology of Peace and War after 1985), with this cluster towards the critical end of the critical/applied dimension, high on the professional power dimension, and on the macro- side of the microsociology/macrosociology dimension (Cappell & Gutterbrock 1992: 268-71).

In response to the question 'What is theory for?', my thesis has not found a simple answer, but has identified some of the diversity of uses of theory, and the messy plurality and changeability of theory and sociology, evident in my samples of introductory textbooks, theory textbook titles, histories of sociology, the historical institutionalisation case study and the 'What is theory for?' conference. In this, I have made a step towards constructing a history of theory use in sociology. In these final paragraphs I suggest two broad directions for further research towards this history: the first involves stepping beyond the limits of my thesis sources, and the second following up questions raised by my research.

A first suggestion for extending my research involves going beyond the sources chosen for this thesis. My emphasis on sources explicitly addressing theory use and institutional history was sensible for my thesis, and the different sources I used provided different depictions and aspects of theory use. For instance, a rosier picture of sociology's disciplinarity was seen in introductory textbooks than in histories of sociology; and it seems that theoretical perspectivalism is a particular feature of pedagogical sociology. Examination of other sources would be likely to add different depictions and emphases, and quite possibly new uses of theory. Fruitful research might be undertaken by examining the changing role of theory in journals; adding both evidential weight and historical comparison to my conference analysis by tracing the role of theory in documentation of 'theory' and 'general sociology' conferences over time; inviting both theoretical and 'ordinary' sociologists to reflect on their own theory choices and use, following Harris's (1998) example; tracing the introduction of sociology at other (Australian) universities; and moving beyond my substantive focus on Anglophone sociology.

Finally, in each of my categories of theory use, and my institutional history case study, there are possibilities for fruitful further inquiry. Systematic work might be undertaken on the role of theory in actual research practice and in the finished presentation of research: to what extent is theory a substantive ingredient or a *post factum* dressing? In relation to disciplinarity, further work might be done on the role of theory in demarcation of boundaries between sociology and disciplines other than anthropology, including those identified more with practice, such as social work; and the

glimpses of some recent disengagement of theory from sociology might be examined more closely – where has *sociological* theory been kept alive, and to what extent has the 'moment of theory' hastened its death? Synergies would be expected by augmenting my history of the introduction of sociology at Sydney with those of other universities, allowing insights into the particulars and extent of its hosting by different disciplines, and the effects on the nature and development of Australian sociology and theory. My reflections on how the use of theory by Bourdieu, and the utility of Bourdieusian theory, might have shaped its popularity could be further developed, adding to Isaac's (2009) portrait of the Parsonian scientific theoretical persona and Hunter's (2006) of the critical theorist. There are thus many more steps that can be taken in the historical exploration of theory use in sociology.

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University of Sydney Archives

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BOSSM3   Board of Social Studies Minutes and Board of Studies in Social Work Minutes, July 1959 – May 1974, G3, Series 11, Item 3

FAM6   Faculty of Arts Minutes, July 1957 – August 1962, G3, Series 1, Item 6

FAM7   Faculty of Arts Minutes, September 1962 – April 1965, G3, Series 1, Item 7

FAM8   Faculty of Arts Minutes, June 1965 – May 1967, G3, Series 1, Item 8.

FAM9   Faculty of Arts Minutes, June 1967 – November 1969, G3, Series 1, Item 9

JCTCAR   Annual Reports for the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, G12, Series 27

JCTCM   Minutes of the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, G12, Series 34

PBM21-26   Professorial Board Minutes, G2, Series 1, November 1964 – March 1968, Items 21-26

PBMI   Professorial Board Minutes – Indexes, 1970-1975, G2, Series 9

TCMPP   Tutorial Classes – Miscellaneous Printed Publications, G12, Series 31

University of Sydney Handbooks and Calendars

Calendars and handbooks are available at the University of Sydney's Fisher Library. Calendars are also now available online, at http://calendararchive.usyd.edu.au, and some faculty handbooks from 1995 onwards are available at http://www.usyd.edu.au/handbooks/handbooks_archive/archiveindex.shtml

FHAG	Faculty of Agriculture Handbook
FHARTS	Faculty of Arts Handbook
FHARCH	Faculty of Architecture Handbook
FHECO	Faculty of Economics Handbook
FHLAW	Faculty of Law Handbook
FHMED	Faculty of Medicine Handbook
FHSCI	Faculty of Science Handbook
USC	University of Sydney Calendar
USCS	University of Sydney Calendar Supplement

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APPENDIX A

AUSTRALIAN INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS

Table A-1. General Australian introductory sociology textbooks first published in the twentieth century

Author & year[a]	Title	Description	Pages[b]
Davies & Encel (1965; 1970; 1977; 1984)[c]	Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction	Research collection about Australian society. Used as introductory textbook, sometimes in conjunction with overseas texts. MIBAS nominated.[d]	333
D'Alton & Bittman (1972)	The Social Experience	Sociological concepts introduced using extensive illustrative material drawn from interviews with students, sociological and literary writing.	110
Congalton & Daniel (1976)	The Individual in the Making: An Introduction to Sociology	Introduction to sociology as study of society, organised around relationships between society, culture, social groups and individuals. Examples focused on Australian society.	285
Edgar (1980; 1993; 1999)	Introduction to Australian Society: A Sociological Perspective	Introduction to the discipline largely via analysis of Australian society.	350
Sargent (1983; 1987; 1994; 1997)	Sociology for Australians	Introduction to 'critical sociology', taking an explicit critical/feminist approach in discussion of Australian society. MIBAS nominated.[d]	254
Wild (1985)	An Introduction to Sociological Perspectives: Theory and Research in the Australian Context	Organised around four 'sociological perspectives', with each chapter including a theoretical introduction and discussion of applications, mostly concentrating on Australian society.	221
Najman & Western (1988; 1993; 2000)[c]	A Sociology of Australian Society: Introductory Readings.	Readings about aspects of Australian society.	587
Waters (1989; 1990; 1993)	Sociology One: Principles of Sociological Analysis for Australians	Comprehensive-style introduction to sociology and society, emphasising Australian examples but also including others.	477

Author & year[a]	Title	Description	Pages[b]
Kellehear (1990)	Every Student's Guide to Sociology: A Quick and Plain Speaking Introduction	Intended as 'a companion guide', dealing briefly with questions about sociology's nature and relevance, main theories, concepts and methods, deviance and inequality, essay-writing advice and terminology.	91
Lupton, Short and Whip (1992)[c]	Society and Gender: An Introduction to Sociology	An introduction to sociology (and society) from an explicitly feminist perspective and focused on gender, with Australian and other examples.	343
Willis (1993; 1995; 1999; 2004)	The Sociological Quest: An Introduction to the Study of Social Life	A brief disciplinary introduction, with illustrative examples from Australia and New Zealand, and elsewhere.	122
Kellehear (1996; 2002)[c]	Social Self, Global Culture: An Introduction to Sociological Ideas	Chapters grouped into themes of the social self, community, nation and globalisation. MIBAS nominated.[d]	333
Game & Metcalfe (1996)	Passionate Sociology	Argues for passionate sociology, in part through focusing on disciplinary practices such as reading and writing.	182
Haralambos et al. (1996; 2000; 2005)	Sociology: Themes and Perspectives, Australian edition	A considerably revised Australian version of the comprehensive-style British textbook.	797
Jureidini, Kenny & Poole (1997; 2000; 2003)[c]	Sociology: Australian Connections	A comprehensive-style textbook, divided into 'The idea of society' and 'The experiences of society', with Australian data in all chapters.	390
Bessant & Watts (1999; 2002)	Sociology Australia	A comprehensive book; one part introduces the discipline, three (identity; globalisation, work and inequality; & power and knowledge) are focused on Australian society.	406

Notes

a. Authors/editors are for first editions, which are included in the References. Changes in later editions were: Davies & Encel – Davies et al. 1977, Encel et al. 1984; Edgar – Edgar et al. 1993, Earle & Fopp 1999; Sargent – Sargent et al. 1997; Waters – Waters & Crook 1990, 1993; Kellehear (1996) – Beilharz and Hogan 2002; Haralambos et al. – Van Krieken et al. 2000, 2005; Jureidini, Kenny and Poole – Jureidini and Poole 2000, 2003.

b. Numbered pages only, excluding front material if this has a separate numbering system or is unnumbered.

c. Editor/s rather than author/s.

d. Nominated by TASA members for inclusion as one of the most influential books in Australian sociology (Skrbis & Germov 2004).

NAMES RANKED IN TOP FIVE IN

ANY INTRODUCTORY TEXTBOOK

Table B-1. Names ranked in top 5 (by number of pages in index) in any introductory textbook

Rank	Name	Total page nos.	No. of books
1	Marx, Karl	482	22
2	Weber, Max	420	22
3	Durkheim, Émile	401	23
4	Parsons, Talcott	272	20
5	Merton, Robert K.	198	21
6	Simmel, George	146	16
7	Spencer, Herbert	140	19
8	Mills, C. Wright	128	19
9	Goffman, Erving	125	17
10	Darwin, Charles	113	16
11	Freud, Sigmund	111	19
12	Davis, Kingsley	110	16
13	Comte, Auguste	107	19
14	Lipset, Seymour M.	104	14
15	Connell, R. W.	102	6
16	Berger, Peter L.	90	16
17	Goldthorpe, John H.	86	11
18	Thomas, William I.	84	16
19	Lockwood, D.	75	10
20	Mead, Margaret	64	15
21	Giddens, Anthony	62	9
22	Bendix, Reinhard	58	11

Rank	Name	Total page nos.	No. of books
23	Burgess, Ernest W.[a]	56[a]	8[a]
24	Sorokin, Pitirim A.	55	12
25	Warner, W. Lloyd	54	14
26	Lowie, Robert H.	53	8
27	Lenski, Gerhard	51	11
28	Park, Robert Ezra[a]	49[a]	16[a]
29	Garfinkel, Harold	48	11
30	Williams, Robin M., Jr.	45	9
=31	Linton, Ralph	43	12
=31	Smelser, Neil J.	43	9
=33	Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.	42	10
=33	Foucault, Michel	42	6
=33	Le Bon, Gustave	42	4
36	Veblen, Thorstein	38	9
37	Znaniecki, Florian	37	6
38	Thompson, Warren S.	36	7
39	Tumin, Melvin M.	35	11
=40	Pearson, K.	31	5
=40	Galton, Francis (Sir)	31	3
42	Hatt, Paul K.	27	4
43	Redfield, Robert	24	9
44	Evans-Pritchard	21	5
45	Encel, Sol	19	5
46	Richards, Audrey I.	18	3
47	Young, Kimball[a]	15[a]	5[a]
48	Form, William H.	14	7
49	Hiller, E. T.	13	2
=50	Cuber, John F.	9	4
=50	Bennett, John W.	9	2
=50	Rowley, C. D.	9	2

Note

a. Textbook authors' self-references excluded. For the authors marked, self-references would add 1 book each and pages as follows: 150 (Park), 3 (Burgess), 10 (Young). Allowing self-citations would add two extra names above: R. M. MacIver (30 pages in 9 books without self-citation; 64 pages with) and S. Cotgrove (1 page, 1 book no self-citation; 13 pages with).

APPENDIX C

THEORY TEXTBOOK TITLES

This document contains a list of social/sociological theory textbooks published in England and/or the United States of America until mid 2005. The list has been compiled from:

- lists of theory textbooks/readers discussed/analysed in articles/books (Connell (1997), Hopper (2000a, 2000b), Lewis & Alshtawi (1992), Menzies (1982), Morgan (1983), Platt (2005));

- reviews in *BJS* and *AJS* that treat books as theory textbooks;

- catalogue and internet searches; and

- general reading.

It is not always a straightforward matter to determine whether a particular book is a social/sociological theory textbook or reader. Each book in this list has met at least one of the following criteria:

- the book's title/preface/introduction/jacket or publisher's description (e.g. on publisher's website) clearly positions it as a theory textbook or reader;

- it has been included in a list of social/sociological theory textbooks in one of the above-mentioned articles or books;[349]

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[349] Connell (1997) and Morgan (1983) list theory textbooks amongst sociology textbooks without distinguishing them. In these cases, judgements have been made about whether to include texts as theory texts, based on their titles. Similarly Platt (2005) lists theory books (not necessarily textbooks), which have only been included if they meet my other criteria.

- it has been reviewed *as* a theory textbook/reader, in *BJS*, *AJS* or other relevant journals; or

- it has been listed as a textbook/reader on social/sociological theory course outlines (found online).

It is possible that the list includes some books that were intended by authors/publishers as theory textbooks, but not widely (or even narrowly) adopted; or conversely some that were not intended as theory textbooks, but have nonetheless been used or reviewed as such.

Year of publication for first (or first known) edition is given, and books are grouped by decade on this basis. Asterisks (*) indicate those textbooks nominated as significant by one or more of the 'theory-workers' I consulted – Patrick Baert, Alec Pemberton, and George Ritzer. The country with which the (first) author/editor was mostly associated, or the country of their institution if given in book, is indicated in square brackets – A for the United States of America, B for Britain.

Table C-1. Theory textbook list

Decade	Theory Textbook
Pre 1900	Bascom, J., 1895, Social Theory [A]
	Giddings, F. H., 1894, The Theory of Sociology [A]
	Patten, S. N., 1896, The Theory of Social Forces [A]
	Spencer, H., 1876-97, The Principles of Sociology [B]
	Ward, L. F., 1883, Dynamic Sociology [A]
1920s	*Bogardus, E. S., 1922, A History of Social Thought [A]
	Cole, G. D. H., 1920, Social Theory [B]
	Ellwood, C. A., 1927, The Psychology of Human Society: An Introduction to Sociological Theory [A]
	Lichtenberger, J. P., 1923, Development of Social Theory [A]
	*Sorokin, P. A., 1928, Contemporary Sociological Theories [A]

Decade	Theory Textbook
1930s	Beach, W. G., 1939, The Growth of Social Thought [A]
	*Becker, H. S. & H. E. Barnes, 1938, Social Thought from Lore to Science [A]
	Ellwood, C., 1938, A History of Social Philosophy [A]
	Eubank, E. E., 1932, The Concepts of Sociology: A Treatise Presenting a Suggested Organization of Socio-logical Theory in Terms of Its Major Concepts [A]
	House, F. N., 1936, Development of Sociology [A]
	Phelps, H. A., 1936, Principles and Laws of Sociology [A]
	Simpson, G., 1937, Conflict and Community: A Study in Social Theory [A]
	Sims, N. LR., 1939, The Problem of Social Change [A]
1950s	Borgatta, E. F. & H. J. Meyer (eds.), 1956, Sociological Theory: Present-day Sociology from the Past [A]
	Chambliss, R., 1954, Social Thought from Hammurabi to Comte [A]
	Cole, G. D. H., 1950, Essays in Social Theory [B]
	*Coser, L. A. and B. Rosenberg (eds.), 1957, Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings [A]
	Kilzer, E. and E. J. Ross, 1954, Western Social Thought [A]
	Mihanovich, C. S., 1953, Social Theorists [A]
	Parsons, T. & E. Shils (ed), 1951, Toward a General Theory of Action: Theoretical Foundations for the Social Sciences [A]
	*Timasheff, N. S., 1955, Sociological Theory, its Nature and Growth [A][a]
	*Vine, M. W., 1959, An Introduction to Sociological Theory [A]
1960s	*Aron, R., 1965, Main Currents in Sociological Thought, 2 vols. (1. Montesquieu, Comte, Marx, de Tocqueville; 2. Durkheim, Pareto, Weber) [France]
	*Cohen, P. S., 1968, Modern Social Theory [B]
	Cuzzort, R. P., 1969, Humanity and Modern Sociological Thought [A]
	Cuzzort, R. P. & King, E. W., 1969, Twentieth-Century Social Thought [A]
	*Gross, L. (ed), 1967, Sociological Theory: Inquiries and Paradigms [A]
	*Martindale, D., 1960, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory [A]
	Mills, C. W., 1960, Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking [A]
	Mitchell, G. D., 1968, A Hundred Years of Sociology [B]
	*Nisbet, R., 1966, The Sociological Tradition [A]
	*Parsons, T., E. Shils, K. D. Naegele & J. R. Pitts (eds.), 1961, Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory [A]
	*Rex, J., 1961, Key Problems of Sociological Theory [B]
	Ruitenbeek, H. M. (ed), 1963, Varieties of Classic Social Theory [A]
	Ruitenbeek, H. M. (ed), 1963, Varieties of Modern Social Theory [A]
	*Wallace, W. L. (ed), 1969, Sociological Theory: An Introduction [A]
	*Zeitlin, I., 1968, Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory [A]

Decade	Theory Textbook
1970s	Abraham, J. H., 1973, Origins and Growth of Sociology [B]
	Berger, J., M. Zelditch Jr and B. Anderson, 1972, Sociological Theories in Progress [A]
	Blackburn, R. (ed), 1972, Ideology in Social Science: Readings in Critical Social Theory [B]
	Boskoff, A., 1972, The Mosaic of Sociological Theory [A]
	*Bottomore, T. & R. Nisbet (eds.), 1978, A History of Sociological Analysis [B]
	Brown, C. H., 1979, Understanding Society: An Introduction to Sociological Theory [B]
	*Collins, R. & M. Makowsky, 1972, The Discovery of Society [A]
	*Coser, L., 1971, Masters of Sociological Thought [A]
	*Cuff, E. C. & Payne, G. C. F, 1979, Perspectives in Sociology [B]ᵇ
	Denisoff, S., O. Callahan & M. H. Levine (eds.), 1974, Theories and Paradigms in Contemporary Sociology [A]
	*Giddens, A., 1971, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber [B]
	Jesser, C. J., 1975, Social Theory Revisited [A]
	Katz, F. E. (ed), 1975, Contemporary Sociological Theory [A]
	Keat, R. and J. Urry, 1975, Social Theory as Science [B]
	*Kinloch, G. C., 1977, Sociological Theory: Its Development and Major Paradigms [A]
	Larson, C., 1973, Major Themes in Social Theory [A]
	McNall, S. (ed), 1979, Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology [A]
	Mennell, S., 1974, Sociological Theory: Uses and Unities [B]
	Mullins, N. C., 1973, Theories and Theory Groups in Contemporary American Sociology [A]
	Nisbet, R., 1973, The Social Philosophers: Community and Conflict in Western Thought [A]
	Poloma, M. M., 1979, Contemporary Sociological Theory [A]
	Rex, J., 1974, Approaches to Sociology: An Introduction to Major Trends in British Sociology [B]
	Ritzer, G., 1975, Sociology: A Multiple Paradigm Science [A]
	Rossides, D. W., 1978, The History and Nature of Sociological Theory [A]
	Sherman, H. J. & J. L. Wood, 1979, Sociology: Traditional and Radical Perspectives [A]
	Skidmore, W., 1975, Theoretical Thinking in Sociology [A]
	Szacki, J., 1979, History of Sociological Thought [Polish]ᶜ
	*Truzzi, M. (ed), 1971, Sociology: The Classic Statements [A]
	Turner, J. H., 1974, The Structure of Sociological Theory [A]
	*Zeitlin, I., 1973, Rethinking Sociology: A Critique of Contemporary Theory [A]

Decade	Theory Textbook
1980s	Abraham, M. F., 1982, Modern Sociological Theory: An Introduction [A]
	Abrahamson, M., 1981, Sociological Theory: An Introduction to Concepts, Issues, and Research [A]
	*Alexander, J. C., 1987, Sociological Theory Since 1945 [A]
	*Ashley, D. & D. M. Orenstein, 1985, Sociological Theory: Classical Statements [A]
	Babbie, E., 1988, The Sociological Spirit: Critical Essays in a Critical Science [A]
	Bierstedt, R., 1981, American Sociological Theory: A Critical History [A]
	Bottomore, T. & P. Goode, 1983, Readings in Marxist Sociology [B]
	*Campbell, T., 1981, Seven Theories of Human Society [B]
	Collins, R., 1985, Three Sociological Traditions [A]
	*Craib, I., 1984, Modern Social Theory: From Parsons to Habermas [B]
	Giddens, A. & J. H. Turner (eds.), 1987, Social Theory Today [B]
	Johnson, D. P., 1981, Sociological Theory: Classical Founders and Contemporary Perspectives [A]
	Johnson, T., C. Dandeker and C. Ashworth, 1984, The Structure of Social Theory [B][d]
	Perdue, W. D., 1986, Sociological Theory [A]
	*Ritzer, G., 1983, Sociological Theory [A][e]
	*Ritzer, G., 1983, Contemporary Sociological Theory [A][ef]
	*Swingewood, A., 1984, A Short History of Sociological Thought [B]
	*Turner, J. H. and L. Beeghley, 1981, The Emergence of Sociological Theory [A]
	*Wallace, R. A. and A. Wolf, 1980, Contemporary Sociological Theory: Continuing the Classical Tradition [A]
	Wilson, J., 1983, Social Theory [A]

Decade	Theory Textbook
1990s	Agger, B., 1998, Critical Social Theories: An Introduction [A]
	Ashe, F., A. Finlayson, et al., 1999, Contemporary Social and Political Theory: An Introduction [B]
	*Baert, P., 1998, Social Theory in the Twentieth Century [B]
	Barnes, B., 1995, The Elements of Social Theory [B]
	Berberoglu, B., 1993, An Introduction to Classical and Contemporary Social Theory: A Critical Perspective [A]
	*Callinicos, A., 1999, Social Theory: A Historical Introduction [B]
	*Collins, R., 1994, Four Sociological Traditions [A]
	*Collins, R., 1994, Four Sociological Traditions: Selected Readings [A]
	*Craib, I., 1997, Classical Social Theory [B]
	Dodd, N., 1999, Social Theory and Modernity [B]
	Elliott, A. (ed), 1999, The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory [B]
	Farganis, J. (ed), 1993, Readings in Social Theory: The Classic Tradition to Post-modernism [A]
	Hadden, R., 1997, Sociological Theory: An Introduction to the Classical Tradition [Canada]
	Hollinger, R., 1994, Postmodernism and the Social Sciences: A Thematic Approach [A]
	*Hughes, J., P. Martin & W. W. Sharrock, 1995, Understanding Classical Sociology: Marx, Weber, Durkheim [B]
	Kivisto, P., 1998, Key Ideas in Sociology [A]
	Kivisto, P. (ed), 1998, Illuminating Social Life: Classical and Contemporary Theory Revisited [A]
	Knapp, P. 1994, One World - Many Worlds: Contemporary Sociological Theory [A]
	Layder, D., 1994, Understanding Social Theory [B]
	*Lemert, C. (ed), 1993, Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classical Readings [A]
	Lemert, C., 1997, Social Things: An Introduction to the Sociological Life [A]
	Levine, D. N., 1995, Visions of the Sociological Tradition [A]
	Luke, T. W., 1990, Social Theory and Modernity: Critique, Dissent, and Revolution [A]
	May, T., 1996, Situating Social Theory [B]
	McIntosh, I. (ed), 1997, Classical Sociological Theory: A Reader [B]
	McQuarie, D., 1995, Readings in Contemporary Sociological Theory: From Modernity to Post-Modernity [A]
	*Morrison, K., 1995, Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Formations of Modern Social Thought [Canada]
	Mouzelis, N., 1991, Back to Sociological Theory: The Construction of Social Orders [B][d]
	1994, The Polity Reader in Social Theory [NA]
	Ray, L., 1999, Theorizing Classical Sociology [B]
	*Ritzer, G., 1997, Postmodern Social Theory [A]
	*Ritzer, G., 1992, Classical Sociological Theory [A][e]
	Scott, J., 1995, Sociological Theory: Contemporary Debates [B]
	Seidman, S., 1994, Contested Knowledge: Social Theory in the Postmodern Era [A][g]
	*Stones, R. (ed), 1998, Key Sociological Thinkers [B]
	*Turner, B., 1999, Classical Sociology [B]
	Turner, B. S. (ed), 1996, The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory [B]
	Turner, J. H., 1993, Classical Sociological Theory: A Positivist's Perspective [A]
	Waters, M., 1994, Modern Sociological Theory [Australian]
	Westby, D., 1991, The Growth of Sociological Theory: Human Nature, Knowledge and Social Change [A]

Decade	Theory Textbook
2000s	Adams, B. N. & R. A. Sydie, 2001, Sociological Theory [A]
	Alasuutari, P., 2004, Social Theory and Human Reality [Finland]
	Andersen, H. & L. B. Kaspersen (eds.), 2000, Classical and Modern Social Theory [Denmark]
	Berger, A. A., 2003, Durkheim is Dead!: Sherlock Holmes is Introduced to Sociological Theory [A]
	Berger, J. & M. Zelditch (eds.), 2002, New Directions in Contemporary Sociological Theory [A]
	*Best, S., 2003, A Beginner's Guide to Social Theory [B]
	*Browning, G., A. Halcli et al. (eds.), 2000, Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of the Present [B]
	Calhoun, C., J. Gerteis et al. (eds.), 2002, Classical Sociological Theory [A]
	Calhoun, Craig, J. Gerteis et al. (eds.), 2002, Contemporary Sociological Theory [A]
	Dant, Tim, 2003, Critical Social Theory: Culture, Society and Critique [B]
	*Delaney, T. 2004, Classical Social Theory: Investigation and Application [A]
	*Delaney, Tim 2005, Contemporary Social Theory: Investigation and Application [A]
	Edles, L. D. & S. Appelrouth, 2004, Sociological Theory in the Classical Era: Text and Readings [A]
	Garner, R. (ed), 2001, Social Theory: Continuity and Confrontation: A Reader [A]
	Harris, D., 2003, Teaching Yourself Social Theory [B]
	How, A., 2003, Critical Theory [B]
	Hurst, C. E., 2000, Living Theory: The Application of Classical Social Theory to Contemporary Life [A]
	Jones, P., 2003, Introducing Social Theory [B]
	Miles, S., 2001, Social Theory in the Real World [B]
	Noble, T., 2000, Social Theory and Social Change [B]
	*Parker, J. et al., 2003, Social Theory: A Basic Tool Kit [B]
	Powers, C. H., 2004, Making Sense of Social Theory: A Practical Introduction [A]
	*Ritzer, G., 2002, Contemporary Sociological Theory and its Classical Roots: The Basics [A]
	Ritzer, G. (ed), 2003, The Blackwell Companion to Major Classical Social Theorists [A]
	Ritzer, G. (ed), 2004, The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists [A]
	Ritzer, G. & B. Smart, 2001, Handbook of Social Theory [A]
	*Seidman, S. & J. C. Alexander. (eds.), 2001, The New Social Theory Reader: Contemporary Debates [A]
	Turner, J. H., 2001, Handbook of Sociological Theory [A]

Notes
a. Co-authored by George A. Theodorson by fourth edition.
b. Co-authored by W. W. Sharrock and D. W. Francis in later editions.
c. Spent time at University of Minnesota and Oxford.
d. Added after sending to Ritzer, Baert and Pemberton.
e. Co-authored by Douglas J. Goodman in later editions.
f. *Modern Sociological Theory* in fourth edition.
g. *Contested Knowledge: Social Theory Today* in third edition.

THEORY TEXTBOOK TITLE ANALYSIS

Table D-1. Theory textbook titles analysis

	19 C	1920s	1930s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)
Theory: alternatives, aspects & uses									
Analysis (sociological)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (7)	-	-	-
Application/uses	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	3 (11)
Approach/es	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	1 (2)	-
'Back to'/revisited	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	-
Concepts/ideas	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	-	1 (5)	1 (2)	-
Critique/ical, radical	-	-	-	-	-	3 (10)	2 (10)	3 (8)	2 (7)
Currents/trends/directions	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	-	1 (4)
Debates/contested	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (5)	1 (4)
Elements	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Foundations/ing/ers	-	-	-	1 (11)	1 (7)	-	1 (5)	-	-
Growth[a]	-	1 (20)	2 (25)	2 (22)	1 (7)	3 (10)	1 (5)	1 (2)	-
History[b]	-	1 (20)	1 (12)	1 (11)	1 (7)	3 (10)	2 (10)	3 (8)	-
Ideology	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	-	-
Images/visions	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	-	-	1 (2)	-
Investigation[c]	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	-	3 (11)
Knowledge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (5)	-
Living/sociological life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (5)	1 (4)
Lore	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	-	-	-	-
MWD, founders[d]	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	1 (5)	2 (5)	-

	19 C no (%)	1920s no (%)	1930s no (%)	1950s no (%)	1960s no (%)	1970s no (%)	1980s no (%)	1990s no (%)	2000s no (%)
Names	-	-	-	1 (11)	1 (7)	1 (3)	2 (10)	2 (5)	1 (4)
Marx	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Weber	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	-
Durkheim	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	1 (4)
Hammurabi	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	-	-	-	-
Comte	-	-	-	1 (11)	1 (7)	-	-	-	-
Montesquieu	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	-	-	-	-
De Tocqueville	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	-	-	-	-
Pareto	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	-	-	-	-
Parsons	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (5)	-	-
Habermas	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (5)	-	-
Nature	-	-	-	1 (11)	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	1 (2)	-
One World	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Paradigms/Multi. Paradigm	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	3 (10)	-	-	-
Perspective (one of)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (5)	-
Perspectives	-	-	-	-	-	3 (10)	1 (5)	-	-
Plural	1 (20)	1 (20)	2 (25)	1 (11)	8 (53)	15 (50)	4 (20)	11 (28)	5 (18)
Theories	-	1 (20)	-	-	1 (7)	3 (10)	1 (5)	1 (2)	1 (4)
Theorists	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	-	-	-	2 (7)
MWD[d]	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	-
Paradigms	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	3 (10)	-	-	-
Types/varieties	-	-	-	-	3 (20)	-	-	-	-
Perspectives	-	-	-	-	-	3 (10)	1 (5)	-	-
Traditions	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Other[e]	1 (20)	-	2 (25)	-	4 (27)	6 (20)	2 (10)	8 (20)	2 (7)
Principles/laws	1 (20)	-	1 (12)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Problem(s)	-	-	1 (12)	-	1 (7)	-	-	-	-
Reader/ings	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	1 (3)	1 (5)	7 (18)	3 (11)
Roots/origins	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	1 (4)
Science	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	2 (7)	1 (5)	-	-
Social Philosophy/ers	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	-
Social Psychology	-	1 (20)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Structure[f]	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	2 (7)	1 (5)	1 (2)	-
Study/research	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	-	1 (5)	-	-
Themes/-atic/issues/unities	-	-	-	-	-	2 (7)	1 (5)	1 (2)	-
Theorists[g]	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	2 (7)	-	1 (2)	2 (7)
Theory (& variations)	3 (60)	4 (80)	2 (25)	7 (78)	9 (60)	20 (67)	16 (80)	30 (75)	28 (100)
Theory	3 (60)	3 (60)	2 (25)	6 (67)	9 (60)	14 (47)	15 (75)	28 (70)	25 (89)
Theories	-	1 (20)	-	-	1 (7)	3 (10)	1 (5)	1 (2)	1 (4)
Theoretical	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	2 (7)	-	-	-
Theorists	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	-	-	-	2 (7)
Theory groups	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	-
Theorizing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-

	19 C no (%)	1920s no (%)	1930s no (%)	1950s no (%)	1960s no (%)	1970s no (%)	1980s no (%)	1990s no (%)	2000s no (%)
Thought (& variations)	-	1 (20)	2 (25)	2 (22)	4 (27)	4 (13)	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Thought	-	1 (20)	2 (25)	2 (22)	3 (20)	2 (7)	1 (5)	1 (2)	-
Thinkers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Thinking	-	-	-	-	1 (7)	1 (3)	-	-	-
Rethinking	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	-
Tool kit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Tradition/-al	-	-	-	-	2 (13)	1 (3)	1 (5)	3 (8)	-
Traditions	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (5)	2 (5)	-
Types/varieties	-	-	-	-	3 (20)	-	-	-	-
Understanding[h]	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	4 (10)	1 (4)
Writings[i]	-	-	1 (12)	1 (11)	-	2 (7)	2 (10)	-	-

Objects of theory

Action	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	-	-	-	-
Capitalism	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	-
Conflict and community	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	-
Contemporary life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Contemp. society/ present	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Continuity and confrontation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Culture, society and critique	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
HNKSO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Human reality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Humanity/Man	-	-	-	-	2 (13)	-	-	-	-
Modernity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (5)	-
Real world	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Social change	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Social forces	1 (20)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Social orders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Society/human society	-	1 (20)	-	-	-	1 (7)	2 (7)	1 (5)	-

Theory & discipline: social vs sociological

Social[k]	2 (40)	3 (60)	5 (62)	5 (56)	4 (27)	7 (23)	5 (25)	21 (52)	20 (71)
Social	2 (40)	3 (60)	4 (50)	4 (44)	4 (27)	5 (17)	4 (20)	19 (48)	18 (64)
Social & political	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Social philosophy/-ers	-	-	1 (12)	-	-	1 (3)	-	-	-
Social Sciences	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	-	-	1 (2)	-
Society	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3)	1 (5)	-	2 (7)
Critical (when no soci-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Sociological/sociology[k]	3 (60)	2 (40)	3 (38)	4 (44)	11 (73)	23 (77)	15 (75)	19 (48)	8 (29)
Sociological	-	2 (40)	1 (12)	4 (44)	10 (67)	12 (40)	14 (70)	15 (38)	8 (29)
Sociology	3 (60)	-	3 (38)	1 (11)	1 (7)	11 (37)	1 (5)	4 (10)	-
Psychology	-	1 (20)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	19 C	1920s	1930s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)	no (%)
History & historical categories of theory									
Total historical	-	3 (60)	4 (50)	3 (33)	10 (67)	15 (50)	11 (55)	27 (68)	13 (46)
General history[l]	-	2 (40)	4 (50)	1 (11)	2 (13)	7 (23)	3 (15)	2 (5)	-
Classic/al[m]	-	-	-	1 (11)	3 (20)	1 (3)	1 (5)	9 (22)	4 (14)
Contemporary[n]	-	1 (20)	-	-	1 (7)	5 (17)	3 (15)	6 (15)	6 (21)
Modern[o]	-	-	-	-	4 (27)	1 (3)	2 (10)	4 (10)	-
Post-modern	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (8)	-
Combined[p]	-	-	-	1 (11)	-	1 (3)	2 (10)	3 (8)	3 (11)
N	5	5	8	9	15	30	20	40	28

Notes

Some items appear in multiple classifications.

a. Growth also includes development, progress, present-day sociology from the past, continuing.

b. History also includes historical, 100 years of, from X to Y.

c. Investigation includes discovery, inquiries, detection (Sherlock Holmes).

d. MWD = Marx, Weber and Durkheim.

e. Other plural are: principles/laws, concepts, currents/trends, inquiries, images, problems, masters, themes, unities, social philosophers, approaches, issues, founders, elements, key ideas, visions, debates, thinkers, directions, tool kit, mosaic, many worlds, and numbers (of traditions/theories): 3, 4 or 7.

f. Structure also includes organisation, mosaic, formations.

g. Theorists also includes masters, thinkers, philosophers.

h. Understanding includes illuminating, making sense.

i. Writings includes statements, essays, treatise.

j. Human nature, knowledge and social change.

k. Where the theory is described as 'sociological', and the object of theory is defined as 'social', it appears under 'Sociological', not 'Social'.

l. General history includes history/-ical, development, growth, from lore to science, a hundred years, progress, trends, emergence.

m. Classic/al includes 'from Hammurabi to Comte' (50s), Montesquieu, Comte, Marx, de Tocqueville, Durkheim, Pareto, Weber (60s), 'Multicultural and classical' (90s).

n. Contemporary includes 20th century (60s, 90s), 'since 1945', 'today' (80s), 'Contemporary ... From Modernity to Post-Modernity' (90s), 'Understanding contemporary society: Theories of the present' (00s), new/contemporary (2 in 00s)

o. Modern includes 'Modern ... From Parsons to Habermas' (80s), modernity

p. Combined classical/contemporary or modern/postmodern also includes present/past (50s), traditional/radical (70s), 'the classic tradition to postmodernism' (90s), 'from modernity to post-modernity' (90s), classical/modern (00s). Note that growth of classical/contemporary partnerings was actually stronger in 2000s, with Calhoun et al., Delaney and Ritzer all authoring pairs of books, one classical, one contemporary.

APPENDIX E

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY COURSES WITH SOCIOLOGICAL CONTENT – ADDITIONAL DETAILS

In addition to the course descriptions discussed in Chapter Five, this appendix provides details of arguably sociological content found in other courses. It does not include courses (like cultural studies, media and communications, and gender studies) that commenced after the establishment of Sociology 1 in 1991 or those from campuses that became part of the University with the 1990 amalgamation (notably Health Sciences, Nursing and the Institute of Teaching).

Agriculture

Agricultural Education, offered from the 1970s, mentioned sociology in the 1975 course description only (when no textbooks were listed in the Faculty Handbook). In that year one of the course's four components was 'Foundations of Education', and one of its three sections was a seminar course on 'materials, questions and issues relating to a core of compulsory topics concerned with basic psychological, sociological and philosophical aspects of education' (FHAG 1975: 43-44).

Architecture

From the 1950s, several courses in the BSc(Arch) and the Diploma and Masters in Town and Country Planning contained sociological content, some explicitly introducing sociological concepts and others adopting sociology as part of an interdisciplinary framework. No textbooks were listed in the relevant University Calendars, and unfortunately the Faculty handbooks provide reading lists for only a selection of the First Year subjects, where, somewhat curiously, psychology and social psychology text-

books are prominent but sociology textbooks are absent (although it is possible that they were assigned for other courses).

'Social and Economic Organisation' was offered from the early 1950s to the early 1970s as part of the Diploma in Town and Country Planning. The 'social' half of the course description contained explicitly sociologically labelled content: 'The class structure and the changing pattern of social grouping in modern society. Rural social organisation: sociological implications of decentralization. Residential and social requirements of different age groups. Values in social planning; community integration' (USC 1955: 1024; 1960: 1051 [minor spelling variation]; 1965: 828). While inclusion of Tom Brennan from Social Work in the teaching team (with Mr J. R. Wilson and Mrs Caroline Kelly) in the 1960s (1960: 1051) provides more evidence of its sociological intentions, it appears he was not solely responsible, not having participated when the course first began.[350] The course overall included consideration of statistical principles and scientific method, but these were in the other section, on 'Economic Organisation and Statistical Methods'.

Environmental Sciences was an interdisciplinary stream running through the BSc(Arch) in 1970 (and an area of study in later years). The first year course was described as 'illustrating the relationship of the human sciences to Design' with '[r]eference and introduction to anthropology, psychology, sociology, ethology, geography and urban studies as they affect design' (FHARCH 1970: 35). The Calendar version of the course description specified more classes in sociology (28 lectures and 28 tutorials) than any of the other courses (27 lectures and 9 tutorials in geography, and 10 lectures in each of logic, ergonomics and perception) (USC 1970: 934), although the reading list included logic, philosophy and science, but not sociology, textbooks. The second year course added social networks with an emphasis on indi-

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[350] The course was initially taught by Mr E. L. Wheelwright and Mrs Caroline Kelly (USC 1955: 1024). In 1959 Brennan described his part in this course as the only other place in the University where the 'Urban Sociology and [material] covering the field between Sociology and Administration' proposed for the Social Theory was being taught (BOSSM 21/07/1959: 1).

viduals, small groups and institutions, simulation and gaming, and the third year course focused on larger groups and institutions (FHARCH 1970: 36-37).

'Man-Environment Studies' was available in 1975 through to 1985. In 1975, the Introductory course had two parts. The first reviewed 'the social and human sciences', the 'assistance [they] can offer the environmental designer' and their philosophy and methods; the second stressed 'the role of culture in determining the ways that the environment is perceived, modified and used' (FHARCH 1975: 31). The only listed textbook was in environmental psychology. In both 1980 and 1985 the course aimed to maximise 'initiative and subjective design processes through the understanding of the individual human, social and community structures and how these can be exploited effectively within the environment'. As before, the course reviewed the social and human sciences and their utility for designers, particularly in understanding 'how man senses, and operates within, his environment' (FHARCH 1980: 39-40, 1985: 19). Reading lists covered environmental psychology, perception, design, problem solving and ergonomics. Man-Environment Studies II in 1980 combined social psychology and sociology:

> The student is encouraged to develop a critical understanding of the way society operates and the way sociologists and social-psychologists think and work. Basic concepts and ideas are discussed in relation to social situations in the built environment (in scale from single buildings where people congregate to the urban situation). Particular emphasis is given to (i) issues relating to privacy, density and crowding and their relationship to design, and (ii) the fact that design actions are not apolitical and the course will attempt to show the relationships between design and planning, the community and the political (including bureaucratic) system in Australia. (FHARCH 1980: 38-39)

Another explicitly sociological undergrad course offered in the Environmental Studies area in 1975 was 'Anthropology-Sociology in Design':

> ... designed to develop a critical understanding of the way society operates and of the way sociologists think and work. Basic sociological con-

> cepts and ideas are discussed in relation to present urban social situations.
> The main orientation is towards observing and understanding urban social
> situations. (FHARCH 1975: 31)

Here, the notion of critique then becoming popular in both social theory and anthropology was employed, but with the dual object of society and sociological practice itself.

Sociological courses offered in the Masters of Town and Country Planning were Government, Sociology and Planning (1975), which aimed 'to understand the principles upon which systems of government, the rule of law and social institutions are constructed' and discussed 'the built environment ... as an expression of an influence on social conditions' (FHARCH 1975: 75); Political Sociology (1975), in which 'philosophies of planning are discussed and related to various sociological, ecological, political and technological situations' (FHARCH 1975: 76); and Sociology and Planning (1980), also offered in the Diploma program, which was an 'introduction to basic concepts of society. The process of planning is considered against a background of such concepts as social order, social change, class status, life style, life-stage and ethnicity and within the context of the overriding considerations of equity, social justice and community development' (FHARCH 1980: 105).

Biology (within Dentistry)

The first year biology course taught within Dentistry included 'the sociological significance of biology' in 1946 (USCS 1945-46: 219).[351]

Economics

It appears that some sociological content was taught within economics in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Unlike, say, the Elements of Sociology course taught in Philosophy, this does not appear to have been an attempt to treat sociology

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[351] The 1945-46 Calendar Supplement provided course descriptions for 1946, not 1945.

as a separate discipline, but rather reflected the overlapping territory shared by the disciplines at this early stage. This is earliest seen in the first (1913-1917)[352] course description for Economics I, taught by Professor R. F. Irvine, Chair of Economics, and a strong advocate of sociology (Bourke 2005[1988]: 146). The first of twelve topics in the course description emphasised the social nature of economics:

> Meaning and scope. Relations to other studies. Social character of Economic Science. Wants and their satisfaction. Desires of consumers the controlling force in industry. Divisions of Economics. Wealth, Capital, Income, Value and Price. (USC 1913: 179)

The course description was subsequently abbreviated to 'General Survey' (1920: 190). However, Hayes' *Introduction to Sociology* was in the list of recommended books (although not one of those to be used as a textbook) from 1917 through to 1920. By 1925, when Economics I: A General Survey of Economic Theory was taught by Professor R. C. Mills and Mr F. C. Benham, the course description still acknowledged a relationship between the economic and the social. The first of four course components covered 'Socio-Economic Order and the fundamental underlying institutions, e.g., Family, Property, State' and 'Evolution of Industrial Society', along with the nature, scope and method of economics, income and consumption (USC 1925: 224). This wording of the introductory section remained until the end of the decade, but 1930 revisions erased any references to the social.

Education

In Education, courses or strands in sociology of education were introduced in 1961. While these consistently emphasised aspects of sociology pertinent to education, general sociological concepts and introductory sociology textbooks were also often employed. In 1965, Education II included a component on comparative education or 'Introduction to the Sociology of Education': 'a study of the social factors which af-

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[352] Previously 'Economics and Commerce I' was taught, but the course description just mentioned the four topics of economics, accountancy, business principles and practice, and commercial geography, and the number of lectures per week for each (USC 1912: 161).

fect the work of education' (FHARTS 1965: 63) and in 1970 one of the three courses in Education I was 'Sociology of Education': 'The course examines major societal group structures and social processes important to education, and includes consideration of social problems and issues arising from change' (FHARTS 1970: 64). Basic texts included the introductory sociology book Davies and Encel's *Australian Sociology*; and Chinoy's *Sociological Perspective* and P. I. Rose's *The Study of Society: An Integrated Anthology* were also recommended.

By 1975, Sociological Perspectives on Education was one of the Education II courses. It remained as a Level I or II course until it was replaced in 1995 by the more 'multidisciplinary' course – *Social* Perspectives on Education (FHARTS 2000: 138), perhaps related to the establishment of a separate sociology department a few years earlier. In 1975 the course was described as employing 'sociological concepts, models and theories in the study of aspects of education. Emphasis is placed on societal and cultural factors, and on the processes of socialization, social control and social change' (FHARTS 1975: 87) and basic reference books again included Davies and Encel's *Australian Sociology* and P. I. Rose's *The Study of Society: An Integrated Anthology*. The topics of social structures, change and control taught in these 1970s courses were also part of the social theory courses in that decade. The themes emphasised in 1980 had changed to 'sociology of the school and classroom' and 'the education system within the class structure of Australian society' (FHARTS 1980: 106). Introductory textbooks Broom and Selznick's *Essentials of Sociology* (2nd edn, Harper & Row, 1979) and R. Hagedorn and S. Labovitz's *An Introduction into Sociological Orientations* were assigned. In 1985 and 1990 the highlighted themes were 'processes of social and cultural reproduction and the debate over educational inequalities' with 'the contribution of different sociological perspectives ... considered' (FHARTS 1985: 77; 1990: 124).[353] The perspectival approach was also taken in the social theory course.

Other Education courses included sociological content. For instance, in 1975, 'Perspectives on Education' was a minor strand Level III course arming students of edu-

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[353] No textbooks were listed in 1985 or 1990.

cation with 'the perspectives gained from the psychologist, the sociologist and the historian' and 'some of the approaches used by the contemporary philosopher' (FHARTS 1975: 89). Third Year Education in 1980 included both Sociology of Education as one of four major strands, and another 'Sociological Perspectives on Education' as a minor course. As well as education-specific electives, the former covered 'such areas as sociological theory and concepts, models of Australian society, social change, family, community and education and methodology', which would not look out of place in an introductory sociology course description of the day. Berger and Luckmann's *An Invitation to Sociology* (Penguin, 1967)[354] and Hagerdorn and Labovitz 1973 were among the assigned textbooks for the latter. In 1985, other courses in the Sociology of Education stream were the second year Selected Issues in Sociology of Education, and the third/fourth year courses, Family, Community and Education; Ethnic Relations and Education; and Class and the Curriculum. In 1990, additional courses included the Level 2/3 'Selected Issues in the Sociology of Education', 'An examination of education from conflicting points of view. Issues of contemporary interest will be selected from current problems in education such as the areas of social theory, social change and classroom communication and interaction', and 'Sociological Research in Education', which begins 'with a review of some of the theoretical questions associated with sociological research in education' (FHARTS 1990: 126).

French Studies

French has been taught at the University since the nineteenth century, with a focus on language and literature. In 1970 an 'optional series of weekly lectures on aspects of French civilization' was offered to all students (with no exam) (FHARTS 1970: 91), and by 1975 the French Language and Literature course had a strand on the political, social, intellectual and cultural life of France, ranging from the *ancien regime* (3rd year) to contemporary France (1st year). By 1980 the course had been organised into three strands, including one on 'The Social Sciences and the French-speaking World',

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[354] While not strictly an introductory textbook, it has been widely used in introductory sociology teaching.

running through the three years of the degree and explicitly incorporating sociology and social theory, along with material from other social sciences.

Two core senior (2nd/3rd year) units, available from 1980 until (at least) 1995, illustrate that sociology was included, but (initially) subjugated to the social sciences. Introduction to the Social Sciences, in 1980:

> ... will coordinate aspects of political science, sociology, anthropology and the sociology of artistic production in the context of contemporary French-speaking societies and France's contribution to studies in social phenomena. Epistemological and methodological problems specific to each of the disciplines cited above will be related to a global concept of the "social sciences." (FHARTS 1980: 174-75)

In 1985 the course description retained the foci on post 1789 French politics and society and artistic production, and included 'some major concepts in French sociology, anthropology and political science [and] the importance of these studies for understanding French-speaking societies today' (FHARTS 1985: 108). By 1990 the relevant disciplines were no longer named, but the course still aimed to 'show how concepts and categories relevant to the social sciences are necessary for a coherent study of France' and 'develop aspects of social, political and cultural theories'. (The focus had also shifted from artistic production to understanding France in relation to international and European politics) (FHARTS 1990: 165).

By 1995, by which time sociology had been departmentalised elsewhere within the university, the emphasis became more strongly sociological, with theory still important:

> Aspects of the main theories in the French tradition, of some of the founders of modern sociology. This historical perspective leads to work on the different kinds of sociology practised in France today. The relationship between social theory and cultural theory. (FHARTS 1995: 182)

Sociology textbook, Javeau's *Comprendre la sociologie*, was assigned from 1980 to 1990, and Dubois' *Les fondateurs de la pensee sociologique* and Pacquot's *La sociologie en France* expressed the sociological focus in 1995.[355]

The other senior core, French Social and Political Thought, similarly traversed sociological territory, and especially social theory, but was not concerned to heed disciplinary boundaries. The first part of the course description remained substantially the same from 1980 until (at least) 1995:

> ... a survey of the epistemological origins and development of French social and political thought from Descartes to the present ['Rousseau' in 1995] [including] the methodology of Descartes in relation to the social theories of the Enlightenment, a close study being made of works by Rousseau. (FHARTS 1980: 175; 1995: 182)

The remainder (spelt out as second semester, from 1990) was in 1980 'the social theories of Marx [the only non-French writer named], Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss [and] conceptual problems as discussed by contemporary French philosophers: Althusser, Foucault' (FHARTS 1980: 175). By 1985 it had become 'the contribution of French structuralism to the social sciences [and] a detailed study of Lévi-Strauss and Foucault' (FHARTS 1985: 108). In 1990, it was Cultural Elites 'An introduction to intellectual trends of the past forty years, from structuralism to post-modernism, is followed by a study of the formation of cultural elites in contemporary France and their role in French politics and society'. Bourdieu and Passeron's *Les Héritiers* was one of the texts (FHARTS 1990: 166). In 1995, it was 'The challenge to Enlightenment thought', studying:

> ... intellectual movements in France since the war, in particular existentialism, structuralism and poststructuralism, in relation to the different challenges they pose to the tradition of Enlightenment philosophy. The

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[355] Other textbooks included Baudrillard's *Le Systeme des objets* (1980), L. Goldmann's *Sciences humaines et philosophie* (1980, 1985), J. Ardagh's *France in the 1980s* (1985), Ross et al.'s (eds.) *The Mitterand Experiment* (1990), Santini's *Société et culture de la France contemporaine* (1990), Wieviorka's *La democratic a l'epreuve* (1995).

> analysis will be placed in the context of the contribution of intellectuals to
> contemporary debates. (FHARTS 1995: 183)

The social, and sometimes sociology, were also included in many of the reading units, electives and honours seminars available from 1980. These included such topics as contemporary French society, sociology of literature (a significant focus), sociology of theatre, French social thought, women, class, political history, French civilisation, enlightenment thinking and the social sciences, the renaissance, language and ethnic/national identity, French and the world, bilingualism, sociolinguistics, the quotidian, Quebec, Africa and sociocultural analysis.

Honours courses focused on relating the social sciences and theory to the French literature students were engaging with. For instance a 2nd/3rd year Honours course, *La langue des sciences socials et de la critique littéraire*, aimed 'to familiarise students with the language of the social sciences and literary scholarship and to train them to think and write in French on topics related to their selected strand of study' (FHARTS 1980: 178; 1985: 105). A French III honours course included a component on Sociology of Literature, which covered:

> Conceptual and methodological problems in this discipline. The notion of
> literature as a social product entails an analysis of what it means to speak
> of socio-historical perspectives, ideological assumptions and manifesta-
> tions, aesthetic categories and their various formulations. (FHARTS 1980:
> 182)

In 1990, one 4th year Honours seminar course was very much a course in (French) social theory: *Scène de la théorie: analyse de la 'mise en texte' du discours*:

> What range of discourses underpin the writings of contemporary French
> theoreticians? How can we go about decoding them?

> The course suggests that theoretical texts 'stage' a broad range of discur-
> sive material through texts which are richly allusive, requiring of the
> reader a specific grounding in a wide range of fields of knowledge, and a
> grasp of shifting positions within these.

Participants will undertake a comparative reading of a number of theoretical texts, including work by Barthes, Foucault, de Certeau, Lacan, Derrida and Bourdieu. (FHARTS 1990: 167)

Geography

While Zubrzycki's (1971: 28-32) survey has sociology taught within Geography, none of the geography courses in the sampled years listed sociology textbooks, and the course descriptions for such courses as human and industrial geography, while obviously covering aspects of human social life, retain a strong geographical emphasis on space.

Government and Public Administration

Political Sociology became a category of teaching in Government and Public Administration by 1980. Before that there were brief mentions in course descriptions of 'the role of social groups' (FHARTS 1965: 83; 70: 100) and in 1975 a component of Government I on Liberal Democracy included 'studies ... of specific social issues within the context of Australian liberal democracy' (USC 1975: 550), with P. R. Wilson's (ed.) *Australian Social Issues of the 70's* an assigned textbook. From 1980, political sociology appeared in first year options such as 'Australia: Political Concepts, Political Institutions, Social Issues', which emphasised 'analysis of important concepts in political sociology' and discussed Australian political institutions 'from the point of view of explaining how they reflect the nature of the society – the main divisions or cleavages between classes, regions, sexes, etc' (FHARTS 1980: 213), and 'Politics and Society' in 1990 (also available as one of the courses to be taken in Government II/III).

The senior (II/III) options were organised into groups, with the final one changing from a residual 'Other' in 1975 (including ongoing courses on politics of information and working class politics) to Political Sociology by 1980, and Politics and Society by 1990, with one of the courses in the group always explicitly introducing political

sociology and generally sharing the group name (but called Social Change and Politics in 2000). The courses contained material that might be covered in an introductory sociology course, such as inequality, 'emerging conflicts in Western societies', and social movements (FHARTS 1980: 218), and social structure; political socialisation; parties, movements and groups; and social and political change (FHARTS 1995: 195; same course description wording 1990, 1995, 2000). The 1985 course description perhaps best shows this use of general sociology material to explore the political:

> This option surveys some of the many ways in which politics is linked with other 'non-political' parts of society. There is a strong emphasis on some of the more important social theorists such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim. There is also discussion of some of the important issues in contemporary political sociology – inequality, class, religion, political socialisation and violence. (FHARTS 1985: 125)

Other optional courses in this group were Australian Labour: Politics and Culture (1995), Australian Political and Electoral Behaviour (1985), Gender and the State (2000), Introduction to Field Studies in Political Behaviour (1980), Media Politics (2000), the Political Economy of Women (interdisciplinary) (1980, 1990), Politics of Information (1980-1995), Social Change and Politics (2000), Social Movements and Politics: theory and practice (1995), Social Movements, Politics and Identity (2000), Socialist and Labour Politics (1980, 1990-2000), State and Political Economy (2000), Women and Politics (1990-1995), and Working Class Politics (1985-1990).

History

In the second half of the century, many courses cover particular areas of social history, including social thought, but they are generally not described in sociological terms, and nor are introductory sociology textbooks assigned. Courses in History have been available since before the turn of the century. Until the 1950s, course outlines provide reading lists and only very general information about course content, so in general it is difficult to tell how 'social' (or sociological) the teaching is. Even so, there are some early signs of inclusion of the social. For instance, one of the recom-

mended books for an Honours' paper on the History of Europe from 1789 to the present time is Rousseau's *Social Contract* (USC 1900: 138), and in 1920 one of the Third Year Honours essays is on Ruskin as a social reformer (USC 1920: 189). In 1950 and 1955, History IV students had lectures on historical method, including 'some study of the relation of history and the social sciences' (USC 1950: 310; 1955: 776). By 1955, while many course descriptions refer simply to the 'general history' of a particular location/period, others were somewhat more communicative, and we see some references to the social in, for instance, Modern History I:

> An introductory survey of British and European history in early modern times from approximately the fifteenth to the eighteenth century with a special emphasis on the continental religious movements of the sixteenth century and the English constitutional conflict of the seventeenth century.

> The object of the course is to study movements which have played an important part in shaping modern society and thereby to throw light on the nature of historical study. (USC 1955: 767)

It is clear that by 1970 social history played an important role in many courses including, for instance, Modern History IIC and IID, both covering European and British history from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, the former 'emphasizing social and political developments' and the latter emphasising 'broad themes in intellectual and social history' (USC 1970: 798; FHARTS 1970: 121, 123). Honours students undertaking a third year option on American History were able to attend seminars on 'American Political and Social Thought' (FHARTS 1970: 134). Inclusion of social history (e.g. placing political events in social context, considering race, class and gender relations, social change, social thought, etc.) remained common in course descriptions throughout the rest of the sample period, with too many courses to list them individually. Of particular note were courses on Alexis de Tocqueville (in History I (European History 1600-1789) (FHARTS 1975: 169); a course titled 'Modern British Labour and Social Thinkers ['Theorists' by 1980] (FHARTS 1975: 177; 1980: 254; 1985: 139); 'Themes in European cultural and social history: 1760-1960', which treated 'major trends in European cultural history from the Enlightenment to Existentialism in relationship to the society in which they arose' relating ideas of intellectuals

(including Rousseau, Nietzsche, Mannheim, Freud and many others) to their society (FHARTS 1975: 188); a unit of Religion and Society in Australia (FHARTS 1980: 245); 'Social Institutions and Social Relationships in late 19th and 20th Century Australia: The Making of Modern Australia' which considered Australia's transition from colonial to capitalist form 'economically, demographically and socially, with emphasis on the changing nature of work, class structure and the sexual division of labour' including 'migration, the family, education and social welfare' (FHARTS 1980: 246); 'Political Thought in England', which followed 'the development of the major political tradition with particular attention to its social as well as its theoretical derivation' (FHARTS 1980: 252); and History of Social and Economic Ideas (FHARTS 1985: 141).

Since the 1980s, we have also seen a few courses paying attention to the role of (social) theory and sociology in history. A 1980 method course included consideration of 'the way historians have recently employed methods borrowed from other disciplines – demography, anthropology and sociology – and how they thus obtain a new insight into historical problems' (FHARTS 1980: 241), and in 2000, Writing History in part discussed 'social theories (e.g. Marxism, feminism, structuralism, post-structuralism)' and emphasised 'the way in which theory grows out of the need to solve historical problems, questions, and is integral to the construction of an historical narrative' (FHARTS 2000: 176).

History and Philosophy of Science

The interdisciplinary History and Philosophy of Science was first listed as a single year-long course in the 1977 Calendar and generally included sociological, as well as other disciplinary, consideration of this subject matter. For instance, in 1980 the course was described as designed to answer questions including 'What are the sociological characteristics of scientific behaviour? What is, or should be, the social role of science? How might it be harnessed to solving the problems of the Third World? How closely does the public image of science correspond to reality?', along with questions about the nature, history, funding, values, assumptions, and methods of science and its relationship with technology (FHSCI 1980: 109). Potential textbooks included some

dealing with science and society (J. Ravetz *Scientific Knowledge and Its Social Problems*, Penguin 1973 and H. Rose and S. Rose *Science and Society* Pelican 1970), but no introductory sociology texts. In 1985, 'Perspectives on Science and Technology' was treated from five disciplinary perspectives, including sociology (defined in terms of group values, behaviour and socialisation). One of the three terms was on 'Critique of the Human Sciences', but those critiqued were archaeology, psychology and anthropology, not sociology (FHSCI 1985: 62). The textbooks were S. J. Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man*, and C. Leon Harris's *Evolution, Genesis and Revelations* (FHSCI 1985: 62). Senior courses/options from 1990 to 2000 included one on the 'social relations of science', which introduced and developed 'sociological approaches to science as an institution and the study of social influences on the production of scientific knowledge' (FHSCI 2000: 72).

Indonesian and Malayan Studies

Indonesian and Malayan Studies incorporated sociology, explicitly in its early years, but this was not its focus. Course descriptions show that the emphasis was on developing an understanding of the region and language: sociology and other disciplinary tools were employed to that end, but the nature or version of the disciplines was not featured. The subject was introduced in 1959 (the same year that the first Australian chair of sociology was founded, at UNSW) and, according to that year's brief course description, included lectures on 'Indonesian language and ... the history and culture of Indonesia' (1959: 764). The course description was similar in 1960, but now *A Handbook of Sociology*, the English edition of W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff's introductory sociology textbook (originally published in the United States as *Sociology*) was on the list of recommended books. By 1965 the course descriptions outlined in the Faculty Handbook included 'Indonesian and Malayan history and sociology' (FHARTS 1965: 113) in first year, 'Institutions of Islam, Indonesian history and sociology' in second year, and 'Indonesian history and sociology and Indonesian political history' in third year (114). B. Shrieke's *Indonesian Sociological Studies* was assigned for first year (Part One) and third year (Part Two). By 1970, the Fourth Year course required a thesis on the sociology, history, language or literature of the area,

and social (or sociological) aspects of the region continued to feature in course descriptions, with Shrieke still on the third year reading list (FHARTS 1970: 141-44).

But by 1975, explicit reference to sociology had disappeared from all areas of the curriculum except its listing as one of the disciplinary options for the honours thesis (FHARTS 1975: 199), and even this was to go after 1980. Instead, in addition to language, courses covered aspects of the region such as culture, history, politics, and literature, with one third year seminar course – 'on Aspects of the Society and Culture of the Indonesian and Malayan Area' (FHARTS 1975: 197) – incorporating the social. Social (and even sociological) themes, such as 'Islam and Society, Women in Indonesian and Malaysian Society, Nationalism and Revolution, The Individual and Society' (FHARTS 1985: 146) were also included in 'Text and Society' courses spanning (at least) 1985 to 1995. And 'Customary Law and Society' taught over two years in 1985 and 1990, also contained recognisably sociological concepts, such as social organisation and structure:

> In the first year, the course concentrates mainly on the different types of social organization, religions, value systems, ruler-ruled relationships, social and religious change, urban-rural relationship, the effect of colonialism, westernisation and modernisation on the indigenous communities.

> In the following year the course aims at introducing students to the complexities of unwritten customs and customary law which find their basis in the fabric that is made up by the religion, social structure, behaviour patterns and attitudinal values of Indonesian and Malayan societies. (FHARTS 1985: 149)

Thus, while social institutions were treated and sociological ideas and research were incorporated into this subject area from its early years, we see a shift away from articulation of this involvement of sociology. Further, none of the course descriptions gave any specific indications of which sociological approaches were adopted. Sociology, here, was deployed as one of the disciplinary tools for examining the region, along with history, politics, economics, geography, linguistics, literature, religious studies, media studies and anthropology (interestingly the latter was very rarely men-

tioned in course descriptions). The focus was on the region itself, rather than on disciplinary introduction.

Industrial relations

Industrial Relations (IR) was first taught in 1956. While early IR I course descriptions emphasised its position in 'the borderland between economics and the other social sciences' (USC 1960: 1027; 1965: 817), they contained barely any sociological content: groups were treated in terms of social psychology, and there was one brief mention of 'influences arising from the social organisation of the community' (1960: 1027). Sociological books (but not introductory textbooks) began to be set for some courses from 1965 (see Table E-1) but there was no obvious sociological course content until 1975, when discussion of trade unions and employer associations in IR I involved both an economic and 'a sociological strand concerned with union structure and internal processes, the relationship of the unions to the society and trade union methods of job regulation' (FHECO 1975: 129). There was also an intermediate short course on Workers' Control and Participation, with one (of 6) elements on 'industrial sociology of workers' control and participation, including classical socialist thought upon the nature of work and power relations in industry, and recent sociological developments' (FHECO 1975: 132-3). By 1980, the first optional course dedicated to sociology, Industrial Sociology, taught by Mr Morris, was introduced as part of IR II. It was:

> An examination of the various problems and issues in industrial society which sociologists have attempted to illuminate. The course begins with a brief introduction to general sociological principles and then proceeds to the deeper analysis of the core topics of industrial sociology. These include the effects of technology on worker attitudes and behaviour, the problems of job satisfaction and alienation, the analysis of the difference between white collar and blue collar workforces and the sociological approach to the study of trade unions. (FHECO 1980: 151)

'An Introduction to Industrial Sociology' was one of four sections of another IR II option, Industrial Relations Theory and Research Methods, but only in 1980 (1980: 149).

The 'Industrial Sociology' course continued within the curricula through to (at least) the end of the century, changing its name (but not description) in 1985 to The Sociology of Industry and Labour (FHECO 1984-85: 68). There were only minor wording changes to the course description in 1990 (one of which has some significance: pluralisation of 'the sociological approach' to 'sociological approaches' in the last sentence), and no further changes in 1995. The name reverted to 'Industrial Sociology' by 2000, when the course description had been rewritten, bringing it closer to a general introductory course (although maintaining an emphasis on industry):

> This unit provides an introduction to general sociology and the sociological study of work and society. The course begins with a consideration of the nature of Australian society and the patterns of stability and change that can be observed, including class, gender, ethnicity, ideology, occupations and labour markets. The primary emphasis is upon how work is organized and experienced, and the relationship between work and non-work structures and processes. Particular attention is given to current developments in work and organizational design. (FHECO 2000: 111)

Table E-1. Sociology books in reading lists (preliminary, reference, textbooks), 1965-1985

Year (Course)	Author	Book
65 (I)	Olmsted	The Small Group
70 (I), 80 (II-IS), 85 (II-SIL)	Parker et al.	The Sociology of Industry
70, 75 (I), 80 (II-IRT&RM)	Parsons & Smelser	Economy and Society
70, 75 (II)	Evan (ed.)	Law and Sociology
75 (I)	Aubert	Sociology of Law
75 (I)	Coser	The Functions of Social Conflict
75 (I), 80 (II-IS), 85 (II-SIL)	Fox, A.	A Sociology of Work in Industry
75 (I)	Pym	Industrial Society
80 (II-IRT&RM)	Coser & Rosenberg	Sociological Theory
80 (II-IRT&RM)	Eldridge	Sociology and Industrial Life
80 (II-IRT&RM; IS), 85 (II-SIL)	Goldthorpe et al.	The Affluent Worker
80 (II-IRT&RM)	Gouldner	The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology
80, 85 (II-IRT&RM)	Riley	Sociological Research Vol. 1
80 (II-IS), 85 (II-SIL)	Blauner	Alienation and Freedom
80 (II-IS)	Burns (ed.)	Industrial Man
80 (II-IS)	Dahrendorf	Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society
80 (II-IS)	Miller & Form	Industrial Sociology
80 (II-IS), 85 (II-SIL)	Schneider	Industrial Sociology
85 (II)	Binns	Beyond the Sociology of Conflict
85 (II-ITR&RM)	Coleman	Introduction to Mathematical Sociology
85 (II-ITR&RM)	Homans	The Nature of Social Science
85 (II-ITR&RM)	Runciman	A Critique of Max Weber's Philosophy of Social Science
85 (II-ITR&RM)	Webb, B.	My Apprenticeship
85 (II-ITR&RM)	Webb, S. & B.	Industrial Democracy
85 (II-SIL)	Rose	Industrial Behaviour
85 (II-SIL)	Silverman	The Theory of Organisations

Notes

No textbooks were listed for relevant IR courses in 1990-2000 handbooks.

I = Industrial Relations I   II = Industrial Relations II

II-IS = Industrial Relations II (Industrial Sociology)

II-SIL = IR II (Sociology of Industry and Labour)

II-IRT&RM = IR II (Industrial Relations Theory and Research Methods).

Jurisprudence

Jurisprudence was established as a subject for Law students well before the turn of the century, in combination with other subjects in the early twentieth century (Jurisprudence and Roman Law in 1900; Jurisprudence, Legal History and the Elements of Political Science during 1905-1925). The subject was initially focused on the philosophy and history of law, but gradually from the 1940s parts of it became 'sociologised'. The general introductory sociology textbook, Peter Worsley's (ed.) *Introducing Sociology*, was assigned in the mid 1980s, and several sociology of law texts were included on reference lists from the 1940s.

From the early 1900s to 1940s, the jurisprudential component of the subject comprised enquiry into 'the nature and relation of certain fundamental legal conceptions, together with a sketch of their historical development' (USC 1940: 448).[356] Professor Julius Stone was appointed to the Chair of Jurisprudence and International Relations in late 1941, after considerable controversy over both his advocacy of sociological jurisprudence and his Jewishness (Star 1992: 56-65). By 1944 concern with the social had begun to creep in to the subject, as we see in the third point here:

> This course will seek to examine legal institutions, precepts and techniques with reference to (1) their logical nature and inter-relations; (2) their relation to various theories of justice; (3) their relation to other social phenomena. Special emphasis will be placed upon the institutions, precepts and techniques of the common law. (USC 1943-44: 226; until 1974)

Timasheff's *Introduction to the Sociology of Law* was also listed as one of the books 'frequently referred to in class' (226) and remained a reference book into the 1970s.[357] Simpson and Stone's three-volume *Law and Society* was also on the list in the 1950s

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[356] Before 1928, the subject also included '(2) The outlines of English legal history; and (3) The elements of political science' (USC 1905: 181).

[357] Introductory Jurisprudence was also introduced from 1949, but focused on legal conceptions without appearing to emphasise the social.

through to the 1970s, and Stone's *Social Dimensions of Law and Justice* was one of the three textbooks (all authored by him) introduced in the 1960s.

With introduction of Faculty Handbooks, we find a more long-winded elaboration of the course description. Thus in 1970, the third 'social' element of the course was described as:

> Marshalling for legal purposes the theoretical constructs and research findings of the various social sciences, to clarify the nature and functions of law and its interdependences with other social phenomena. This covers such matters as the study of legal development and change as a correlate of social, economic, technological, ideological and "national" factors, and in particular as a resultant of the pressure of men's changing *de facto* interests in the particular time and place. Special attention is paid to factors of power and socio-ethical conviction in legal stability and change, to the mediating roles of judge and administrator, and the potentialities and limits of law as an instrument of social and economic planning. (FHLAW 1970: 60)

Here sociology is not singled out from the social sciences in providing concepts, such as power, to employ in understanding law and its relations with social phenomena. In 1975, sociology (and the social) was more emphatically included. The elements of the basic course description were reordered, promoting the social to primary position, and employing another common sociological concept in specifying legal institutions' 'place in the social structure' (USC 1975: 569). Sociology was also first highlighted as part of the inter- or multi-disciplinary[358] nature of jurisprudential 'thinking about

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[358] Descriptions of the overall nature of jurisprudence teaching shift between treating it as (first) inter- *or* multi-disciplinary (jurisprudence may 'emphasise' one of these types of study or 'strive to bring all of these into a single intellectual framework' (FHLAW 1975: 44)), then interdisciplinary ('Teaching in this area strives to bring together philosophical, historical, sociological, conceptual and comparative thinking about law and legal thinking' (USC 1980: 575)), and finally multidisciplinary *and* interdisciplinary (offering 'a variety of different, alternative approaches ... distinguished as analytic, philosophical, sociological, historical, international and comparative [and] expressed in the singling out of specific and central issues of major social and ideological concern, such as human rights and Marxist/socialist legal theory and legal structures and provisions' (FHLAW 1990: 11-12)).

the law', alongside philosophical, historical, conceptual and comparative study (FHLAW 1975: 44); and 'Sociological jurisprudence' was included in one of the four strands of the course (45). From 1980, the sociological jurisprudence strand was both theoretical and empirical, examining:

> ... the place of law as part of the social system. It will include an outline both of modern sociological theory relevant to law and of the theories of the sociological jurists and will examine specific areas of the law and its workings in Australian society.[359] (FHLAW 1980: 42; 1985: 21; 1990: 12; 1995: 13)

In addition, from the 1980s other strands showed some sociological sensitivity, with analytical jurisprudence considered 'in the context of a rapidly changing society' (FHLAW 1980: 42), the philosophical strand including theoretical approaches to the 'social functions' of law (1985: 21-22), strands on the 'socialist ['Marxist/Socialist' in the 1990s] contribution to law and legal thinking' (1980: 42) and 'development of a concept of human rights ... in social theory and legal practice' (1980: 43), and Aubert's (ed.) *Sociology of Law* on the background reading list for the final strand on 'use of law in international society ...' (1980: 43). Aubert, Roberto Mangabeira Unger's *Law in Modern Society: Towards a Criticism of Social Theory* and several other socio-legal textbooks, as well as Worsley's (ed.) *Introducing Sociology* were assigned for the sociological jurisprudence strand in the 1980s.[360]

By 2000, Sociological Jurisprudence, taught by Associate Professor Ziegert, was one of the options that had replaced Jurisprudence.[361] While focused on applying sociol-

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[359] This was 'specific societies' instead of 'Australian society' in 1990 and 1995.

[360] Worsley's (ed.) *Modern Sociology* (2nd ed., 1978) was assigned in 1981-1984, and *Introducing Sociology* (2nd ed., 1977) in 1985-1986. In 1980, background reading included Aubert (ed.) *Sociology of Law*, G. Sawer *Law in Society*, Kamenka et al. (ed.) *Law and Society: The Crisis in Legal Ideals*, and Roberto Mangabeira Unger *Law in Modern Society: Towards a Criticism of Social Theory*, and in 1985, Campbell and Wiles (eds) *Law and Society* and Kamenka and Tay (eds) *Law and Social Control* were added.

[361] Other options were Contemporary Analytical Jurisprudence, International/Comparative Jurisprudence, Law and Social Justice, Philosophy of Human Rights, Post-Communist Law and Legal Theory, and Law Communities, Culture and Global Economics.

ogy to the law, and advocating for socio-legal studies, it appears that a significant part of the course dealt with general introductory sociological material. The course introduced:

> ... the basic concepts of sociological theory and methodology and will show how these concepts can be applied to the observation of the functioning of law. On the basis of such a primary understanding of how societies organise themselves and their law it will become possible for the student to appreciate and evaluate critically the efforts of socio-legal research and the conceptions of some major contributors to the sociological theory of law.

> The first part of this unit will look at what sociological theory and research can offer today in the description of social life, the explanation of how societies are organised, why people do what they do. Elementary sociological concepts, like norm, role, group, power, class, social structure and social system will be related to the operation of the law. Concepts like these provide the tools which make it possible to examine and study systematically and carefully the social organisation and structure of legal systems, the operation and the social environments in which and in relation to which they are operating.

> The second part of this unit will introduce the student to the methodological and practical issues of empirical socio-legal research. It will focus on the design and on the practical conducting of study on the role and operations of the courts in the legal process. This part of the unit will back up methodologically the "Court Watch" program by making court observation a practical research task which will be assessed as a research assignment. (FHLAW 2000: 19)

Two other courses that year dealt explicitly with sociology. The Sociology of Law, Lawyers and Professions introduced the subfield, including 'issues such as the concept of professionalism, the sociography and demography of lawyers; and the organization and regulation of legal work' (FHLAW 2000: 8). And Law, Lawyers and Justice was a compulsory course with one component (of 5) on Law and Social Theory:

> ... an introduction to law and social theory, including analysis of the legal
> formalist claim that law is objective and neutral. It examines legal deci-
> sion-making as a constructed, interpretative process, with specific refer-
> ence to lawyer/client relations, the trial process and judicial reasoning.
> (FHLAW 2000: 8)

Linguistics

Until the 1950s, linguistics existed as an offshoot of anthropology. By 1960 there was a separate course in linguistics, with the Linguistics I course description beginning with 'Relation to other kinds of language study and to the social sciences' (USC 1960: 845; also FHARTS 1965: 127). There is otherwise no mention of sociolinguistics (or sociology) in these early course descriptions or textbook lists. By 1975, and from then on, sociolinguistics appeared, whether: simply listed as a topic for discussion within courses (e.g. in Linguistics II and III in 1975); as the subject of an optional course (e.g. Sociolinguistic Variation (1990, 1995); Methods in Sociolinguistics (1990); Social Semiotics: text in context (1995)); only implicitly (e.g. 'language as an institution' in Linguistic I (FHARTS 1980: 308)); as an approach to be considered (e.g. Twentieth century linguistics compared ethnographic approaches, including sociolinguistics, with philosophical ones (FHARTS 1985: 168)); or via references to the sociological (e.g. Bernstein and Turner's 'modern sociological approach' was one of four theories of language considered in a Linguistics III module on functional semantics in 1980 and 1985 (FHARTS 1980: 310; 1985: 167-8)) or social (e.g. the 'social impact of language variation' discussed within first year (1990); and first year courses on Language and Social Context (FHARTS 1995: 235; 2000: 197). Reading lists sometimes included sociology of language textbooks, such as Gigliogli's (ed.) *Language and Social Context*, Modern Sociology Readings (assigned for Linguistics III in 1975 and first year course 'Dynamic aspects of language' in 1985), along with sociolinguistics ones.

Medicine

In Medicine, a course (and department) in Behavioural and Social Sciences in Rela-
tion to Medicine, with considerable but not exclusively sociological content, was
introduced in 1974. This replaced a long-standing course in Public Health and Preven-
tative Medicine – transitionally renamed Preventative and Social Medicine in 1970 –
whose ambit included population health and social factors influencing health, includ-
ing up to the 1930s, 'Eugenics and the Feebleminded. Racial Poisons' (USC 1935:
276). The new course was:

> ... designed to introduce students to those concepts and data from Behav-
> ioural and Social Sciences that are relevant to Medicine. ... Areas covered
> include selected basic psychological and sociological concepts, the human
> through his lifespan, communication and interviewing, illness behaviour
> and the doctor-patient relationship, medicine in a changing society and
> human sexuality. (FHMED 1975: 42-3)

The course name was shortened to 'Behavioural Sciences in Medicine' by 1980, but
retained its introduction of 'basic sociological concepts', along with introduction to
'scientific method in behavioural sciences' (FHMED 1980: 56) or later 'in research in
medicine' (FHMED 1990: 40-41). When textbooks were assigned, they often in-
cluded Medical Sociology texts. In addition, Margaret Sargent's general introductory
text, *Sociology for Australians* (1983), was listed in 1985.

Philosophy

This section includes additional examples of sociological content in philosophy
courses after 1926. Timasheff's *Introduction to the Sociology of Law* was a textbook
for Philosophy IV (although the only information about course content is that day stu-
dents had alternatives on 'Recent developments in ethical theory' and 'Recent theo-
ries of logic and systems of philosophy' (USCS 1945-46: 218)). Courses on philoso-
phy of the social sciences in the 1970s (a fourth year honours option (1970) and then
II/III General Philosophy option (1975)) were concerned with 'disciplines dealing

with society' – sociology surely amongst them – and considered such issues as their possible scientificity, '"value-freedom"' and 'whether there is a theoretically correct ultimate unit of study' (USC 1975: 231). There were no philosophy of social science courses in 1990, 1995 or 2000, but social (and political) philosophy was part of the first year syllabus in the guise of 'Philosophy and society'. In all three years, notions of freedom and the role of the state were explored in relation to competing conceptions of the 'origin and nature of the social and political order' (FHARTS 1990: 252).

Psychology

Along with sociology, psychology was introduced under the banner of logic and mental philosophy in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1915 (and 1920), sociology made a limited appearance as a source of problems to demonstrate the advantages of psychology within the first year Logic and Psychology course: 'The value of psychology as a means of explanation will be illustrated by reference to practical problems of education and sociology' (USC 1915: 165). No sociology books were in the list of recommended reading (although education ones were). Social psychology was introduced as a component of Advanced Psychology by 1920, but here sociology was not mentioned: 'The principles of social psychology, with special treatment of the gregarious instinct, suggestion, sympathy, imitation. The psychology of crowds' (USC 1920: 183; and until 1935). Nonetheless, the fact that the disciplines were reasonably close at that time can be seen in the fact that in 1925 (and 1930) the list of recommended textbooks included *Psychology of Society* by Morris Ginsberg, an early figure in British sociology who also wrote some sociology textbooks. A similar description appeared by 1940 – 'The self as social. Instincts and social life. Intelligence and social life. Suggestion, Sympathy, Imitation. Psychology of the Crowd' (USC 1940: 431) – and there was a greater emphasis on the social, albeit understood psychologically, in 1946: 'Relations between individual and group. Types of social group. Social facilitation and inhibition. Custom, tradition and cultural patterns. Theories of race and class differences. Psychological factors in social phenomena. Personality in the light of social psychology' (USCS 1945-46: 221). By 1950 social psychology had become an option within the third year Psychology course, remaining so

until (at least) the end of the century, and it was also included in the Psychology IIB course (later II) from the 1970s and in first year from the 1980s.

Religious Studies

The Religious Studies Department was established in 1977. The general departmental blurb in 1980 indicated that: 'Its methods are those of history, sociology, psychology and phenomenology, applied to specific areas of human experience' (FHARTS 1980: 367). However, the only references to sociology in any sample year course descriptions were in the 1990s: Sociology of Religion (1990) and Sociology of New Religious Movements (1995). The former claimed to employ the 'sociological tradition in western thought, with particular reference to the examination of religious institutions and the formation of theories to account for continuity and change in the world of religion' with 'sociological methods and theories' related in that year to 'religious change among the indigenous peoples of the Southwest Pacific' (FHARTS 1990: 267). Textbooks (all edited/co-edited by those teaching the course) concerned religion and mission in Aboriginal/non-Western and Melanesian contexts rather than being general sociology of religion textbooks. The Sociology of new religious movements course introduced 'the phenomena of new religious movements, from the late nineteenth century to the present day, considering the socio-cultural situations in which they have appeared, the themes manifested in them, and social reaction to them. ...' (FHARTS 1995: 266).

Women's Studies

The origins of Women's Studies (Gender Studies by 2000) were in an interdepartmental, interdisciplinary course on the Political Economy of Women, taught during 1975-1985 by members of Economics, Government, and (sometimes) Economic History and Fine Arts (but not Social Work, despite the fact that discussion of the family was a part of the Social Theory syllabus in 1975, and there were optional courses on women from 1980). The course descriptions were initially strongly framed in terms of those disciplines:

> The course looks at women from three perspectives – economics, political theory and art. The subject is approached from these different points of view, but the issues raised will be seen to be common. Major areas of discussion in the course are: the impact of industrialization on the position of women, including a detailed discussion of the position of women in the Australian economy in the twentieth century; the views of selected social and political theorists on the role of women, including Plato, Hegel, Mill, Marx and of contemporary writers on women's liberation; and the image of women projected in the art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (FHECO 1975: 127-28)

Similarly, textbooks (when listed) were not sociological. Topics could be seen as broadening by 1985, then including, for instance, 'the experience of Aboriginal women', 'women and the legal system', and 'images of women presented in the media' (FHECO 1984-85: 70), as well as topics expressed in explicit political economy terms. Women's Studies was introduced as an interdepartmental course in 1990, with core courses (taught by members of History and Fine Arts), and options from Fine Arts, Anthropology, English, History, Economics, Philosophy, Germanic Studies and Psychology (FHARTS 1990: 284-6). By 1995, relevant sociology units from Social Work and Social Policy were included: Professor Cass and Dr Larbalestier's Feminist Theory and Sociology, and Larbalestier's Urbanisation and Modernity, and Gender, Power and Difference. Similarly, cross-listed units that could be counted towards Gender Studies in 2000 included Sociology of Urbanisation and Modernity (FHARTS 2000: 159-60). Otherwise, the language in course descriptions emphasised culture and politics, rather than the social.

APPENDIX F

SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

The following two tables show key assigned textbooks that have been identified for the University of Sydney in course descriptions from the Calendar or Handbooks in years ending with 0 or 5. Table F-1 shows all textbooks for the (introductory sociology) courses social theory (1960-90) and Sociology I from 1960 to 2000. Table F-2 presents introductory sociology textbooks identified from searches of textbooks and reading lists in course descriptions of other courses including sociological content for every five years from 1905 to 1990. It is important to note that these tables are likely to be incomplete, as there is inconsistency as to whether textbooks are listed in Calendar and Faculty Handbook course descriptions. Nonetheless, they contribute some information to the history of Australian sociology.

In relation to Table F-1, the most obvious change is the large number of assigned books until 1975 (5 in 1965, 9 in 1970 and 23 in 1975) compared to one or perhaps two textbooks in subsequent years. In addition, the earlier (pre-1980) lists extended well beyond introductory sociology textbooks, including classics, subfield textbooks, and books from adjacent disciplines, whereas more recently only textbooks are listed. This might to some extent reflect technological change (for instance, the provision of readers or more recently additional reading provided on electronic reserve).

In terms of introductory Australian textbooks, the first – Davies and Encel's (1965, and later editions) research collection about Australian society – was assigned in some courses in the years from 1970 to 1985. Don Edgar's (1980) text, which introduces the discipline largely through analysis of Australian society, was assigned in 1985, as was Margaret Sargent's (1983) critical *Sociology for Australians*. The Australian edi-

tion of Haralambos et al. (1996), considerably revised by a team led by Robert van Krieken at the University of Sydney, was assigned in 2000.

American and British textbooks have been commonly used, with some debate in the literature about their relative importance in Australia. Baldock and Lally (1974: 280-81) note that 'increased use of American textbooks' was seen by their sociologist survey respondents as a major component of the increased American (over British) influence on Australian sociology. Two decades later Baldock (1994: 603) noted a marked change, with most textbooks 'produced locally or ... from Britain'. One contributing factor was the availability of publishers, with several international publishers having established local branches in the 1970s, including Allen and Unwin. Richmond (2005: 61) puts a different slant on this, claiming that a 'cartel of British publishers' led to British dominance of Australian sociology bookshelves, restricted access to US texts, and reluctance to publish Australian research.

The evidence presented here shows, at least for the University of Sydney (where a British influence might be expected), a strong dominance of American books until Australian books became more common in the 1970s and 1980s. If we combine the lists from both tables, and consider only introductory textbooks, we see that only American books were assigned until 1940. From 1946 to 1960, one British book (Ginsberg) was assigned in three of our sampled years and the British version of Ogburn & Nimkoff once, while three American books were assigned. In 1965 there were three US books; in 1970, eight American and one Australian textbook (the latter in multiple courses); and in 1975, four American, three British and two Australian. Of the 12 known textbook assignments in our years from 1980 to 2000, five were Australian, two British, one American, and the remainder French and Canadian. Of course American dominance would be expected for the pre-War years, with Ginsberg's (1934) *Sociology* the only possible contender for a British pre-WW2 textbook.[362] But, as far as we can tell, many of the British textbooks published from the late 1950s (e.g. Mitchell 1959, Cotgrove 1967, Worsley 1970, Bottomore 1971) were not taken up.

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[362] Ginsberg (1934) does not present itself as a textbook, although Albrow (1986: 338) described it as a 'textbook' that 'defined a discipline'.

Table F-1. Textbook/Reference book lists from University of Sydney Social Theory/Introductory Sociology courses, 1960-2000

Year[a]	Textbooks		
1965	Bredemeier & Stephenson	The Analysis of Social Systems[b]	US
	Durkheim	Rules of Sociological Method	Fr
	J. H. Fichter	Sociology[b]	US
	A. M. Rose (ed.)	Institutions of Advanced Societies	US
	Silberman	Analysis of Society[b]	US
1970	Bredemeier & Stephenson	The Analysis of Social Systems[b]	US
	Davies & Encel	Australian Society[b]	Aus
	Durkheim	Rules of Sociological Method	Fr
	J. H. Fichter	Sociology[b]	US
	A. M. Rose (ed.)	Institutions of Advanced Societies[b]	US
	Silberman	Analysis of Society[b]	US
	J. Toby	Contemporary Society[b]	US
	J. Wakeford	The Strategy of Social Enquiry	UK
	Wilson & Kolb	Wilson & Kolb, Sociological Analysis[b]	US
1975	H. S. Becker	The Outsiders	US
	N. W. Bell & E. F. Vogel	Modern Introduction to the Family	US/Japan
	R. Bendix & S. Lipset (eds.)	Class, Status and Power	US
	P. Berger	Invitation to Sociology	US
	T. Brennan et al.	New Community: Problems and Policies	Au
	T. Brennan & N. Parker	Foundations of Social Casework	Au
	A. K. Cohen	Deviance & Control	US
	M. Coulson & C. Riddell	Approaching Sociology[b]	UK
	Durkheim	Rules of Sociological Method	Fr
	Durkheim	Suicide	Fr
	D. Edgar	Social Change in Australia[b]	Au
	B. J. Heraud	Sociology and Social Work[b]	UK
	T. E. Lasswell	Class and Structure	US
	J. Liggett & R. Cochrane	Exercises in Social Science	UK
	C. Wright Mills	Sociological Imagination	US
	R. A. Nisbet	The Social Bond[b]	US
	M. S. Olmsted[c]	The Small Group	US
	Peter I. Rose (ed.)	The Study of Society: An Integrated Anthology[b]	US
	E. O. Smigel (ed.)	Handbook on the Study of Social Problems	US
	G. A. Theodorsen	Studies in Human Ecology	US
	J. Toby	Contemporary Society[b]	US
	J. Wakeford	The Strategy of Social Enquiry	UK
	P. Worsley et al.	Modern Sociology[b]	UK
1980	Davies et al.	Introduction to Australian Society[b]	Au
1985	Davies et al.	Australian Society[b]	Au
	Don Edgar	Introduction to Australian Society[b]	Au
1990	Giddens	Sociology: a brief but critical introduction[b]	UK
2000	Haralambos et al.	Sociology: Themes and Perspectives[bd]	Au

Notes

a. None listed in 1960, 1995 or 2005.   c. Misspelt Olmstead in course description.

b. Introductory sociology textbook.   d. The Australian edition of the British textbook.

Table F-2. Introductory sociology textbooks assigned or recommended for other University of Sydney Courses, 1905-1990

Years	Course	Author	Title	Country
1905-25	Philosophy	Fairbanks	Introduction to Sociology[a]	US
1920	Economics	Hayes	Introduction to Sociology[a]	US
1930-46[b]	Anthropology	Hankins	An Introduction to the Study of Society[c]	US
1946-55[b]	Anthropology	Ginsberg	Sociology[d]	UK
1946[b]	Anthropology	MacIver	Society, Its Structure and Changes[a]	US
1950	Social Philosophy	MacIver	Society[a]	US
1960	Indon & Malay St	Ogburn & Nimkoff	A Handbook of Sociology[e]	UK
1970	Education	Chinoy	Sociological Perspective	US
1970-75	Education	P. I. Rose (ed.)	The Study of Society: An Integrated Anthology	US
1970-75	Education	Davies & Encel	Australian Society	Au
1980	Education	Broom & Selznick	Essentials of Sociology	US
1980	Education	Berger & Luckmann	An Invitation to Sociology[d]	US
1980	Education	Hagedorn & Labovitz	An Introduction into Sociological Orientations	Can
1980-90	French Studies	Javeau	Comprendre la sociologie	Fr
1985	Medicine	Sargent	Sociology for Australians	Au
1985	Jurisprudence	Worsley (ed.)	Introducing Sociology	UK

Notes

a. These books were included in Odum's (1951: 250-54) list of introductory textbooks through to 1950.

b. The 1945-46 University of Sydney Calendar Supplement provided course descriptions for 1946, not 1945.

c. While this title does not appear in Odum's (1951: 250-54) list, it is clearly presented as a textbook, and Hankins' 1928 *Introduction to the Study of Sociology* and *Introduction to Sociology* both appear there.

d. Not strictly speaking a textbook.

e. The British version of an American textbook by the same authors.