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The "Spirit" of Capitalism Revisited:
Stephen Kalberg on His Translation of Weber's
Protestant Ethic (co-published by Roxbury Press and Blackwell
Publishers; April, 2001; 'www.roxbury.net')

Stephen Kalberg, Boston University

Students of Max Weber have long agreed that the single available translation into English of his most accessible work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (PE)*, is profoundly flawed. I am grateful to the editors of *Perspectives* for the opportunity to note a few of the problems with the translation by Talcott Parsons and to summarize several new features of my translation. A more detailed discussion must await a journal publication.

It should first be emphasized that the translation by Parsons is now seventy years old. This alone justifies a new translation. Classic works in the Humanities are often re-translated every generation. As translations age, they become less accessible to younger audiences. American English changes quickly, and many of Parsons' terms and formulations, while appropriate earlier, today ring hollow and even odd. Some are barely decipherable, especially to PE's major audience today: American undergraduates. Moreover, Parsons translated for an audience quite different from today's readers. In general, his audience was steeped in classical, liberal arts texts and acquainted with nineteenth century European scholarship. Hence, whereas Parsons could assume readers would have some knowledge of persons Weber refers to repeatedly (e.g., Melancthon, Fox, Alberti, Baxter, Fugger, Zinzendorf), familiarity with his Latin phrases, and a general acquaintance with the history of Western religions, today's reader requires assistance. For these reasons alone, a new translation — with a glossary of key terms, endnotes that identify names, places, and religious documents, and a translation into English of Latin expressions — is long overdue. Although the remarks to follow are critical of Parsons, there can be no doubt that Weber scholars, as well as sociologists generally, owe to him a tremendous debt for recognizing PE as a classic study.

Problems with the Translation by Parsons. The weakness of Parsons' understanding of German, and core aspects of Weber's sociology, is apparent to the specialist on every page of his translation. Simple errors of translation, as well as loss of nuance, occur in every paragraph. Egregious errors, where Parsons loses track of Weber's argument and moves in directions fully contradictory to Weber's

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text and intentions, are found on nearly every page. Only several technical problems can be noted here:

—The lack of a standardized terminology. Weber's key terms are translated variously, even randomly (e.g., *Beruf*, *Lebensführung*, *Gesinnung*, *Gefühl*, *Diessseitigkeit*, *Antrieb*). On many occasions, a single English term stands as the translation for several German terms (e.g., "conduct" for *Lebensführung*, *Wandel*, *Gebahrung* and *Verhalten*). Weber's deep concern for terminological precision is lost.

—The appearance of the text. In the German, Weber guides his reader to major concepts and themes through the use of italics. Ninety-five percent of his italics do not appear in the English translation (e.g., *modern* capitalism). Moreover, Weber's frequent placing of terms in quotes, in order to indicate his awareness of their controversial nature (e.g., "national character," "rational," "productivity" under capitalism, "achievements" of the Reformation, the "spirit" of capitalism, "ideas," "calling"), is omitted from the Parsons translation.

—The failure to identify noun referents. Because German nouns and pronouns are gendered, a pronoun can be traced back easily to the last same-gendered noun. Parsons' routine translation of the gendered pronoun into the non-gendered "it," rather than repeating the noun referent, causes perpetual confusion. Innumerable passages are rendered unclear owing to this practice.

—The substitution of a "Parsonian" vocabulary. Repeatedly, Parsons employs terms that cannot serve as adequate translations of the German original; for example, "norms," "attitude," "fact," "system," "opinion," "sanction." The effect is to turn Weber into a structuralist thinker and to diminish the powerful "interpretive understanding" (*Verstehen*) analysis of subjective meaning in *PE*. Parsons also tones down Weber's vocabulary of conflict and replaces Weber's gender-neutral language with a gendered terminology (e.g., *Mensch* [person] and *Man* [one] are translated as "man").

Moreover, Parsons translated for an audience quite different from today's readers. In general, his audience was steeped in classical, liberal arts texts and acquainted with nineteenth century European scholarship.

Does it Matter? The translation by Parsons *does* convey the notion that Weber is, in this book, a sociologist looking at values and ideas, and documenting their independence from political and economic factors, indeed even their "autonomy" as causal forces. The "spirit" of capitalism, according to Weber, arose out of the domain of religion. While this is the book's central message, Weber's complex causal argument is impossible to follow in the translation by Parsons. The crucial chapter four on Calvinism, Pietism,

Methodism, and the baptizing sects (the Quakers, Baptists, and Mennonites; not, as Parsons believed, "the Baptist Sects") repeatedly loses the thrust of Weber's analysis. Critical themes developed at length by Weber, such as the varying extent to which believers are motivated to organize life methodically around a set of ethical values, and the diverging ways in which the ascetic Protestant faithful testify, through their conduct, to their sincere belief (*Bewährung*) and otherwise pursue courses of action that provide a psychological certainty of "elect salvation status," are obscured. Moreover, an array of sub-themes central for Weber fail to surface in this translation. For example:

—The social psychology of belief. Weber's focus upon the motives for action in the different religions (Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and the baptizing sects), and his subtle and differentiated analysis of *how* they vary depending upon the nature of salvation doctrines and their transformation into pastoral care practices (and, at this level, "psychological premiums"), is never apparent in the translation by Parsons. This analysis unveils Weber as a powerful microsociologist and social psychologist concerned, on the one hand, with how diverse motivations for action are formulated and, on the other hand, with the reconstruction, through "interpretive understanding," of believers' subjective meaning. The *PE*, in my view, offers the best illustration of Weber's *verstehende* sociology.

—The pluralism of Weber's dialogues. In various ways, the Parsons translation exaggerates the role of Marx in this study (not least by often translating *Schichten* as "classes" rather than "strata"). Weber locks horns as well with Hegel's Idealism, Werner Sombart's evolutionism, Adam Smith's a-contextual understanding of the "laws of the market," race-based explanations for behavior and the "superiority of the West," Hegelian schools of theology that drew a direct line from a

Perspectives is the newsletter of the Theory Section of the American Sociological Association. It is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October. The deadline for all submissions is the fifth day of the month before publication. We welcome news and commentary as well as announcements about conferences, journal information, calls for papers, position openings, and any other information of interest to section members.

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EMOTIONS AND SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

Jack Barbalet, *University of Leicester, England*

What business does sociological theory have with emotion? Straight answers are hard enough to come by, without me attempting a simple generalization to settle this matter. One thing is clear, though; there is a lot of activity that shows some folks have strong views of their own. Here are a handful of very recent cases, alphabetically listed: Jon Elster, *Alchemies of the Mind: Rationality and the Emotions* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); Helena Flam, *The Emotional Man and the Problem of Collective Action* (Peter Lang GmbH, 2000); Jack Katz, *How Emotions Work* (University of Chicago Press, 1999); Jonathan Turner, *The Origins of Human Emotions: A Sociological Inquiry into the Evolution of Human Affect* (Stanford University Press, 2000); Simon Williams, *Emotion and Social Theory* (Sage, 2000).

A focus on emotion does not attach to a single theoretical orientation or methodology, another thing the list above suggests. But it is equally apparent that sociological writing on emotion cannot be confined to a mere "sociology of emotion." We don't want to trip over terms here. The sub-discipline sociology of emotion has been described as "sociology of emotions management." In this sense emotion is subject to social and cultural manipulation, transformation and restraint. This does not exhaust the way in which emotion may be sociologically regarded. Arguably more interesting than the treatment of emotion as socially malleable is consideration of the ways that emotions are at the operational core of social processes. In this mould is Tom Scheff's widely respected work on shame and conformity, for instance, and Randall Collins' on emotional energy and interaction ritual chains. In these authors' hands emotion is not only foundational to key

Call for Nominations Awards of the Theory Section

The Theory Section announces a call for nominations for its two annual awards, the Theory Prize, which will be awarded for a recent outstanding paper in theory, and the Shils-Coleman Prize, which will be awarded for an outstanding student paper.

Theory Prize. The Theory Prize is given to recognize outstanding work in theory. In even-numbered years it is given for a book, and in odd-numbered years it is given for a paper. In both cases, eligible items are those published in the preceding four calendar years. The Theory Prize to be given in August 2001 is for an article, chapter, or publicly presented paper in calendar years 1997, 1998, 1999 or 2000. Please send preliminary nominations to the committee chair by February 15, 2001 (formal nominations and copies of the paper must subsequently be sent to all five committee members, reaching them by March 1, 2001):

Richard Swedberg, Chair
Theory Prize Committee
RS, Dept of Sociology
Stockholm University
S-10691
Stockholm, Sweden
SWEDBERG@sociology.su.se

Edward Shils-James Coleman Memorial Award (Graduate Student Prize). The Shils-Coleman Award is given to recognize distinguished work in theory by a graduate student. The work may take the form of either: (a) a paper published or accepted for publication; (b) a paper presented at a professional meeting; or (c) a paper suitable for publication or presentation at a professional meeting. The winner will receive up to \$500 for reimbursement of her/his travel expenses to the 2001 ASA Meetings. The deadline is February 15, 2001. Please send nominations, including five copies of the paper to:

Denise Anthony, Chair
Shils-Coleman Award Committee
Department of Sociology
105 Silsby Hall, HB 6104
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH 03755
Denise.Anthony@Dartmouth.edu
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fax: 603-646-1228

aspects of social structure, but also unavoidable in sociological theorizing.

In fact, of course, there is nothing new in sociological theory about the argument that emotions are somehow responsible for the patterns and content of social life: see, for instance, Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Emile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912), Georg Simmel's *The Philosophy of Money* (1907), Thorstein Veblen's *The Instinct of Workmanship* (1914). These are works that in contributing to a legacy of literary resources of sociological theory establish the primacy of emotions in institutions and action and in socio-

logical explanations of them.

It is not difficult, therefore, to show that there is an impressive record of emotion in sociological theory. At the same time, it would be disingenuous to deny that there is also a tradition of denial of such a representation of emotion in sociological theory. A characteristic element of Western culture is the opposition of reason and emotion, the association of emotion with the base or trivial, and the elevation of cognitive factors to causal or morphological primacy. This strand of thinking is well established in sociology.

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religion's salvation doctrine to the behavior of believers, and numerous nineteenth century thinkers who failed to distinguish between ethical action based in values and means-end rational action. To Weber, all of these schools omitted a social psychology of belief and were insufficiently attentive to the ways in which cultural forces influence action.

—The intertwining of past and present. Weber's multiple illustrations of how behavior originating out of belief may slowly lose its religious dimension and become "routinized" into utilitarian action (and how persons then incorrectly understand the causes of this utilitarian action by reference alone to structural forces and means-end rational pursuits in the present) are occluded in the Parsons translation. Yet this "deep cultural" mode of analysis is quintessentially Weberian, as is his intertwining, in this manner, of past and present.

—The logic of ideas. While Parsons' translation conveys the importance Weber attributes to ideas and values, it fails to articulate a related central point: theologians, and even the lay faithful, have struggled to render ideas internally *consistent* (particularly in order to decipher appropriate routes to salvation), and these confrontations with ideas follow rational rules of logic. Moreover, the cognitive resolution of dilemmas anchored in ideas may eventually influence the action of believers, indeed even their economic activity.

—The levelling out of causal analysis. Weber's incessant focus upon issues of causality, as concerns both "internal" (relig-

ious) and "external" (political and economic) forces, is seldom apparent in the translation by Parsons. In this regard, the translation of *Wahlverwandtschaft* (elective affinity) as "correlation" is unfortunate. In particular, the manner in which external forces provide facilitating (though not determining) contexts for the unfolding of internal forces remains scarcely visible, as is true of Weber's micro-level, causal analysis of how the lives of the devout become organized around ethical values and "directed" (*Lebensführung*).

Features of this New Translation. Because, in my view, it "does matter," I have attempted to draw out not only *PE's* central focus but also these further themes. However, my efforts have not been limited to the accurate rendering of substantive themes into a clear English. The *PE* must now be offered in a *more accessible* format to today's undergraduates. On this behalf I have undertaken a number of changes:

Persons, places, and obscure documents and groups have been identified, either within brackets in the text or in new endnotes. Latin, Italian, Dutch, and French phrases have been translated. Weber's italicization and quotes, as helpful red threads of orientation, have been retained. The translation of key terms has been standardized and a glossary of approximately thirty terms has been added. These terms have been set in bold type in the text. Innumerable partial bibliographical entries have been adjusted and completed. All paragraphs and endnotes that Weber added in his 1920 revision of the manuscript have been marked.

Furthermore, I have undertaken a far

more radical shortening of Weber's sentences and paragraphs than undertaken by Parsons. Because Weber's text occasionally lapses into a short-hand format, bridging and transitional phrases have been added into the text, in brackets, on behalf of clarity. Finally, I have written an introduction that summarizes major aspects of Weber's argument regarding the origins of the "spirit" of capitalism and examines an array of *PE's* major themes.

Through these innovations, I'm hopeful that this new translation will present this classic text in a more clear, accurate, and readable manner. This new edition also includes Weber's essay on the United States, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," and my new translation of the introduction to his massive comparative studies on the "economic ethics of the world religions" heretofore known as "Author's Introduction."

Book Announcement

Self-Analytical Sociology: Essays and Explorations in the Reflexive Mode.

Larry T. Reynolds. 2000. Rockport, TX: Magner Publishing. \$39.95. (ISBN: 1-929416-26-1).

If ever the time was ripe for the long overdue sociological reexamination of sociology, that time is now, as the *fin de siècle* is upon us. It is a moment made for critique and renewal—truly a time for stock-taking and soul-searching. That is the project taken up by *Self-Analytical Sociology*, a volume that pokes, prods, and in other ways dissects, analyzes, and critiques the profession, discipline, and science of sociology. This collection of thirty-three essays and investigations includes several older, classic works, and numerous papers written in the 1980s and 1990s, including a dozen new works appearing in print for the first time.

Stephen Kalberg lived in Germany for nine years. He has taught at two German universities, lecturing in German. He is co-chair, Study Group on Germany, Center for European Studies, Harvard University and serves on the editorial board of the new journal, *Max Weber Studies*. Kalberg teaches theory, political sociology, and comparative sociology at Boston University. Some of his recent and forthcoming publications include: "Max Weber." In: *The Blackwell Companion to Major Social Theorists*, edited by George Ritzer (Blackwell, 2000). "Tocqueville and Weber on the Sociological Origins of Citizenship" (*Citizenship Studies*, July, 1997. This article has been translated into five languages.) *Max Weber's Sociology of Civilizations*. Forthcoming.

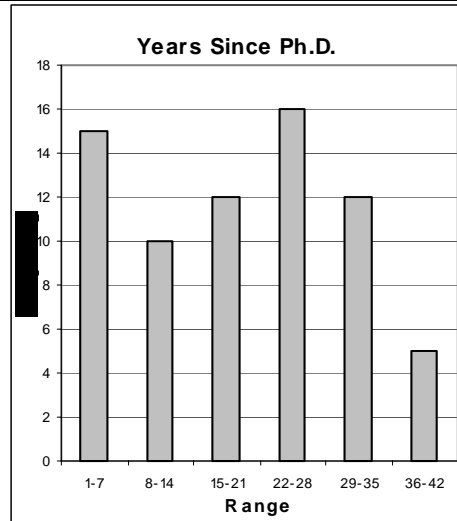
What is being taught in the name of “theory” to graduate students in sociology? How do instructors really feel about training in classical theory? Contemporary theory? Theory construction? Science? What messages about theory are they passing down to the next generation of scholars in our discipline? We spoke with 71 instructors of required graduate theory courses in the nation’s top 50 departments of sociology, asking these and other questions. Some of the raw results from our interviews will appear, with little or no commentary, in a series of short articles in this and future newsletters. The project was supported by a small grant from the American Sociological Association, and assistance was provided by Christopher Barnum, Cynthia Estep, Will Kalkhoff, John Knapp and C. Wesley Younts. Readers are encouraged to send comments to the editors and/or to the author at barry-markovsky@uiowa.edu

Theory Training in Sociology

Barry Markovsky, University of Iowa

Part 1: Sample Characteristics and Quality Perceptions

The 50 targeted departments were those cited in the 1998 *U.S. News and World Reports* reputational survey <<http://www.usnews.com>>. Potential interviewees were located through department websites and through telephone inquiries with departmental administrators. The great majority of instructors that we interviewed taught a course that was required of all Ph.D. students in their programs. In a few cases the course was part of a set of 2 or 3, of which a subset was required of all Ph.D. students. Data were collected between November 1998 and July 2000. We arranged telephone interviews with as many instructors as possible, in the end completing 63 interviews. An additional 8 cases were obtained using an e-mailed



version of the interview protocol.

Forty-eight departments had required graduate theory courses, and we reached 1 or more instructors from 46 of the 48. Among our respondents, 42 taught a classical theory course, 23 taught contemporary theory, 4 taught theory construction, 6 taught a combined contemporary and classical course, and one taught a combined contemporary and construction course. Six of the instructors taught two different courses—4 taught both contem-

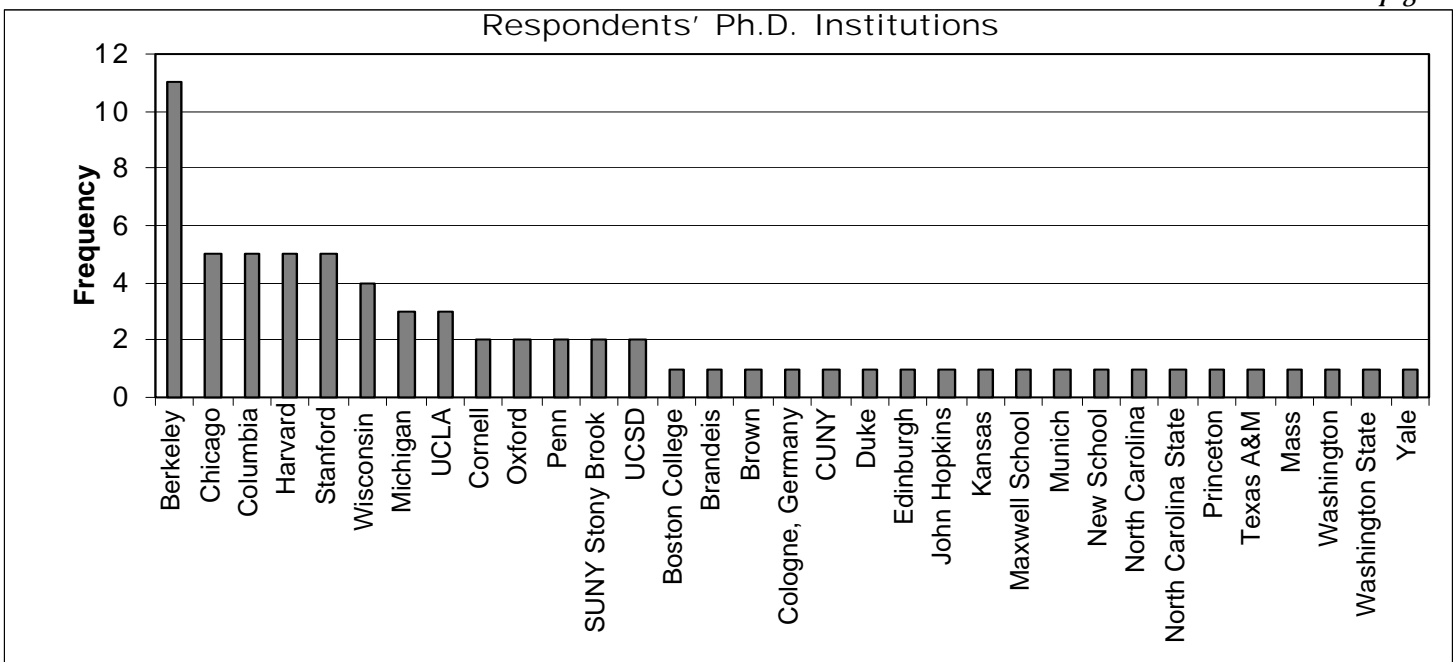
porary and classical; one taught contemporary and construction, one taught classical and construction—and one of our respondents did not specify which course s/he taught.

The first chart shows, in seven-year increments, the number of years since the Ph.D. degree for our respondents. The overall mean is 19.3 years. Most striking—visually at least—is the seemingly disproportionate number of junior faculty teaching required theory courses. I leave it to readers to interpret this finding.

The chart below shows where today’s theory instructors received their doctoral degrees. Notably, approximately half of the instructors in our sample received Ph.D.’s from only 6 departments, and three-quarters have degrees from only 13 different departments.

Finally, the table on page 6 shows how instructors regarded their own graduate training in theory. (“Omitted” indicates that the question was left out inadvertently by the interviewer.) For those who judged

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their training inadequate, the subsequent table lists specific areas where instructors felt their own training was deficient.

Was Your Graduate Theory Training Adequate?

66.2% - Yes 28.2% - No
4.2% - Marginal 1.4% - Omitted

If "No," then in what areas? (n = 20; 23 responses)

26.1% too restrictive; no survey
21.7% deficient in classical
17.4% (not specified)
13.0% self-taught
04.3% deficient in theory construction
04.3% unbalanced
04.3% instructor bias
04.3% my fault
04.3% not required

The next installment in this series will present data on instructors' attitudes toward different areas of theory and how well they are taught in their own departments and nationwide.

EMOTIONS from page 3

Indeed, the acme classic of sociological theory, Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, is a primer of Cartesian principles in which the importance of expelling emotion from social life and social reasoning is outlined and justified. It is true that Weber sees Calvinist *anxiety* behind the Protestant Ethic. But sociologists sympathetic to an emotions approach cannot take encouragement from that. This is because for Weber the anxiety in question is understood as an *attitude* not an *emotion*, and this anxiety is auxiliary to a doctrine, and it is with the doctrine that Weber explains the Ethic (see Barbalet 2000).

Sociological theory has not neglected investigation of the bases of rationality. It is less frequently, however, that the emotional foundations of rationality are discussed (Barbalet 1998: chapter 2; Collins

1993). Successful arguments concerning the affective basis of reason are in fact relatively easy to make, because the distinction between reason and emotion is always blurred, not sharp, and the supposed opposition between them is at best difficult to keep in focus. And yet, the idea of the opposition between reason and emotion persists. It is not sufficient, then, merely to demonstrate the intellectual failure of the conventional distinction between reason and emotion. It is more important to address why the distinction is so durable and widely accepted (see Barbalet 1998:54-61).

Symptomatic of the wrong-headed approach to emotion in sociological theory that opposes it, is the inclination to treat emotion as a unitary phenomenon, differentiated by intensity alone. It is perfectly meaningful to say, for instance, that *emotions* underlie rational decision-making, valuation and moral coding, interpersonal responses, resource allocation and exchange, authority attribution and hierarchic formation, and so on. But the salient issue must always be: which *particular* emotions do what? Indeed, one robust sociological theory of emotions differentiates specific emotions in terms of antecedent structural relations along the axes of power and status (Kemper 1978). This suggests that particular emotions, such as anger, shame, regret, that have a reality in the vividness of individual experience, also have a social salience born through the specific social causes and effects characteristically associated with them. Thus it is not the emotionality of a displaced social group, say, that tells us how its members will behave, but whether the predominant emotion is fear or hope, resentment or vengefulness.

A sociological theory of emotion, then, might focus on particular emotions, not to discover their psychological dimensions or the ways in which they are subject to conscious reflection, but in order to amplify an apparently unconnected aspect of social structure or social action. Scheff (1988) did just this in his study of

shame and conformity. My own treatment, of confidence, fear, resentment, shame, and vengefulness in *Emotion, Social Theory and Social Structure* (Barbalet 1998), and of boredom and social meaning (Barbalet 1999), was also to examine and theorize key aspects of social structure. It is important to emphasize that the use of emotions categories as explanatory variables is not a commitment to psychological reductionism. Explanations of social processes in terms of emotions need not put at risk the sociological quality of the account.

Sociological theory always has an historical as well as a systematic dimension. If sociological theory were to give more serious attention to emotions, not only the particular issues it dealt with would change. Different research foci tend to draw upon different intellectual traditions. A new approach requires not only the legitimation that an identification of precursors can provide, but also the intellectual resources bequeathed to current research by earlier practioners. That is, the re-introduction of emotions into sociological theory will be associated with a reorganization of the sociological tradition. Not only will interpretations of the current staple change, but also presently neglected writers will be found to have much to offer. At the present time, for instance, the 18th century thinker, Adam Smith, is quite marginal to sociological theory, and the early 20th century American, Thorstein Veblen, fails to be given his due. An approach to sociological theory that takes emotions seriously will find in each of these and other relevant writers information and inspiration that will bring them to new generations of theorists.

The importance of emotions for sociological theory is not at issue. Leading sociological theorists, both today and in the past, have indicated the fundamentally emotional nature of social processes and institutions. The future prospects are that more sociological theorists will give attention to the emotions.

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SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION GROUP

Harold Kincaid, *Department of Philosophy,
University of Alabama at Birmingham*

At the Washington meetings a group of ASA members calling themselves the sociological imagination group held an informal conference during the evenings of the meetings. This report describes the perspective of that group, the volume coming out of that conference, and the group's call for papers for a similar conference at the Anaheim meetings.

The sociological imagination group formed out of a reaction to isolating specialization represented by the 40 plus Sections of the ASA. It takes its inspiration from the book of the same name by C. Wright Mills, updated by more recent developments in the disciplines. The group believes that sociology retains great prospects for producing knowledge essential to solving crucial substantive and applied problems, but that such progress is most likely to be made by applying the following ideas:

A "web" approach to scientific method: All empirical testing takes place within the context of a web of background knowledge, yet instead of ignoring that complex context it should become part of the research process. The more extensive and varied the total web we take into account, and the more its pieces are tested against each other, the stronger the resulting product. It is these diverse evidential relationships that are crucial, and no set of isolated propositions can substitute for this richness. We thus deny any inevitable difference between quantitative and qualitative, or experimental and nonexperimental, data. All can be compelling, or all can be without force—depending upon what other information we bring to the argument. We also deny that positivism

and postmodernism are the only options. There is no logic of science that mechanically tells us what to believe, and sociological investigation is indeed a social process. Yet that does not mean reasons and evidence have no place and that all social inquiry is politics.

Abstract concepts: These—in addition to middle-range concepts—are essential to progress in sociology. As we use the term, an abstract concept is not one that is far from reality. Rather, concepts are abstract when they allow us to explain diverse phenomena in diverse circumstances. If we are to overcome the isolating specialization in our discipline, we need a common language that can build bridges across our findings. By connecting apparently diverse inquiries, abstract concepts promote an essential feature of the scientific enterprise: strengthening, refining, and testing work in one domain by incorporating its results into investigations in other domains. Also, they are essential to developing theories as opposed to low-level generalizations based on ordinary-language concepts. Evidence, experiments, and statistical inferences are blind without theories identifying the relevant factors, confounders, and mechanisms.

Moving down the ladder of abstraction: We deny the common assumption that makes a sharp divide between the theoretical and the empirical, the abstract and the concrete. Both are essential. As numerous studies of the biophysical sciences demonstrate, the route from theory to observation involves diverse kinds and levels of interconnections. Raw data do not organize themselves, and thus a theory of data is needed. Unfortunately, sociology has often tried to move down the ladder of abstraction with procedures which oversimplify the complexity of human behavior. A few sociological variables are identified and tests of significance, correlations or regressions are run. Implicitly, this appears to be an effort to imitate both the simplicity and predictive power of much of the physical sciences, as illustrated by the simple yet powerful for-

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Book Announcement

Culture, Structure, and Agency: Towards a Truly Multidimensional Sociology. David M. Rubinstein. Sage Publications. London. January 2001.

A multidimensional sociology, incorporating both culture and social structure in action, has long been a theoretical desideratum. This book aims to go beyond an 'additive' multidimensionality by showing that culture and structure are mutually constituting.

To achieve a synthetic approach, structure is conceived as the array of opportunities. This view of social structure is defended by many references to empirical and theoretical work. It is then argued that culture is 'read' by actors in light of their opportunities which are, in turn, culturally constructed. The actor is thus seen as constituting the components of action, each in light of the other. The aim is to theorize agency and a synthesis of culture and social together. Jeffrey Alexander, William Sewell et al. have approached this synthesis.

The book also incorporates a third component of action - desires, etc. This refers to aspects of actors, like emotions, that are not reducible to culture or social structure. A synthetic approach is maintained insofar as desires, etc., are shown to be dialectically intricately with culture and social structure. This argument draws on Wittgenstein's ideas on 'inner experience' to show that desires, etc., are constituted by actors in light of their cultural resources and their structured opportunities. The result is a conception of action in which actors are portrayed as constituting each component of action in light of the other two.

The book draws on much empirical research and also engages the work of Parsons, Giddens, Bourdieu, Marx, Weber, Durkheim, network theory, rational choice, the new cultural studies, postmodernism, etc.

35th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology

You are invited to the 35th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology, to be held in Kraków, Poland, from 11-16 July 2001.

This is the first Congress to be held in East Central Europe and the very first World Congress of sociologists in the new millennium. The theme of the Congress - "The Moral Fabric in Contemporary Societies" - addresses the crucial intellectual and social challenges of the new millennium. It reflects the deepest concerns of contemporary societies regarding community, solidarity, truth and trust in the modern world. Further, it demands theoretical deliberations about the various moral issues facing present-day societies. It also links the contemporary and future interests and scientific pursuits of sociologists today with the tradition of the IIS established by its founders - Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Ludwik Gumplowicz, Thorstein Veblen and many others.

The program will consist of an opening session, a series of plenaries that will convene many leading figures of the international sociological community, "author meets the readers" sessions and working sessions inspired by the guiding theme. The Jagiellonian University in Kraków, which has just celebrated the 600th anniversary of its refounding, will host the Congress and also offer a varied program of social events. Sightseeing and other entertainment will be available for conference participants and accompanying persons.

Please visit our website at <http://confer.uj.edu.pl/iis2001> for updated information, including the tentative program and descriptions of sessions.

Professor Grazyna Skapska, Congress Chairperson

IIS-2001 Congress Secretariat
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tel/fax: [48-12] 431-2493
<http://confer.uj.edu.pl/iis2001/>

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mula, $F = ma$, or force = mass times acceleration. Yet Newton's law is tied to reality only via theories of mass, force, acceleration and how they are to be measured. Investigating variables without that further understanding is mistaken, both in physics and in sociology.

Reflexive methodology: Good social science is social science aware of its own practice—both in terms of the sociologist aware of his own motivations, feelings, and so on and the profession aware of how its collective organization contributes to or hinders producing reliable results. On both counts sociology has been far too unaware. Doing better social science requires better self understanding.

It is our belief that this general approach holds the promise for rapid cumulative development in sociology and the social sciences more generally. That hope can only be born out in practice, however. Toward that end several individuals made presentations at the Washington meetings that took some primary piece of research and tried to show how the use of abstract concepts, the web approach to scientific method, reflexive understanding, and moving down the ladder of abstraction can contribute to improving those primary analyses. These presenters and others will then be combined into a volume entitled "Toward a Sociological Imagination: Bridging Specialized Fields," edited by Bernard Phillips, Harold Kincaid and Thomas Scheff, that will apply our general approach to primary research on small groups, discrimination, secularization, narrative meaning, inequality, elite theory,

and the sociology of the emotions. Contributors include the three editors and James Kimberly, David Maines, David Britt, Richard Lachmann, John Malarkey, and Chanoch Jacobsen. The volume is tentatively forthcoming with Aldine de Gruyter in the Sociological Imagination series edited by Phillips. We openly grant that these pieces are no more than an initial effort.

It is hoped that this is the first in a series of informal conferences and conference volumes. We are planning informal gatherings during the evenings of the Anaheim meetings for presentations sympathetic to our basic approach. Those presentations may be either secondary analyses of primary work or primary work itself. The goal is to then produce a volume to be edited by Thomas Scheff, Harold Kincaid and Bernard Phillips. We invite individuals interested in contributing to look at various documents from the group available at www.uab.edu/ethicscenter/SI.html and to contact Phillips (berniefpls@aol.com), Kincaid (kincaid@uab.edu) or Scheff (scheftj@gte.net) to discuss their projects.

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