

searching for the roots of the exclusion of non-human animals from the canon of sociology. She does this by analysing major parts of the works of Edward Westermarck and Émile Durkheim. Tuomivaara describes how her doctoral thesis project, that the book is an outcome of, started from a question of why animals are forgotten from sociological analyses of human behaviour, action, morals and societies. Tuomivaara seeks to answer this by turning to two early writers in sociology. The book has two themes: the search for the roots of exclusion of animals in sociology and a quest for a more inclusive understanding of non-human animals in human societies. Tuomivaara describes the latter theme as the challenge of posthumanism to the biased tradition of humanities and social sciences, where nature is bifurcated into the realms of men and animals.

The story of the exclusion of animals from sociology, and society, is set up by introducing the birth of sociology, the two writers, their works and mutual debates, as well as the era of modernization of which and in which they wrote. This chapter also includes an interesting detour into the literature on the relationship between humans and non-human animals, which is educating for anyone

interested in human-animal studies. The analysis into the works of Westermarck and Durkheim starts by searching for the animals quite tangibly. Tuomivaara describes the various kinds of animals that appear in Westermarck and Durkheim's texts. She also details how these animals are used in the texts: as, for instance, structural analogies of different kinds of societies, as anecdotes about individual animals to serve an argument, or as the concept of animality representing the biological in human nature. Tuomivaara's analysis highlights the two early sociologists' quest to understand humanity, morals, society, religion and sociology. She sums up the use of animals in both classical writers' works:

Westermarck, who emphasizes the continuity between humans and other animal species, writes much more extensively about the different meanings and uses of animals in human societies, and is especially interested in the humane treatment of animals. For Durkheim, animals are qualitatively different from humans, morally not meaningful and rarely – if ever – noticed as important for modern/European social life.

The questions of what is and is not human and how to analyse and describe human social be-

Searching for the Roots of Exclusion

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In her book *Animals in the Sociologies of Westermarck and Durkheim* Salla Tuomivaara is

haviour are asked in a historical context of heightened modernization, industrialization, secularization, urbanization and colonialism. The zeitgeist perhaps allowed to seek answers to these questions by making distinctions between humans and animals as well as other others such as the “primitives” and women, as both Durkheim and Westermarck do. Evolutionary theory was influential at the time, and Tuomivaara reads both writers particularly vis-à-vis this. In short, Darwin is interesting and important for Westermarck, whereas for Durkheim, evolutionary theory is merely a footnote incompatible with his ideas of human sociality and societies. Westermarck stresses the ontological continuity between humans and other animals, and this also entails an ethical stand towards non-human animals in human societies. There is no duality between nature and nurture in human development, and there are fewer differences between animals and humans and othered groups of humans than we tend to think. Durkheim, in turn, is a classical humanist who thinks that the most valued in human nature, rationality and potential for high morals, is indeed uniquely human and the animal nature in us tends to fight these more developed tendencies. What this indicated to human socie-

ties, was for Durkheim an idea that differentiation and division of labour, characteristic of modernization, meant social evolution, whereas for Westermarck biological evolution meant that human societies can progress (via reflection and altruistic sentiment), but the progress is not linear because natural processes never are.

The analysis of animals in the works of Durkheim and Westermarck is extensive and, as said, very interesting on its own. The second thread of the book as part of the “reanalysis of anthropocentrism and the dichotomist tradition in social sciences” could have been more thorough and more intimately linked to the analysis of the classic texts. In Tuomivaara’s reading, Westermarck is much more up-to-date in his understanding of human beings as biological organisms amongst others, forming societies that are in constant and processual change: he answers the challenge of posthumanism. Durkheim, in turn, is the one that dichotomises and classifies both non-human animals and othered humans in a patriarchal, eurocentrist and anthropocentrist manner – all objects of major criticism in posthumanist thought. However, Tuomivaara’s argument is that sociology is part of the modern tradition of humani-

ties, a science of modern society and a “solid carrier of this mind-set that has been linked with the humanist modern project”. In doing so, she tends to portray sociology as a monolith of unitary thinking originating in classics such as Durkheim. One might as well argue, though, that in fact the discipline is theoretically wide and even interdisciplinary, as well as empirically multiple in terms of subjects and sensitivity to otherness. The challenge of posthumanism might be met in current sociology, if the discipline is viewed in its full empirical and theoretical richness. The way Tuomivaara sees posthumanism is also slightly narrow and theoretical. The recent work done in multispecies studies on the interconnectedness of all living from bacteria and mycelia to humans and non-human animals would have enriched the analysis.

Nevertheless, Tuomivaara’s analysis is thought-provoking and might change the canonical portrayal of these classics by providing a more diverse lens into the relationships of species. The book ends with a request for understanding animals as part of human societies not only in sociology, but in societies it studies as well. This is indeed indispensable, as we are currently living in a climate crisis that affects the ecosystem and

societies – of humans and other
species – in equal manner.

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