

Durkheim Lecture - The Division of Labor in Society

A. Functions of Social Solidarity

B. Mechanical Solidarity

1. Solidarity of likeness

- a. Related to punitive, repressive law
- b. NB excursus on religion (118-123)
- c. The horde: clan based societies
  - 1) Purely mechanical
  - 2) A “system of segments homogeneous and similar to each other” (132)
  - 3) Communistic

C. Organic Solidarity

- 1. Solidarity of complementarity
- 2. Related to restitutive law
  - a. Have form of contractual relations
  - b. But collective forces hold individuals to their commitments

D. Happiness

- 1. Against utilitarian theory
- 2. Concerns not excess, but “health” of the society
- 3. Well-regulated social relations

E. Development of Organic from mechanical

1. Proceeds with the division of labor
2. Corresponds to “moral density”
3. Concentration of society (205)
  - a. Darwinian formulation (208)
  - b. Points of contact lead to points of conflict (209-210)
    - 1) Therefore, diversification to avoid conflict
    - 2) This division of labor entails organic solidarity

F. Abnormal Forms

1. Anomic division of labor
  - a. When specialization proceeds too far, coordination becomes more difficult
    - 1) Conflict increases
    - 2) Examples
      - a) Labor-capital conflicts
      - b) Over-specialization & isolation in science
  - b. Under (healthy) development, State coordinates diversity
    - 1) An expression of mechanical solidarity in face of organic
  - c. Contacts need regulation to prevent their leading to conflict
    - 1) Should be regular and routinized
    - 2) Self-regulation has declined
    - 3) Lack of regulation (coordination) is called Anomie

- 4) Economists recognize dynamic equilibrium, but neglect adjustment crises
- d. Source of problem: Size
  - 1) Surface over which contacts take place becomes too great
  - 2) Quality of contacts degraded
  - 3) Not yet enough time for new equilibration
  - 4) Part of solution: information to workers about the nature of their role
    - a) Then they see how they fit in
2. Forced division of labor
  - a. Not sufficient only that each have his task: must fit him
    - 1) Constraint arises when people are forced into tasks that don't fit them
    - 2) Not the same as regulation
      - a) Only when regulation doesn't "correspond to the true nature of things" (312-313)
    - 3) Division of labor is spontaneous when it corresponds to natural inequalities
  - b. Contracts must be freely consented to
    - 1) Force not sufficient to hold one to contract
    - 2) External conditions must be equal between contracting parties (318)
      - a) Services exchanged must be equal
      - b) No class inequalities (319)
  - c. Liberty (320f)
    - 1) Derives from law (& thus social solidarity)

- 2) Subordination of external to social forces
- 3) Corresponds to justice
- 4) Just as goal of primitive societies is homogeneity, ours is equity
  - a) Free development of all socially useful forces
- 5) Need this justice as social cement

#### G. Individualism

1. Derives from social life, not the reverse (220-221)
2. Individuality derives from division of labor (334f)
  - a. Thus, div of labor corresponds to development of human personality
  - b. Also to individual morality (all morality social)

#### H. Occupational Groups

1. Economic realm very important to us
2. Professional ethics of certain occupations
3. Not sufficient regulation between occupations
4. For anomie to end, group must exist which can constitute rules needed (xxxv)
  - a. State cannot take on this function
    - 1) economic life too detailed
    - 2) escapes its competence
  - b. But regulatory entity must have legal authority

5. Corporation

- a. Analogous to the family
- b. Grew up in the city
  - 1) Opposed, partly for this reason, by the medieval State
  - 2) Another reason State cannot take this role
- c. Need for elective assemblies to regulate industry
- d. [A form of corporatism]
  - 1) [But also a form of workers' control]
  - 2) [NB Durkheim would have opposed fascism]

Durkheim Lecture - Suicide

## A. Method

1. Investigate social phenomenon by looking at its individual manifestations
2. Compare cases and reduce to groups with essential similarities
3. Thereby create typologies and establish underlying social forces
  - a. “as many suicidal currents as there were distinct types (145)

## B. Types of Suicide

## 1. Egoistic Suicide

## a. Religious denomination

- 1) higher rates of suicide in Protestantism than Catholicism or Judaism
  - a) permits freer inquiry
  - b) entails overthrow of traditional beliefs
  - c) less strongly integrated Church or community (as with Judaism)
  - d) argument supported by Protestant England due to character of C of E
    - Anglicanism equally integrated as Catholicism
- 2) Religion protects one from suicide not because of doctrine but community
- 3) Higher educational levels have higher suicide rates
  - a) weakening of traditional beliefs
  - b) more independent thinking

- c) but learning not cause of suicide in same sense
  - rather, also a consequence of decline of religious cohesion
- b. Family
  - 1) married persons have lower rates of suicide
  - 2) role of family and role in family integrates individual in collectivity
  - 3) especially true when married people are also parents
- c. Political society
  - 1) e.g., suicides actually decline during revolutionary periods
- d. Generalizations
  - 1) Features common to all these phenomena
    - a) All strongly integrated groups
      - suicide varies inversely with degree of integration (209)
  - 2) Suicide here the result of excessive egoistic detachment from group
    - a) collective force restrains suicide
    - b) social bond unites individuals to common cause
    - c) collectivity creates loftier goals than the individual could attain
      - “The individual alone is not a sufficient end for his activity.” (210)
  - d) Individual “yields to the slightest shock” because of this detachment (215)
- 3) Man is double (213)
  - a) social man superimposed on physical man

## 2. Altruistic Suicide

- a. Suicide increases also with too strong integration in society
- b. Suicide because it is felt to be one's duty (obligatory)
- c. Suicide because of a sense of honor or social prestige (optional)
- d. Mystical suicide (acute)
- e. Example of the army

## 3. Anomic Suicide

- a. Caused by change, good or bad
- b. Social forces regulate our expectations and hence, happiness
  - 1) good fortune can cause expectations which exceed circumstances
    - a) leads to unhappiness
- c. A state of de-regulation or anomie (253)
  - 1) man's activity lacks regulation (258)
- d. NB immunity of poor countries to this sort of suicide
  - 1) wealth makes us think we can depend only on ourselves
    - a) restrictions now become intolerable
- e. Typical situations
  - 1) Anomic situation chronic in trade and industry (254)
    - a) accompanied by extension of the free market
  - 2) Anomic situations arising from disruption of marriage
    - a) widowhood or divorce

#### 4. Fatalistic Suicide

- a. Not really discussed; mentioned in footnote (276)
- b. Derives from excessive regulation

### C. The social element of suicide

#### 1. The suicide-rate can only be explained sociologically (299)

- a. “The moral constitution of society establishes the contingent” of suicides
- b. A collective force; a collective inclination
- c. “Currents of egoism, altruism or anomy running through the society”
- d. Private experiences derive from moral predisposition
  - 1) “itself an echo of the moral state of society” (300)

#### 2. Collective tendencies

- a. Have an existence of their own (309)
  - 1) “they are forces as real as cosmic forces”
  - 2) “this reality is demonstrated in the same way, by the uniformity of effects”
- b. A mistake to confuse the collective type with the average type (317)
  - 1) collective conscience surpasses average conscience (318)
- c. “Suicidogenetic current” (323)

### D. Methodology

1. Must raise sights above individual cases
2. Whether rate should be considered normal/abnormal
  - a. NB functionalist argument: existent serves a purpose (362)

- b. Excesses in some direction have their uses (364)
- c. Currents useful as long as they are not excessive (365)
- 3. High rates often caused by too-rapid social change [Pathologies]
  - a. What integrates people today in light of rapid development (378f)
    - 1) Not State: too remote
    - 2) Not religion: too great sacrifices to intellect
    - 3) Not family: too decayed
    - 4) Occupational groups or corporation
  - b. State, almost alone, survived changes (388f)
    - 1) Need for decentralization, maybe through occupational group

Durkheim Lecture - The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life

A. Social bases of philosophy, metaphysics

1. Notion of causality
  - a. stems from social sources
  - b. the notion of force
  - c. cannot know natural forces directly as we can collective forces
  - d. dependence and subordination
2. Notion of the concept (436f)
  - a. impersonality and stability: permanence
  - b. coeval with society
  - c. collective representations (439)
    - 1) these are products of public opinion (439-440)
    - 2) sociology is science of opinion
    - 3) faith in religion, in science
    - 4) discussion of language (439)
    - 5) [NB relativism]
3. Notion of the category (441f)
  - a. entails time, space, efficient force, totality
  - b. idea of totality is abstract form of concept of society
  - c. expansion of society entails universalization of concepts

B. Nearly all social institutions born in religion (421)

1. except economics (fn, 421)
  - a. [cf. Weber]

C. Outline of account

1. Definition of religion (1.1)
  - a. Sacred vs. profane
    - 1) “Sacred things are those which the interdictions protect and isolate; profane things, those to which these interdictions are applied and which must remain at a distance from the first.” (38)
  - b. Definition: “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.” (44)
2. Totemism (1.4)
  - a. The most elementary level of religion (within tribal animism)
3. Clan (2.1)
  - a. Clans are kinship groups
    - 1) They are represented by totems
    - 2) Totems are emblems of the clans
    - 3) Totems have a religious character
4. Totemism offers a conception of the universe (2.3)
  - a. The systems of classification within totemic cosmology correspond to the structure of the clans and tribes
    - 1) “The unity of these first logical systems merely reproduces the unity of the society.” (146)

- b. The extent of society determines the extent of the conceptual world
  - 1) “The domain of totemic religion extends to the final limits of the known universe.” (155)
- 5. Totemic principle: Mana, Force (2.6)
  - a. Totems have a moral character
  - b. Totems give rise to the notion of “mana” or force
- 6. Origins of the Totemic Principle (The source of Religion) (2.7)
  - a. Thus, the totem is above all a symbol, a material expression, of society
  - b. God and society are identical
    - 1) “So if it is at once the symbol of the god and of the society, is that not because the god and the society are only one? ...The god of the clan, the totemic principle, can therefore be nothing else than the clan itself, personified and represented to the imagination under the visible form of the animal or vegetable which serves as totem.” (208)
  - c. Society is the source of the notion of power
    - 1) “A society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the divine in minds merely by the power that it has over them; for to its members it is what a god is to his worshipers.” (208)
  - d. Society is also the source of moral authority
  - e. The idea of force is born in a state of social effervescence
    - 1) “In the midst of an assembly animated by a common passion, we become susceptible of acts and sentiments of which we are incapable when reduced to our own forces; and when the assembly is dissolved and when, finding ourselves alone again, we fall back to our ordinary level, we are then able to measure the height to which we have been raised above ourselves.” (211-212)
      - a) Example: August 4, 1789, the French Revolution

- 2) Besides intermittent states, there are also more durable ones, like the crusades, revolutionary epochs, etc.
  - 3) We find this sort of effervescence in the ceremonies of tribal societies
    - a) Considering that “the ceremonies generally take place at night in a darkness pierced here and there by the light of fires, we can easily imagine what effects such scenes ought to produce on the minds of those who participate.” (218)  
NB the yell “*Yrrsh! Yrrsh! Yrrsh!*” (219)
    - b) This is where the notion of the sacred is born
      - (1) “How could such experiences as these, especially when they are repeated every day for weeks, fail to leave in him the conviction that there really exist two heterogeneous and mutually incomparable worlds? One is that where his daily life drags wearily along; but he cannot penetrate into the other without at once entering into relations with extraordinary powers that excite him to the point of frenzy. The first is the profane world, the second, that of sacred things. So it is in the midst of these effervescent social environments and out of this effervescence itself that the religious idea seems to be born.” (220, emphasis added)
- f. Role of symbols
- 1) Symbols represent these social forces
  - 2) They are needed to perpetuate force and religious notions at moments when the social effervescence is absent, or to call it back into being
  - 3) Cf. Wittgenstein on language and continuity
- g. intensity and symbols needed for solidarity

#### D. Evolution and Development (427f, 445f)

1. Individualism
  - a. as individuals have differentiated themselves more, ideal of Individualism rose
2. Universalism
  - a. advances with development

- b. development of international life universalizes thought (446)
  - 1) really and truly human thought
  - 2) ideals toward which we are proceeding, will probably not reach
  - 3) this overcomes gulf between religion and science
  - 4) science of man: sociology
- 3. At present, a period of moral mediocrity
  - a. creative effervescence will come again
    - 1) cf. French Revolution
    - 2) [cf. fascism]
- 4. Science
  - a. scientific thought more perfected form of religious thought (431)
  - b. accounts for conflict between religion and science
    - Cf. Wittgenstein on language
    - Freud on socialization (NB dualism)