

CORPORATIST TENDENCIES IN DURKHEIM'S CONSERVATISM

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CORPORATIST TENDENCIES IN DURKHEIM'S CONSERVATISM

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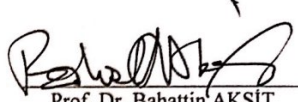
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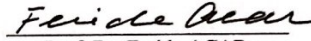
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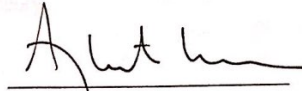

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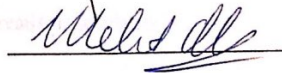

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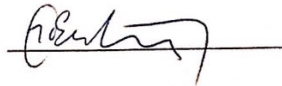
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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to analyze the corporatist and conservatist tendencies in the ideology of Durkheim. Durkheim's social theory of division of labor and his conception of social solidarity will be examined in detail in this respect. This thesis will elaborate the significance and the role of professional occupations and their political impacts in Durkheim's theory.

Keywords: Durkheim, Corporatism, Conservatism, Solidarity

ÖZ

DURKHEIM'IN MUHAFAZAKARLIĞINDA KORPORATİST EĞİLİM

İlikçi, M. Kemal

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Bu tez, Durkheim'ın ideolojisindeki korporatist ve muhafazakar eğilimleri incelemektedir. Durkheim'ın toplumsal iş bölümü teorisi, ve sosyal dayanışma kavramı, bu anlamda detaylı olarak incelenecektir. Bu çalışma, Durkheim'ın teorisinde mesleki örgütlenmelerin önemini, rollerini ve siyasi etkilerini analiz edecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Durkheim, Korporatizm, Muhafazakarlık, Dayanışma

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The update question of the social phenomena of the world is whether social sciences can be used as a tool for stabilization of social deterioration, the result of the continuous crisis that modern societies have been living for centuries. Worldwide effects of economic and social crisis of modernization, in fact, seem to attract those who really are concerned with social issues.

The emphasis put on the concept of solidarity in a specialized world and the ideas on how it should be built needs consideration. When one looks for a scientific study of such phenomena, one is obviously led to the writings of Emile Durkheim, who is considered as the founder of modern sociology by many.

Studying Emile Durkheim is crucial not only because he makes a detailed scientific study of a stable society, but also he himself is a witness to an era of social chaos and crisis, an era shaped by tradition of revolution. He is a dissatisfied citizen as many of his contemporaries. What makes him special is his sociologist identity, which arouses in him the anxiety to examine and to

argue the case of social disorder and instability in a scientific framework and to give a solution. A study aiming to define what social stability is and to reach an idealized and predetermined end would indeed cover all the aspects of social life including politics.

This thesis aims to clarify the corporatist and conservatist tendencies that truly shape the Durkheimian ideology. It will be argued that the predestined end idealized in his ideology of society as a whole and of social formations causes the theory to depart from understanding social evolution and commenting on social phenomena, but instead being shaped by the anxiety of how to rule a society. The fear of chaos and instability and the devotion to a unified social order indispensably leads the theory maker to shape a scientific study of how to rule and govern a society in order to prevent all the possibilities of chaos or 'anomie'. The professional organizations become the key concept of any social phenomena in Durkheimian social engineering process, which covers all aspects of politics as well. Not only the economic life or other social acts but also the servitude as medieval agencies in political arena are designed to be the duty of the corporations in his social engineering process. Even the independent, accelerated social progress is sacrificed in order to establish a society of stability and to preserve such stability for the sole aim of resisting social 'anomie'. Conservatism, in this sense, underlies the theory in every aspect. Change is accepted only if gradual and if not threatens the social

order and social solidarity. Departure from the social formation based on corporations and conservatist perception is defined to be the cause of social illness and anomie. This study aims to clarify all these aspects of Durkheim's ideology in detail, beginning from his background and continuing with his studies of division of social labor and social formations derived from it and showing the corporatist and conservatist tendencies in his studies.

Durkheim's *Division of Social Labor in Society* not only studies social phenomena in their natural existence, but also points to a solution which he thinks would prevent any possibility of social crisis. He gives the one and only alternative, which he believes is the ideal end to be reached and is the only alternative to the unorganized society lost in the process of modernization because of lack of any regulation and authority: the establishment of a corporative social and economic structure. Indeed, as we will see, there is a political aim in all of his studies and in every word he defines for sociology. The message is repeated in every word he uses and every study he makes comprise an effort of expressing it within a scientific methodology. The importance of Durkheim's studies, in this respect, is the way he serves for the need of solidarity and unity and expressing his ideology within a scientific framework. This study mainly considers the 'scientific' background of Durkheim yet this consideration will be beyond his contributions to sociology and his methodology but will investigate how his knowledge is and will be

used. In short, what will be investigated is what for the scientific knowledge of Durkheim politically serves.

In order to point to the corporatist ideology which shapes Durkheim's social theory of modernization, we shall first briefly examine the social turmoil, which he is born into and in which he attains his intellectual formation: The era of Third French Republic. Considering the social spirit raised up with crisis, we see that the theory it creates will obviously regard first and foremost the moral consolidation of a society and of determining its reestablishment for today and for the future and social and political stabilization. His studies on corporative structures of the *ancient regime*, as we shall see, would give him the inspiration for social tools that can be used in establishment of social, economic and political solidarity. The corporative structure, in a world of diversified and specialized form of economic order, shall not only serve for the economic interest but shall also consider the needs of society for social solidarity, since an ideal society can never be defined to exist without it. In general, we see Durkheim in search of ways of establishing the corporative structure and of preserving it with the assumption of this structure having stability if the society is reestablished in the way he proposes in his theory.

For Durkheim the ideal society is, one that has organic solidarity in progress and hand in hand with the division of labor. In order to define his ideal society, he would define solidarity to be organic; a solidarity that would be the outcome of an interdependent structure of division of labor. For clarification and differentiation of this ideal society, primitive and traditional society would be defined and examined. The concept of solidarity would be redefined for the case of primitive societies as to be inorganic and mechanical, with each part resembling the other. Furthermore, the qualifications for each society would be pointed out to clarify the difference between the two, as the case of law-abiding society under consideration.

The ideal solidarity to be established would of course require the definition of cases of deviations from the ideal or the 'normal', and should be called as the 'pathological' and 'anomie'. Anomie would be defined as the crisis that societies inevitably face because of existence and functioning without any authority of moral regulation. Once the theory is defined and legitimized by showing the disaster if deviated from his 'normal' social order, the corporations would be pointed out as the only means which can serve for the formation of a structural organization for social stability. Since he regards the modern society as being based on economic diversification and specialization, the corporations in his theory would be professional occupations comprised of individuals of the same profession.

He would define and distress individualism, but the existence of the individual and of the individual roles would be accepted only if the individual is conceived within the collectivity. Professional occupations would serve to comprise the individual in the moral collectivity, which would ensure individual as well as social happiness. Their servitude for the society, however, would be endless; besides establishment of a moral way of life for the individual, they would ensure the fulfillment of functioning of the economy and also of the political sphere. A nation and a state would be defined in terms of occupational organization and corporatist ideology.

Once the society is idealized within the context of corporatist ideology, the means to conserve such an ideal state of social affairs should be ensured. Then the corporatist ideology of Durkheim would also comprise conservative tendencies. Progress in the process of modernization would be indispensable for the theory to reach the ends of 'normal' socialization. However, the progress has to be slow and gradual in order to prevent social chaos and crisis. All social phenomena and every social act taken should be devoted to the continuity of the social order and stability as well as the establishment of the order.

In the light of these views, my study will be divided into chapters that would help clarify Durkheim's conception of society and how his theory eventually leads to corporatist and conservatist tendencies.

The second chapter will cover his milieu, his educational background, forerunners and the social instability he witnesses, the era of The Third French Republic, both in the political and economic sense. Dreyfus Affair will be considered within this chapter since it is one of the hottest social debates withheld during his milieu and to show his political concern as an intellectual.

The third chapter will consider his effort of engineering a society, which is idealized within the concept of social solidarity. The scientific study of a predestined social order and the social model he draws will also be examined in this chapter. We will see how he defines the ideal social order by way of social solidarity and qualifications he makes among societies as being 'primitive' or 'modern' within the light of social solidarity. We will also see his definition of social 'normality' and social 'illness', stressing anomie as a result of deviations from the social order.

The fourth chapter will examine his study of division of social labor, which he accepts as the outcome of modernization. In addition we would see how he himself defines the division of labor that would serve for a stable and

qualified social order in the process of modernization. The formation of division of social labor, the causes that lead to such a social formation and how it evolves within a society will also be covered within this chapter.

In the fifth chapter, the corporatist tendencies of his theory will be studied in detail all through his work and his praise to corporations as the backbone of his social theory will be shown. The social model he proposes to serve in an organization of a society and the social roles he gives to corporations will be clarified. Closely related to the corporatist aspects of Durkheim, his conservatist tendencies that underlie his theory and his conservatist conception of the social world will follow as the sixth chapter.

CHAPTER 2

DURKHEIM: HIS TIME AND INTELLECTUAL FORMATION IN A NATION OF CRISIS

2.1 His Milieu

No man, especially a sociologist, can resist the influences and the effects of his milieu especially if the case is similar to that of Durkheim's. The child of crisis, chaos and unrest and the sociologist of the future that would devote himself to the salvation of his country and his people; these surely summarize Emile Durkheim.

Emile Durkheim was born on 15 April 1858 in Epinal, France. He came from a Jewish family, the father being a rabbi like the grandfather and the great-grandfather, a family with modest resources for living. He was the youngest child of the family with a brother and two sisters. He was grown up in a family, which elevated hardwork and effort. There was a law of the family; nothing would and should refrain one from fulfilling his duties and there was a strong solidarity among the family members. This was not peculiar to Durkheim's family indeed, since solidarity among members of religious minorities and the families comprised within these minorities, was much

stronger than those who were not involved. Such a family background would shape the personality of Emile Durkheim. As Georges Davy puts; "scorn for the inclination to conceal effort, disdain for success unachieved by effort, horror for everything not positively grounded, and most important of all, acquaintance with the life of the individual within the framework of the group, truths through their rationally established implications, conduct by its moral regulation."¹

He went to a local school in Epinal, *The College d'Epinal*, and became a local story of success as a brilliant child. When he was twelve, he witnessed the German invasion of Epinal and he observed anti-Semitism closely since Jews were blamed for defeats. However, the French defeat would plant the seeds of a great patriotism in his soul like all the others who belonged to his generation and who would later become the future intellectuals like Durkheim. Camille Jullian, a historian and his contemporary would call this tendency as 'long-suffering and easily offended patriotism' and as the characteristic of their generation. Their task would then be to help the revival of France. Gambetta, a Radical representing the Republic together with Thiers, in the so-called era of the Republic of the Republicans, and who put every effort to strengthen and to

¹ J.Seigel, 'Autonomy and Personality in Durkheim: An Essay on Content and Method', Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume.48 No:3, p.494

elevate the Republic, would later become an idol in nationalism and of the Republic for Durkheim.²

Having completed the *Concours General* successfully, Durkheim was now ready for Paris and for *Ecole Normale Superior*. He was admitted to the *Ecole* in 1879. The years he spent in the *Ecole* would be the maturity stage of his philosophical and ideological perception. He would break off all his ties with Judaism in search for a scientific and a positive expression and would begin studying on morality and socialization.³

There at the *Ecole*, he would meet the great intellectual minds and potential academicians, philosophers, psychologists, historians and geographers of the future. He would have the chance to have conversations and debates with Henri Bergson, Jean Jaures who would later become to be known as an ardent Republican, Gustave Belot, Edmond Goblot, Felix Rauh, Maurice Blondel on philosophy, Pierre Janet on psychology, Henri Berr in history, Camille Jullian on Roman history and Lucien Gallois on geography. All shared the life in the *Ecole*, a life of hard study, discussions and debates where all were isolated from the outside world as the *Ecole* dictated. Durkheim would later criticize this dictated isolation and as Holleaux, Durkheim's Hellenist

² S.Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, London 1973, p.41

³ *ibid.*, p.44

colleague, writes; "He had been wishing for the end of the year, the vacation time, the moment when he would be allowed to live again among 'good and simple people'."⁴ Good and simple people were those who made up the society and the Republic that he was in love with. Outside, there was the world of the Republic, of France waiting to be elevated to the level it deserved. He was devoted to politics at the *Ecole*, and together with Jean Jaurres, he was watching the reforms of Gambetta, whom he believed to be heroic defender of justice and peace for the ideal society and Jules Ferry's anticlerical educational reforms. He would enter into endless debates on politics with his friends and would show ambition in his arguments on philosophy and politics showing the intensity of excitement they brought about in him.⁵

The second year at the *Ecole*, was the turning point for Durkheim as it was the time when he began studying morality, society and sociology and the earlier studies of the former thinkers.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.48

⁵ *ibid.*, p.47

2.2 Ideology of The Third French Republic and Review of The Political Aura

Considering the era of the Third Republic (1870-1914), one very important event that takes place just before the establishment of the Republic, should be mentioned since it clarifies the reasons for the fall of the reign of Napoleon III and the psychology that would shape the ideological and political context of the following regimes. In fact, towards the end of the reign of Napoleon III, history witnesses the fall of France once the foremost power in Europe. Accordingly, the history witnesses the alterations in the balance of power in the Continent.⁶ Besides the chaos and riots inside, the external affairs of Napoleon III with other European countries meant a significant loss of respect for France. This clearly explains why Napoleon III failed to find even an ally when he declared war against Prussia in July 1870 while the whole Germany united against him.⁷ Not being aware of the chances against a well-prepared army ready and willing to fight with an unprepared and unorganized army, settles the scene for the end of the reign of Napoleon III in 4 October 1870. Later, National Defense Government would appoint the National Assembly as the governing power in February 1871 in Bordeaux, and would continue to fight against Germany till May 1871. 10 May 1871 was the day that the Frankfurt Treaty, the official acceptance of France of the loss of

⁶ J.P.T. Bury, *France (1814-1940)*, London 1991, p.135

⁷ *ibid.*, p.135

Alsace-Lorraine and a heavy burden of financial obligations, was signed.⁸ The Third Republic would be established just after the loss of war with Germany and the humiliating Frankfurt Treaty.

The Third Republic, beginning from its establishment, suffered from social and political chaos and unrest, which were not new phenomena in French history. In fact, history of France, especially the era following the Revolution of 1789, had been the stage for a play based on the scenario of Revolution being performed over and over again. Each government, even at times of peace, changed every few months and riots and social chaos were never resolved permanently.⁹ The 1789 Revolution was not an end of conflict of bourgeoisie over the nobility, or of diversified classes but was just the beginning of a 'revolutionary tradition'.¹⁰ The conflict continued between the victorious bourgeoisie of the Revolution, determined to defend and consolidate its power and interests, and the unprivileged lower-middle class and the exploited proletariat. The aftermath of the Revolution was not a scene of peace and settlement, but rather a scene of diverse conglomeration of people and of diversity of political interests among the 'nation', if there was any hindsight to

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.136-138

⁹ R.Tombs, *France (1814-1914)*, London 1996, pp.7-31

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.7

call it as such.¹¹ The Republic had to govern many diverse opponents; monarchists, Orleanists and Bonapartists on the Right, syndicalists, and anarchists on the Left. The Third Republic was the 'smallest denominator' or 'the government that divides us least' as M.Thiers, the first personal figure of the Republic, would call. After the constitution of 1875, the main preoccupations of France were internal; reconstruction after the ravages of the war, fulfillment of the peace treaty and the establishment of a stable government. The Third Republic could serve as the smallest denominator only if the widely accepted values of 1789 Revolution were established; a methodology or a philosophy of life, sociology in this case, replacing that of religion, nationalism and solidarism in politics and freedom of expression, secularism and education as the intellectual heritage. A collective regeneration, a transformation from decadence and individualism to a spirit of nationality and solidarism would then be the sole aim of the Third Republic.¹²

It is inevitable at this point, to remember the trauma of the defeat of France against Germany in 1870, which reinforced solidarism and nationalism in France. There was a political mission to remobilize and reanimate the disappointed and humble nation after the loss of the war. Decline of nationalism in France was seen as the main cause of the loss of power outside

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp.1-4

¹² *ibid.*, pp.435-453

and thus the loss of the war. The rise of nationalism in Germany, promoting cultural identity, priority of society over individual, ethnic homogeneity and particular history conditioned the change in nationalism in 19th century France.¹³ Nationalism of the French Revolution, was a liberal, universal, progressive and egalitarian ideology. In the 19th century, however, we see French intellectual elite, Taine, Augustin Thierry, Guizot, Ernest Renan, Jules Michelet and many others, concentrating on the fortification of the national memory and invigoration of national past.¹⁴ Heroes or heroines like Jean D'Arc were created as myths and examples of superiority of the sacrifice of oneself for the nation and elevating the French nation to a level, which was the highest of all. Such romantic nationalism, however, was accompanied by the criticism of liberal democracy. Gustave Le Bon's works are crucial to understand the political context of the Third Republic. Le Bon was able to provide a psychological substructure in his thoughts as most of the critiques of liberal nationalism. In his *Psychologie des Foules*, Le Bon bases his theory on the clear analogy between the individual and crowd but having great political implications. He encouraged statesmen to learn crowd psychology since knowing the art of impressing the imagination of crowds was to know the art of governing them. Practical politics would thus be shaped with the social

¹³ See Eugen Weber 'Gauls versus Franks: Conflict and Nationalism' in Tombs, Robert Nationhood and Nationalism in France, pp.8-21

¹⁴ Jacques Barzun, 'Romantic Historiography as a Political Force in France' Journal of History of Ideas, Volume 2, No.3, pp.318-329

sciences. We would see similar idea of shaping and governing a nation through social sciences in Durkheimian ideology too.¹⁵

2.3 Dreyfus Affair and Social Implications

In order to show the extent of nationality and hostility against those who were seen as threats to the nation following the French defeat against Germany, the Dreyfus Affair must be included in our discussion. Alfred Dreyfus was the only General Staff of the French Army who had a Jewish origin. He was born in Alsace and fluent in his German. Though being an ardent patriot himself, belonging to a minority that was already seen as a potential threat to France in her fight with the outer enemies, had made him the enemy of the Extreme Right and the anti-Semitic press under the leadership of *La Libre Parole* especially after the discovery of the French War Office that there had been a leakage of military information to the German Embassy. Following the investigations, Alfred Dreyfus was found guilty and arrested in 1894. By a secret court he was tried in December and sentenced to life imprisonment. In January 1895, he was publicly degraded and then dispatched to Devil's Island and was kept in solitary confinement although General Mercier, The Minister of War was not satisfied with the evidence against Dreyfus. Until the end of 1897, the matter was left behind. His

¹⁵ Robert Nye, 'Two Paths to a Psychology of Social Action: Gustave Le Bon and Georges Sorel' *The Journal of Modern History*, Volume 45, No.1, pp.411-438

family, convinced in his innocence, was in search for evidence that would clear him. Colonel Picquart, an intelligence officer had come across conclusive evidence that the document identical in writing to that of the famous memorandum put against Dreyfus had been written by another officer of foreign extraction, Esterhazy. After a detailed examination, Picquart came to the conclusion that the evidence against Dreyfus was not satisfying and that he was wrongly condemned and that Esterhazy was the real criminal. So he declared the need for a revision of the trial. This caused anxiety in the military of loss of trust in military justice and another scandal. A formal proof of forgery was put forward against Dreyfus to prevail a revision from being held, and Picquart was sent to North Africa for an official duty. But once the seeds of suspicion were planted in the minds of those who believed in justice. In fact, a Dreyfusard Party was formed to work for the revision of the trial to be held. Working together with Scheurer-Kestner, the vice-president of the Senate, they brought a formal charge against Esterhazy. Though Meline, the Prime Minister, declared that there was no Dreyfus Affair anymore but only the Esterhazy Case, debate greatly held within the public and French society. The debate was even greater when Emile Zola, the novelist, published an open letter to the President. In his letter, Emile Zola accused a number of Generals and high officers of procuring the condemnation of Dreyfus by a document not communicated to the defense and of being in favor of Esterhazy. Republic was now divided. It brought about the resentment between the Right and the Left,

and Dreyfus Affair now became a political tool used by the politicians on either sides. There was an ongoing war between The Right Wing, the Nationalists, the patriots, in close association with the Army, anti-Semitism and the Church, on one side and the Republicans and believers of equality of citizens on the other. In the summer of 1898, Cavaignac, the new Radical Minister of War, attempted to establish Dreyfus's guilt by public disclosure of some of the evidence in the Chamber and this made the revision of the trial inevitable. Picquart, in his letter to the Prime Minister, Brisson, told that he could prove that the documents and evidence against Dreyfus were either falsified or a forgery. The forgery of the document put later in the dossier just before Picquart left for North Africa, was confirmed by the intelligence officer of the War Office. Revision of the trial would be made by the section of the Court Cassation, known as the Criminal Chamber. However since there were Protestants and freethinkers, in February 1899, the anti-Dreyfusards passed a special law allowing the case to be transferred to the whole court. He was found guilty by the Court in July 1899 but the President of the Republic pardoned him saying that the Affair should now be left behind. However, the Dreyfusards were not pleased despite the President's decision. Thus a second revision was carried out by the Court of Cassation in 1906. The Chamber passed a special resolution for Dreyfus' rehabilitation and he was promoted in rank together with Picquart.¹⁶

¹⁶ J.P.T. Bury, *France (1814-1940)*, pp.183-9

The social implications of the trial and resistance to its revision are of great importance in French history and politics. It became the question of choice of nationalism even at the expense of citizen individuals on one hand and of the individual and citizen rights on the other. On one side were the anti-revisionists thinking that a new trial would harm the interests of the nation as a whole, and revisionists on the other, questioning the justice of the trials and the threat to the rights of an individual as the outcome. It was a case concerning all Jews as a minority of the nation, the equality recognized and given to them by law but their legal rights were now endangered and danger nourished by the anti-Semitic press. 'The Dreyfus Affair was even used in party intrigue, by the Reactionaries against the Republic, by the Clericals against the non-Catholics, by the anti-Clericals against the Church, by the military party against the Parliamentarians and by the revolutionary Socialists against the Army. It was even used by rival Republicans against each other.' as John Edward Courtenay Bodley writes.¹⁷

Another party, which was included in the argument about the Dreyfus Affair, a party with no smaller role than that of the army staff or of the politicians, was that of the intellectuals. Especially the war between the intellectuals and nationalists, including the anti-Dreyfusard intellectuals or those who believed in nationalism, was of great interest to the public. Emile

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.188

Zola was an obvious figure in the Dreyfusard Party. Another name included in the same debate, was Emile Durkheim who is our main concern in this paper. His name was in a local newspaper declaring that he had written a letter to Zola, appreciating what he had done and asking his students to countersign the letter.¹⁸ Although Durkheim would later refuse the existence of such a letter, he accepted having told his students that he 'personally thought that one ought to protest against the grave illegalities appeared during the trials of 1894'. However he refused having told his students what to do.¹⁹ Indeed, Durkheim was satisfied with the intellectuals involved in a social debate of the Dreyfus Affair. He told that such an agitation was useful for the intellectuals to learn how to deal with real social questions and to make themselves heard. As Steven Lukes states 'he saw it as introducing political life a new degree of moral seriousness and public participation.'²⁰ For the Dreyfus Affair, Durkheim states;

...there was no great impersonal cause to which one could devote oneself, no elevated end to which men's will could adhere...as soon as a grave question of principle was raised, one saw the scientists leave their laboratories and the scholars their studies, and they drew near to the crowd, took part in its life; and experience has shown that they knew how to make themselves heard.²¹

¹⁸ S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, p.333

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ *ibid.*, p.334

Thus the point here is that, before the Dreyfus Affair, intellectuals were never raised with a social question as critic and as debatable as the Affair, which could activate them and made them a real part of the society. Intellectuals, indeed, have taken a significant role especially when they publicly declared in *The Manifesto of the Intellectuals*, that they protested the violation of judicial procedure and mystery withheld in the Esterhazy Case.²² Durkheim, on the other hand, would be deeper involved in the argument when he replied Ferdinand Brunetiere, a historian and a critic, who defended the army in his article *Apres Le Proces*, published in 1898. In his article, Ferdinand Brunetiere stated that the social order was threatened by the ideas of 'individualism' and 'anarchy' and blamed intellectuals as the leading figures for creating such ideas and causing real harm to the society.²³ Durkheim's reply to Brunetiere would come in an article entitled *Individualism and the Intellectuals*, in which he stated that the intellectual mind would reject to 'bend their logic at the word of an army general' and that 'reason was above authority and the rights of the individual were imprescriptible.'²⁴ He would continue;

...in order to know whether a court of justice can be allowed to condemn an accused man without having heard his defense, there is no need for nay special expertise. It is a problem of practical morality

²² *ibid.*, p.336

²³ *ibid.*, p.337

²⁴ E. Durkheim, *On Morality and Society*, London 1973, p.43

concerning which every man of good sense is competent and about which one ought to be indifferent.²⁵

He goes on pointing out to the loss of respect for the individual, which would be a real threat for the existence of society. He would state that those who caused injustice to individual rights, just as those did to Dreyfus, "could not be freely allowed to occur without weakening the sentiments they violate; and these sentiments are all we have in common, they cannot be weakened without disturbing the cohesion of the society."²⁶ He believed that as societies grew in volume, traditions and traditional practices would disappear sooner or later. However 'the idea of the human person' would remain as the sole idea that would still hold a nation by keeping morality alive. Durkheim's reply was interesting for some writers since it seemed to be contrary to his reputation as an anti-individualistic, anti-liberal and as a right-wing nationalist and a forerunner of twentieth century nationalism. Actually nothing seems out of line when individualism in Durkheimian ideology is studied in detail. Though his words in *The Individualism and the Intellectuals*, defend individualism as ardent as Liberals, he nevertheless defines his conception of the individual and which still points to another unity, in fact to something religious. He even argues that "individualism is the only system of beliefs which can ensure the

²⁵ S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, p.342

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.343

moral unity of the country.”²⁷ He maintains, “The only thing necessary for society to be coherent is that its members have their eyes fixed on the same goal, concur in the same faith.”²⁸ In his work, *The Division of Labor in Society*, he argues that;

...it is through the division of labor...the cohesion of societies would be ensured...if this is the real function of the division of labor, it must possess a moral character, since needs for order, harmony and social solidarity are generally reckoned to be moral ones.²⁹

In his article, *Individualism and the Intellectuals*, though stressing the importance of the individual as a sacred being, he also states;

...it is exceedingly clear that all communal life is impossible without the existence of interests superior to those of the individual...But in reality he receives dignity from a higher source, one which he shares with all men...It is humanity which is worthy of respect and sacred. Now it is not all in him. It is diffused among all his fellowmen and consequently he cannot adopt it as the aim of his conduct without being obliged to come out of himself and relate to others.³⁰

Individual, in Durkheimian theory, does never mean individual alone by himself but rather and always a product of the society and there always exist concerns higher than his own. Society is a whole but individual by himself is never free in definition. He is never freed from the society that comprises him.

²⁷ E. Durkheim, *On Morality and Society*, p.50

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.48

²⁹ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, New York 1984, p.24

³⁰ E. Durkheim, *On Morality and Society*, p.44

Self-satisfaction should never be thought as apart from the satisfaction of the whole. Otherwise, chaos and confusion in the society will be inevitable. "Society cannot be coherent if there does not exist among its members a certain intellectual and moral community."³¹ In contrast to those who believe that religion can serve such a means, he states that the religion can change and "religion of humanity, of which the individualistic ethic is the rational expression, is the only one possible."³² Thus "the individualist who defends the rights of the individual defends at the same time the vital interests of the society."³³ In this sense individualism is 'truly national'³⁴ but by individualism one must never understand an egoistic one, where an individual's existence is free from and above that of the society. In reality, the religion of the individual was socially instituted, as were all known religions.³⁵ It is obvious that, whatever becomes the subject matter of debate; the thing, which is constant in Durkheim's theory, is solidarity. In the above passages, we see that he defines the individual as being sacred and individualism as a new object of morality that would ensure social cohesion and solidarity. He would always fear chaos

³¹ *ibid.*, p.51

³² *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*, p.54

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ *ibid.*

and unrest in society. Durkheim's concept of individualism, differs a great extent from that of Hobbes, Rousseau's' or Montesquieu's. In fact, at no point of his intellectual maturity, he places the individual above the society and individual concerns above that of the society's. Thus for me it is arguable that even in *The Individualism and The Intellectuals*, he shows a departure from the main motive of solidarity.

2.4 Economic Crisis

The economic background of the republic was not less confusing than the political background. The scene after the Revolution was also one of great changes in the economic sphere, of rapid industrialization, of a change in density of population as the outcome of urbanization. For France, the period from 1870 to 1914, the transformation to a modern industrial society was at its climax. A severe agricultural depression caused by a huge influx of cheap wheat and meat from the American Middle West hit hard the tenant farmers. The situation aggravated by outbreak of phylloxera which ruined the vine yards of France and decreased French wine production from 83,000,000 hectolitres in 1875 to 24,000,000 in 1889.³⁶ The crash of the Union Generale Bank, to which many of the small farmers and rural investors had committed their savings, in 1882 added to the economic disaster of the period.³⁷ All the combined effects

³⁶ J.P.T. Bury, *France (1814-1940)*, p.166

³⁷ *ibid.*

of economic distress had two important implications in social life of France. Firstly it accelerated population movement from the countryside to towns, causing a significant change in the density of the population and causing a shift in economic production from agriculture to industry. Secondly, the economic distress reduced the demand for many of the consumer goods bringing depression even in the newly forming industrial sectors.³⁸ The era of the Third Republic then was a period of rural exodus and growth of cities and the establishment of a powerful industrial working class with its own social, professional and cultural organizations.³⁹ Such great changes in social structure, however, resulted in social alienation and disintegration by atomizing individuals and manipulating a materialist culture. The unequal wealth distribution that France encountered during the period of modernization, made the socialism and anarchism as continuous threats to the Republican regime.⁴⁰

Two great social events, the Boulangist crisis and the Dreyfus Affair caused a shocking effect on French society. Democracy was condemned by a significant section of intellectuals as an immoral regime making individuals enemies to others and to the public interest. Then solidarism emerged as the

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ See Gordon Millan, Brian Rigby and Jill Forbes 'Industrialization and its Discontents, 1870-1914' in Jill Forbes and Micheal Kelly (ed) French cultural Studies: An Introduction, 1995, pp.11-54

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

official philosophy of the Third Republic with the task of integrating the differentiated and conflicting segments of the society.⁴¹

As most of his contemporaries Durkheim as a sociologist of the Third Republic was dissatisfied with the philosophical disciplines and the lack of security for the Third Republic. His aim was to contribute to the moral consolidation of the Third Republic and to end social unrest and chaos in France. The Third Republic was a regime, which aimed to establish democracy and democratic institutions. However it lacked the social morality and moral unity necessary to achieve order in society and for the Republic to succeed against the threat of disintegration and opposition. It was realized soon that all of these had to be on a secular basis since the church and the religion were the legacy of the old regime and for secularity secular education was required.⁴² The Republic would build itself on the ideals of democracy, secularism and positive sciences since social order was to be understood and maintained only if the nature was truly learned and understood.

Under these circumstances, secularism and positive sciences were taken for granted. Durkheim, in one of his studies, pointed out that "nothing is more

⁴¹ R. Winnacker, 'The Third French Republic: 1870-1914', The Journal of Modern History, Volume 10 No.3 pp.372-409

⁴² H. Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*, New York 1961 p.38

capable of awakening in young minds the love of scientific exactitude, of breaking them of the habit of vague and metaphysical speculations.”⁴³ Durkheim’s studies aimed to outline the fundamental principles of an independent positive science of social facts, which is necessary for the study of social phenomena and sociology as a secular science. Durkheim was anxious to play a role in reconstruction of his nation morally and he had the mission to formulate the social reforms required for this aim. He was aware of the efficacy and the necessity of scientific procedure for his formulation.

2.5 Forerunners of Durkheim

As a young sociologist, Durkheim met Louis Liard who was the *Directeur de l'Enseignement superieur* and was an ardent believer in the necessity of a scientific study of social life. He also believed that the moral reconstruction of the Third Republic could only be achieved by the ‘universal methods of science’ and he affected Durkheim to decide to see the land of Kant and Hegel.⁴⁴ During his stay in Germany, Durkheim devoted himself to investigation of the methods and contents of the instruction in philosophy in German universities and to the study of the state of the social sciences in Germany especially the science of ethics. Durkheim in the light of his observations and studies, writes;

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

M.Lavisse has told us how history can and ought to render service to national education. Philosophy should dedicate itself to the same task, which it has too frequently neglected; and it is particularly in France that this duty is incumbent upon it. We are -to our misfortune perhaps- thirsty for logic. We wish above all to know the *raison d'être* of national sentiments and patriotic faith; whether they are founded in the nature of things or whether, as is maintained-openly or not- by so many doctrinaire persons, they are only prejudices and survivals of barbarism. Now these problems belong to psychology. It is necessary, in order to answer them, to teach students the nature of sympathy and sociability, and to make them see completely their reality and their advantages. It is necessary to explain to them our personality is for the greater part made up of borrowings and that taken out of the physical and social environment, which envelops him, man is only an abstraction. It is necessary, finally, to show them that sympathy is exercised only in the midst of groups that are unequally extensive but always confined and closed, and to indicate the place of the fatherland among these groups. To the teacher of philosophy also belongs the task of awakening in the minds that are confided to his care the idea of what a law is, of making them understand that physical and social phenomena, like other things, are facts subject to laws that the human will cannot upset simply by willing, and that consequently revolutions, in the true sense of the word, are things as impossible as miracles.⁴⁵

Durkheim here asserts that philosophy should serve national education. Indeed, he was greatly influenced by the German universities and the communal and corporate life he saw. He was deeply satisfied when compared to his dissatisfaction of the France's emphasize on individualism and originality.⁴⁶ He would comment as 'scarcely contestable that what we most need at the moment is to reawaken in ourselves the taste for collective life.'⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, p.86

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.87

Though he criticized Germanic system in some respects, he was influenced by the Kantian philosophy, another strand of German idealism and when this philosophy is applied to social sciences it is concerned with the ways in which our thought, our ideas and our ways of thinking organize the social world. Durkheim thought that he could solve the dualism of Kantian theory by applying it to the society. He thought that the frameworks, which we employ to organize our experience come from experience itself. However it is different from the experience considered by empirical sciences. For Durkheim, the experience we organize, is our own day-to-day individual experience of the world and our ability to organize comes from our experience of collective life, the life of our society. Each society, depending on its organization, generates its own conceptions of time and space, and logical connection.⁴⁸ Durkheim, on the other hand, refused the Kantian separation of the logic and the psychic world in his study *The Rules* where he outlined the scientific method of study.

Given the dissatisfaction of Durkheim with philosophical disciplines, study of philosophy in a broader sense and philosophical influence was inevitable for him and indeed taken for granted by the intellectual elite. When studying social phenomena, philosophical influence was inevitable since the questions he raised in order to establish a secular background for the formulation of a social order, were closely related to that of the philosophers.

⁴⁸ I. Craib, *Classical Social Theory*, New York 1997, p.73

In fact sometimes, even the social conditions were similar to his own like that of Comte's. Comte has produced his work in the wake of the political trauma of the French Revolution itself. Durkheim's works were based on the trauma of the Paris Commune and the era of attempts to reorganize the Republic, which was the legacy of the Revolution. Two periods were similar in that during both periods the political order was unstable and fragile and needed to be scientifically reestablished.⁴⁹ In fact, Durkheim was a sociologist of an intellectual world, which was dominantly Comtist, Spencerist and Darwinist.⁵⁰ Comtism aside from the similarities in the background, influenced Durkheim especially with the way it grasped the social phenomena by positive methods and in that scientific knowledge is replacing primitive imaginary beliefs. Philosophy itself is rendered null and void by science, for the latter is the sole instrument capable of resolving philosophical problems.⁵¹ Durkheim asserted that social science needed 'a nature to observe' and Comte was the one who gave social science 'a concrete reality to know.'⁵² For Comte, a society was 'no more decomposable into individuals than a geometric surface into lines or a line into points'.⁵³ As Durkheim observed, for Comte, society was 'as real as a

⁴⁹ T. Benton, *Philosophical Foundations of the Three Sociologies*, London 1977, pp.81-82

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.82

⁵¹ S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, p.67

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ *ibid.*

living organism' though he recognized that it could not exist apart from individuals.⁵⁴ Comte saw that the whole was greater than the sum of its parts, but also without the parts it would be nothing.⁵⁵ Comte thought that 'the social' was highest in rank and chain of being. Thus Comte gave sociology 'an object which belonged to it alone and a positive method for studying it', as Durkheim stated.⁵⁶ Durkheim was influenced from Spencer on his method of studying social phenomena as studying an organism. In *The Study of Sociology*, Spencer stated that 'the properties of the aggregate are determined by the properties of its units' and he reflected his knowledge of society in his knowledge of functioning of an organism with society.⁵⁷ For Spencer society was 'itself being an organism transformed and perfected', continuous with, but also distinct from, the biological organism although he criticized Spencer in his failure to see the social aspect of modern societies, failure to see that as societies grew larger, the scale of social influence grew alongside that of individual action and his conception of individual liberty in industrial societies was an extreme laissez-faire one.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.82

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

The influence of all of the above philosophers and sociologists can be traced back on Durkheim's works which he dedicated his life but one we have not mentioned yet is the most important of all. Durkheim's own words of him were as follows: 'If you wish to mature your thought, devote yourself to a great master; take a system apart, laying bare its innermost secrets. That is what I did and my educator was Renouvier.'⁵⁹ What was so influential about Renouvier for Durkheim and all other French liberal republicans at the end of the nineteenth century? The answer is his strict rationalism, his concern with morality and most of all his determination to study it scientifically, his neo-Kantianism emphasizing the compatibility of the determinism of nature with the freedom presupposed by morality, his Kantian concern with the dignity and autonomy of the individual together with his theory of social cohesion based on the individual's sense of unity with and dependence on others, his preference for justice over utility and denial that the first can be derived from the second, his notion of existing society being in a state of war and his view of the State's role being to establish 'social justice' in the economic sphere, his advocacy of associations, such as producers' co-operatives, independent of the State, his case for secular, republican education in state schools and his underlying purpose of reconciling the sacredness of the individual with social solidarity. Durkheim was greatly satisfied and amazed with his works and described as 'the only system of beliefs which can ensure the moral unity of the country', the

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.55

moral unity of France itself, which was Durkheim's reason for being a sociologist.⁶⁰

3.1 Society as a unity

The question of what a society is, or what it means and what it contains, has been asked in many different ways. The question is not only about the nature of society, but also about the nature of the individual. The question is not only about the nature of society, but also about the nature of the individual. The question is not only about the nature of society, but also about the nature of the individual.

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⁶⁰ *ibid.*

CHAPTER 3

SOLIDARITY: REESTABLISHING A SOCIETY

3.1 Society as a Unity

The question of what a society is, in fact, was the main question that many thinkers asked themselves before shaping their own ideas and theories. Thus it was not a question peculiar to Durkheim in this sense. Although they vary in some aspect, the answers to the same question have an intersection point where the society should be perceived and identified as a unity.

The word society is in fact a singular term that enables us to perceive a collectivity. The existence of a unity in the linguistic sense is confirmed in the practical usage of the language. Many thinkers indeed use singular words that associate the sense of unity in the discussion of society. The society for Gumpłowicz is the 'greater mind', the 'general will' for Rousseau, a 'living organism' for Spencer, an 'equilibrium' for Pareto and an 'organization' for Giddings.⁶¹

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.175

For Durkheim the society is an 'entity', an 'etre', a 'whole' and 'an organism' as for Spencer.⁶² The answer to the question of what a society was important for Durkheim because of the necessity to clarify the social modes and bonds within a society. The singular unity of Durkheim had the basic social mode and bond, which he would call solidarity and which raised many arguments among various sociologists on what it really comprises of.

Two basic arguments on the subject were symbolized with the name of Harry Alpert on one side and Le Capra on the other. Harry Alpert claims that the solidarity in Durkheimian terminology as a concept is used in objective, relational and non-ethical sense. To clarify the subject further, solidarity in the sense of ethics and political activation was put forth by Leon Bourgeois in his work *La Solidarite*. Bourgeois, in that study, laid down the principles of political and ethical movement that came to be known as solidarism. The book itself is considered as the manifestation of the solidarist movement. For solidarist movement, solidarity is a social duty and obligation, which extends to social debt.⁶³ Though he has the inkling of an anxiety in Durkheim about the moral questions and the reestablishment of the social unity, Harry Alpert asserts that Durkheimian solidarity differs from that of Bourgeois in the sense that Durkheim's solidarity is a *de facto* solidarity and the meaning conceives

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ H. Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*, p.178

only objective and relational phenomena. Harry Alpert even proposes to use another word like 'cohesion' which he thinks is more clarifying for Durkheim's solidarity and differentiating it from that of Bourgeois's.⁶⁴

La Capra objects Harry Alpert's perception of Durkheimian solidarity and would argue that solidarity used in Durkheimian terminology conceive moral and ethical sentiments included in the idea of reformation of a society.⁶⁵

3.2 Solidarity As a Political Tool

La Capra's opposition is indeed direct and keen since he asserts that Harry Alpert failed to understand solidarity, the most important concept of Durkheimian ideology. He proves this argument with the words of Celestin Bougle, one of nearest disciples of Durkheim. Bougle, in his work, *L'Evolution du Solidarisme*, published in 1903 and repeating later in an extended revision (*Le Solidarisme*) in 1924, involves Durkheim in the solidarist movement and places solidarism as a democratic individualism against dissolving, desiccating and aristocratic utilitarian individualism. For Bougle, solidarity is a concept enabling the transformation from the social conception of 'each man in his own home', or 'each man for himself' to the social conception of 'one for all and all

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ D. La Capra, *Emile Durkheim Sociologist and Philosopher*, Chicago 1985, p.70

for one' which implies social action and unity.⁶⁶ Bougle gives Durkheim's own words: 'One can say that there is not a single sociological proposition which is not a direct or indirect demonstration of solidarity.'⁶⁷ Durkheim here states that in parallel to the argument of La Capra, anything that can be told in connection to sociology would directly or indirectly stress solidarity and would take it as the reference point and this reality indeed needs no argument.

La Capra states that the division of social labor of Durkheim is a structure of modern society. The process of modernization had brought that structure into existence, and the relation of structure and process to moral solidarity among men in society.⁶⁸ He argues that *The Division of Labor in Society* further mentions about a unified social science by stressing the extraeconomic dimensions of economic activity. Apparently, for La Capra, Durkheim's ideological purpose was to subordinate the economy and materialistic manifesto motives to the moral and cultural needs of men in society.⁶⁹ In fact, I agree with La Capra on this argument since there is clear evidence in Durkheim's own writings that his conception of solidarity involves moral and ethical conclusions. Durkheim, in his argument of corporative organizations, states;

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.71

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp.71-72

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.82

...For if we deem it (the corporative organization) indispensable, it is not because of the services it might render the economy, but on account of the moral influence it could exercise. What we particularly see in the professional grouping is a moral force capable of curbing individual egoism, nurturing among workers a more enervated feeling of their common solidarity.⁷⁰

He even gives examples of such corporations from the ancient types, like that of Romans; In an appreciating tone he says that corporations 'have above all a moral role'.⁷¹ His argument of solidarity in *Division of Labor in Society* can be considered relational but it cannot be freed of any moral conception. In order to be able to establish a social order, Durkheim is clearly aware of the need of moral sentiments and common feelings as obvious in his own words:

It is impossible for men to live together and be in regular contact with one another without their acquiring some feeling for the group which they constitute through having united together, without their becoming attached to it, concerning themselves with its interests and taking into account in their behavior.⁷²

Parallel to the argument of La Capra that the division of labor is not limited with economic concerns but moral ones as well, Durkheim would state;

It is through the division of labor, or at least mainly through it, that the cohesion of societies would be ensured. It would determine the essential

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.83

⁷⁰ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.xxxix

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² *ibid.*, p.xliii

characteristic that constitutes them. By this very fact...if this is the real function of division of labor, it must possess a moral character since needs for order, harmony and social solidarity are generally reckoned to be moral ones.⁷³

Whence the subject of the meaning of solidarity is clarified, the function of solidarity in Durkheim's view should also be made clear. Bougle's principle question as whether solidarity serves the existing status quo or the social changes as a dynamic mediator would help in this effort.⁷⁴ In the Durkheimian expression, the answer to the Bougle's argument is that the existence of solidarity in a society would determine at what degree of normality or pathology is the society under consideration. The Durkheimian criteria of normality can be explained as the whole, which is harmoniously adjusted to each other through complementarity, mutual dependence, and smooth adjustment. Nevertheless, he accepts, that the world or the society contains also hostility and struggle because of normlessness, lack of regulation and unrestricted play of individual or collective self-interest. The extent of this case however changes in each society under consideration and is called pathology or anomic.⁷⁵

⁷³ *ibid.*, pp.23-24

⁷⁴ D. La Capra, *Emile Durkheim Sociologist and Philosopher*, p.72

⁷⁵ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.xx

Thus the question for Bougle and Durkheim is not about the existence or absence of solidarity. However the questions are in what ways solidarity would serve for the building of an ideal society and how and in what direction the idealized solidarity would serve the ideal in the political arena and in practice. In a society there would be the danger of blindness to the existence of pathology just because that society has solidarity in the naked form of the meaning. Then, there would occur the danger of repression against the individual. Emphasizing the existence of solidarity only and showing tolerance to the anomie in that society would prevent the salvation of the society by clearing away the unrest in the existing status quo and anomie by means of social change. At this point, not only the existence of the solidarity but also the quality of it, is the main question.

The scientific knowledge and concepts that social sciences, especially sociology, produce and discover, can be independent neither of the functioning of the society nor of its political structure. Durkheim, in a letter to Bougle, writes "the object of sociology as a whole is to determine the conditions for the conservation of societies."⁷⁶ Whence this reality is captured, La Capra's opposition to Alpert needs to be elevated to a higher level. For La Capra, the objective interdependence of solidarity is a social and cultural phenomenon involving all the levels of the society. When we add to La Capra's conception,

⁷⁶ S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, p.139

which holds true in Durkheimian ideology, the Durkheimian fact that the moral life should and can be shaped by the methods of positive sciences it is inevitable to come to the conclusion that scientific social studies to have political ends.⁷⁷ Durkheim's perspective of sociology as a means to conserve a society would involve every aspect of that society including politics.

Durkheim states that the social sense of solidarity is totally moral and has a subjective component in the sense of communal sentiment and personal commitment which can be observed together with the objective components in institutional and symbolic structures. Thus Durkheim's this statement should be considered in a political framework.⁷⁸ Durkheim had the intuition for subjective as well as objective reasons that the concept of solidarity will and should be the subject of argument by both the Left and the Right.⁷⁹

By accepting the necessity of solidarity for structural reforms, he argued that social reforms should be directed towards this very aim. From this point on, he states that the sloganist tendencies, as the subjective part keeping the individuals of the modern society together for psychological reasons, are the indispensable conditions of solidarity. However, because of the rationalist-

⁷⁷ D. La Capra, *Emile Durkheim Sociologist and Philosopher*, p.72

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.71

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

functionalist existence of the modern society, there is the necessity for solidarity to be institutionalized.

For Durkheim, solidarity is an internal social mode in society since at the very second that the social being defines himself as such and through all the stages of being of this social existence. Though he was interested in the place of solidarity in morality with the ethical side, for Durkheim these were just the subjective components of the reality of solidarity. In short, what was crucial for Durkheim was seeing the reality of solidarity as being the most important social mode in social unity.⁸⁰

The most important point here to pay attention in Durkheimian solidarity is the way he accepts it as constant. Whence this point is set, it is accepted *a priori* that whatever the structural conditions and historical background of the society is, solidarity remains as the social mode, which guarantees the social unity and the society itself. His quotation denotes:

But we can know causes scientifically only by the effects that they produce, in order to determine their nature, science chooses from these effects only by the most objective and the most easily measurable. Science studies heat through the variations in volume, which changes in temperature produce in bodies, electricity through its physico-chemical effects, force through movement. Why should social solidarity be an exception?⁸¹

⁸⁰ S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim His Life and Work*, p.78

⁸¹ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.26

The existence of solidarity since the formation of a society is accepted as constant, but what then differs among the societies that show different levels of economic and cultural development? Does solidarity have the same effects on each or is there any connection between the social change and progress and the solidarity? If so, does solidarity differ in quality in societies and if yes, how does it differ?

3.3 Solidarity: Qualifications of Social Order

Durkheim says that solidarity shows structural changes parallel to the structure of the society.⁸² Here, Durkheim as a Third Republic ideologist compares the modernized and progressive society of his own to the social background of the pre-Revolution France in the sense of historical evolution. His period was at the same time the scene for anthropological researches, which had deeply affected France and the continental Europe by defining the modern and the pre-modern differentiation. This necessitated Durkheim, to define and clarify the scale of differentiation of social solidarity in different social structures.

The necessity to move with the reference points that these anthropological and scientific point of view required, gave the most important concept of Durkheim, solidarity a strong meaning. As a result, this enables us

⁸² *ibid.*, p.xxvii

to perceive the modern society through Durkheim and the Third Republic, which was his reference point of study.

To understand the Durkheimian perception of solidarity in modern-functional society, we first need to understand the solidarity in primitive societies and thus the relative difference between the two.

The common or collective consciousness defines the social similitudes in Durkheimian terminology and make up the basis for the roots of solidarity as a phenomenon and serve as clues to the existence of it. Solidarity, where common consciousness is alive only by way of resemblance among the individuals in that society is mechanical solidarity. Society is based on the similitudes, likeness. Individual differences or departures from the common beliefs of the society are never accepted. The individual continues to be accepted as a part of the society so long as he acquires the same habits, attitudes, beliefs and values of the rest of the society. Mechanical solidarity is at its maximum when individuals are only reflections of the collective type and individual personality is zero. Individual is bounded to the society in such a manner that every detailed action of him is predetermined.⁸³ These societies are defined to be mechanical by Durkheim, because they are similar to the molecules of inorganic bodies, which lack any movement of their own.

⁸³ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.62

Individuals are not themselves anymore but the properties of the collective being. "The individual conscience...is simply a dependency of the collective type, and follows all its motions, just as the object possessed follows those which its owner imposes upon it."⁸⁴ These are the societies where the similitudes mean the existence or being, and are based on the collective consciousness, which is reflexive in formation in that society. This is the starting point for Durkheim, to define and differentiate the conditions of social gathering of millions of years in Ancient societies and the modern world after the Enlightenment. For Durkheim, the point of no specialization and of a distinction based on this specialization would be the point of fragility.⁸⁵ And such societies where the division of labor does not exist are those, which we can call mechanical and primitive. Durkheim claims that in a primitive-clan society, the existing unity would be open and fragile to the external effects. Thus the unity is threatened by its own strictness since it lacks the elasticity of adaptation and the structure of the society itself would ensure the effectiveness of these external causes. In fact, in such societies there will not be enough resistance to external causes as it would not matter either a reduction in its elements or the incorporation of outsiders just because they are alike and do not deviate from the collective type. They are not even concerning their role or place in the society. Such a solidarity or social bond can easily be broken for

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.85

⁸⁵ H. Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*, p.181

“the less resistant is plainly the one that snaps under the slightest pressure.”⁸⁶

Unity in a society where similarity includes everything is a fragile unity because of the impossibility of the existence of the individual and because of the individual defined together with the modernization and is an indispensable feature or an actor of modern societies.

The case where Durkheim defines modern solidarity reinforces the existence of the individual in the modern sense. The necessity of the existence of the individual in the modern world and the requirement of integration with the modern society leads Durkheim to the fact that there is a keen separation in the social mode of the solidarity. Individual as the origin of the axis of this separation corresponds to the conceptions of mechanical and organic solidarity.

The case of similitudes, the state of belonging and collective consciousness is mechanical solidarity. Organic solidarity on the other hand, is the case where individuals have the freedom to express themselves and where they interact in specialized interrelations by means of institutional tools and where the division of labor is the sovereign power.

Stating in an analogous, mechanical solidarity is the case where the individuals are the molecules of a body of water and where the society itself is

⁸⁶ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.102

the body of water.⁸⁷ Such a situation can be stated in other terms besides mechanical solidarity, as reflexive, spontaneous or inorganic solidarity. The complex organisms built up of separate organs, each with its own characteristic and each existing in its individuality and keeping the unity of the organism by means of preserving this individuality, are the analogy for functional interdependence in a narrow definition and organic solidarity in the broadest sense. The reason for organic solidarity to be defined as strong and enduring is the existence of this functional diversity, which serves as the base for the solidarity and the existence of a social organization that has the ability to maintain this functioning.

To understand the social ontology of Durkheim, we first need to understand this social structure and what it means for Durkheim. The crucial point here is the fundamental organicism in Durkheimian thought. His approach to organicism results in emphasizing biological metaphors like social body, social organism, morphology, physiology, health and pathology repeatedly in his writings of the social world.⁸⁸ This makes one think that the idea of a universal science is current in the Durkheim's thoughts and ideology. Organicism stated in social sciences even at the level of metaphors may be a search of power in the fickleness of the grounds of social sciences. As

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ J.M. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim*, New York 1995, p.15

Mannheim states, using analogies comes from the desire to know more about things and to be able express them in universally valid and demonstrable form. It is a desire for rationalization and the desire for knowledge to be socialized.⁸⁹

The incapability of the intellectual world to be connected to positivistic norm is due to the subject matter of investigation and the research to be stated in a modified method. The aim is to transform the world of vagueness, which is in assumption chaotic, to a chain of conceptions, which has internal consistency in its logic. Since in definition, only the identifiable systems, such as biology, can hold true, it is inevitable to refer to these symbols, which can point out to a broad range of matter. The efforts to unite the social world and to mention the organic totality of the society may be nothing more than an attempt to connect the ties within a system where the model is shaped *a priori*. To be able to observe social facts and to be able to make comments on these observations, the need for the existence or the creation of uniqueness is clear. We can see an example of such a tendency of social sciences in Durkheim's view of a relationship of organicism with the society- supracomplex organism-totality:

The law of the division of labor applies to organisms as to societies...the more specialized the functions of the organism, the greater its development... It is...a phenomenon of general biology whose conditions must be sought in the essential properties of organized matter. The division of labor in society appears to be no more than a

⁸⁹ Ed. Kurt Wolff H., *From Karl Mannheim*, New York 1971, p.144

particular form of this general process; and societies, in conforming to that law, seem to be yielding to a movement that was born before them, and that similarity governs the entire world.⁹⁰

Here, for Durkheim and from the view of the organicism, the society is a supracomplex totality of complex elements. Durkheim perceives the society as an organism composed of institutions and individuals. Individuals and institutions are compared to cells and organs respectively. He may put occupations like institutions instead of organs or individuals instead of atoms. In his discussion of organic solidarity and the interdependence of the individuals in the division of labor, he perceives individuals as organs, since he tries to state the occupational-institutional role of the individual in these discussions.

The Durkheimian projection of the modern world includes the implication of the individual but only as a cell of a totality or an organ of a body. "What is man less to society? What does one lost cell mean to the organism?"⁹¹ Durkheim sees both the cell and the individual as the totalities, which are at the same time parts of another totality, and which they form together with the complexity of their own. Durkheim insists on studying society as a whole and that society cannot be understood only by studying its

⁹⁰ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.2

⁹¹ J.M. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim*, p.16

elements, individuals in this sense, no matter how complex they are.

Therefore if the psychologist and the biologist correctly regard the phenomena of their study as well founded merely through the fact of their connection with a combination of elements of the next lower order, why should it not be the same in sociology?⁹²

Durkheim's discussion of individuals as complex cells and the social organism resulting from the complex unity of these cells includes intermediary ranking as well, like the social institutions placed between the two. Thus there is a hierarchy of complexity of social formations with the individual being at the lowest level in this hierarchy and the society at the top. Even the division of labor is defined among these intermediary levels, as morality, particularly religion, as the heart, the State as the brain and the economy as the viscera of the society that is the body.⁹³ His discussion at this point includes specialization of the social institutions. This type of societies where the diverse organs exist and are interrelated can only be those societies, which he describes as more advanced or 'political' and organic just as a body is. So his discussion separates social differentiation in structure. We can trace for two basic forms of social structures in Durkheimian theory; simple, segmental and 'mechanical' societies on one end and complex, differentiated and organic societies on the other end of the spectrum. Societies of intermediate levels exist among these two. The highest level of evolution in his socio-biological theory is the point

⁹² E. Durkheim, *Suicide*, Illinois 1951, p.320

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.17

where a society is organic. He says that,

The same law holds of biological development...Lower animals are formed of similar segments...At the lowest rung of the ladder, the elements are not only alike, they are still in homogeneous composition. These organisms are colonies and the individuality of the colony, including its structural plan and its form of solidarity, is identical with that of societies that we have termed segmental. The colonial type this appears as we go up in the scale of organisms even as the segmental type becomes effaced as we advance in the scale of social evolution. Colonies give way to earthworms, which give way to mollusks and eventually vertebrates. At this point the analogies are between the animal type and organic societies: in the one case as in the other, the structure derives from the division of labor and its solidarity.⁹⁴

Along with organicism another index Durkheim uses in describing solidarity is the law.

The more closely knit the members of a society, the more they maintain various relationships either with one another or with the group collectively. For if they met together rarely, they would not be mutually dependent, except sporadically and somewhat weakly. Moreover, the number of these relationships is necessarily proportional to that of the legal rules that determine them. In fact, social life, wherever it becomes lasting, inevitably tends to assume a definite form and become organized. Law is nothing more than this very organization in its most stable and precise form.⁹⁵

The type of law applied in a society determines the type of solidarity of that society.⁹⁶ He states two types of laws for this purpose: Repressive (penal)

⁹⁴ Durkheim E., *Division of Labor in Society*., pp.139-141

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.25

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.24

law and restitutive law. Repressive law is the system of juridical rules with organized repressive sanctions and restitutive law is the system of juridical rules with restitutive sanctions.⁹⁷ Then what is the between these two types of law and solidarity of a society? The answer is closely related to the Durkheim's definition of crime; an act which offends strong and definite dispositions of the collective consciousness and which, as a consequence, evokes a punishment which is as an emotional reaction of graded intensity exercised by the society, through the intermediary of a tribunal. The punishment is exercised on those of its members who have committed crimes, offended strong and precise sentiments of the common consciousness by violating certain rules of conduct.⁹⁸ In societies of mechanical solidarity where the collectivity is a consequence of resemblance and where social cohesion is based on the similitudes, penal law is applied.⁹⁹ These societies are formed by 'collective' or 'common consciousness'. Thus an act is criminal if 'it offends the strong, well-defined states of the collective consciousness.' Penal law emphasizes the importance of social likeness, common values and serves for the protection of their existence. Thus penal law describes innumerable types of acts that endanger this wholeness and togetherness as crimes. For Durkheim, punishment does not serve to frighten, to threaten or to abandon a crime but to

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.29

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.39

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.36

serve for the satisfaction of the conscious collective. Thus it can be said that crime wounds the collective consciousness and punishment is the cure for it. Restitutive law, on the other hand, does not have anxiety for punishment and 'involve suffering of the offender' but consists only of restoring the previous state of affairs, of re-establishing relationships that have been disturbed to their previous state. "This is done by either forcibly restoring the impugned act to the type from which it deviated, or by annulling it, by depriving it of all social value."¹⁰⁰ Restitutive law, Durkheim states, creates specialization in society as well as serving for justice, since it requires consultative tribunals, arbitration and other specialized institutions.¹⁰¹ This is attractive to Durkheim in the sociological sense since he defines societies of organic solidarity deriving from the specialization of institutions and division of labor. What the so-called 'crime' threatens is the existing social order not the collective consciousness or social unity. Therefore the solution should aim to restate the previous case and not for the suffering of the criminal. In this sense, organic solidarity is not fragile as the mechanical solidarity against crime or a criminal act since it differs from the mechanical solidarity in the sense that it is not based on likeness, rituals or common beliefs. Organic solidarity already accepts differentiation and is based on specialization and division of labor instead of similitudes. The organic solidarity thus is the peak of humanity.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.29

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.70

CHAPTER 4

SOCIETY IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION

4.1 Division of Social Labor

All through his work, we see that Durkheim's normal society has two characteristics; division of labor and organic solidarity that derives from this division and specialization. We have mentioned so far what organic solidarity is and now we shall see what the division of labor is.

Division of labor, for Durkheim, is a system of occupational differentiation not only in the economic sense but in the social sense as well. It is also a system where individuals are interrelated to one another in a way to ensure personal and individual happiness as well as the social happiness.¹⁰² Durkheim takes the integration of units as the object of study where the smallest units are the individuals in roles to perform differentiated tasks in the social system. An individual cannot meet his needs on his own and is dependent on other individuals in the society. This holds true for every individual irrespective of his wealth, education or status quo. This

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p.4

interdependence requires the whole society to generate a special type of interdependence from the functional differentiation of each individual unit. In societies based on this type of division of labor, individual units are not homogeneous in character and functioning but they are differentiated where this is taken for granted and encouraged as opposed to societies of mechanical solidarity. Division of labor is what Durkheim bases his differentiation of societies as being primitive or modern.¹⁰³

A classical economist Adam Smith who defined the division of labor in the economic sense used indeed the idea of division of labor before Durkheim. For Adam Smith, the capital and the labor including other factors of production have differentiated roles to pursue the economic interests of a society as a whole. In his well-known chapter, *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith constructed a model for economic relations in a society.¹⁰⁴ He asserted that if individuals who are assumed to be rational in the economic sense, are free to pursue their own interests in the economic sphere, a harmony will be created in the economy as a whole. In his work, economic factors only aim to pursue their own interests. However, they are so interrelated to one another that this interrelation ends up in satisfaction of all needs of the economic spiral. Durkheim agreeing with the economic division of labor which is put forward

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.85

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.1

by Adam Smith, adds new aspects in the social sense:

It has been said that a combination of circumstances, very easy to envisage, has alerted men to some of these advantages, so that they have sought to extend the division of labor ever farther, in order to derive the maximum benefit from it. Thus its progress, it is alleged, has been influenced entirely by individual and psychological causes. To construct a theory regarding this, it would not be necessary to observe societies and their structure; the simplest and most basic instinct of the human heart would suffice to account for it. It is the need for happiness that may impel the individual to specialize more and more. Doubtless, since every specialization presumes the simultaneous presence of several individuals and their mutual cooperation, it would not be possible without the existence of society. But instead of being the determining cause, society might be merely the means by which specialization is realized, the material necessary for the organization of divided labor tasks. It might even be an effect of the phenomenon rather than its cause. Is it not repeatedly stated that it is the need for cooperation that has given rise to societies? Might societies therefore not have been constituted so that work can be divided up, far from work being divided up for social reasons?¹⁰⁵

He goes on further saying that "division of labor is not peculiar to economic life but its influence can be observed in the most diverse sectors of society."¹⁰⁶ "Functions, whether political, administrative or judicial, are becoming more and more specialized. The same is true in the arts and sciences. The time lies far behind us when philosophy constituted the sole science. It has become fragmented into a host of special disciplines, each having its purpose, method and ethos."¹⁰⁷ Division of labor for Durkheim means much more than

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.180

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.2

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

the division of labor itself but denotes division of social labor. Whence the definition is given, the question to be asked is how and when the division of labor occurs.

4.2 Evolution of Division of Labor

Durkheim states two conditions for the division of labor to evolve and to proceed: 1) Increase in population and 2) Increase in moral or dynamic density of the population.¹⁰⁸ Increase in population for Durkheim would lead increase in moral density in a society and the final effect would be an increase in division of labor. This chain reaction is based on the struggle for survival. Durkheim's answer to the question of how the increase in moral density would cause increase in social differentiation is "because the struggle for existence is more acute."¹⁰⁹ He says that given scarce resources, increased contact of undifferentiated individuals or communities for survival would entail heightened competition between them, which would cause division of labor consequently.

The division of labor is a result of the struggle for existence: but it is a mitigated resolution. Indeed, because of it, rivals are not forced to eliminate one another, but can co-exist. Moreover, in proportion to its development, it provides the means of maintenance and survival to a

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp.201-3

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.208

greater number of individuals who in more homogeneous societies would be condemned to disappear.¹¹⁰

Increase in population, as can be seen, results in evolution of the division of labor. However, the need for communication and interaction in such an increased population should be kept in mind for the barriers separating individuals or communities to disappear and so that interaction and the moral density are fulfilled.

Division of labor develops...as there are more individuals sufficiently in contact to be able to interact with one another. If we agree to call this coming together and the active intercourse resulting from its dynamic or moral density, then we can say that the progress of the division of labor is in direct ratio to the moral or dynamic density of society.¹¹¹

To sum up, Durkheim's modern society and hence the division of labor, can develop in conditions of increased population and the increased interrelation by means of communication and moral density. Whence these conditions are set, the way to the evolution of division of labor is wide open.

As we have seen so far, the division of labor in a society is the closest point to the ideal for Durkheim. He thinks that individual in its most humanistic sense can appear only in societies of organic solidarity which in turn derives from the division of labor. Similitudes are not enforced and the

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.213

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p.201

repression of likeness does not exist in such societies. Individual takes the respectful place in the society and the division of labor ensures the very existence of him no matter how differentiated he is. In fact this differentiation is taken for granted in a system where differentiation is accepted in every aspect of the society not only in the economic roles.¹¹² What is true for the individual is also true for the institutions and organizations. Thus strong endurance of a social solidarity can be achieved which indeed is the sole aim of the owner of this theory.

One thing is clear however that a perfect society cannot exist. It is impossible to eliminate partial departures totally. An engineering theory of society should include these departures even if it is unable to offer a solution. Since they cannot be resolved and would always exist, the theory maker can at least identify them and give the reasons for their existence. This is what Durkheim did in his study of 'abnormalities'. "Up to now we have studied the division of labor only as a normal phenomenon. Yet, like all social facts, and more generally, like all biological ones, it manifests pathological forms that we must analyze."¹¹³

¹¹² *ibid.*, p.229

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.291

4.3 Causes

Durkheim, as we stated earlier in this chapter, sees the increase in population and its density by means of increased interrelations, which are a must for the prevalence of division of labor. As the society increases in population and density and whence the division of labor governs the relations among the individual parts, the mechanical solidarity eventually would leave its place to the organic solidarity. But other than mechanical solidarity what else changes in such a society? What will be the needs of the increased population and how will they be met? What will be the new format of economic world and how will it affect the social world? Most important of all, in an organism of uncountable cells what will be the importance of one cell if that organism can replace each cell with another similar in functioning and what will be the new role of the division of labor? These were the inevitable questions raised when mass production came into existence to meet the needs of an ever-increasing population.

At this point, Durkheim draws a distinction between 'differentiation pure and simple' and division of labor.¹¹⁴ In the third part of his book of *The Division of Labor in Society* he defines such a situation as;

...the two terms should not be confused. In the same way cancer and tuberculosis increase the diversity of the specialization of the biological functions. In all these cases there is no allocation of a common function,

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

but within the organism, whether it is individual or social is formed another one that seeks to live at the expense of the first one.¹¹⁵

He emphasizes his anxiety to clarify three types of the exceptional forms of division of labor and not 'pure and simple differentiation',¹¹⁶

He mentions the industrial or commercial crisis as a cause of a breakdown in organic solidarity. They are important for the state of solidarity since "they demonstrate in fact that at certain points of the organism certain social functions are not adjusted to one another."¹¹⁷ And "as labor becomes increasingly divided up, these phenomena seem to become more frequent, at least in certain cases."¹¹⁸ The reason for the economic crisis and thus the reason for the breakdown of organic solidarity is, for Durkheim, 'the hostility between labor and capital.'¹¹⁹ Labor, once working side by side with the owner, as factors of production transform into that of the modern and lose the ties once were set in the Middle Ages, labor becomes no more than a stranger in the

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.292

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*

process of production and the communication is lost. This results in the hostility of now two strangers.¹²⁰

The trade guild is no longer a common refuge for all; it is the exclusive possession of the masters who decide everything on their own...From then onwards a deep gulf was established between masters and journeymen. The latter formed, so to speak, a separate order; they had their habits, their rules, their independent associations.¹²¹

These associations gave the workers a power to bargain with the masters. However, the spirit of working together and side by side and sharing the social unity was once lost. Transformation of industry from that of a small scale to a large scale changes the whole social life and opens a wide gap between the factors of production. The individual is isolated in his specialized functions and since his work takes much of his time there is little time left for him to be engaged in social relations. When we add the rapid technological innovation, we see man is no more than a machine-spare since the collective sentiments have already disappeared.¹²²

Durkheim blames the absence of a 'body of rules' for governing the relations since;

...in all these cases, if the division of labor does not produce solidarity it is because the relationships between the organs are not regulated; it is

¹²⁰ *ibid.*

¹²¹ *ibid.*

¹²² *ibid.*, p.298

because they are in a state of anomie...Since a body of rules is the definite form taken over time by the relationships established spontaneously between the social functions, we may say a priori that a state of anomie is impossible wherever organs solidly linked to one another are in sufficient contact, and in lengthy contact.¹²³

But why then the body of rules disappears and now is absent?

Durkheim answers;

...as the market becomes more extensive, large scale industry appears. The effect of it is to transform the relationship between employers and workers. The greater fatigue occasioned to the nervous system, linked to the contagious influence of large urban areas, causes the needs of the workers to increase. Machine work replaces that of the man, manufacturing that of the small workshop. The worker is regimented, removed for the whole day from his family. He lives ever more apart from the person who employs him, etc. These new conditions of industrial life naturally require a new organization. Yet because these transformations have been accomplished with extreme rapidity the conflicting interests have not had time to strike an equilibrium.¹²⁴

The ills of capitalism and mass production are all in what Durkheim states. There is overproduction in this extended market according to Durkheim, and the exchange of the production does not include the social value.¹²⁵ By social value he means "the sum total of effort needed for the production of the object, the intensity of the needs that it satisfies, and finally the extent of the satisfaction that it affords."¹²⁶ The economic controls, body of rules governing

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.304

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p.306

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.317

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

the industrial relations are absent and the mass production process is rotten as long as this body of rules is not formed. In his preface to the second edition of the division of labor he states;

It is to this state of anomie that, as we shall show, must be attributed the continually recurring conflicts and disorders of every kind of which the economic world affords so sorry a spectacle. For, since nothing restrains the forces present from reacting together, or prescribes limits for them that they are obliged to respect, they tend to grow beyond all bounds, each clashing with the other, each warding off and weakening the other....Men's passions are only stayed by a moral presence they respect. If all authority of this kind is lacking, it is the law of the strongest that rules, and a state of warfare, either latent or acute, is necessarily economic.¹²⁷

He rejects the 'let them free' idea of the classical economists in the economic sphere of interrelations. This is because he sees a threat to the collective morality of the society from this chaotic and unregulated state of economy which he thinks would result in the 'physical law of the strongest' and thus a 'higher law' is crucial in order to set a solution to the problem of anomie.

The task for the citizen and the statesman is then to develop the required moral aspect for the division of labor to fulfill its functions. As Antony Black states in his study of Durkheim, the most pressing problem of contemporary society is that, just as society is becoming essentially industrial,

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p.xxxii

whole economic life and relationships are in a condition of juridical and moral anomic, being unregulated by law or morality. However, it is obvious that as society becomes increasingly dependent on economic occupation, existence of any morality would be possible within these professional occupations. "This was why Durkheim saw the answer to the anomic of modern commercial and industrial life in the reconstitution of economic groups."¹²⁸

¹²⁸ A. Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought From the Twelfth Century to the Present*, New York, p.227

CHAPTER 5

CORPORATIST ROOTS

Durkheim was devoted to the idea of establishing a science of society, a society of order, harmony and solidarity. A society is a 'whole' for Durkheim. Whence the society is considered to be a whole, the parts that constitute it should be considered within the light of this very fact to set the harmony among the interrelationships that governs the social life. Without harmony among the parts that is without solidarity being the governing rule, the society would unquestionably lead to chaos and anomie, which would be a total disaster for the society and humanity. Because of this fact, there could not emerge a single sociological proposition, which directly or indirectly is a demonstration of solidarity. But what could be the duty of a sociologist other than setting up the theory of solidarity and cohesion among the social parts? What indeed the theory would serve? "We should judge our researches to have no worth at all, if they were to have only a speculative interest."¹²⁹ And "As science that deserves the name must result in an art: otherwise it would only be

¹²⁹Ed. Kurt H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, New York, 1964, p.213

a game, an intellectual distraction, pure and simple erudition.”¹³⁰ Accordingly sociology would have practical concerns besides theoretical ones in order not to remain as a game only. Where can we see such practical concern in Durkheimian theory and how can he be reconsidered in the practical arena of a society, that is politics and the area of influence of a defined state?

In order to begin a study of political impacts of a theory, one must start with the freedom and liberty defined for the individual within that theory. Then he must deal with the authority whose existence affects that of individuals’ since ‘an essential element that enters into the notion of any political group is the opposition between the governing and governed, between authority and those who are subject to it.’¹³¹ It is crucial to study this relationship between the elements of the governed and those who govern especially in modern societies in order to study the definition of the individual and of individual freedom in turn. Here, we should remember the differentiation Durkheim made in his study of qualifications of societies; primitive and modern, and mechanical and organic solidarity respectively. Primitive societies, for Durkheim, had the characteristic of mechanical solidarity achieved by means of similitudes, beliefs held in common and collective symbols, which indicates agglomeration of interchangeable segments since every element in the society

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, London 1992, p.42

resembled the other. In such societies individual was not himself since he did not have the chance to be differentiated. "Absorbed, as he was, into the mass of society, he meekly gave way to its pressures and subordinated his own lot to the destinies of collective existence without any sense of sacrifice."¹³² With the progress and growth of societies, however, and of mobility and urbanization, the influence of traditional common beliefs and sentiments grow weaker. However, these beliefs have not wholly disappeared or lost influence on the individuals. Modernization thus enables the individual to shape his personality and 'the scope of the individual life expands'.¹³³

The individual comes to acquire ever wider rights over his own person and over the possessions to which he has title; he also comes to form ideas about the world that seems to him most fitting and to develop his essential qualities without hindrance."¹³⁴

Durkheim argues, that the individual becomes the source of a new religion, replacing that of the old, and he becomes the 'object of moral respect', a 'sacred' object.¹³⁵ Thus, as we progress in history Durkheim argues, we see the rise of the individual defined on personality of himself, and break of bounds established by old way of life, by common beliefs where the individual once was argued to be lost within. This new way of life, is which division of

¹³² *ibid.*, p.56

¹³³ *ibid.*

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

labor comes into existence and together with it, the organic solidarity arises. He now enters into a life defined by the functional diversification of the social parts, with interdependence among them, and duties, obligations and rights are defined accordingly. This formation is the highest form of social evolution for Durkheim whereas the societies of mechanical solidarity were to be the lowest among the ladder of evolution. Instead of homogeneous composition of the parts, there now emerges a system of heterogeneous formation. Economic life expanding in the process of evolution now becomes the subject of primary concern and industry as a mode of production sets itself in the core of this rising tendency.¹³⁶ Individual is replaced among a society where the industrial production process rules. Thus, the place of the individual is not the same as that of the individual in the primitive societies. Modernization not only makes economy and economic affairs the main phenomena for the societies but also changes their whole life since it requires the division of labor.

We can no longer be under any illusion about the trends in modern industry. It involves increasingly powerful mechanisms, large-scale groupings of power and capital, and consequently an extreme division of labor.¹³⁷

Individuals in this case are now interrelated to one another in the process of division of labor. An individual would not be able to meet his needs

¹³⁶ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.xxxiii

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.1

by himself. Thus has to interrelate with the others to meet his needs for life. Cooperation is inevitable according to this new system. It is this fact, the fact of specialization in the economic sphere, which places the individual in a wholly new perspective; in a specialized society. Solidarity, which holds true for this type of society, is organic solidarity since now the society resembles a body, in that each organ has a specific function.

What would help to restore and maintain solidarity and moral order in such a formation of society and to what extent an individual has freedom? Durkheim never sacrifices from the social solidarity, which he thinks is indispensable for social peace. Individual liberty is not unlimited for Durkheim when the frame is widened as to cover the society together with the individual. In order to eliminate anarchy, the individual is only a part of the whole and the main concern in Durkheim is never the individual by himself but always the social whole. Insisting on the individual, in fact, Durkheim states a new form of moral order that is based on the sacred individual. Society however can never be handled to unlimited individualist egos since by nature their desires are unlimited.

It is not possible for a social function to exist without moral discipline. Otherwise, nothing remains but individual appetites, and since they are by nature boundless and insatiable, if there is nothing to control them they will not be able to control themselves.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, p.11

As we have said before, in the modern society economic affairs predominate. Also, professional occupations, in which the individual is comprised, would be the main actors of the social life and social order. But before beginning the discussion of the corporations in the framework of politics, we should first clarify the way Durkheim offers for the prevailing of the individual ego from predominating the social affairs. These social affairs inevitably would comprise the corporations and the motive behind the idea of rules of conduct.

For Durkheim, rules of conduct and a higher authority are indispensable for a society to sustain itself. Indeed, Durkheim, in his argument against the classical economists, rejects the idea of a sustained equilibrium possible with the free play of economic agreements and automatic stability without any hindrance. He criticizes the socialist idea for the very same reason; for holding that economic life is equipped to organize itself and to function in an orderly way in harmony without any moral authority intervening. He criticizes socialism for believing that the economic life should only be restricted by the law of property and in the necessity of transfer of the property to the hands of the society instead of the exclusive ownership of the individuals or families.¹³⁹ Instead, he believes that it is impossible for the economic affairs free of any control would continue to succeed in stability forever. "It is true, indeed, that

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p.10

economic life has this character at the present day, but it is impossible for it to preserve this, even at the price of a thoroughgoing change in the structure of the property."¹⁴⁰ He sees such a situation as a threat to social solidarity because of the wideness of its area of influence on the whole social life:

...what causes the exceptional gravity of such a state of affairs is the extent, hitherto unrealized, to which economic functions have developed over approximately the past two centuries... Precisely because economic functions today employ the largest number of citizens, thousands of individuals spend their lives almost entirely in an industrial and commercial environment... If, in activities that almost completely fill our days, we follow no rule save that our own interest, as we understand it, how then can we acquire a taste for altruism, for forgetfulness of self and sacrifice?¹⁴¹

If there is the failure of the economic stability and the nonexistence of any moral regulation, the 'state of anarchy then would be ensued.'¹⁴² It would be a state that of 'the strongest rules'.

The forces thus released can have no guidance for their normal development, since there is nothing to point out where a halt should be called. There is a head-on clash when the moves of rivals conflict, as they attempt to encroach on another's field or to beat him down or drive him out. Certainly the stronger succeed in crushing the not so strong or at any rate in reducing them to a state of subjection. But since this subjection is only a de facto condition sanctioned by no kind of morals, it is accepted only under duress until the longed-for day of revenge.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.xxxiv

¹⁴² E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, p.11

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

Chaos and crisis are alive then in such an order of affairs and remain threatening the social order. Thus we once more come to the fact of solidarity when the whole of the society is considered. Thus moral regulation is inevitable for the social solidarity to be sustained and preserved.

A state of order or peace amongst men cannot follow of itself from any entirely material causes, from any blind mechanism, however scientific it may be. It is a moral task...From yet, another point of view, this amoral character of economic life amounts to a public danger. The functions of this order to-day absorb the energies of the greater part of the nation. The lives of a host of individuals are passed in the industrial and commercial sphere. Hence, it follows that, as those in this milieu have only a faint impress of morality, the greater part of their existence is passed divorced from any moral influence. How could such a state of affairs fail to be a source of demoralization?¹⁴⁴

But then what does he offer as a solution and what does he mean by a 'higher' authority or law and what kind of rule does he propose?

For the purpose of control over the social life, Durkheim defines two kinds of rules; firstly, those types of rules which applied to all men alike, to mankind in general, that is the 'respect for the individual', and secondly those rules that are particularistic.¹⁴⁵ Particularistic rules of conduct serve for the moral order in the relationships of the same professional group, and have great significance for Durkheim.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.12

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.3

A distinguishing characteristic of particularistic rules is the lack of a general concern. Particularistic rules are those that govern the relations among the members of the profession, and are effective only if the groups of profession protect these rules with their collective morality. Durkheim calls them Professional Ethics.

In a surrounding, where 'thousands of individuals spend their lives almost entirely in an industrial and commercial environment';¹⁴⁶ corporations or professional groups deserve considerable attention. In Durkheimian theory, they are social groups formed according to the needs of an industrial society in order to act as intermediaries, comprised of individuals of the same profession. They help the individual to socialize, to enter into relationship with one another during the social life as well as the production stage.

Within any political society, we get a number of individuals who share the same ideas and interests, sentiments and occupations, in which the rest of the population have no part. When that occurs, it is inevitable that these individuals are carried along by the current of their similarities, as if under an impulsion, they feel a mutual attraction, they seek out one another, they enter into relations with one another and form compacts and so, by degrees, become a limited group with recognizable features, within the general society.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.xxxiii

¹⁴⁷ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, p.24

The normal state of a society is clearly identified by Durkheim in the sense of the structural formation. Though he accepts that abnormal forms would occur in any case, he, as the classical economists evaluate the economy as a state of equilibrium and disequilibrium as a special case of the general equilibrium, once achieved by means of division of labor and institutional organizations, Durkheim perceives the social unity as the general equilibrium state of the society. The difference from the classical economists is however, the way he perceives the social order. For Durkheim, social order is organized and stabilized by professional organizations and not the individual free will of the classical economist since the subject matter is that of a unity of society. In this sense, there should be an authority above the individual self-interest for the sake of the society, which should be the main concern and not the economy itself. Social forms of pathology that is deviations from the 'must be constant' general equilibrium of social relations are needed to be cured. In fact the main concern of Durkheim is not these pathological states of the society, called the disequilibrium cases, but the unity and harmony of the society as a whole. The unity and harmony of the society can be idealized by the existence of a 'normal' state of division of labor and occupational organizations.¹⁴⁸ Durkheim, in the preface of the second edition of *The Division of Labor in Society* states;

¹⁴⁸ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.139

In the course of this book, on a number of occasions we emphasize the state of legal and moral anomie in which economic life exists at the present time. In fact, in this particular sphere of activity, professional ethics only exist in very rudimentary state.¹⁴⁹

In his argument of the state of anomie and deviations from the social equilibrium, he says that the reason for the anomie in the modern world is not the division of labor but the failure in achievement of the ideal level.

In the main body of this work we have been especially concerned to demonstrate that the division of labor can bear no responsibility for this state of affairs, a charge that has sometimes unjustly been levelled against it. Nor does the division of labor necessarily produce fragmentation and lack of coherence. Indeed, when its functions are sufficiently linked together they tend of their own accord to achieve an equilibrium, becoming self-regulatory."¹⁵⁰

For Durkheim as we see, there should be a successful and sufficient linkage of the functions of the division of labor for the equilibrium to be stabilized and that the system when left to its own functioning can show deviations. He at this point accepts the interference of an authority answering the above question of a solution to the chaotic self formation of the economic world and what he means by the higher law:

Although it is true that social functions seek spontaneously to adapt to one another, provided that they are in regular contact, on the other hand this mode of adaptation only becomes a rule of behavior if a group bestows its authority upon it... Political society as a whole, or the State, clearly cannot discharge this function. Economic life, because it is very

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.xxxii

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.xxxiv

special and is daily becoming increasingly specialized, lies outside their authority and sphere of action. Activity within a profession can only be effectively regulated through a group close enough to that profession to be thoroughly cognisant of how it functions, capable of perceiving all its needs and following every fluctuation in them. The sole group that meets these conditions is that constituted by all those working in the same industry, assembled together and organized in a single body. This is what is termed a corporation, a professional group."¹⁵¹

Theory of division of labor and social unity of Durkheim as we see is based on a corporatist view and the main role occupied in his determinism is by the professional groups as the organizer not only of the economic sphere but also the social interaction and thus social solidarity.

If we judge them (i.e., corporative groups) to be indispensable, it is not because of the economic services they could render but because of the moral influence they might have. What we see above all in the professional group is moral power able to restrain individual egoism, maintain in the hearts of workers a livelier sentiment of their common solidarity, and prevent the law of the strongest from being applied so brutally in industrial and commercial relations.¹⁵²

He refuses the politicians or the State as the authority in economic interrelations since they would fail to succeed because 'economic life increasingly specialized lies outside their authority and sphere of action',¹⁵³ because of its distance to the economic life and its slowness. The individuals, the cells of the body, then are placed in Durkheimian theory in the corporations

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.xxxv

¹⁵² *ibid.*, p.xxxiv

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, xxxv

and professional organizations which are the mediator groups between the individual and the State and thus the main actors in maintenance of the social solidarity.

Now there is only one moral power-moral, and hence common to all-which stands above the individual and which can legitimately make laws for him, and that is collective power. To the extent the individual is left to his own devices and freed from all social constraint, he is unfettered too by all moral constraint. It is not possible for professional ethics to escape this fundamental condition of any system of morals. Since, then, the society as a whole feels no concern in professional ethics, it is imperative that there be special groups in the society, within which these morals may be evolved, and whose business it is to see they be observed. Such groups are and can only be formed by bringing together individuals of the same profession or professional groups.¹⁵⁴

Professional groups then serve as the social constraint on the individual and thus would ensure moral constraint. Without the existence of moral rules imposed on him by the professional group, the individual would not be constantly aware of the collective sentiments and rules within his group. Such a case would have the possibility of causing the individual aim to satisfy his egoism only, regardless of everyone in his path.

It is this discipline that curbs him, that marks the boundaries, that tells him what his relations with his associates should be, where illicit encroachments begin, and what he must pay in current dues towards the maintenance of the community.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, p.7

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp.14-15

Durkheim's belief in ill-behaved or anomic individual autonomy regarding the social solidarity is so strong that he, in every aspect of his theory, needs a measurement and control imposed on it.

The individual can take in no more than a small stretch of the social horizon; thus, if the rules do not prescribe what he should do to make his actions conform to collective aims, it is inevitable that these aims will become anti-social.¹⁵⁶

The moral activity, by way of professional groups, is now socialized. Also, chaos and conflicts that may result from the economic disorder and that may well injure the society are controlled.

The strength of the moral constraint they impose upon the individual is determined with the strength of the group structure.¹⁵⁷ As the strength of the structure increases so does the number of moral rules it serves and its authority over its members. The extent of the coherence among its members would also be indicative of the strength of the moral mediation.

For the more closely the group coheres, the closer and more frequent the contact of the individuals, and, the more frequent and intimate these

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.15

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.7

contacts and the more exchange there is of ideas and sentiments, the more does a public opinion spread to cover a greater number of things.¹⁵⁸

The moral sentiments raised by the group in turn increase the effectiveness in operations of the group and also bring stability to it. The organization of the group is then far better than before.

Durkheim needs for clarify his mentioning the corporations drawing the distinction between his own perception of the corporations needed in the evolved set of relations and the corporatism of the ancient regime.¹⁵⁹ He rejects the unionism and syndicalism once existed in the sense of organization by occupation, because they were formed as private associations and were not bounded by any legal authority or regulatory power. Besides they were multiplied in number even in the same profession and there existed lack of unity and coherence among them. The law of the strongest was still persistent in such a system. This prevented the system to establish a social solidarity and so they were total failures.¹⁶⁰ He studies the corporations of the Middle Ages to trace for any success. However, their eventual dependence of the State where the State had gained the power of exerting force over the workers even as

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.8

¹⁵⁹ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.xxxvii

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.xxxvi

enforced recruitment, makes them another failed trial.¹⁶¹ 'Having suffered an eclipse for a while' as Durkheim states, the corporations start a fresh existence in the European societies in the eleventh and twelfth centuries until 'a new decadence set in once more.'¹⁶² What Durkheim concludes from this study is that though showing failure in each trial of their existence and survival, corporations and corporative unity reconstitute themselves from the very fact of the need for their existence because of their 'correspondence to deep and lasting needs.'

Durkheim concludes that their existence in every period of history since the times of the Romans and their reestablishment following their disappearance every time proves the fact for their necessity in social life.¹⁶³ But, what can be done to prevent failure and to set up the ideal formation and functioning for such a corporative unity? This is a very important question to be solved for Durkheim not for concerns of the economic stability but for the capacity of these corporations of establishing a social morality.

We should refrain from extending to the entire corporative system what may have been true of certain corporations during a very short period in their development. Far from the system having been, because of its very

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.xxxvii-xxxviii

¹⁶² *ibid.*, p.xxxviii

¹⁶³ *ibid.*

constitution, infected by a kind of moral sickness, during the greater part of its existence it played above all a moral role.¹⁶⁴

He refers to Walzing in the discussion of the Roman corporations;

...the corporations of artisans were far from having so pronounced a professional character as in the Middle Ages. We come across no regulations concerning methods, no obligatory apprenticeship, and no monopoly. Nor was their purpose to accumulate the capital necessary to exploit an industry.¹⁶⁵

In fact, the Roman corporations were successful in protecting the rights of all; the worker, the owner and the buyer and were just in their profession. The end however was inevitably a failure again, because of the reason of the failure in adaptation or distortion of its characteristic, as Durkheim believes.¹⁶⁶ This, however, does not weaken the idea that they may serve as moral intermediaries in social life. Once individuals enter into corporative unity, the way for social interaction, the terms for a collective moral sentiment would generate in each and would spread through all aspects of the economic and social life.

Within a political society, as soon as a certain number of individuals find they hold in common ideas, interests, sentiments and occupations which the rest of the population does not share in, it is inevitable that, under the influence of these similarities, they should be attracted to one another. They will seek one another out, enter into relationships and

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.xxxix

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.xlii

associate together. Thus a restricted group is gradually formed within society as a whole, with its own special features. Once such a group is formed, a moral life evolves within it, which naturally bears the distinguishing mark of the special conditions in which it has developed. It is impossible for men to live together and be in regular contact with one another without acquiring some feeling for the group which they constitute through having united together without their becoming attached to it, concerning themselves with its interests and taking it into account in their behavior. And this attachment to something that transcends the individual, this subordination of the particular to the general interest, is the very well-spring of all moral activity. Let this sentiment only crystallize and grow more determinate, let it be translated into well-defined formulas by being applied to the most common circumstances of life, and we see gradually being constituted a corpus of moral rules.¹⁶⁷

The corporations, which are seen as the legacy of the ancient regime but which have the capability of establishing the roots of the moral order in the society should thus be reformed in order to be able to adapt to necessities of the modern society and the complexity the large-scale that industry brings. And one must bear in mind that these corporations should be independent. However, they should be in close contact with the State and should not be under service for its political aims but must be concerned with its own sphere of activity.¹⁶⁸

The professional group that would serve as such a mediator is to be a guild as proposed by Durkheim. Durkheim is however clearly aware of the

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.xlii-xliii

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.xxxvii-xxxviii

prejudice held against the formations of guilds since they were seen as the legacy of the ancient regime and thus seen as incapable of surviving. Durkheim however, because of the above reasons, finds in the professional groups, the opportunity to be moral centers as moral powers among the individuals of the same profession. Of course there will be the question of reforming of such formations since

...it remains to study the form the corporative bodies should have if they are to be in harmony with present day conditions of our collective existence. Clearly, there can be no question of restoring them in the form they had in the past. They died out because they could no longer survive as they were.¹⁶⁹

The general principles of an ideal guild were drawn by Durkheim. He dreams of spread of various industries grouped in separate categories based on similarity and natural affinity. Each group then would be formed of an administrative council, a kind of miniature parliament, nominated by election and presiding over each group. This council of parliament would have the power to regulate whatever concerns the business. Accordingly, the guild would be established to serve as a central organ. The industrial boards then would apply the general rules laid down by the guild and they may even have the power to make these rules more specific. The industrial boards will be more regional in character.

¹⁶⁹ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, p.31

Thus the economic life would be organized, regulated and defined, without losing any of its diversity. Such organization would no more than introduce into the economic order the reforms already made in all other spheres of the national life. Customs, morals, political administration, all of which formerly had a local character and varied from place to place, have gradually moved towards uniformity and to a loss of diversity.¹⁷⁰

The former autonomous organs, the tribunals, the feudal and communal powers, now become auxiliary organs subordinate to the central organism. So, the new structure taking place of the local structure, is comprehensive and national, uniform and also complex, in which the local groupings of the past still survive, but simply as agencies to ensure communication and diversity.

What other role does Durkheim define for the secondary groups, other than means of socialization and moral centers? What would be their role in political affairs?

Corporations are the indispensable part of the political society, which is defined to have some certain aspects, differentiating them from the nonpolitical societies in Durkheimian theory. One of the aspects, says Durkheim, was well defined before and accepted as a general means: for a political society to exist, there must be a governing agency. Those who are governed commit to the authority of the governing and this society is defined within the territories of a

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.37

soil, of its own land. Durkheim, states that the importance of the soil thus defined comes from many causes such as higher social value that the soil has gained and perhaps also to the relatively greater importance that the geographical bond has assumed since other social ties of a moral kind have lost their force.¹⁷¹ The most important feature of political societies however is the existence of secondary groups among these societies.

We should then define the political society as one formed by the coming together of a rather large number of secondary social groups, subject to the same one authority, which is not itself subject to any other superior authority duly constituted.¹⁷²

The definition of a political society differs from that of Rousseau's, for example, since Durkheim does not conceive a political society thought to comprise a numerical importance of the population but rather by the existence of secondary groups. They do not resemble the whole society but rather have their own professional concerns. But by being existent in a politics they are now the primary condition for any higher organization, the State that should in turn be aware of their existence.

Far from being in opposition to the social group endowed with sovereign powers and called more specifically the State, the State presupposes their existence: it exists only where they exist. No

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.44

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p.45

secondary groups, no political authority- at least, no authority that this term can apply to without being inappropriate.¹⁷³

Authority, for Durkheim, can only emerge where the societies comprise within themselves a number of elementary societies. Therefore, political societies for Durkheim are necessarily polycellular or polysegmental. "This is not to say there have never been societies consisting of one segment alone, but they form a different species and are not political."¹⁷⁴ Secondary groups then, professional groups for Durkheim, are not only the significant part of a society. They are also the reason of existence of political societies and thus are the main actors in the political sphere. Political society without secondary groups would not exist for Durkheim.

Then, what are the characteristics and thus the duties of a state under such a format? First we must give the definition of the State: The State is a special organ comprising of a group of officials, whose responsibility is to work out certain representations which hold good for the collectivity. These representations are distinguished from other collective representations by their higher degree of consciousness and reflection.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.50

What representations mean should be clarified at this point. The State does not represent the collective consciousness since consciousness is diffused and there exist a vast number of social sentiments and social states of mind of all kinds including myths, religious or moral legends. The representations that derive from the State however, are of a different kind. They are more conscious of themselves, of their causes and their aims.

They are less obscure and well defined in existence. The duty of the State is not to represent every single sentiment of the society since such a case would make it only a reflection of the society rather than a separate organ. The cause of the existence of the State however, is beyond this task. The State should be the highest organ whose main function is to think for the sake of the society as a whole. The collective representations can need solution but the councils, regulations and assemblies should be the places for such debates. Similarly, the State is not the organ of change or any exterior action. Instead the administrative bodies are defined to carry such a mission. The State only makes deliberations or representations of those parts of the political society.

The difference between them and the State is clear: this difference is parallel to that between the muscular system and the central nervous system. Strictly speaking the State is the very organ of social thought. As things are, this thought is directed towards an aim that is practical, not speculative. The State as a rule at least, does not think for the sake of thought or to build up doctrinal systems, but to guide collective conduct. Nonetheless its principal function is to think.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.51

Representation, on the other hand, and the political structure of the society should lie on democratic principles, which in turn shape the functioning of the State, which should consider what people are thinking. In order to be able to do this, there is the need for consultation, either on regular or periodic basis. Thus the authority defined in a democratic form of government is not the one with an absolute power over individuals. As societies extend in number of individuals, the individual separate from the whole is stronger which is taken for granted. We have studied the limits to individual freedom before which were set for the sake of social solidarity and for social happiness of all. Durkheim further argues the importance of the individual in his discussion of political societies while stating that democracy is a political system that conforms best to the present day notion of the individual. While defining the individual as a product of society, he nevertheless sees the danger of control imposed on the individual by the very society.

Whilst the society thus feeds and enriches the individual nature, it tends on the other hand, at the same time inevitably to subject that nature to itself and for the same reason. It is precisely because the group is a moral force greater to this extent than that of its parts, that it tends of necessity to subordinate these to itself.¹⁷⁷

The individual, as subject to a greater moral agency than that of himself, may even be unaware of such an impose as one is unaware for the

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.60

most of the time of 'the atmosphere that weighs on our shoulders.'¹⁷⁸ In such a case he would unquestionably desire what the society desires and thus accept the state of subjection he is reduced to. "Every society is despotic, at least if nothing from without supervenes to restrain its despotism."¹⁷⁹ But if he becomes conscious of the situation and objects to it, he then needs a stronger law that applies and an agency to rely on. The State serves for this purpose. The State must first and foremost protect the individual against the suppression of the society since individual itself is the core of the modern system and is a sacred being. If any of innate qualities of the individual is attacked, it is the duty of the State to bring these qualities back to life and to protect them against repression, as the democratic system requires. This leads to the belief that the stronger the State, the stronger the individual and vice versa. Durkheim argues that as a society progress, the rise of the individual is accompanied by a rise in the development of the State.¹⁸⁰ At this point Durkheim clarifies the idea of rising individual in an ever-growing society and division of labor serving the means. As societies grow and become numerous, the individual will find an aura, which enables him to express himself and would free himself from the traditional sentiments and old way of life that once exerted power on him. But there remains a condition to be put forth for such a society in order to keep the

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.* p.61

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.57

individual free: there should not be secondary groups having autonomy such that each one becomes a smaller society itself which obviously would lead to the absorption of the individual as was once done in mechanical societies.

For then, each of these would behave towards its members as if it stood alone and everything would go on as if the full-scale society did not exist. Each group tightly enclosing the individuals of which it was made up, would hinder their development; the collective mind would impose itself on conditions applying to the individual."¹⁸¹

A higher authority should keep them from doing so. This authority should be one free from those parts, which form it to ensure such a duty to be fulfilled. Such an authority, the highest organ in the body, should be separate from the parts whose authority all the parts are subject to.

There must therefore, exist above these local, domestic -in a word, secondary- authorities, some over-all authority which makes the law for them all: it must remind each of them that it is but a part and not the whole and that it should not keep for itself what rightly belongs to the whole.¹⁸²

State by existing above the smaller authorities, liberates the individual personalities. Since they themselves impose power on individual personalities, should the secondary groups be abolished or weakened? In no way. Despite the probability of imposing power on individual personalities exist; the State is there to prevent them in doing so. Further, they have duties to be fulfilled in a

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *ibid.*, p.62

political society and especially under a democratic regime. Durkheim, objects to the definition of democracy as those societies where everyone has a share in directing communal. This form of democracy, for Durkheim, suits those inferior to the political society he defines. The State for Durkheim is the organ of social thought. If everyone is comprised in the governing process, Durkheim argues, no clear thought of any kind would govern the life of peoples in a differentiated society where the ideas and thoughts would be immense in differentiation as well.

If the State is everywhere, it is nowhere. The State comes into existence by a process of concentration that detaches a certain group of individuals from the collective mass. In that group the social thought is subjected to elaboration of a special kind and reaches a very high degree of clarity. Where there is no such concentration and where the social thought remains entirely diffused, it also remains obscure and distinctive feature of the political society will be lacking.¹⁸³

However there is the fact that the State, in large-scale societies, is far from the individual and as the societies grow larger the gap between the State and the individual becomes wider. This, in turn, prevents the individual from contacting the State. Smaller groupings are indispensable and required for this reason. Though their standing alone is not accepted, they should nevertheless serve as mediators between the individual and the State.

Here again we see the significance of these groups. Their usefulness is not merely to regulate and govern the interests they are meant to serve.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, p.82

They have a wider purpose; they form one of the conditions essential to the emancipation of the individual.¹⁸⁴

The professional groups would then enable the individual to contact the State and also would make him aware of the duties and policies of the State. A smaller group is closer to the individual and thus capable of enabling the people to follow the working of government and also to communicate the result of their reflections to the organs of the government. The State, then while neutralizing the power of the secondary groups, power that can be imposed on the individual, is also in contact with the individual by their help. But how this contact is established?

The councils with the duty of administering each of these groups would nominate those who would govern the State...there would be continuous communication between the State and its citizens, but no longer direct...The permanent groups, those to which the individual devotes his whole life, those for which he has the strongest attachment, are the professional groups. It therefore seems indeed that it is they, which may be called upon to become the basis of our political representation as well as our social structure in the future.¹⁸⁵

This argument of Durkheim, of nominating the councils of occupational occupations to govern the State, clearly points out to the corporatist political ideology in his social theory. Corporations then are not only the connections of the social life but also the core of the political environment.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.63

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.97

What will be the morality concept of the State and political sphere? For Durkheim, a collective nomos will be constituted as long as public officials are truly representative of all the various differentiated segments of society so that morality emerges from their direct interaction.¹⁸⁶ Occupational corporations would serve the means of morality since

...if votes are to be an expression of something more than individuals brought together solely for this exceptional occasion; they do not know one another, they have not contributed to forming each other's opinions and they merely go along in single file to the ballot box. No, on the contrary, it must be an established group that has cohesion and permanence that does not just take shape for the moment on polling day. The guild or corporative body corresponds clearly to this desired end.¹⁸⁷

Corporative bodies then, not only would represent individuals in the political affairs but will also serve moral means in the political society. State on the other hand, would serve the collective morality, by formulating laws expressive of collective representations valid for the society as a whole and by translating narrow particularistic concerns into coherent and meaningful collective representations.

So the State does not inevitably become either simply a spectator of social life in which it intervenes only in a negative way, or simply a cog

¹⁸⁶ Frank Hearn, 'Durkheim's Political Sociology: Corporatism, State Autonomy and Democracy', *Social Research*, Volume.52, No.1, 1985, p.167

¹⁸⁷ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, p.105

in the economic machine. It is above all supremely the organ of moral discipline.¹⁸⁸

In this political society where so many collective representations exist, Durkheim states;

...there is always or at least usually a semblance of deliberation, an understanding of the circumstances as a whole that make the decision necessary, and it is precisely this inner organ of the State that is called upon the conduct these debates....To sum up, we can therefore say that the State is a special organ whose responsibility it is to work out certain representations which hold good for the collectivity. These representations are distinguished from the other collective representations by their higher degree of consciousness and representation.¹⁸⁹

Thus the State is the organizer of the corporative bodies.

When the State takes thought and makes a decision, we must not say that it is the society that thinks and decides through the State, but that the State thinks and decides for it. It is not simply an instrument for canalizing and concentrating. It is, in a certain sense, the organizing center of the secondary groups themselves.¹⁹⁰

To sum up the roles of the corporations are determined to be representative, coordinative and regulative in the economic sphere and serve as a means of a mediator of the social morality since they make up the grounds of communication and interrelation for individuals of the same profession. They

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.72

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.50

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.49

should have administrative councils at the top of their structural formation, which would have responsibility of contact with the State. The occupational groups are thus the regulators of the economic sphere, which are the viscera of the society. In the center of the social life, there should be a welfare state in order to ensure the organic solidarity. Diffused collective representations of corporations and occupational organizations should refer to this welfare state for their unification and to determine their policies. However, by state, he means a democratic one, which would not exercise a possible authoritarian power on these occupations but rather would help in proper organization and communication in the society.¹⁹¹ Such a state is the brain of the society then.

...there is administrative law. This is what we call the set of rules that firstly determine the functions of the central organ and their relationships, and then the functions of the organs directly subordinate to the central organ, their relationships with one another and with those of the central organ, and with the diffused functions of society. If we again borrow from biology a terminology which, although metaphorical, is nonetheless convenient, we would say that the rules regulate the way in which the cerebro-spinal system of the social organism functions. It is this system that in common parlance is given the name of the State.¹⁹²

The collective consciousness once rooted in professional occupations is still local in character. But as societies grow larger, so does the necessity for

¹⁹¹ D. La Capra, *Emile Durkheim Sociologist and Philosopher*, p.223

¹⁹² E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, pp.165-166

the collective consciousness to involve all aspects of the social life and all diverse occupations and groupings and thus every individual in the society.

...as societies become more voluminous. Because these societies are spread over a vaster surface, the common conscience is itself obliged to rise above all local diversities...and consequently to become more abstract...The more differences among individual portraits serving to make a composite portrait, the more indecisive the latter is.¹⁹³

Durkheim, following this argument defines the State as the specialized organ of the collective thought. The reason for doing so is his way of perceiving the State as having the superior knowledge in the form and content. It has the accumulated knowledge and 'its procedures are progressively refined, as its empire over social life is progressively extended.'¹⁹⁴ As the social life involves a bigger mass of population and more complex interrelations the State enlarges together with the society. The State grows within the progress of division of labor and as societies comprise differentiated organs, which are closely linked to each other. And now the State becomes the center of thought, knowledge and regulation among the diversified mediators.

As a sociologist, the task for Durkheim, in the aura of crisis, obviously turns out to be a political one as well as scientific. The need for solution to the unrest in the society and in elimination of social anomie, leads him to a

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, p.230

¹⁹⁴ J.M. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim*, p.225

definition of an authority over the social life. Authority needs to be moral and regulative over the modern industrial society where old ways of feeling and collectivity tends to disappear. Individual becomes less dependent on the traditional structure and frees himself in the state of division of labor. The lack of morality however, 'anomie', needs to be cured. A corporatist structure of a society is the cure for Durkheim, which would ensure establishment of social solidarity and social harmony in the diversified process of modernization. The theory must then be formed to form a new way of establishing a community or a collectivity based on this notion of the capability of professional organizations to cure the social anomie. He was born into social crisis and was the sociologist of a nation, which suffered from this continuous, political as well as social crisis. As a sociologist finding the solution of all social problems in a corporative structure, the solution to the political problem would obviously lie in the same corporative setting. He, as a scientist however would surely have the anxiety to give legitimacy to such a social theory of a corporational organization. As Kaufmann-Osborn discuss in the article Emile Durkheim and the Science of Corporation, that

...this science must secure sovereignty over its own territory by disposing of rival claimants and by winning general acceptance of the legitimacy of this victory...It must secure its own disciplinary integrity by instituting internal rules of procedure which dictate how power is to be distributed within this community and how disputes between its members are to be resolved.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Timothy V. Kaufmann-Osborne, 'Emile Durkheim and the Science of Corporation', Political Theory, Volume 14, No. 4, pp.638-59

We see, indeed, in every study of Durkheim the continuous and tireless effort of both; the elevation of corporative structure as an end to social anomie and the great care for both; its legitimacy for acceptance and legitimacy of acceptance as a scientific study.

His attribution to corporations as the one and only solution of social unrest comes from his response to laissez-faire notion of the classical liberals. A corporatist ideology would reject nonexistence of any authority but would promote a control mechanism over egoistic functioning of an economic and social order that would result from the classical liberal approach. In fact, corporatism tends to be a distinctive programme for political economy.¹⁹⁶ A regulation should be organized in such a way over the social life such that it would not only serve for satisfaction of economic ends but for social as well. To eliminate any possibility of 'the rule of the stronger to survive' authority should be defined over every social compromise. The professional organizations have authority over the individual in order to fulfill efficient functioning of the economy and to ensure social morality. And the State has authority over the corporations in order to free the individual from any exertion of force by the corporations and to think for the sake of the social order.

¹⁹⁶ A. Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought From the Twelfth Century to the Present*, p.227

The corporations and the State as we see are required tools in Durkheimian theory for division of labor in the normal sense and thus the organic solidarity to be established and preserved. This points out to the corporatism that underlies the whole theory of Durkheim and anxiety to preserve the so-called unity gives light to another aspect of the same theory.

CHAPTER 6

PRESERVATION OF THE CORPORATIST STRUCTURE AND THE CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES

Once the general equilibrium is achieved by the mediation of the professional groups, the point of equilibrium, the ideal state for the society, which we can identify in Durkheimian terminology as the 'normal and not the 'pathological', should be maintained and preserved. These facts bring us to another argument about Durkheim, whether he is a conservative or not, which has been going on for a long time.

In order to clarify the argument, we need to make a definition of a so-called conservatist. Conservatism is a 'conscious traditionalism' as Karl Mannheim puts it.¹⁹⁷ Conservatism grew out of traditionalism that is from the tendency to cling to vegetative patterns, to old ways of life and a reaction to reforming tendencies.¹⁹⁸ However, it differs from traditionalism, in that traditionalism is a general psychological attitude and has no traceable history, whereas modern conservatism has a clear historical and social continuity and is

¹⁹⁷ Ed. Kurt H. Wolff, *From Karl Mannheim*, p.160

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.155

a function of one particular historical and sociological situation.¹⁹⁹ Traditionalism, for Mannheim, takes on specifically conservative features when it becomes the expression of a very definite, consistently maintained way of life and thought.²⁰⁰ On the other hand, conservatism is conscious and reflective from the first, since it arises as a counter-movement in conscious opposition to the highly organized, coherent and systematic progressive movement.²⁰¹ Conservatism, in the light of the above definition, can be put against Liberalism and Radicalism, which offer change and revolution in order to reach a utopia.

Durkheimian perspective of the individual and his relationship with the society should be reconsidered for the purpose of the argument. As Mannheim argues, in his chapter of conservatism, a conservatist does not accept the idea of 'equality' of individuals but rather brings up a new scale to define their own concept of liberty, different from that of the liberals', which is egalitarian. Conservative conception of freedom comes to be a 'qualitative' one in the sense that freedom can only consist in the ability of each man to develop without let or hindrance according to the law and principle of his own

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.156

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.160

²⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.157

personality.²⁰² Such a definition of freedom would not contain any threat to existing order, conservatist thinks but would help in the preservation of such order. The same fear is stated in Durkheim's words, in his analysis of the Forced Division of Labor,

We are certainly not predestined from birth to any particular form of employment, but we nevertheless possess tastes and aptitudes that limit our choice. If no account is taken of them...we suffer and seek the means bringing that suffering to an end. There is no solution other than to change the established order and create a new one.²⁰³

To escape such a state of disorder and anomie, 'for the division of labor to engender solidarity, it is not sufficient for everyone to have his task; it must also be agreeable to him.'²⁰⁴

Durkheim, emphasizes in his theory the reformism and change as a Third Republic ideologist, to bring society to a state of solidarity and thus to stabilize the chaos and disorder to establish the security of the Republic. However, as we see above, whence this is achieved the state of society should be conserved which in idea, show the conservatism that shapes his concept of the nature of the society. As Nisbet argues, one of the aspects of conservatism is the absolute primacy of society.

²⁰² *ibid.*, p.164

²⁰³ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, pp.310-311

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*

According to conservatism, society is not an emanation of presocial forces within the individual; on the contrary, man is a creature of a society, and his ideas, language, morality and relationships are but reflections of the anterior reality of society.²⁰⁵

And he continues this definition of conservatism in relation to Durkheim;

...there is certain ironic charm in Durkheim's relation to modern thought. He is a liberal by political choice and action but his sociology constitutes a massive attack upon the philosophical foundations of liberalism.²⁰⁶

Society, for a conservatist, cannot be a sum of its parts. The State or a nation is not to be understood as the sum of its individual parts. There should not be 'I' but instead there should be 'we'. The liberal view analyses and isolates the various cultural fields as Law, Government, and Economy. The conservative on the other hand, seeks a synthesis of the individual and of the cultural phenomena stated above. Liberty in the conservative thought, is defined to be the private, subjective side of life only, while all other external social relations should subordinate to the principle of order and discipline to eliminate any possibility of anarchy. Their rejection derives its sentiments from the fear of anarchy in the social order, which can result from the unlimited individual or group freedom probable to degenerate into mere anarchistic

²⁰⁵ Robert A. Nisbet, *Makers of Modern Social Science; Emile Durkheim*, New Jersey 1965, p.25

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.28

caprice. Thus, the individual is bound to the society, "individual is once more made aware of his dependent state vis-a-vis society".²⁰⁷ And there is the belief that an individual should be defined in terms of the society and by way of common sentiments it creates, as Durkheim put in his own words: "there are common sentiments and ideas without which, one is not a man."²⁰⁸ The same fear for anarchy and disorder in society is obvious in Durkheim. This is clear in his definitions of 'normal' and 'pathological' forms of societies, defined to qualify a society as of 'anomie' or of 'order'.²⁰⁹ In his qualification of a society as 'normal' or 'anomic', one can also clearly see the anxiety in his theory, to preserve the so-called ideal state that in turn divulge the conservatism that lies behind his ideology. As he states "the study of the deviant forms will allow us to determine better the conditions for the existence of the normal state."²¹⁰ And in his discussion of the Anomic Division of Labor, he stresses the need for regulation and for the state of equilibrium to be maintained and if deviations occur the effort is needed to come back to the previous state of equilibrium.

...The manner in which they (organs) should co-operate,...,at least in the most common circumstances must be predetermined. Otherwise a fresh

²⁰⁷ E. Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, p.333

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.304

²¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.291

struggle would be required each time in order to bring them into a state of equilibrium...²¹¹

In fact, Durkheim, from the very beginning of the argument, can be defined as a conservatist because of being an ideologist of a peculiar time in history, The Third Republic in this case, and of a particular historical and sociological situation, the chaos, disorder and conflict in the aura of the Republic, gives clue for being a modern conservatist of the Third Republic. He is mainly concerned with the facts of the Third Republic, and so his area of interest is mainly restricted with the surroundings of the Republic. He idealizes a society shaped by the division of labor since it would bring order and thus social happiness for all and stresses the need of establishment of such a social order in order to eliminate the existing state of social unrest. Under the influence of the intellectual aura of his era, which is rationalist, scientific and positivist, Durkheim tries to shape the society and determine its future as exerting force on the passionate individual on behalf of the current and future happiness of the society as a whole. He is a modern conservatist, a conservatist of the Third Republic. He is a conservatist not only in the sense of preserving an established order but a conservatist in methodology for change. As Karl Mannheim argues for all conservatists, "everything that exists has a positive

²¹¹ *ibid.*, p.301

and nominal value merely because it has come into existence slowly and gradually.”²¹²

Lewis A. Coser clarifies the conservatism of Durkheim in the above sense and states; “The conservative does not reject all change; he insists only that change must be slow and gradual and that it must never endanger the social order.”²¹³ Durkheim justifies Coser with his own words;

The science of ethics does teach us to treat (reality) with extreme caution, imparting to us a conservative attitude. There will be times, when ‘everything is not all it ought to be’, and that, consequently, will be the time to intervene. But this intervention must always be limited and piecemeal; it has for its object, not to make an ethic completely different from the prevailing one, but to correct the latter, or partially to improve it.”²¹⁴

With these words, Durkheim demand change but a gradual one in order to not to disturb the social order. A new order is not offered or even not wanted, but only partial improvements of the previous one are said to be needed.

The duty of the statesman is no longer to push the patient toward an ideal that seems attractive to him, but also his role that of the physician: he prevents the outbreak of illnesses by good hygiene, and he seeks to cure them when they have appeared.”²¹⁵

²¹² K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, New York 1966, pp.211-2

²¹³ Ed. K.H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, New York, 1960, p.212

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.214

²¹⁵ *ibid.*

Thus, Durkheim sees himself not as a radical reformist but as an actor who plays the role of the physician. Radical reforms in a society would harm the social order and are reflections of social anomie. For him, the collapse of the older is never preferred. What is needed is a slight transition from the old to the new, a partial improvement of the previous only, by way of social engineering and organizing. Such a conservatist inclination brings serious results with it, when a theory of society is made. Limited perception of the society and fear of change and crisis would result in deficiency in study of these phenomena in their own terms as Coser argues. Since they are always seen as departures from the existing order and anomie, predisposes one to consider any attempt to make the world more likely resemble an ideal world.²¹⁶ This, in turn, leads to a way of thinking in terms of the 'whole' and disregard of the struggle between the 'parts', whereas the struggles are central to the thought of the change-oriented radical or liberal.²¹⁷ In fact, his neglect of the 'parts' and insistence on the 'whole' result in his neglect of an indispensable phenomenon of sociology; class conflict.

The general equilibrium for Durkheim may show deviations but there remains in his idea the consistency of the equilibrium at least in the long run. His perception of deviations and conflict are temporary and show no value for

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

²¹⁷ K. Mannheim, *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*, London 1953, pp.74-164

study in detail to detect their causes and existence further than studying them as 'anomie'. This in fact as Coser correctly detects, prevent him from considering alternatives in social being, the facts that make these deviations come into existence and thus the diversified nature of humanity as the reality.²¹⁸ The economic and social crisis for Durkheim is just a case of disequilibrium and departures from what he calls 'the normal' state of affairs. Here Coser interferes; 'normality may itself be considered a fact or value'²¹⁹ and states that Durkheim show bias toward conservatism even at the definition of his utopia. He concentrates on the whole only and disregards the struggle between the parts, which are the central thought of the change-oriented radical or the liberal as Mannheim states.²²⁰

The neglect of Durkheim of the struggles between the parts and their enduring existence even in the long run, makes him disregard the class phenomena and the struggles emerging from it. He allows for professional groupings to be necessary conflicting groups. Yet he allows for no other groupings to exist and does not even mention the possibility for their existence. His friend Marcel Mauss, a socialist, writes: "Durkheim was profoundly opposed to any class war...he wanted only changes that would profit the total

²¹⁸ Ed. K.H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, 1960, p.212

²¹⁹ *ibid.*

²²⁰ *ibid.*, p.215

society and not only one of its parts, even if this were a powerful and numerous part."²²¹ Actually Durkheim states his ambition for the social morality only and not of any other condition that may exist in society:

It is not a question of putting a new society in the place of that which exists, but to adapt the latter to new social conditions. It is no longer a question of classes, of the opposition of the rich to the poor, of entrepreneurs to workers, as if the only possible solution were to diminish the portion of one in order to increase that of the other. What is needed in the interest of the one and the other is the necessity to contain from above the appetites of both, and thus to put an end to the state of disorganization, of maniacal agitation, which does not stem from social activity, and which makes it suffer. In other words, the social question posed this way is not a question of money or of force; it is a question of moral agents. What dominates it is not the state of our economy, but rather the state of our morality.²²²

Here Durkheim asserts that his concern is not the distribution of wealth or of any problem that it may impel but only the wholeness and unity of the society.²²³ This is truly and without doubt what we may call conservatism, which in every way leads to the corporatism. For the sake of unity, as we have seen earlier, liberty should be defined as to include only the subjective side, while all external social relations are subordinated to the principle of order and discipline. The anxiety of establishment of order and discipline on the other hand, needs wider wholes to be defined, in order to prevent any form of

²²¹ *ibid.*, p.217

²²² *ibid.*

²²³ *ibid.*

anarchist liberty as Karl Mannheim verifies in his study of conservative way of thinking;

...the nation or national spirit is used to provide that necessary wider whole which prevents the liberty of the individual or group from degenerating into mere anarchistic caprice...The individual is bound and can only achieve usefulness within these wider units.²²⁴

The conservative, then, would inevitably define these wider units to limit liberty, which can cause anomie, since the 'whole' is the main concern rather than the 'self' and usefulness is regarded above self-interest respectively. The idea is closely related to Durkheim's argument of the society as a 'whole' and corporations serving as sub-units of the wider authority on individual self-ego.

...the thought then in the process of becoming conservative to detach the concept of 'qualitative liberty' from the individual and to transfer it to the so-called 'true bearers', the 'true subjects' of liberty, namely the larger collectivities, 'organic communities', *the estates*.²²⁵

Durkheim, rejecting any alternative to the wholeness of the society even at the expense of the scope and consistency of his theory, searches for alternative methods of thought at the expense of the scientific concerns of his theory. In his study of *Elementary forms of Religion*, he states:

²²⁴ K.H. Wolff, *From Karl Mannheim*, p.166

²²⁵ *ibid.*, p.165

This conception is so commonly held that generally the disputes of which religion is the theme turn about the question whether it can conciliate itself with science or not, that is to say, whether or not there is place beside our scientific knowledge for another form of thought which would be specifically religious.²²⁶

And he justifies his concern in religion; "Our entire study rests upon this postulate that the unanimous sentiment of the believers of all times cannot be purely illusory."²²⁷ Durkheim, though differentiating religion from the natural and scientific phenomena, states that religion nonetheless is not inferior to them and states that 'religion is the origin of the fundamental categories of thought and consequently of science'.²²⁸ And "if religion has given birth to all that is essential in society, it is because the idea of society is the soul of religion."²²⁹ The society thus emerges from religion and in fact what he calls the collective sentiments and totality of the individuals are derived from the religious beliefs and rituals he concludes:

...It is that which raises him outside himself; it is even that intellectual property which constitutes civilization, and the civilization is the work of society. Thus is explained the preponderating role of the cult in all religions, whichever they may be. This is because society cannot make its influence felt unless it is in action, and it is not in action unless the individuals who compose it are assembled together and act in common...The collective ideas and sentiments are even possible only owing to these exterior movements, which symbolize them, as we have

²²⁶ E. Durkheim, *On Morality and Society*, p.189

²²⁷ *ibid.*, p.190

²²⁸ *ibid.*, pp.190-1

²²⁹ *ibid.*, p.191

established. Then it is action, which dominates the religious life, because of the mere fact that it is society, which is its source.²³⁰

He goes even further and says that religion is the image of the society and thus reflects all its aspects, good on behalf of the God and bad on Satan and religious rules are set to reach the ideal form, which is closest to the God.²³¹

Since religion is perceived as the image of society, the God than must find a reflection in the social order shaped by the Durkheimian theory; the notion of an authority, which the worshipper submits. Society seems closest to the religious perception of God; a moral authority on the individual, which he loves but also fears. The Good is pointed as the proper behavior and submission to collectivity, to the 'whole', the Bad is improper behavior, deterioration, and anomie. Society and social facts, institutions, collective thought and behavior, as Jennifer Lehmann correctly detects for Durkheimian ideology, a double action on individuals, which is stated by Durkheim as "...impose themselves upon us, but we cling to them; they compel us, and we love them; they constrain us and we find our welfare in our adherence to them and in this very constraint."²³² Society as the wider collectivity is what the

²³⁰ *ibid.*

²³¹ *ibid.*, pp.193-194

²³² J.M. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim*, p.54

individual obeys and yet beyond the fear, he finds in it what makes him useful, and identifies himself happily under the collective surrounding. "A society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the divine minds, merely by the power that it has over them; for its members it is what a God is to his worshippers."²³³ The need for authority in his theory is such evident that he widens the idea of authority to all social facts, not limits it with the State or the political authority. In fact, all social groupings or organizations are covered by the idea of authority; including the family and the corporations. This obviously gives the clue about Durkheim for Nisbet's argument on an aspect of conservatism; the insistence upon the authority.²³⁴

Discussing Durkheim on the conservative notion of authority, we can indeed clearly state that in his theory Durkheim insists on authority by the bigger collectivities over the smaller. In an ever evolving set of interrelationships, he defines the individual in a small circle which is circled by greater ones, as the circles of family and corporations, and this hierarchy of authority of circles keeps evolving to the point as all circles being comprised in the biggest one; the humanity.

²³³ *ibid.*

²³⁴ R.A. Nisbet, *Makers of Modern Social Science: Emile Durkheim*, p.24

Thanks to the religious conception of the society then, in every aspect of individual lifetime the authority is defined as to be held by greater collectivities. This collective mind in turn makes up the roots for the society and for a nation. If the French lost cognizance of this reality which in fact what was the case in era of the Third Republic;

a day will come when our societies will know again those ours of creative effervescence, in the course of which new ideas arise and new formulae are found which serve for a while as a guide to humanity; and when these hours shall have been passed through once, men will spontaneously feel the need of reliving them from time to time in thought, that is to say, of keeping alive their memory by means of celebrations which regularly reproduce their fruits.²³⁵

What is the role of the education then in adapting the individual to the society and what purpose it would serve? The answer brings us to his conception of individual autonomy, an aspect that he keeps repeating: Man is passionate in creation and if no authority exists, this passion would lead to the law of the strongest. He is absolutely a pessimist of the human nature as all other conservatives. He believes in the necessity of a disciplined and authoritarian education in order to curb this passion for the one's self being and as Freud puts forth; "civilization is built upon renunciation of instinctual gratification and that civilization consists in an ever increasing subjection of

²³⁵ *ibid.*, pp.201-202

our instincts to repression"²³⁶ in order of "the process of progress in civilization is paid by forfeiting happiness."²³⁷

Similarly, in Durkheimian terms his time, it is stated as:

If society were only the natural and spontaneous development of the individual, these two parts of ourselves would harmonize and adjust to each other without hurt or friction...But in fact, society has its proper nature and hence exigencies which are altogether different from those of individual nature. We must do violence to certain our most imperious drives. And as the social part of the total being that we are becomes ever greater as we advance in history, it is contrary to all expectations that there should ever come an era where man should be less required to resist himself and could live a less tense and more relaxed life. On the contrary, everything leads one to predict that the place of effort will ever increase with civilization.²³⁸

Thus the passionate man must be controlled on behalf of the society as a whole. Man must learn to be a part of the society and should sacrifice from his own passion in doing so.

When a child is born into a society, it is obvious that a solidarist mind will dream of him to behave properly and in a moral way to ensure prohibition of anomie. A corporatist will dream for him to accept submission to the moral authority of the corporation that would comprise him in a world of economic

²³⁶ Ed. K.H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, p. 226

²³⁷ *ibid.*

²³⁸ *ibid.*, p.227

and political specialization. We see all the possible efforts in Durkheim, in his sub-study of education of the members of a society for raising the 'proper' individual for the ideal society of a theorist whose centerpiece is the corporation and thus social solidarity. With the same theory, his life is predetermined long before he is born. Whatever he chooses to do in a lifetime, he would have no other choice but being a member of a group. Social bonds would give numerous alternatives to groups that he will be included; a family, a corporation, a nation, a church, and the humanity above all.

However, a child is born with self-interest, irregular behavior and knows nothing about limits to one's self-satisfaction and sacrifice for the whole. This state of human life cycle is the one that should be intervened in order to curb this natural tendency of egoism. A childish behavior is dangerous if has continuity for a life time since "...when he (the child) is fond of something, he wants it to satiety. He neither restrains himself nor does he readily comply with someone else imposes limits on him."²³⁹

"Life is not all play; the child must prepare himself for pain and effort, and it would therefore be a disaster if he were allowed to think that everything

²³⁹ E. Durkheim, *Moral Education*, New York 1968, p.132

can be done as a game."²⁴⁰ Individual passion thus should be tamed and curbed and the education should be at the service of this taming.

Education is thus simply the means by which society prepares, in its children, the essential conditions of its own existence...Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to stimulate and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole, and by the particular milieu for which he is specifically destined..."²⁴¹

The autonomous individuality of a child is adapted to the needs of a social part and instead of maximization of the individuality the minimization is preferred. Whence the society emerges in civilized form, the child is educated according to the needs of the ideals of this civilization and therefore

...school should not be a sort of hostelry where different teachers, who are strangers to each other, come to instruct in a heterogeneous fashion pupils who have no connection with one another and who are only temporarily assembled together. For us, also, every level of school must form an integral moral environment, which closely envelops the child and acts upon his whole nature. We compare it to a society, we speak of the school society, and it is in fact a social group, which has its own specific character and organization like the adult society."²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Ed. K.H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, p.228

²⁴¹ A. Giddens, *Emile Durkheim Selected Writings*, Cambridge 1972, p.204

²⁴² *ibid.*, p.208

The child thus is transformed into a social adult by way of educational influence and in doing so the teacher must have the maximum authority and discipline.

Durkheim believes that it is an effort-requiring task to transform a child with natural tendencies of egoism to an ardent believer of solidarity and group authority.

We can see what a gulf there is between the child's point of departure and the goal toward which he must be led: on the one hand, a mind endlessly moving, a veritable kaleidoscope that changes from one moment to the next, emotional behavior that drives straight ahead to the point of exhaustion; and, on the other hand, the preference for regular and moderate behavior.²⁴³

A child then should be taught how to act 'properly' and in a moral way to meet the requirements of the ideal society he shapes in his theory. Education would serve for the purpose since morality for Durkheim is a system of commandments; irregular behavior would never be accepted as normal but called 'anarchist' requiring discipline of a moral authority.²⁴⁴ Familial education would not be satisfying since the frame of interest is a restricted and a smaller one than the one that society would require. The part played by the family is declining in an ever-extending society especially when the

²⁴³ E. Durkheim, *Moral Education*, New York 1968, pp.133-4

²⁴⁴ E. Durkheim, *Moral Education*, p.31

requirement for discipline regarding the respect for the rule and morality are considered.²⁴⁵ Schools however, if the educational system is properly organized, would help a lot in the endless effort of creating a man not for his individual self but for the society.

“The school has, above all, the function of linking the child to this society.”²⁴⁶ The school would be the first real group the child would enter and there he would learn not only science to satisfy his curiosity but also and more crucially, he would learn how to behave to satisfy the society and the social structure predetermined.

The class is a small society. It is therefore both natural and necessary that it have its own morality corresponding to its size, the character of its elements, and its function. Discipline is this morality. The obligations...are the student's duties, just as the civic or professional obligations imposed by state or corporation are the duties of the adult.²⁴⁷

Child, throughout his education, is transformed under a routine and disciplinarian process. The purpose that lies in the systematization of the

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.74

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.79

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.149

education is obviously one that aims to create the standard candidate for the membership to the corporatist social order.

Now what about those individuals that depart from the whole, especially if they form a threat to the cohesive society? The answer lies in the definition he gives for crime: "the external characteristic that they evoke from society the particular reaction called punishment...We call every punished act a crime."²⁴⁸ Since he never draws the distinction, though bearing in mind, between divergence in thought or action like that of Jesus, Thomas Münzer or Lenin, as Lucien Goldmann points out, divergence from the totality by his definition is called a crime if it is punished.²⁴⁹ And without the required discipline of morality attained and violation of rules of the social order, we may be blamed, blacklisted, or materially hurt since we are blamed for creating anomie and threatening the social order. This would seem meaningless to a radical reformist or a liberal. However, to a conservative 'who places everything which disturbs the social order in the same category' it means a lot.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Ed. K.H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, p.219

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.219

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.220

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

One thing should always be kept in mind when studying Durkheim; he is a Third Republic ideologist. A childhood lived under a despotic regime, a young manhood and an intellectual education witnessing its progress and especially an academic training kneaded with social crisis and chaos clearly show themselves in the example of Durkheim. His devotion to his country and his purpose, resoluteness in establishing and maintaining a solidarity for his nation, when added to the above facts, would give more light on the studies that have been done on Durkheim and those that will be done in the future.

The need was urgent for the intelligentsia of the Republic to nourish the Republic on theoretical and scientific grounds against the opposition, which was nourished with the national trauma of the defeat of France and the economic life that was already in a situation of defeat against other European countries. The Republic was shaped to live and progress on democratic and secular grounds. Durkheim whom we should surely count in the intelligentsia we have mentioned above, as an ardent believer in The Third Republic, would shape a social theory with a predestined end, starting with the individual and

the society that he lives in and prolonging to the division of labor in that society.

Durkheim was aware of the fact that solidarity, when absent, makes up a threat to the Republic and to every society endangering future, but it would also be the cure to social crisis when enlivened. His theory regarding the society while elevating science, never steps back from the ideology of solidarity.

The solidarity in his mind as the urgent problem to be solved for the sake of the social stability, inevitably leads him to the conception of the society as a whole. Organicism as a method of study of sociology surely serves this idea of wholeness or of a totality. Thus, the anxiety in Durkheim to see the society as a unity should be regarded within the scientific framework he adapts. Yet his theory and his organicism at such a point of study of society seems problematic to me. His conception of society as an organism, and the individual and the institutions as parts of this organism, ends up with keen 'must conditions' and ideals for a society and social life and hence for the individual and the institutions. Making analogies from the sciences of medicine and biology directly or in discourse analysis, and deriving conclusions from these analogies makes his social theory concentrating on the diversification of the normal and the pathological and the cure to anomie, which is conceived as

an illness. At this point the Durkheimian ideology extends to an idealist positivism regarding the society. He ends up with a theory for ruling a society rather than understanding and interpreting the society on psychological and philosophical grounds. This causes in failure to study and see the society, which rests on morality but rather morality to be shaped and designed with his perception of the society as a body and social beings as the parts of it. He seems as a surgeon working on a body rather than a sociologist working on a society. In his organic conception of the society, those parts, which have the illness of anomie and depart from the social order, should not be regarded in the same way as the healthy are. Since the health of the totality is his main concern he disregards any other alternative to a unified society and thus cannot imagine the parts of a body separate from each other and having a sole freedom in existence and in functioning. Interdependency among the units for him is the one and only way of perceiving a society.

The study of society in Durkheim begins with the individual as the smallest unit of the organism and freedom is strictly limited in terms of self-satisfaction. Individual for Durkheim can only exist within collectivity, the body. Though stressing the individual freedom, he cannot escape the trap of his theory emphasizing first and foremost the solidarity of the society that the individual exists within. In his discussion of the moral education, he points to the importance of an education that would train the individual to become a part

of the society and the teachers as the authority to fulfill this aim. Since man is passionate in creation, by way of education, this passion needs to be curbed. Society is something different than the individual and individual sacrifice is inevitable for the well being of the society as a whole. Thus we loose track of his liberalism in his sociology of a unification of the society. Liberalism in definition turns out to be a total pessimism on the individual when the society enters the scene.

We can see the anxiety of the chaos in Durkheim even in different subtopics of his study. Being aware of the economic crisis, which his society faces, and witnessing the pains of capitalism, he tries to lighten the pain for the individual and the society. Never suggesting an alternative to the economic system in his argument, he proposes reform of the existing economic preoccupations and thus moderating the existing order. Individual, in the divided labor, would be involved in professional groups or corporations which would help in his socialization and the morality of the society and thus in individual 'happiness' and in representation of the individual in the political sphere . Corporations of different professions on the other hand, would come together to communicate and to contract. Here, we see the try for a solution to reduce the tension between the individual and the society and between the individual and the State in a capitalist environment. His theory obviously becomes one of the masterpieces of corporatist ideology. Whatever he tells or

argues about any social phenomena turns out to be an effort of legitimization of a corporative ideology. His corporatism involves every aspect of social existence; the individual, the economy, religion, education and especially politics. Every argument he makes repeats the 'sacredness' of occupational organizations below the surface, where the 'sacredness' of the individual is the surface. Corporative structural formation is pointed as the only way to ensure social solidarity and regulation of social behavior. The end, otherwise, is to be one of 'pathology' and 'anomie'

Though he addresses much of the handicaps of the capitalist system, he seems to have failed in defining the State and the causes of the situation, which I would call as the 'real illness' of capitalism. Though he tries to give a solution for the crisis of the socio-economic order and of consolidation of the social institutions, his unawareness or of disregarding of the existing problems of capitalism in its pure form, which would indeed continue to exist, causes ineffectiveness of his cure offered for the social unrest.

He had the fear of dissolving of his society and anything that would threat the society would be called as anarchy. He tries to prevent anarchy by way of establishing a social solidarity and he thinks reforming the existing order would serve for the means. Even if change would occur it has to be slowly and gradually and should never endanger the existing order. It is clear

that he cannot be called a radical reformist but rather a consolidator. He is not even an idealist in true sense but an idealist of positivism and a corporatist. Reformed corporations in Durkheimian theory represent the public sphere progressing in a predetermined order and would serve as tools to surpass the points of conflict and disorder.

In his discussion of conflict and disorder of the economic life, he addresses to the problem of over production in the economic sphere of no control and states the need for an authority over the individual will to organize the economic functioning and interrelations. He takes for granted the increase in population since he sees it as a condition for the division of labor to evolve. However, he also complains of its consequences. What he really mentions by over-production and the value of production not including the social value are the problems of mass production brought about by the increased population. And when he points to the importance of the pace of social evolution catching up with the pace of industrial evolution and technology, he is naive as a child since even today's societies seems to know any way to do so. In his discussion of the production not including the social value but only the market value, besides never having a solution of how to add the social value to the product, he also seems to neglect the most important fact of capitalism; the capital would always try to maximize its own profit, not the social profit. His

deterministic optimism of the capitalist system is as strong as the deterministic pessimism of Marx.

He always stresses for a scientific background for a social theory, but in his study of religion he seems in search of alternative methods of thought. The dogmatic phenomenon of the religion, for Durkheim is in fact the reflection of the society. He is so ambitious in the work of social and moral unity that he uses every tool that would serve for the aim even at the expense of secular science. He also fails in seeing the diversifying power of religion even among the people of the same country though he as an intellectual witnessed the Dreyfus Affair.

Dreyfus Case was a legal affair that affected the whole nation and the arguments raised among the intellectuals of the time were worth examining. Durkheim's role in this argument is remembered with his speech on justice. The law, not restricted with the Dreyfus Case, has an important place in Durkheimian ideology as an index to determine the quality of a society as whether it is mechanical or organic solidarity, which rules the relations within that society. In his argument, he defines the type of law that would be adapted in mechanical societies as repressive and the type that is in use in social sphere of organic solidarity as restitutive law. Repressive law in definition, has the sole aim of punishing and degrading of the one called as the criminal the

criminal while restitutive law has the aim of restituting the state of order which is disturbed by the act of crime and the criminal. Crime, in definition nonetheless does not change for Durkheim; every punished act is a crime. Punished act thus can never be intended on behalf of the society. Whatever lies beneath the act called as crime, it would make no difference. There is then an ardent belief in justice of the law written. It is worth questioning for me that how he can be so sure of the justice of the legal codes and every act called as a crime being really a crime intending to hurt the society. If crime exists even in a situation of, is the case an example of an anomie as he would call or is there something missing in his theory of individual and social happiness that would clarify the reasons of act of crime still existing?

This leads us to a very important fact, which should be considered in Durkheim's theory. In his definition of the mechanical and organic solidarity, he defines the first as belonging to a society of similitudes, and the latter as to the individual freedom and the quality of allowing for diversification among the individuals. Yet, as in the definition of crime, many of the aspects of his theory involve the idea of repress on the individual free will. He foresees the individual happiness in taking part in professional organizations and thus playing the social role predetermined by his profession. Categorizing the individual being by way of professions and defining the socialization of the individual within the same argument, leads to another state of similitudes but

now only the type of dependence of the individual changes. Threat to the autonomy of the individual remains, and this time it is even stronger because of the complexity of the social structure.

Durkheim's insistence on consolidation of the individuals, the corporations, the society and the State within the corporatist ideology results in a total control in the social and political sense. Independent spheres for any of the actors of the political scene can never be mentioned in Durkheimian theory. Dependence mentioned in defining the primitive societies now takes the form of interdependence. Yet the ruler and the ruled do not change.

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