SOCIOLOGICAL BEGINNINGS

Learning Outcomes
At the end of this chapter you will be able to do the following.
- Identify founders of Sociology and their contributions.
- Compare and contrast pre- and post-Industrial Revolution society in America.
- Define anomie.
- Compare Durkheim's types of suicide.
- List notable people who majored in Sociology.
- Define positivism.
- Recall the important contributions of each of the theorists

THIS NEW SCIENCE OF SOCIETIES: SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is a relatively new discipline in comparison to chemistry, math, biology, philosophy and other disciplines that trace back thousands of years. Sociology began as an intellectual/philosophical effort by a French man named Auguste Comte who coined the term "Sociology." **Sociology** *is the science of society* and of human behavior when influenced by society.

Why did thinkers of the day find a need for the new science of sociology? Societies had changed in unprecedented ways and had formed a new collective of social complexities that the world had never witnessed before. Western Europe was transformed by the **Industrial Revolution**, *a technological development of knowledge and manufacturing that began in the late 1600s and continued until the early 1900s*. The Industrial Revolution transformed society at every level. Look at Table 1 to see pre and post-Industrial Revolution social patterns and how different they were.

Table 1. Pre-Industrial and Post-Industrial Revolution Social Patterns

Pre-Industrial Revolution	Post-Industrial Revolution
Farm/cottage	Factories
Family work	Breadwinners /homemakers
Small towns	Large cities
Large families	Small families
Homogamous towns	Heterogamous cities
Lower standards of living	Higher standards of living
People died younger	People died older

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, families lived on smaller farms, and every able member of the family did work to support and sustain the family economy. Towns were small and very similar (**homogamous**) and families were large (more children=more workers). There was a lower standard of living, and because of poor sanitation people died earlier.

After the Industrial Revolution, farm work was replaced by factory work. Men left their homes and became breadwinners earning money to buy many of the goods that used to be made by hand at home (or bartered for by trading one's own homemade goods with another's). Women became the supervisors of home work. Much was still done by families to develop their own home goods while many women and children also went to the factories to work. Cities became larger and more diverse (**heterogamous**). Families became smaller (less farm work required fewer children). Eventually, standards of living increased and death rates declined.

It is important to note the value of women's work before and after the Industrial Revolution. Hard work was the norm and still is today for most women. Homemaking included much unpaid work. For example, your great grandmother may have worked hard her entire life in a factory or perhaps on a farm, and also at home raising her children and even grand-children. We'll talk more about women and work in a later chapter.

These pre and post-industrial changes impacted all of Western civilization because the Industrial Revolution hit all of these countries about the same way: Western Europe, United States, Canada, and later Japan and Australia. The Industrial Revolution brought some rather severe social conditions including deplorable city living conditions: crowding, crime, extensive poverty, inadequate water and sewage, early death, frequent accidents, and high illness rates. These new social problems required a new science that was unique from any scientific disciplines of the day. Comte wanted a strong scientific basis for sociology, but because of various distractions he never quite established it. The discipline of Sociology was thus established by Comte's successors who sought to understand how these large-scale changes in society affected social interaction.

Social Integration *is the degree to which people are connected to their social groups*. Emile Durkheim suggested that religion was a powerful source of **social solidarity**, or *unity in society*, because it reinforced collective bonds and shared moral values. However, since the power of the collective over the individual could also take secular forms (e.g., the workplace, family, political groups, or schools), he recognized that traditional religious beliefs were not the only source of social stability.

Let's check your own personal degree of social integration. On a piece of paper write down how many close family members you have. Then add in how many close friends and co-workers you have. Finally, add in all others whose name you know and who know yours. This number is one measure of your social integration. However, you might evaluate these relationships. In other words, list your top six closest relationships in order. Make a short list of the six closest relationships you have. Now, rank one for the closest, two for next closest and so on up to the sixth. Durkheim realized from his suicide studies that the closer

we are to others, the more socially integrated we are, and the less likely we are to commit suicide. The second concept to understand is called anomie.

Anomie *is a state of relative normlessness that comes from the disintegration of our routines and regulations*. Anomie is common when we go through sudden changes in our lives or when we live in larger cities. Sudden changes bring stress and frustration. To illustrate this, Ron often tells his students to remember how they felt the day after high school graduation. They walk for graduation then wake up the next morning with very few demands on their time and energies. This sudden shift in demands from very intense to almost absent, leads many to feel extremely frustrated and lost. Add to that they are now adults and no longer students (children) and we get a prime formula for anomie (role shift + vague understanding about what is expected of them + sudden change = anomie).

One of Ron Hammond's college students told him that at the end of last semester she had four finals, one paper, two presentations, and one lab project all due in the last five days of the semester. She finished it all, packed, and moved back home. The first morning she woke up at home she got out her planner and realized that all she had to do that day—all the demands placed upon her—were to eat and shower. She was not a full-time student for now and was between significant roles. "It took a week to get my life back into a routine for the break," she explained.

As a larger social fact, anomie is a by-product of large complex societies, especially in large cities. It's easier to get lost in the crowd, not be noticed, and to rarely receive praise or criticism for personal actions. Durkheim and others were aware that society impacted the life of the individual even if the individual had very little impact on society. By the way, Durkheim measured suicide rates as we still do today. **Suicide** *is the purposeful ending of one's own life for any reason*. **Suicide rate** *is the number of suicides per 100,000 people in a population.*

Durkheim's first two types of suicide had to do with the degree of social integration of the individual into their groups. **Altruistic Suicide** *is suicide which occurs when people are over involved and over committed to a group or society as a whole*. This occurs when the needs of society as a whole override the needs of the individual. Soldiers often commit this type of suicide in order to protect their comrades.

Egoistic Suicide *is suicide which occurs when people are under-involved or under-committed to groups*. This is the loner-type suicide when an individual is disconnected (or never connected) to others. Certain social pressures isolate us more than others and suicide becomes more likely for the isolated. Certain social forces within society create this isolated state within us (TV viewing, video games, online time, and other solo activities that preoccupy us with our own interest and isolate us from our groups and relationships.)[1] Interestingly, the Suicide Prevention Resource Center gives a few suicide prevention strategies that relate to social integration. "Strong connections to family and community support; cultural and religious beliefs that discourage suicide; support self-preservations; and various other types of social support are recommended."[2]

The next two types of suicide described by Durkheim have to do with the levels of social control and social regulation. **Anomic Suicide** *is suicide which occurs when people are under-regulated by familiar norms that serve as anchors to their social reality*. You'd expect this type of suicide in very large cities or when dramatic social changes have transpired (e.g., 9-11 terrorist attacks or recent economic recessions).

Fatalistic Suicide *is suicide which occurs when people are over-regulated or over-constrained*. This might happen in oppressive societies where people prefer to die rather than continue under the hopeless state of oppression (e.g., prisoners of war, inmates, and refugees). The US Centers for Disease Control lists suicide as the 10th most common form of death with about 34,500+ suicides reported last year in the US. That is a rate of 11.5 suicides per 100,000 living people. [3]

In Durkheim's day, he found highest suicide rates for Protestants, males, singles, and wealthy persons. He found lowest rates for Jews, Catholics, females, married people, and poor persons. Many of these are still common predictors of suicide today. The World Health Organization reported that worldwide the suicide rates show clear patterns being higher for males at all ages and especially higher for the elderly.[4] This report also noted that the highest suicide rates in the world were reported in Lithuania 51.6; Russian Federation 43.1; and Belarus 41.5/100,000 population. Isn't it interesting that the three highest countries are geographically close together? Durkheim also found geographic patterns within his researched countries. The countries with the three lowest suicide rates were Azerbaijan 1.1; Kuwait 2.0; and Philippines 2.1/100,000 population.[5]

Look at Figure 1 to see a recent pattern of suicide rates in the United States. Since 1950, male rates (red line) have gone down overall, but did experience a slight increase in the early 1990s. The blue line is the combination of males and females into the total and it parallels the other lines about mid-range. The green line represents females. Females typically commit less suicide than males in most countries worldwide. We use many figures and charts in this book so here are a few tricks to reading them. Look at the legend on the side or bottom of the charts. It tells you which lines represent which categories. Also, look at the title to make sure you understand what is being represented.

Now let's consider the US rates by age. Look at Figure 2. Isn't it ironic that the older persons (persons with the most wisdom and experience) would have the highest suicide rates? The 75 to 84 and 85+ age categories have the highest suicide rates while the 15 to 24 years olds have the lowest. Durkheim would argue that these rates are social facts. At the core of the problem lays social level processes that either facilitate or inhibit personal choices by exerting social pressures.

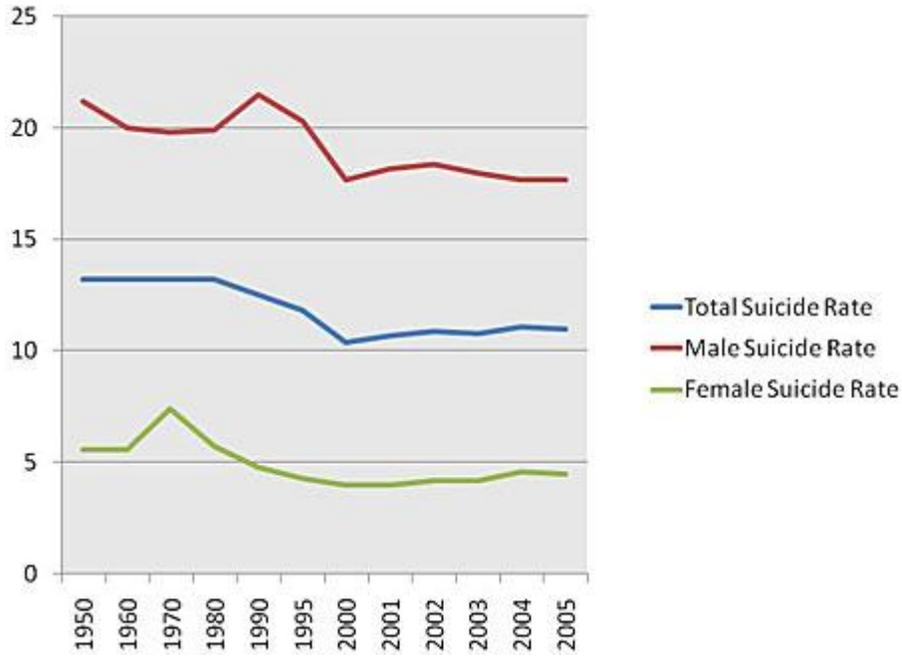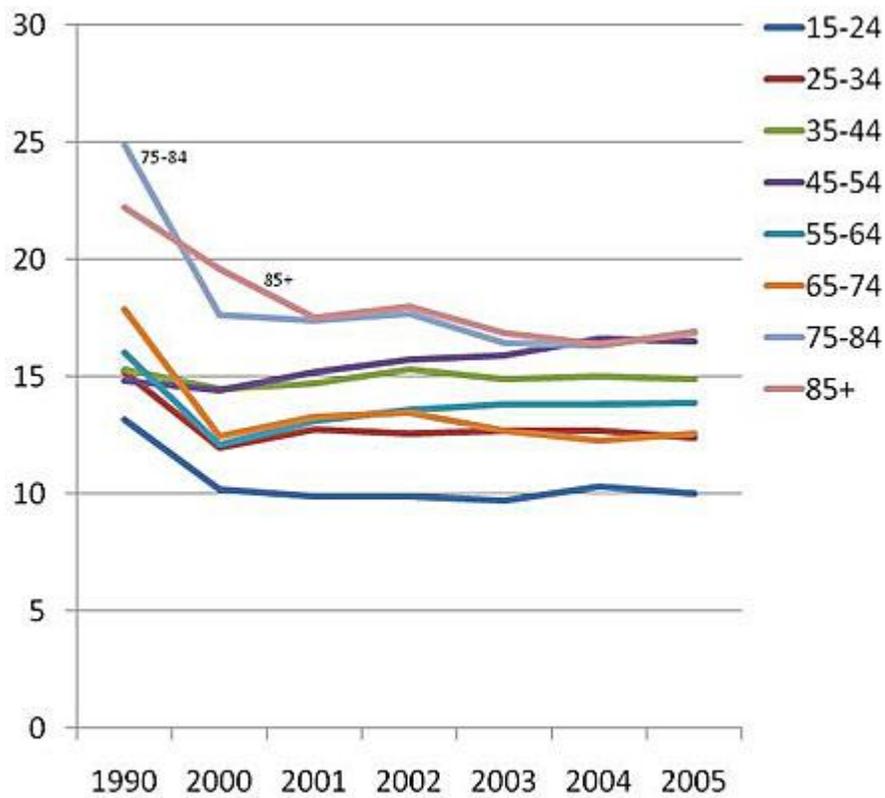Figure 1. Suicide Rates per 100,000 United States, Various Categories 1950 to 2005.[6]

Figure 2. Suicide Rates per 100,000 United States, Age Categories 1990 to 2005.[7]

THE DISCIPLINE OF SOCIOLOGY, TODAY

Sociology's roots are in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, from where founding fathers Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel hail. Sociology waxed and waned in popularity outside of the U.S. over its short history. Today, sociology has become a United States-centered scientific discipline with most sociologists living in the U.S.. There is significant sociological work being done in various countries of the world, but most of the 14,000 members of the American Sociological Association (the world's largest professional sociology organization) live in the U.S.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Chicago School was a center for sociological research that focused on urban and ecological sociological issues. Within the Chicago School were two other important U.S. sociologists, Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929) and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). Their work together gave tremendous support to Symbolic Interactionism Theory. The construction of how we form the "I" and the "me," the self-concept, and the looking glass self were crucial and are still widely used in today's scientific inquiry.

Some notable people who majored or made a career in Sociology include The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Alexis de Tocqueville, Ronald Reagan, Robin Williams, Dan Aykroyd, and First Lady Michelle Obama. Most people who take Sociology take only one course (that's estimated to be 600,000 US students per year). Over 20,000 students graduate each year with a Sociology Bachelor's degree. Many of them find work in government, social service, business, and other service-related sectors of the economy. About 2,000 graduates earn their Master's degree in Sociology each year. About 550 students graduate each year with their Doctorate in Sociology.

Sociology is a good undergraduate degree that leads easily into a variety of graduate degrees, such as counselling and law, and also offers good career opportunities. *Money Magazine* often rates good jobs in the United States. Sociologist had an average annual pay of $68,724 with an estimated high range of about $138,000.[8] This report also ranked college professors as the second best job in America. Over half of full-time doctoral-level sociologists are faculty at colleges and universities.[9]

Now that you have some background information as to where sociology came from it is important to know some of the early thinkers that shaped the discipline as we know it today. Each on of their contributions can be found either directly or indirectly in the theories we'll learn about in another chapter.

Adam Smith, 1723-1790
Smith was born in Kirkcaldy, Fife, Scotland. He wasn't known as a sociologist, but instead he was a philosopher and early economist. In 1776, he published his famous book *The Wealth of Nations* which laid the groundwork for modern economic thought and the concept of individual freedom.[10]

He was a professor of logic at Glasgow University in 1751 and became the Chair for the Moral Philosophy Department in 1752. He lectured on topics such as "ethics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, and political economy." He published a book, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in 1759, about ethical conduct and how that conduct solidifies societal connections. It emphasized "human motives and activities under a beneficent Providence."[11]

"Smith moved to London in 1776, where he published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which examined in detail the consequences of economic freedom. It covered such concepts as the role of self-interest, the division of labor, the function of markets, and the international implications of a laissez-faire economy. "Wealth of Nations" established economics as an autonomous subject and launched the economic doctrine of free enterprise."[12]

Smith paved the way for modern understanding of the free market system. He is credited with the term *the invisible hand*, which demonstrates "how self-interest guides the most efficient use of resources in a nation's economy, with public welfare coming as a by-product."[13] He claimed that "rational self-interest in a free-market economy leads to economic well-being."[14] "Smith believed that competition—the belief that everyone should have a fair chance to compete to make, sell, and buy goods and services—was the key to economic success. . . . Smith argued that such free competition would lead to the best goods made at the lowest prices. This would bring economic growth and higher wages. Smith argued that if competition was going to work, governments should not interfere with business." This notion of *laissez-faire* was intended to prevent government from forming monopolies, and to maintain few laws that regulate business.[15]

Of his two major contributions to the field of Sociology, the first was that he attributed much of human behavior to the influence of society. His second contribution is that he laid the foundation for one of the three major theoretical perspectives in Sociology known as **Symbolic Interactionism**. His focus on the interconnection between individual personality and the interaction with society in determining individual behavior is key in the roots of this perspective.   He died from an illness in Edinburgh, Scotland on July 17, 1790.[16]

Auguste Comte, 1798-1857
Comte had a significant part in the formation of Sociology. As the founder of Positivism, he is also credited for coining the term Sociology, and is also recognized as the **father of Sociology**.[17] Comte was born a Catholic, but somewhere around the age of fourteen, he stopped believing in God. At the same time, he left the ideals of his royalist family behind and became a republican. Comte attended the École Polytechnique (think MIT-Massachusetts Institute of Technology) which was a leading scientific institution in France at the time. He was kicked out of this school for leading a student protest.[18]

When Comte claimed to have invented the new science of Sociology, he said that it was going to be the science that held all other sciences together. As in the course of Positive Philosophy, he said that a science must depend on the previous science to be understood.[19] **Positivism** asserts that the only authentic knowledge is that which is based on sense

experience and positive verification (empirically observable events or occurrences).[20]

Comte divided the progress of mankind into three stages: 1) the Theological Stage which relies on explanation by personified deities (e.g., what man cannot explain is explained by supernatural agencies), 2) the Metaphysical Stage which refers to explanation by impersonal abstract explanation. Often those who developed metaphysical systems believed they were engaging in scientific activity, but they were not, and 3) the Positive Stage which refers to "scientific explanation based on observation, experiment, and comparison. Positive explanations rely upon a distinct method, the scientific method, for its justification."[21] Through social science, Comte believed all human social ills could be remedied.[22]

Harriet Martineau, 1802-1876
Martineau was born in 1802, the sixth of eight children in an upper-middle class, English family. She was mostly educated at home, and had some exposure to subjects that were traditionally taught only to males. During her time, studying at a university was not available for women. After the death of her father and the end of her marriage, she was forced to support herself, and did so successfully as an author by writing essays, novels, biographies, news columns, and pieces on sociology.[23]

In 1834, Martineau began a two-year study of the United States. She wrote two books on her research, *Society in America* and *Retrospect of Western Travel*. In 1838, she published *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, the first methodology book in Sociology. It laid out the manner in which social research was to be undertaken. She emphasized the use of theoretical framework as a guide to observation, having a specific set of research questions before gathering data, objectivity, and representative sampling techniques.[24]

Martineau travelled to the Middle East and published *Eastern Life Past and Present* (1848) based on that trip. Another writing that Martineau is most well-known for was her translation in 1851 of Auguste Comte's *Cours de Philosophic Positive* into English. With her translation, the idea of Positivism was accessible to American and other English-speaking sociologists.[25] Martineau wrote much on the anti-slavery movement. She found a connection between slavery in America and working-class oppression in England. Therefore, she strongly urged governmental action to end chattel slavery, wage slavery, and class oppression.[26]

While Martineau wrote more than 1,500 columns and pioneered methodological studies that are now known as Sociology, because of the male-dominated academic system at this time, most of her writings on Sociology were not acknowledged.[27]

Karl Marx, 1818-1883
Though Karl Marx did not consider himself to be a sociologist, his work provides much of the philosophical foundation of the discipline of Sociology. He "was trained as a philosopher and became a political economist, journalist, social critic, and political agitator."[28] "Although he was one of the greatest social thinkers during the 1800s, most of his ideas and intellect were not recognized until after his death. Marx was born to a middle

class German family" and became a communist when he moved to Paris in 1843. This was when he outlined communism, but his work was not published until the 1930s. "While Marx was in Paris he met the man who would become his lifelong friend and partner, Friedrich Engels." It was with Engels that he wrote his famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (or, *The Communist Manifesto*) in 1848. Engels helped Marx survive by being one of his major sources of income during the 1850s"[29] until his death.

Karl Marx believed that through much of history, resources have been unfairly distributed. Therefore, revolutionary social change was required so that all members of society could have their needs met. In order to achieve revolutionary social change, the powerless would have to bring about class conflict, which would bring about revolution. For Marx, the economy was the most powerful sector in society. Those who held power in the economy, held power in society, overall. He briefly explained history's inevitability toward class conflict and revolution in *The Communist Manifesto*. The two classes, the capitalists and the working class, would engage in this conflict. The capitalists are also known as the **bourgeoisie**. They own and control the means of production, that is land, factories, raw materials, etc.. The working class, which is also known as the **proletariat**, are the workers exploited by the bourgeoisie, who own nothing but their ability to labor. Hence, they sell their labor for a wage to buy the goods necessary for survival in a capitalist economic system.

"Marx is now known as one of the founders of Communism, modern Socialism, and Sociology. Since his death Marxism has led to socialist thought.[30] He foresaw the proletariat gaining class consciousness, starting class conflict, defeating the bourgeoisie, instituting a temporary socialist state to pave the way to a communist system. In this new system, the government will eventually "whither away", and classes will be abolished, since the proletariat consists of the vast majority of the population. Furthermore, resource distribution will be based on the principle of "each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"[31]

Marx's most obvious contribution to sociology is Conflict Theory which is focused on the competition between groups for scarce resources. According to this theory, conflict is inevitable and serves as the force for social change. It is a natural feature of society that leads to social change. Marx is not responsible for naming his perspective.[32] He lived during the **Industrial Revolution** in Europe. This was a time of rapid economic, social, and political change. Great amounts of people were moving from agricultural areas to large cities to find employment in manufacturing. The move to a wage-based economy held promise of prosperity and abundance. This concentration of people into denser living conditions in urban areas caused crime, disease, and poverty.

The main source of conflict in Marx's day of the industrial age was between the workers (Proletariats) who only had their labor to sell to make a living, and the owners of the factories (Bourgeoisie) who needed the labor of the workers to earn a profit. The model used in factories where each worker performed a narrow range of specific tasks created a sense of alienation from the work. No worker saw the manufacture of a product from beginning to end; thus was unable to take pride in creating this product. Factories were

also dangerous places to work with workers frequently becoming injured. The Proletariats would benefit from change towards more equality while the Bourgeoisie resisted such change. This change would require them to relinquish most, if not all, of their profits.[33]

In defining Marxism, a distinction has to be made between the writings and ideas of Karl Marx, the ideology of Marxism as a sociological perspective, and the politics of communism and socialism."[34] "Marx believed in a humanist conception of communism which was based on the contrast between the alienated nature of labor under a capitalist model and a utopian communist society in which human beings freely engaged in cooperative production.[35]

Communism as Marx had imagined it, has not actually existed on a national scale. However, some argue that this social system has just not *yet* come to be. It is also important to note that Conflict Theory has had an immeasurable impact on the discipline of Sociology. Many sociological theorists critique his theories, then build their own theories based on their critiques.

Herbert Spencer, 1820-1903
Spencer was born in Derby, England during the period of British industrialism. He was the oldest of nine children, but the only one to live past his infancy. He was the product of an undisciplined, largely informal education. His father, George, was a school teacher, but an unconventional man, and Spencer's family were Methodist 'Dissenters,' with Quaker sympathies. From an early age, Herbert was strongly influenced by the individualism and the anti-establishment and anti-clerical views of his father, and the Benthamite radical views of his uncle Thomas. Indeed, Spencer's early years showed a good deal of resistance to authority and independence.[36] Instead of obtaining a college education, he sought a 'practical' career with the London and Birmingham Railway as an engineer, though he continued to produce work on philosophical topics.[37]

"One of the main reasons that Herbert Spencer was important to sociology (*sic*) was because of his views and ideas about evolution. Charles Darwin is always given credit for the idea of **survival of the fittest**, but most likely it was Spencer who coined this phrase." This phrase was almost always used to scientifically explain individual life conditions, but in Spencer's work it took on some political meaning as well.[38]

Once the railway was completed in 1841, Spencer wrote for *The Nonconformist*, a dissenting newspaper. In this, he expressed his very laissez-faire views arguing "that the role of government should be restricted solely to policing, while all other matters, including education, social welfare, and economic activities, should be left to the private sector."[39] Such ideas are fundamental in Libertarian political philosophy.

Spencer had many very extreme political views. Though his ideas stem from Darwin's theory of evolution, Spencer took it one step further than Darwin by saying that it involved much more than just biology."[40] "According to Spencer, government regulations interfere with the laws of human evolution."[41] They interfere with the natural law of survival of the fittest. During the course of Spencer's life, women and non-White peoples were believed to

be inherently inferior to White men, and were considered White men's property. Spencer's theory supports these notions, which have since been scientifically disproven. The legal systems in various nations denied many people the status necessary to pursue an education, careers, and independence. In the end, it was such harsh views on politics that held his ideas back from being accepted right away. Writings such as *Principles of Sociology* and others were set aside for years.

Spencer's work was influential in the United States. His influence extended into the upper echelons of American society. It has been claimed that, in 1896, "three justices of the Supreme Court were avowed 'Spencerians.' His reputation was at its peak in the 1870s and early 1880s, and he was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1902. Spencer, however, declined most of the honors he was given."[42]

Spencer's health significantly deteriorated in the last two decades of his life, and he died in relative seclusion, following a long illness, on December 8, 1903.[43] He left behind many bigoted ideas to the world of Sociology, including one that states that because we are part of a society and culture we are therefore part of nature.[44]

Émile Durkheim, 1858-1917
David Emile Durkheim is a French sociologist. He, along with Marx and Weber, is one of the founders of social science. He worked to have Sociology recognized as an academic discipline separate from biology and psychology.[45] Durkheim believed that people's actions have a social basis, and they cannot be explained on a purely individualistic level. Durkheim advocated for the scientific study of social facts. **Social facts** are defined as *aspects of social life external to the individual that exert some kind of force or pressure, influencing individual behavior*.

Durkheim recognized the interrelatedness of work tasks. **The division of labor** is *the differentiation of tasks necessary for the functioning of society*. One characteristic of modern society is the specialization of occupations. Today, a doctor's job is very different from the job of a farmer. While you could expect a doctor in the 1800s to have a basic understanding of farming, and for a farmer to know a few home remedies for common ailments, today a doctor may not know harvesting techniques, and a farmer would not be called on to treat patients. What is believed to be the first division of labor[46] that is still present in contemporary society is gendered work. This is the association of tasks with one's gender. It encompasses the belief that women's work is within the home because of their reproductive capability, while men's work is outside of the home. Women's reproductive capability was associated with nurturing and caring for others. Therefore, it was believed that women should tend to family needs. In contemporary society, most women who work outside of the home work in caring and nurturing professions.[47]

Durkheim's had several contributions to Sociology. We name a few crucial ones here. First, he strove to develop Sociology as its own discipline. To this effect, he was the only one of the three founding fathers to hold the position of chair in this discipline.[48] Second, he introduced one of the main sociological perspectives, Functionalism. According to this perspective, all of the various sectors of society fulfill their role in order for the whole

society to function, like a healthy living organism. Third, is the idea of **social integration** or social cohesion. Generally speaking, social cohesion is *the connectedness of the individual to society*. It can also be described as the degree to which people feel like they are a meaningful part of human groups.

Durkheim's most important written contribution to the field of Sociology is his book *Suicide*, written in 1897. For this study, Durkheim collected data on the marital status, religious affiliation, and gender of suicide victims, among other variables. In trying to test his theory that there was a relationship between social integration and rates of suicide, he found that an inverse relationship exists—that is, the more connected individuals feel to social groups, the less likely they are to take their own lives. He, like his fellow founding fathers, was concerned with the vast changes industrialization and modernization were bringing to society. Hence, among the four types of suicide that he identified, the one he wrote most about was anomic suicide. He coined the term **anomie**, *a state of relative normlessness that may result from a society undergoing rapid and extreme social change*, since this type of suicide was fairly new and not well understood.

His research results showed that the rate of suicide for females is lower than that of males (although recent studies suggest that females actually attempt suicide at greater rates than males. However, their method of suicide, such as pills rather than firearms, makes them more likely to fail[49]). Traditionally, in their childrearing roles, females are more connected to the social institution of the family. Similarly, the suicide rate of married persons is lower than that of the unmarried group because the institution of marriage makes people feel more socially integrated. Lastly, the suicide rates of Catholics and Jews are lower than those of Protestants. This can be attributed to the fact that the Catholic and Jewish religions are more group-oriented in their religious services. Durkheim's underlying theory of social integration is still true today in analyzing rates of suicide worldwide. He connected these findings back to the notion of social facts to show that even the most individual of all acts, suicide, is affected by social circumstances.

Jane Addams, 1860-1935
Addams is the best known and most influential of the early female social reformers in the United States. She was born in Cedarville, Illinois, and was the eighth of nine children. "Her father was a prosperous miller and local political leader who served for sixteen years as a state senator and fought as an officer in the Civil War."[50] Addams studied medicine for a time after earning her Bachelor's degree from Rockford College for Women, but had to stop due to ill health.

She traveled quite extensively and on one of her trips to London she visited Toynbee Hall, a settlement house. This gave Addams the idea of building a similar facility in Chicago. In 1889 Addams and her traveling friend, Ellen Starr, leased a large home built by Charles Hull. The purpose of *Hull House* was to provide a place for people who needed help— immigrants, the sick, the poor, and the aged—to find some relief. Addams focused on the problems caused by the imbalance of power among the social classes.

"By its second year of existence, Hull House was host to two thousand people every week. There were kindergarten classes in the morning, club meetings for older children in the afternoon, and for adults in the evening more clubs or courses in what became virtually a night school. The first facility added to Hull House was an art gallery, the second a public kitchen; then came a coffee house, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a cooperative boarding club for girls, a book bindery, an art studio, a music school, a drama group, a circulating library, an employment bureau, and a labor museum."[51]

She invited sociologists from the University of Chicago to Hull House to witness firsthand the effects of the exploitation of the lower class. In addition to her work with the underclass, Addams was active in the women's suffrage and peace movements. She was also a member of the American Sociological Society[52]—now known as the American Sociological Association.

Addams and other pioneering female sociologists commonly combined intellectual inquiry, social service work, and political activism—all with the goal of assisting the underprivileged and creating a more egalitarian society. For example, working with the Black journalist and educator Ida B. Wells, Addams successfully prevented the implementation of a racial segregation policy in the Chicago public schools. Addams' efforts to establish a juvenile court system and a women's trade union also reflect the practical focus of her work.

As a result of her tireless work for social reform, Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931—the only sociologist to receive this honor. The irony is that Addams herself suffered a sort of class discrimination. She was not considered a sociologist during her lifetime in part because she did not teach at a university; rather, she was considered a social worker (a less prestigious career) because she was a woman and because she worked directly with the poor.

Addams had a heart attack in 1926 from which she never fully recovered. She was admitted into the hospital on the day she was awarded the Nobel Prize, December 10, 1931. She died in 1935.[53]

George Herbert Mead, 1863-1931
Mead was born in South Hadley, Massachusetts to a minister and his wife. He started college at age 16, and after he graduated he worked as an elementary school teacher. He was later fired after only a few months because he sent uninterested or disruptive students home. He earned his MA in philosophy at Harvard University. During his pursuit of a Ph.D., he was offered a job as professor of Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Michigan. He never resumed his Ph.D..

Eventually Mead moved to the University of Chicago during which time he made substantial contributions to the fields of Social Psychology and Philosophy. His major contribution to the field of Social Psychology was "his attempt to show how the human self arises in the process of social interaction, especially by way of linguistic communication (symbolic interaction)."[54]

Mead's theory of the emergence of the mind and socialized self out of the social process of significant communication has become the foundation of the symbolic interactionist school of Sociology and Social Psychology. In addition to his well-known and widely appreciated social philosophy, Mead's thought includes significant contributions to the philosophy of nature, the philosophy of science, philosophical anthropology, the philosophy of history, and process philosophy.[55]

In one of his famous books, *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934), Mead discusses "how the individual mind and self arises out of the social process. Instead of approaching human experience in terms of individual psychology, Mead analyzed experience from the 'standpoint of communication as essential to the social order'."[56] The mind comes from the social process of communication and one cannot understand the mind outside that process. The process of communication has two phases. The conversation of gestures is the first phase and language, or the conversation of significant gestures, is the second phase. In each phase two or more individuals interact with each other. The conversation of gestures is best illustrated by Mead's dog-fight example.[57]

> Dogs approaching each other in hostile attitude carry on such a language of gestures. They walk around each other, growling and snapping, and waiting for the opportunity to attack . . . .[58] The act of each dog becomes the stimulus to the other dog for his response. There is then a relationship between these two; and as the act is responded to by the other dog, it, in turn, undergoes change. The very fact that the dog is ready to attack another becomes a stimulus to the other dog to change his own position or his own attitude. He has no sooner done this than the change of attitude in the second dog in turn causes the first dog to change his attitude. We have here a conversation of gestures. *They are not, however, gestures in the sense that they are significant.* We do not assume that the dog says to himself, "If the animal comes from this direction he is going to spring at my throat and I will turn in such a way." What does take place is an actual change in his own position due to the direction of the approach of the other dog (emphasis added).[59,60]

In this example, as with human interaction, the communication takes place without conscious thought that a response by one person generates a response by the other person. From this comes language, which is conscious communication. Language is communicating by significant symbols, a gesture, vocal or otherwise, that is interpreted identically by all.[61] Not long after his wife died, Mead died in Chicago on April 26, 1931.[62]

Max Weber, 1864-1920
Maximilian "Max" Weber (pronounced VAY-ber) is a German sociologist who expanded the application of economics and religion to the study of social groups. He also wrote extensively about bureaucracy. Weber's research was written in response to Marx's theories. While Marx believed that economics was the central driving force behind society, Weber believed it to be religion. His major work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1920), relates the Protestant religion to the rise of capitalism. He describes the **Protestant Ethic** as *self-denial and a belief in the calling and morality of work*. The **Spirit of Capitalism** is *an attitude which seeks profit rationally and systematically*.

Weber showed that certain types of Protestantism favored the rational pursuit of economic gain. He analyzed two main branches of Protestantism-Lutheranism and Calvinism. Lutherans, or followers of Martin Luther, believed that God only provides what is necessary to sustain life. They advocated for restricted consumption and against climbing the social ladder. These conditions were not conducive for capitalism. Weber specifically traced the Protestant work ethic back to Calvinism, a branch of the Protestant religion developed by John Calvin. Calvinists believed in **predestination**-*the idea that God has preordained who can enter heaven*. Calvinists viewed wealth as a sign of God's approval and used religious justification for the accumulation of wealth. This intense pursuit of accumulation had been given positive spiritual and moral meaning. Weber believed that the values taught by Calvinism paved the way for modern capitalism.

In addition to his theories of religion, Weber developed the basis of management theories still used today. Weber saw bureaucracy as the application of the division of work to administrative duties. His ideal type of bureaucracy was hierarchical in nature and had the ability to be very efficient. It was, however, very rigid and required an establishment of rules governing both the employees and the business of the bureaucratic organization.

According to Weber, a bureaucratic organization is governed by the following seven principles:[63], [64]

1. official business is conducted by qualified officials performing specific duties according to a strict division of labor
2. official business is conducted with strict accordance to rules
3. every official's responsibilities and authority are part of a vertical hierarchy of authority, with respective rights of supervision and appeal
4. official business is conducted in the most efficient manner
5. official business is conducted in a deliberately impersonal manner
6. offices cannot be appropriated by their incumbents (inherited, sold, etc.); promotion is based on achievement
7. official business is conducted on the basis of written documents

Among Weber's other contributions to Sociology and to the social sciences, in general, are his definition of power, ideal types of legitimate domination, and a research methodology that provides further insight into the subject of study. Weber's definition of power, "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action,"[65] is still used by social scientists, today. Weber's research methodology included understanding the research subject's perspective. His predecessors did not take individual perspectives into account, but mostly considered how large social structures influenced individual behaviors.

Weber believed in value-free sociology. He believed that studying social phenomenon objectively, or in a value-free manner, is superior to subjective research that is vulnerable to an individual researcher's interpretation. Most sociologists today contend that it is not

completely possible to keep sociological research value-free; however, it is a goal that most strive toward.

Charles Horton Cooley 1864-1929
Cooley was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He participated in the formation of the American Sociological Society and later became president of the society in 1918. Cooley shared the desire of Durkheim, Weber, and Marx to learn more about society. However, he felt that a more effective methodology would be to use the sociological perspective to look first at smaller units—intimate, face-to-face groups such as families, gangs, and friendship networks. He saw these groups as the seedbeds of society in the sense that they shape people's ideals, beliefs, values, and social natures.

Cooley's work increased our understanding of groups of relatively small size. He sought to emphasize the interconnectedness of the dualism of society and the individual, and felt the two could only be understood in relation to each other. Despite his refusal to label himself as a sociologist (he merged history, social psychology, and philosophy), Cooley's concepts of the **looking-glass self** and the **primary** and **secondary group** have had lasting impressions on the field of Sociology.

Cooley believed we acted like mirrors to each other, reflecting back to one another an image of ourselves. The three components to Cooley's looking-glass self are: 1) imagining how we look to others, 2) imagining what others think of us, and 3) developing self-feeling, such as pride or shame, from our perceptions of judgments by others.[66]

Cooley theorized that the looking-glass self was responsible for the formation of our concept of the self. In other words, when we are able to experience the three parts of the looking-glass self, our conceptualization of the self will form. For Cooley, there could be no sense of self without society and social interaction because it is society that is providing us with our looking-glass self-image. The concept of the looking-glass self influenced George Herbert Mead's creation of a theory of self that has influenced the paradigm of Symbolic Interactionism.

W.E.B. DuBois, 1868-1963
William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was the first Black sociologist and the first Black student to graduate from his high school. DuBois became the first African American to earn his Ph.D. from Harvard University.

DuBois plunged eagerly into research. He was certain that the race problem was one of ignorance, and he was determined to unearth as much knowledge as he could, thereby providing the "cure" for color prejudice. His relentless studies led into historical investigation, statistical and anthropological measurement, and sociological interpretation. Besides contributing to the understanding of Black communities, DuBois worked for civil rights. "DuBois was recognized by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who called him a gifted seeker of social truths and a scholar who aspired to fill the immense void that existed in the study of Black people."[67] One can imagine the importance DuBois gave to racial matters. He famously stated that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line".[68]

DuBois became one of the most influential Black leaders in the early twentieth century. He was the only Black member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) when it was founded in 1910, and he was the editor of its journal for the next twenty-four years.

DuBois called the United States a country of "magnificent possibilities" but one that was "selling its birthright." He was grateful for the education he was able to achieve, and he continuously praised America for its noble and generous souls. However, he also pointed out its ongoing history of "injustices, crimes, and mistakes."[69] "DuBois used his academic knowledge to fight against inequality, exploitation, and discrimination."[70] Scholars continue to use DuBois' work and ideas in studies of inequality (racial, religious, sexual, etc.).

DuBois became disillusioned after a lifetime of groundbreaking research and social activism. He moved to Ghana, Africa, where he died at age 95 in 1963. It was less than one year after his death when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal to discriminate against people based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Robert K. Merton, 1910-2003
Robert Merton coined the term **self-fulfilling prophecy** and was one of the most important sociologists of the 20th century. He was born on the 4th of July, 1910 in Philadelphia. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University and was a professor at Columbia University for 38 years.[71] He won a National Medal of Science in 1994. Merton served as one of the presidents of the American Sociological Association (ASA). He thought that sociologists should bring together the micro and macro approaches to the study of human interactions.

Merton was interested in deviance and based his explanation of crime on individual behavior influenced by society's approved goals and means. He focused on deviance as a consequence of structural disorganization—anomie. He refined Durkheim's conception of anomie, as both theorists wrote during a time of crisis and change. Merton saw deviance not in terms of personality types, but as role responses to different forms of dysfunction.[72] According to Merton, deviant roles are not created by willful intent or intimate experiences. They occur as patterned responses to a breakdown between universal expectations (to be successful) and the availability of approved methods to achieve those ends. In Merton's own words: "When a society professes that every office boy can become president, while the avenues to such aspirations are socially limited, the stage is set for deviance on a broad scale."[73]

"The theoretical sociology of Robert K. Merton is best conceptualized as a form of neo-functionalism, developed in response to the criticisms often leveled at is logical base. However, this effort leaves many substantive points untouched, while several of its reforms raise new questions. To begin, Merton's work may be an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. For example, the effort to accommodate change occurs in a theoretical matrix primarily concerned with adjustment and order. This means that such theory can conceive of change only in the limited sense of tempering or eliminating certain

dysfunctional parts of the whole, a process that leaves the overall societal system intact. It is clear that Merton's revision of functionalism does not address change at the societal or institutional level. His focus was on adjustments that are consistent with the existing nature of the social system. Thus, the underlying dilemma of functionalist (as well as organist systems) theory remains untouched. In creating a portrait of order, societal and cultural patterns emerge as systems of mutually reinforcing elements. Substantive social change, specifically in the form of new institutions, is simply unexplained. It can only represent, as it did in Merton's early Sociology, a process pushed by those trapped in deviant roles." He died Feb. 23, 2003, in New York.[74]

Erving Goffman, 1922-1982
Goffman, a Canadian-U.S. sociologist, was born in Canada and died in Philadelphia, PA. Goffman taught principally at the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Pennsylvania. "He studied primarily face-to-face communication and related rituals of social interaction; his *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) laid out the dramaturgical perspective he used in subsequent studies, such as *Asylums* (1961) and *Stigma* (1964). In *Frame Analysis* (1979) and *Forms of Talk* (1981), he focused on the ways people "frame" or define social reality in the communicative process."[75]

"Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, provides a detailed description and analysis of process and meaning in mundane interaction. Goffman, as a product of the Chicago School, writes from a symbolic interactionist perspective, emphasizing a qualitative analysis of the component parts of the interactive process. Through a microsociological analysis and focus on unconventional subject matter, Goffman explores the details of individual identity, group relations, the impact of environment, and the movement and interactive meaning of information."[76] Goffman's analysis of the self provided new insights that challenges how we understand the notion of the stable self.

"Goffman employs a 'dramaturgical approach' (**Dramaturgy**) in his study, concerning himself with the mode of presentation employed by the actor and its meaning in the broader social context. Interaction is viewed as a "performance," shaped by environment and audience, constructed to provide others with "impressions" that are consonant with the desired goals of the actor. The performance exists regardless of the mental state of the individual, as persona is often imputed to the individual in spite of his or her lack of faith in—or even ignorance of—the performance. Goffman uses the example of the doctor who is forced to give a placebo to a patient, fully aware of its impotence, as a result of the desire of the patient for more extensive treatment. In this way, the individual develops identity or persona as a function of interaction with others, through an exchange of information that allows for more specific definitions of identity and behavior."[77]

"The process of establishing social identity, then, becomes closely allied to the concept of the "front," which is described as "that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance." The front acts as a vehicle of standardization, allowing for others to understand the individual on the basis of projected character traits that have normative meanings. As a "collective representation," the front establishes proper "setting,"

"appearance," and "manner" for the social role assumed by the actor, uniting interactive behavior with the personal front. The actor, in order to present a compelling front, is forced to both fill the duties of the social role and communicate the activities and characteristics of the role to other people in a consistent manner."[78]

"Goffman served as president of the American Sociological Association in 1981-1982. In the 70s, he served on the Committee for the Study of Incarceration based on his work *Asylums: Essays in the Social Situations of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* and prior to that he also served as a visiting scientist to the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda, Maryland, where he began his research that led to this book. *Asylums* is a penetrating analysis of the significance of social structure in producing conforming behavior, especially in environments that Goffman labeled "total institutions," such as mental asylums, prisons, and military establishments."[79]

Erving Goffman's primary methodology was ethnographic study, observation, and participation rather than statistical data gathering, and his theories provided an ironic insight into routine social actions. For example, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* uses the theatrical stage as a metaphor to explain how we "stage manage" the images we try to convey to those around us."[80] We attempt to project images of ourselves that conform to who we believe we are, or as we like to think of ourselves.

Now that you have a broad look at where sociology emerged and a glimpse into the lives of some of sociology's earliest thinkers, we can begin to think sociologically. As you've read in another chapter, the sociological imagination makes use of this information in the form of biography and history's intersection. Where does your own life story intersect with history? How do these intersections shape the person you are? These are some of the questions sociology ponders.

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[4] Retrieved 29 December, 2011 from http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/global_campaign/en/chap7.pdf
[5] ibid. Age-Adjusted suicide rates by country from www.UN.org
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[7] Retrieved 24 April, 2009 from Table 120. Death Rates From Suicide, by Selected Characteristics: 1990 to 2005, http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/hus.htm
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[9] www.asanet.org
[10] http://www.lucidcafe.com/library/96jun/smith.html

[11] ibid

[12] ibid

[13] ibid

[14] ibid

[15] http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_were_Adam_Smith's_contributions

[16] http://www.lucidcafe.com/library/96jun/smith.html

[17] http://www.6sociologists.20m.com/comte.html

[18] ibid

[3] ibid

[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Positivism

[21] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_of_three_stages

[22] ibid

[23] http://www.6sociologists.20m.com/martineau.html

[24] ibid

[25] ibid

[26] http://www.brycchancarey.com/abolition/martineau.htm

[27] ibid

[28] Calhoun, C., Gerteis, J., Moody, J., Pfaff, S., & Virk, I., (Eds.). (2011). *Classical Sociological Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.. (Original work published 2007)

[29] http://www.6sociologists.20m.com/marx.html

[30] ibid

[31] Marxists Internet Archive. Accessed on 30 December, 2011. http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/gotha/ch01.htm

[32] http://www.scn.org/cmp/modules/soc-marx.htm

[33] ibid

[34] http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Sociological_Theory/Karl_Marx

[35] http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/marx.html

[36] http://www.iep.utm.edu/spencer/

[37] Edles, L., & Appelrouth, S. (2010). *Sociological Theory in the Classical Era – Text and Readings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. (Original work published 2004)

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[40] http://www.iep.utm.edu/spencer/

[41] ibid

[42] ibid

[43] ibid

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[45] Calhoun, C., Gerteis, J., Moody, J., Pfaff, S., & Virk, I., (Eds.). (2011). *Classical Sociological Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.. (Original work published 2007)

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[54] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/

[55] http://www.sociologyprofessor.com/socialtheorists/georgeherbertmead.php

[56] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/#H3
[57] ibid
[58] *Mind, Self, and Society*, 14
[59] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/#H3
[60] *Mind, self and society*, 42-43
[61] *Mind, self and society,* 47
[62] http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/
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[64] Edles, L., & Appelrouth, S. (2010). *Sociological Theory in the Classical Era – Text and Readings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. (Original work published 2004)
[65] ibid.
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[68] http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/w/w_e_b_du_bois.html
[69] ibid
[70] ibid, 49
[71] http://www.answers.com/topic/robert-merton
[72] ibid
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[75] http://www.answers.com/topic/erving-goffman
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[77] ibid
[78] http://www.suite101.com/content/goffmans-presentation-of-self-in-everyday-life-a94378
[79] http://www.sociologyprofessor.com/socialtheorists/ervinggoffman.php
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