

Lecture 2.
Integration and regulation. The Durkheimian
contributions
Intégration et régulation. Les apports Durkheimiens

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Introduction

- What's sociology? Reminder
 - Durkheim: Science of social facts, i.e. of ways of acting, thinking and feeling external to the individual and constraining individuals
- What is the locus of these social facts:
 - Society : “It is therefore in the nature of society itself that we must seek the explanation of social life”.
 - Society “is not the mere sum of individuals, but the system formed by their association represents a specific reality which has its own characteristics”
- “C’est donc dans la nature de la société elle-même qu’il faut aller chercher l’explication de la vie sociale.”
- “La société n’est pas une simple somme d’individus, mais le système formé par leur association représente une réalité spécifique qui a ses caractères propres”

Durkheim and Society

- Society
 - Most general and abstract concept for the combination of people and symbolic productions (mores, norms, culture, language...)
 - Characterized by some level of *integration and regulation*
- Why studying Durkheimian contribution
 - Revisiting the contribution of Durkheim, founder of sociology
 - Understanding the object of sociology
 - A major epistemological break with *Suicide*

Outline

1. Social order and social integration from philosophy to sociology (in Europe)
2. On social division of labor
3. Suicide
 - 3.1. Suicide as an object for sociology
 - 3.2. Architecture of the types of Suicide
 - 3.3. Refutations of alternative theories
 - 3.4. Egotistic Suicide: A theory of social Integration
 - 3.5. Altruist Suicide. Excess of integration in some closed societies
 - 3.6. Anomic Suicide and the role of regulation.
4. Updates and controversies
 - 4.1. Replications and refutation by Halbwachs
 - 4.2. Suicides in France & World (Baudelot & Establet)

The pending question of social order



- 17th century philosophers: Why & how is there a society rather than chaos ?
 - Especially if social order is not based on God
- Hobbes (1588-1679)
 - State of nature: “A man is a wolf to another man” (*De Cive*, 1642)
 - How to avoid “war of all against all”?
 - Solution: *Leviathan* (1651) e.g. a monster with absolute power
 - Consent to absolute power for peace

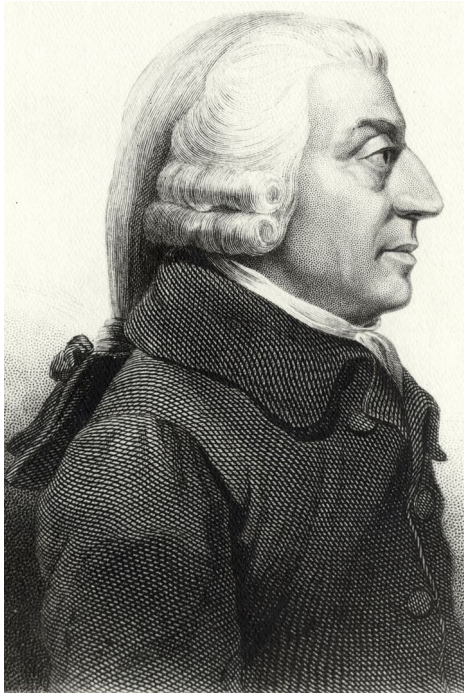
How to avoid the Leviathan solution?

- Rousseau (1712-1778) answers:
 - A social contract (*Le contrat social*, 1753)
 - Accept to obeying on authority only if it's fair
 - Fair if based on the *general will*
- Democracy



Picture: Jeaurat de Bertry, 1794, *Allégorie révolutionnaire*

How to avoid the Leviathan solution? (2)



- Adam Smith's (1723-1790) answer in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776)
 - Individual guided by self-interest
 - Market can make these plan compatible
 - Free markets and minimal state can create social order without Leviathan

Anxiety for social disintegration in the 19th

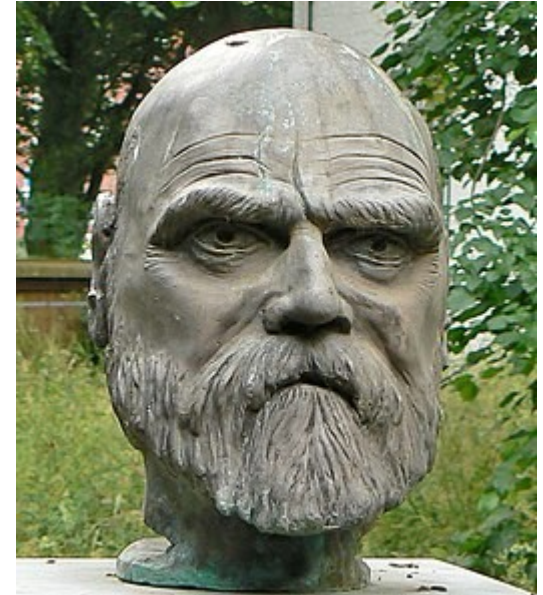
- Political disintegration in democracies
- Dechristianization
- Social question
- Urbanization and rural exodus
- Class struggle and call for revolutions



Tovar, Manuel. 1902. *The social question*

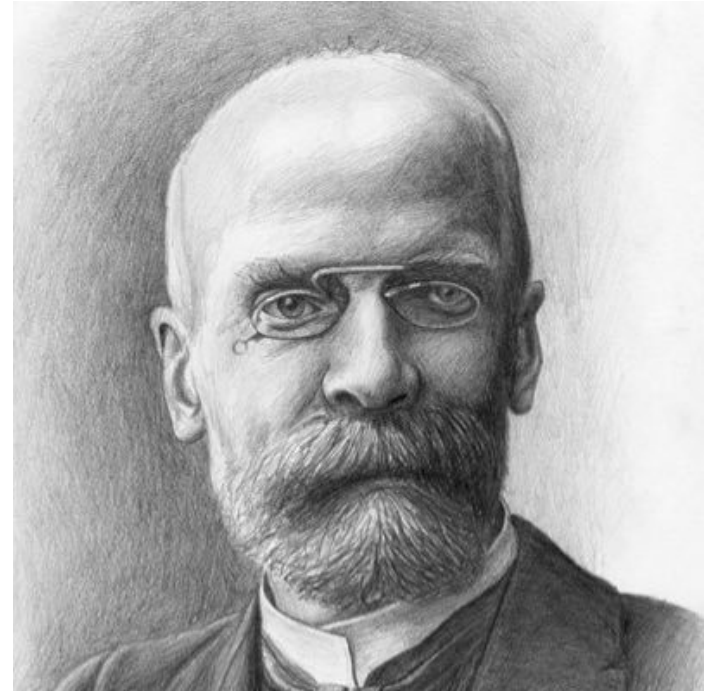
The conservative approach

- Counter-revolutionary intellectuals
 - Burke, de Maistre, de Bonald
 - Radical changes destroy social and political order
- Tönnies (1855-1936): *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* [1887, Community and society]
 - Community (the village / middle age): groups based on togetherness feelings
 - Society (the city / modernity: disconnected self-interested individuals
 - Deadly evolution from community to society



Turning integration into a scientific question

- Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). Biographical elements
 - Jewish. Son of a rabbi.
 - Normalien. Same cohort as Bergson and Jaurès.
 - Philosophical training.
 - Influence of C. Renouvier (Neo -Kantism) / Hobbes / Montesquieu / Rousseau
 - Republican and reformist/socialist leaning. Founder of Human Rights League
- Sociological sources of inspiration
 - Quételet. Average Man
 - Comte and the 3 stages-law
 - Spencer and social evolutionism

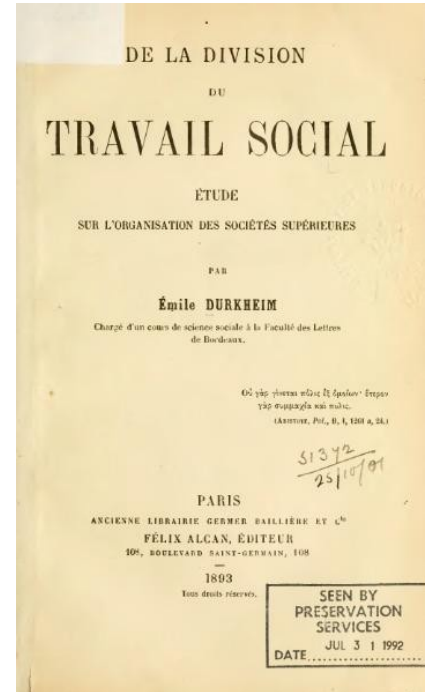


Main work

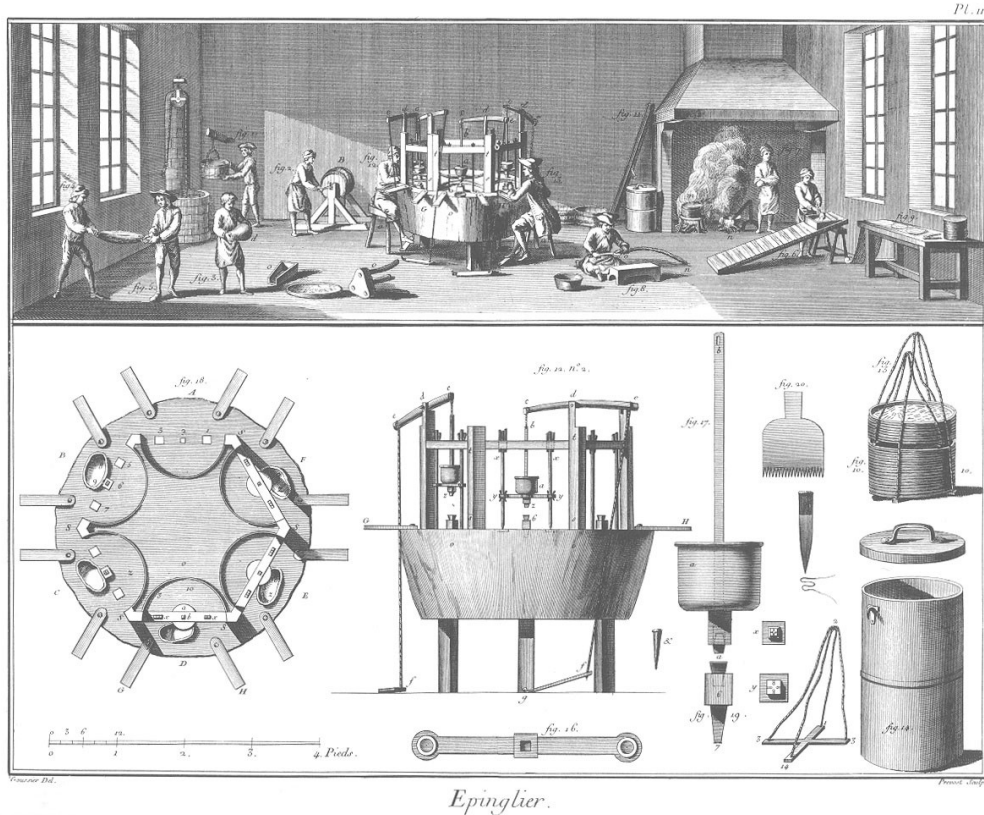
- 1893, *De la division du travail social*
 - 1894, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*
 - 1897, *Suicide*
 - 1912, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*
 - 1938, *L'évolution pédagogique en France*
- The division of labor in the society
 - Rules of sociological method
 - Suicide
 - The elementary forms of the religious life
 - The evolution Educational thought

The division of labor in society

- A functionalist perspective
 - Organicism: society as a living body
 - Function: an organ is useful to the body
 - Ex: Respiration: introduction of gasses in the body necessary for life.
 - Determining a function: finding “the need it supplies”
- What about functions in society? Is it teleological?
 - Darwinian approach. Not necessarily:
 - Random mutations
 - Selection if increasing adaptation
 - Dropped if decreases adaptation



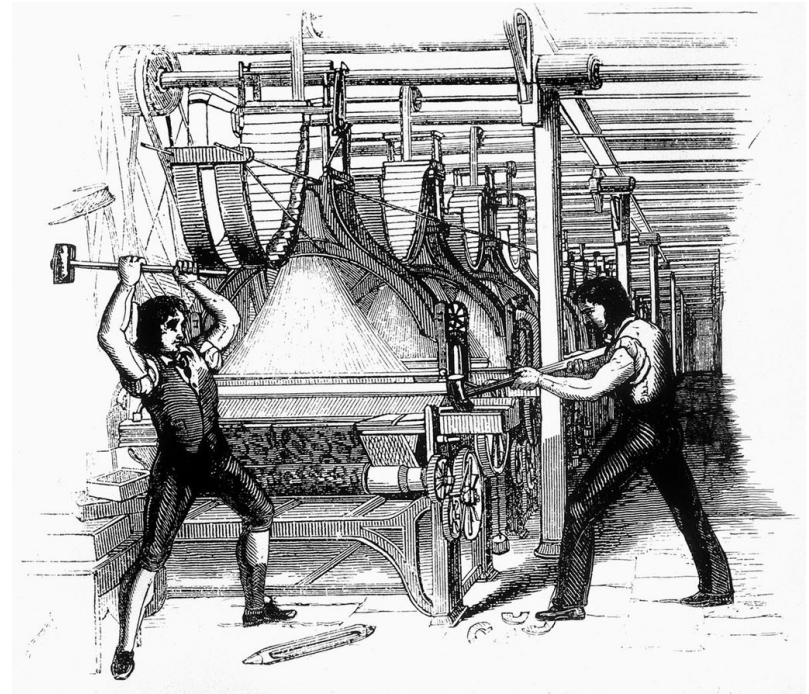
A way of increasing wealth?



- Adam Smith. *The Wealth of Nations*
- Description of a pin factory
- Amazement for very profound labor division
- Increases productivity
- And general wealth as a result

Or of destroying society ?

- Critics of division of labor
 - Luddist movement
 - Early Socialism
- Destruction of minds
 - Reduction to machines
- Destruction of jobs
- Destruction of bodies
- Destruction of communities



1812. *Machine breaking*

The causes of division of labor

- Size and density → Division of labor
 - Size: number of person in a society
 - Density: flow of exchange
- Economic mechanism (?)
 - Division of labor as way of attenuating competition

“The division of labor varies in direct ratio with the volume and density of, societies, and, if it progresses in a continuous manner in the course of social development, it is because societies become regularly dense and generally more voluminous.” (p. 262)

“La division du travail varie en raison directe du volume et de la densité des sociétés, et si elle progresse d'une manière continue au cours du développement social, c'est que les sociétés deviennent régulièrement plus denses et très généralement plus volumineuses.”

The consequences/functions of division of labor

- Division of labor creates “solidarity”
 - Mutual dependence
 - Set of norms and obligations tied to mutual dependence
 - Not reducible to economic dimension (wealth)
 - Against conservatives view. Division of labor is not antisocial but prosocial



(c) Kollwitz, Käthe. 1932. *Solidarity*

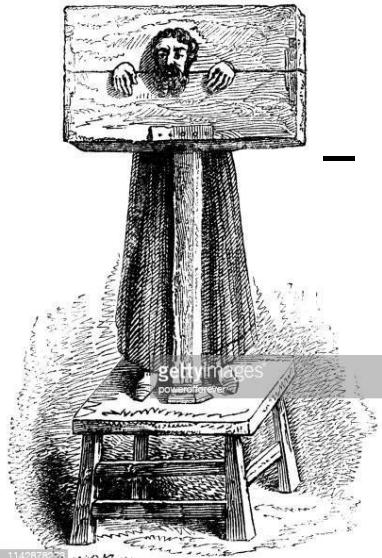
2 types of societies, 2 types of solidarities

- Low division of labor
 - Low level of differentiation
 - Exit option
 - Mechanical solidarity (based on rules, constraint, norms)
- High division of labor
 - Strong differentiation
 - Interdependence
 - Organic solidarity



Evolution of law as an empirical proof?

- Mechanical Solidarity
 - Repressive law
 - Revenge for violation of collective conscious state
 - Aim: Punishment of the criminal
- Organic solidarity
 - Restitution law
 - Repair the damages
 - Aim: relief for the victim
 - Ex: Administrative, business, prudhomme justice, etc.



Anomic labor division

- Labor division viewed positively
 - Strong function
 - Compatible and tied to growth of individualism
 - But... what about the liabilities of labor divisions
- Anomic labor division
 - Economic crises
 - Labor conflicts, class struggles/wars
- Anomic labor division is temporary.
 - Change too rapid and lack of Regulation
 - Development of professional groups (corporation/unions/industrial relations) as a solution (2nd Preface, 1902)

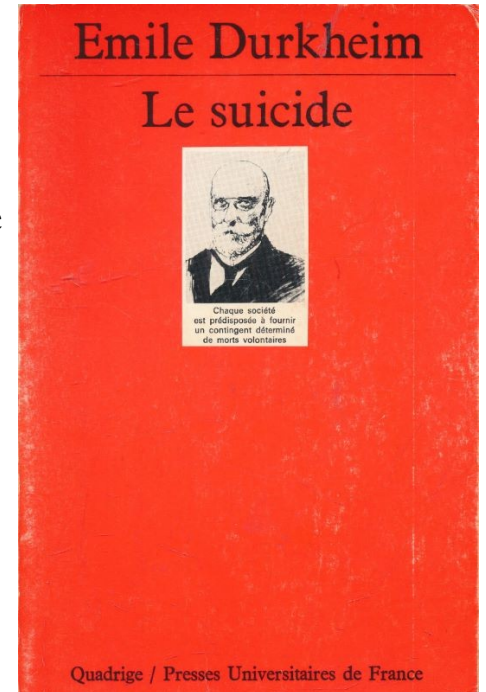
Take aways on Durkheim's division of labor

- Not conservative (and revolutionnary either)
 - A positive view on progress and switch to modernity
 - No nostalgia for “gemeinschaft”
 - Call for development of norms adapted to our modernity
- An old-fashion book
 - Only read today because of “Durkheim”
 - Evolutionist/Functionalist
- Pre-sociological (?)
 - Very little empirical proofs
 - Social theory à la Spencer/Comte
 - Before the “epistemological break” (Bachelard)
 - Suicide real epistemological break

Trigger warning: Explicit content about suicide!

Suicide. A foundational masterpiece

- Showing the potentiality of sociology
 - Studying individuals decide on the most intimate, dramatic and philosophical question: “is life worth living”?
 - If suicide determined by society => Legitimation of sociology as a true science
- A model of scientific rigor
 - A model still today for the art of conducting a scientific demonstration
- Answering key questions about the contemporary modernity
 - Rise in suicide, dislocation of society?
 - How suicide relates to key dimensions of societies: social integration & regulation?
- Does not study suicide for suicide, but for understanding society



Read Durkheim's suicide

- In French

https://monoskop.org/images/0/01/Durkheim_%C3%89mile_Le_suicide_1897.pdf

- In English

<https://www.gacbe.ac.in/images/E%20books/Durkheim%20-%20Suicide%20-%20A%20study%20in%20sociology.pdf>

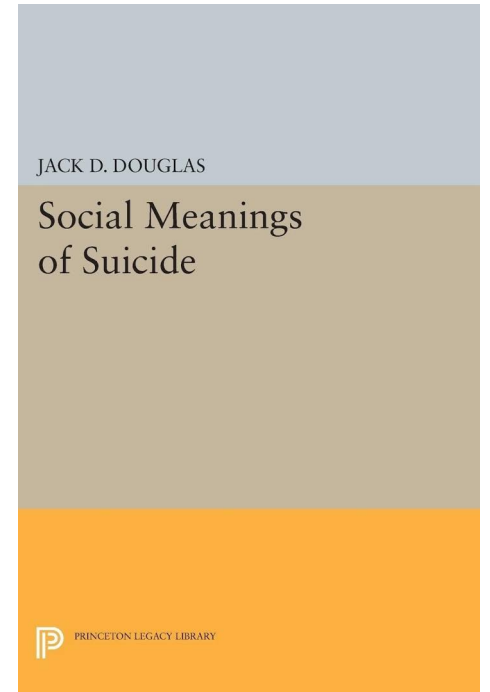
Defining and measuring suicide

- Defining: Application of rules of methods
 - “all cases of death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he[/she] knows will produce this result”
- Exclusion: military deaths, martyrs, “animal suicide”.
- And a measure: administrative data
 - !Problem: discrepancies between administrative data and definition

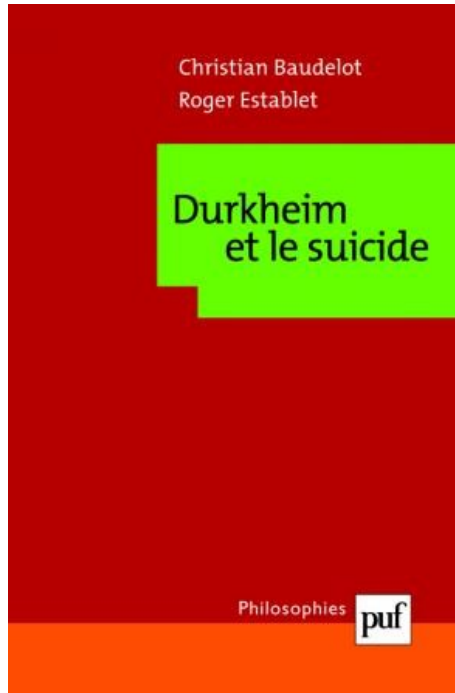
“... tout cas de mort qui résulte directement ou indirectement d'un acte positif ou négatifs accompli par la victime elle-même et qu'elle savait devoir produire ce résultat”

Measuring suicide: A critique

- No universal definition of suicide
 - Ex. Denial of medical treatment, euthanasia, madness
- Suicide is a matter of interpretation (accident or suicide : drowning, overmedication)
- People negotiate on qualifications of suicide. Some families don't want death to be recognized as suicide (Religion / Insurance)
- Administrative and medical data don't coincide



Not perfect... but not so bad (in France)



- Death must be declared in 24h to a registrar (Without causes of death)
- The registrar mandates a doctor to establish a death certificate.
 - First part. For civil register
 - Second part. Sealed. For Departmental health authority. Causes of death.
 - Individual anonymized and suicide reported in database
- If death violent: necessary to have the police and the judges, eventually fire workers.
- Difficult to hide suicide.
- In case of ambiguity between accident and suicide => police investigation. Eventual autopsy
- Doctors don't protect more females' honors by over-declaring drowning and overmedication as accidents rather than suicide
- Correcting for known mismatches don't change much results

Go back to Durkheim in the use of administrative Data

- Administrative data advantage and limits
 - Systematic collection
 - Exhaustive
 - (Relatively reliable)
 - But not organized along scientific research questions
- Solution: → inventive use of administrative data
- Find indirect proxies of key variables

Durkheim's scientific strategy

- Demonstrating with data
 - 1. Proving that suicide is “social”.
 - 2. Falsify other theories on suicide with data
 - Psychological/Racial/Cosmological/Imitation
 - 3. Prove that his sociological approach of suicide is well supported by data

The global architecture of the theory

- Social integration and regulation determine suicide rates
- Suicide as a result of incorrect balance of integration & regulation
- Anything goes, theory?
 - The global scheme looks such. But each type submitted to falsifiable test.
- Global imbalance in terms of discussion and proofs in favor of the question of integration
- Beyond theory, exceptional method
 - Let's dig in the book!

	Integration	Regulation
Too low	Egoist suicide (83 pages)	Anomic suicide (47 pages)
Too high	Altruist suicide (30 pages)	Fatalist suicide (1/2 page)

Suicide as an object of sociological science 1

- Suicide is stable
 - stability = object of science
 - Limit : stability could be “natural” rather than social

Table 1 Stability of suicide in the principal European countries (absolute figures)

Years	France	Prussia	England	Saxony	Bavaria	Denmark
1841	2,814	1,630		290		377
1842	2,866	1,598		318		317
1843	3,020	1,720		420		301
1844	2,973	1,575		335	244	285
1845	3,082	1,700		338	250	290
1846	3,102	1,707		373	220	376
1847	(3,647)	(1,852)		377	217	345
1848	(3,301)	(1,649)		398	215	(305)
1849	3,583	(1,527)		(328)	(189)	337

Suicide as an object of sociological science 2

Table II Comparative variations of the rate of mortality by suicide and the rate of general mortality

A. ABSOLUTE FIGURES

Period 1841-46	Suicides per 100,000 inhabi- tants	Deaths per 1,00 inhabi- tants	Period 1849-55	Suicides per 100,000 inhabi- tants	Deaths per 1,000 inhabi- tants	Period 1856-60	Suicides per 100,000 inhabi- tants	Deaths per 1,000 inhabi- tants
	1841	8.2		23.2	1849		10.0	27.3
1842	8.3	24.0	1850	10.1	21.4	1857	10.9	23.7
1843	8.7	23.1	1851	10.0	22.3	1858	10.7	24.1
1844	8.5	22.1	1852	10.5	22.5	1859	11.1	26.8
1845	8.8	21.2	1853	9.4	22.0	1860	11.9	21.4
1846	8.7	23.2	1854	10.2	27.4			
			1855	10.5	25.9			
Averages	8.5	22.8	Averages	10.1	24.1	Averages	11.2	23.8

B. ANNUAL RATE RELATED TO THE AVERAGE IN PERCENTAGE FORM

1841	96	101.7	1849	98.9	113.2	1856	103.5	97
1842	97	105.2	1850	100	88.7	1857	97.3	99.3
1843	102	101.3	1851	98.9	92.5	1858	95.5	101.2
1844	100	96.9	1852	103.8	93.3	1859	99.1	112.6
1845	103.5	92.9	1853	93	91.2	1860	106.0	89.9
1846	102.3	101.7	1854	100.9	113.6			
			1855	103	107.4			
Averages	100	100	Averages	100	100	Averages	100	100

- Suicide is more stable than death
 - Suspicion that it's not natural

Suicide as an object of science 3

Table III Rate of suicides per million inhabitants in the different European countries

	<i>Period</i>			<i>Numerical position in the</i>		
	<i>1866–70</i>	<i>1871–75</i>	<i>1874–78</i>	<i>1 period</i>	<i>2 period</i>	<i>3 period</i>
Italy	30	35	38	1	1	1
Belgium	66	69	78	2	3	4
England	67	66	69	3	2	2
Norway	76	73	71	4	4	3
Austria	78	94	130	5	7	7
Sweden	85	81	91	6	5	5
Bavaria	90	91	100	7	6	6
France	135	150	160	8	9	9
Prussia	142	134	152	9	8	8
Denmark	277	258	255	10	10	10
Saxony	293	267	334	11	11	11

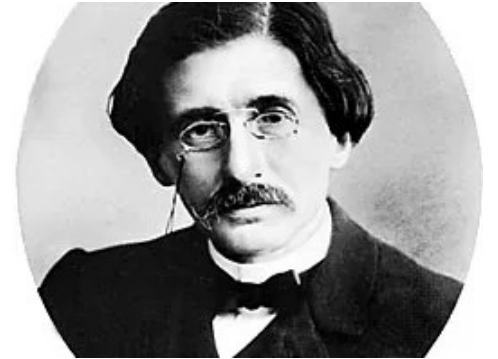
- Stable in the short term, but not stable on the long run.
- Contrary to natural deaths (flue, etc.)

Refuting other theories: genetical and cosmological

- Genetics: Race
 - Race: a concept with which Durkheim hesitant
 - Data. No relation with ethnic origin
 - Example: Swiss cantons
 - German Catholics 87/million
 - French Catholics: 83/million
 - German Protestants: 293/million
 - French Protestants: 456/million
- Cosmic factors
 - More Suicide in the North?
 - No: rate decreases above 55° latitude
 - More suicide with heat (in the summer)
 - True: but due tied to intensity of social life
- PS: Research on geography still active today.
 - Altitude & Latitude (sun exposition)

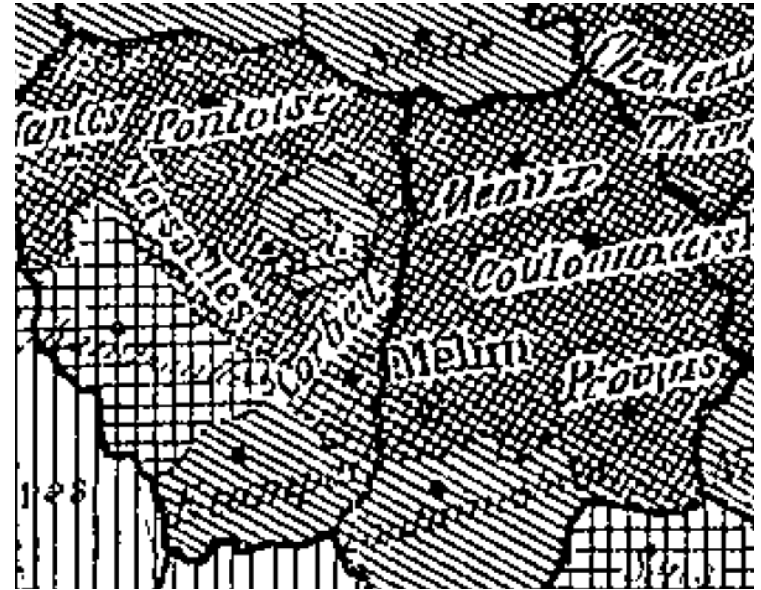
Debunking the main competitor

- Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904)
 - Lawyer, philosopher, criminologist, sociologist
 - 1890, *Les lois de l'imitation*
 - 1900 Professor at Collège de France & Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques
- Imitation as a key psycho/social mechanism for understanding society.
 - Individuals imitate individuals as they see them as alter egos.
 - For Durkheim: too psychological



Durkheim vs Tarde

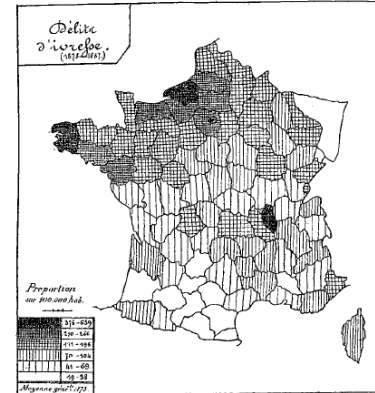
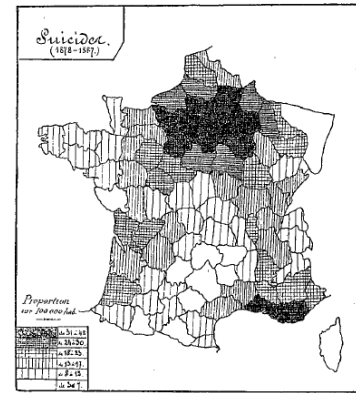
- Redefine rigorously imitation
- Geographical test
 - Imitation by proximity + from top to bottom
 - Suburban arrondissements close to Paris: higher rate of suicide than Paris
 - Paris : 471 suicide / million vs Coulommiers 500, Versailles 514, Melun 518, Meaux 525, Corbeil 559, Pontoise 561, Provins 562.
- Imitation, possible local impact. But not strong enough to impact suicide rates



What about psychology? Against alienism

- Suicide related to neurasthenia & insanity
 - “neurasthenia may reasonably predispose to suicide”...
“Unfortunately, the latter has not been statistically studied”
 - Hypothesis : neurasthenia varies proportionally to insanity
 - Compare determinants of both suicide and insanity
 - Female: slightly higher share of insane persons, a much lower share of death suicide
 - Little correspondence between rate of insanity and rate of suicide per religion/region/country
- PS: today, depression and schizophrenia are viewed factors of suicide! But social causes & psychiatric are not independent.

- Suicide and alcoholism
 - No relation



Egoistic suicide from hypothesis to test

- Hypothesis. Egoistic suicide => “lack of integration of the individual to society”.

H1: Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of society

- First domain of test: Religious society
 - Mechanism: Protestantism → “free inquiry” vs. Catholicism → priest intermediation.
 - Problem: No individual data neither on the degree of religious practice nor on the religion
 - Solution: Comparing suicide between regions where religious domination varies.

Prussian provinces (1883–90)			
Provinces with more than 90% Protestant	Suicides per million inhabitants	Provinces with from 89 to 68% Protestant	Suicides per million inhabitants
Saxony	309.4	Hanover	212.3
Schleswig	312.9	Hesse	200.3
Pomerania	171.5	Brandenburg and Berlin	296.3
		E. Prussia	171.3
Average	264.6	Average	220.0
Provinces with from 40 to 50% Protestant	Suicides per million inhabitants	Provinces with from 32 to 28% Protestant	Suicides per million inhabitants
W. Prussia	123.9	Posen	96.4
Silesia	260.2	Rhineland	100.3
Westphalia	107.5	Hohenzollern	90.1
Average	163.6	Average	95.6

Egoistic suicide from hypothesis to test

- Domestic society:
 - Suicide decreases with marriage
- Political society
 - Suicide decreases with 1848 revolutions in Europe, with war declarations, hot electoral moments

	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
30 to 40 Male	627	226	560
40 to 50 Male	975	340	721
30 to 40 Female	126	82	205
40 to 50 Female	171	106	168

	Denmark	Prussia	Bavaria
1847	345	1,852	217
1848	305	1,649	215
1849	337	1,527	189

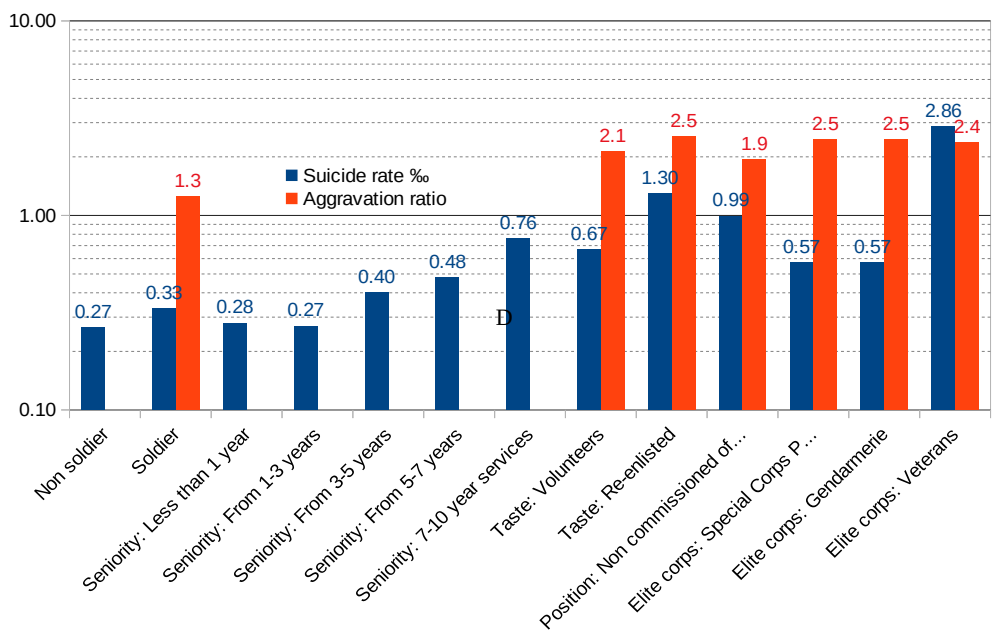
2. Integration and regulation. The Durkheimian

A scientific method (inspired by Stinchcomb, 1968)

- H1 implies A1, A2, A3 (correlation between religion and suicide)
 - H1 implies A1 (Correlation between religion (Protestants vs Catholics) and suicide in Germany)
 - H1 Credible
 - H1 implies also A2 (Jews versus Christians) and A3
 - H1 more credible
- H1 implies B1, B2, B3 (correlation between family and suicide in different location)
 - H1 even more credible
- Alternative hypothesis (HA mental health) does not imply A1, A2, A3
- H1 offers a broader explanation than HA. H1 is the most convincing

Altruistic suicide

- Suicide due to society's normative pressure
 - Example: Hara-Kiri. Difficult to capture in contemporary society
- Solution difference in suicide between soldiers and rest of society
- Method for proving
 - Common knowledge and examples
 - Military society => higher normative pressure



- Established facts
 - Military society => higher suicide
 - Higher integration (seniority, hierarchical position, voluntary) in military society → higher suicide
- Suggested plausible (not totally proven) conclusion
 - higher normative pressure → higher suicide

Anomic suicide

	1888	1889	1890
The seven months of the Exposition	517	567	540
The five other months	319	311	356

- Anomy: Regulation is absent or too weak

“Le suicide égoïste vient de ce que les hommes n'aperçoivent plus de raison d'être à la vie; le suicide altruïste de ce que cette raison leur paraît être en dehors de la vie elle-même ; la troisième sorte de suicide, dont nous venons de constater l'existence, de ce que leur activité est dérégulée et de ce qu'ils en souffrent. En raison de son origine, nous donnerons à cette dernière espèce le nom de suicide anémique.”

“Egoistic suicide results from man's no longer finding a basis for existence in life; altruistic suicide, because this basis for existence appears to man situated beyond life itself. The third sort of suicide, the existence of which has just been shown, results from man's activity's lacking regulation and his consequent sufferings. By virtue of its origin we shall assign this last variety the name of anomic suicide.”

- Human hopes & desires are frenetic. Society binds them with regulation
- Lack of Regulation
 - Misalignment of hopes, desires and outcomes
 - No clear social hierarchy
 - Suffering
 - Suicide

- Empirical proof 1. Crisis and booms.

- Suicide increases both with crashes and big economic booms
- ex. 1889 International exposition

“Si donc les crises industrielles ou financières augmentent les suicides, ce n'est pas parce qu'elles appauvrissent, puisque des crises de prospérité ont le même résultat; c'est parce qu'elles sont des crises, c'est-à-dire des perturbations de l'ordre collectif”

“If therefore industrial or financial crises increase suicides, this is not because they cause poverty, since crises of prosperity have the same result; it is because they are crises, that is, disturbances of the collective order.”

Economic anomaly (2)

Crisis

“Il se produit comme un déclassement qui rejette brusquement certains individus dans une situation inférieure à celle qu'ils occupaient jusqu'alors (...) Il en résulte qu'ils ne sont pas ajustés à la condition qui leur est faite et que la perspective même leur en est intolérable; de là des souffrances qui les détachent d'une existence diminuée avant même qu'ils en aient fait l'expérience.”

“In the case of economic disasters, indeed, something like a declassification occurs which suddenly casts certain individuals into a lower state than their previous one. (...) So they are not adjusted to the condition forced on them, and its very prospect is intolerable; hence the suffering which detaches them from a reduced existence even before they have made trial of it.”

Booms

“Moins on se sent limité, plus toute limitation paraît insupportable”

“The less limited one feels, the more intolerable all limitation appears.”

- Crisis
 - Downgrading to a condition to which one is not prepared
- Boom
 - unrealistic hopes → frustration
 - Relative frustration
 - Longitudinal
 - Low outcomes compared to high hopes
 - Relational
 - An individual's outcomes compared to others' more successful outcomes

Family anomy (3)

- Divorce as a case of anomy increasing (mostly male) suicide
 - Increase of suicide
 - Not just for divorced males but also for married
 - Marriage protection declines
 - But not for females. Marriage protection increases with divorce
- Old fashion sexist explanation
 - Males (but not females) need marriage bound to regulate frenetic sexuality
 - Combine naturalist & sociological explanation

2. Integration and regula

	<i>Suicides per million</i>	<i>Average of divorces and separations per 1,000 marriages</i>
1st group (5 departments)	Below 50	2.6
2nd group (18 departments)	From 51 to 75	2.9
3rd group (15 departments)	76 to 100	5.0
4th group (19 departments)	101 to 150	5.4
5th group (10 departments)	151 to 200	7.5
6th group (9 departments)	201 to 250	8.2
7th group (4 departments)	251 to 300	10.0
8th group (5 departments)	Above 300	12.4

<i>Country</i>	<i>Unmarried men above 15 years</i>	<i>Married men</i>	<i>Coefficient of preservation of married with reference to unmarried men</i>
<i>Where divorce does not exist</i>			
Italy (1884–88)	145	88	1.64
France (1863–68)*	273	245.7	1.11
<i>Where divorce is common</i>			
Boden (1885–93)	458	460	0.99
Prussia (1883–90)	388	498	0.77
Prussia (1887–89)	364	431	0.83

A fruitful footnote... Fatalist suicide

- Too much rules & future too bounded
- Suicide of slaves
- Suicide of spouses married too young
- “Unimportant today”.

“On voit par les considérations qui précèdent qu'il existe un type de suicide qui s'oppose au suicide anémique, comme le suicide égoïste et le suicide altruïste s'opposent entre eux. C'est celui qui résulte d'un excès de réglementation ; celui que commettent les sujets dont l'avenir est impitoyablement muré, dont les passions sont violemment comprimées par une discipline oppressive. C'est le suicide des époux trop jeunes, de la femme mariée sans enfant. Pour être complet, nous devrions donc constituer un quatrième type de suicide. Mais il est de si peu d'importance aujourd'hui et, en dehors des cas que nous venons de citer, il est si difficile d'en trouver des exemples, qu'il nous paraît inutile de nous y arrêter. Cependant, il pourrait se faire qu'il eût un intérêt historique. N'est-ce pas à ce type que se rattachent les suicides d'esclaves que l'on dit être fréquents dans de certaines conditions (V. Corre, *Le crime en pays créoles*, p. 48), tous ceux, en un mot, qui peuvent être attribués aux intempérances du despotisme matériel ou moral? Pour rendre sensible ce caractère inéluctable et inflexible de la règle sur laquelle on ne peut rien, et par opposition à cette expression d'anomie que nous venons d'employer, on pourrait l'appeler le suicide fataliste.”

Durkheim's normative solutions

- Handle lack of integration and anomy
 - Re-insertion
 - Re-regulate
- Not in a (too) conservative way
 - No call for a return to *Gemeinschaft*, religion or banning divorce
 - Unadapted to ideological shift in society
- Intermediary professional groups
 - Help mostly to solve egoistic suicide and anomic suicide due to economic suicide
 - Helpless for divorce
 - No solution for divorce

Take aways

- Altruistic and Fatalist suicide → almost disappeared
- The two big problem of modernity for Durkheim
 - Lack of integration: pretty convincing
 - Anomic suicide
 - Discussable. Alternative explanations of suicide-divorce link in terms of family integration.

Critiques and updates

- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1930. *Les causes du Suicide*
- Is suicide really due to religion? Or confounding variable
- Switzerland. Difference in urbanization explains a lot
- Once, transposed into urban/industrial district, French Catholics → similar to protestants
- Even with rural districts, protestants are more connected to urban life

	Districts agricoles	Districts mixtes	Districts industriels
Catholiques allemands.....	74	116	165
Catholiques français.....	88	151	309
Protestants allemands.....	209	228	257
Protestants français.....	414	429	378

The importance of mental health

- Gusmao et al. 2013, “Antidepressant utilization and suicide in Europe: an ecological multi-national study.” *PloS one*
 - Antidepressants major role in recent decrease in suicide rate
 - “Every unit increase in DDD of an antidepressant per 1000 people per day, adjusted for these confounding factors, reduces the SDR by 0.088”
- Genetic factors seem to count → Twin studies

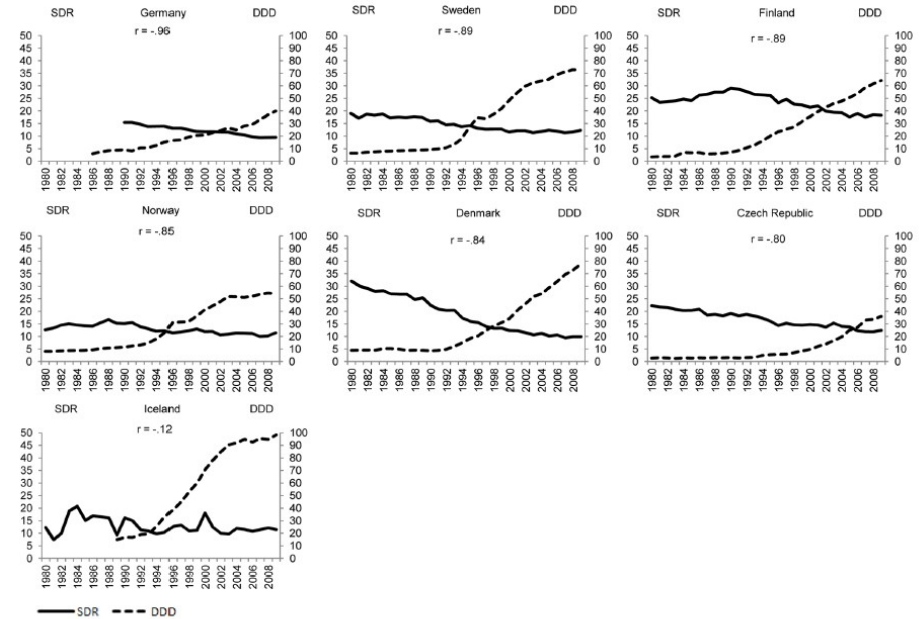
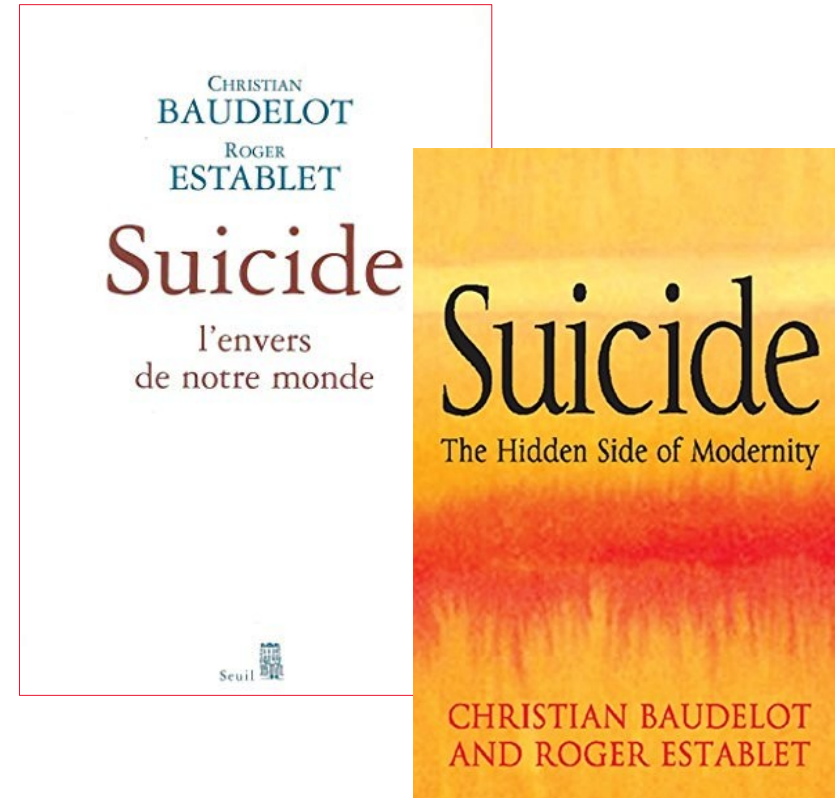


Figure 1. Suicide and use of antidepressants, by country, more than 19 years of simultaneous data ($P > .75$).
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0066455.g001

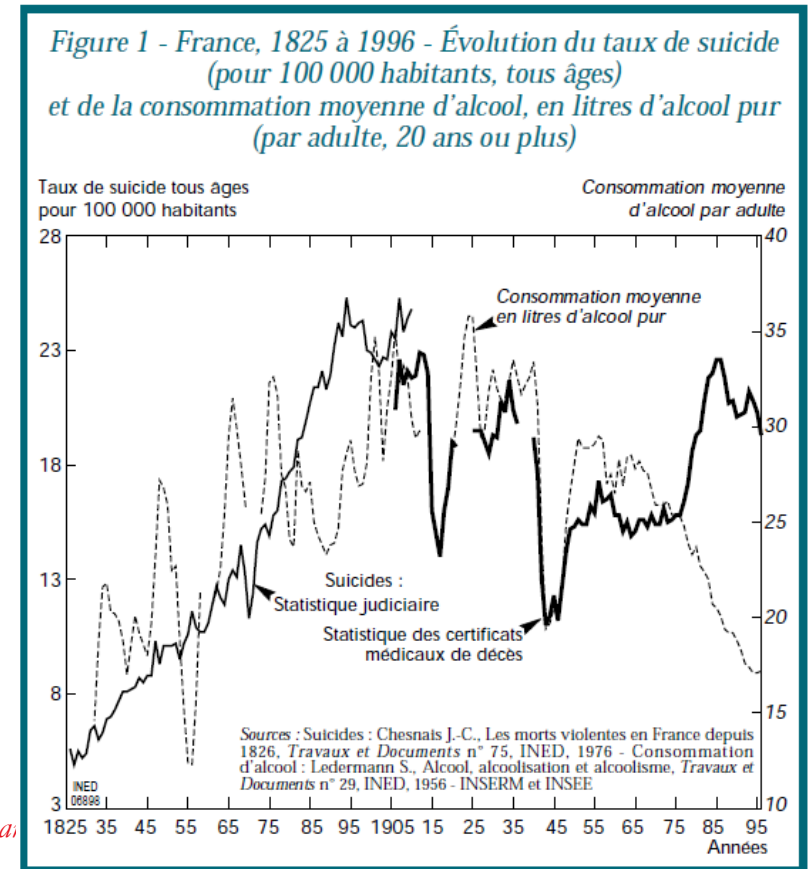
Suicide tells us things about society more than the other way around

- No opposition between Mental health and sociological explanation
 - Integration/anomy → mental health
- Suicide enables sociologists to learn about society, more than about suicide.
 - Social indicator of (un)happiness, (un) well-being



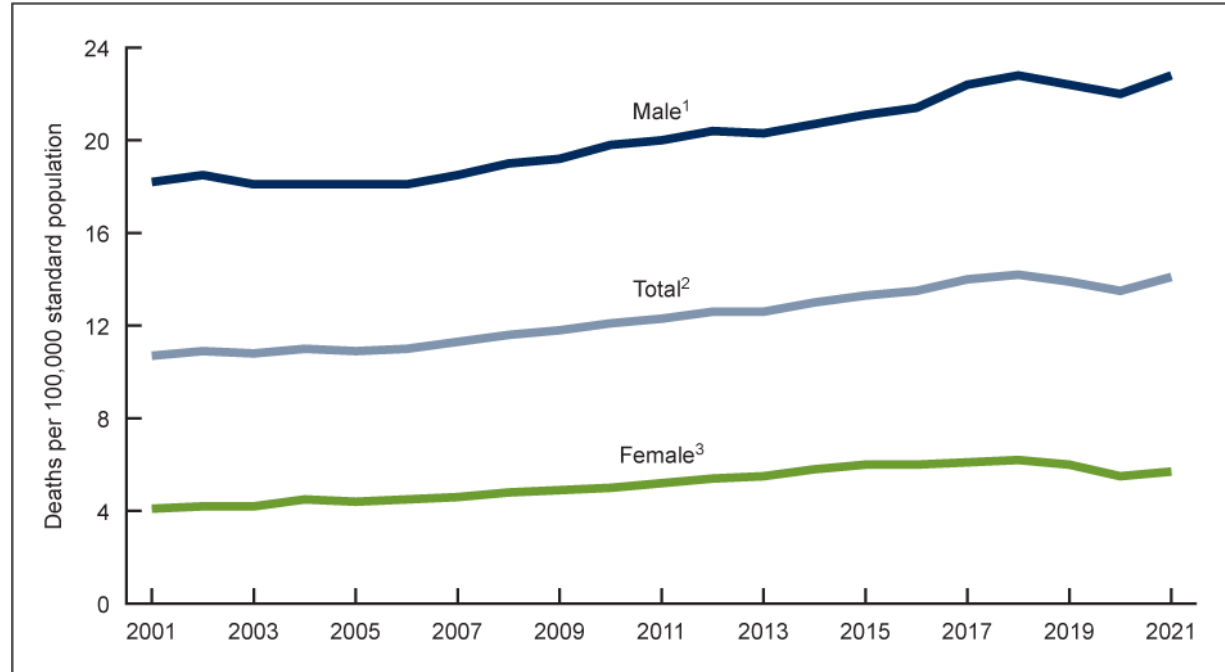
Permanence and changes in suicide

- Durkheim writes suicide at its peak !
 - Great increase in the 19th
- Strong declines with wars
- Increase in the 1970s/1980s, peaked in 1985
- Declining in France since then
 - 2002-2017. Decline by 30%
- Role of mental health



Recent decrease in suicide is not universal

Figure 1. Age-adjusted suicide rates, by sex: United States, 2001–2021



¹No statistically significant trend from 2001 through 2006; significant increasing trend from 2006 to 2018; no statistically significant trend from 2018 through 2021, $p < 0.05$. The rate in 2021 was significantly higher than the rate in 2020, $p < 0.05$.

²No statistically significant trend from 2001 through 2006; significant increasing trend from 2006 to 2018, with different rates of change over time; no statistically significant trend from 2018 through 2021, $p < 0.05$. The rate in 2021 was significantly higher than the rate in 2020, $p < 0.05$.

³Significant increasing trend from 2001 to 2017; significant decreasing trend from 2017 through 2021, $p < 0.05$. The rate in 2021 was significantly higher than the rate in 2020, $p < 0.05$.

NOTES: Suicide deaths are identified using *International Classification of Diseases, 10th Revision* underlying cause-of-death codes U03, X60–X84, and Y87.0. Age-adjusted death rates are calculated using the direct method and the 2000 U.S. standard population. Access data table for Figure 1 at: <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db464-tables.pdf#1>.

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics System, Mortality.

Permanence: males and elders

Durkheim: Suicide rate per million

France

(1835–44)

Men

Women

Below

16 years 2.2 1.2

16 to 20 56.5 31.7

20 to 30 130.5 44.5

30 to 40 155.6 44.0

40 to 50 204.7 64.7

50 to 60 217.9 74.8

60 to 70 274.2 83.7

70 to 80 317.3 91.8

Above 345.1 81.4

Tableau 1 • Effectifs et taux standardisés de décès par suicide selon le sexe et la classe d'âge, en 2017

	Femmes			Hommes			Ensemble		
	Nombre de décès par suicide	Taux de suicide standardisés ¹ (pour 100 000)	Part des suicides dans la mortalité totale	Nombre de décès par suicide	Taux de suicide standardisés ¹ (pour 100 000)	Part des suicides dans la mortalité totale	Nombre de décès par suicide	Taux de suicide standardisés ¹ (pour 100 000)	Part des suicides dans la mortalité totale
1-14 ans	9	0,2	1,9 %	16	0,3	2,5 %	25	0,2	2,3 %
15-24 ans	97	2,5	14,4 %	229	5,9	13,1 %	326	4,2	13,5 %
25-54 ans	860	6,6	6,6 %	2 941	23,5	11,7 %	3 801	15,0	10,0 %
25-34 ans	156	3,9	13,3 %	574	14,8	19,3 %	730	9,3	17,6 %
35-44 ans	257	6,0	8,5 %	998	23,9	16,7 %	1 255	15,0	13,9 %
45-54 ans	447	9,8	5,1 %	1 369	30,7	8,5 %	1 816	20,2	7,3 %
55-74 ans	707	8,8	1,4 %	1 911	26,3	2,0 %	2 618	17,6	1,8 %
55-64 ans	388	9,0	2,1 %	1 116	27,7	3,0 %	1 504	18,4	2,7 %
65-74 ans	319	8,7	1,0 %	795	24,5	1,4 %	1 114	16,6	1,3 %
75 ans ou +	415	10,6	0,2 %	1 181	49,5	0,7 %	1 596	30,1	0,4 %
75-84 ans	228	9,7	0,4 %	665	38,3	0,9 %	893	24,0	0,6 %
85-94 ans	172	13,2	0,1 %	482	77,7	0,6 %	654	45,5	0,3 %
95 ans ou +	15	10,8	0,0 %	34	90,1	0,3 %	49	50,5	0,1 %
Ensemble	2 088	6,0	0,7 %	6 278	20,7	2,1 %	8 366	13,4	1,4 %

1. Taux standardisés sur l'âge et le sexe de la population Eurostat EU-EFTA.

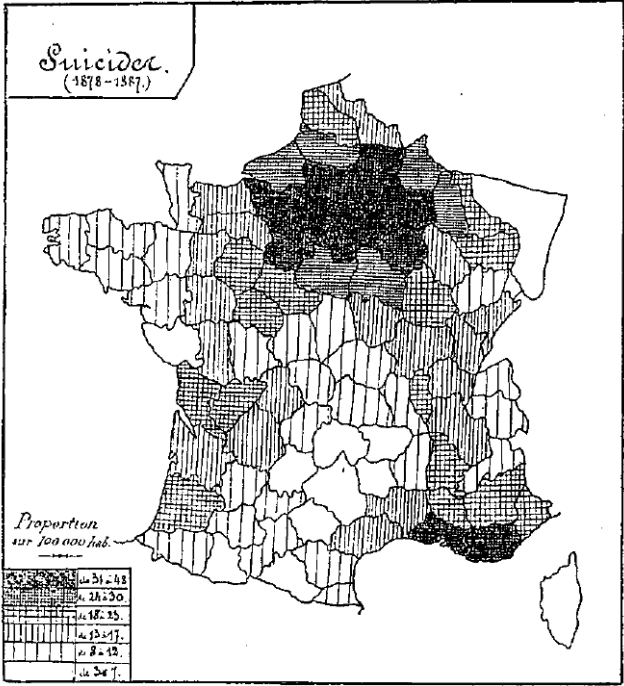
Lecture • En 2017, 8 366 décès par suicide ont été enregistrés en France entière (hors Mayotte). Le taux standardisé de décès par suicide est de 13,4 pour 100 000 habitants. La part du suicide dans le total des décès est de 1,4 %.

Champ • France entière (hors Mayotte).

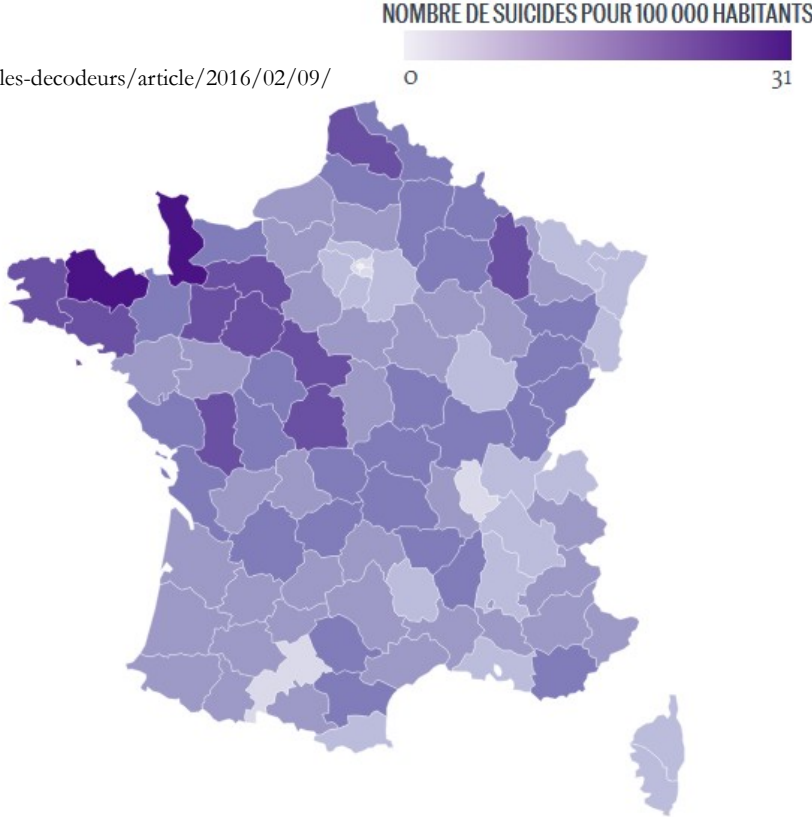
Source • Inserm-CépiDc.

2. *Integration and regula*

Change: From urban to rural



<https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2016/02/09/>



	<i>Suicides per million inhabitants</i>	
	<i>Urban population</i>	<i>Rural population</i>
1866-69	202	104
1870-72	161	110

Class: now a social gradient of integration

Table XXIV Suicides per million persons of different occupations

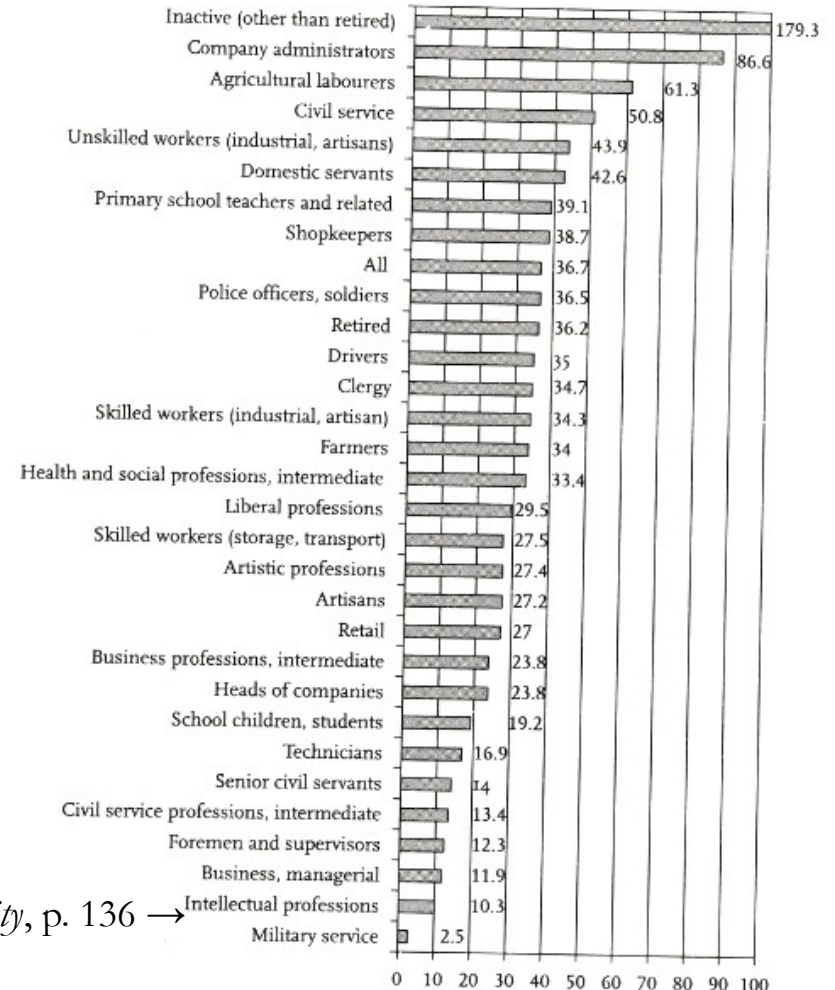
	Trade	Transportation	Industry	Agriculture	Liberal* professions
France (1878–87)†	440	...	340	240	300
Switzerland (1876)	664	1,514	577	304	558
Italy (1866–76)	277	152.6	80.4	26.7	618‡
Prussia (1883–90)	754	...	456	315	832
Bavaria (1884–91)	465	...	369	153	454
Belgium (1886–90)	421	...	160	160	100
Wurttemberg (1873–78)	273	...	190	206	...
Saxony (1878)		341.59§		71.17	...

Durkheim, *Suicide*, p.218

Baudelot, Establet, 2008. *Suicide, The hidden side of modernity*, p. 136 →

2. Integration and regulation. The Durkheim.

Figure 7.2 Male suicide rates between the ages of 25 and 49 by occupation (1989–1994) (rate per 100,000)



Source: INED.

Covid lockdowns & Suicide

- First lock-down.
 - 20% suicide
- Second lock-down
 - 8%
- Why and how does it reflect a Durkheimian logic?
 - Increase of collective solidarity when confronted to adverse event
 - Decrease in the intensity of collective life. People feel less excluded

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Discussion on an article



Bringing Anomie Back In: Exceptional Events and Excess Suicide

Mark Anthony Hoffman, Peter S. Bearman

Columbia University

Abstract: In this article we show that imitation is not the mechanism behind the observed increase in suicides subsequent to highly publicized celebrity suicides. Instead, we show that most celebrity suicides are exceptional events and because of that have similar effects on the daily suicide rate as other exciting events. This finding suggests that Durkheim was right in rejecting the Tardean hypothesis that imitation is an operative mechanism and provides substantial support for the competing hypothesis that disruptive and/or exciting events (whether favorable or unfavorable) induce anomie and with it suicide.

Keywords: imitative suicide; suicide; anomie; Durkheim

Front end

- What is the puzzle?
- What is the research question?
- What is the theoretical setting?
- What are the hypothesis?

Research design and data

- What data do the authors use?
- Does it fit the research question?
- What type of statistical design do they use?
 - Advantage and limitation
- How convincing is the research design?

On table 1

- Who are Bollen and Philipps?
- What's a replication?

Table 1: Replication of Bollen and Phillips (1982) for the period 1973–1976

Date of Publicized Event	Suicides in Experimental Period	Suicides in Control Period	Difference between Experimental and Control Period Suicides
June 4, 1973	528	489	93
September 11, 1973	487	514	−27
July 15, 1974	482	462	20
April 11, 1975	593	572	21
September 3, 1975	553	530	52
May 13, 1976	550	575	−25

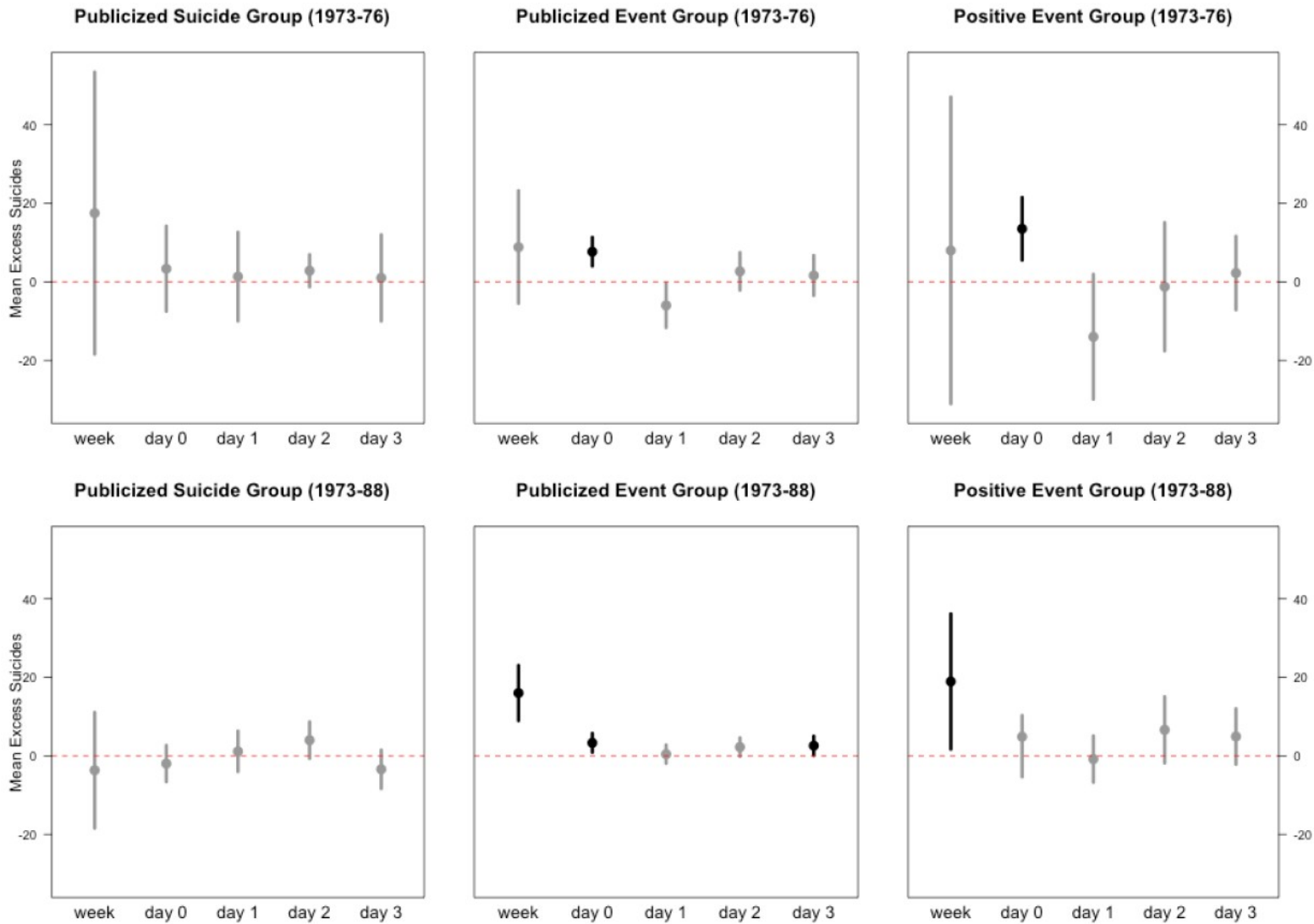
Figure 1

- How to read this figure?
- What does it show?



2. Integration and regulation. The Durkheimian cor

Figure 2



Reading tables (1)

- What to read in a table
- Parameter
- Standard error
- Significance?
- Substantive interpretation

Table 2: The effect of celebrity suicide and exceptional events on daily suicide, 1973-1976

Suicides 1973-76	Coefficient	95% Conf. Int.	
Intercept	61.89 (2.07)	57.83	65.95
Lagged suicides	0.09 (0.03)	0.04	0.14
Day(0)	4.44 (3.82)	-3.05	11.94
Day(1)	7.45 [†] (3.82)	-0.05	14.94
Day(2)	2.13 (3.83)	-5.37	9.64
Day(3)	-1.48 (3.82)	-8.97	6.02
Day(4)	0.72 (3.82)	-6.78	8.21
Day(5)	0.74 (3.82)	-6.75	8.24
Day(6)	4.85 (3.82)	-2.64	12.34

Events 1973-76	Coefficient	95% Conf. Int.	
Intercept	61.89 (2.07)	57.83	65.95
Lagged suicides	0.10 (0.07)	-0.40	0.14
Day(0)	5.41* (2.21)	1.07	9.75
Day(1)	2.22 (2.22)	-2.13	6.58
Day(2)	1.70 (2.22)	-2.65	6.06
Day(3)	2.12 (2.22)	-2.23	6.48
Day(4)	0.04 (2.22)	-4.31	4.40
Day(5)	2.80 (2.22)	-1.56	7.16
Day(6)	0.26 (2.22)	-4.10	4.62

* Significant at a 0.05 level, † Significant at a 0.1 level.

Table 3: The effect of celebrity suicide and exceptional events on daily suicide, 1973-1988

Suicides 1973-76	Coefficient	95% Conf. Int.	
Intercept	68.10 (1.21)	65.73	70.46
Lagged suicides	0.10 (0.01)	0.07	0.12
Day(0)	0.86 (1.93)	-2.93	4.64
Day(1)	4.13* (1.93)	0.35	7.92
Day(2)	3.36† (1.93)	-0.43	7.15
Day(3)	-2.26 (1.93)	-6.05	1.52
Day(4)	-1.11 (1.93)	-4.89	2.68
Day(5)	1.65 (1.93)	-2.13	5.44
Day(6)	-0.23 (1.93)	-4.02	3.55
Events 1973-88	Coefficient	95% Conf. Int.	
Intercept	68.08 (1.21)	65.71	70.44
Lagged suicides	0.10 (0.01)	0.07	0.12
Day(0)	2.2* (1.03)	0.18	4.22
Day(1)	2.65* (1.03)	0.64	4.67
Day(2)	1.11 (1.03)	-0.90	3.13
Day(3)	1.87† (1.03)	-0.16	3.87
Day(4)	0.15 (1.03)	-1.86	2.17
Day(5)	0.58 (1.03)	-1.44	2.60
Day(6)	0.41 (1.03)	-1.61	2.42

* Significant at a 0.05 level, † Significant at a 0.1 level.

Reading tables (2)

Table 4: The effect of positive exceptional events on daily suicide, 1973-1988

Positive Events 1973-88	Coefficient	95% Conf. Int.	
Intercept	68.15 (1.21)	65.78	70.51
Lagged suicides	0.10 (0.01)	0.07	0.12
Day(0)	3.84 (2.46)	-0.98	8.66
Day(1)	4.79† (2.46)	-0.03	9.61
Day(2)	5.3* (2.46)	0.48	10.12
Day(3)	4.95* (2.46)	0.13	9.77
Day(4)	0.29 (2.46)	-4.53	5.11
Day(5)	0.51 (2.46)	-4.31	5.33
Day(6)	-2.20 (2.46)	-7.05	2.59

* Significant at a 0.05 level, † Significant at a 0.1 level.

How to read tables 5&6?

- Where's 100%?
- Why “homophily”?
- Role in the argument

Table 5: Homophily by Mode of Suicide

Method used in highly publicized suicide	Mean Proportion of People who Used Each Method						
	Firearm	Poisoning	Asphyx.	Submers.	Cutting	Jumping	Other
Firearm (<i>n</i> = 9)	55.58%	21.95%	14.39%	2.34%	1.23%	2.77%	1.74%
Poisoning (<i>n</i> = 6)	56.27%	20.35%	15.17%	2.33%	1.39%	2.46%	2.04%
Asphyxiation (<i>n</i> = 5)	60.00%	18.29%	14.52%	1.74%	1.46%	2.82%	1.17%
Submersion (<i>n</i> = 1)	57.28%	23.03%	11.22%	1.97%	1.77%	2.56%	2.17%
Cutting (<i>n</i> = 2)	58.96%	19.31%	13.87%	1.72%	2.09%	2.16%	1.89%
Jumping (<i>n</i> = 1)	55.99%	23.61%	14.33%	1.69%	0.84%	1.69%	1.85%
Unknown (<i>n</i> = 2)	54.18%	21.43%	15.96%	2.07%	1.53%	2.66%	2.17%
Baseline	57.4%	21.0%	13.9%	1.8%	1.5%	2.7%	1.7%

Table 6: Homophily by Social Demographic Characteristics

Sex of person(s) in publicized suicide	Mean Proportion in Experimental Period		
	Male	Female	
Male	76.29%	23.71%	
Female	75.46%	24.54%	
Baseline	75.7%	24.3%	

Race of person(s) in publicized suicide	White	Black	Other
White (<i>n</i> = 23)	92.64%	6.00%	1.35%
Non-White (<i>n</i> = 2)	94.53%	3.46%	2.01%
Unknown (<i>n</i> = 1)	91.9%	6.20%	1.9%
Baseline	92.3%	6.00%	1.70%

2. Integr

Repeated events

- What does it mean?
- Why distinguishing repeated and unrepeated events?

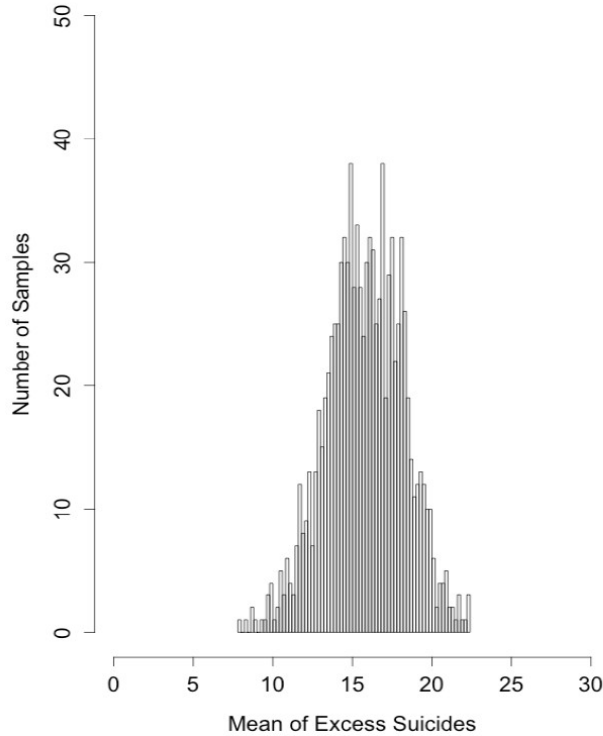
Table 7: The attenuating effect of repeated (constructive) events on suicide mortality

Repeated Events 1973-88	Coefficient	95% Conf. Int.	
Intercept	67.99 (1.21)	65.62	70.35
Lagged suicides	0.10 (0.01)	0.08	0.13
Day(0)	0.94 (1.13)	-1.29	3.16
Day(1)	0.23 (1.14)	-2.00	2.46
Day(2)	0.47 (1.14)	-1.76	2.70
Day(3)	1.30 (1.14)	-0.91	3.55
Day(4)	-2.16 [†] (1.14)	-4.39	0.08
Day(5)	0.26 (1.14)	-1.98	2.49
Day(6)	-2.23* (1.14)	-4.46	0.00

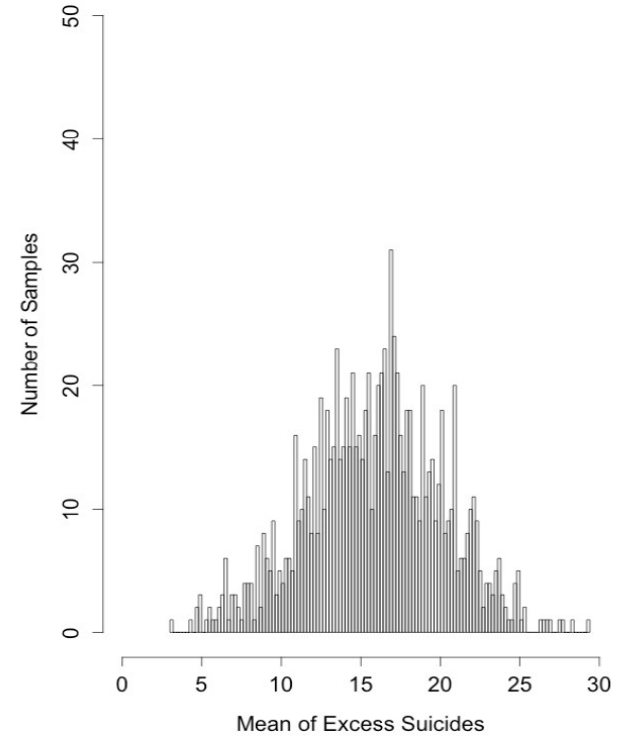
* Significant at a 0.05 level, † Significant at a 0.1 level.

Why sampling the events?

Samples include 75% of Total Events



Samples include 50% of Total Events



What is this placebo test?

Samples include 94 randomly selected days, excluding days on and around holidays or events/suicides

