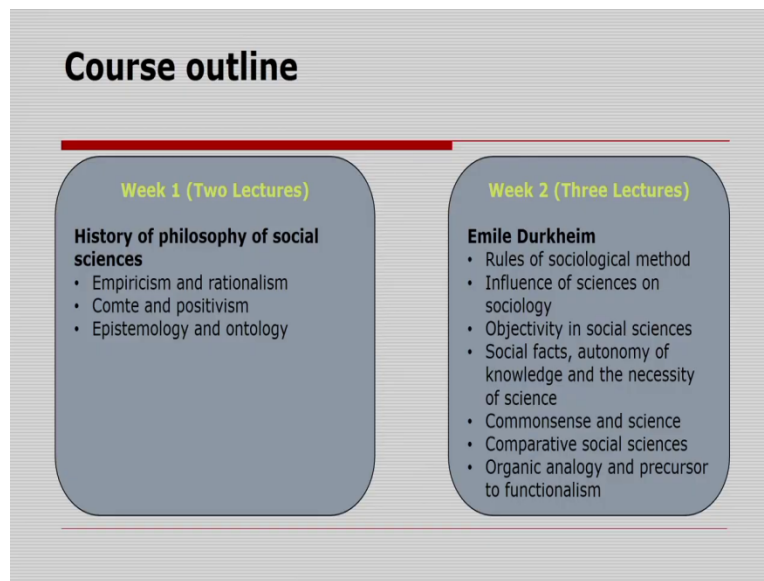


**Philosophical Foundations of Social Research**  
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**Week 2 (Emile Durkheim) : Lecture No. 03**  
**The Rules of Sociological Method**

Hello everyone. As you know that we are in the second week of this massive open online course on philosophical foundations of social research.



In the first week, we have already discussed history of philosophy of Social Sciences; how philosophy in its pre nineteenth century incarnation was divided into 2 parts, namely natural philosophy and social and moral philosophy; and how, by integrating natural philosophy with social and moral philosophy, we tend to arrive at modern philosophy of science. Within that, we have discussed empiricism and rationalism. Auguste Comte, the founder of the discipline sociology and his law of 3 stages namely the theological stage, the metaphysical stage and the positivistic or scientific stage.

And then we have discussed, epistemology and ontology. How epistemology and ontology must be interrelated? And now, in the second week comprising 3 lectures, we are going to discuss Emile Durkheim's rules of sociological method, influence of sciences on sociology, objectivity in social sciences, social facts and the autonomy of knowledge, autonomy of sociology as a science, and the necessity of science, common sense and science, comparative social sciences, organic analogy and precursor to functionalism and so on.

We will discuss these in the context of Durkheim's rules of sociological method, Durkheim's contribution to sociology of knowledge and Durkheim's philosophy of religion. Why I want to reflect on these precisely because it will cover most of the portions of the Durkheim's works which have significant implications for social sciences. Rules of sociological method, the division of labor in society and the elementary forms of religious life. Now, we will start with Emile Durkheim's the rules of sociological method.

**Emile Durkheim**

- Durkheim's *The Rules of Sociological Method*
  - To establish the status of sociology as an autonomous discipline, distinct from its closest relatives, biology and psychology. For Durkheim, this demonstration takes the form of establishing the prior existence of a realm or aspect of reality, distinct and autonomous from the orders of reality of which the other sciences constitute knowledge.
  - Indispensable role of argument by analogy with aspects of other sciences, at least in the early phases of development of a new science.
  - A third objective in the *Rules* is the demonstration, against certain of Durkheim's philosophical opponents, of both the possibility and the necessity of a specific scientific knowledge of the social order.
  - Finally, the attempt to construct a conception of the methods and forms of scientific explanation in their application to the new domain.

But before starting this let me give you a brief prefatory remark that he was a French sociologist, in the period of French history, during which the Durkheim's theoretical position resembled the period of Comte's course in positive philosophy in a number of respects.

We have already discussed the course in positive philosophy by August Comte where he discussed his law of 3 stages. Namely, the theological stage, the metaphysical stage and the scientific or positivistic stage. For both Comte and Durkheim, contemporary forms of political order were unstable and fragile upon the threats from both left and right; from both ideological fronts.

Emile Durkheim was a was a French sociologist who rose to prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Along with Karl Marx and Max Weber, he is credited as one of the principal founders of modern sociology. Chief among his claims is that society is a sui generis reality or a reality unique to itself and, and irreducible to its composing parts.

It is created when individual consensus, interact and fuse together to create a synthetic reality that is completely new and greater than the sum of its parts. Then the society as an organic whole is much larger than the sum of its limbs or parts. This reality can be understood in sociological terms for Durkheim and cannot be reduced to biological or psychological explanations.

The fact that social life has this quality would constitute the foundation of another Durkheim's claims that the human societies could be studied scientifically. For this purpose, Durkheim developed new methodology, which focuses on what Durkheim calls social facts, or in other words, elements of collective life that exist independently of and are able to exert an influence on an individual.

Using this method of social facts, Durkheim published influential works on a number of topics, namely, the division of labor in society, the rules of sociological method, suicide, the elementary forms of religious life and so on. When Durkheim began writing, sociology was not recognized as an independent field of study. As part of the campaign to change this, Durkheim went to great lengths to separate sociology from all other disciplines, and especially philosophy.

As a consequence of which, while Durkheim's influence in the social sciences has been extensive, his relationship with philosophy remains ambiguous. Nevertheless, Durkheim maintained that sociology and philosophy are in many ways complimentary, going so far as to say that sociology has an advantage over philosophy. Since his sociological methods provide the means to study philosophical questions empirically.

We have already discussed what is empiricism that is based on experience rather than metaphysically or theoretically. As a result Durkheim often used sociology to approach topics that have traditionally been reserved for philosophical investigations. But what persuaded Durkheim to undertake this kind of project? It was that Durkheim was not the first thinker to attempt to make sociology a science.

Auguste Comte, who wish to extend the scientific method to the social sciences, in terms of the transition that he made, from theological stage to metaphysical stage to positivistic or scientific stage, and Herbert Spencer, who developed an evolutionary utilitarian approach that he applied to different areas in the social sciences made notable attempts, and their work had a formative influence on Durkheim.

But particularly, Durkheim appropriated elements of Comte's positivism, as well as elements of his scientific approach to studying societies. Durkheim's analysis of the ways in which different parts of society operate to create a functioning whole, as well as the use of his organic analogy was in many ways inspired by Spencer's own brand of functionalist analysis. What is functionalism?

Functionalism means complementarity and reciprocity of roles in the social division of labor. There must be mutual cooperation when different roles are performed in society. Nevertheless, Durkheim was critical of these attempts at sociology and neither Comte nor Spencer had sufficiently divorced their analysis from metaphysical assumptions that we're creations of only nature.

These were to be found particularly in what Durkheim considered Comte and Spencer's unilinear models of social, economic, political and cultural development which were based on a priori laws of social evolution. What is a priori? That is prior to empiricism prior to experience nothing is a priori in Durkheim's analysis. For Durkheim everything is a posteriori or post empiricism, post experience.

While Durkheim incorporated elements of evolutionary theory into his own, he did so in a much critical way and was not interested in developing a grand theory of society as much as developing a perspective, and a method that could be applied in diverse ways. What is a perspective? A perspective refers to a set of symbols, which human beings select from all potentially observable aspects of nature. When I say nature, it includes both natural as well as social phenomena. A perspective is above all a viewpoint that helps us in selecting and organizing our perceptions and guiding our actions.

In this way, the sociological method, that Durkheim devised thus set to be free of metaphysical positivism of Comte and Spencer and differed greatly from mere extension of the scientific method of the natural sciences to society. Several of Durkheim's teachers in France would also have an important impact on his thinking. Durkheim read Comte, and got the idea that sociologists could have its own unique subject matter and thus was not reducible to any other field of study.

Eminent historians of the time - namely Monod, Coulanges - introduced Durkheim to systematic empirical and comparative methods that could be applied to history and the social sciences. Renouvier was a neo-kantian philosopher - Neo-Kantianism philosophy stood against positivism and Neo-Kantianism suggests that whatever knowledge that we have produced it is a byproduct of social political economic cultural context, which is subject to multiple interpretations. Renouvier, a neo-kantian philosopher, also had a large impact on Durkheim.

Renouvier was an adamant rationalist, and likely played a fundamental role in shaping Durkheim's interpretation of Immanuel Kant. Kant made a huge contribution to the Critique of Pure Reason. Especially Durkheim's understanding of the categories and understanding that some observers have called into question. Now, throughout Durkheim's life many notable thinkers would have a prominent impact on him, but Durkheim very often has been misunderstood in the annals of Social Sciences precisely because most of his students were killed during the First World War. They could not make his case, even in a striking manner, in the post first world war.

Durkheim's rules of sociological method, has at least 4 objectives. First to establish the status of sociology as an autonomous discipline distinct from its closest relatives, namely biology and psychology. For Durkheim, this demonstration takes the form of establishing the prior existence of realm or aspect of reality distinct and autonomous from the orders of reality of which the other sciences constitute knowledge. It is generally recognized that around the period of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries that in Durkheim's life, he changed the themes and approaches in his work. For example, in the division of labor in society Durkheim focused on how the material and morphological elements of a society affected it whereas afterwards, he began to concentrate on the on the ideational elements of society with an increasing focus on representations collectives. What are these representations collectives?

Namely morality, religion, and social norms and values. Other philosophers are also prominent in Durkheim's discussion namely Immanuel Kant, Plato, William James, Rene Descartes among others. According to Durkheim all elements of society for Durkheim including morality and religion are part of the natural world and can be studied scientifically.

In particular Durkheim sees sociology, as the science of institutions which refer to collective ways of thinking, feeling and acting. A fundamental element of this science is the sociological

method which Durkheim formulated specifically for this corpus. The foundational claim for Durkheim sociology is the existence of what Durkheim calls social facts.

What is a social fact? A social fact as defined by Durkheim in the rules of sociological method is a category of facts which present very special characteristics: they consist of manners of acting, thinking and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power of virtue of which they exercise control over him. For example, farmer suicides in India is a social fact. Durkheim was never interested in a particular individual Durkheim was more interested in the action of the collective, group, majority, collective spirit. Now if somebody asks me, what is the difference between collective and majority? I would say that collective is a sociological variable, whereas majority is a political variable. Durkheim was more interested in the collective, not individual as such.

According to Durkheim social facts have an objective reality. And sociologists can study in a similar way to how other scientists, technologists, engineers, such as physicists, study the physical world. An important corollary to such definition of social facts, that there is a category of facts which present very special characteristics, they consist of manners of acting, thinking and feeling external to the individual which are invested with the coercive power of virtue of which they exercise control over him or her.

And an important corollary to such definition is that social facts are also internal to individuals and it is only through individuals that social facts are able to exist. In this sense, externality means interior to individuals other than the individual subject. This leads to the seemingly paradoxical statement that social facts are both external, as well as, internal to the individual: a claim that has frequently been misunderstood and left Durkheim work open to criticism.

In order to fully grasp, how social facts that are created and operate, it must be understood that for Durkheim a society is not merely a group of individuals living in one particular geographical location. Rather, a society is an ensemble of ideas, beliefs, and sentiments of all sorts that are realized through individuals; it indicates a reality that is produced when individuals interact with one another.

As a result, what we see there is a fusion of individual consensus, individual moral values, ethical value systems and such fusion of individual consensus, is a sui generis reality. It implies

that the social fact much as water is the product of the combination of 2 molecules of hydrogen and 1 molecule of oxygen, is a wholly new entity with distinct properties, irreducible to its composing parts and unable to be understood by any other means than those proper to it.

In other words, society is greater than the sum of its parts; it supersedes in complexity, depth and richness and the existence of any particular individual. This psychic reality is sometimes referred to by Durkheim with the term collective conscience in the division of labor in society, which can alternately be translated into English as collective conscience or collective consciousness.

When we discussed that the first objective of the rules of sociological method is to establish the status of sociology and autonomous discipline distinct from its closest relatives namely biology and psychology: for Durkheim, this demonstrates and takes the form of establishing the prior existence of a realm or aspect of reality, distinct and autonomous from the orders of reality of which the other sciences constitute knowledge. One must understand how Durkheim acknowledges the indispensable role of argument by analogy. No argument should be based on the basis of belief. One must make an argument in terms of analogy with aspects of other sciences at least in the early stages of development of a new science. What is more, in the context of the indispensable role of argument by analogy and collective conscience: Society and social phenomenon can only be explained in sociological terms as the fusion of individual consensus that once created, followed its own laws, society cannot be explained for example, in biological or psychological terms.

Social facts are key or important instruments, since they are what constitute and express the psychic reality that is called society. Through social facts individual acquire particular traits particular characteristics, particular features such as a language or monetary system, values, religious beliefs, tendencies for suicide, technologies that they would never have had living in total isolation.

That is why Durkheim emphasized upon the fact that how social facts are created and operate, it must be understood that that a society is not merely a group of individuals living in any particular geographical location, rather societies and in ensemble of ideas, beliefs, and sentiments of all sorts that are realized through individuals and it indicates a reality that is produced when individuals interact with one another resulting in the fusion of individual consensus.

And this fusion of individual consensus is a sui generis reality. That's why, if we isolate ourselves from society, perhaps we will not be able to understand our economy, our culture, our quality and so on, we must be part of such economies such culture such quality, to make sense of society as a part of collective conscience.

The third objective in the rules of sociological method is the demonstration against certain of Durkheim philosophical opponents of both the possibility and the necessity of a specific scientific knowledge of the social order. How is it going to be there? We will see. And finally, the attempt to construct conception of the methods and forms of scientific explanation in their application to the new domain.

Durkheim identifies different kinds of social facts with constraint remaining the key feature of each. For example, social facts include a society's legal code, religious belief, concept of beauty, monetary system, ideology, ways of dressing or its language and so.

In these cases, it is easy to see how society imposes itself on to the individual from the outside through the establishment of social norms and values to which conformity is either expected or encouraged. Currents of opinion or social phenomena that express themselves through individual cases are also social facts. Examples include rates of marriage, birth or suicide and so on.

What is the mortality rate among males in India? What is the mortality rate among females in India? What is the mortality rate among the single people, unmarried people in India? What is the mortality rate of the married people in India? See, empirical research must be carried out to make sense of the data and Durkheim did that in French society in particular and as a whole in European Society. In such cases the operation of society on the individual is not so obvious.

Nevertheless, these empirical phenomena can be studied with the use of statistics for Durkheim and which accumulate individual cases into an aggregate and express a certain state of collective mind. Now, you will find that in Indian economy the last 20 years or 30 years farmers on a collective scale they are committing suicide. What may be provided as an explanation?

In Punjab you will find that the government failed to provide minimum support price to its farmers. As a consequence of which farmers in mass committed suicide in southern part of India, farmers committed suicide not because of a lack of minimum support price but because of the introduction of BT seeds, *Bacillus Thuringiensis* seeds- soil became barren though we tend to



lose the fertility of the soil. And as a consequence of which farmers could not produce anything, they could not accumulate anything, they could not have any production and as a consequence of which they committed suicide. Farmers in different parts of the country, including northeast India, you would find that farmers are committing suicide because of bad debt. I mean, they take loans they are not able to repay the loans precisely because of the crop failure, because of lack of minimum support price, lack of marketing. I mean, there is a lack of viable political economy for farmers.

This must be established through statistics like in the works of “everyone loves a good drought”. In this sense, this phenomenon in social facts can be studied with the use of statistics which accumulate individual cases into an aggregate and express a certain state of the collective mind. There are also social facts of a morphological or structural order including the demographic and material conditions of which such as the number, nature and relationship of the composing parts of a society, their geographical distribution, their means of communication and so forth.

While perhaps not as evident, these types of social facts are also influenced by collective ways of thinking, acting and feeling and have the same characteristics of externality and constraint as the other types. And when we are discussing a third objective in the rules, that is the demonstration against certain type of Durkheim philosophical opponents of both the possibility and the necessity of a specific scientific knowledge of the social order and finally, the attempt to construct a conception of the methods and forms of scientific explanation in their application to the new domain, Durkheim identifies a broad range of social facts, that correspond roughly with his intellectual development.

In his early work, Durkheim focused on social morphology, he then wrote a book on suicide, how the rates of suicide are higher in certain groups of population not or less in certain other groups of population. While his late work concentrate on social norms and values especially in morality and religion. I mean, the work that is the elementary forms of religious life, as Durkheim's interest shifted, his notion of coercion also changed as did his use of the word constraint.

In his earlier work constraint has more of a repressive or obligatory nature. Whereas in his later works, he highlights the attracting or devotional aspects of social facts or how individuals are drawn voluntarily to particular symbols, norms or beliefs. In the later phase of his life, Durkheim

used like this: society still constraints the thoughts and behavior of the individual, but in a radically different way. It is important to point out also is that social facts operate at varying degrees of formality and complexity.

Thus while Durkheim's language at times points to a homogeneous or monolithic understanding of society, the social processes that he describes should be understood as taking place with different degrees of formality and complexity on many different levels of social interaction. And the method that he provides can and should be used to study this diversity of social phenomena. Durkheim provides a set of rules for studying social facts, while he lists a number of rules the most fundamental rules come from chapter 2 of the rules of sociological method.

The first and most important rule is to treat social facts as things. What Durkheim implies by this is that social facts have an existence independent of the knowing subject and that they impose themselves on the observer or the researcher. What we are going to study that is observed or researched, but we are researchers, observer. That is the first and most important rule is to treat social facts as things.

What Durkheim means by treating social facts as things is that social facts have an existence, independent of the knowing subject, and that they impose themselves on the observer. Social facts can be recognized by the sign or symbol and that they resist the action of the individual will upon them as products of the collectivity, changing social facts require strenuous effort.

The next rule for studying social facts is that the sociologist or the practitioner of sociology must clearly delimit and define the group of phenomena being researched, that this structures the research and provides the object of study a condition of verifiability. In empiricism, we have discussed verifiability in in positivism, we have discussed verifiability. The sociologist must also strive to be as objective towards the facts that they are working on as possible and remove any subjective bias or prejudice or attachment to what they are investigating. Similarly, the sociologist must systematically discard any or all preconceptions and closely examine the facts before saying anything about them.

## Emile Durkheim

- Social facts and the autonomy of sociology *absolute*
  - To demarcate a particular class of facts having its own homogeneity and distinctive characteristics in relation to other classes of facts in the order of nature.
  - The contrast here then is between social facts, on the one hand, and biological and psychological facts specifically, on the other.
  - Psychological and sociological facts together are distinguished from biological facts in that they consist of 'representations' whereas biological facts do not.
  - By 'representations', Durkheim refers at least to the symbolic, normative, and generally 'mental' or 'spiritual' nature of the subject-matter of both sociology and psychology.
  - This leaves the question of how to distinguish the orders of reality dealt with respectively by these disciplines.
  - In one case (sociological), Durkheim argues, the phenomena or 'facts' are

Then, when we come to social facts, we will find how social facts and the autonomy of sociology autonomy of knowledge, autonomy of sociology as a science, Durkheim tried to envisage. Durkheim applies these rules of sociological method, I mean, treating social facts as things then the sociologist must delimit and define the group of phenomena being researched and so on.

Durkheim applies these rules to empirical evidence as he draws primarily from statistics, ethnography and history. Durkheim treats this set of data in a rational way, which is to say that he applies the law of causality to it, cause and effect relationship. At this point, Durkheim introduces an important rationalist component to his sociological method, namely the idea that by using his rules, human behavior can be explained through observable cause and effect relationships.

Accordingly, Durkheim often uses a comparative historical approach, within comparative social sciences which he sees as the core of the sociological method to eliminate extraneous causes and find commonalities between different societies and their social facts. And in doing so, Durkheim strives to find general laws that are universally applicable. Durkheim also argues that social facts can only be understood in relation to other social facts; social facts cannot be studied in isolation.

That is why Indian society can be studied; but Indian society can be better studied in relation to other societies. Maybe African societies, maybe Australian society, maybe European societies, maybe American societies, maybe Japanese society, maybe Chinese society. That comparative

historical approach must be there. That's why Durkheim argues that social facts can only be understood in relation to other social facts.

As an example, Durkheim explains suicide rates, not in reference to psychological factors, but rather to different social institutions, and the way they integrate and regulate individuals within a group. Durkheim also follows the historical development of political education or religious, economic and moral institutions, particularly those of Western society, and makes a strict difference between historical analysis and sociology. Whereas the historical method strives only to describe what happened in the past. Sociology strives to explain the past, decide the present, not only explain the past, review the past, but also decide the present and plan the future. In other words, sociology searches for the causes and functions of social facts as they change over time. In this sense, there is a difference between historical analysis and sociological analysis. And hence, it calls for the autonomy of sociology as a discipline, as formation of knowledge acquisition activity.

First, the concept of social facts is used to demarcate a particular class of facts having its homogeneity and distinctive characteristics in relation to other classes of facts in the order of nature. The contrast here then is between social facts on the one hand and biological and psychological facts specifically on the other. Psychological and social facts, together are distinguished from biological facts in that they consist of representations, whereas, biological facts do not. By representations Durkheim refers at least to the symbolic, normative and generally mental or spiritual nature of the subject matter of both sociology and psychology. By symbols, I mean, they must represent certain things. Normative, I mean, what should be, what ought to be, prescriptive in nature. And generally mental or spiritual nature of the subject matter of both sociology and psychology.

This leaves the question of how to distinguish the orders of reality dealt with respectively by these disciplines. In one case, Durkheim argues that the phenomena or social facts are collective, and in the other, they are individual representations. When it is collective, it is very much sociological in nature, when it is individual representation, it is very much psychological in nature.

It should be noted that the identification of a distinct order of social phenomenon as a product of organization has several implications. The proposed science of sociology has its *raison d'être*

distinct field of reality waits to be known. The relevance of analogies with the methods of investigation and forms of explanation proper to biology, especially physiology is established.

The phenomena of both fields are effects of organization and the science of sociology will have its own disciplinary autonomy, a consequence of the autonomous laws and distinctive properties of the order of phenomenon which it studies. As I said earlier that Durkheim was never interested in individual things rather collective enterprise. He tried to study sociology as a part of collective conscience, not individual enterprise. That all ultimate explanation in the human sciences must be in the terms of collective, that methodological individualism doctrine must be rejected.

For Durkheim, the autonomy of sociology is absolute. In the rules of sociological method itself, Durkheim speaks of the identification of classes of phenomena by their common external characteristics and, thus presupposing their possession of internal characteristics inaccessible to perception. But more importantly, Durkheim's substantive works frequently make use of perceptible and measurable phenomena, calculable phenomenon as indicators of deeper and less accessible realities. In the division of labor in society, for instance, Durkheim concedes that social solidarity is an intangible phenomenon, which does not lend itself to observation. But this does not imply that it cannot be scientifically studied.

Durkheim adopts realist forms of explanation and even recognizes this in places where he reflects on his own research practice. What is solidarity for Durkheim? Solidarity means assemblage of people in the performance of rituals, collective. Mechanical solidarity is not then an observable phenomenon which can be correlated and therefore soon to be causally related with repressive law.

Rather, it is an underlying reality which generates repressive law along with other perceptible phenomena as an effect. To this extent Durkheim conception of scientific knowledge breaks away from positivism. Then when you look at solidarity as an assemblage of people in the performance of rituals, those rituals may be religious rituals, may be economic rituals, may be political rituals may be cultural rituals and so on. And he divided solidarity into 2 parts mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.

## Emile Durkheim

### □ Social facts and the necessity of science

- Consists of principally in the premises of illustrative material, drawn from social life, and the attempt to demonstrate that in each case the phenomena selected satisfy certain criteria. These criteria turn out to be quite general criteria for the status of "reality" or "existence", which in turn is conceptually connected for Durkheim with being a fit object for scientific knowledge, and no other type of knowledge.
- The appearance that Durkheim achieves both tasks by the application of these criteria derives from the ambiguous status of the notion of the individual subject in the *Rules*. Of the many functions of this term, two are most relevant to the present argument.
- Individual consciousness: internal and external
- Social facts are to be recognized by their externality to the individual subject and by their coercive power.

Now, how to look at social facts and the necessity of science. The so called definition of social facts: Facts consists of principally in the premises of illustrative material drawn from social life and the attempt to demonstrate that in each case, the phenomena selected satisfy certain criteria, these criteria turned out to be quite general criteria for the status of reality or existence, which in turn is conceptually connected for Durkheim with being a fit object for scientific knowledge and know the type of knowledge.

The appearance that that Durkheim achieves both tasks by the application of these criteria derives from the ambiguous status of the notion of the individual subject in the rules of sociological method. Of the many functions of this term two were most relevant to the present argument. One is individual consciousness, which must be both internal as well as external; Durkheim thinks of individual consciousness as constituting the order of reality to which individual psychology addresses itself. And Durkheim uses the notion of individual consciousness in the sense of knowing subject when establishing the very concept of facticity or thinghood. So, social facts are things. Durkheim treats social facts as things that is why facticity are thinghood. There are 2 distinctions at work in the rules of sociological method between that which is internal to individual consciousness and that which is external or independent in this epistemological distinction, the idea is of the knowing subject are contrasted with the things which lie outside the mind and are to be known.

Social facts are to be recognized by their externality or by their by the power of external coercion which it exercises or is capable of exercising over individuals. And the presence of this power

may be recognized in its turn, either by the existence of a specific sanction or by resistance offered against every individual effort that tends to violate it. Social facts are to be recognized by their externality now to the individual subject and by the coercive power.

Then, what have we discussed in this lecture. That we started with Durkheim's object of the rules of sociological method. There are 4 objects of the rules of sociological method to establish the status of sociology as an autonomous discipline, indispensable role of argument by analogy, then the demonstration against certain of Durkheim philosophical opponents of both the possibility and the necessity of a specific scientific knowledge of the social order and finally, to construct a conception of the methods and forms of scientific explanation in their application to the new domain.

Then we have discussed in detail Durkheim sociological method, then we have discouraged social facts and the autonomy of sociology as a science autonomy of knowledge and social facts and the necessity of science. And in the next lecture, what we are going to discuss: we are going to discuss Durkheim's reflections on some common sense and science. And then we will discuss within comparative social sciences, how Durkheim tries to look at social realism, sociology of knowledge and so on. Thank you.