- **Main variations**
  - Religion – Protestants are more likely to commit suicide than Catholics.
  - Family relationships – those who are married (with children) are less likely to commit suicide than those who are single, widowed or divorce.
  - War – The suicide rate drops in time of war.
  - Economic crisis – Unemployment and increasing poverty cause suicide rates to go up. Rates also increase during periods of economic growth... (Growth is great for a certain amount of time, if everything is going well, change can occur – promotion/move away).

**Levels of solidarity**
Integration – how attached an individual is to social groups.
Regulation – the control of individual desires by group norms and values.

**Four types of suicide – identified through statistics**
- Egoistic – “Where is my life going?” Dissatisfied, no idea what’s happening.
- Altruistic – Integration too strong... Cult suicide, suicide bombers, too involved – a sacrifice.
- Anomic – Things going well, but aren’t going well. Too much integration, too little.
- Fatalistic – Slaves, nothing you can do to get out of where your life is going, give up.

**Declining morality**
His main concern was with the declining strength of common morality and the loosening of moral bonds. He argued that we need to share a common morality in order to be free. This position was in complete opposition to radical thinkers of his time.

**Structural reforms**
Durkheim argued that Marx was out of date. He was in favour of short term political strategies. He didn’t see the proletariat as the salvation of society – he was also opposed to violence. He believes that structural reforms could alleviate the main problems of modern society.

**Occupational associations**
Economic and work organisations could provide a sense of belonging in modern society. Unlike Marx, Durkheim didn’t believe there was a basic conflict of interests between the workers, managers and owners. Durkheim believed there was a clash between workers/owners/managers because they didn’t share a common morality.

**Moral Education**
Believed education provides the discipline to restrain individual passions. Only through discipline that we are able to teach the child to rein in his desires, to set limits to his appetites... This limitation is the condition of happiness and moral health” ... We can’t go out all the time, we have to study and discipline ourselves, to an extent, to achieve. We control our desires, our desires don’t control us.

**Relevance of Durkheim’s work**
Bellah et al (1985) *Habits of the heart*
The freedom of modern society has resulted in a lack of meaningful moral connections.
Bauman (1993) *Postmodern ethics*
We live with high levels of freedom, but we also have to live with high levels of insecurity and uncertainty. Strangers walking around, drenched with anxiety. We have high levels of freedom, but freedom comes with a price tag. This price tag is high levels of insecurity.