

NEWSLETTER OF THE

# ALTRUISM & SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

SECTION-IN-FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

VOLUME 2, ISSUE 1    AUGUST 2010

## Russian Populists & Anarchists on Solidarity: Middle 19th to Early 20th Centuries

*Dmitry Efremenko and Yaroslava Evseeva*

*Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences*



Prince Peter Kropotkin

One of the main aims of studies of social solidarity in today's Russia is the restoration of the connection between current research approaches and representations of solidarity in the tradition of Russian social thought. The given connection was broken by the decades of absolute domination of the Communist ideology, which, despite the postulate of workers' class solidarity, was in fact an ideology of social conflict. It needs to be pointed out, however, that a significant contribution to theoretical reflections on solidarity issues was made by representatives of a different, non-Marxist, wing of Russian left radicalism: the anarchists and the so-called *Narodniks* ("peopleists", though more commonly rendered as "populists").

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## The European Research Network on Philanthropy

*Pamala Wiepking -Executive Director, ERNOP  
VU University, Amsterdam, Netherlands*

In February 2007 several researchers in the Netherlands and Belgium joined forces to establish a new network facilitating more structured collaboration in the research on philanthropy (private action for the public good). Philanthropic research was and still is scattered over Europe. The philanthropic field is very diverse and research is conducted in many disciplines, including sociology, but also several other disciplines such as economics, psychology, marketing and law.

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## Handbook of the Sociology of Morality

*Steven Hitlin, University of Iowa  
Stephen Vaisey, University of California, Berkeley*

We are pleased to have this opportunity to announce the impending publication of our edited volume, the *Handbook of the Sociology of Morality* (Springer, 2010). This volume is a strong fit with the concerns of the developing section on Altruism and Social Solidarity. Each of us approaches the study of morality from different angles, but both agree that the social fabric is inextricably a moral domain and that individuals develop and are influenced by deeply held moral feelings that serve as (often implicit) guides for social action.

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## JOIN AN IMPORTANT NEW ASA SECTION!

A new American Sociological Association section on "Altruism and Social Solidarity" is now in formation. The section focuses attention on phenomena such as generosity, altruism, forgiveness, unlimited love, philanthropy, intergroup cooperation, and universalizing solidarity. Please consider joining us to participate in the activities and to work toward realizing the goals set forth in our Mission Statement.

### How To Join:

The ASA website is [www.asanet.org](http://www.asanet.org). From there go to "Membership Information," then "Join or Renew," and finally "Join a Section."

We are third on the list of sections: "Altruism and Social Solidarity (47)." Check to join the section, then go "Payment," which is only \$5.

**We need you to join  
our section before  
September 30, 2010!**

### Visit Our Section Homepage

Our Section Homepage is <http://www.csun.edu/~hbsoc126/> Copies of the Section Newsletter, Volume 1, Numbers 1 and 2, are available on the Homepage.

### Business Meeting at ASA

Our Business Meeting is on Monday, August 16, from 2:30 to 4:10.

If you will be in Atlanta for the ASA meeting, please try to attend.

## Mark Your Calendars!

### Session for 2011 American Sociological Association Meetings In Chicago

#### **Title: "Current Perspectives on Altruism and Social Solidarity."**

Topic Index: altruism and social solidarity

Organizer and Presider: Vincent Jeffries, California State University, Northridge.

Presenters:

"Civil and Uncivil Solidarities." Jeffrey C. Alexander.  
Yale University.

"Beyond Self-Interest and Altruism: Care as Mutual Nourishment." Paul G. Schervish.  
Boston College.

"Russian Solidarism: Past and Present." Dmitry Efremenko.  
Institute for Scientific Information on Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences.

"Cultural Models and Altruism." Stephen Vaisey.  
University of California, Berkeley.

"Empirical Research on Altruism and Generosity." Christian Smith.  
University of Notre Dame.

Discussant: Edward A. Tiryakian.  
Duke University.

Papers in this session examine current research and theoretical development in the study of altruism and social solidarity. In the most general sense, this subject matter consists of intentions and actions that are intended to benefit the welfare of others. Examples are generosity, benevolence, philanthropy, intergroup cooperation, and universalizing solidarity. Such phenomena span the micro-macro continuum, ranging from individuals, to forms of interaction, to organizations, to the global system. This section introduces the study of altruism and social solidarity as a distinct field of sociological practice. The comprehensive nature and diversity of this field is reflected in the papers.

## **MISSION STATEMENT: ALTRUISM AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY SECTION**

The purpose of the section is to promote theoretical development and empirical research pertaining to altruism and social solidarity. In the broadest sense, this subject matter consists of activities intended to benefit the welfare of others. These activities span the micro-macro continuum, from individual, to interpersonal, to organizational, to global, in all their forms and processes. Attention is given to the cultural and structural sources of altruism and social solidarity, and both their anticipated and unanticipated consequences.

In today's world beset with individual and intergroup discord and violence, the intrinsic scientific, policy, and public relevance of this subject in helping the human community to construct "good societies" is unquestionable. The work of the section promotes understanding of the conditions necessary for a broad vision of the common good that includes all individuals and groups.

Section activities are directed towards establishing the discipline of sociology in the forefront of theoretical development and empirical testing in this essential interdisciplinary area of scientific investigation. These activities include the following: to provide for periodic regular exchanges of information at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association; to formally recognize outstanding theoretical, empirical, and applied work in the field of altruism and social solidarity through annual awards; and to link with other scientific groups working on psychological, cultural, and genetic aspects of altruism and solidarity.

In doing so we seek to develop and augment a community of scholars dedicated to the study of altruism and social solidarity; to provide an ongoing social context and support system for efforts to gain greater knowledge and understanding of the nature, sources, and effects of altruism and social solidarity; to encourage the investigation of the policy implications of this knowledge; and to facilitate the dissemination of information to publics regarding aspects of altruism and social solidarity that will benefit individual lives and the social organization of modern society.

## **OUR CALLING AND OUR CHALLENGE**

*Vincent Jeffries, Acting Chairperson. Section-in Formation on Altruism and Social Solidarity*

Our section has a unique opportunity to advance important and timely knowledge and understanding. We are seeking to place the study of goodness, caring, love, and solidarity in the center of sociological practice. Our section on altruism and social solidarity is devoted to the study of a very basic and necessary sociological phenomenon: intentions and actions directed toward the welfare of others, whether the agent be individuals or groups. Think about it! Many of the positive aspects of life, such as - a satisfactory family life, opportunities for people to develop their talents and capabilities, an absence of destructive conflict and exploitation - depend in large part on this intent and action. It can be manifested in sociocultural systems that range on a continuum from the smallest unit of two people to the global society. This scientific endeavor has the potential to produce policy and public sociologies that will be viable, creative, and socially relevant.

To form a scholarly community and accomplish these ends we need a social base. The section on altruism and social solidarity provides the most suitable locus for our endeavors. We have made some progress in building our section since the last issue of the Newsletter in the fall of 2009. We now have a webpage for the section: <http://www.csun.edu/~hbsoc126/>. Please do visit it, and look at the documents that are available there. They give a good overview of the purposes and activities of our section to this date. There you will find our Mission Statement, a leaflet "Invitation to Join," copies of our Newsletter, and our proposal to the American Sociological Association to found the section: "Altruism and Social Solidarity: Envisioning a Field of Specialization."

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## OUR CALLING AND OUR CHALLENGE

*Continued from page 3...*

The Editor of our informative and comprehensive Newsletter is Matthew Lee, University of Akron. Our Webmaster is Dominic Little, Sociology Department, California State University, Northridge.

We now face a very important challenge: we must increase our membership in the next few months to insure our development. At the close of the last membership year, September 30, 2009, we had 140 members. On July 22, 2010, we had 189 members. This shows good progress in building the section. We do, however, have a major problem. The American Sociological Association requires 300 members to become an established section. We are scheduled to meet this goal by September 30th, 2010, which is the end of the membership year. It is absolutely essential we increase our membership in the approximately 9 weeks we have before that date. Membership must be for 2010 to help us meet our deadline. For those who already belong to ASA for this year, the cost is only \$5 and it will take about 5 minutes of time to join.

It is very simple to join the section. The ASA website is [www.asanet.org](http://www.asanet.org). From there go to "Membership Information" then "Join or Renew" then "Join a Section." "Altruism and Social Solidarity (47)" is third on the list of sections. Check to join the section, then go to "Payment" which is \$5.

It is important to stress that the study of altruism and social solidarity does not need to be the focus of someone's scholarly activities for him/her to join. Many members are working in another field, but believe the study of altruism and social solidarity is important, and therefore become members of the section. All are welcome and the support of simply joining is appreciated.

To meet the deadline of September 30, 2010 for membership of 300, we need to have a massive recruiting effort. I hope everyone will consider doing something. Here are some ways to go about it.

(1) The Newsletter is an excellent recruiting medium. It clearly shows the dynamism, productivity, and comprehensive nature of our section. Consider sending it to people you know, along with a personal invitation to join.

(2) Our "Invitation to Join" leaflet has a copy of our Mission Statement, the address of our website, and information on how to join the section. This is another document that can be sent to people you know, along with a personal invitation to join.

(3) If you belong to any other sections or professional associations, you can ask the Chairperson to circulate a copy of our "Invitation to Join" and/or our Newsletter along with an invitation to join.

(4) If you are going to the ASA Meetings in Atlanta in August, please take some copies of our materials with you and talk to some people about joining our section.

Finally, for those who are going to the ASA Meetings in Atlanta, please be sure to attend our Business Meeting. It is scheduled for 2:30-4:10 (1430-1610) on Monday, August 16th.

## From the Editor

*Matthew T. Lee, University of Akron*

I am most pleased to introduce what very well may be a record-setting ASA section newsletter. I do not recall any other Section producing forty seven pages for a single issue. But beyond such quantitative trifles, the real issue is quality. I am grateful for the truly remarkable content that was produced by the contributors to this issue, which is our third. As editor I had the impossible task of determining which articles to “feature” in the first few pages. I wasn’t up to the task, so I sought the advice of others in our Section. I also decided to use the Table of Contents on page 1 to draw attention to articles that appear later in the issue. There was not enough room to direct readers to every article, so make sure you look at all the pages carefully so that you do not miss anything.

Please pay special attention to the article by Vincent Jeffries on pages 3-4 titled “Our Calling and Our Challenge.” As he notes, we must have at least 300 members by September 30, 2010 or our Section may cease to exist. If each of us recruits just one new member, we will easily achieve this goal. True to the focus of our Section, a number of our current members have engaged in a little altruism of their own and helped subsidize the membership fee for graduate students to join our section (only \$5 if they are current members of ASA).

I am particularly happy with the diversity of thought represented in this issue. From provocative critiques (see Paula England’s “Unusual Proposal” on page 8 and Dana Williams’ argument against “altruism” and in favor of “mutual aid” on page 12), to articles with an international focus (see Efremenko and Evseeva’s historical article on Russian populists, as well as Pamala Wiepking’s discussion of the European Research Network, both on page 1), it is clear that Section members are involved in a wide variety of scholarly projects. It is my hope that this newsletter, and the Section more generally, will help members engage in collaborative projects with others and learn from each other’s work.

Special thanks are due to Vincent Jeffries, Acting Chairperson of our Section, and my wife Joanna, for their enormous help with the production of this newsletter. To return to the theme of the essay by Dana Williams, this newsletter is a great example of the advantages of solidarity and mutual aid among equals.



## Research on Religion and Prosocial Behavior

*Ashley Harrell, University of South Carolina*

My thesis research investigates the impact of certain types of religious cognitions on prosocial behavior. Researchers have long argued that religion increases prosocial behavior, and recent research using priming techniques seem to show that religion drives prosociality. *Priming* religious concepts, or making them salient to participants in the lab (i.e., by having them complete a puzzle containing some religious words), has been shown to increase behaviors including honesty (Randolph-Seng and Nielsen 2007) and generosity (Shariff and Norenzayan 2007).

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## Exploring the Scope and Sources of Ethical Apparel Consumption

*Ian Robinson, University of Michigan*

*Rachel Meyer, Harvard University*

*Howard Kimeldorf, University of Michigan*

We have spent the past few years exploring the character of ethical apparel consumption in the United States. Initially, our focus was the “scope” of consumer support for “sweat-free” products – that is, products made by workers laboring in a context of good wages and working conditions. We wanted to know what share of U.S. apparel consumers cared enough about how their clothing was made to pay more (or make other kinds of sacrifices) to acquire “sweat-free” apparel. We undertook this research in the context of a growing anti-sweatshop movement that was urging major clothing brands as well as universities to source from sweat-free producers. The “scope” of ethical consumption was (and remains) of importance to this movement because if there are a lot of would-be sweat-free consumers, demand should be sufficient to enable many factories to shift from sweated to sweat-free production while maintaining or even expanding current sales levels. This would make it much easier to create a profitable sweat-free supply chain (Robinson 2007).

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## Lessons Learned in Prison: What Altruistic Beliefs Reveal

*Jane Emery Prather, Adjunct, Marymount Manhattan College*

*Emeritus Professor, California State University, Northridge*

When I tell people I’m a volunteer instructor in a college program in Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, a women’s maximum security prison, I usually receive two reactions: which I label the negative or the positive. The negative: “*On, my God, How can you do that? Aren’t you scared?*” or even “*Isn’t that a little late?*” The positive: “*That’s fantastic, that must be so rewarding!*” The negative response, in my opinion, reveals attitudes that inmates are always dangerous, that prison serves for punishment and that political leaders should not be soft on crime. In short, they view my work as ridiculous. On the other hand, the positive comments point to a belief in altruism—that by teaching prisoners I am giving something special to them and in turn being rewarded. Those recognizing my teaching as altruistic are most likely to perceive prisoners as humans who deserve a second change, to view prison as being for rehabilitation, and would most likely support political candidates who favor prison reform. Thus, identifying or supporting altruistic acts reveals one’s beliefs about humanity and I would argue even one’s political beliefs regarding the role of society to provide safety nets for its members.

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## **\$1.4 Million Awarded for Scientific Research into Generosity**

This spring the University of Notre Dame's Science of Generosity Initiative awarded \$1.4 million to four research projects that will study the origins, manifestations and consequences of generosity. The winning projects were chosen from among 325 proposals by scholars in 32 countries and numerous disciplines. "These four projects rose through a highly competitive evaluation process to the top of the list. They were the most scientifically rigorous research endeavors headed by top scholars, the findings of which hold the most promise for advancing our scientific understanding of generosity," said Christian Smith, Notre Dame professor of sociology and director of the generosity initiative.

Current studies of generosity come from many different and often disconnected disciplines and focus on various terms, such as philanthropy, volunteerism and altruism. Established in 2009 with a \$5 million grant from the John Templeton Foundation, Notre Dame's Science of Generosity Initiative brings together the often disconnected and diverse approaches to generosity studies in order to study generosity in all its forms.

Two of the projects will examine how generosity originates and spreads within social settings. James Andreoni, a behavioral economist at the University of California San Diego, was awarded \$250,000 to study the relationship between charitable donors and recipients, with a focus on how empathy affects charitable donation. His project challenges economic approaches that tend to see generosity as a function of individual self-interest; he hypothesizes, instead, that generosity emerges from within social situations and must be understood as inherently social. Andreoni has done extensive work on the economics of charitable and philanthropic giving, and is well-known for his research on the "warm-glow" effect that accompanies charitable giving.

Harvard University sociologist and physician Nicholas Christakis was awarded \$396,447 to explore how generosity spreads beyond the donor/recipient relationship and creates what he calls "cascades" of generosity within social networks. Among TIME Magazine's "100 most influential people in the world" in 2009, Christakis builds on the work of network scientists, social scientists and biologists who have begun to understand generosity as fundamental to the formation and operation of social networks. Christakis recently co-authored "Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives" (Little, Brown, and Company 2009).

The other two projects focus on the causes of generosity within families and religions.

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## **\$1.4 Million Awarded for Scientific Research into Generosity** *Continued from previous page*

Hebrew University psychologist Ariel Knafo was awarded \$456,906 to study “The Family Cycle of Kindness and Generosity,” which aims to understand what combination of nature and nurture—genetic and familial processes—leads to a generous disposition in children. In December 2007 Knafo’s preliminary work on the genetics of generosity was featured in a BBC Health report; in April 2009 his most recent work on generosity was featured on World-Science.net.

The causes of generosity are also at the heart of a proposed project by Carolyn Warner, a political scientist at Arizona State, who was awarded \$363,666 to consider “The Role of Religious Beliefs and Institutions in Generosity.” By looking at how Catholicism and Islam affect the generosity of their adherents, Warner hopes to determine which religious concepts, beliefs and practices foster generosity. She also asks whether or not the causes of generosity vary across religious traditions, and whether religious traditions encourage generosity toward outsiders, or tend to favor their own. Warner teaches at Arizona State University where she is affiliated with the Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict.

For more information about the Science of Generosity go to [generosityresearch.nd.edu](http://generosityresearch.nd.edu).

Contact: JP Shortall, Communication Specialist, Science of Generosity, (574)631-5953 or [jshortall@nd.edu](mailto:jshortall@nd.edu).

## **An Unusual Proposal to Increase Care in Society and to Increase Gender Inequality**

*Paula England, Stanford University*

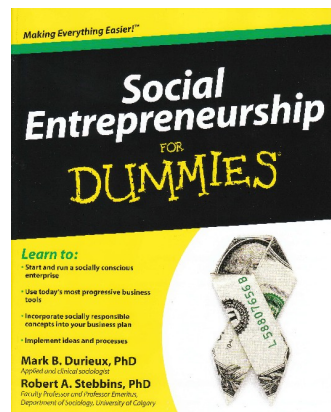
On several dimensions, women, more than men, manifest behavior we might classify as altruistic or solidaristic: entering care occupations that involve helping others, taking primary responsibility for nurturing children, and disinclination to bargain self-interestedly against the interest of the other. Unfortunately for gender equality, all three of these things lead to lower pay. Care work pays less well than other work even net of educational requirements, as some of my research with Michelle Budig and Nancy Folbre has shown. Being a mother lowers women’s earnings. This creates a real policy dilemma. Caring for others (whether for pay or outside of paid work) has social benefits that transcend the specific recipient of care. For example, a child who learns to read and to get along with others from a parent or teacher grows up to be more productive, less likely to commit crime. He or she grows up to be a better friend, spouse, or parent by virtue of the work of this parent or teacher. Given these positive externalities from caring or altruistic behavior, public policy should seek to increase the supply of such altruistic behavior. But when some are more altruistic than others, the altruists are disadvantaged economically. Thus, raising women’s altruism is a questionable policy goal as the disproportionate participation of women in altruistic roles is already a source of gender inequality; in fact, lowering women’s altruism would contribute to gender equality. Perhaps the best approach is to raise men’s altruism. This increases the overall supply of altruism, while simultaneously decreasing gender inequality.



## Books of Interest

### ***Social Entrepreneurship for Dummies*** by Mark Durieux and Robert A. Stebbins

This book provides a road map for setting up non-profit and for-profit social enterprises. Anchored in sociological theory, particularly that bearing on leisure, voluntary action, and formal and informal organization, it takes the reader through the multitude of steps necessary to set up and run a

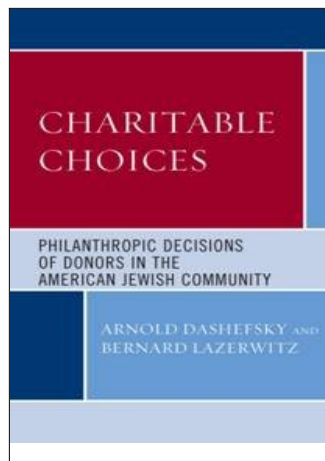


social enterprise. There are chapters on building public compassion, motivating entrepreneurs and those they work with, initial planning, and finding funds. Other chapters examine how to market a social enterprise, network with relevant individuals and organizations, work with the media, and develop and maintain bureaucracy at an efficient and agreeable level. There is also a discussion of formally organizing and incorporating such a group and how to manage and lead it in this form.

A certain tension is evident throughout the book, expressed in whether to start and continue as a non-profit or to start as a non-profit (almost always the way social enterprises begin) and later switch to for-profit status. This tension reflects the culture of capitalist societies, where enterprises are commonly seen as a way to make money, whereas non-profit charities are established to deal with a range of social problems some of them caused, in part, by profit-seeking entities. The tension also issues from the limits of altruism as channelled through public compassion, where altruism squares off against the need to make money to keep the enterprise running and the need of the entrepreneur to make a living, be it passable, comfortable, or opulent. Because this book is a manual -- an application of sociological theory and research -- this dual tension is, for the most part, only alluded to. Nevertheless many a reader will feel it and have to come to grips with it in deciding to "profit or not to profit" from passionately and compassionately trying to solve a social problem.

*Mark B. Durieux* is an applied and clinical sociologist who teaches and consults widely on the practice of social entrepreneurship.

*Robert A. Stebbins* is faculty professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Calgary. Among his many books are *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time* and *Personal Decisions in the Public Square: Beyond Problem into a Positive Sociology*.



**Arnold Dashefsky** has co-authored *Charitable Choices: Philanthropic Decisions of Donors in the American Jewish Community* with Bernard Lazerwitz, published by Lexington Books (Lanham, MD 2009).

**Arnold Dashefsky**, professor of sociology at the University of Connecticut, was invested as the inaugural holder of the Doris and Simon Konover Chair of Judaic Studies at an investiture ceremony on April 3, 2009. For more information and a podcast by the new chair holder: <http://www.clas.uconn.edu/facultysnapshots/view.php?id=dashefsky>. Photos of the ceremony are available at the CLAS website. [http://clas.uconn.edu/news/news\\_2009\\_03\\_31\\_photos.htm](http://clas.uconn.edu/news/news_2009_03_31_photos.htm).

## Books of Interest Continued

### ***The Myth of Individualism: How Social Forces Shape our Lives***

Rowman and Littlefield, 2009, 186 pp. List price \$19.95

Peter L. Callero, Western Oregon University

Once after giving an introductory lecture I was approached by an obviously anxious student who demanded to know if sociologists hold to the belief that “society controls individual behavior”. When I answered “no”, the student looked relieved and replied, “so individuals control their own future”. Again I answered “no”. Clearly frustrated, the student insisted on a straight answer. “It has to be one or the other, it can’t be both! Now which one is it?” Over the years I have found that many students approach sociology from a similar perspective and I suspect the conversation described above may sound familiar to anyone who has taught an introductory course. There is a tendency for our students to believe that an understanding of the individual-society relationship boils down to a simple distinction: either our personal actions and choices shape our life, or something called “society” is the master of our destiny. As sociologists we know that social life is more complicated and that the answer to my student’s question is that we are both free to act on our choices and, at the same time, we are shaped by very powerful social forces.

The Myth of individualism: How Social Forces Shape Our Lives is intended as an introduction to sociological thinking and as an entrée to the complex dynamic of self and society. The typical American approaches sociology with a skeptic’s bias toward individual level explanations of the world. Indeed, most students struggle to reconcile the power of social forces and their own experience of autonomy and independence. Thus, before complex ideas of social structure and social system can be appreciated, students must first confront the myth of individualism. In this brief, supplemental text, I gradually develop a sociological perspective using historical accounts, personal stories and examples of social research. Without the confusion of multiple new concepts and theories students learn how their own self has been shaped by society and how society has in turn been altered by collective action. I have intentionally kept the book brief. There are six short chapters and each begins with a provocative story or example that serves to illustrate a key social force or “power”.

#### Chapter 1 – Individualism: The Power of a Myth

The goal of Chapter 1 is to expose the limitations of radical individualism and the hegemonic influence of this cultural orientation. It begins with the story of Ted Kaczynski (the Unabomber) as a representative of the worst consequences of an extreme individualism. An introduction to economic and cultural individualism rounds out the chapter.

#### Chapter 2 - Becoming a Person: The Power of Symbols

This Chapter begins with a detailed description of the Salem witch trials and the execution of Bridget Bishop. It then segues into a description of the so-called “missing links” that were displayed and analyzed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These examples are used to illustrate the social construction of personhood and the power to define other. Content includes a discussion of language and symbols, the development of self and identity and the sociology of cognition and emotion. The work of G.H. Mead and Arlie Hochschild receive attention.

#### Chapter 3 – Conformity and Disobedience: The Power of the Group

The Chapter opens with a detailed description of a bizarre episode that occurred at a McDonald’s restaurant. An employee followed bogus orders delivered over the telephone that gradually increased in severity and ended in a rape. The event was captured on video and received national attention. It was later learned that nearly identical episodes resulting in employee abuse occurred in over 70 fast food restaurants between 1995 and 2004. Research on obedience to authority is reviewed, including the Milgram experiments. Links to the military, rationalized organizations and deviant behavior are made. The chapter concludes with a discussion of group conflict and group competition.

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## Books of Interest Continued

### Chapter 4 – Family Matters: The Power of Social Class

The opening discussion exams survey data demonstrating American's commitment to the belief that individual success is the result of individual effort. These beliefs are then contrasted with the economic reality of limited class mobility. The work of Annette Lareau is reviewed and two case studies from her book "Unequal Childhoods" are used to explore the relationship between social class and family life. The power of social class and the concept of cultural capital receive significant attention in this chapter.

### Chapter 5 – Globalization: The Power of Capitalism

The chapter begins with the detailed description of the employment history of a United Airlines mechanic who is laid off and struggles to find economic security in the changing economy (borrowed from Louis Uchitelle's book "The Disposable American"). This leads to an examination of the new global economy, plant closings, outsourcing, and the inherent instability of capitalism. Both individual and community consequences receive attention. The second half of the chapter begins with a case study of a particular garments sweatshop in China and looks at the global link among laborers across the globe and the growth of wealth and income inequality.

### Chapter 6 – From Me to We: The Power of Collective Action

The Chapter opens with a detailed examination of Rosa Parks famous act of resistance. I show that a dense network of community support and a history of political activism supported her defiant behavior. This leads to a discussion of the historical link between democracy and the first social movements. The chapter concludes with a personal story of the WTO protest in Seattle and an analysis of the globalization movement.

#### About the Author:

Peter Callero is Professor of sociology at Western Oregon University where he teaches courses on community organizing, social theory, research methods, deviance and the sociology of self. He holds a Ph.D in sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and has published extensively on issues of self, identity and politics. His other books are *Giving Blood: The Development of an Altruistic Identity* (with Jane Piliavin, Johns Hopkins University Press), and *The Self-Society Dynamic: Cognition, Emotion and Action* (edited with Judith Howard, Cambridge University Press).

## ***Wealth and the Will of God: Discerning the Use of Riches in the Service of Ultimate Purpose***

Paul G. Schervish and Keith Whitaker  
2010. Indiana University Press.

Ideas that have been of fundamental importance in the practice of philanthropy are reviewed in this volume. A philosophical and theological perspective is brought to bear on both the motives and practice of giving. This perspective has not previously been developed in the existing literature on philanthropy. The work examines how spiritual resources present in the Christian tradition can give impetus to reflection on the meaning of wealth and on giving. The first figure examined is Aristotle, who provides the basis for understanding the Christian thought of later centuries. Aquinas, Ignatius, Luther, Calvin, and Jonathan Edwards are then discussed. The chapters focus the sometimes-diverse ideas of these thinkers on questions such as the ultimate purpose of life; the penultimate purposes of care, love, friendship, and charity; human resources; the ways by which individuals discern or deliberate on how best they can connect their resources to their ultimate purpose; and then put their decisions into practice.

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## Revisiting Kropotkin: Mutual Aid and Anarchism as Altruism?

Dana M. Williams, Valdosta State University

Peter Kropotkin was a contemporary of many early sociological theorists, who highlighted factors that contributed to cooperation and sociability. He argued these phenomena are regular characteristics in all societies, although their presence is usually submerged and out of view. Instead, sociologists during his time and ours have tended to focus their scholarship upon the deviant, unequal, and hierarchical. Sometimes it takes extreme circumstances to see the merit in Kropotkin's ideas, rattle people's cynicism, and see other possible forms of social order. For example, recent disasters like the 2010 earthquake in Haiti or Hurricane Katrina's devastation of the Gulf Coast in 2005 stand as a testament to the "natural" sympathies of people for the suffering victims of natural phenomenon. Or, recall the outpouring of support and solidarity extended to all sorts of Americans—directly affected or not—following the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>. In each case, complete strangers helped each other, without hope for reward, status, or self-interest, and did what they thought was "right" in a given situation, regularly incurring great personal risk, sacrifice, and hardship on their part. Gone—even if only temporarily—was the typical egotism, individualism, and coldness that define much of life in the modern, capitalist world.

In 1997, I saw through a similar window into a new world. I was a student at the University of North Dakota when the Red River thawed in Springtime at a pace that caused record high-levels of flooding along the river, especially in the town where I lived, Grand Forks. For an entire week leading up to the flooding and eventual evacuation of the town of 50,000 people, life completely changed. Classes at the university were cancelled, people didn't go to work, and youth stayed home from school. Instead, the entire community reoriented its efforts to saving their neighbors from the encroaching water. I spent time on the tall sandbag dikes, protecting the houses of complete strangers, who thanked us with hugs, tears, and sandwiches. I witnessed thousands of people spend every waking hour helping other people. People (including me) hitched rides from random drivers for the first time ever, without fear. It was unlike anything I had ever seen or imagined before. And, although there were surely organizations providing material support and coordinating infrastructure in the struggle against the floodwaters, most people self-organized themselves within each neighborhood: college students, kids, parents, seniors, and soldiers from a nearby military base all chipped-in and made decisions on the ground, with little regard for one's special status, except for who could offer the most sensible ideas at the time.

In the aftermath of this event, I wrote of my experiences to one of my favorite authors, Noam Chomsky. I was surprised (and honored) that he wrote me back to say he found my observations interesting. He called the phenomena I observed "mutual aid" and recommended I read what he called the most important work in the area of "socio-biology", Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. Chomsky said the book was rarely recognized or acknowledged by scholars because the book's implications counter the dominant narrative of meritocracy, free markets, and legitimate authority figures. It took me far too long to get around to actually reading Kropotkin, but after receiving Chomsky's letter, I immediately started seeing "mutual aid" everywhere.

Mutual aid includes cooperative behaviors that benefit the initiator as well as others. Kropotkin includes countless actions that support the strengthening and continuation of social solidarity, ranging from community self-defense to resource-acquisition and sharing. He argues that mutual aid is "not love, and not even sympathy", but "a far wider, even though more vague feeling or instinct of human solidarity and sociability" (Kropotkin 2006: xv). Mutual aid is thus the underpinning of community.

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For the anarchist Kropotkin, mutual aid is present in many varieties of animal species and communities, as well as most of human history, including the long epochs ranging from the period of “savages” to the medieval age. Most research on this phenomenon—of humans helping others, without immediate expectations or governments—has been done in the area of anthropology. For example, David Graeber’s *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (2004) illustrates this history of non-state social order; or Sam Mbah and I.E. Igariwey’s *African Anarchism* (1997), focuses on tribal African communalism. Additionally, anthropologists like Harold Barclay (1990), James C. Scott (2009), and others argue that humans have lived without hierarchical authority until all but recently, or have at least lived with autonomy from centralized states. In other words, mutual aid is a very “natural” pattern in the human experience. According to Kropotkin (2006), recent governments and bureaucracies normalize social problems and thus reduce the tendency towards mutual aid:

In the guild -- and in medieval times every man belonged to some guild or fraternity [and] two “brothers” were bound to watch in turns a brother who had fallen ill; it would be sufficient now to give one’s neighbour the address of the next paupers’ hospital. In barbarian society, to assist at a fight between two men, arisen from a quarrel, and not to prevent it from taking a fatal issue, meant to be oneself treated as a murderer; but under the theory of the all-protecting State the bystander need not intrude: it is the policeman’s business to interfere, or not. And while in a savage land, among the Hottentots, it would be scandalous to eat without having loudly called out thrice whether there is not somebody wanting to share the food[...] all that a respectable citizen has to do now is to pay the poor tax and to let the starving starve. (p. 188)

Just as a self-respecting public sociologist would today, during his time Kropotkin sought to make his ideas as accessible to everyone. For example, Kropotkin’s *Mutual Aid* appears during a period in which radicals and the working-class are being pulled in opposite directions, by authoritarian Marxism on one side, and individualistic and nihilistic Nietzscheism on the other. Kropotkin not only disagreed with those trajectories, but tried to argue the case for an anarchist interpretation of social relations—thus he wrote *Mutual Aid* as an anarchist response to these competing frameworks. He thought the modern state suppresses humans’ normal inclination to cooperative organization, a problem that could not be overcome by utilizing the state in a “popular” revolution (as the Bolsheviks were to do) or by ignoring our social responsibilities to others (Kinna 1996).

Kropotkin’s argument was also a statement against social Darwinism—particularly as advocated by Thomas Huxley—that people are naturally competitive and that vigorous conflict produces the best possible societies. Instead, Kropotkin showed that human communities survive and thrive, not through competition amongst their members, but through cooperation and sociability. Although this insight has generally been ignored by natural scientists, a few have appreciated mutual aid’s broader significance. Evolutionary biologist and paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould confirms Kropotkin’s emphasis upon mutual aid over mutual struggle: “I would hold that Kropotkin’s basic argument is correct. Struggle does occur in many modes, and some lead to cooperation among members of a species as the best pathway to advantage for individuals” (Gould 1997: 21).

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Despite the audacity of his work, Kropotkin is largely unknown inside the academy, likely due to never holding an official university position. He wrote scholarly works (including *The Conquest of Bread* and *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*) which have been more enduring in the long-run than most sociologists of his era. Unfortunately—but not surprisingly—Kropotkin’s work is not taught in sociological theory classes when describing social solidarity. To my knowledge, courses that focus on demography or social change never use his arguments about mutual aid as an important condition for *group selection*. Enterprising sociologists (and anthropologists, political scientists, historians, and economists) could work to update Kropotkin’s famous study, by conducting contemporary scholarship based on his fundamental argument about mutual aid. But, this shift in scholarly attention would require an ethical re-emphasis upon the things that make societies work “well” as opposed to what makes them work “poorly” or harm people. Such a shift, I believe, is the general goal of this ASA Section on Altruism and Social Solidarity.

To simply reframe altruism as mutual aid would change its meaning, of course. While both are understudied, altruism is definitely rarer, while mutual aid happens all the time (but is nearly never noted in our discipline). Mutual aid is not altruistic in the pure sense, since people do get something back for their efforts. Yet, mutual aid might be better thought of as karmic—even without the sense of an immediate “payback” for one’s efforts, good deeds eventually benefit yourself as others will help you in your time of need, too.

Or, mutual aid may be a prime example of altruism: what seems to be selfless and sacrificial (thus altruistic), could easily serve to strengthen social solidarity (i.e. mutual aid). Neither phenomena can be driven by authority figures and both require individuals to exercise a fair amount of agency. The adoption of stronger communal norms would likely increase both practices. A society in which everyone offers altruistic assistance to everyone else would be a society filled with Kropotkin’s mutual aid. But this form of social solidarity is only truly possible within horizontal social relationships.

Altruism is well-known for falling victim to free-riding: people who have things done for them by exceptional others are less likely to do for themselves (and perhaps for others). Kropotkin’s conception of mutual aid illustrates that self-sacrificing altruism reduces collective orientations to problem-solving. Instead, true sociability avoids the alienating aspects of altruism and focuses upon community and group action (Glassman 2000). Consequently, mutual aid occupies a more stable position than altruism as the social facilitator of the common good.

Altruism scholars tend to find much merit in the notion of “positive deviants” and “exemplars” within social movements; this could be even more the case within radical, value-driven movements that avoid the approach of “charity provisioning”, such as anarchism.<sup>1</sup> Yet, unlike altruists, anarchists do not do things *for* people, they will work *with* others and thus lead by example. In fact, anarchists wholly refuse official leadership and deny the right of the state (even if its power is wielded for supposedly “good reasons”). Countless movement figures—most completely unknown, uncelebrated—have anonymously martyred themselves in pursuit of “the ideal” (as Emma Goldman referred to anarchism). Anarchists sought—and still seek—the transformation of society into a horizontal social order based upon egalitarianism, cooperation, and mutual aid.

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1. It is crucial to dispense with cartoonish, pop-culture stereotypes of anarchism as pertaining to chaos and violence. Instead, a scholarly understanding of anarchism ought to emphasize the vision articulated by actual anarchists—like Kropotkin—which is founded on anti-authoritarianism, self-management, solidarity, and egalitarian social order.

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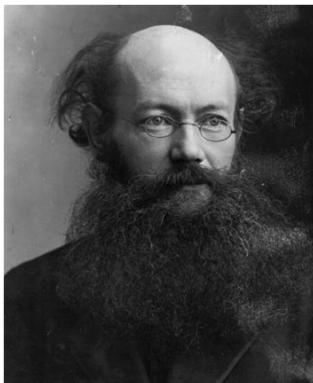
An individual's freedom is completely wrapped-up in the freedom of the collective (and vice-versa). To further and accomplish such ends, anarchists have struggled within labor movements, insurrections, and civic organizations of all types. Much effort has been given to deepening, expanding, and radicalizing human tendencies for mutual aid. In pursuit of these formidable goals, anarchists have been incredibly unsuccessful over the long-term, although small pockets of freedom have occasionally existed, and continue to endure within sub-cultures around the world. In return for their efforts, anarchists have been libeled as terrorists, executed by states, arrested on behalf of robber barons and corporations, and "disappeared" by Communist parties.

Short of an anarchist society in the near future, what immediate structures and relationships are worth obtaining and emphasizing? While altruism is clearly instructive of human potential for contributing to the common good, it is overshadowed by the mutual aid people practice every day. Kropotkin's observation was far more mundane than that of altruism, but so much more important.

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Kropotkin



## **Pitirim Sorokin Studies in Russia in the Context of the New Section on Altruism and Social Solidarity in the American Sociological Association.**

*Pavel Krotov, Pitirim Sorokin Research Center*

Creative altruism and amitology were the highest points in Pitirim Sorokin's career-long search for an integral sociology. Studies of the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism, which he established, became the most fundamental and insightful sociological investigation on this subject at that time. His books "The Reconstruction of Humanity," "The Ways and Power of Love," "Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth," "Altruistic Love," "Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior," and "Power and Morality," (with Walter A. Lunden) became classics for those who study altruism and solidarity.

The development of a section in formation on Altruism and Social Solidarity in the American Sociological Association opens a new page in studying Pitirim Sorokin's intellectual inheritance and his contribution to this field. At the same, this event also lays a new ground for Sorokin studies in Russia. How these two processes are connected, and why organizational change in the American Sociological Association might have an impact on the development of sociology in Russia, are addressed in this article. Pitirim Sorokin studies are overviewed in the context of changes in Russian sociology since the 1990s.

Two main points of this article are (1) The current position of Pitirim Sorokin, and his rich intellectual inheritance in Russia, can both be explained by the transitional character of virtually every aspect of Russian life, including the intellectual. The main attribute of this "transitionality" is the search for a new identity; and (2) in this search for a new identity the trends and developments in sociology in the United States are essential factors in shaping the future research agenda of Russian sociology.

### The Foundation of Change

The formal break with Communism and Marxism in Russia created a vacuum for new ideas and concepts for the society, as well as for its intellectual subcultures. In the early 1990s this vacuum was instantly filled with the US-rooted neo-liberal views on market society, with spin-offs of this view in all the social sciences. This neo-liberal approach assumed a "visionary" projecting of the behavioral model of the "egoistic, profit-seeking individual" on the building of new economic and social institutions. However, the actual change which Russian society was undergoing after the collapse of the system of state socialism was hardly known. Yet, a neo-liberal model of market society was firmly imposed on many studies of the post-Communist transition in Russia. A preference for a singular dominant ideological concept, as opposed to ideological diversity, was still strong in the society. An alternative approach in studies aimed at understanding the character of transition was that of western Marxists. They undertook the first thorough studies of actual economic and social changes in the new Russian society, focusing on the industrial sector of the economy.

### Transitional Problems

These two approaches, the neo-liberal and the western Marxist, overshadowed the ideas of Pitirim Sorokin, although he exemplified the most obvious figure for a new intellectual Russian doctrine. He embraced both Russian and Western cultures, and was a world-recognized authority on studying social change. Yet he was seen mainly as a historic figure associated with the Russian Revolution and the foundation of Russian sociology at the beginning of the twentieth century. There was very little recognition of his contribution to social science as one of history's foremost analysts of culture, social structure, and social change.

Several reasons help to explain the minimal attention given to his system of sociology. One was a virtual absence of Sorokin's writings that were translated into the Russian language, or even available in Russia. As Sorokin's writings were banned during Communism, very few of his books had reached the Soviet Union, and none of them was translated, despite the fact that Sorokin was (and probably still remains) the most translated sociologist in the world. A second reason can be attributed to the organizational change that occurred in research and the teaching of the social sciences, including sociology, in Russia. During the 1990s once well-established sociological centers of the Soviet Union, such as the "Moscow school"

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## Research on Solidarity, Forgiveness, and Other Topics

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My research centers on solutions to problems of social order including norms, trust, social identity, and sanctions. Specifically, in a current project Brent Simpson and I build on recent norm research suggesting that injunctive norms (i.e. moral rules) backed by formal sanctions have negative consequences for group solidarity, and focus on whether descriptive norms (i.e. typical or average behavior) fare any better for promoting social order. Our theoretical arguments lead to predictions that suggest that conformity to descriptive norms enhances group strength, including increased social identity, trust, and group solidarity. Two experiments support the predictions and also show that the result of these positive perceptions is stable or predictable behavior, and in some instances increased cooperation in anonymous interactions. We conclude that descriptive norms, while often ignored by sociologists, are important for understanding long-term stability and order in groups. Our manuscript is currently under review for publication.<sup>1</sup>

In other work, I (with Jo-Ann Tsang) focus on the utility of forgiveness for promoting social order in groups. In Axelrod's (1984) often cited research, he found that Tit-for-Tat, a strategy combining forgiveness and punishment, was the most effective at producing sustained cooperation in repeated interactions. Since then, research on social dilemmas, or situations containing conflict between individual and collective interests, has focused considerable attention on punishment as a means to promote cooperation – but has almost completely ignored forgiveness. As a result, our understanding of how punishment shapes individuals' choices is arguably well understood, less clear are the effects of forgiveness on group members' cooperative choices. To at least partially address this issue, we are currently conducting experiments addressing how forgiveness influences feelings of group solidarity and cooperative behavior in social dilemmas.

My other recent projects have included cross-cultural research on institutional versus interpersonal trust across cultures (Irwin 2009), the effects of the emotion sympathy on social order (Irwin, McGrimmon, and Simpson 2008), a paper addressing general trust within and across race categories (Simpson, McGrimmon, and Irwin 2007), and a project looking at charitable donations and norms of self-interest (Simpson, Irwin, and Lawrence 2006).

Kyle Irwin completed his Ph.D. at the University of South Carolina in 2009 and is currently an Assistant Professor in the Sociology Department and Research Professor in the Center for Community Research and Development (CCRD) at Baylor University. More information on Kyle's research and teaching can be found at: <http://www.baylor.edu/sociology/index.php?id=67937>.

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# SOME THOUGHTS ON THE NATURE OF ALTRUISM AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AS A FIELD OF STUDY

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The study of altruism and social solidarity is the focus of our section. How this field develops in the years ahead will be influenced by the meaning and scope given to these terms. This foundational terminology identifies our subject matter in the most general and inclusive sense. It thus provides a basis for explicating the foci and specifics of this field of practice, and differentiating it from other fields.

A degree of consensus that facilitates theoretical and research culmination within the field can only be the result of a process of gradual clarification and modification. It will entail an extended process of interchanging ideas, and the contributions of many individuals. This task is a fundamental one. This article is intended to present a few ideas that can become part of this process of intellectual exchange and mutual enhancement of our perspectives as we develop this field.

At this point, it seems appropriate to view altruism and social solidarity as two general terms that serve as basic points of orientation. Within their scope are a number of more specific terms and concepts that are intended to focus attention on a variety of empirical phenomena. These empirical referents are sometimes quite similar, and in other instances, quite diverse. Some recent examples that identify key subject matter of altruism and social solidarity as a field of practice are: unlimited love (Post 2003); generosity (Science of Generosity 2010); global altruism (Tiryakian 2009); philanthropy (Schervish and Whitaker 2010); forgiveness (Oliner 2009); virtue (Jeffries 1998, 2005); compassionate love (Fehr, Sprecher, and Underwood 2009); morality (Hitlin and Vaisey 2010); and universalizing social solidarity (Alexander 2006).

## POINTS OF CONSENSUS: ESSENTIAL NATURE AND RANGE OF PHENOMENA

It is reasonable at this point to assume that we have two general foci of consensus emerging from this list. The first concerns the basic and essential nature of our subject matter. The second concerns the range of phenomena that are the primary subject matter of study.

First, in the broadest sense, our subject matter involves intentions and actions that benefit the other. The diverse phenomena that are identified by the aforementioned terms all share this characteristic: in some manner they are involved in giving what is good to the other for their welfare. They are either an important condition for, or actual element of, this bestowal.

The most common term is undoubtedly altruism. Reviews of the concept of altruism provide more specific detail regarding the nature of the phenomena we are studying. The general consensus is that both attitudes and behavior are involved in altruism (Oliner 1992:7-8). Further, a review of usage shows that there is a consensus that the intention and/or action to benefit the other can range from low to high (Jeffries 1998:151-153). Some contrast altruism with egoism (Krebs and Van Hesteren 1992:159; Sorokin 1948:58-62). Altruism itself is sometimes specified according to its gradation. For example, Sorokin (2002:288-289) contrasts ego-centered altruism, in which altruism is motivated primarily by self-interest, and ego-transcending altruism, in which the primary motive is the practice of altruistic love. In a more detailed gradation, Krebs and Van Hesteren (1992) posit and describe seven levels of altruism. Each successive stage represents a greater focus and involvement with the welfare of the other. The most extensive schema of the possible variations in altruism is provided by Sorokin's (2002:15-35) five dimensions of love: intensity, the degree to which the self is expended in the practice of love; extensity, the range of persons and groups to whom love is given; duration, the time period of love; purity, the degree to which the welfare of the other is the primary motivational focus; and adequacy, the degree to which both intent and result entail benefiting the welfare of the other. Each separate dimension can vary from low to high. Ranges toward the maximum in the five dimensions signify a high level of ego-transcending altruism.

A second point of consensus illustrated by the aforementioned terms is that our subject matter ranges across the micro-macro continuum (Jeffries, Johnston, Nichols, Oliner, Tiryakian, Weinstein 2007). It ranges from thought and action on the individual level to the policies and activities of

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social collectives of various types. For example, Tiryakian (2009) shows that altruism directed toward improving the circumstances of the world's most poor and powerless can be manifested by agents at different levels of analysis. The micro level consists of individuals, the meso level international non-government organizations, and the macro level countries. At each level, the agents are engaged in altruism that is global in its orientation and potential extension. In a similar vein, Oliner (2009) has noted that forgiveness can be studied at both the interpersonal and the intergroup levels. The micro level of interpersonal forgiveness has been the object of considerable scientific research. Conversely, the study of the meso and macro levels of intergroup forgiveness is in its beginning stages. Case studies of recent historical events show that the basic processes of apology, forgiveness, and reconciliation can be observed at the intergroup level. These same processes occur between groups within nations, and between nations themselves.

Much of the theory and research directly using the concept of altruism focuses on individual personality as the unit of analysis. The concept of social solidarity provides a basis for moving to the sociocultural level of analysis, encompassing both the process of interaction and more structured social and cultural systems.

The writings of Sorokin (1947) provide a conceptual framework for considering intentions and actions to benefit another at the meso and macro levels. Meaningful social interaction is the generic sociological phenomena. Solidary interaction is the form of interaction that entails benefitting the other, at various ranges. In this interaction "the aspirations (meanings-values) and overt actions of the interacting parties concur and are mutually helpful in the realization of their objectives" (Sorokin 1947:93). In its purest form, solidary interaction is characterized by mutual help, love, peace, harmony, and constructive creativity (Sorokin 1998). Solidary interaction at this level is thus a social manifestation of the basic orientations of altruistic love (Sorokin 1954:13). Antagonistic interaction is counterposed to this form. Here, aspirations and actions of the parties are opposite, and mutually hinder the realization of the objectives of both parties. In a third form, mixed, the aspirations and actions of the parties are in various manners inconsistent.

Sorokin's (1947:99-102) concept of familistic social relationships provides another way of conceptualizing social solidarity at a more macro level of analysis. Characteristics of both social interaction and the cultural system are included in this ideal type. Interaction is predominately solidary, and extends to all areas of life and values. It is also high in intensity, as members are interdependent and need and help each other whenever the occasion arises. This type of social relationship is typically long-lasting, and interaction is direct and mutual in its influence upon the parties. Normative and ethical motivations center on the welfare of the group and of each of its members. There is a fundamental sense of "oneness" of the parties, and therefore leadership or government is spontaneous and natural.

Familistic relationships are contrasted with two other ideal types, contractual and compulsory (Sorokin 1947:99-110). Contractual relationships are limited in scope and typically egoistic in motivation, while compulsory relationships are noted for antagonism, compulsion, and coercion. Almost all groups have some elements of each of these ideal types. However, many groups can be accurately characterized as organized predominately according to any one of the three types of social relationship. Sorokin (1947:102) uses the term familistic because this form of relationship is most often found at its most developed level in families. This does not imply that all families are characterized by this form of social relationship. Many families are not. Also, groups other than the family can be predominately familistic. Common examples of groups where familistic social relationships often predominate include good friends, some military units, and religious organizations.

## THE PROBLEMATIC OF SOLIDARITY

Activity in which one party does good to and benefits the other party, whether the parties be individuals or social collectives of various types, is central to the interests of this section.

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The previously considered formulations regarding the nature, forms, and ranges of altruism and solidarity represent a foundation for gaining knowledge and understanding of this activity.

Yet there is a major problematic. Solidarity is almost always restricted to particular groups. History contains numerous examples of this restricted solidarity being a factor in antagonistic interaction toward other groups. This has often involved the attempt to establish compulsory relationships with varying degrees of exclusion, exploitation, or domination. Sorokin's formulations provide a viable starting point for studying the range and characteristics of solidarity. Yet further work needs to be done to begin to identify and understand a solidarity that has the widest possible applicability, and how it is different from a solidarity that is socially divisive.

Jeffrey Alexander's (2006:42-45. See also:259-263;549-553) recent writing on solidarity provides guidance on how this problem of in-group solidarity combined with out-group antagonism can be studied. A solidarity that unites and does not also divide is a "universalizing social solidarity" (Alexander 2006:44). This solidarity is located in both social and cultural organization. A universalizing solidarity would provide for a sense of identification that unites individuals and can "in principle, include as full members every grouping and individual composing it"(Alexander 2006:44). It would do this by transcending particularistic interests and loyalties. This solidarity derives from the starting point of a strong cultural emphasis on the combination of collectivism and individualism. A strong collectivism provides for a sense of community, but this needs to be influenced and limited by an equally strong idea of individual rights and liberty to prevent totalitarianism. This dual emphasis is basic in the ideas of various theorists of civil society, such as Locke, Marshall, Ferguson, Smith, and more recently, Habermas (Alexander 2006:44-45). The article by Efremenko and Evseeva (2010) in this issue of the Newsletter illustrates the same combination of ideas of community and individuality in traditions of Russian social thought regarding the nature of solidarity.

Alexander (2006:38) maintains that such a solidarity "depends on the vitality of a fluent and provocative moral discourse." The idea that morality is a necessary condition of solidarity expresses a long tradition of sociological thought. A foremost proponent was Durkheim, who eventually maintained that the most viable insulation to the social pathologies of egoism and anomie that undermined solidarity was individual morality. The essence of morality is a sense of duty to seek to realize the good. It is manifested through individual dispositions of discipline, attachment to groups, and autonomy (Durkheim 1961:1-126). On a more cultural level of analysis Sorokin (1947:119-131; 1957:414-434) emphasizes the dependence of solidarity on a relatively absolute ethical system emphasizing ideas of love, help, cooperation and the Golden Rule. Without the basis of a morality of this nature in the law and moral norms of culture, antagonistic interaction and compulsory social relationships become common from micro to macro levels of society. In other instances, systems of morality can also contribute directly to these conditions toward outgroups, such as in the case of Nazi ethics (Ferrara 2001:175-178). The study of types of morality and their effects is thus an important component of the study of both altruism and social solidarity.

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My research points to a critical flaw in previous work on religious priming. I argue that past research has not only primed religious concepts, but may have also primed *reward* concepts. The most common world religions promise certain kinds of rewards to their followers—for example, access to an afterlife—in exchange for following religious tenets (Donahue and Nielsen 2005, Geyer and Baumeister 2005). Words like “heaven” and “salvation” are not only strongly associated with religion but also associated with religious *rewards*. These reward-related religious concepts are very commonly used in work investigating the link between religious priming and prosocial behavior (e.g. Pichon, Boccato, and Saroglou 2007, Randolph-Seng and Nielsen 2007). Therefore, I suggest that past religious priming may have been associated with increased prosocial behavior not because religious concepts were activated, but because reward concepts were activated. I hypothesize that priming *reward-related* concepts leads to greater prosocial behavior in anticipation of the primed reward. And if rewards, not religion alone, lead to increased prosocial behavior, then we should expect the priming of secular rewards to work in the same manner.

To test these hypotheses, I ran a 2 (Religious Prime vs. Secular Prime) x 2 (Reward-Related Prime vs. Reward-Unrelated Prime) experiment at the University of South Carolina’s Laboratory for Sociological Research. The priming technique was modeled after that of Pichon, Boccato, and Saroglou (2007). Relevant words were flashed on participant’s computer screens at a very fast pace (15 milliseconds). Immediately after the priming, participants decided how to split up an allocation of money between themselves and another (anonymous) person in the lab.

Results showed a main effect of the Reward factor, and no significant effect on the Religion factor. That is, the reward-related primes had a positive impact on prosocial behavior, regardless of whether the rewards were secular or religious. Religious cognitions alone were not significantly sufficient in eliciting prosocial behavior from participants; reward cognitions had to be present as well. These findings suggest that rewards can play an role in eliciting prosocial behavior such as generosity.

For future research on this topic, I (with Jennifer McLeer) am planning a related experiment in which will I prime religious and secular *punishment*, rather than rewards (e.g., “hell” concepts rather than “heaven” concepts), and examine their impact on prosocial behavior. Religious rewards may work the same way as do religious punishments; both may lead to increased prosocial behavior. Or punishment could have a different impact—people may be more motivated by rewards or by punishment, and in doing so, be more responsive to rewards or to punishment in terms of their prosocial behavior.

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## International Group of Interdisciplinary Scholars Explores Altruism as a Solution to Global Social Problems

*Vlad Alalykin-Izvekov, ISCSC Representative in Europe and Russia.*

The International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC) has organized two Round Tables on Altruism during its annual Conference at the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah in June this year. The Round Tables Initiative seeks to identify and help to create the scientifically viable ways of solving the human civilization's global problems on the principles of altruism, love, kindness, and compassion. It does so by providing an opportunity for the civilizational scholars to engage in a stimulating, forward-looking dialogue, share knowledge on the best theories, concepts, sources and practices, and stimulate them to build long-lasting professional relationships, partnerships and alliances.

### Round Table on Altruism in Solving Global Problems

*Matthew Lee* presented research findings about religious altruism from the multi-year Flame of Love Research Project (see [www.godlyloveproject.org](http://www.godlyloveproject.org)) and a comparative study of religious and non-religious altruists conducted as part of Thomas Kychun's undergraduate Honors Thesis. Both studies suggest that religious-based altruism has the potential for contributing to the solution of endemic social problems, such as the unequal distribution of financial resources and inter-group conflicts both foreign and domestic. Although the findings demonstrate how this kind of altruism might solve social problems by addressing the root causes of egotism and radical hedonism, Pitirim Sorokin's notion of the "tragedy of tribal altruism" is relevant for describing limitations of some forms of religious-based altruism.

*Connie Lamb* presented a paper on altruism's role in educating girls and women in the developing countries. The researcher emphasized that educating girls and women in those countries has a positive impact on both individuals and on societies.

Studies show that the education of girls is one of the most important investments a country can make because it results in reduced fertility rates, lower infant and child mortality, better nutrition, better family health, increased income, and reduction of poverty. Countries which provide education for girls later experience higher economic growth rates. The presenter highlighted efforts of several altruistic people who are providing schools and education directly to those who need it, and stated that in order to reach the Millennial Goal of Education for All, localized, on-the-ground approaches funded by people willing to donate money and time are much more effective than most government and large agency aid programs.

*Ashok Malhotra* highlighted his Ninash Foundation's altruism-based initiatives to mitigate suffering for the socially and economically disadvantaged within the US and abroad, provide educational funding to promote literacy among children and adults throughout the world, and to assist the cultural community within US and abroad by providing funding relating to artistic education.

*Baktybek Abdrisaev's* presentation was dealing with an approach pursued jointly by a number of educational institutions in the Rocky Mountains of the United States, including Utah Valley University, their partners in the Kyrgyz Republic and worldwide, to develop mutually beneficial ties based on the U.N. agenda of sustainable mountain development. The approach involves altruism-based initiatives, for example, the upcoming International Conference "Women of the Mountains -2", which will be hosted in March 2011 in Utah, will include a panel on altruism.

*Vlad Alalykin-Izvekov* gave a talk on the environmental and social vegetarianism as a multidimensional and multidirectional approach to improve the population's health and physical well-being, benefit the environment, establish more

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## "International Group of Interdisciplinary Scholars Explores Altruism as a Solution to Global Social Problems." *Continued from page 23...*

harmonious relationships between humans and animals, as well as to alleviate a number of pressing global problems, such as malnutrition, hunger, demographic explosion, energy crisis, depletion of natural resources, and species extinction.

### Round Table on Altruism in Global Education

*Lyubov Mikhaltsova* presented the "Project for International Cooperation between Russia and USA" as a vehicle of altruism development in global education. The hub of the Project is the newly opened Russian-American Laboratory "Civilization. Culture. Education." The researcher also highlighted role of a Russian-American macrosociologist Pitirim Sorokin as a pioneer of altruism-based approaches and solutions to the global problems of humanity.

*Ashok Malhotra* told the ISCSC Colleagues about his Indo-International Schools Initiative which exists from 1996. This altruism-based educational program for impoverished children was featured in the international media and on ABC and NBC news, presented to the Dalai Lama, named a Gift of Service to the World by the Parliament of World Religions, recognized by the East-West Center for promoting US-Asia relations, and cited by the Templeton Foundations in naming SUNY Oneonta to the Honor Roll of Character-Building Colleges.

*Vlad Alalykin-Izvekov* gave a presentation on the Altruism –based methods of Teaching Foreign Languages, particularly, the Activation of Individual and Group Potential Method, developed by a Russian scientist Galina A. Kitaigorodskaya. The Activation Method has received a wide scholarly recognition throughout the world, including the USA. The Method is grounded in the theories of a Bulgarian psychologist G. Lozanov, Russian psychologists L.

Vygotsky, S. Rubinstein, A.N. Leontiev, and A.A. Leontiev, and incorporates findings from genetic and social psychology, psycholinguistics, sociopsycholinguistics, cognitive psychology, pedagogical psychology, methodology of teaching foreign languages, and psychophysiology.

The Round Tables on Altruism presentations received an enthusiastic reception by the ISCSC scholars, and the Society presently has plans to continue feature Panels and Roundtables on Altruism, as well as to organize Demonstrational Workshops on the Altruism-based Methods of Teaching Foreign Languages and other subjects, at its next Conference in Tulane University (New Orleans, Louisiana) in 2011.



BYU Conference Center



## Exploring the Scope and Sources of Ethical Apparel Consumption

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While survey data suggests that somewhere between 60 and 80 percent of US apparel consumers were willing to pay significantly more for sweat-free clothing (Hertel, Scruggs & Heidkamp 2009), skeptics have urged caution in interpreting these results. Some argue that it is too easy or even tempting to tell a survey person that one cares if that seems to be the ethically correct response, particularly when there is no money on the line. Others ask: if so many people really care about sweat-free apparel, why isn't the market responding with a wide range of sweat-free options? We shared these concerns when we embarked on our research.

We therefore launched a series of real-world studies – some controlled, others natural – designed to give consumers a choice between sweat-free and sweatshop products, so we could see what they purchased and then ask them why they did so. Our first study involved a major department store in a working-class suburb of Detroit, where we put up displays of two nearly identical types of white sports socks, one labeled “Good Working Conditions” (GWC) – defined on an adjacent sign as no child labor, safe working conditions and no sweatshops -- and the other with no label. We varied the price premium paid for the GWC-labeled socks, relative to the baseline price of the unlabeled ones, from zero to fifty percent (Prasad et.al. 2004). Our second study involved interviewing customers as they were exiting a local American Apparel store (known for its commitment to sweat-free products) to document their purchasing behavior and probe their motivations (Robinson et.al. 2009).

In both cases we found that most consumers were not ethical consumers, according to the standards of our studies, and the reasons for this are revealing. We chose in these studies to use stringent standards when determining who was an ethical consumer and who was not; specifically, we used three “cognitive preconditions” to define ethical consumption: knowing about / noticing the sweat-free claim, understanding what “sweat-free” means, and believing the sweat-free claim (Kimeldorf et al. 2006). According to these criteria, only 30% of our sock purchasers and 60% of American Apparel customers met all three cognitive preconditions. The remaining subjects were, thus, not even in a “cognitive position” to make a choice to buy “sweat-free.” Nevertheless, fully two-thirds of our sock consumers and even a higher proportion of

American Apparel shoppers told our interviewers that they cared about sweatshop issues. The implication here is that steps taken to assure that consumers meet these preconditions might go far toward bolstering actual ethical consumption. When we looked at the subset of those who met all three preconditions, and who were therefore in a position to consciously choose to purchase a “sweat-free” product, we were surprised to learn that more than half of our sock purchasers (57%), and almost as many American Apparel customers (47%) were ethical consumers (i.e. they bought what they did at least in part because they believed it to be sweat-free, even when doing so cost them more money).

These results suggest that the survey findings on sweat-free consumption are not as far from reality as the skeptics and most pundits have assumed. They report higher levels of ethical consumption than we do because they pose the question to consumers in such a way that all three cognitive preconditions are always met, thus producing their very high levels of support for ethical consumption. Our results are also consistent with the findings of experimental economists who discovered that about half of participants in Public Goods games are “conditional cooperators.” That is, contrary to conventional economic assumptions, they make choices that benefit others, at a material cost to themselves, provided that others do the same. On average, only about 30% behave in the exclusively “self-regarding” fashion that conventional economics expects; the remaining 20% exhibit a variety of other patterns (Fehr & Gintis 2007).

These results open up two important lines of inquiry that we intend to explore in our future research. First, if demand really is this high, why aren't many more factories responding to this segment of the market by producing sweat-free clothing, and why aren't many more brands and retail chains aggressively advertising sweat-free lines of clothing? Simply put, what is the source of this massive market failure? And second, among those who meet the cognitive preconditions of sweat-free consumption, what differentiates those who become ethical consumers from those who do not?

On the market failure question, our American Apparel interviews suggest one very important factor: while a majority of consumers care about sweat-free

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## Exploring the Scope and Sources of Ethical Apparel Consumption

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production, for most it is not one of their top two priorities when deciding what to buy. Style and price are more important for most apparel consumers, including most of those who care about sweat-free clothing. So unless retailers offer sweat-free variants that also meet consumers' style and price priorities, sweat-free concerns will usually be over-ridden by conflicting, higher priority concerns. But most firms don't offer this kind of choice, and as a result, the market for sweat-free clothing seems confined to a small niche of consumers for whom sweat-free considerations are top priority. Lack of demonstrated market demand then becomes the rationale for not offering sweat-free lines, completing the self-fulfilling circle of causality.

To explain why some people are ethical consumers and some are not, we think the concept of altruism holds great promise. Experimental economists, who operate with a behavioral concept of altruism, have distinguished between conditional and unconditional altruists (Fehr & Fischbacher 2005). Their research looks mainly at conditional altruism, and in particular, the kinds of conditional cooperation noted above. But few ethical consumers make their decision to buy sweat-free clothing contingent on the behavior of anyone else. Most are unconditional altruists. We can therefore reframe our question as: why are some people unconditional altruists, others conditional altruists and still others are self-regarding egoists?

Experimental economists find little variation in the share of the population in each category among university students in rich capitalist democracies – the main population participating in their experiments. On the other hand, they find greater variation among subjects who are recruited from other kinds of societies. More than two thirds of the variation found among subjects in these less affluent/developed societies is explained by two aspects of social structure: how much people rely on cooperation with others (beyond immediate kin) in the economic production process, and how much people rely on market

exchange in their daily lives (Henrich et.al. 2001). However, we still know very little about why a certain share of people are found in each category *within* any given society – that is, the heterogeneity found in every society.

Here, work on altruism by sociologists, psychologists and political scientists (see Jeffries et.al. 2006 for an overview) offers the most promising point of departure. The work of the Oliners (1992) on Holocaust rescuers is particularly suggestive. They identify two basic kinds of reasons why people became rescuers: sympathy for particular individuals, or aspects of identity that made failure to rescue inconsistent with the rescuer's sense of self. The identity category can be further divided between those who identify with a particular community or organization, and thus feel bound to follow the norms and values of that collectivity; and those who strongly identify with certain ethical principles so that they would feel they were betraying their beliefs if they did not rescue. We hypothesize that sweat-free consumption is also motivated by one or more of these kinds of motives -- which may be mutually reinforcing -- and have devised customer interview questions to assess this explanation. Monroe's (1996) discussion of altruism builds on the Oliners' work, extending it beyond the case of rescuers, in ways that we find valuable.

Seen in this way, we need an account of what sorts of sympathies and identities are associated with each of the three types of behavior – unconditional altruism, conditional altruism, and egoism -- with respect to particular choices (e.g., whether or not to purchase sweat-free apparel). We also need an account of why some people have the relevant sorts of sympathies and identities while others do not. The kinds of identities we have depend on the nature of the communities and organizations in which we are embedded, and these vary greatly across societies. For example, the share of workers in unions varies from almost 90% in Sweden to just over 10% in the United States and France.

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## Exploring the Scope and Sources of Ethical Apparel Consumption

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Similarly, the share of the population who are religious – and the character of religious belief and practice – also varies greatly. Such differences affect peoples' identities and how closely particular ethical beliefs and commitments are tied to who they understand themselves to be. As well, Wilson and Pickett (2009) have highlighted the powerful impacts of differences in levels of economic and status inequality on a range of variables, operating principally through the medium of how inequality erodes trust. We suspect that differences in trust levels are likely to translate into default assumptions about "human nature," manifest in different levels of sympathy, particularly for strangers. If these kinds of factors are important, in the ways we believe, we should see corresponding correlations within countries and significant differences in levels of ethical consumption across countries. We aim to explore these questions in our future research.

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## LESSONS LEARNED IN PRISON: WHAT ALTRUISTIC BELIEFS REVEAL

*Continued from page 6...*

Initially, I resisted calling my teaching altruistic because I perceived altruism as making supreme sacrifices for others or a cause. In contrast I did not feel I was being altruistic because I was gaining so much from the experience. When asked what I like about teaching in prison, I always answer "It's the most rewarding and exciting teaching I've ever experienced! The students are so enthusiastic, grateful, and appreciative. And I learn from them." There is an aura of excitement in the classroom.

To elaborate: why is teaching in prison so exciting? First of all, entering a prison is the opposite of walking onto an open-spaced, landscaped college campus. There is a tension just in encountering the procedures of entering a prison where all outsiders undergo various entrance rituals such as showing identification, checking permission documents, proceeding through metal detection gates, having a wand detector checking one's body, undergoing a search of all items including a briefcase, back pack, lunch or food items, purse, coat pockets. Shoes must be removed and inspected. Cell phones placed in lockers. For college instructors, any DVDs or videos brought for the class must have been previously approved and one cannot bring in a current newspaper or magazine. Rules may vary somewhat by the inspecting officer and instructors share stories of how long they spent completing the screening process. Rumors circulate about which officers are the most cordial and which are "rule-sticklers!" Once all procedures are completed, the visitor's hand is stamped and one passes through three heavy security gates/doors. At the entrance to the educational building, visitors must show their hand stamps and sign a log-in book. Volunteers joke that getting in the prison is our problem, not getting out.

The Bedford Hills college operates on a shoestring budget since no state or federal money can be used to support higher education in correctional facilities. This means state universities or colleges cannot finance college courses in prisons. Perceiving the prison college as part of its mission to educate the underprivileged, Marymount Manhattan College, a private college, funds and administers the program seeking financial support from alumni and foundations. All instructors are considered volunteers; yet meet criteria for Marymount faculty. Students meet admission requirements for college, which often requires their completing pre-colleges classes. Under the auspices of Marymount College, an Associate Arts and a Bachelors Degree in Sociology are offered in the prison. The College's Dean Lists includes the incarcerated students who earned this honor and the diplomas awarded each year state the candidate has fulfilled the requirements of Marymount Manhattan College. Earning a degree requires persistence as the typical student can only enroll in two courses per semester, which means she will usually require ten years to complete the bachelor's degree.

Instructional materials are often "hand-me-downs". College instructors and administrators plead with publishers for out-of-date texts or last-year's editions. The College library consists primarily of donated books and reference materials. To keep classes materials up-to-date, faculty select current journal articles or book chapters that can be copied for class distribution. Computers are available for students but without Internet access. Reference disks provide current journal articles and abstracts. Volunteers can assist in additional research searches and tutors are available for help in writing and mathematics.

The classrooms per se are not particular exciting. There are damaged blackboards, window blinds are broken, and there are mismatched desks, chairs and tables. The rooms are always hot with little ventilation. Class enrollment is small, usually twenty students per class. Guards are outside in the hall and enter occasionally to pick up attendance sheets or make announcements. Students are allowed to enter the educational building only after an official prison roll call.

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## LESSONS LEARNED IN PRISON: WHAT ALTRUISTIC BELIEFS REVEAL

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Hence, class begins when inmates are released from roll call meaning sometimes classes begin late. In spite of this sparse environment, the classroom is filled with intellectual excitement, which begins as the students enthusiastically arrive. They enter the room as if they are ‘freed’ from their prison cells to this enlightened educational setting.

They burst in the room energetically greeting me. Perceiving me as a representative of the outside world—they might ask about events in the city, wearing identical green scrub uniforms and combat boots, they often comment on what I am wearing. They may greet each other and be excited to see fellow students who are not in cells or housing units near them. Eager to learn, the students rarely complain about assignments and occasionally a student will request more reading about a class topic. Often, they state their appreciation of the faculty, as shown by this student comment to me written at the bottom of her homework: “I wish there were more women like you who are truly concerned. Thank you for your concern.”

I do feel altruistic, realizing I am teaching stigmatized women from the most under-privileged communities in society. In class they may mention their experiences with poverty, abuse by parents, siblings, or spouses, or their perceived lack of adequate legal protection. They bring up the most poignant examples for sociological concepts. For example, in discussing social class, most of the students knew more about various sub-classes of working class, working poor, and poverty classes but could not discern differences between middle and higher classes. They could not believe upper-middle class couples would want to live in a community that dictated what are the acceptable paint colors for one’s house, or where trucks could be parked or when trash cans must be removed. They laughed at the text discussion of welfare mothers for they knew many more problems as well as survival techniques when they had received welfare. I often asked classes to describe the best job they ever had. I usually get the response “a real job” or an underground one. Several times students who had entered the prison at young ages said they had never had a job. Others described they sacrificed continuing high school education in order to take menial jobs to assist their impoverished families.

Having few resources, the students are good innovators and improvisers. If they do not have supplies for a poster, they will use a large envelope or a manila folder. When studying about the increasingly high cost that couples will spend on a wedding, several students described prison weddings where brides created veils from toilet paper and flowers from colored corn-chip bags. During this year’s graduation ceremony when the recording device could not play the familiar Elgar’s *Pomp and Circumstance*—the students hummed the tune. Soon, the entire auditorium was filled with the lyrical humming. It was for me the most emotional graduation music I had ever heard. As I learned more about altruism, I realized the doer of altruism as well as the receiver of altruistic acts benefits from altruism. This realization led to my designing this paradigm of the rewards for altruistic behavior.

### REWARDS RECEIVED FOR ALTRUISM

#### Religious Reinforcement

- A. belief in rewards in later life
- B. belief in a “calling” for altruism
- C. belief that this behavior is a component of one’s religion

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## LESSONS LEARNED IN PRISON: WHAT ALTRUISTIC BELIEFS REVEAL

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### Psychological benefit

- A. antidote for depression—"get your mind off one's problems"
- B. recommended by therapist or self-help group such as AA

### Ecstasy rewards

- A. the delight, the joy, or "high" derived from helping others
- B. excitement of taking risks to aid or rescue others

### Gratitude reward—two varieties

- A. beneficiaries are so grateful, they are indebted to the altruistic individual
- B. altruistic person is returning the favor—helping others that have helped her/him

### Victim Identity

- A. assist those like ourselves: "there for the grace of God..."
- B. empathy for victim

### Ethic or Moral Ideal

- A. it's the right thing to do
- B. altruism is the true meaning of life

This paradigm led me to recognize that in describing the excitement I experience teaching in prison, I was identifying rewards I received for altruism. For example, I definitely perceived the ecstasy rewards—that joy or happiness one obtains helping others learn or seeing a student finally grasp a concept. There is also in my experience the gratitude reward—the inmates thank me after each class—. One student always at the end of class always said, "Have a safe trip home." (Since I had an hour train ride home after the class ended at 9pm. I appreciated her concern. ) And many times I understand the victim identity reward of "There for the grace of God ..." such as when I learned about my student who killed a relative who was physically abusing the student's severely disabled brother. In summary, altruism is a common human experience, not limited to our most grandiose vision of sacrifice and both giver and receiver benefit from altruistic behavior.

My students often respond to each other in very altruistic ways. Encountering the same difficult challenges of the prison daily life, they are very compassionate towards each other. For example, in class a student will comfort or try to calm a student who is "losing it" by becoming very frustrated or angry. When shy students give presentations, the others are extremely supportive. They are quick to notice when a fellow student is ill, depressed, or in trouble in the class. They volunteer to take assignments or handouts to students who are in disciplinary lock up. They share supplies and occasionally snacks. They are very sympathetic towards weaker students struggling to answer questions. Following an oral report, loud applause is given. If a dispute, for example, between two students appears to get out of hand, another student quickly intervenes to avoid a serious conflict that in turn might impact them all. They describe how they share meals in the housing units that allow cooking and they form pseudo family units in which older inmates will be protective and caring of the younger and new incarcerated women.

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## LESSONS LEARNED IN PRISON: WHAT ALTRUISTIC BELIEFS REVEAL

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Undergoing long sentences of fifteen to twenty-five years, the women develop very close friendships. One student was very distraught in class one night as she described her sadness that a fellow inmate had been released, thus, ending a long, close friendship.

Attending college offers students the opportunity to be self reflective, to better understand themselves and their situation. In Sorokin's terminology the college allows for a transformative experience leading to altruism as shown by these students comments about why college should be available in prison.

A college education helps in building self-respect, teaches responsibility, and helps people see that they can do better. Education has helped liberate me from the mental prison I once was in.

College classes opened my mind up to a world that I knew nothing of -- a world of tolerance and acceptance of other people and their differences.

There is also a community spirit especially among the college students—an esprit de corps since they know they represent the elite of the prison. College has its privileges such as access to a better library and freedom to use the college computers even to play solitaire! For college not only reflects educational achievement, but also continuous good behavior. To continue in college, students must adhere to prison rules as these inmates explain in essays they wrote:

As the women attend college classes, and self-esteem rises, the amount of time they spend dealing with disciplinary problems generally decreases. They do not want to miss class, and lose their college student status.

The ultimate reason for college programs is to be able to have something positive that will help them to continue on a positive path when they do leave the prison system. Thus—a reduction in recidivism.

In fact, the administrator of this college program claims that no woman has returned to prison or violated parole who had taken college classes.

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## LESSONS LEARNED IN PRISON: WHAT ALTRUISTIC BELIEFS REVEAL

*Continued from page 31...*

Altruism is also found in some of the crimes the women had committed:

It is my belief that the majority of us are in prison in the first place for a variety of highly emotional reactions to traumatic situations, either trying to protect our families or ourselves. Women tend to go to great lengths, even illegal to take care of others and usually wait until they are driven to act out to care for themselves.

Though they may be seen as the elite in prison, the students are also very aware they are seen as stigmatized individuals in the outside world. Each semester I ask my students to write what they want the outside world to know about their lives. Here are a few examples that reveal their innermost fears that outsiders will perceive them as evil or less than human:

We are human beings. We are people too.  
We are not all evil murderous women. Some of us are here because the people in our lives helped to lead us towards our crimes. Some of us committed our crimes because of a mental illness—severe depression. Some of us have been punished harshly for first offenses and a few have actually been wrongly convicted.

As beneficiaries of altruistic acts by the many volunteers in the prison, the women often state they hope to help others avoid the mistakes they made and to enlighten outsiders of the many factors that led to their incarceration. In turn, they think their behavior is altruistic. In their words:

The good news is that most all of us are trying to improve ourselves so that we may someday change the way the outside looks at and treats us. Given a chance we'd like to make a difference.

Many continue their education upon release, and have become better citizens and more importantly better role models for their children.

Thus, altruism as I have experienced it in the college prison operates in a reciprocal cycle. Those who give also receive and, in turn, those who receive want to give back even more. College provides the “second chance” for students. In Sorokin’s terminology they experience altruistic or moral transformation through self-identification, an examination of the conscience, a reflection of their lives, and the impact of their behavior on others. Through this transformation, they have the opportunity to emerge altruistic—less self-centered, more focused on giving to others, and ultimately giving back to society.



## Section Member Research Summary: Cultural Resources and the Transition to First-time Motherhood

*Sarah B. Garrett, University of California, Berkeley*

My dissertation research investigates how women's cultural resources—e.g., skills, styles, and ways of understanding the world—shape the lived experience of becoming a mother for the first time. This study is designed to enrich social science research on motherhood and to evaluate and elaborate *cultural repertoire theory* (Swidler 1986, 2001).<sup>\*</sup> The transition to first-time motherhood is a period of life whose unpredictability and “high stakes” character make it uniquely promising for investigating the development, mobilization and power of individuals' cultural resources.

In brief, cultural repertoire theory posits that culture has a causal effect on individual action by providing individuals with the “tools” and “cultured capacities” with which we act (e.g., styles of self-presentation, ways of understanding the world). Individuals possess more of these cultural resources than we typically employ, as a diverse repertoire helps actors to situate their actions and perspectives and to face diverse and unpredictable challenges. In this project I focus on a particular kind of cultural resource—“interpretive frameworks”—which are the understandings and taken-for-granted assumptions that individuals use to perceive the world around them. My pilot fieldwork reveals that many new mothers have multiple—and sometimes contradictory—frameworks with which they interpret their experiences. For example, they may understand an emergency Cesarean section as a life-saving miracle, and/or a routine medical procedure, and/or a sign that a woman has “failed” at the first task of motherhood, and/or an expression of contemporary medicine's monopoly over female bodies. These understandings of what is desirable, feasible, or even “real” can profoundly shape individuals' actions and experiences.

This project uses a mixed-method longitudinal design to investigate (a) the source of expectant/new mothers' frameworks; (b) how and in what circumstances these women employ them; and (c) to what degree the diversity and content of their frameworks affect new mothers' relationships, subjective well-being, and mental health during the first few months of parenthood. Since January of this year I have been administering surveys to English- and Spanish-speaking pregnant women at diverse healthcare institutions in Northern California. Concurrently, I have been conducting pre- and post-partum semi-structured in-depth interviews with a subset of these respondents.

Though neither my survey nor my interviews explicitly measure constructs like altruism or solidarity, certain aspects of this project may be of interest to section members. Thinkers as foundational as Auguste Comte (Pickering 1996), Mary Wollstonecraft ([1796] 2004) and Sara Ruddick (1989) have identified maternal practice—if not motherhood itself—as a primary basis for altruistic behaviors and social solidarity. Structural, biological, and cultural explanations compete across and within disciplines to articulate this maternal-prosocial relationship. My study will provide detailed and nuanced information on contemporary women's transition into this ostensibly altruistic moment. Of note, my interviews reveal meaningful diversity in how satisfying and “natural” my respondents find their intense caretaking responsibilities.

Additionally, the project will permit me to explore the development of attitudes toward parenting practices different from one's own. Popular and academic commentators depict contemporary—especially middle-class—childrearing as a particularly judgmental and competitive realm of social life (Douglas and Michaels 2005; Hays 1996; Warner 2005). My survey and interview data will reveal the predictors of individuals' acceptance of and respect for different ways of parenting. What contexts, resources, and/or interactional experiences encourage mothers to be supportive versus critical of another's childbirth and feeding decisions, parenting style, and/or employment/non-employment? Though situated in a very specific social space, I believe that these inquiries will contribute to broader understandings of tolerance, respect and solidarity.

*Continued on page 34...*

## Section Member Research Summary: Cultural Resources and the Transition to First-time Motherhood

*Continued from page 33...*

### *\*Further reading:*

The idea that individuals draw on cultural resources in order to frame, make sense of, and/or defend their actions has been employed more or less explicitly by a variety of scholars (e.g., Blair-Loy 2003; Boltanski and Thévenot 1999; Derné 1995; DiMaggio 1997; Harding 2007; Lamont 1992; Lamont and Small 2008; Lareau 2003; Mills 1940). The most elaborated and widely recognized treatment of this “justificatory” (Vaisey 2009) perspective, however, was developed by Swidler, who theorized the “cultural toolkit” in a 1986 article and then further refined and illustrated the concept—now the “cultural repertoire”—in a 2001 book, *Talk of Love*.

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## Russian Populists and Anarchists on Solidarity: Middle 19th to Early 20th Centuries

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Several of the first Russian professional sociologists also belonged to the Narodniks and the Socialist-Revolutionary party (the SRs, Esers), emerging on the base of the movement in question.

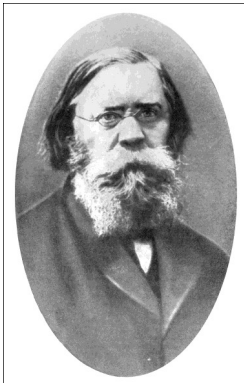


The key figure for the both trends of left radicalism was Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876). His idea of solidarity was primarily formed under the influence of Proudhon's theory of mutualism. Declaring the ideal of free association in contrast to the dominance of the institute of the state, Bakunin stressed the fact that freedom and solidarity were complementary principles. He wrote in his "Solidarity in Liberty: The Workers' Path to Freedom" (1867):

“The inherent principles of human existence are summed up in the single law of solidarity. This is the golden rule of humanity and may be formulated this: no person can recognize or realize his or her own humanity except by recognizing it in others and so cooperating for its realization by each and all. No man can emancipate himself save by emancipating with him all the men about him.

My liberty is the liberty of everybody. I cannot be free in idea until I am free in fact. To be free in idea and not free in fact is to be in revolt. To be free in fact is to have my liberty and my right, find their confirmation, and sanction in the liberty and right of all mankind. I am free only when all men are my equals (first and foremost economically)” (Bakunin 1947, p. 14).

According to Bakunin, social progress unfolds as a movement from the animal state to freedom. The decisive role in emancipation of society ought to be played by the solidary organized actions of the cultured humanity, especially its particularly active, revolutionary constituent. Describing the process in question, Bakunin attempted to synthesize the anthropological and the social approach.



Peter Lavrov (1824–1900), a leading Narodnik ideologist, became the founder of the so-called “subjective” method in sociology. In his “Historical Letters” (first published, under the pseudonym ‘Mirtov’, in a Russian periodical, in 1868–1869) (Lavrov 1967) he accentuated the indissoluble connection between sociology as a science and basic principles of individual morality. According to him, sociological knowledge always depends upon scholars’ consciously chosen ideals. The majority of researchers stress the heterogeneity of Lavrov’s ideas as well as the fact that a considerable impact was made upon him both by the leaders of the positivist tradition and by Marx (Sorokin 1922, Walicki 1977). All those impacts were in some way synthesized in Lavrov’s idea of solidarity as the key issue of sociological research. Lavrov defined sociology as a science dealing with forms of social solidarity, which he subdivided into three major types:

- unconscious solidarity of custom;
- purely emotional solidarity, based on impulses not controlled by critical reflection;
- “conscious historical solidarity” resulting from a common effort to attain a consciously selected and rationally justified goal.

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## Russian Populists and Anarchists on Solidarity: Middle 19th to Early 20th Centuries

*Continued from page 35...*

The latter represented the highest and the most significant type of human solidarity. It developed later than the first two types and proclaimed the conversion of the static “culture” into the dynamic “civilization”. To sum it up, social solidarity in Lavrov’s view is “the consciousness that personal interest coincides with social interest, that personal dignity is maintained only by upholding the dignity of all who share in this solidarity” (Lavrov 1967, p. 113). Otherwise it is a mere community of habits, interests, affects, or convictions. Thus solidarity is an essential premise of the existence of society. Solidary interaction distinguishes society from a simple gathering of individuals, the latter phenomenon constituting no sociological object. Moreover, the condition of individuals being conscious creatures excludes from the field of sociology forms of solidarity / solidary interaction performed by unconscious organisms, or, in other words, marks the borderline between social and biological phenomena.

A connection between the biological and the social was of principal importance for the idea of solidarity as expressed by the anarchist ideologist Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921). In his most famous book "[Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution](#)" (1902), written partly in response to Huxleyan Social Darwinism, Kropotkin studied the use of cooperation as a survival mechanism in human societies at their various stages, as well as with animals. According to him, mutual aid, or cooperation, within a species has been an important factor in the evolution of social institutions. Solidarity is essential for mutual aid; supportive activity towards other people does not result from the expectation of reward, but rather from instinctive feelings of solidarity.

In his *Introduction* to the book, Kropotkin wrote: “The number and importance of mutual-aid institutions which were developed by the creative genius of the savage and half-savage masses, during the earliest clan-period of mankind and still more during the next village-community period, and the immense influence which these early institutions have exercised upon the subsequent development of mankind, down to the present times, induced me to extend my researches to the later, historical periods as well; especially, to study that most interesting period – the free medieval city republics, of which the universality and influence upon our modern civilization have not yet been duly appreciated. And finally, I have tried to indicate in brief the immense importance which the mutual-support instincts, inherited by mankind from its extremely long evolution, play even now in our modern society, which is supposed to rest upon the principle “every one for himself, and the State for all”, but which it never has succeeded, nor will succeed in realizing” (Kropotkin 1998). In his book “The Conquest of Bread” (1892), Kropotkin advocated an alternative economic and social system, which would be coordinated through a horizontal network of voluntary associations with goods distributed in compliance with the physical needs of the individual, rather than according to labor (Kropotkin 2009).



One ought to point out that another famous anarchist protagonist, Lev Mechnikov (1838–1888), also considered the phenomenon of solidarity in the context of human evolution and the influence of environment on the development of civilization. Mechnikov regarded the different proportions of cooperation / solidarity and struggle as the main distinction between the animal world and the social world. In his book “Civilization and the great historical rivers” (published posthumously in 1889) he wrote: “The more convincing evidence of the true existence of general progress in history is provided to us by the continuous line of modifications and consolidations of social links between people, as well as by the fact of increase in human solidarity. The latter evidence deserves to be recognized as the criterion of social progress in history.” (Mechnikov 1995, p. 4).

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## Russian Populists and Anarchists on Solidarity: Middle 19th to Early 20th Centuries

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Defending the thesis of the historical significance of water resources and the great rivers, Mechnikov divided the history of mankind into three periods: the River Period, the Sea Period, and the Ocean Period. The role of environment at each stage consisted in teaching people solidarity and mutual aid: at first through fear and compulsion (the river civilizations), then due to profit (the sea civilizations), and eventually on the basis of free choice (the global oceanic civilization).



Nikolai Mikhailovsky (1842–1904), a Narodnik ideologist and a leading Russian sociologist of the late 19th – early 20th century, further developed the sociological subjective method proposed by P. Lavrov. Mikhailovsky regarded the historical process as a progression of social environment differentiation, eventually leading to the emergence of individuality. "Struggle for individuality" was seen as a matter of environment adapting to personality, in contrast to the Darwinist notion of struggle for existence, where an individual adapts to the environment. Criticizing Darwinists for the transference of biological laws onto societal development, Mikhailovsky thought it necessary to expand Darwinism with: 1) K.E. von Baer's law, in compliance with which organisms develop, proceeding from the simple to the complex; 2) the solidarity principle, at the base of which lies simple cooperation. Mikhailovsky saw the utmost criterion of social progress in obtaining the ideal of a perfect, harmoniously developed person. If simple cooperation is a social union of equals with similar interests and functions, and "solidarity" is the main attribute of the society in question, then in the case of complex cooperation there exists a highly developed division of labor, whose major attribute is the "struggle" of interrelated groups. In the sociologist's view, a society might reach an advanced stage of development, and yet belong to the lower type of organization, as, for instance, was the case with European capitalism based on the division of labor and complex cooperation. Hence Mikhailovsky concluded that the peasant Russia lagged behind the capitalist West according to the stage of development, but surpassed it if judged by the type of organization. Furthermore, like the majority of the nineteenth-century Russian thinkers, he attached particular significance to obshchina (traditional peasant community), a unique trait distinguishing Russia from other countries.

Mikhailovsky made a significant contribution to the reception in Russia of Durkheim's ideas on solidarity although his attitude towards Durkheim's work "On the Division of Labor in Society" was a critical one. For instance, he criticized Durkheim's underestimation of the role of "mechanical" solidarity and the random character of the association–cooperation opposition (Gofman 2001). Later on the young Pitirim Sorokin, who represented a new generation of the followers of the Narodnik political tradition, considerably smoothed the critique in question and supported the French sociologist's optimistic view of progress in social solidarity (Sorokin 1914).

We have tried to show in this article that solidarity was a very important issue for Russian left social thinkers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20th century. It was particularly significant for adherents of the anarchist and populist (Narodniks) movements. Their attitude towards solidarity differed from that typical for the Social Democrats and the Bolsheviks (as a radical wing of Russian socialist movement). They only acknowledged class and intra-group solidarity, and thus in relations with representatives of socio-political groups other than their own advocated conflict. The Bolsheviks went beyond the given declarations; they followed the same conflict logic even with members of their own party and practiced (after the October revolution of 1917) inner purges alleging "the intensification of class struggle as socialism drew nearer."

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On the contrary, the anarchists and the Narodniks saw in solidarity a unifying principle uniting all people, whatever their political views, personal interests, etc. To some extent their idea of solidarity anticipated what Jeffrey C. Alexander terms “universalizing solidarity”. They regarded solidarity as a basis for the formation of societies and social institutions. Hence solidarity in their view became the cornerstone issue of sociology. And since solidarity combines in itself individual morality and social behavior it made early Russian sociology a moral as well as a social science.

An essential matter in Russian social thought of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was the question whether Russia had, or should have, its own special path, different from that of the West. Solidarity theorists, whose interest in these issues marked the transference from the universal to the national perspective in solidarity studies, had their say in those discussions. From their point of view, solidarity was one of the features that made Russia a unique country. This idea, for instance, found its expression in Mikhailovsky’s opposition of simple and complex cooperation. The former, characterized by solidary relations, was considered typical of Russia, in contrast to the West. Solidarity was thought to be particularly exemplified by the traditional peasant *obshchina*, highly praised by the anarchists and the populists as a potential source of societal improvement. The aforesaid issues bring us to the topic of our next article to be published in the Newsletter. This article is going to be devoted to ideas on solidarity expressed by representatives of the two opposing trends of Russian social thought – the liberal oriented Westernizers, and the Slavophiles, who maintained the idea of Russia’s own way.

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This makes it very difficult for philanthropic researchers working at universities all across Europe to find other researchers studying the same topic. Scientific progress is strongly hampered by this.

In January 2008 the first meeting was organized in Amsterdam. In the presence of sixteen members, the European Research Network on Philanthropy was formally founded. At this meeting the first objectives for ERNOP were agreed upon: Over the course of 2008, ERNOP members would map current philanthropic research conducted in their own country. This project resulted in the first ERNOP publication “The State of Giving Research in Europe. Household donations to Charitable Organizations in Twelve European Countries.” It was published by Amsterdam University Press (Pallas Press) in June 2009 and gives much-anticipated insights into the study of philanthropy in Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

In addition to this first publication, another objective that was agreed upon was to increase the availability of data on philanthropic behaviour in Europe. Especially compared with the United States, very little is still known about philanthropic behaviour in the different European countries. One way to increase the knowledge on philanthropic behaviour in Europe is investing in (comparative) data gathering on philanthropic behaviour. As a network we agreed to start developing both methodological and funding strategies to comparably investigate European giving. Another strategy to increase the available data on giving behaviour in Europe is to try to incorporate questions on philanthropic behaviour in existing surveys. Early 2009, a team of ERNOP members from the UK, Czech Republic and the Netherlands formulated a proposal to include questions on philanthropy in the European Social Survey. Unfortunately this proposal was not accepted. More successful was a team of Dutch and British scholars, who won a bid for funding by the EU Research Directorate for a project focussing on university foundations and fundraising in all European member states. At the same time, ERNOP members are actively collaborating to share details about surveys and questionnaires used in their own research. To any extent, this will enable future comparison of data collected on philanthropic behaviour in Europe.

Over the course of 2009 and 2010, ERNOP’s mission statement was formulated to *advance, coordinate and promote excellence in philanthropic research in Europe*. To facilitate the advancement, coordination and promotion of philanthropic research, ERNOP formalized and installed a board and is working on executing strategic goals. Objectives for ERNOP in the near future are to collaborate on research projects, advocate for the topic of philanthropy with national and European policy makers, organise an international conference for philanthropy researchers (both ERNOP and non-ERNOP members), to act as a support center for philanthropy research related questions. ERNOP members have and will continue to partner to submit proposals for funding to for example the European Science Foundation and the COST action program.

Currently, ERNOP has over sixty members in seventeen European countries, also including Israel. For more information concerning ERNOP, see [www.ernop.eu](http://www.ernop.eu) or contact ERNOP’s executive director (and sociologist) Pamala Wiepking ([P.Wiepking@fsw.vu.nl](mailto:P.Wiepking@fsw.vu.nl)) at the Department of Philanthropic Studies, VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Social solidarity is in large part a function of shared moral understandings, potentially built up over time through altruistic, reciprocated interactions and shaped by cultural and structural contexts. The timing of the Handbook is propitious given the development of this section. We outline here a few points of overlap, explaining our vision for this Handbook and for the sociological study of morality more broadly.

Moral debates over right and wrong, justice, values, propriety, and deviance are at the core of organized social life. Popular conversations about the scientific study of morality tend to focus on evolutionary and psychological aspects of moral judgment at the exclusion of contextual, structural, and emotional aspects of morality. There is little or no discussion of the structural, cultural, and interactional bases for moral judgment, feeling, and action. Also missing is a dose of realism. So much of the psychological and neurological work on moral reasoning focuses on abstract moral dilemmas that bear little resemblance to how people handle the moral conflicts that arise from occupying multiple social positions across important roles and social groups. Much of it also neglects the ways that moral claims motivate political and social movements and pays insufficient attention to the role of the moral dimension for understanding the human self. Sociologists have much to offer to both academic and public discourses on morality. Our volume is one contribution to fostering such a dialogue.

Sociology was once fundamentally oriented toward investigating the development and enactment of social understandings of right and wrong, values, prohibitions and ideals. Explicit interest in these topics has waned in the last half-century, but their substantive importance in society, culture, and interaction has not. One of the overlapping projects of our Handbook and the section on Altruism and Social Solidarity is to coordinate activity, build a shared vocabulary across sociological subdisciplines, and build common theoretical frameworks that would inform the broader discipline. Most often, sociologists focus on an element of morality, in fields like education, markets, social psychology, theory, or culture. Scholars represented in the Handbook of the Sociology of Morality examined the interaction between law and morality, how moral claims underlie the ever-present work-family conflict, moral violations as an underpinning of criminality, the importance of moral status in interaction, the place of morality in the ‘culture wars’, and many other theoretical and applied sociological treatments of morality. It is a wide-ranging volume including established scholars from across sociology.

In our contribution to the volume, we suggest a few reasons that the sociological study of morality has not been as central either to the discipline or the wider interdisciplinary conversation about human morality. A key issue, for this as for so many topics, is disciplinary fragmentation. Today, those who study norms, values, codes, and “interaction orders” find themselves located far from one another in sociological research networks. Subdisciplines inevitably developed their own – occasionally parallel – approaches to particular dimensions of moral life. For example, many scholars now focus on the development of values, but they work in different domains, including (among others) the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, the shaping of religious values, cultural notions of specific values pertaining to abortion or crime, or institutional influences on values. Although some big-picture, morally relevant concepts managed to retain their names, they eventually came to mean different things to different subfields.

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For example, depending on one's specialty, "identity" might refer to anything from an individual's role set to a domain of postmodern politicking in which groups struggle to self-identify and claim social prerogative. As a result of this disciplinary fragmentation and the sheer cognitive difficulty (and lack of institutional rewards) for ranging too far from one's "home" area of research, most scholars rarely build connections to other lines of research even if doing so would greatly enrich their own work.

A second obstacle involves incompatible definitions of morality. There seem to be two dominant definitions in academic research: 1) morality relating to right/wrong, good/evil as relating to human actions, desires or character, and 2) a notion of virtue, conforming to standards of morality ("Moral," *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://dictionary.oed.com>). This latter definition is similar to notions of altruism as considering behaviors that support the public good, while a sociology of morality is interested in exploring the social construction of both moral and 'immoral' behaviors, thoughts, feelings, actions, codes, judgments, and so on. Cultural and historical sociologists tend to gravitate toward the first definition, exploring temporal and social variation in understandings of obligation, value, and worth, while social psychologists focus on the second notion. For our purposes, the interesting questions seem less about the truth of any particular moral code and more about (a) determining the proper relationship between innate moral capacities and the moral variation observed within and between societies; (b) empirically analyzing the contours of moral variation within and between societies; and (c) uncovering the social antecedents of particular moral frameworks and their social and behavioral consequences.

A third reason for the decline of study on morality involves an ambivalent relationship to the normative. Due to the particularities of the development of the sociology of culture, many scholars view classic notions of 'norms and values' as dated. This abdication of the normative has been—and continues to be—a significant stumbling block for a nascent sociology of morality. Fortunately, there is evidence that cultural sociologists are relearning that "what is" and "what ought to be" cannot really be separated when it comes to understanding the role that culture plays in people's judgments. There is much to be gained by building bridges between moral psychologists, who use laboratory research to hone detailed models of the interplay between cognition, emotion, and situations, and cultural sociologists, who specialize in decoding the "real world" patterns of shared meaning that comprise the content of so much "individual" cognition.

A final obstacle we identify in our Handbook is a disciplinary wariness of biology and psychology. There are many discussions of personality and genes in the folk explanations for human behavior, and sociologists properly (in our view) see themselves as offering an important corrective to these individualistic explanations. However, there is a great deal of research on the importance of these constructs, their inherently social development, and an over-suspicion of this work serves neither sociology nor the wider enterprise of studying morality. There are signs this hostility is fading, but there are issues of vocabulary, theory, method and training that accompany all interdisciplinary projects. We hope our Handbook, and the section on Altruism and Social Solidarity, can be complementary partners in the service of contributing to a more realistic integration of social, psychological, structural, and biological explanations of moral phenomena.

Let us conclude by briefly answering the question, "what is a *sociological* approach to morality?" Does this handbook lead to a better sense of our discipline's *distinctive contribution* to the science of the moral?

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At the risk of losing some of the nuance of each contribution to our Handbook, we highlight three themes that cross-cut the chapters in this volume: (1) attention to social structures, resources, and power; (2) a focus on historically and socially patterned complexes of meaning; and (3) an emphasis on moral judgment, action, and discourse in 'real', non-experimental contexts.

The goal of this handbook is to provide an institutional resource and a focus for the development of a common identity that we hope will contribute to the revival of the "sociology of morality." More generally, our objective is to aid sociology's contribution to the growing interdisciplinary dialogue around moral phenomena. This is not, however, merely because we want to avoid being left out, but rather because we believe we have something vital to add to the conversation.

**Handbook of the Sociology of Morality  
2010 (Springer)  
Edited by Steven Hitlin and Stephen Vaisey**

1: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MORALITY ("What is it?")

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2. The Cognitive Approach to Morality (Raymond Boudon)
3. Four Concepts of Morality (Christopher Powell)
4. Adumbrations of a Sociology of Morality in the work of Parsons, Simmel, and Merton (Donald Levine)
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6. Social Order as Moral Order (Ann Rawls)

PART 2: SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXTS ("Where does it come from?")

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16. The Creation of Moral Vocabularies (Brian Lowe)

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18. Justice and Exchange as Core Moral Processes (Karen Hegtvedt and Heather Scheuerman)
19. Towards an Integrated Science of Morality: Linking Mind, Society and Culture (Rengin Firat and Chad Michael McPherson)
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23. Moral Dimensions of the Work/Family Nexus (Mary Blair-Loy)
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25. The Moral Construction of Risk (Leslie Roth)
26. Moral Discourse in Economic Contexts (Rebekah P. Massengill and Amy Reynolds)
27. Morality and Discourse (Jason Turowetz and Doug Maynard)

PART 4: FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE

28. Morality, Modernity, and World Society (Sabine Frerichs and Richard Münch)
29. Moral Relativism and the Shaping of a Field of Inquiry (Steven Lukes)
30. Classical Approaches and Contemporary Questions: What Next? (Gabriel Abend)

## **Pitirim Sorokin Studies in Russia in the Context of the New Section on Altruism and Social Solidarity in the American Sociological Association.**

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(Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences) and the “Leningrad school” (Leningrad State University), as well as other regional centers with their own traditions and specializations in sociology, experienced enormous fragmentation in their search for resources to survive through the financial crises of the 1990s.

During the Soviet regime theoretical and research centers at the Academy of Sciences provided the curriculum for teaching sociology in colleges. With its collapse, the system of communication between research and teaching also collapsed. It thus became the task of individual professors and lecturers to draft programs. The result was curriculum that centered around either slightly revised Soviet Marxists dogmas, or fashionable modernistic theories. Another substantial loss for the social sciences in Russia resulted from an outflow of the most advanced researchers, and especially young graduate students, to the fields of marketing research, public relations, and various business-oriented research facilities, all of which were new to Russian society. Among other consequences, this outflow of a promising intellectual cohort in sociology impeded the generation of a new national social paradigm based on a comprehensive understanding of Russian society and good knowledge of Western social thought and research. Instead, a murky time of transition allowed a certain type of individual to fill this niche, simply by virtue of knowing English. They often misrepresented Western social sciences in Russia and, in turn, misrepresented Russian social sciences in the West. Although it was an inevitable and temporary process, it strongly affected the growth of a new generation of researchers in the field.

The third factor that influenced a lack of Sorokin studies, and especially his research on altruism and amitology, was a monopoly controlling research agendas during the 1990s. At that time, the research agenda in most of the atomized centers of social research in Russia was designed around collaboration with Western universities and their research projects. The sponsoring agency had ultimate power over priorities in research agenda and the conceptual framework. Despite a variety of research subjects, ranging from a restructuring of post-Soviet enterprise to class-consciousness, an underlying theoretical approach was modernization and the idea of progress. The Communist system was identified as a major obstacle toward progressive and democratic development of Russian society. It was believed that Russia was finally liberated from the evil of Communism and soon, with its intellectual and other resources, would join most of the developed societies. Most of the studies were designed to see how these new institutions were to be established in the post-Communist society. Such a dogmatic approach to social change in Russia narrowed down the topical and methodological field and left little chance for alternative views, including Pitirim Sorokin’s.

### Problematic Assumptions

Since the hard-core neoliberal approach dominated both the political and intellectual environments, the focus was on “getting the basics right.” This meant that if the key market institutions such as private property, market as opposed to state regulation, and political freedom are set, then the rest will follow. There was very little consideration that 1) these assumptions can be false; 2) human behavior is much more complex than a simple deterministic model of a “rational man”; and 3) most importantly, that there is a question of values and a “Greater Good” that goes far beyond satisfying materialistic needs. Even if such doubts were emerging among intellectuals, they had very little chance to develop within the context of the dominance of the new monopolistic neo-liberal doctrine.

The lack of knowledge about the full range of Pitirim Sorokin’s contribution to the social sciences affected the few studies on altruism and solidarity undertaken in Russia. Most of these were undertaken by psychologists or philosophers. Topics included paying attentions to differences in the formation of altruism among children, and discussions on the nature of altruism and altruistic behavior. Some had interesting empirical research for applied purposes. For example, Larisa Antilogova conducted research aimed at defining the role of altruism for social workers in Russia by measuring the altruism level among undergraduate students (<http://hpsy.ru/public/x2623.htm>). However, none of these endeavors even mention Sorokin’s vast body of literature on altruism and the studies he had led at the Research Center for Creative Altruism.

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### New Opportunities

After a decade of living without Communism, the euphoria surrounding the neo-liberal way to build a new society has disappeared among the people. Likewise, pressure to create a sociology based on a monopoly of modernistic paradigms has strongly subsided. Now the social sciences in Russia are facing the problem of searching for their identity once again. This creates a new chance to build a proper niche for Sorokin's studies and his vast intellectual inheritance.

For the benefit of Sorokin's true intellectual legacy, the chase for a lucrative and fashionable research agenda during the 1990s did not stop meticulous and devoted efforts to return Sorokin back to Russia. Although Sorokin Studies were not institutionalized, there were a number of individual scientists who continued the transmission of Pitirim Sorokin's creative work during the neo-liberal US period in post-Communist Russia. Sociologist Vadim Sapov, from the Institute of Sociology in Moscow, restored Sorokin's book "Hunger as a Factor." Copies of this book had been destroyed by the Communists. He also translated the one-volume edition of "Social and Cultural Dynamics." Professor of the High School of Economics, Nikita Pokrovski, wrote several articles related to Pitirim Sorokin's theoretical inheritance. Historians Yuri Doikov, from Archanglesk, and Leonid Panov did excellent research on the intellectual environment of Sorokin, and on his creative work and activities as a public sociologist in Prague and Berlin before he moved to the United States. Nikolai Zuzev, a philosopher from Komi, wrote a PhD dissertation on Pitirim Sorokin's philosophy of love. Pavel Krotov translated Sorokin's autobiography, "A Long Journey," into Russian, and analyzed it from a creative altruism perspective. An important development for Sorokin's solidarity and altruism studies is the "A Yearbook of Sociology" initiated by Dmitry Efremenko at the Institute of Information for Social Sciences. Beginning with the 2010 issue a special section will be devoted to Pitirim Sorokin's intellectual inheritance. Apart from it, he started regular publications on Sorokin and altruism in the INION Reference Journal, which is the leading journal of reviews on the social sciences in Russia.

One of the distinct features of Sorokin's studies in Russia is that the family of Pitirim Sorokin provides great support for researchers in their father's former homeland. Dr. Sergei Sorokin gave a presentation at the International Symposium in Russia in 1999. Ten years later he came to the Republic of Komi to encourage the newly established Pitirim Sorokin Research Center. The family gave access to archives for the first publication of Pitirim Sorokin's correspondence, accompanied by invaluable comments and reviews. Sergei Sorokin and Richard Hoyt prepared several manuscripts for the book "Unknown Sorokin: Facets of Life and Creativity" edited by Yuri Yakovetz.

A new stage for Sorokin studies in Russia is developing. It is related to the great interest from cultural activists and authorities in The Republic of Komi, where Sorokin was born. It was this land that inspired him to explore various intellectual areas, especially those in the field of creative altruism and sociology. In 2009 the Pitirim Sorokin Research Center was established at the University of Syktyvkar, the capital city of the Republic. Currently the Center is undergoing thorough organizational change to become a state-funded research institution. One of the main goals of the Center is to bring together individual scientists in Russia devoted to the Sorokin Project by undertaking research programs that would stimulate collaborative intellectual efforts. The Center's first accomplishment was a book "Pitirim Sorokin: Selected Correspondence," which showed the diversity of Sorokin's talent, and his engagement with major political events, social theories, and famous people, such as Albert Einstein, Hebert Hoover, Florian Znaniecki, Abraham Maslow, and others.

### Current Tasks

I see the current tasks of Sorokin's studies in Russia as organized around three venues. The first venue is to publicize Pitirim Sorokin's true contribution to the social sciences in order to overcome a stereotype that his "System of Sociology" is the most significant achievement in his intellectual life. This viewpoint, in which Sorokin is presented mainly as one of the founders of Russian sociology, remains one of the problems in teaching the social sciences.

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In fact, many sociology instructors design the course on Principles of Sociology based on his 1920's two-volume edition "System of Sociology". The "blessing" that this book was written and published in Russian became Pitirim Sorokin's "curse" because this has overshadowed his later much more mature and significant research and writings. Most of his half a century's studies are known only due to the Russian translations of the autobiography "A Long Journey." The excellent research on Sorokin's life and ideas by Barry Johnston in his book "Pitirim A. Sorokin: An Intellectual Biography" has not been translated into Russian, and is known only by a few specialists.

To present the full range of Sorokin's intellectual inheritance, it is also important to prevent the current tendencies of radical nationalists to make him a person of "one season," focusing on his early writings and his political career in Russia. The logical step after translating "Social and Cultural Dynamics" into Russian will be to translate his works on creative altruism, which have experienced a new rise of interest in the world, but are the least known in Russia and hardly taught at colleges. Besides translations, publications, and book exchanges, a digitizing of Pitirim Sorokin's books to make them available on-line will be another practical step to bring the reader to the source.

A second venue is to organize intellectual exchanges and debates in the social science community about Sorokin and about his ideas. Particularly important is the consideration of their great applicability to the ongoing change in Russian society. For example, discussions about "Public Sociology" suddenly revealed and re-activated Pitirim Sorokin's vision of sociology and his pioneering efforts in this area. Similarly, the entire social change theoretical luggage is waiting for its chance to show its research potential for the Russian post-Communist society. Organizational arrangement for the study of Sorokin's ideas in Russia will certainly facilitate such debates.

Third, the most challenging task is to design research projects engaging Pitirim Sorokin's ideas and concepts. For example, the Pitirim Sorokin Research Center in Komi has designed a research project aimed at testing how Sorokin's concept of moral polarization contributes to an understanding of the strategies adopted by Russian workers' families to cope with hardships during the period of economic crisis. Interestingly, even at the planning stage, we discovered that, among over thirty families being studied, clear evidence indicates that solidarity, as opposed to "rational economic behavior," appeared to work best. When families have values that go beyond opportunistic actions seeking personal benefits, they are better able to perform necessary tasks and to survive.

The applicability of Sorokin's studies on altruism and solidarity goes both ways. On the one hand, the mechanisms of reproduction of solidarity and altruism have practical application to cope with the severe ongoing crises in Russia. On the other hand, this marginal state of Russian society provides ample study material on altruism and solidarity. As Sorokin noted, crises produce moral and religious polarization, with outbursts of altruistic behavior, as well as negative deviations.

Thus, after over a decade of neglect, Pitirim Sorokin's multi-faceted talent and his comprehensive system of sociology are gradually being made available to the Russian intellectual community. The more this public discovers about Sorokin and his ideas, the more their applicability to current processes in Russian society is evident. Ironically, the success of reviving Sorokin's intellectual inheritance depends also on activities within the American Sociological Association. Establishing a section on Altruism and Social Solidarity, which were Pitirim Sorokin's scientific passions, will extend a helping hand to those in Russia who are trying to reveal the true value of his ideas for the advance of sociology as a science and for the betterment of society.

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