

Introduction: The Expanding Past

Barry Schwartz

In 1980, Mary Douglas brought out the first English version of *Collective Memory*, a series of papers that Maurice Halbwachs' admirers had published in France thirty years earlier. Douglas's book on Halbwachs is intrinsically important, but it also stands as a marker—a convenient and easily remembered way to date the start of a great wave of collective memory research that is bound to swell beyond the turn of the twenty-first century. *Qualitative Sociology* brings to this development seven new studies. Each study extends, in its own way, a vital tradition of sociological inquiry.

I

The sociology of memory has an uneven history. Charles Horton Cooley (1918) and George Herbert Mead (1929, 1932) were the first Americans to explore the social context of memory, but their efforts never gelled into a coherent perspective. It was the French school of Emile Durkheim that made memory an object of systematic inquiry. Durkheim's own interest in the past as a "social fact" goes back to his and Marcel Mauss's (1903) treatment of ancient Chinese time reckoning (*Primitive Classification* [1903] 1963). In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1915] 1965), Durkheim's interest shifted from the social context of time classifications to commemoration rites as binders of present and past.

Stefan Czarnowski's *The Cult of Heroes and Its Social Conditions* (1919), an analysis of religious rituals and festivals devoted to Saint Patrick, was the first monograph to enlarge Durkheim's understanding of the social framework of commemoration. Czarnowski's efforts, however, were too specialized to be appreciated outside a small circle of religion scholars. The

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Table of Contents Expanding The Past

1. Understanding the eBook Expanding The Past
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Expanding The Past
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Expanding The Past
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Expanding The Past
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Expanding The Past
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Expanding The Past User Reviews and Ratings
 - Expanding The Past and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Expanding The Past Free and Paid eBooks
 - Expanding The Past Public Domain eBooks
 - Expanding The Past eBook Subscription Services

- Expanding The Past Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Expanding The Past eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Expanding The Past Compatibility with Devices
 - Expanding The Past Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Expanding The Past
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Expanding The Past
 - Interactive Elements Expanding The Past
- 8. Staying Engaged with Expanding The Past
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Expanding The Past
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Expanding The Past
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Expanding The Past
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Expanding The Past
 - Setting Reading Goals Expanding The Past
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Expanding The Past
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Expanding The Past
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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