# Sociological Perspectives on Modernity Dr. Sambit Mallick Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati

### Lecture – 10 Sociological Modernism: Max Weber IV

Welcome to the 10th lecture of the course on sociological perspectives and modernity.

(Refer Slide Time: 41:00)

# Social movements • Weber's view on social movements, however, is less holistic; and here he serves as a prototype for that approach which sees structures – of rationality, for example – as ultimately more deeply founded than collective action; even though both are of course his own terminology simply forms of meaningful social action. This can be illustrated in relation to his approach to social class.

In the last lecture we have discussed max Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lenses of two central philosophical and political foundations of modernity. (Refer Slide Time: 00:53)

### Weber's Interpretation of Modernity

Holism / Totality

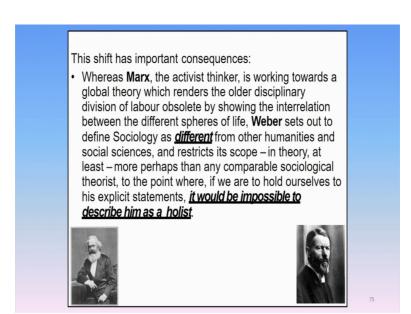
- Marx is not a Sociologist in the disciplinary sense for the simple reason that he is not an academic.
- Weber is, or rather became, a Sociologist, because he is living and working as an academic at the point where sociology is developing as a separate discipline.
- Indeed, Weber moves from the study of law, political economy and history to an identity as a Sociologist.

74

Namely: Holism or Totality on the one hand and Rationality on the other. In Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of holism or totality, we have discussed how Marx is not a sociologist in the disciplinary sense for the simple reason is that he is not an academic.

On the other hand, Weber on the contrary, on the contrary vapor is or rather became a sociologist because he is living and working as an academic at the point, where sociology is developing as a separate discipline; indeed, Weber moves from the study of law political economy and history to an identity as a sociologist.

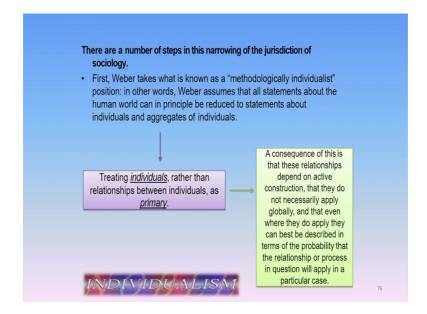
(Refer Slide Time: 01:49)



We have discussed this and such saved such shift from the study of law political economy and history to sociology has enabled, Weber to set out to define sociology as different from other humanities and social sciences and restricts it is scope and ambient at least in theory ok.

And more perhaps than any comparable sociological theorist to the point, where if we are to hold ourselves to his explicit statements, I mean it would be impossible to describe him as a holist ok, but not in it is entirety when we come to rationality we have already discussed how these analysis can be can be portrayed as a holist.

(Refer Slide Time: 02:57)



There are a number of steps in this narrowing of the jurisdiction of sociology first Weber takes what is known as a methodologically individualists position. If you slightly recall we have discussed in methodological individualism there are three important things which are to be kept in mind.

One individual, secondly, individuals accents in certain circumstances in certain contexts. And there and the kind of meanings that individual accents and the kind of meanings which are attached to individual social accents; And thirdly the reasons and motives of such individual social action ok. I mean Weber assumes that all statements about the human world can in principle be reduced to statements about individuals and aggregates of individuals. In this sense Weber treats individuals rather than relationships between and among individuals as primary for I mean he treats individuals as primary not relationships between individuals.

A consequence of these sees that these relationships depend on active construction that they do not necessarily apply globally, and that even when even where they do apply they can best be described in terms of the probability that the relationship or a process in question will apply in a particular case. Secondly, as you have discussed Weber restricts the scope and ambit of sociology as a discipline to the study of only meaningful social action. I mean in terms of value rational and gold rational. So, social action I mean he was particularly interested in gold rational social action I mean alternatively known as

instrumental rationality. In other words, to the action of these individuals insofar as their action is oriented towards each other and insofar as they attach meaning to it; I mean it involves an exclusion of biology of the unconscious potentially of some economic relationships and so on. So, Weber is not a straightforward holist in this sense; I mean Weber undermines both the possibility of general explanations and the scope of sociology, and the social itself to a very great extent, nevertheless this theoretical refusal of holisms undermined by a number of features of his thinking namely rationality ok.

(Refer Slide Time: 05:56)

## Rationality and Modernity

- There is a tension between the statement that we start from individuals rather than relationships and the statement that what we are interested in is the way those individuals orient their action to each other, in other words, their interaction.
- The effect of this becomes clear when we consider the second element of Weber's definition of sociology: that it is not just about social action, but about <u>meanincful</u> social action.

When we when we come to understand Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of rationality ok. There is a there is a tension between the statement that we that we start from individuals rather than relationships; and the statement that we are interested in is the way those individuals orient their accent to each other I mean in other words interaction. That is why we from the very beginning which we have means we have discussed that how Weber treats individuals as primary not relationships between individuals. And the effect of this becomes clear when we consider the second element of Weber's definition of sociology that it is not just about social accent, but about meaningful social accent.

How he defined sociology? I mean sociology is a science, one which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action; two in order thereby to arrive at a causal

explanation of it is course and effects 3 ok. Then it is not simply about social action, but about meaningful social action.

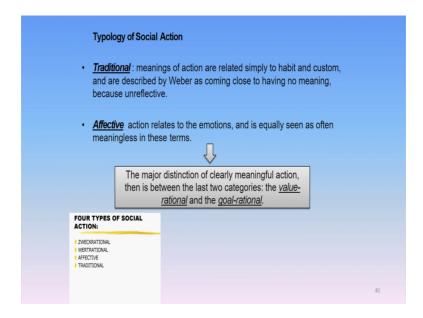
(Refer Slide Time: 07:10)

- Weber proceeds to develop a categorisation of the types of meaning which can be attached to social action: a categorisation which appears in some senses as a general statement of the kinds of ways in which people can relate to one another, or in other words precisely the kind of general statement about social relationships that methodological individualism finds suspect.
- These types of social action reappear in a number of forms, for example as the different ways in which a given power structure can find legitimation.

And Weber then proceeds to develop categorization of the types of meaning which can be attached to social action. I mean a categorization which appears in some sense as a sa a general statement of the kinds of ways in which people can relate to one another, or in other words precisely the kind of general statement about social relationships that methodological individualism finds suspect. And these types of social action reappear in a in a number of forms for example, as the different ways in which a given power structure can find legitimacy ok.

Then what are these types of social action? What is the typology of social action that Weber discussed?

(Refer Slide Time: 08:01)



There are four types of social action which Weber outlined as you have already discussed traditional social action, affective or emotive social action, value rational social action and goal rational social action. Traditional social action is based on habits and customs hence, for Weber I mean they are coming close to having no meaning and because they are unreflective in nature ok.

Habits and customs we generally do not tend to question we should question, but we generally when we question because we have a goal. If we do not question becomes a habit. It becomes a question ok, when we question it becomes a meaningful social action if we do not question then it does it is meaningless.

Affective or emotive social action which is based on emotions ok; is equally sin my Weber as often meaningless in these terms because it is also unreflective in nature ok. The major distinction of clearly meaningful social action that is between the last two categories that is value a thermal action and cold rational action or instrumental rationality.

(Refer Slide Time: 09:35)

- <u>Value-rational</u> action treats action as having a value in itself, which is independent from its effect, and derives, for example, from moral, aesthetic or religious criteria.
- Goal-rational, or instrumental, action, is oriented purely towards desired results (this last category is particularly associated with Weber's account of modernity, which he sees as a progressive extension of this principle of instrumental rationality, which sees action as deriving its sole meaning and interest from its results, to dominate all contemporary society.

What is the value rational action? Value rational action is based on values, it traits action as having a value in itself which is independent from it is effect and derives for example, from moral aesthetic or religious criteria. If I say honesty is the best policy that is a value speaks the truth always that is a value. values also should be interrogated over time and across space ok. When I come to goal rational when I, when I when we discussed goal rational action or instrumental rationality which is oriented purely towards desired results. I mean gold rational social action or instrumental rationality is particularly associated with Weber's account of modernity.

Which Weber sees as a progressive extension of this principle of instrumental rationality, which sees action as deriving it is sole meaning and interest from it is results to dominate all contemporary society.

(Refer Slide Time: 10:54)

 For Weber, the history of modernity is the history of the progressive orientation of all social action, in all contexts, to instrumental rationality.

 This rationalisation of social life involves an ever-greater development of technical means and a progressive orientation of the ends towards which these means are supposed to lead.

For Weber we have discussed the history of modernity is the history of the progressive orientation of all social action in all contexts to instrumental rationality. And this rationalization of social life involves an ever-greater development of technical means and a progressive orientation of the ends towards which; these means are supposed to lead.

(Refer Slide Time: 11:26)

- In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,
  Weber argues that Calvinist and Dissenting religion
  represented a rationalisation of human behaviour,
  which focused people's constant attention on the
  relationship between their everyday activity and their
  hope of salvation.
- All behaviour was scrutinised to see whether or not it represented a waste of time, and thus possibly an indication that one was not destined for salvation.
- This obsession with making the most of each minute, with the rationalisation of everyday life, particularly economic life, gradually came to take complete precedence over the intended goal, of demonstrating to oneself that one was likely to be destined for salvation.

For example, in the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism Weber argues that Calvinist and dissenting religion represented a rationalization of human behavior, which focused people's constant attention on the relationship between their everyday activity and their hope of salvation.

All behavior was scrutinized to see whether or not it represented a waste of time and those and thus possibly an indication that one was not destined for salvation. And this obsession with making the most of each minute with the rationalization of everyday life, particularly economic life ok. Gradually came to take complete precedence over the intended goal of demonstrating to oneself that one was likely to be destined for salvation ok.

(Refer Slide Time: 12:22)

- Weber's analysis of the development of bureaucracy is similar.
- Bureaucracy, for Weber, is simply the most technically efficient means of organising the action of a State.
- Thus, bureaucratic means of organisation come to predominate in modern societies irrespective of the actual goals which they are supposed to serve.
- Increasingly bureaucracy takes on a life and a logic of its own that renders its ultimate goal irrelevant.
- In Weber's terminology, formal rationality, the (instrumental) rationality of a particular form, leads to substantive irrationality, a content which is in fact derived from the form and not from the goal that the formal rationality is supposed to serve.

Weber's analysis of the development of bureaucracy again is similar bureaucracy for Weber is simply the most technically efficient means of organizing the action of a state. I mean it is a b product of capitalist mode of production thus bureaucratic means of organization come to predominate in modern societies, capitalist societies irrespective of the actual goals which they are supposed to serve.

Increasingly bureaucracy takes on a life and logic of it is own that renders it is ultimate goal irrelevant. In Weber's terminology formal rationality, the instrumental rationality of a particular form leads to substantive rationality. Can you slightly recall? What we have discussed I mean substantive rationality emphasis is more on methods modes means whereas, instrumental rationality always aims at goals, aims objectives desired results and so on. I mean in Weber's terminology formal rationality the instrumental rationality

of a particular form ok; that leads to substantive rationality a content which is; in fact, derived from the form and not the goal that the formal nationalities are supposed to serve.

(Refer Slide Time: 13:54)

- Capitalism itself is a very important instance of this
  general rationalisation of behaviour that characterises
  modern society. Weber defines it in terms of the
  rationalisation of the pursuit of profit, a rationalisation
  which ultimately implies that the individuals to whom this
  profit is accruing are not in a position to enjoy its
  possession, but must rationalise their own lives, replacing
  an aristocratic lifestyle based effectively on the service of
  profit rather than its enjoyment.
- Once again the means becomes the end.
- Weber's account of modernity as the progressive extension of rationalisation, and his scepticism about the possibility of reversing this trend, makes his view of modernity, at least, effectively a *holistic* one.

In this context for Weber capitalism itself is a very important instance of this general rationalization of behavior that characterizes modern society. And Weber defines it in terms of the rationalization of the pursuit of profit, rationalization which ultimately implies that the individuals to whom this profit is not accruing are not in a position to enjoy it is position, but must rationalize their own lives replacing an aristocratic lifestyle based effectively on the service of profit rather than it is enjoyment.

Once again, the means becomes the end. Weber's account of modernity as the progressive extension of rationalization and his skepticism about the possibility of reversing the strength makes his view of modernity at least effectively a holistic one. In this sense against the lens so against a backdrop holism or totality Weber's account of modernity is not a holistic one, but against the backdrop of rationality Weber's account of modernity is effectively holistic one ok.

(Refer Slide Time: 15:19)

### Social movements

 Weber's view on social movements, however, is less holistic; and here he serves as a prototype for that approach which sees structures – of rationality, for example - as ultimately more deeply founded than collective action; even though both are of course his own terminology simply forms of meaningful social action. This can be illustrated in relation to his approach to social class.



Having discussed this in this lecture I mean we have we have already discussed this, but in this lecture, we are going to examine we are going to dwell upon Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of social movements.

Weber's view of social movements nevertheless is less holistic, we will discuss this. I mean why we are saying it is less holistic. And here Weber serves as a prototype for that approach which sees structures; I mean structure may be represented through economy, through culture, through religion, through rationality and so on. For example, as ultimately more deeply founded than collective action ok.

For him only individual social action was important not collective social action; that is why I ratter it the point that that Weber's view about social movements; however, is less holistic and here he serves as a prototype for that approach which see structures of rationality for example, as ultimately more deeply founded than collective action; even if both are of course, his own terminology simply for forms of meaningful social action.

This can be illustrated in relation to which approach to class ok.

(Refer Slide Time: 17:18)

- It is traditional to represent Weber's views on class as representing a rejection of Marx's; there is some truth in this, but it is only partial.
- For example, Weber agrees with Marx that the workers' movement is an extremely significant and powerful movement, and even sees a successful illustration of a socialist regime as a possibility. However, Weber argues that it will be forced to adopt bureaucratic means in order to reach this goal and hence that the socialist regime would represent an intensification of instrumental rationalisation at the expense of any possibility of achieving the substantive rationalities that were aimed at.
- Equally, Weber accepts that not only that economic class is a fundamental basis for social action but even that status differences are increasingly eroded by economic class in modern society.

It is it is traditional to represent Weber's views on class as representing the rejection of Marx's there is some truth in this, but it is only partial. For example, I mean how Marx conceptualized class. According to Marx classes are manifestations of economic differentiation, classes are constituted not on the basis of the income that one arms, but on the basis of the position that one occupies in the process of production ok; that is why I gave you this example that for example, for if there are two blacksmiths, one the owner in the other of paid worker both belong to two classes not one.

Marx was not the first to discover social classes or their flight's many philosophers did it before him, but Marx came to the center stage, when he said the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways the point; however, is to change it.

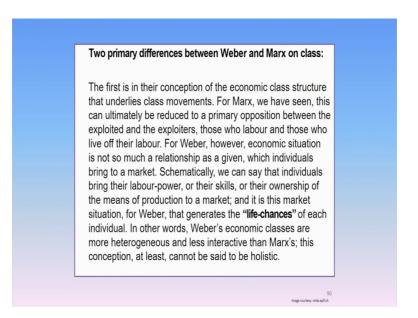
The society Marx has examined has travelled through various stages, namely hunting and gathering economy the slave society, the feudal society and the capitalist society; which will move on to which will unstoppably move on to socialism and thereafter communism. I mean that is why when he said the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles in the manifesto of the communist party of 1848.

What where Weber agrees with Marx? Weber agrees with Marx that the workers movement is an extremely significant and powerful movement and even such a successful illustration of a socialist regime as a possibility; however, Weber argues that; it will be forced to adopt bureaucratic means in order to reach this goal and hence, that the socialist regime would represent an intensification of instrumental rationalization of

at the expense of any possibility of achieving the substantive rationalities that were aimed at.

Equally whoever accepts that not only that economic class is a fundamental basis for social action, but even that status differences are increasingly eroded by economic class in modern society. Then in this in this in the context of social movements and social classes class position. Let us first see what are the primary differences between Weber and Marx on class? This is important see on class they are there are certain differences between Marx and Weber. On social movements there are certain differences between Marx and Weber ok. We will see; what are two primary differences that we find between Weber and Marx on class.

(Refer Slide Time: 21:04)



The first is there the first is in their conception of the economic class structure that underlies class movements. For Marx as we have seen this kind of economic class structure that underlies class movements can ultimately be reduced to a primary opposition between the exploiters and they exploited.

Those who labor I mean those who I mean when I say a primary opposition between the exploited and the exploiters between the have nots and the haves, between the proletariat and the butcher, I mean those who between those who labor and those who live off their, labor not on their labor they live off they live away from their labor ok. For Weber; however, economic situation is not so much a relationship as a given, which individuals

bring to a market. Schematically we can say that individuals bring their labor power or their skills or their ownership of the means of production to a market. And it is this market situation for Weber that generates the life chances of each individual; in other words Weber's economic classes are more heterogeneous and less interactive than Marx's. This conception at least cannot be said to be holistic ok.

Let us let us first of all discuss this how it happens ok. To bring about social and political revolution Marx focuses more on how to create a common platform for the working class to wage a revolution against the capitalist. Class against the existing mode of production against the existing exploitative mode of production; on the contrary what Weber says or Weber forces that working classes are not homogeneous.

And agricultural workers interests must be different from industrial workers interests. If the interests of a farmer must be different from the interests of banker one must understand that, but for firm Marx a banker undergoes as much exploitation as the farmer also undergoes at least in theory. Because if you look at the hierarchical structure that a bank projects, the hierarchical structure that that an agricultural cultivated is confronted with remains the same.

I mean similar exploitative structures are inherent. You look at call centers for example, how are the workers treated their? For Marx you have to stage a common platform you have to constitute a common platform to organize your revolt against the powers that be.

I mean you have to bring in the commonality of the class interests, but I mean in spite of the differences of your occupations. That is why he said let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution the proletarians have nothing to lose, but their chains they have a wall to win workers of all countries unite, but for Weber I mean Weber was particularly interested or Weber was particularly concerned with the heterogeneity of the class structure that we witnessed across the continents.

Even today we witness the kind of the thing that heterogeneity, but for Marx no, it was in spite of such heterogeneity he tried to bring about certain commonality to such differing class interests ok. That is that is why it is very important that is why if for Marx classes are manifestations of economic differentiation, for Weber classes are based on life chances and kajol components. What are life chances? I mean we can say that schematically we can we can say that individuals bring their labor power or their

skills or their ownership of the means of production to a market. And it is this market situation for Weber that generates the life chances of each individual.

When I say life chances I mean the opportunities social economic political cultural opportunities for the individuals, putting it succinctly Weber's economic classes are more heterogeneous as compared to that of Marx's and hence, Weber's economic classes are less interactive than that of Marx's and this conception at least cannot be said to be holistic. Then what is the other major difference we said there are two primary differences between Marx and Weber on class.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:20)

- The other major difference which Weber brings to his analysis of social movements is the concept of **Social** Closure. Weber treats social closure as a process whereby groups aim at restricting access to particularly desirable things – occupations, goods, status or whatever – to themselves.
- Much of Weber's writing deals with the extent to which successful collective action results in this kind of social closure for the sake of exercising a monopoly on something: in recent years neo-Weberians such as Frank Parkin have argued that access to political power itself is such a good, and that a major aim of collective action is to move from an "outsider" status of exclusion to an "insider" status where the group enjoys a monopoly of influence on political power on the issues that are important to it.

Secondly, I mean the other major difference which Weber brings to his analysis of social movements is the concept of social closer. What is this social closer? Weber I mean Weber treats this I mean Weber treats social closer as a process whereby groups aim at restricting access to particularly desirable things namely occupations mood status or whatever to themselves.

We have seen how certain food items certain, I mean water, I mean I mean food. Items water clothes there are certain restrictions by certain communities certain caste come ups certain groups. And we generally find if you if you look at Indian caste system. For a long time, it was based on occupation hierarchy more and more stratificatory systems have been involved in this for a long time ok. What I will consume will define my caste

ok. These are the things that both Weber and Marx challenged interrogated questioned ok.

This particular that for Marx it was all about inequality, for Weber it is social closer that certain food items open to me, but not to you. I can I can consume this you cannot consume this I cannot consume that, but you can consume that. This is what this is a premodern way of thinking for Weber or as well as Marx, Marx studied it in the context of inequality studies where as Weber when the term social closer ok. And this is the this is your major difference which Weber brings to his analysis of social movements that that is the concept of social closer.

Weber treats or whoever examines social closer as a process where my groups different social groups, economic groups, political groups, cultural groups aim at restricting access to particularly desirable things namely occupations, goods statuses and so on to themselves. And much of Weber's writing ok, deals with the extent to which successful collective action results in this kind of social closure for the sake of exercising a monopoly on something.

In I mean recently Neo-Weberians such as Frank Parkin have argued that access to political power itself is such a good, and that a major aim of collective action is to move from an outsider status of exclusion to an insider status, where the group enjoys a monopoly of influence and political power on the issues that are important to it. What is this power? That is a difference between power and authority is legal whereas, power is not ok. The way the way if authority is legal then Weber classified authority into three types.

I mean traditional authority, rational legal authority and charismatic authority. What kind of traditional authority? Though in the pre-traditional authority was used to be exercised in the pre-modern age that there will be no rationality, there will be no law legality. There will be only exercise of your of your power based on your social and economic position, maybe race in the west cashed in India patriarchy, gender disparity.

All these things they have contributed to the domain of domain of such hierarchies across the continents ok. Even colonialism see colonialism also I mean colonialism the way it exercised it is power. It was not absolutely traditional nor is it absolutely rational legal they tried to create legality to exploit others ok.

When I say rational legal I mean then we started questioning religious institutions we started creating codes to protect the interests of the marginalized, and when Weber dwelt upon the notion of charismatic authority. Weber was specifically referring to the way a few individuals can bring in at a very, I mean in quick time they can bring in thousands of people at a time.

Through their speeches through their actions suppose Gandhi was a charismatic leader there is Gandhi and charismatic authority. Nelson Mandela had charismatic authority, Fidel Castro head charismatic authority. With one call they could mobilize thousands of people. Mao is a charismatic, Mao had charismatic authority (Refer Time: 35:45) Martin Luther king with one call ok. You see even many people you can say that I mean this charismatic authority, I mean it is also debatable I can I can include I can exclude people, I mean what I mean to say here that when I say I when I talk about charismatic authority. I have I want to see their leadership qualities.

What Robert Baer stated talked about he talked about leadership in the sense of charismatic authority. This is this is a more reflexive position that that I want to take while dwelling upon social movements because I am must be a part of this set up to evaluate this set up. I cannot be associate I cannot dissociate myself from the set up to talk about this brings him to the fold that, how can we be reflexive about social movements? Ok. Then till now till now what we have discussed? We have discussed Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of social movements, how Weber's view on social movements is less holistic and why it is less holistic there is there is another argument to make.

Suppose Marx force on, how the how the working classes are going to seize power from the powers that be. How the working classes can seize power from the exploiters from the owners of the means of production. And then there will be dictatorship of the proletariat I mean the proletarian revolution will take place. So, that a world will be a place the world will be marked by equality, justice, liberty, freedom and so on, but Weber also could foresee this kind of a trend Weber also thought ok, maybe at times this may be a possibility that there may be a possibility.

It may be possible, but, but the way he was trying to sketch proletarian revolution new social order overthrowing both capitalism and there will be a new dawn, there will be a

new dawn in the form of socialism that as Marx said socialism will be born from the oomph of capitalism ok. Weber did not see that Weber could not foresee this.

For Weber what will be our future, for Marx what will be our future our future will be quite bright eye our future is in the hands of the working classes working classes will overthrow capitalism and they will bring about a new social order marked by socialistic pattern of society. For Weber no the future is an iron case rather than the garden of hidden. Weber becomes a little less optimistic as compared to Marx ok.

In the case of social movements ok; that is why Weber's account of Weber's interpretation of modernity, through the lenses of holism or totality as well as social movements is less holistic whereas, Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of rationality is a holistic ok. Now let us have a reflexive position about this. So, when we when we try to look at Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lengths of reflexivity ok. Weber's theory in particular I mean he is in particular he is analysis of modernity as rationalization starts from an individualist point of view, but tends towards the holistic one; which is to a certain extent inherent in the idea of the social ok.

For Marx the rational is the real. Ok for Marx it is not the individual, but the social relationships are important social interaction is more important, but for Weber no individual is more important as compared to relationships between individuals, but Weber's theory in particular his analysis of modernity as rationalization starts from an individualist point of view, but tends towards the holistic one which is to a certain extent inherent in the idea of the social. Weber's concept of social movements emphasizes their partial character, but Weber is always concerned to emphasize that collective action is also a feature of dominant groups; not just a subordinate once and he offers us a picture of dominant groups controlling the state and monopolizing access to desirable goods.

I mean when I say whoever offers us a picture of dominant groups controlling the state in monopolizing access to desirable good; thanks, thanks to now thanks to the success of their organization which can be said to offer the potential of a general account of the dominant social order ok.

(Refer Slide Time: 43:18)

- What about reflexivity then?
- Like Marx, Weber is well aware that the Sociologist is also a social actor.
- Basing himself, like Marx, on the principle that the real is the created, that the social world is a human creation, Weber argues that our own status as social actors makes it possible for us to understand the action of others, and in particular the meaning they attach to it.
- This is the starting-point of what is generally described as Weber's concept of <u>Verstehen</u>, in other words of understanding, or as we say of interpretation: we interpret the action of others, based on our shared human situation and participation in the creation of the social world.

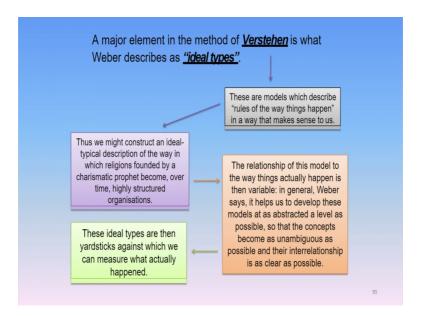
If not the totality of the social order because there are also outsider and subordinate groups challenging this order ok. Then what about reflexivity? Weber like Marx is well aware of well aware of the fact that; the sociologist also is a social actor basing himself like Marx on the principle that the real is the created that the social world is a human creation Weber argues; that our own status as social actors makes it possible for us to understand the action of others and in particular the meaning they attach to it.

This is this is the starting point of what is generally described as Weber's concept of versed or understanding ok. In other words if I have to say Verstehen or understanding, in other words it is also a way of interpretation because interpretation itself is subject to interpretation thereby we tend to aim at multiple interpretations or interpretation of interpretations. I mean we interpret the action of others based on our said human situation common situation and participation in the creation of the social world; remembering in particular, that one of Weber's cavits about traditional and emotional reasons for action.

I mean traditional social action and effective or emotive social action is that; I mean they are highly unreflective that they are not thought about it is reasonable to say that it is reflexivity for Weber that guarantees the possibility of interpretation, and this is another reason why Weber treats traditional and traditional social action on the one hand and effective or emotive social action on the other as failing on the borders of the social.

Only value rational and goal rational action are can come under the category of the social ok. A major element in the method of Verstehen is what Weber describes as ideal types ok.

(Refer Slide Time: 46:11)



What are ideal types? I mean I mean ideal types sorry ideal types are models which describe rules of the way things happen in a way that makes sense to us. What are these rules? I mean what are these models? I mean we might construct an ideal typical description of the way in which religions founded by a charismatic profit become over time highly structured organizations. Maybe religions or Ethoge founded by a single charismatic priest. Become over time highly structure organizations highly at times highly structured militant organizations.

The relationship of this model to the way things actually happen is then variable. In general Weber says it helps us to develop these models at as abstracted a level as possible so that the concepts become as unambiguous as possible and there interrelationship is as clear as possible. And these ideal types are then yardsticks against which we can measure what actually happened.

(Refer Slide Time: 48:03)

- In other words, the ideal type is a description of a particular logic of process, or of a rational sequence of events in the sense of one where their sequence has a meaning.
- Clearly, they will be far easier in the case of valuerational or goal-rational sequences, since an assumption continued custom tells us very little about the content of the custom, and assumptions that emotions follow particular sequences are very risky.
- In other words, it is rationality itself whether goalrationality or value-rationality, that makes interpretation possible, on the basis of a shared and reflexive participation in the social world.

In other words the ideal type is your description of a particular logical of process or of a rational sequence of events in the sense of one, where their sequence such a meaning clearly, they will be far easier in the case of value rational. So, selection or instrumental rationality sequences, since an assumption continued custom tells us very little about the content of the custom ok. When I say this I mean it refers to certain assumptions that emotions follow particular sequences which are very risky.

In other words, it is rationality itself whether goal rational or value rational. So, selection what makes interpretation possible, on the basis of a shared and reflexive participation in the social world ok. It is very important.

(Refer Slide Time: 49:10)

- Beyond the specific case of rationalisation as a general process in modernity, then, rationality for Weber is a concept which bridges the gap between Sociology and its objects: Rationality, in either form, is present as a tendency within society, which may be approximated to a greater or lesser extent. The sociologist can use this tendential rationality to make more sense of the actual process of events.
- Clearly, then, the more rationalised society becomes the deeper into modernity we go – the easier the Sociologist's task should become and the closer their interpretations should correspond with what actually happens.
- As we shall see in subsequent lectures, this expectation has only been partially realised, if at all.

Beyond the specific case of rationalization as a general process in modernity then rationality for Weber is a concept which bridges the gap between sociology and it is objects. I mean rationality in either form is present as a tendency within society; which may be approximated to a greater or lesser extent the sociologists can use this tendential rationality to make more sense of the actual processes of events.

Clearly then the more rationalized society; becomes the deeper into modernity we go that is why Weber's account of modernity through the lens of rationality is a holistic one ok. I mean the more rationalized a society becomes the deeper into modernity we go. The easier the socialist tasks should become and the closer their interpretations should correspond with what actually happens. As we shall see in subsequent lectures this expectation has only been partially realized if at all.

I mean in the in the lectures to follow will discuss ultra-modernism I mean the structuralist case the structuralist interpretation of modernity through the works of Levi Strauss and Louie Althusser. It is very important to look at these such variety of works by Levi Strauss and Althusser so far, as the interpretation of modernity is concerned ok. Then I mean in this lecture through this lecture we have covered 2 important modules.

Namely, the sociological modernity I mean the classic statements of about sociological modernity and I mean I mean first one thematic preliminaries and then classical classic statements of sociological modernity. These 2 themes we have covered in these 10 lectures ok. Then what we have discussed in this lecture? We wished in this let me in today's lecture we started with our discussion on Marx Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of social movements. I mean how Weber's move you on social movements is less holistic and here he serves as a prototype for that approach which he receives structures of rationality for example, as ultimately more deeply founded than collective action.

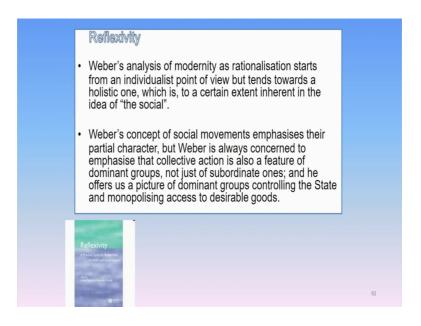
Even though both are of course, his own terminology simply forms of meaningful social action this can be I mean I mean if we discuss social class then his this analysis becomes more clear. It is traditional to represent to Weber's views on class as representing a rejection of Marxist, but, it is partially true for example, Weber agrees with Marx that the workers movement is an extremely significant and powerful movement. And even sees the pauses a successful illustration of a socialist regime as a possibility.

Nevertheless, Weber argues that it will be forced to I mean this new socialist regime will be forced to adapt bureaucratic means in order to reach this goal; and hence, that the socialist regime would represent an intensification of instrumental rationalization at the expense of any possibility of achieving the substantive rationalities that were aimed at. Equally Weber accepts that not only that economic class is a fundamental basis for social action, but even that status differences are increasingly eroded by economic class in modern society.

That is how we tend to we have discussed how there are 2 primary differences between Weber and Marx on class. I mean one on the basis of social class I mean as for Marx classes are manifestations of economic differentiation, for Weber classes are based on life chances in causal components. And the other major difference which Weber brings to his analysis of social movements is the concept of social closer.

Social closer is a process whereby groups aim at restricting access to particularly desirable things namely occupations good statuses and so on and when we discussed Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lens of reflexivity.

(Refer Slide Time: 54:13)



I mean Weber's analysis of modernity as rationalization starts from an individualist point of view, but tends towards the holistic one which is to a certain extent inherent in the idea of the social ok. Weber's concept of social movements emphasizes their partial character, but Weber is always concerned to emphasize that collective action is also a

feature of dominant groups not just of subordinate ones and he offers us a picture of dominant groups controlling the state and monopolizing access to desirable groups, then when he when while dwelling up and reflexivity ok.

Thus, I mean thus the Weber's concept of Verstehen is very important I mean understanding or as we say of interpretation, we interpret the action of others based on our shared human situation and participation in the creation of the social world ok.

Then from a major element in the method of Verstehen is what Weber described, describes as ideal types which we have discussed I mean ideal types are models which describe rules of the way things happen in a way that makes sense to us ok. And then we have discussed how ideal type is your description of a particular logic of process or of a rational sequence of events in the sense of one where their sequence has a meaning ok.

And therein lies the significance of value rational social action and instrumental rationality ok. I mean goal rational social action ok. In the next lecture we are going to discuss ultra-modernism, the structuralist interpretation of modernity.

(Refer Slide Time: 56:05)

### Ultra-modernism: The Structuralist Interpretation

- Structuralism's claim to be considered a form to critical modernism – more tenuous.
- While much structuralism claims to be "Marxist", very often it appears rather more as an incorporation of Marxism into a rather more affirmative form of modernism.
- This is particularly evident in the difficulties structuralist thought faces in coming to terms with reflexivity, as well as its consequent explicit or implicit flirtation with positivism.

In this we are going to discuss the works off of Levi Strauss and Louie Althusser; again through the lenses of four central philosophical and political foundations of modernity namely holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements.

Thank you.