

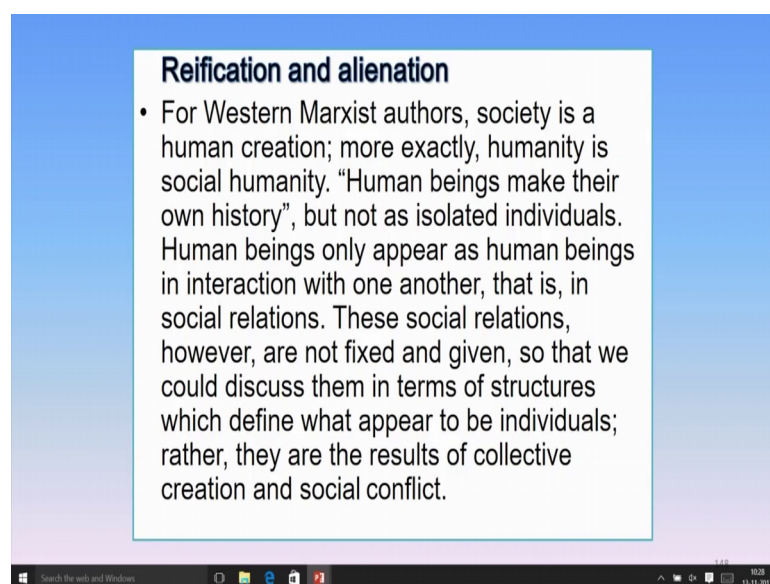
Sociological Perspectives on Modernity
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Lecture – 16
Western Marxism II

Welcome to the 16th lecture of the MOOC course on Sociological Perspectives on Modernity. In the last lecture we started the Western Marxist theoretical trajectory of modernity, I mean how society as a human creation was discussed and within Western Marxist tradition ok. We started the discussion on the works of Lukacs, Gramsci and Touraine and again the works of Lukacs, Gramsci and Touraine must be located against the backdrop of four central philosophical and political foundations of critical modernist paradigm in sociology namely holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements, ok.

We have already discussed in the concept of totality or holism I mean the similarities and differences between structuralism on the one hand and Western Marxism on the other ok. Then we have also discussed reification and alienation I mean how for Western Marxist authors ok, how society is a human creation more exactly humanity is social humanity I mean the way Marx poached this argument that human beings make their own history.

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Reification and alienation

- For Western Marxist authors, society is a human creation; more exactly, humanity is social humanity. "Human beings make their own history", but not as isolated individuals. Human beings only appear as human beings in interaction with one another, that is, in social relations. These social relations, however, are not fixed and given, so that we could discuss them in terms of structures which define what appear to be individuals; rather, they are the results of collective creation and social conflict.

Human beings make their own history, but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves that is why human beings only appear as human beings in interaction with one another, that is, in social relations, ok, even these also said this in social contract theory, and these social relations are not fixed and given, but they are very much dynamic in nature they are not static. There to enable us to discuss them in terms of structures which define what appear to be individuals rather they are the results of collective creation and social conflict.

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- Thus whatever appears as natural, given, or fixed in society is the result of human action, but we do not recognise it as such. Lukacs introduces the term "Reification"

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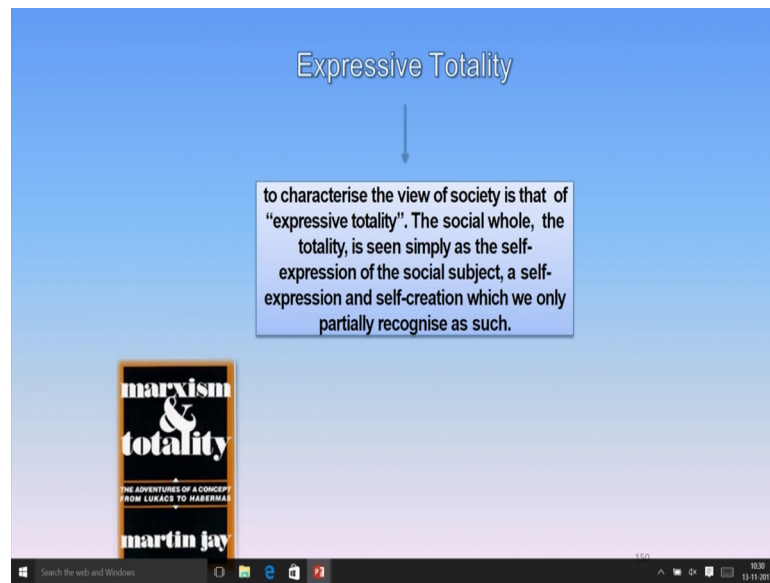
The process where the result of our actions appear to us as a quasi-natural "thing" (res), because we do not recognize its social origins or the process of creation that goes into its formation.

- This concept of reification links in to some of Marx's discussion of what is translated into English as "alienation", but it does not give economic production, interaction with external nature, the same central role it has in much of Marx's writing.
- In Western Marxism, then, what appear as structures are simply the products of human action, or, even more simply, a form of human action which has taken on a life of its own and now appears quasi-natural.

In this context we have discussed the process of reification I mean whatever appears to as natural given or fixed in society is the result of human action, but we do not recognize it as such we think that it is natural, something is natural, something is given, something is fixed, but actually it is not natural it is not given it is not fixed that is why Lukacs introduces this term the term reification which refers to the process where the result of our actions appears to us as a quasi natural thing, semi natural thing, partially natural thing because we do not recognize it is social origins or the process of creation that goes into it is formation, ok.

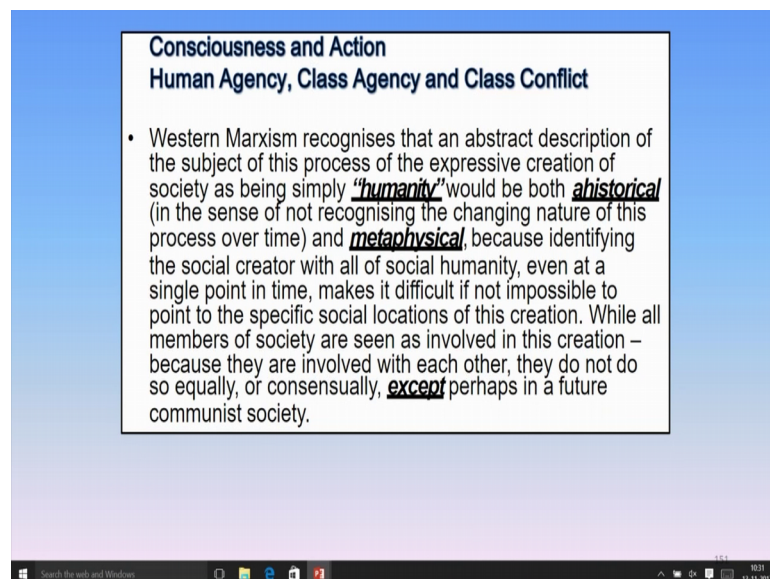
We have discussed this I mean in Western Marxism then what appear as structures are simply the products of human action, human agency, human labour or even more simply a form of human action that that has taken on a life of it is own and what and now appears partially natural, quasi natural, ok.

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We have discussed this and in this context we have also discussed expressive totality I mean to characterize the view of society is that of expressive totality I mean the social whole the totality is seen simply as the self expression of the social subject not only self expression, but also self creation of the social subject which we only partially recognize as such, ok. In the context of totality or holism we have discussed this.

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Now, let us come to a point where we can discuss Western Marxist theoretical and intellectual trajectory of modernity through the lenses of social movements reflexivity

and rationality, ok. Within social movements we are going to discuss consciousness and action I mean class consciousness and action I mean human agency class agency and class conflicts or class struggles class consciousness and class organization I mean hegemony knowledge and action and so on and in reflexivity and rationality we are going to discuss self creation, self knowledge and modernity I mean historicity I mean how to how to engage with and still interrogate absolute historicism, ok.

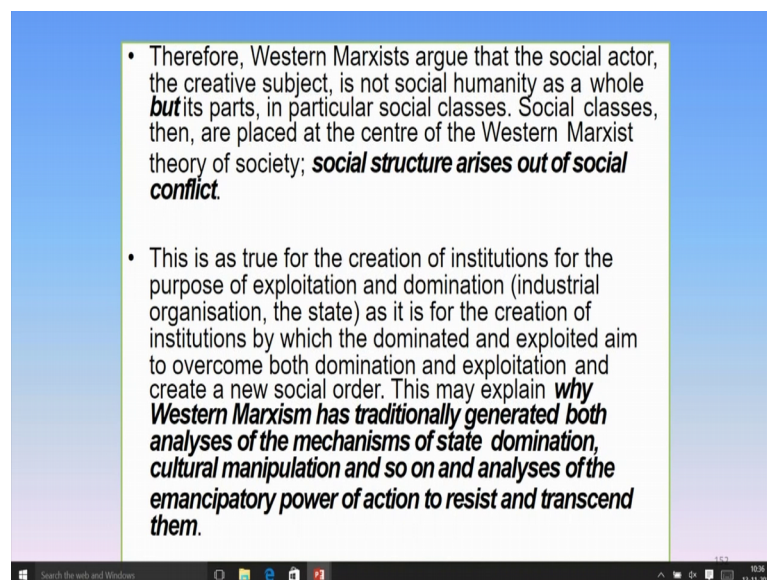
Now, let us start with the Western Marxist tradition of modernity, through the lens of social movements I mean class I mean consciousness and action I mean human agency class agency and class conflict. Just like Marx Western Marxism recognizes that an abstract description of the subject of this process of the expressive creation of society as being simply humanity would be both a historical as well as metaphysical. What is this a historical I mean in this when I say a historical I mean in the sense of not recognizing the changing nature of this process over time in across space, I mean which goes beyond history a historical, which goes beyond time and space a historical, ok.

When I say a historical I mean which goes beyond time which goes beyond space in this sense Lukacs, Gramsci, Alan Touraine I mean the whole lot of Western Marxists they recognize that an abstract description of the subject of this process of expressive creation of society I mean expressive totality as we have already discussed, as being simply humanity would be both a historical as well as metaphysical because identifying the social creative with all of social humanity even at a single point in time makes it difficult if not impossible to point to the specific social locations of this creation.

When I say a historical which goes beyond time and space when I say metaphysical as I have already mentioned that metaphysical I mean the proponents of metaphysics suggest that social change occurs because of the changes in natural forces of products, that is why scientific stays positivistic stays differ they said no it is not simply a social change cannot occur only because of natural changes, but also because of human action and human agency, ok. That is why, in the proponents of metaphysics the way they suggested that no human beings only know how to contemplate on nature human beings have no role to play in social change whereas, the scientific stage suggests that, no, human beings know how to contemplate on nature, but not only contemplate on nature but, also how to control nature, in this sense.

That is why just like Marx the proponents of Western Marxism recognize that an abstract description of the subject of this process of the expressive totality as being simply humanity would be both a historical as well as metaphysical would be both which goes beyond time and space as well as which is naturally mediated, ok. Why, because identifying the social creator with all of social humanity even at a single point in time makes it difficult if not impossible to point to the specific social locations of this creation while all members of society as seen as involved in this creation because they are also involved with each other they do not do. So, equally or consensually except perhaps in a futuristic communist society, socialist society.

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Therefore, Western Marxists argue that that the social actor the creative subject is not social humanity as a whole, but it is parts in particular social classes. Social classes then are placed at the centre of the Western Marxist theory of society I mean. So, what does it imply? It implies that social structure arises out of social conflicts, ok. Unlike structuralist argument that social structure has arisen out of cooperation complementarity and reciprocity of roles in the social division of labour not like that, ok.

I mean for Western Marxists social structures have arisen out of social conflict, social struggles and so on, ok. This is true for the creation of institutions for the purpose of exploitation and domination as it is for the creation of institutions by which the

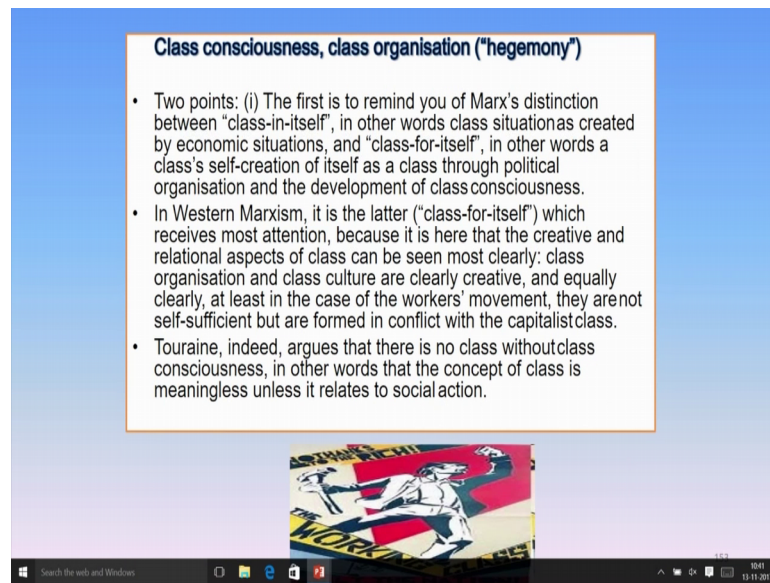
dominated and the exploited classes or institutions aim to overcome both domination and exploitation and attempt to create a new social order, ok.

Then who are the who were the exploiting or dominating classes here for Western Marxists or just like Marx, they are the industrial organizations they are the market, they are the state, they are the they are religious institutions and so on, and who were the who are the dominating I mean who are the dominated or exploited classes in this context just like Marx Western Marxists were also the opinion that you see when I when we refer to the dominated or exploited classes we refer to the working classes those who live on the basis of their labour power and the exploited and the and the exploiting and dominating classes are those who live off their labour they do not depend on their labour for their survival, but the exploited and dominated classes they always depend on their labour for their survival.

And, and these exploited and dominated class it always attempts to create a new social order, which may explain why Western Marxists have traditionally generated both analysis of the mechanisms of state domination cultural manipulation and so on and analysis of emancipatory power of action to resist and transcend such state dominant cultural manipulation and so on. This is very important, one not only attempts I mean Western Marxists not only attempt to understand to what extent and in what ways various mechanisms of state domination, cultural manipulation manufacturing of the consent as mediated by industrial organizations market the state religion and so on, have arise it not only that. But also they try to analyze the emancipatory power of human action to resist and transcend them ememcipatory power of human action by the dominated, the subordinated, the subjugated and the exploited classes, ok, they try to resist and go beyond such state domination cultural manipulation and so on.

And, they are in how does it happen? it happens it happens when there is furtherance there is a shift from class in itself to class for itself when I say class in itself I mean that is the unorganized apolitical workforce where as class for itself represents or refers to the organized intellectually and politically conscious working class or labour force, ok. In this context that intellectual and political consciousness when I say I am I refer to class consciousness or class organisation, which is very important.

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Class consciousness, class organisation ("hegemony")

- Two points: (i) The first is to remind you of Marx's distinction between "class-in-itself", in other words class situations as created by economic situations, and "class-for-itself", in other words a class's self-creation of itself as a class through political organisation and the development of class consciousness.
- In Western Marxism, it is the latter ("class-for-itself") which receives most attention, because it is here that the creative and relational aspects of class can be seen most clearly: class organisation and class culture are clearly creative, and equally clearly, at least in the case of the workers' movement, they are not self-sufficient but are formed in conflict with the capitalist class.
- Touraine, indeed, argues that there is no class without class consciousness, in other words that the concept of class is meaningless unless it relates to social action.

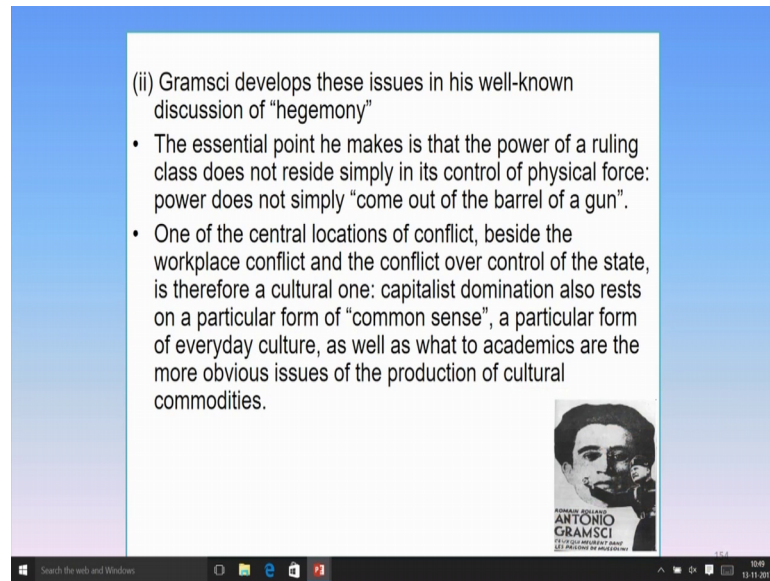
I want to make two points here the first is to remind you of Marxist distinction between class in itself in other words class situations as created by economic situations and class for itself. In other words, a class is self creation of itself as a class through political organization and the development of class consciousness, ok. In Western Marxism it is the class for itself which receives most attention because it is here that that the creative and relational aspects of class can be seen most clear.

I mean what do I mean by this that that it is here that I mean it is in class for itself that that the creative and relational aspects of class can be seen most clearly, what do I imply here? What do I refer to? I refer to the fact that that class organization and class culture are clearly creative and equally clearly at least in the case of the workers movements and they are not self sufficient, but are armed with conflict with the capitalist class, ok. In this context it is very important to mention the case of Alan Touraine I mean in France the way he was trying to look at the workers movement again Renault cars movements anti nuclear movements and so on.

For indeed the way Alan Touraine argues he argues that that there is no class without class consciousness. In other words that that the concept of class is meaningless unless it is it relates to class I mean social selection or class action if somebody suggests that no it is only when class consciousness will be there then people will carry out a social and political revolution for Touraine, ok. Theoretically speaking, conceptually speaking,

practically speaking there is no class without class consciousness how can you forge a class without forging class consciousness ok. I mean the concept of class loses its meaning if it is not related to social action I mean class action that is the first point ok, that is what I wanted to go back a little bit where Marx made a distinction between class in itself and class for itself.

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(ii) Gramsci develops these issues in his well-known discussion of "hegemony"

- The essential point he makes is that the power of a ruling class does not reside simply in its control of physical force: power does not simply "come out of the barrel of a gun".
- One of the central locations of conflict, beside the workplace conflict and the conflict over control of the state, is therefore a cultural one: capitalist domination also rests on a particular form of "common sense", a particular form of everyday culture, as well as what to academics are the more obvious issues of the production of cultural commodities.

ANTONIO GRAMSCI

And secondly, Gramsci particularly Gramsci developed these issues in his well known discussion on hegemon I mean these issues of class in itself class for itself I mean the way Touraine said there is no class without class consciousness the concept of class is meaningless unless it relates to social action. The Gramsci develops these issues while dwelling up on the concept of hegemony for Gramsci I mean the essential point that Gramsci makes is that the power of a ruling class does not resides simply in its control of physical force. I mean power does not simply come out of the barrel of a gun for Gramsci simply. One can one can look at different state structures in Germany and so on during at the time of Hitler in Italy Benito Mussolini and so on even in Indian history.

I mean one of if you if you look at this I mean power often comes out of physical coercive, it is not simply that. What Gramsci suggests that one of the central locations of such exercise of power one of the central locations of conflict beside the workplace conflict and the conflict over control of the state is therefore, a cultural one I mean cultural hegemony, ok. What is that cultural hegemony? I mean it is the capitalist

domination that also rests on a particular form of common sense, a particular form of everyday culture as well as what to academics are the more obvious issues of the production of cultural commodities. Then you do not you do not exercise your power through military alone through economy alone through market alone ok, but you also exercise your power through religion, through culture, through food practices, through sanitation through cultural habits and so on, ok.

This is through your ideology and so on, through your politics sets. So, on that is what happened in it in the case of Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany subsequently in other parts of the world I am not just trying to give you a few examples it does not imply that that only these two countries did that kind of who were engaged in this kind of thing this is important ok. That is why I do not tend to exercise my power my control over you I do not tend to exercise my power over other groups only on the basis of military, only on the basis of state, only on the basis of market, but also through religion, through culture, through caste, through race, through food habits, through all sorts of culturally mediated practices ok, that is very important.

In this context in the context of this kind that is why capitalist domination rests on a particular form of common sense a particular form of everyday culture as well as what to academics are the more obvious issues of the production of cultural commodities that is why if you look at the first Indian or independence often it is often is it often it referred to the sepoy mutiny and just because of the kind of culturally mediated practices that that both Hindus and Muslims had them ok. Now also powers that be they also try to divide the people on the basis of this is what we want to interrogate in the context of modernist control of our culture ok.

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- The workers' movement, he argues, needs to work not just towards seizing power in the State and control of the workplace, but also towards the creation of a new cultural hegemony. What does it imply?

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- Transforming the way in which we think about the world, recreating culture in a new form with a new content.

The the that on the on the similar (Refer Time: 21:35) the workers movements Gramsci argues need to work not just toward seizing power in the state and control of control the workplace, but also towards the creation of a new cultural hegemony. Does it imply that one cultural hegemony will be replaced by another cultural regime? What does it imply? I mean I mean it implies transforming the way in which we think about the world recreating culture in a new form with a new content, ok.

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- One example of what is meant by this can be seen in the Italian context: Gramsci argues that the peasants, in particular of the South, accept the present order of things not so much out of economic interest or because of repression but because their everyday mode of social organisation places them in a position of dependence on local notables and because their religious culture equally subordinates them to the dominant social groups.
- The task of the workers' movement, he argues, is to build a new alliance with the peasantry involving the transformation of their everyday modes of cultural and social organisation. For this reason he placed a particular stress on the development of what he called "**organic**" rather than "traditional" **intellectuals** – the growth of a new working-class intelligentsia which would be able to speak to the working class not just in terms of economic interest or political strategy but also to draw on working-class culture and language.

One one example of what is meant by this is that that that creation of a new cultural hegemony or you may say a recreating culture in a new form with a new content ok, what does it imply? I mean one example of what is meant by this can be seen in the Italian context because Gramsci was born I mean Gramsci was one of the founding members of the communist party of Italy and he was also engaged in a anti imperialist movements in Italy on the on account of which he had to be imprisoned and he passed away in jail almost 13-14 years I mean 25 to 38.

I mean that new cultural hegemony or recreation of culture in a new form with a new content when Gramsci said Gramsci argues that the peasants the farming communities in particular of the south of the southern hemisphere in the underdeveloped countries in the in the in the satellites in the developing and underdeveloped economies ok.

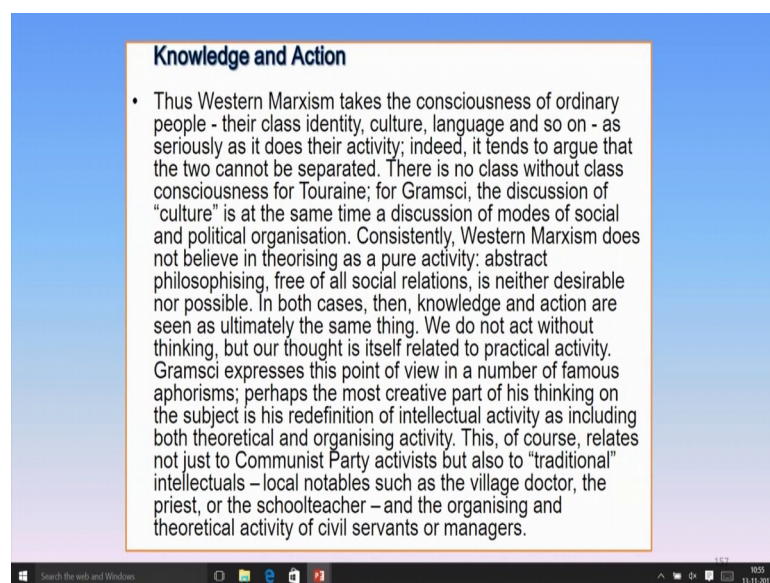
The peasants in these countries accept the present order of things not. So, much out of the economic interest or because of repression, but because their everyday mode of social organization places them in a position of dependence on local notables and because of because the religious culture equally subordinates them religious culture you may say today when I can say in Indian context caste culture, tribal culture I mean basically caste culture ok, equally subordinates them to the dominant social groups.

In this context the tasks of the workers movements as Gramsci argues is to build a new alliance with the peasantry involving the transformation of their everyday modes of cultural and social organization and for this reason Gramsci played a particulars I mean I mean for and especially for this reason Gramsci placed a particular emphasis on the development of what he called organic intellectuals rather than traditional intellectuals traditional intellectuals we always have seen that how traditional intellectuals are always found in universities in academia and so on in IITs and and I mean academic institutions and so on, ok.

What Gramsci pointed out that if you want to change the world then we do not require merely or I mean traditional intellectuals, but we require organic intellectuals what does it imply what does organic intellectuals I mean what does this term on organic intellectuals I referred to I mean the growth of a new working class intelligence here which would be able to speak to the working class not just in terms of economic interest or political strategy, but also to draw on working class culture and language.

Now, you see the way we have we have made a shift in our modernist construal from economic strategies and political strategies economic interests and political tactics and strategies to working class culture and language not simply culture and language, but also working class proletarian cultural and language marginalized cultures and languages this is very important. That is why in the context of class consciousness class organization cultural a new cultural hegemony and so on. Gramsci pointed out the significance of organic intellectuals in the party building against imperialist expansion and so on, ok.

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Knowledge and Action

- Thus Western Marxism takes the consciousness of ordinary people - their class identity, culture, language and so on - as seriously as it does their activity; indeed, it tends to argue that the two cannot be separated. There is no class without class consciousness for Touraine; for Gramsci, the discussion of "culture" is at the same time a discussion of modes of social and political organisation. Consistently, Western Marxism does not believe in theorising as a pure activity: abstract philosophising, free of all social relations, is neither desirable nor possible. In both cases, then, knowledge and action are seen as ultimately the same thing. We do not act without thinking, but our thought is itself related to practical activity. Gramsci expresses this point of view in a number of famous aphorisms; perhaps the most creative part of his thinking on the subject is his redefinition of intellectual activity as including both theoretical and organising activity. This, of course, relates not just to Communist Party activists but also to "traditional" intellectuals – local notables such as the village doctor, the priest, or the schoolteacher – and the organising and theoretical activity of civil servants or managers.

Thus Western Marxist thus Western Marxism takes the consciousness of ordinary people I mean why I am referring to knowledge and action precisely because traditional intellectuals they always posses knowledge ok, but organic intellectuals they not only posses knowledge, but also know how to use that knowledge, apply that knowledge, how to carry forward a social and political revolution in terms of social action ok, class action. That is why we have put it I mean the way organic intellectuals are involved in not only producing knowledge, but also disseminating knowledge through social action, through political action through class action.

In this way Western Marxism takes the consciousness of ordinary people working class culture and language I mean that their class identity culture language and so on. As seriously as it does directivity indeed it tends to argue that the two cannot be separated

knowledge an action cannot be separated, ok. That is why as we have already discussed for Touraine there is no class without class consciousness I mean the concept of class is meaningless unless it relates to social action. For Gramsci the discussion on culture is at the same time or discussion on modes of social and political organizations that is a culture and on the one hand and social and political organizations cannot be separated, cannot be examined in isolation.

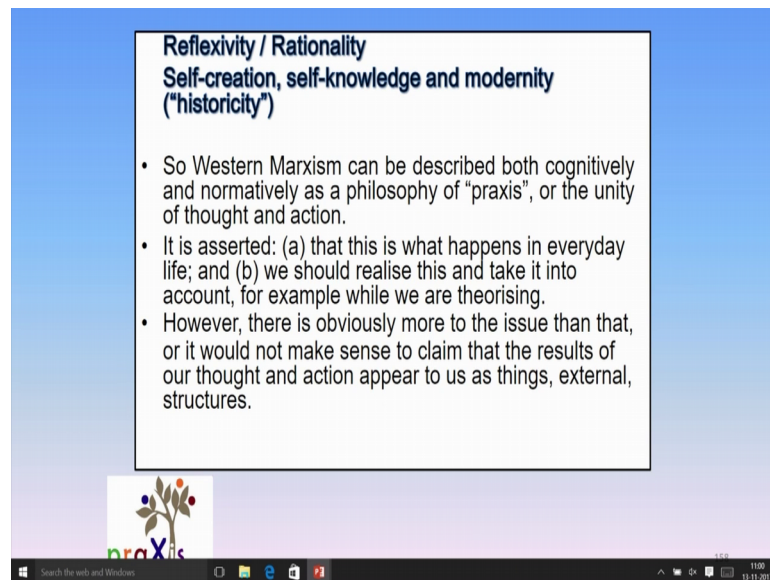
Consistently, very logically Western Marxism does not believe in theorising as a pure activity or abstract philosophising free of all social relations is neither desirable nor possible in both cases the knowledge and action are seen as ultimately the same thing for I mean I mean we putting it succinctly that we do not act without thinking, but our thought is itself related to practical activity, I mean do we think without having any any without having without giving any serious thought to to practice, ok. I mean we do not act without thinking we also I mean as I said we also do not think without practicing without taking we do not think without taking practice into consideration and similarly, we do not practice without taking thought into consideration ok.

That is why we do not act without thinking, but our thought is itself related to practical activity whenever we are thinking we are also thinking about practical activity practice and particularly Antonio Gramsci expresses this point of view in a number of famous aphorisms perhaps the most creative part of Gramsci's thinking on the subject is redefinition of intellectual activity as including both theoretical and organizing activity ok.

I mean this of course, relates to intellectuals local notables such as the village doctor the priest or the school teacher and the organizing and theoretical activity of civil servants or managers that is why I said it is very important to understand how Gramsci tried to relate not just to communist party activists, but also to traditional intellectuals as well as the organizing and theoretical activity of civil servants or managers that is the role of the organic intellectuals in party building.

In this way Western Marxists tried to dwell upon social movements ok, as a marker of as one of the hallmarks of critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

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Reflexivity / Rationality
Self-creation, self-knowledge and modernity
("historicity")

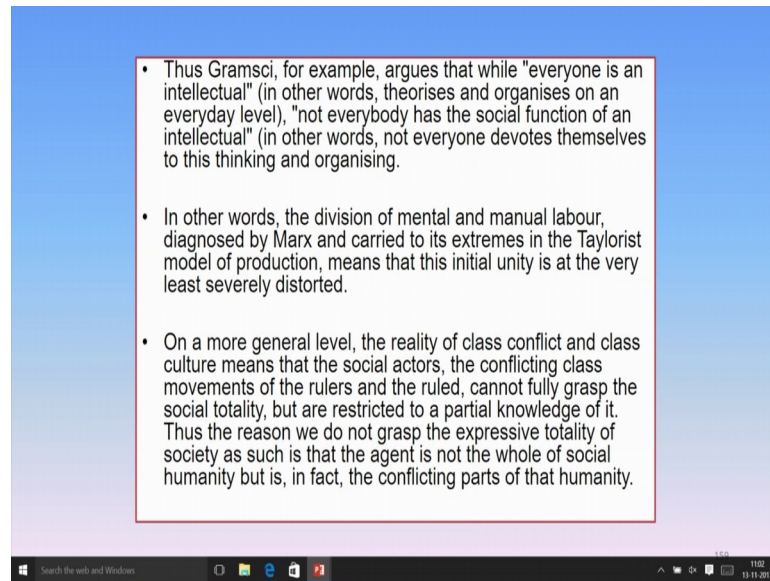
- So Western Marxism can be described both cognitively and normatively as a philosophy of "praxis", or the unity of thought and action.
- It is asserted: (a) that this is what happens in everyday life; and (b) we should realise this and take it into account, for example while we are theorising.
- However, there is obviously more to the issue than that, or it would not make sense to claim that the results of our thought and action appear to us as things, external, structures.

Now, we are going to discuss reflexivity and rationality. In the same pace I mean I mean I mean when I say reflexivity and rationality the way Western Marxists suggested I mean Western Marxism can be can be described both cognitively and normatively as a philosophy of praxis or the or the unity of thought and action.

It is very important I mean when I say cognitively I refer to the process of knowledge production the way to produce knowledge and the ways to produce knowledge and normatively as a philosophy of praxis; praxis I mean practice I mean normatively when I say what should be what ought to be, and there the process of knowledge production and what ought to be what should be then there must be united that is why I said the unity of thought and action that is the self creation and self knowledge and modernity I mean historicity ok.

It is often asserted that this is what happens in everyday life first. And, secondly, we should realize this and take it into account for example, when we are theorise however, there is obviously, more to this issue than that or it would not make sense to claim that the results of our thought and action appear to us as things external structures.

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In this way Gramsci for example argues that while everyone is an intellectual in other words theorization organizes on an everyday level not everybody has the social function of an intellectual, in other words not everyone devotes themselves to his to this thinking and organising. In other words the division of mental and manual labour diagnosed by Marx and carried to it is extreme in the Taylorist modes model of production means that this initial unity is at the very least severely distorted. Even Harry Braverman tried to in labour and monopoly capital Harry Braverman also mentioned that the division of mental and manual labour I mean it he all see also trying to look at the suspect.

On a more general level the reality of class conflict and class culture implies that the social actors the conflicting class movements of the rulers and the ruled cannot fully grasp the social totality, but are restricted to a partial knowledge of it thus the reason that we do not grasp the expressive totality of society as such is that the agent is not the whole of social humanity, but is in fact, the conflicting parts of that humanity, ok, it is very important.

It then it then comes to it then comes to I mean it then comes as no surprise to find that many Western Marxists expand Marxs own indications in this direction with a much stronger emphasis on the universal nature of the working class. In other words the claim that the thinkers and organizers of the working class movement can speak at least to an

extent from the position of the future unalienated humanity I mean we have discussed this earlier in earlier lectures that the point that it this implies that valid knowledge of the social whole is only available in modern that is capitalist society.

In other words, that sociology is from this perspective at least only possible from modernity that this implies a double emphasis on reflexivity here. I mean what kind of reflexivity? I mean the reflexivity available to a class movement and the reflexivity implied by the theorists need to become involved in that movement. For example, I mean for Touraine incidentally this involvement of this I mean the involvement of with this movement has a rather different form which is which is developed extensively in the second part of the voice and the eye, ok. I want to mention briefly the idiosyncratic direction in which Touraine develops this line of regime.

Touraine does not in fact, share Lukacs or Gramsci conviction that industrial capitalism is the last stage of social conflict, ok. Instead he draws Touraine draws a distinction between industrial and post industrial society which is not identical with the usual technological determinism although it does tend to subordinate capitalism to modernity rather than treating modernity as essentially capitalist as more orthodox Marxists do and I do believe Touraine does not claim to be a Marxist in this traditional sense. When what Touraine argues is that societies can be defined in terms of their historicity, that is why I have mentioned self creation and self knowledge and modernity historicity. What is that historicity I mean that is I mean societies capacity to act on themselves.

In other words, the extent of self creation self knowledge is not fixed, but variable they are not given they are not fixed they are not natural they are variable they are dynamic I mean structuring or institutionalized agency in the limited sense of the repetitive reproduction of a single method of self creation can thus serve a greater weight than original and creative agency.

Industrial society already distinguishes itself from earlier societies in terms of its greater historicity, its greater capacity for self knowledge and self creation as opposed to self reproduction. I mean post industrial or programmed society towards which we are moving is radically self knowing not only self knowing, but also self creating. That consists of economic accumulation and the capacity it bestows to create work the forms

of knowledge which produce the social and the cultural model which represents the ways in which a society thinks of itself.

Again, by contrast with Gramsci as well as Lukacs Touraine distinguishes between this cultural model and ideology ok, when I say cultural model; model I mean the overall self knowledge of society on the one hand culture on the one hand and ideology of the other which Gramsci sorry which Touraine, Touraine restricts to the articulation of group interests as defined in this cultural model thus if group interests are defined as economic by a cultural model that sees society as primarily an economic reality, ok.

Ideologies will also articulate particular economic interests, but the definition of reality as economic is itself a cultural one. This global cultural model though is not imposed on the actors from outside instead it consists in and only in the in the issues and forms of the conflict between the opposing social movements. And in this way if the cultural model of industrial society examines society as an economic reality then this is because of the economic reductionism of the ruling class I mean economism of the of the ruling class and of the working class and not vice versa.

Thus, Touraine is to an extent following both earlier Western Marxists and the founders of critical modernism in arguing that modernity I mean post industrial in his terms I mean post industrial or programmed society is characterized by it is greater reflexivity. It should be noted in this context that Touraine argues that the key conflict in such post industrial or programmed society ok, is not between owners and workers, but between the dominated and the dominating between the victims and the operators of the power structure, ok. It is very important I mean within the within the workers you will find the dominant and dominated forces it is very important ok.

The last point that I that I want to make is to draw your attention in this lecture to what all of this means for the grounding of truth claims, knowledge claims, all three authors named Lukacs, Gramsci and Touraine are radical in their refusal of transcendence in other words of philosophies which claim to be able to look at truth somewhere rather than other than in human society as it develops historically it implies rejecting cognitive and normative claims based not just on a transcendental god, but also those claims based on supposedly human universal human nature or on claims about external nature.

It is argued alternatively that these do not exist or that we cannot know the next step in historical and social reality as I we have already discussed that the argument about nature is not completely watertight that we not only contemplate on nature, but also control nature we just cannot say that no we only contemplate on nature or we can only say that we only control nature that is not correct, ok. That is why our argument about the argument about nature is not absolutely watertight they cannot be examined in they cannot be treated as watertight compartments and we will return to this issues both in terms of what might be argued to be universal biological needs and in terms of the possibility of thinking about human nature as having a universal social component and particularly a communicative one.

If we if we accept the Western Marxist argument however, and the arguments in it is favour are at least as good as arguments in favour of for example, structuralism or post structuralism we have to take a position of what Gramsci calls absolute historicism. What is that absolute historicism? I mean claims about truth or the god can only be evaluated in terms of knowable historical and social reality. More than this what is true and what is good are historical and social rather than philosophical questions this does not imply a total relativism or a pure anything goes approach for at least two reasons. Firstly, within any given society it can be argued as Touraine does that these claims need to be referred to the highest level of meanings available in that society.

In other words to it is overall cultural model rather than to the ideologies of any particular group within that society and secondly, nevertheless what might be more in keeping with Lukacs and Gramscis thinking although as far as I know they do not pursue this line of thought, but just to just for the sake of argument would be to argue that just as genuine self knowledge is only available from the second last social formation from the point of view of that proletariat which will become the universal subject of the new society. So, it is a mistake to think of pre capitalist societies or even capitulation society as a fixed or static form. I mean they are all dynamic they are not fixed or given.

All historical societies in other words are in change and in transition and all historical societies contain social conflicts which point to new forms of society which would then open up the possibility of an evaluation of claims about truth and value in terms not of overall cultural models, but in terms of those ideologies which are prefiguring and

leading and in particular could only be related to the provisional ideologies of our own time. It might plausibly be argued that this is what. In fact, happens.

Then in these two lectures in the 15th and 16th lectures I mean in the last and today's lecture what we have discussed very quickly will cover. And then we will move to the next module.

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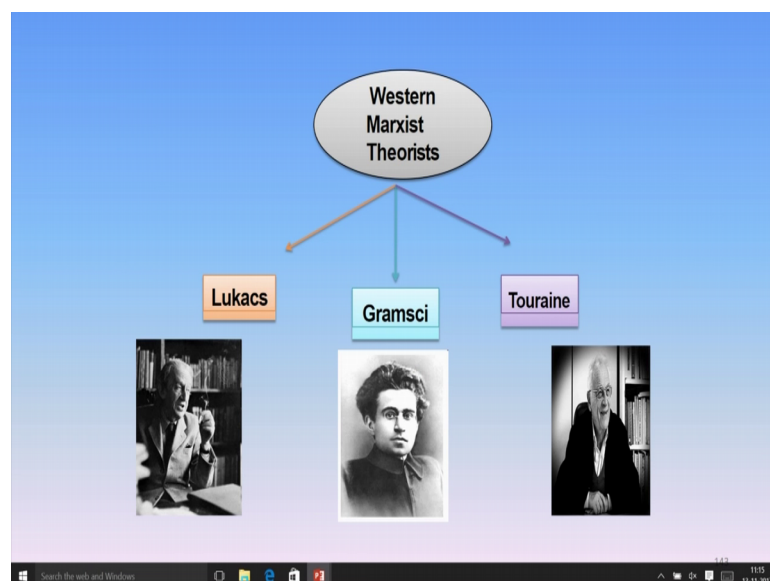
**Society as Human Creation:
Western Marxism**

Defining Western Marxism

- There is no agreed definition of "Western Marxism". In the same way that the phrase "New Left" can be used to refer to radically different political developments, often depending largely on the speaker's own point of view and whether they treat the phrase as a compliment or an insult, the phrase "Western Marxism" can be used to refer to very different sets of theories according to one's preferences and purposes.
- For my purposes, I am going to define Western Marxism negatively in terms of approaches which differ significantly from the major forms of Marxism that became institutionalised in the Leninist and social democratic parties of the pre-war period and positively in terms of reworkings of the Marxist tradition which emphasise the activist, humanist and emancipatory elements in his thought. This means locating Western Marxism in terms of agency rather than structure (in terms of the conventional distinction) or in terms of "critique" rather than "science" (in Alvin Gouldner's terminology).

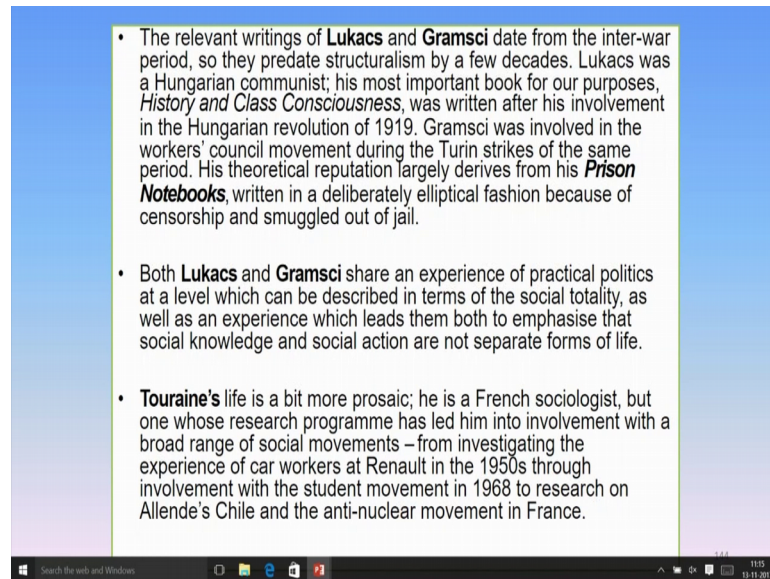
We have discussed Western Marxist theoretical trajectory of modernity I mean society as a human creation.

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In this we have discussed Lukacs, Gramsci and Touraines works.

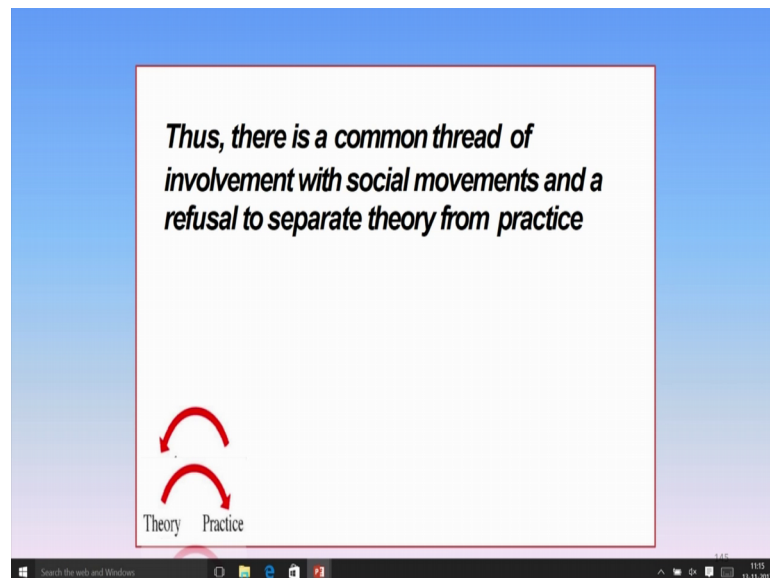
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- The relevant writings of **Lukacs** and **Gramsci** date from the inter-war period, so they predate structuralism by a few decades. Lukacs was a Hungarian communist; his most important book for our purposes, *History and Class Consciousness*, was written after his involvement in the Hungarian revolution of 1919. Gramsci was involved in the workers' council movement during the Turin strikes of the same period. His theoretical reputation largely derives from his **Prison Notebooks**, written in a deliberately elliptical fashion because of censorship and smuggled out of jail.
- Both **Lukacs** and **Gramsci** share an experience of practical politics at a level which can be described in terms of the social totality, as well as an experience which leads them both to emphasise that social knowledge and social action are not separate forms of life.
- **Touraine's** life is a bit more prosaic; he is a French sociologist, but one whose research programme has led him into involvement with a broad range of social movements – from investigating the experience of car workers at Renault in the 1950s through involvement with the student movement in 1968 to research on Allende's Chile and the anti-nuclear movement in France.

How they have contributed to the debates on critical modernist paradigm in sociology, ok.

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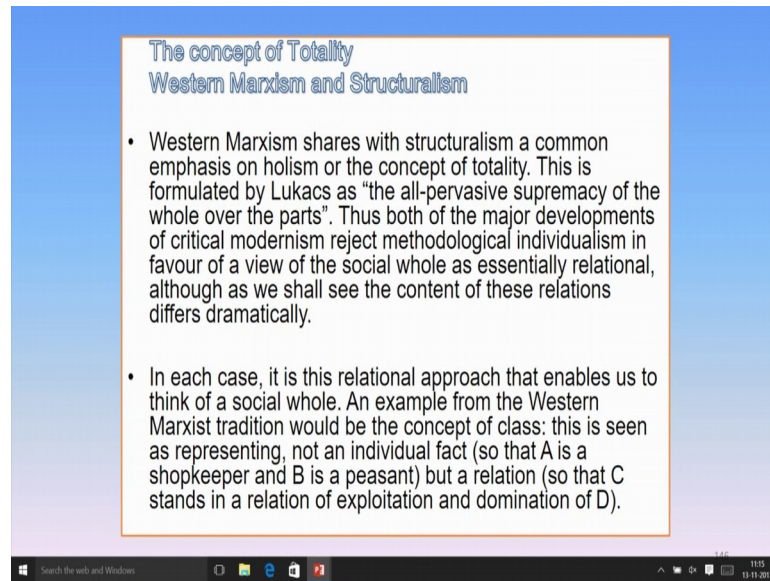


Thus, there is a common thread of involvement with social movements and a refusal to separate theory from practice

Theory Practice

And, there is always a common thread of involvement with social movements among these three; three authors and there is a sense of there is a tendency of refusal to separate theory from practice.

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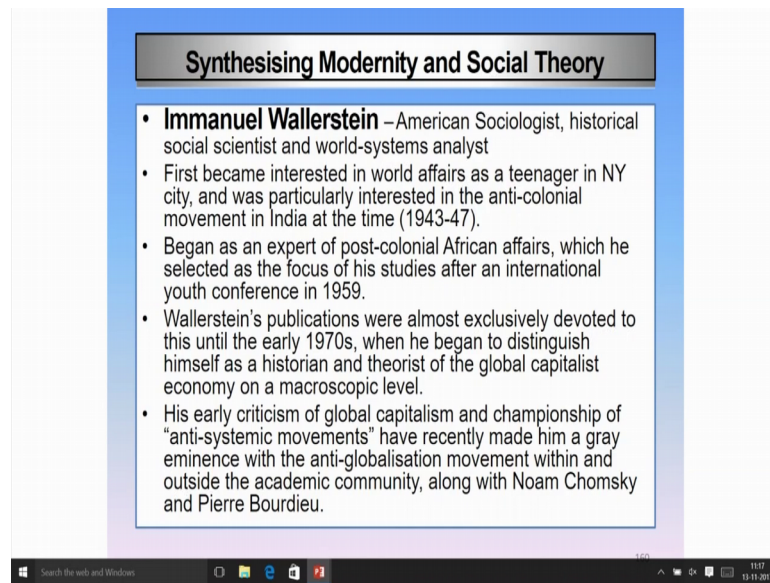
The concept of Totality
Western Marxism and Structuralism

- Western Marxism shares with structuralism a common emphasis on holism or the concept of totality. This is formulated by Lukacs as "the all-pervasive supremacy of the whole over the parts". Thus both of the major developments of critical modernism reject methodological individualism in favour of a view of the social whole as essentially relational, although as we shall see the content of these relations differs dramatically.
- In each case, it is this relational approach that enables us to think of a social whole. An example from the Western Marxist tradition would be the concept of class: this is seen as representing, not an individual fact (so that A is a shopkeeper and B is a peasant) but a relation (so that C stands in a relation of exploitation and domination of D).

And, we have discussed Western Marxism or we have in other words we have discussed the contributions of Lukacs, Gramsci and Touraine ok, against the backdrop of four critical for central pillars of modernity namely holism or totality reflexivity, rationality and social movements in the in the concept of social totality or holism we have discussed the distinction between the relationship as well as the distinction between Western Marxism and structuralism, then we have discussed reification and an alienation ok, then we have discussed expressive totality, ok.

In this in today's lecture particularly we have discussed social move started with social movements within social movements we have discussed consciousness and action, I mean human agency class agency and class conflicts then class consciousness cross organization and hegemony, and then we moved on to knowledge and action. And they we moved onto reflectivity and rationality I mean the self creation, self knowledge and modernity I mean historicity and then we have discussed absolute historicity.

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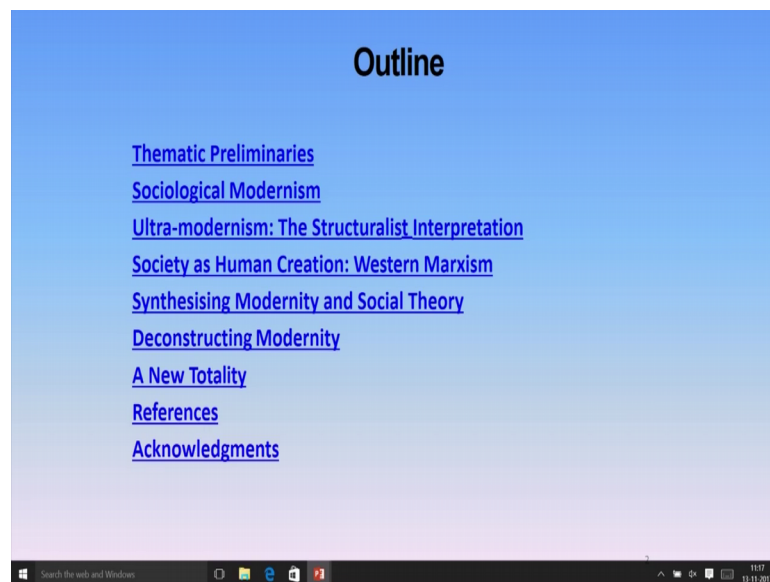


Synthesising Modernity and Social Theory

- **Immanuel Wallerstein** – American Sociologist, historical social scientist and world-systems analyst
- First became interested in world affairs as a teenager in NY city, and was particularly interested in the anti-colonial movement in India at the time (1943-47).
- Began as an expert of post-colonial African affairs, which he selected as the focus of his studies after an international youth conference in 1959.
- Wallerstein's publications were almost exclusively devoted to this until the early 1970s, when he began to distinguish himself as a historian and theorist of the global capitalist economy on a macroscopic level.
- His early criticism of global capitalism and championship of "anti-systemic movements" have recently made him a gray eminence with the anti-globalisation movement within and outside the academic community, along with Noam Chomsky and Pierre Bourdieu.

From in the next lecture what we are going to do, we are going to come to the next module ok, I mean the fifth module.

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Outline

- [Thematic Preliminaries](#)
- [Sociological Modernism](#)
- [Ultra-modernism: The Structuralist Interpretation](#)
- [Society as Human Creation: Western Marxism](#)
- [Synthesising Modernity and Social Theory](#)
- [Deconstructing Modernity](#)
- [A New Totality](#)
- [References](#)
- [Acknowledgments](#)

I mean synthesizing modernity with social theory ok, in the works of Immanuel Wallenstein and Tony Giddens and Jurgen Habermas. And it is very important to look at these three authors I mean Wallerstein, Giddens and Habermas how to synthesize modernity and social theory.

Thank you.