

Classical Sociological Theory
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Rationalization and Authority

(Refer Slide Time: 00:16)



Rationalization and Authority




Welcome back to yet another discussion on Max Weber; the central figure in classical sociological theory. So in the previous class, we had a discussion about Weber on social action and rationalization and how he proposes ideal typical categories of social action into four broad categories. We have also discussed larger arguments that when a society becomes modern, there is a gradual shift in this types of actions of this larger orientations of actions from emotional to traditional to value oriented towards this instrumental rational action and that is his central thesis.

In today's class, we are trying to examine his argument about rationalization and authority. So I also mentioned in the previous class that this preoccupation with the course of rationalization is a central theme for Weber and it is the central preoccupation for Weberian sociology. So he uses this similar frame work trying to understand how host of modern social institutions and socio process are increasingly getting rationalized.

We already discussed his analysis of social action and today we are going to discuss his analysis on authority and coming classes we will discuss his argument about how economic activity,

especially capitalism is also undergoing this process of rationalization in the modern Europe. So let us begin the session.

(Refer Slide Time: 02:05)

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- Power was a central concern for Weber, especially as a stabilizing force in the form of authority and domination.
 - Power: the ability to influence others actions in spite of their resistance.
 - For Weber the real important question was how does power able to justify itself, or seen to be approved of by those who are subjected to power relation? In other words, how is power legitimised?
 - Legitimate form of power is authority — legal ?
 - Legitimate authority obtains when the power to command is deemed valid, that is, when persons subject to authority voluntarily offer their obedience.



For Weber power was a major category and a central concern especially as a stabilizing force in the form of authority and domination. Now this is an extremely important for students of sociology, especially those who study political sociology who always try to understand how that various forms of power are exerted in a society and how they manifest, what are the consequences of such manifestations?

We know that power is a central concern for Karl Marx and he argues that most of the political power derives from the economic power, so that is why he argued that political power as an independent sphere does not have much of a meaning because this political power is mostly derived from the propertied class, from the Bourgeoisie class.

We also discussed Durkheim in the previous sessions and one of the main criticisms against Emile Durkheim is that he has not paid adequate attention to the play of power in a society. So this preoccupation with power is something very important for every sociologist or every political scientist because in every society you will find the manifestation of this power in its political form. The simple question - how is that a particular society is governed?

How is that rules and regulations are imposed in a particular society? How is that every member of the society forced to accept certain way of living; how is authority established? How that everybody is trained or coerced or cajoled or encouraged to respect and support the person or the group of people who enjoy the power relation. So the idea of power is a central concern for Weber especially as a stabilizing force in the form of authority and domination.

So Weber was extremely sensitive to this all question of authority and domination and we will come to the very specific connection between power and the authority just down the line. So how the different societies are different form of domination and different forms of authority and how these distinct forms provide kind of stabilizing force for every society, all these things were the major concerns of Max Weber.

We generally understand power as the ability to influence others actions in spite of their resistance and this is a very usual sociological definition. Power is understood as the power over somebody, power is exerted from A to B, so power is seen as something that has been exerted over somebody and this is a more traditional Weberian understanding of power where you exert the force either direct physical force or even the threat of force.

If you have a gun with you, you did not need to really shoot, the very fact that you have a gun would be sufficient for the other person to comply with your directions. So it is an ability to influence others action in spite of their resistance. So what do they think whether they agree with that or not hardly matters because you are either not sensitive to that or not concerned about it because you have enough wherewithal to influence their actions.

And this is a very usual argument and by the way let me also point out that this conventional understanding of power has been thoroughly revised especially with the arguments of Michel Foucault where he radically redefined power. In Foucauldian discourses, power is not seen as something originating from A and then exerting over B, rather power is understood as more fluid, power is something that is existing everywhere, power in the form of knowledge, power in the form of science, power in the form of institutions.

It is a very fascinating set of arguments which I am not going into that. So for Weber the real important question was, how does power able to justify itself or seen to be approved by those

who are subjected to power relation? In other words, how is power legitimize and this is an extremely important point because we know that in many societies even those who are at the receiving end of very unequal power relation, and at the receiving end of very brutal exploitative and oppressive system.

Many times they may not even revolt or resent and they tend to accept that and in many places this situation is realized not through very brutal force, but the people who are at the receiving end of the power also think that it is their faith the people who are oppressing have every right to govern us. And this was a major concern for Weber.

How do people get to believe that? What are the mechanisms through which substantial section of people are consenting to be governed or dominated? For example; you know there are women who think that husbands have the right to beat them up even though getting beaten up is not a very nice experience for anybody.

But there could be substantial number of women who think that their husbands have the right to beat them. How do we understand that? So Weber has the concern what are the mechanisms through which power justifies itself and how it is seen to be approved by those who are subjected to power relation. So it is easier for us to understand that the position of those who possess power as they will always try to justify their position and nobody would like to giveaway power easily.

But more interestingly, as I told you many times the people who are at the receiving end of the power relation they also seems to be accepting that fact that okay the other group has the right to dominate us. And this is a very intriguing situation. In other words how is power legitimized? If you check dictionary you will see that legitimacy means process where acceptance is governed, acceptance is secured.

Weber defines authority as the legitimate form of power, the power that is been exerted is considered to be legitimate; and is legitimate and legal one and the same? No, they are not because you can have other form of legitimacy, you can have forms of legitimacy other than the legal, that is what Weber is trying to explain in this particular session.

Of course legality is an important source of legitimacy but there are extra-legal forms of authority which are equally legitimate. So Weber's preoccupation was trying to understand how there are different forms of power which exist in every society and there seem to be different sources of agreement and different mechanisms so that everybody including the people who exert power and the people who are subjected to power seem to be in agreement.

They may not say it is good but accept as legitimate. The legitimate authority is obtained when the power to command is deemed valid, that is when a person subjected to authority, voluntarily offers their obedience. So, exactly the same point that I mentioned so far, when the people are at the receiving end when they voluntarily offer their obedience.

When they see that the kind of restrictions which are placed over them are correct. They may not say it is good, but they say that they are fine and correct and how this correctness is derived, how is this legitimacy derived is the kind of a question that Weber asks repeatedly.

(Refer Slide Time: 11:09)

- Three types of legitimate authorities
- The legitimacy of *traditional authority* derives from the sanctity of custom
 - The legitimacy of *charismatic authority* rests on the extraordinary qualities of the leader
 - and the legitimacy of *rational-legal authority* follows from the observance of formally established rules and procedures



Weber talks about three types of legitimate authority. One is the legitimacy of a traditional authority derives from the sanctity of custom, the legitimacy of a charismatic authority rests on the extraordinary qualities of the leader, and the legitimacy of rational-legal authority follows from the observance or formally established rules and procedures.

And this is a very fascinating discussion. Weber is talking about three sources and types of legitimate authority. So one is the traditional authority derives from the sanctity of custom, so this again we discuss this importance of tradition when we discussed his arguments about action.

Because certain actions have been in practice for a long time they attain certain kind of sanctity. When certain practices become a custom, it is very difficult to change that and quite often people react violently when you try to change their customs all on a sudden, and if you look into how legal interventions were made, for example how a host of customs in India including say child marriage or Sati or other similar kind of various practices of untouchability.

When the authority, especially colonial regime tried to prohibit these customs one by one they have to really face very fierce kind of opposition because these customs were considered to be very important, and extremely divine and cannot be changed as lot of sanctity was attached to these customs. So that is why it is very difficult for the secular state to intervene and to change the religious customs.

Because people tend to attach so much of meaning and importance to these customs and they sincerely believe that, that is how these things were practiced since time immemorial. And the second one is a kind of a charismatic authority that arrest on the extraordinary qualities of the leader, which we will come back later. And third one is the legitimacy of the rational legal authority that follows from the observance of formally established rules and procedures.

All the rules and laws that we are subjected to today, for example; if you want to drive a car, a vehicle in India you need to pass through various legally established procedures. You must be above a certain age, you must have a valid driving license and you must have learned license from an approved driving school and you must process certain amount of knowledge as well as skills about driving.

So for each and everything there are set of formally established rules and procedures. And these rules and procedures are extremely important, that is why Weber called them as rational-legal authority. Now let us take them one by one.

(Refer Slide Time: 14:42)

Traditional Authority

- Traditional authority is the form of power exercised by the patriarch, the lord, the prince, or the king. This type of authority is grounded in the venerability of the "eternal yesterday," the "sanctity of everyday routines," the sacred quality of "age-old rules and powers," the validity of that "which has always been."
- They too are "bound by tradition." They risk their legitimacy, and may even provoke a "traditionalist revolt," if their commands fail to respect the time-honored ways of the past.
- Those in a subordinate position occupy the status of "subjects."



‘Traditional authority; traditional authority is a form of power exercised by the patriarch, the lord, the prince or the king this type of authority is grounded in the vulnerability of the eternal yesterday, the sanctity of everyday routines, the sacred quality of age-old rules and powers’ these are his own words, so that is why I have put them in inverted comma. So traditional authority is a

form of power exercised by the patriarch. The head of the family, mostly a male or the lord or the prince or the king because these are the important manifestations of traditions.

This type of authorities grounded in the vulnerability of the eternal yesterday. So this yesterday the past is supposedly extremely important because you are seen as a continuation of the past and the past is to be venerated, it needs to be worshiped because in many, among many religious traditions the past really represents the best of the times most often they look at the contemporary time as a stage of deterioration.

So they would argue that we have loss of faith and we are not being true to our religion, we have lost our morals that is why we are really suffering. Whereas we had a golden past, we had a golden yesterday, so this idea of this eternal yesterday and you know that this are extremely historical planes they, the people who talk in language are not academics, they are not intellectuals they are ordinary people who have a very mythological understanding of the past.

They may not know the specific historical trajectory of their community but they have an important construction of an eternal yesterday. The sanctity of everyday routine is another thing because certain things are done every day and we are habituated to that and once they are habituated it is very difficult to change.

The sacred quality of age-old rules and powers, the argument that just because certain things have been following for a long time, they continue to be important. We do not really ask them what is the relevance of continuing to do that, we do not really ask those questions because certain practices such as, you can look into your own family as soon as a child is born what is been done or when somebody dies what is been done, or during the time of marriage what is been done.

So in each and every aspect of our personal life or social life things are done or how a festival is conducted in the church or in the temple or in the mosque near to a place and how do they personally hark back tradition, the validity of which always has been as natural. So they too are bounded by tradition. They risk their legitimacy and may even provoke it traditionalists revolt, if their commands fail to respect the time-honored ways of the past.

Who are these people who seeks to protect the tradition? They are the people who hold the traditional authority. So these traditionalist leaders are also bound by tradition. These leaders are carriers of the tradition and they cannot simply break the tradition because their entire source of their legitimacy lies on the fact that they simply represented tradition.

They risk their legitimacy and may even provoke it. Traditionalists revolt when the sanctity of a tradition is challenged. An example of a traditional authority is a Sanyasi Guru, a head of mutt or take the example of pope of the Roman Catholic Church.

The pope is an extremely important position and the actions of the pope could be constantly monitored by the believers across the world because he is supposed to uphold the tradition of the church. So if a pope wants to modernize something like what is been currently done, he has to be extremely careful to be seen as continuing with the tradition by also undertaking efforts of modernization.

And if their commands fail to respect the time-honored ways of the past, there could be revolts. A traditional leader is supposed to be the custodian of the tradition and the moment he is seen as breaking away or moving away from the tradition he could face revolt.

So those in subordinate position occupy the status of subjects in such a situation, the people who are below are always a subjects, you are the king and the subject, you have the priest and the believer, you have the feudal lord and the subject. So subjects are always governed, they do not have rights, they are always the recipients of the magnanimity of the lord, their language is not the language of right, they cannot ask anything back.

(Refer Slide Time: 20:22)



- Predisposed toward keeping things the way they are, traditional authority is an inherently conservative force, rooted in and reinforcing "traditional attitudes." It is also "irrational," meaning in this context not governed by established rules, fixed procedures, or legal precedents. Within the limits set by sacred traditions, leaders are free to command according to their own personal inclinations, introducing an element of arbitrariness and unpredictability into the exercise of power.



Traditional authority, Weber says is predisposed towards keeping things the way they are, traditional authority is an inherently conservative force rooted in a reinforcing traditional attitude. And this is something extremely important especially when we try to understand social change and tradition, tradition seems to be extremely a resistant to change as it is very difficult for people to change their ways especially the social habits. The social customs, their deep rooted believes in certain things. Therefore, the traditional authority is inherently conservative force, rooted in a reinforcing traditional attitudes.

It also is irrational in meaning; in this context not governed by established rules fixed procedures or legal precedents because many of these things could be seen as irrational though this tradition has its own logic. For example take Sati for that matter, Sati has a logic in itself. If a society thinks that the wife needs to immolate herself when her husband dies, it has a rationality of its own. Whether you agree with the rationality or not is a different question but that act has a rationality.

The wife is committing suicide not simply for the sake of something else but it has very specific purposes and that whole community who encourage her to do that share that rationale. But here Weber is not talking about such kind of rationality, rather about the modern understanding of rationality, they are not governed by established rules or fixed procedures or legal precedents, Within the limits set by sacred traditions leaders are free to command according to their own

personal inclinations introducing an element of arbitrariness and unpredictability into the exercise of power. So every traditionalists power centre has some flexibility every such leader can bring in certain elements but this freedom is something very limited unlike the charismatically we are going to discuss down the line.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:37)

Charismatic Authority



- Charismatic authority, a term Weber uses once again in a purely "value-free sense," derives from the extraordinary qualities of the exceptional individual.
- The authority of charismatic leaders, their ability to inspire people to abandon their normal lives and take up a historic cause, rests entirely on their own personal "gifts" or deeds: the force of their example, the potency of their message, the righteousness of their mission.
- Validity of charismatic authority contingent on leaders' continued success in demonstrating their heroism, proving themselves through victories, and obtaining benefits for their followers



Second important type of authority that Weber talks about is charismatic authority. Weber uses this term in purely value free sense, so he is not saying whether charismatic authority is good or bad, whether some charismatic leaders should be or should not be accepted, or celebrated, they should not be accepted, they should be celebrated he is purely not getting into the realm of judgment.

He is not getting into the normative realm and he is only scientifically analyzing this type of authority. This kind of authority derives from the extra ordinary qualities of the exceptional individual and these two terms are extremely important, a charismatic leader will be an exceptional individual and this exceptional individual will have extra ordinary qualities. So who could be the examples?

One can think of both good as well as bad charismatic leaders, of almost all important religious figures, all the prophets are supposedly having charismatic authority powers, Jesus Christ is supposedly having charismatic authority and the best example could be Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi was an exceptional individual, looking at the way he dresses, his behaviour, his character, his very obstinate position with certain values, the way he ruled over the India Freedom Movement.

He was an exceptional individual with certain extra ordinary qualities. So this extra ordinary qualities are the ones which actually provided people like Gandhi and host of others, the kind of charismatic authority. You have quite a lot of religious leaders as serious charismatic authorities, the people who claimed to be divine, people who say that they are incarnations of the God, so they are all seen as exceptional individuals.

The authority of charismatic leaders and their ability to inspire people to abandon their normal lives and take up a historic course rest entirely on their own personal gifts or deeds. The force of their example, the potency of their message and the righteousness of their mission are important. So these charismatic authorities or charismatic leaders have the unique ability to inspire people, they can inspire people to join them by abandoning everything that is seem to be a kind of normal life.

They can do so because they are the living embodiment of these values the potency of their message. Another example which is seen as a negative example is that if Adolf Hitler; Hitler had that charisma, he was a charismatic leader. You know he was not very tall or well built, he was a very short person but his speeches were extra ordinary.

They were electrifying, if you have seen the way Hitler gives speeches to the people, the people would be enthralled and enchanted by his speech. So charismatic figure like him were able to derive so much of confidence and trust and faith from the ordinary people because of their potency of their message. The message of Mahatma Gandhi for example or the message of Adolf Hitler for example they were extremely powerful.

Though they could be qualitatively diametrically opposite, Hitler wanted the supremacy of Aryan race, he wanted to be the Fuhrer of the world, whereas Gandhiji wanted independence, he wanted a peaceful life for his fellow citizenship and the righteousness of their mission and a charismatic leader would be unequivocal in terms of the righteousness of his mission.

He would be absolutely clear and certain that what he or she is doing is the right and that confidence provides him enormous energy to go ahead with that. And the validity of charismatic authority is contingent on leaders continuing their success in demonstrating the heroism proving themselves through victories at obtaining benefit for their followers.

We know that this charismatic authority also comes with its own risks, a charismatic authority is not something that is granted to you permanently. A leader has to really prove time and again to be worthy of the followers support. So they have to be continuously successful in demonstrating the heroism and proving they need to really reenergize people constantly, continuously. And proving themselves to be through victories and obtaining benefits for their followers.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:00)

- The "leader" "disciples" or or "followers."
- It is not only "foreign to all rules," but because it is inherently unstructured and short lived, antagonistic to normal routine, charismatic authority is also the "direct antithesis" of all "everyday forms of domination," whether traditional or rational-legal.
- while traditional authority is a conservative force, rooted in the past and committed to the way things are, charismatic authority is a revolutionary force
- is intrinsically unstable and transitory...leading to routinization and institutionalization



And so in terms of charismatic authority it is the leader the charismatic leader is the leader and the people who follow are the disciples or the followers. So they are not subjects because they are not ruled over in the sense of a traditional authority but they are the disciples, the disciples who always look forward to, the message or the followers.

It is not only foreign to all rules but because it is inherently unstructured and short lived, antagonistic to normal routine. Charismatic authorities also are direct antithesis to of all every day forms of domination whether traditional or rational-legal. So one of the central themes of

charismatic authorities that it is exceptional, you do not get charismatic leaders quite often, charisma is a very rare quality and it happens only once in a while.

Therefore it is foreign to all rules, charismatic authority by definition is established by breaking all the rules. You cannot have a charismatic leader by following the same older tradition, charisma is generated only when something exceptional is established. Because it is inherently unstructured and short lived, it is something like a glimpse that comes in the historical canvas and then suddenly goes out and short lived, antagonistic to normal routine.

Charismatic authorities are also the direct antithesis of almost everything that is established, almost every day forms of domination whether traditional or legal rational. While traditional authority is a conservative force rooted in the past and committed to the ways things are charismatic authority is a revolutionary force. So charismatic authority wants large scale changes, they are not happy with the way things have been.

They want revolutions, they want complete changes, they want complete reordering of the existing systems, it is intrinsically unstable and transitory, so they are short lived you cannot have a charismatic authority or charismatic leader for centuries, it is impossible. Charismatic leaders come they completely disrupt the society and then mostly what happens it becomes routinized and it becomes institutionalized.

And once things become institutionalized they will begin to establish the all set rules and procedures, institutions everything. It goes back to more traditional or rational legal kind of authority. So qualitatively you can have both consequences with the charismatic leader, you can have a charismatic leader who can be Martin Luther King for example.

He was an extremely charismatic leader, he could really inspire millions of blacks as well as whites, Nelson Mandela for example; they were all extremely charismatic, Mahatma Gandhi we mentioned about that. But Adolf Hitler also is an example of charismatic leader, he who could give an extremely dangerous vision about humanity, who always romanticized and idea of a world ruled or dominated by this Aryans. And world where 'lesser' creatures have no place or people who are consider to be lower are eliminated completely, which is extremely dangerous world view.

(Refer Slide Time: 31:39)

Rational-Legal Authority



- Rational-legal authority, typically associated with bureaucratic organization, is the specifically modern form of legitimate domination. This type of authority rests on "legality," on a "system of consciously made rational rules"—the rule of law rather than persons.
- obedience is owed to "the legally established impersonal order," not to the individual lord or master.
- persons in command, either elected or appointed, are "servants of the state"; they occupy the status of "superiors." Those in a subordinate position occupy the status of "citizens," or "members"



And the third one, the most important one according to Weber again is the rational-legal authority. Rational-legal authority typically associated with the bureaucratic organization is specifically modern form of legitimate domination. This type of authority rests on legality, or a system of consciously made rational rules, the rule of law rather than the person. So the best example or a series of example are the way in which will live as a modern democratic state, as I gave examples each and every act of our lives are decided and regulated by laws.

For example if you need to buy a house, if you need to get married, if you need to dispose a dead body of a person or if you need to organize a program, if you need to start a company, each and every of these acts is governed by a set rules. And who makes these rules? In a democracy it is the people who make the rules, who will do it indirectly because the people whom we elect as our representatives do this work in the parliament.

And once a bill is introduced, it is discussed and it is approved and becomes a law. Once it is notified, it becomes a law and we are supposed to rule by that. So this law is not the brain child of a single individual. It is not the base of the whims and the fancies of the person, so that is why every representatives, every ruler, administrative of a democratic society or a modern nation is bound by the laws which they shall not violate.

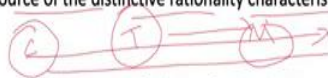
So the obedience is ought to the legally established impersonal order. A prime minister cannot change the rules arbitrarily because there is a watchdog; there is a judicial system that is overseeing the maintenance of the law. And if a law is violated, the Supreme Court can overrule that particular decision, it can even say that what was done was injustice, because it was against the law which might costs the government its position.

So not to the individual lord or master, rather the persons in command either elected or appointed are the servants of the state. They occupy the status of superiors and those in a subordinate position occupy the status of citizens or members, this is another important set of difference. So if somebody is a prime minister today, tomorrow somebody else will come, yesterday it was somebody else.

So they come into occupy because there is a legally and constitutionally established position and they are either elected or appointed as the servants of the state. And they occupy the status of the superior and those in the subordinate position are the citizens or the members. And you know citizen is an extremely important term because a citizen is bestowed with rights, so that is why there we have so much of discussions and debates about citizenship bill because the moment you lose your citizenship, you lose a host of rights, you lose the right to property, to political right, host of rights are taken away the moment you lose the citizenship status of the particular country.

(Refer Slide Time: 35:17)

• Along with the rule of law, the presence of bureaucratic administration, is the primary source of the distinctive rationality characteristic of legal authority



• The three types of legitimate authority, Weber insists, cannot "be placed into a simple evolutionary line," nor is this typology meant to be the foundation of any philosophy of history.

• Just as traditional authority is the preeminent form of domination throughout most of pre-modern history, so too is rational-legal authority a uniquely modern phenomenon. Thus, alongside the rationalization of action discussed above, we also observe in the modern western world a corresponding rationalization of legitimate authority.



Along with the rules of law, the presence of bureaucratic administration is a primary source of the distinct rationality, characteristic of legal authority and we know that you cannot have a modern system of governance without that of bureaucratic administration. It is the bureaucracy that helps in establishing these rules and ensuring that these rules are followed thoroughly they are not violated.

The three types of legitimate authority Weber insist cannot be placed into a simple evolutionary line, this is extremely important. Just like what we discussed about social action, here also we cannot say that they are on an evolutionary mode as earlier it was charismatic then it was traditional then it was modern legal-rational, he is not arguing that way, which is an extremely important point.

They cannot be placed into a simple evolutionary line, nor this typology meant to be the foundation of any philosophy of history. And here you must compare his emphatic argument that he is not presenting a philosophy history. And if you remember, for example Comte who argued that there is a transition from theological to metaphysical to positive.

And here also we can see that it also almost fits into that kind of argument well but Weber is extremely careful. Weber says that this is not the case, he is not presenting it as a case of evolution rather he is arguing that even in the modern society, you will find reminiscence of charismatic or traditional authority or even in earlier times you will find more, may not be the legal-rational to this extent but you will have something similar to that.

So just as traditional societies is the preeminent form of domination throughout most pre-modern history, The rational-legal authority a uniquely modern phenomenon, alongside the rationalization of actions discussed above, we also observe the modern western world, a corresponding rationalization of legitimate authority.

Weber would argue that, in the modern contemporary western society, the most important type of authority in existence is the modern legal-rational authority, it does not mean that western societies do not have any charismatic leaders, it does not mean that they have completely become modern by abandoning everything that was traditional, that is not the argument.

But the argument is that the modern western world is corresponding rationalization or the legitimate authority is the modern legal and rational authority. So Weber is not presenting a philosophy history, he is not presenting it as a continuum or as an evolutionary mode rather he simply argues that in the modern society it is a legal-rational authority that is important.

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- It signifies a transition from allegiance to sacred traditions to allegiance to abstract norms, from the rule of persons to the rule of laws, and from power relationships of a more personal nature to power relationships of a more impersonal nature.
- Unlike traditional and rational-legal authority, charismatic authority is not specific to any particular social context; it "has emerged in all places and in all historical epochs." Weber admits, however, that the rational legal order characteristic of modern society is less conducive to an "eruption of charisma" than is the traditional social order.
- Hence the modern society as increasingly characterized by legal rationality



Weber argues, it signifies a transition from the allegiance to the sacred traditions to allegiance to abstract norms from the rule of persons to the rule of laws and from the power relations of a more personal nature to power relations of a more impersonal nature. This is exactly what he says when societies become modern, especially the case of Western Europe these are the kind of transitions happening from allegiance to sacred traditions to allegiance to abstract norms.

As you know that this legal-rational authority systems are very little to do with religion, they do not invoke God, they do not come into existence because it is not been built by the god, they do not use such kind of language but they are based on certain abstract principles. Like principles of human rights or liberty or equality, from their personal rule to rule of law, from power relation of a personal nature to power relations of an impersonal nature.

Unlike traditional and rational-legal authority, charismatic authorities are not specific to any particular social context, it has emerged in all places and historically epochs, Weber admits. However, unlike the rational-legal order charismatic of modern society is less conducive to an

eruption of charisma that in the traditional social order, extremely important point, Weber argues that in a modern society you will see less and less of charismatic leaders.

Why is that? What could be the reason for that argument? You would say that a traditional society was more conducive for the emergence of charismatic leaders compare to that of a modern society. In a modern society ofcourse charismatic leaders emerge but it is not that easy can you think of the reasons, why it would be easier for it would be difficult for charismatic leaders to emerge in modern society just think about it.

And hence the modern society has increasingly characterized by legal rational authority. So this is final point something similar to what we discussed in the previous class about social action. So in order to just to summarize, to wrap up, Weber is talking about authority because he was preoccupied with the question of legitimate forms of authority and domination in a society, how is that?

The best example is that when you sit in a classroom and if you do something in the class and the teacher ask you to go out, you walk out of the class. You go out of the class, you understand the punishment because you think that the teacher has the ability and the legitimate authority to ask you to go out or when you drive a bike without a helmet, when the police stop you and then ask you to pay fine you do so because you think that there is a law in existence and you are supposed to follow that is the notion of legitimacy.

So weber looks at three ideal typical characteristics of authority and then argues that while even in the modern societies all the three forms of authorities do exists, the rational legal authority is the most dominant one. The charismatic authority is less likely to emerge in modern societies compared to traditional society. So we will wind up the class today and will meet for the next class. Thank you.