Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives Professor R. Santhosh Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Madras

Lecture 17 Globalization and Modernity: Anthony Giddens the Consequences of Modernity

Welcome back to the class and we are starting the discussion on Modernity and Globalization. And we already started that discussion in the previous class; we started the fourth week of this course and the week four and week five are dedicated to discuss the central theme related to globalization and modernity or post modernity kind of a debate.

So, the previous class, I think, we had a slightly extensive discussion on what is meant by modernity and how is that there is not much of a consensus among social theorists regarding the characterization of our current stage, I mentioned you that there are a large number of scholars who characterize our contemporary society as post modernity, whereas, a lot of other scholars, mostly from the discipline of sociology, who do not quite agree with that kind of a characterization and because they are not ready to abandon this whole concept of modernity.

So, then, it becomes quite interesting to see that how this whole process of globalization is being discussed and debated within these competing frameworks of modernity as well as late modernity. So, there are a substantial section of sociological thinkers and theorists, including Anthony Giddens and David Harvey and Ulrich Beck, who argue that what we are seeing today as a form of globalization is a radicalized form of modernity.

So, they use other terms like reflexive modernization or reflexive modernity or late modernity, or for example, Sigmund Bouman uses the term liquid modernity and to describe a global summary of the contemporary times. So, we had that discussion in the previous class try to understand what were the initial assumptions of modernity and how modernity represented a break from the tradition.

And how it spoke in the language of universalisms, and how it had a very unbridled kind of optimism about the power of rationality, scientific thinking and a particularly defined notion of progress. And we also saw the kind of a crisis that it brought in, especially in the second half of 20th century with World Wars and then the genocide in Germany.

So, we know that whatever is kind of promised did not come true. And then the whole debate, whether from 1970s onwards, are we witnessing a kind of a completely different social order, completely different ontological changes, which can no longer be explained on the basis of modernity. So, one of the most important scholars in the centre debate is Anthony Giddens.

Anthony Giddens is a British sociologist, a person of very high eminence and it is not only that he was a sociologist, he was an important advisor, he was a public intellectual, he was an advisor to British government and extremely influential scholar, Anthony Giddens, his theorization on third way politics, his theorization or structuration theory are all extremely important.

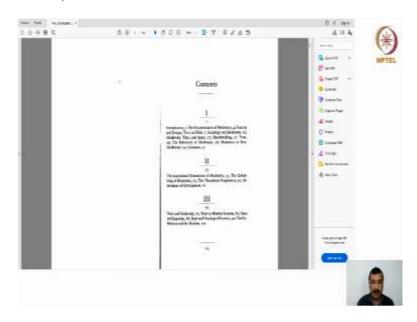
So, I want to introduce you to this book, that is Consequences of Modernity, in which he theorizes this process of globalization by firmly keeping it within the framework of modernity. He argues that modernity has changed significantly, okay, there is a break and modernity has

been radicalized or second modernity, first modernity, something that we discussed in the previous classes.

Nevertheless, he anchors this whole discussion and debate about globalization firmly within the framework of modernity, he is not ready to abandon the framework of modernity, he is not ready to overthrow the whole, let go the framework of modernity, he is not an admirer of the postmodern theorization rather, he thinks that the arguments of modernity or the frameworks of modernity are highly relevant, albeit in a highly a transformed kind of a scenario or situation.

So, we will be spending quite a lot of time over this book and this book is freely available in the internet, and I strongly urge you to read, it has some four or five chapters and introductory chapter is a kind of summary of most of these arguments. So, we will go in detail, I might take maybe two or three sessions to discuss some of these chapters, some chapters I might go much detail, while other chapters I might not go in that detail. So, we are starting this discussion on of Anthony Gibbons book 'The Consequences of Modernity'.

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So, let us again not depend on PowerPoint, let us straightaway go to the text, this book 'The Consequences of Modernity' by Anthony Giddens was published some 30 years back, published in 1990. And, but still considered to be extremely important work, and why I am using this work because it really gives a lot of clarity to some of the very foundational ideas of modernity.

It is written in a very accessible language and quite a lot of terms that became an integral part of globalization, discussions and debates, for example, times-pace distanciation, deterritorialization, symbolic tokens, and these terms are kind of elaborated and discussed in this particular book. So, I felt that you need to have a firm footing on this particular text.

So, it has first chapter, the introduction, discontinuities. So, we will be discussing this first chapter, where he summarizes most of these important arguments in detail. And also, we well go through the second chapter and other chapters we might not go that detail, because many of these ideas have already been summed up in this first introductory chapter.

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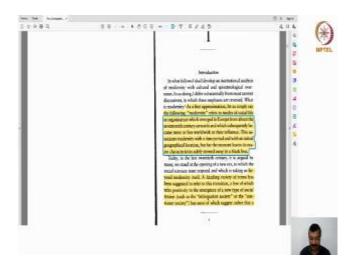


And there is a fourth chapter, which is own trust, basically, and this is a very interesting chapter where he talks about how globalization brings in completely different types of dynamics to our own personal subjectivity, the how we look at ourselves, how we establish relationship with others, how we, for example, even falling in love, he says that in the era modernization, so in the era of globalization is an extremely conscious act.

You will have to really open up, you will have to really, you cannot really assume that the other person can assume a lot of things about you, this mutual assumption becomes extremely problematic, you will have to really open up deliberately, you need to really expose you deliberately, explaining what your ideas are, your intentions are, your inclinations are, your various positions are.

So, nothing can be granted in this whole situation. Then it ends with a very interesting section on 'Is modernity a Western project', concluding observations, maybe we can spend some time on that as well.

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So, we are beginning this first chapter introduction. And as I mentioned, in this first chapter, he summarizes quite a lot of arguments of this whole book, including a series of concepts that he introduced and his overall argument. So, we will go slow on this chapter, explaining most of the significant paragraphs. So, as I mentioned, this is an extremely important work because it clarifies a lot of very basic terms and concepts and categories, so that you get better clarity on these terms.

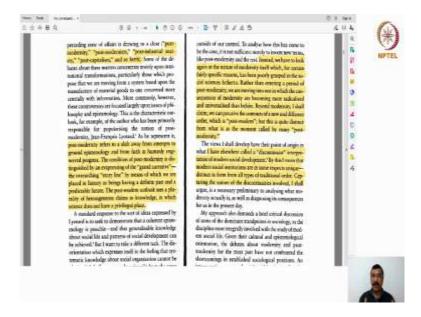
So, now, what follows, I developed an institutional analysis of modernity with cultural and epistemological overtones, in so doing differ substantially from the most current discussions in which these emphases are reversed, what is modernity? The first approximation, let us simply say the following, modernity refers to modes of social life or organizations, which emerged in Europe from the 17th century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.

This is something that we have been talking about and the process of colonization played a very important role in that. This associates modernity with time period and with that ancient geographical location, but for the moment leaves the major characteristics safely stowed away in a black box.

So, this is something that has a very spatial aspect, it emerged in the Western Europe, it did not emerge anywhere else and it also emerged in a very specific historical period, it did not emerge in the medieval period, it did not emerge in the ancient period. Rather, it emerged in a very, specific historic period maybe between say 18th and 20th century or 19th century.

So now, today, the late 20th century, it is argued by many we stand at an opening of new era at which the social sciences must respond and which takes us beyond modernity itself. This is what I am talking about the arguments of the postmodernist. A dazzling variety of terms have been suggested to refer to this transition, a few of which refer positively to the emergence of new types of social system, such as information society or consumer society, which we will discuss later.

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But most of it suggests rather that a proceeding state of affairs is drawing to close, post modernity, post modernism, post-industrial society, post capitalism and so forth. So, as I mentioned, Giddens does not belong to this category, he takes issues with this particular kind of an argument. For example, he brings in Lyotard a very important theoretician of post modernity who really defines it in a very beautiful way and he invokes Lyotard.

As he presents it, post modernity refers to a shift from attempts to ground epistemology and from faith in humanly engineered progress. This condition of post modernity is distinguished by an evaporating of the grand narratives. The overarching storyline by means of which we are placed in history as being having a definite past and a predictable future. The postmodern outlook sees a plurality of heterogeneous claims to knowledge in which science does not have a privileged position.

So, this is one of the important features of postmodernity, in which they argue that the grand narrative of modernity in which science had a central role, rationality had a central role and there was an overarching language of progress, as that is going to be the only way forward. So that kind of an era of grand narrative, of a particular understanding of history, that is over as per Lyotard, and rather we will have to see a kind of a bewildering era, bewildering array of pluralities.

And the world will move without any kind of particular direction, you will not have a singular overarching idea, you will not have a singular overarching idea about what is good, what is bad, and the science will lose its significance, science will be relegated to one among the multiple narratives that you will ascribe to. And this is an extremely important claim, so these claims of post modernity are a very far-reaching claim, it is an overarching claim, and it is too ambitious a claim as well.

So, now, is to, he argues that this becomes difficult that kind of an argument that Lyotard put forward are quite ambitious, but as I mentioned Giddens does not agree with that. So, what he does instead, we have to look at again at the needs of modernity itself, rather than throwing it away, rather than abandoning it, we need to look at the nature of modernity itself, for certain fairly specific reasons has become poorly grasp in social sciences hitherto.

Rather than entering a period of post modernity, we are moving into, into one in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalized than before. And this is the most important point that a series of scholars including Beck, including Bowman, including Harvey and including Giddens really argue about that the consequences of modernity has now taken the centre stage.

And among these consequences, there are things that we anticipated we wanted and also there are consequences which we never anticipated, which we never intended. So, we are in scenario where both anticipated, intended as well as unanticipated and unintended consequences are now kind of ruling the roost, they are becoming the most dominant players and that is taking its own course.

So, the consequences of modernity, the modernity has radicalized, it is not that modernity has diminished or modernity has become insignificant, rather the consequences of modernity has become so radicalized, it has become so unpredictable, it has simply gone beyond our hands, look at the other books of Giddens which we are going to discuss, its title 'The Runaway World'.

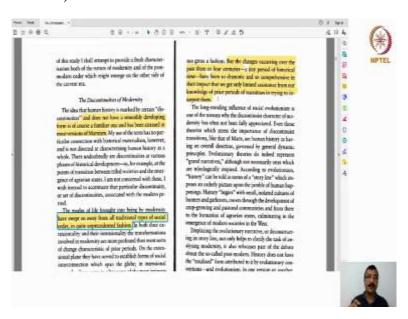
So, he is characterizing the world as a runaway world with its own intention, we have no way of controlling it, we have no way of reigning it, the kind of optimism that we had that with the help of science we are able to control the nature, we are able to dominate the nature, that simply you know does not hold any water.

So, rather than entering a period of post modernity, we are moving into one in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalized than before, beyond modernity I shall claim we can perceive the contours of a new and different order, which is postmodern, but this is quite distinct from what is at the moment called many as post modernity.

So, this view I shall develop have the point of origin in what I have elsewhere called a discontinuist interpretation of modernity of modern social development, by which I mean that modern social institutions are in some respects unique, distinct from all types of traditional order, capturing the nature of this continuities involved, I shall argue is the necessary preliminary to analyse what modernity actually is, as well as diagnosing its consequences up to the present day.

So, what Gibbons does is that he analyses, he reanalyses the basic features of modernity, and tells that how what we are seeing in contemporary world is actually manifestations of the similar kind of basic principles.

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So, he talks about the discontinuities of modernity, how did modernity really represent a discontinuity from the past, why do we consider modernity as a point of rupture, why do we consider modernity as a point of a new era? So, the idea of human history as is marked by certain discontinuities and does not have the smoothly developing form, of course, is a familiar one and has been stressed in most versions of Marxism.

So, if you look into the whole question of discontinuity and change, there are arguments about say uni-linear evolutionary models, society moving from one direction to the other, and there are different scholars who have used different kinds of categories. For example, August Comte talked about movement from a theoretical to metaphysical to positive stage, and according to

Auguste Comte, the Western Europe has already reached the positive stage where science is the most dominant paradigm and all other countries, all other societies will follow the suit.

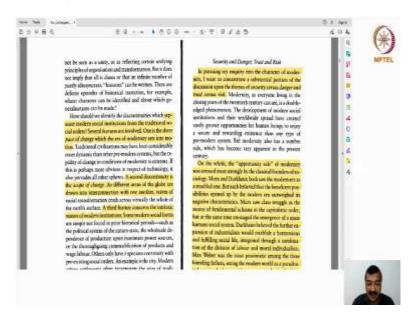
And Karl Marx, Karl Marx also had such kind of an evolutionary model, but it is not the story of an evolutionary model, but as you know, he presented it through the story of dialectical materialism, how conflicts happen, when there is a fundamental conflict take place in the realm of forces, in the realm of production, when there is a conflict happens between the forces of production and the relations of production, how that leads to a completely new economic order, which again has this kind of a contradictory dialectical powers, which again leads to this kind of a crisis, conflict.

So, he has that kind of an evolutionary model, but presented as a dialectical method or dialectical historicism. Now, Giddens is not a Marxist in that sense, Giddens does not subscribe to that Marxian analysis of social change, the modes of life brought into being the modernity has swept us away from all traditional types of social order in quite unprecedented fashion.

So, if you look at the span of society, for example, he says, but the changes occurring over the past three or four centuries, a tiny period of historical time have been so dramatic and so comprehensive in their impact, that we get only a limited assistance from our knowledge of the prior periods of transition in trying to interpret them. So, if you look at the last three or four centuries, starting from, say 17th century, okay.

17th, 18th, 19th the 20th century, this four centuries has such a tiny fraction, if you look at the evolution of human history, maybe from the past 10,000 years, or 7000 years, this four or five centuries are a tiny fraction, but the impact and influence of these four centuries is something so drastically high, it is something so comprehensive, it is something so deep in its magnitude, it is so vast that we do not have anything that is similar to that in any part in human history.

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So, now what are the kind of changes that modernity has brought in? So, Giddens brings in this kind of very specificities of the kind of changes that modernity brought in. One is, there are several features include, one is the pace of change, which the era of modernity sets into motion, the kind of speed with which society underwent change.

And the pace increased dramatically in this period of modernity compared to that of the pre modern period, the pace of change, the pace of change in every aspect of society, pace of change in terms of technology, pace of change in terms of energy sources, in terms of production, in terms of political changes, in terms of religious beliefs, or the loss of religious belief.

So, you do not have any other period in human history, which can be comparable with the kind of pace of change witnessed during this period of the emergence of modernity. And the second discontinuity is the scope of changes as we discussed this rise of modernity left no areas untouched, there is no area which is uninfluenced by the tide of modernity, starting from our personal, most personal and private aspects of life, to that of the most universal, global aspects have been tremendously impacted by forces of modernity.

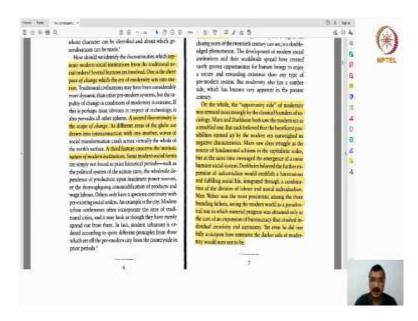
And the third feature concerning is the intrinsic nature of modern institutions, modern institutions are brought in fundamental changes, modern judicial system, modern nation state, modern bureaucracy, modern educational institutions, so modern political institutions, political party systems. So all this modern institutions have tremendously transformed the kind of social setting that we were familiar with.

In pursuing my inquiry into the character of modernity, I want to concentrate on a substantial portion of the discussion upon themes of security versus danger and trust versus risk. So he is introducing this very important category called as security and danger, trust and risk in order to continue with the discussion on this period of modernity.

And we will come back to this concept of risk, especially, we will discuss in detail, Ulrich Beck's arguments about risk, he characterizes this contemporary modern society as a risk society. So there are very fascinating theorizations about what does risk mean in a global society, in a late modern society, and how do we respond and how, what or how our responses are restricted, so all these things are something very, very important.

In pursuing my inquiry into the character of modernity, I want to concentrate a substantial portion of the discussion upon the themes of security versus danger, and trust versus risk. Modernity as everyone living in the closing years of the 20th century can see is a double edged phenomenon. The development of modern social institutions and their worldwide spread have created vastly greater opportunities for human beings to enjoy a secure and rewarding existence than any type of pre modern society. But modernity also has a sombre side, which has become very apparent in the present century.

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On the whole, the opportunity side of modernity was stressed most strongly by the classical founders of sociology, Marx, Durkheim both saw the modern era as a troubled one. We had some discussion about it in the previous class. But each believed that the beneficent possibilities opened up by the modern era outweighed its negative characteristics.

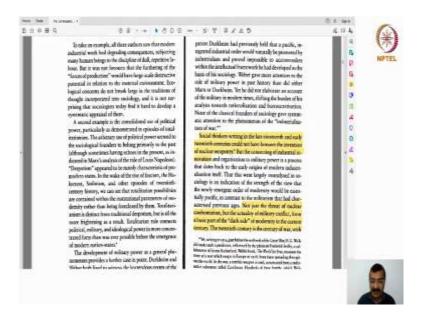
Marx saw class struggle as the source of fundamental schisms in the capitalist order, but at the same time envisage the emergence of a more humane social system. We discussed this thing in detail when I offered a course on classical sociological theory. So, in that course, we had elaborate discussions about the positions of Marx, Durkheim and Weber towards the whole quest of modernity, of course, they were all the champions of modernity.

At the same time, they were also the bitter critics of modernity, at the same time, none of them wanted to abandon or none of them wanted to condemn process of modernity, they, while they acknowledge that it could be violent, it may have quite a lot of negative things, they all very strongly believe that it is definitely a qualitative leap, better step in comparison with the previously existing modes of social organization.

So, Durkheim believed that the further expansion of industrialism would establish a harmonious and fulfilling social life integrated through a combination of the division of labour and moral individualism.

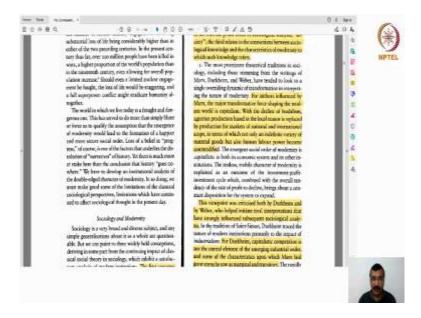
Max Weber was the most pessimistic among the three founding fathers and we saw that when he talks about the tyranny of instrumental rationality, he argued that modernity is going to be the era of rationality, but he was very skeptical that our over emphasis, a monopoly of instrumental rationality will lead to a very dry and violent kind of social order.

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So, this is again, the discussion on Marx and Durkheim which I am not going into detail. Now social thinkers writing in the late 20th and early 20th century, could not have foreseen the invention of nuclear weaponry. But connecting industrial innovation and organization to military power is a process that dates back to the early origins of modern industrialization itself, not just the threat of nuclear confrontation, but the actuality of military conflict from a basic part of the dark side of modernity is the current century, the 20th century is the century of war with the number of serious things.

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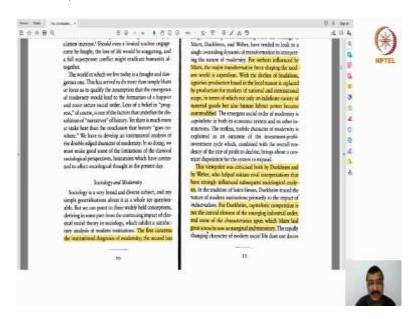
So, this whole idea that modernity brings in a completely different dimension to the question of risk and trust, that is what Giddens is going to explain in the coming section, because at the time of modernity, modern, the spokespersons of modernity promised you that you will be able to lead a far better and a secure life, why secured life, because science and technology will ensure that we have conquered the nature.

We do not have to really worry about nature, the fury of the nature, you do not have to worry about say floods or lightning or drought or lack of food, because science and technology will be there to protect you. And we even believed that human beings are able to establish their master over the nature, nature was seen as something that needs to be conquered, nature was seen as something that needs to be exploited. So, man was seen as the quintessential sender of this whole state of affairs.

Now sitting today, sitting in this late modern period, we think that our sense of that kind of security is very fragile, we may not be too worried about the natural calamities anymore, but we are constantly worried about the risk factors that we have brought upon ourselves, we are worried about nuclear arms, we are worried about environmental degradation, we are worried about pollution, we are worried about terrorism, we are worried about internet scams that can rob you of all your wealth in no matter of time.

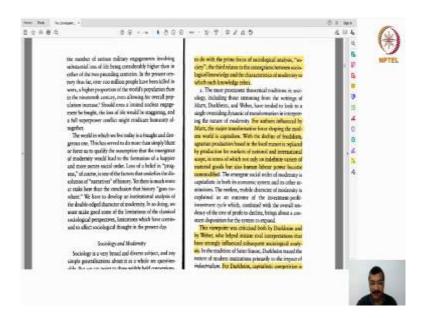
So, our sense of security has been very significantly challenged and damaged. So, that is a very interesting dimension that Giddens wants to discuss, and we will come back to this theme when we discuss Ulrich Beck as well.

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Then, there is some discussion about sociology and modernity, which again I feel is something very important. Sociology as I mentioned, Giddens defined sociology as the study of modernity, you remember I started last class with that particular slide, the first concerns of institutional diagnosis of modernity.

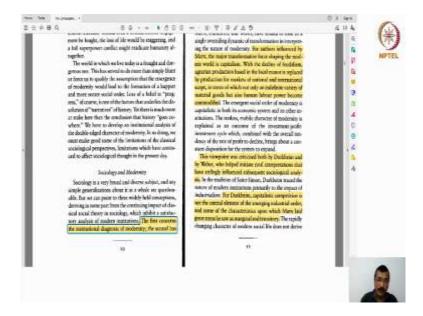
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The second has to do with the prime focus of sociological analysis, that society, the third relates to the connection between sociological knowledge and the characteristics of modernity to which such knowledge refers to. So, we discuss this points in the previous class, when we talked about how sociology looks at modernity an as its very basic subject matter.

All these authors Marx, Durkheim and Weber, for authors influenced by Marx, the major transformative force shaping the modern world is capitalism, with the decline of feudalism, agrarian production based on the social manner is replaced by production of markets of national and international scope, in terms of which not only an indicative variety of material goods, but also human labour power became commodified.

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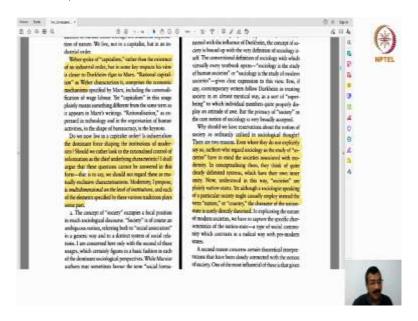


We are again going back to this classical thinker, ideas about modernity and how society undergoes change. And this is a kind of an economic deterministic viewpoint of Marx, when I say economic deterministic viewpoint of Marx, there are a lot of debate among the academics whether did really Marx propound an economic deterministic view? Scholars argue that Marx

never wanted to reduce everything to economics, but he wanted to give primacy to that of the economic front.

Now, Weber and Marx differed with Marx very vehemently, we know debate with the ghost of Marx, about the nature of capitalism, about the nature of religion, about the nature of social stratification and so on. So, for Durkheim as well capitalist competition is not the central element of the emergence of industrial order, and some of the characteristics upon which Marx laid great stress he saw as marginal and transitionary.

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So then, Weber spoke of capitalism, rather than the existence of an industrial order. But in some key respects this view is closer to Durkheim than to Marx. Rational capitalism as Weber characterizes it comprises of the economic mechanisms specified by Marx, including commodification of wage labour. Now, the question is, do we now live in a capitalist order because capitalism is something so central to that of modernity.

So, when we say that we have said goodbye to modernity and we have entered into post modernity, what happened to some of its very constituent elements, what happened to capitals? Are we seeing an era which is not capitalist anymore? You know, that even late capitalism is capitalist, neoliberal capitalism is still capitalist. So, this is the question that Giddens want to raise again and again.

So, do we now live in a capitalist order? Is industrialism the dominant force shaping institutions of modernity? Should we rather look at to rationalized control of information as the chief underlying characteristics? Can we say that the prime mover of economy has been shifted from that of industry into that of information? Is this characterization, right? Can we say that the global economy is now driven by information, not on industrial production? Is it too much of a statement?

Is it that we are going overboard or is it something important, is it something real? I shall argue that these questions cannot be answered in this forum, that is to say, we should not regard this as mutually exclusive characterization. Modernity I propose is multi-dimensional level of institutions and each of these elements specified by these various conditions play some part

and any analysis of the global economy would argue that the industrial production is still something extremely important.

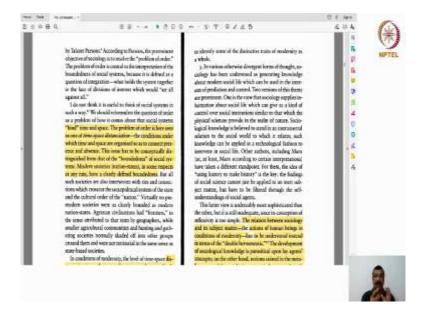
And it is not a very productive line of argument to say that the informationalism and industrialism are completely mutually exclusive and then opposite. Then he talks about society, we know that sociology is the study of society, a conception of society emerged along with modernity and as I mentioned in the previous class, this conception of society was not seen as society is no longer a residue, society is no longer an epiphenomenon of some other phenomena, you cannot produce society to that of the economic or political or cultural aspect, society, the social emerges as an independent realm.

Now, what is the kind of change and that is why, how sociology emerged as a modern social science, sociology emerged as a science which wanted to study this social, now, what kind of transformations have happened in the realm of this social in this late modern period? Now, why should we have reservations about the notion of society as ordinarily used in sociological thought, and this is a point which again raised by scholars like Ulrich Beck.

When Ulrich Beck spoke about the transition from change from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism is saying exactly the same. Even where they do not explicitly say so all those who regard sociology as a study of societies have in mind societies associated with modernity. In conceptualizing them, they think of quite clearly delimited systems, which have their own inner unity.

Now, understood in this way societies are plainly nation-states. I gave you the examples that Indian society was seen as society within the nation-state of India, Indian economy was seen as the economy that is clearly within the boundaries of Indian nation-state. Yet another sociologist speak of a particular society might casually employ instead of the term nation of society, the character of the nation -state is rarely directly theorized.

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So, this was a conventional view that we began to look at society in that way, but as we know, that is no longer true. The Indian society now is not something like as if it is in a container,

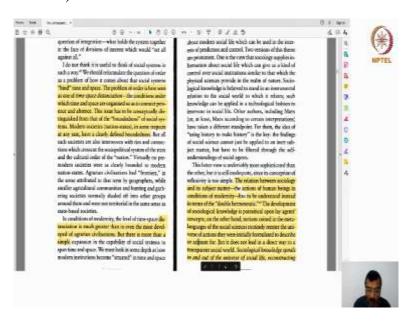
insulated from other forces. Now, we know how Indian society is being exposed to the kind of transnational flows and influences and in a state of fluidity.

So, I do not think it is useful to think of social systems in such a way as something that is bounded within nation-state, we should reformulate questions of order as a problem of how to become that social system, because he talks about Talcott Parsons and Talcott Parsons like any other structural functionalist were really preoccupied with the whole question of stability and this is no longer the concern of sociology anymore.

So, the problem of order is here seen as one of the time-space distanciation and this is yet another very important theorization of Giddens, which we will discuss in the, I think in the sixth week, where we talk about this whole dimension between time and space, we bring in Saskia Sassen, we bring in Manuel Castells, we bring in David Harvey, we bring in Anthony Giddens as well, how did they retheorize this relation between time and space.

So, Giddens argument is about time space distanciation, the conditions under which time and space are organized so as to connect presence and absence. This issue has been conceptually distinguished from that of the boundedness of social systems, modern nation-state in some respects, at any rate, have a clearly defined boundedness and we need to reconsider that.

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In conditions of modernity, the level of time-space distanciation is much greater than even in the most developed agrarian civilizations. Time-space distanciation for example, in a non-modern society, if a social action has to take place, the action takes place in a particular given time, in a particular given place, they are co-terminus, action takes place in a given geographic region, given geographic place, the place this is important.

But whereas, in a modern era, you are able to coordinate your action even in far off places with the help of telecommunication, by using telephone or a telegram, other thing, you were able to influence action in foreign places, that means you do not need to be there physically in that particular place rather, you are able to coordinate actions.

In a late modern era, in the contemporary era of globalization, this relation between place and time is completely distanced, that is what Giddens argues when he talks about time space distanciation, time and the space, space understood as a kind of a place is completely disengaged, disentangled.

Now, sitting in one part of the globe, you are able to control actions across the globe and that is how the multinational companies or major media firms or every other such kind of things really function. So, we will come back to that point later. So, then he talks about another important feature is the relationship between sociology and its subject matter.

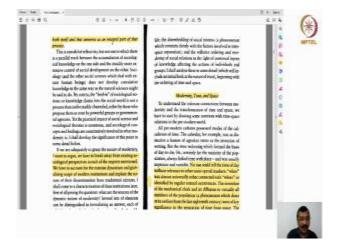
The actions of human beings in conditions of modernity have to be understood in terms of double hermeneutics, the development of sociological knowledge is parasitical upon lay agents' concepts, on the other hand, notion coins in the meta languages of social sciences routinely re-enter universe of actions of these, these were intrinsically formulated to describe or account for.

But it does not leave in a direct way to a transparent social world. Sociological knowledge spirals in and out of the universal social life, reconstructing the social life. So, what does he talk here about this double hermeneutics? He says the kind of way, he points at the kind of relationship between sociological knowledge and the society, you know that the sociology is the field of study which analyses society and it creates quite a lot of knowledge.

And what he argues is that this knowledge goes back to the society and reformulates the social practices there. So, there is a kind of a double hermeneutics, there is a kind of a dialectical relationship between sociological knowledge and the society that it studies. So, sociology derives knowledge from the society and the society also derive sociological concepts and knowledge and thereby changes itself. And this is an extremely important point.

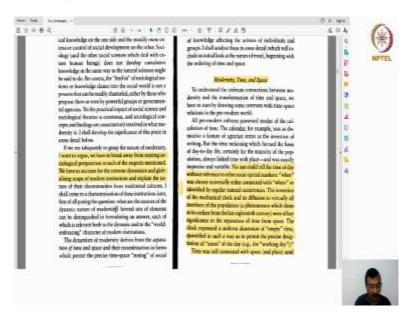
You look at the case of say, how our understanding about sexuality underwent drastic changes in the recent past. The social science understanding about sexuality, the terms that are coined transgender, queer and alternative or sexuality, all these terms are now getting circulated in the common sensical parlance, in the everyday, transactions of the ordinary society, thereby changing their discourses and practices, so that is what he is talking about as a kind of double hermeneutics.

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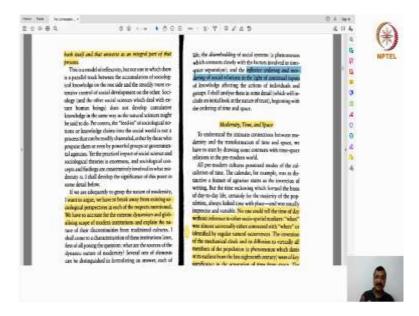
Both itself hands on the universe as an integral part of that process. If we were adequately to grasp the nature of modernity, I want to argue, we have to break away from the existing sociological perspective in each of the respects mentioned. We have to account for the extreme dynamism and globalizing scope of modern institutions and explain the nature of their discontinuities from traditional societies. I shall come to a characterization of these institutions later, first of all posing the question, what are the sources of the dynamic nature of modernity?

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Several sets of elements can be distinguished formulating an answer, each of which is relevant both to the dynamics and to the world embracing. The dynamism of modernity derives from the separation of time and space and their recombination in forms which permits the precise time-space zoning of social life.

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With the disembedding of social systems, a phenomenon which connects and the reflexive ordering and reordering of social relation in the light of continual inputs of knowledge. So, this

is what he is going to discuss in this coming section. So, we will stop here, but to just have a brief recap, he is arguing that modernity really represents the break from the past because it brought in a series of institutions and just like modernity brought in a fundamental break from tradition, this era of globalization is also breaking, bringing another moment of discontinuity.

And in order to understand this discontinuity is not to completely abandon the framework of modernity but to understand how some of the basic elements of modernity themselves are undergoing significant transformations, so we will continue with this discussion of this particular chapter, this introductory chapter in the next class. Thank you.