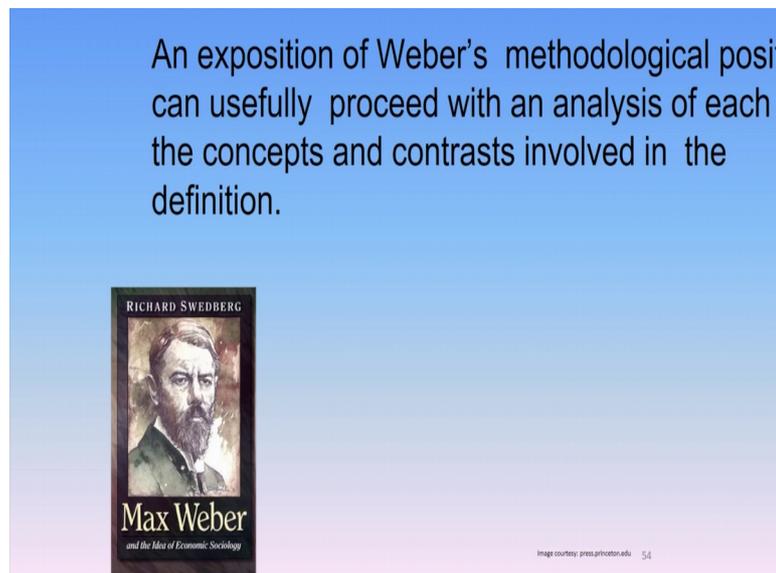


**Sociological Perspectives on Modernity**  
**Dr. Sambit Mallick**  
**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati**

**Lecture – 08**  
**Sociological Modernism: Max Weber II**

Welcome to the 8th lecture of the course on Sociological perspectives on modernity.

(Refer Slide Time: 00:46)



In the last lecture I mean in the 7th lecture we have started with Marx and his theoretical and methodological positions to reflect on modernity and its constituents.

(Refer Slide Time: 00:54)

**Interpretative Sociology**

↓

'Sociology (in the sense in which this highly ambiguous word is used here) is a **science** which attempts the **interpretive understanding of social action** in order thereby to arrive at a **causal explanation** of its course and effects.'

**MAX  
WEBER**  
**ECONOMY  
AND  
SOCIETY**  
Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich

53

(Refer Slide Time: 01:01)

**Max Weber's Methodology**

- Weber contributed heavily to the development of substantive sociological theory and to the debate on methodology.
- Weber's methodological writings are usually characterised as effecting a reconciliation between

↓

Positivism            Neo-Kantianism

Image Courtesy: Wikimedia Commons

We have discussed a way Weber contributed heavily to the development of substantive sociological theory and to the debate on methodology; we have also discussed how Weber's methodological writings Weber's theoretical positions are usually characterized as affecting or reconciliation between positivism and Neo Kantianism.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:32)

- Though Weber's positions were not, of course, entirely consistent throughout his life, it is possible to say that, in general, Weber rejected the view attributable to some neo-Kantians (though not Rickert) that the cultural sciences are exclusively concerned with the uniqueness of their objects of study, and that the category of causality is inapplicable in them.
- Weber was committed to neo-Kantian insistence on the methodological peculiarities of the cultural sciences.
- For Weber, these peculiarities centered around the **two** related concepts:

```
graph TD; A[Value-relevance] --- B[Interpretative understanding];
```



51  
Image Courtesy: pixabay

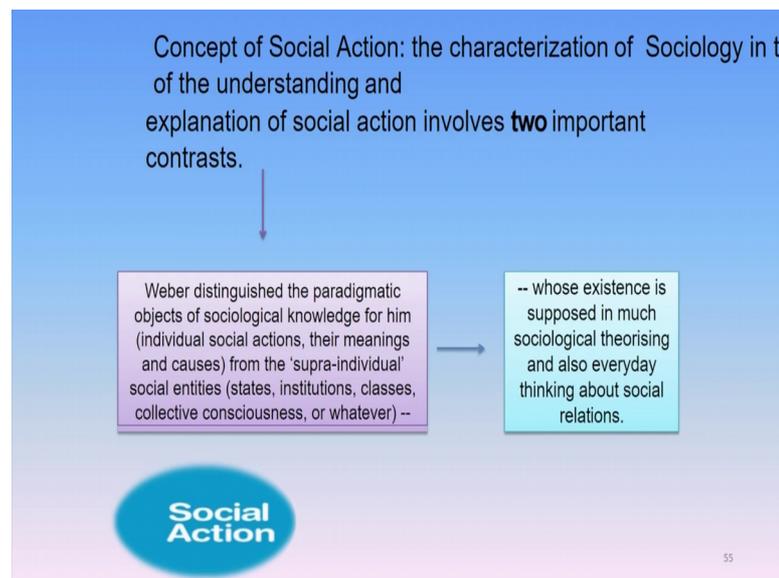
I mean at times Weber rejects the view attributable to some Neo Kantians that the cultural sciences are exclusively concerned with the uniqueness of their objects of study, and the category of causality is inapplicable in them and at times nonetheless Weber was committed to neo-Kantians insistence on the methodological peculiarities of the cultural sciences.

For Weber these methodological peculiarities are centered around 2 related concepts namely value relevance and interpretive understanding for Weber we have also discussed. For Weber the cultural sciences differ from natural sciences in the distinctive role of valuations I mean value relevance in the formation of concepts and in the distinctive type of knowledge involved in them. And a third area of methodological differences was thought by Weber to be the use of idealizations in the cultural sciences, I mean there must be a distinction between cultural sciences and natural sciences in terms of value relevance as well as interpretive understanding of social action.

Weber for Weber sociology in the sense in which this highly ambiguous word is used here is a science, which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of it is course and effects. We have discussed I mean how there are the I mean how 3 things are extremely important in this case, I mean sociology as a science 1, sociology is science that attempts the interpretive understanding of social action 2 and any kind of interpretation must involve explanation. I mean when I

say explanation I mean causal relationship cause and effect relationship. And an exposition of Weber's methodological positions theoretical positions can usefully proceed with an analysis of each of the concepts and contrasts involved in this definition of sociology by max Weber.

(Refer Slide Time: 04:18)



To begin with we discussed I mean first the concept of social action I mean the characterization of sociology, if you look at the characterization of sociology in terms of the understanding and explanation of social action which involves 2 important contrasts when I say understanding I refer to the neo-Kantian school of thought, when I say explanation I refers to the positivistic school of thought.

First Weber is distinguishing the paradigmatic objects of sociological knowledge for him I mean those individual social actions their meanings and causes from the supra individual social entities I mean states institutions classes collective consciousness and so on. Whose existence is supposed in much sociological theorizing and also everyday thinking about social relations?

(Refer Slide Time: 05:26)

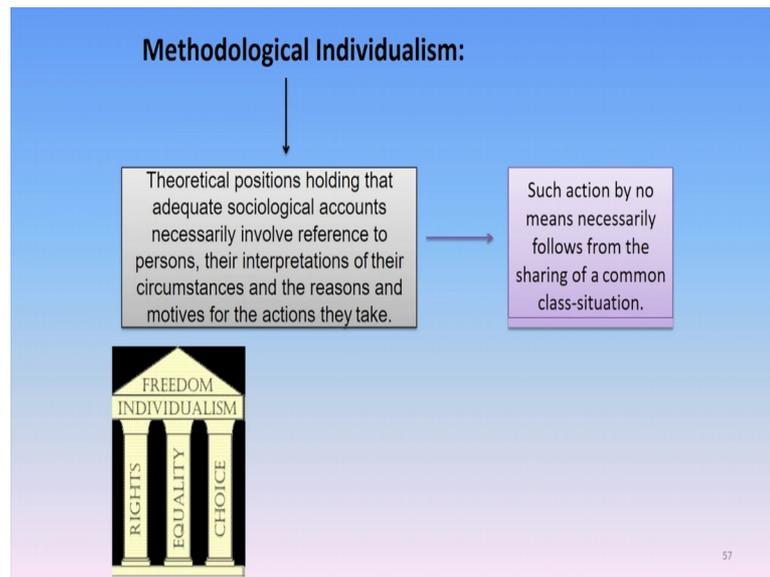
- Weber does not actually deny the existence of such 'entities', but argues that for interpretative sociology they must be 'treated as solely the resultants and modes of organisation of the particular acts of individual persons...'
- Weber's position here would now be regarded as 'methodological individualist', involving the claim that insofar as collectivities may be said to have characteristics independent of the individuals which make them up, those characteristics are to be explained in terms of individual actors and their actions.

56

We have already discussed this Weber does not actually deny the existence of such supra individual social entities.

But argues that for interpretative sociology these supra individual social entities must be treated as solely the resultants and modes of organization of the particular acts of individual persons; in contradiction with what Marx said about modes of production this is different from Marx Weber's position, would here would now be regarded as methodological individualist involving the claim that in. So, far as collectivities may be said to have characteristics independent of the individuals which make them up those characteristics have are to be explained in terms of individual actors and their access.

(Refer Slide Time: 06:40)



Then then in the last lecture we also discussed methodological individualism which refers to theoretical positions, I mean which refers to theoretical positions holding that adequate sociological accounts necessarily involve reference to 3 things.

One individuals, Secondly, their interpretations of their circumstances and thirdly the reasons and motives for the actions that those individuals undertaken. And Weber says that such action by no means necessarily follows from the sharing of a common class situation in contradiction to it is for Marx, whatever collective action that that we undertake necessarily follows from the sharing of a common class situation, but here, but in the context of Weber such action by no means necessarily follows from the sharing of a common class situation and we stopped here in the last class.

(Refer Slide Time: 08:00)

**Interpretative Understanding**

- Interpretive Sociology: a variety of forms of sociology united by an emphasis on the necessity for sociologists to grasp or 'understand' or interpret actors' meanings.
- It can legitimately interpret course of action in terms of concepts such as the State, classes, etc. without commitment to any of the entities.
- Interpretative understanding: a method that stresses the importance of understanding of **intentional human action**.

58

Now, in today's class we are going to cover interpretive understanding Verstehen.

(Refer Slide Time: 08:15)

- Selection is based on cultural relevance.
- Value, for a sociologist, is always an object of study.

Interpretative Understanding

↙ ↘

Direct (Observational) UnderstandingIndirect (explanatory) Understanding



64

And when I say interpretive understanding I mean direct understanding and indirect understanding alternatively known as observational understanding.

(Refer Slide Time: 08:32)

**Culture (Weber):**

- The totality of real objects to which we attach generally acknowledged values or complexes of meaning constituted by values.
- Culture consists of all those items produced by human beings for the sake of value-ends.

68

And explanatory understanding respectively and what is culture for Weber.

(Refer Slide Time: 08:32)

- The central dimensions of Weber's analysis are that economic, religious and power relations are crucial sociological explanations.
- Weber made **three** types of economic phenomena:

```
graph TD; A[Weber made three types of economic phenomena:] --> B[Economic phenomena: institutions deliberately created and used for economic ends.]; A --> C[Economically relevant phenomena: legal and religious phenomena which are not primarily economic but have consequences which are economic in nature in certain circumstances.]; A --> D[Economically conditioned phenomena: stratification systems and the State are not directly the economic phenomena, but they are affected in some way by economic phenomena.];
```

72

And then we will discuss economic phenomena and the relationship between economy and religion.

(Refer Slide Time: 08:46)

**Weber's Interpretation of Modernity**  
Holism / Totality

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

74

And then we will move on to Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lenses of those 4 pillars of modernity namely holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality, and social movements.

(Refer Slide Time: 09:08)

**Interpretative Understanding**

- Interpretive Sociology: a variety of forms of sociology united by an emphasis on the necessity for sociologists to grasp or 'understand' or interpret actors' meanings.
- It can legitimately interpret course of action in terms of concepts such as the State, classes, etc. without commitment to any of the entities.
- Interpretative understanding: a method that stresses the importance of understanding of **intentional human action**.

58

Now let us start with interpretive understanding (Refer Time: 09:05) Interpretive sociology refers to a variety of forms of sociology on the on united by an emphasis on the necessity for sociologists to grasp or understand or interpret actors meanings. It can

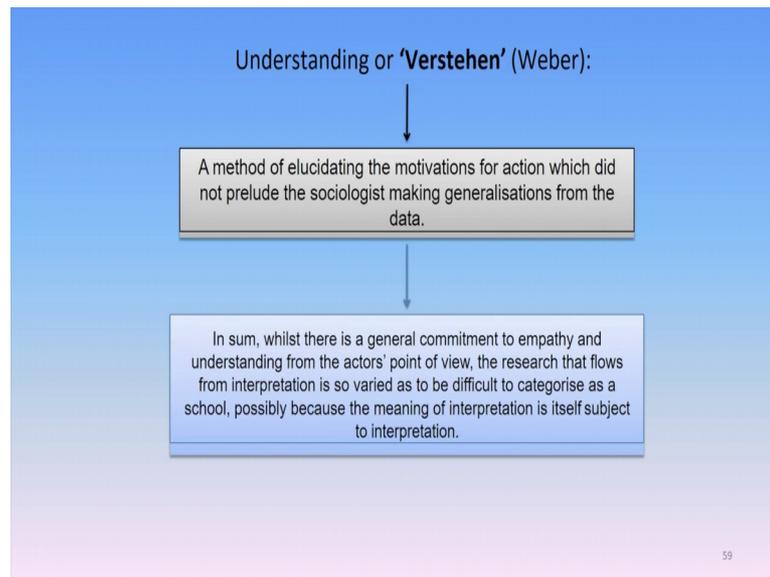
legitimately interpret course of action in terms of concepts such as the state classes and so on without commitment to any of the entities.

In this case then I mean further I mean moreover interpretive understanding refers to a method that emphasizes on the importance of understanding of intentional human action and in purposive human action, I mean goal oriented human action, I mean instrumental rationality. We have already discussed instrumental rationality as compared to substantive rationality substantive rationality aims at the means the methods the modes whereas instrumental rationality aims at goals objectives aims and so on. I mean when I say or when I when Weber says that interpretive understanding refers to a method that stresses the importance of understanding of intentional human action I mean he is a neo-Kantian he deploys the method of neo-Kantianism.

Because it involves interpretation of multiple data systems he is no longer a positivist here, I mean this, this school of thought that also you will also you can also find the traces of these or you can find the roots of these this kind of thinking in the Verstehen school of thought in Austria. That no there cannot be any dichotomy between science and non-science, these dichotomies are artificially created, we must I mean Verstehen school of thought they I mean this is this is they were more guided by neo-Kantians school of thought. That we must look at we must we must challenge we must interrogate the demarcation between science and non-science, we must interrogate the autonomy of science, absolute autonomy of science, we must also interrogate the cognitive authority of science, because science also is a social creation.

I mean all knowledge including scientific knowledge is socially caused as David Hume said it that is why for Weber interpretive understanding is a method, which stresses the importance of understanding of intentional human action without goal without objective we do not have any kind of action. I mean semantically any account is an interpretation.

(Refer Slide Time: 13:24)



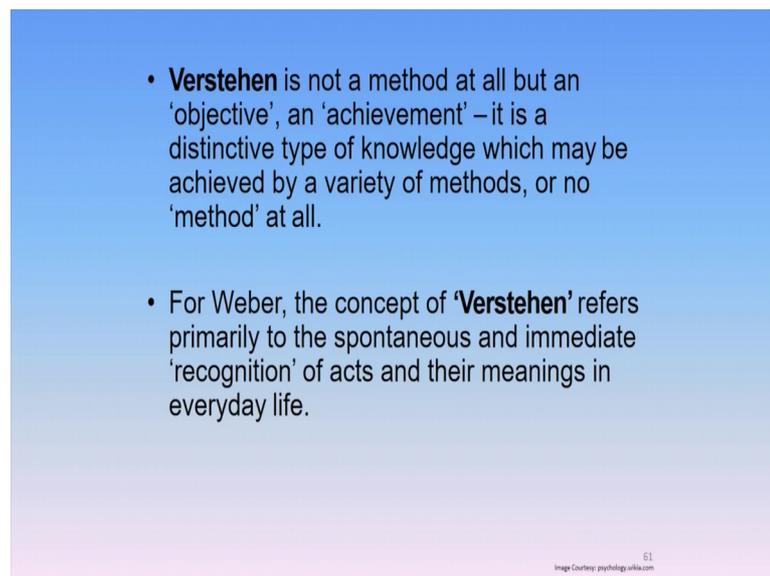
Weber considers understanding or Verstehen I mean in German understanding means I mean Verstehen means understanding understanding means Verstehen. Weber considers understanding or Verstehen to be a method of elucidating the motivations for action, which did not preclude the sociologists making generalizations from the data.

In some whilst there is a general commitment to empathy and understanding from the actor's point of view the research that follows that flows from interpretation is. So, varied as to be difficult to categorize as a school possibly, because of because the meaning of interpretation is itself subject to interpretation I mean interpretation of interpretations. let us go one by one when Weber says that whilst there is a general commitment to empathy, what is empathy? Weber used the term cognitive empathy I mean understanding the need of the other understanding the role of the other. In the pre modern phenomena in the pre modern stage in the pre modern era perhaps this aspect of empathy was not theorized upon was not reflected upon, but in with the wake of in I mean in the wake of the enlightenment emergence of science as a social institution, modernity, rise in our intellectual and political consciousness we tried to replace sympathy with empathy.

We need not be sympathetic, but we must be empathetic we I must try to understand the need of the other the role of the other. I mean I must be able to put my feet in other shoes to understand their problem that is the job of a researcher. Then when there is a general

commitment to such empathy from the actors point of view the research that flows from interpretation he again becomes different as to be difficult to categorize as a school school of thought maybe, because the meaning of interpretation is itself subject to interpretation thereby we tend to arrive at multiple interpretations I mean interpretation of interpretations. Then when I say understanding are Verstehen for Weber Verstehen is not a method at all, but an objective, an achievement, a goal.

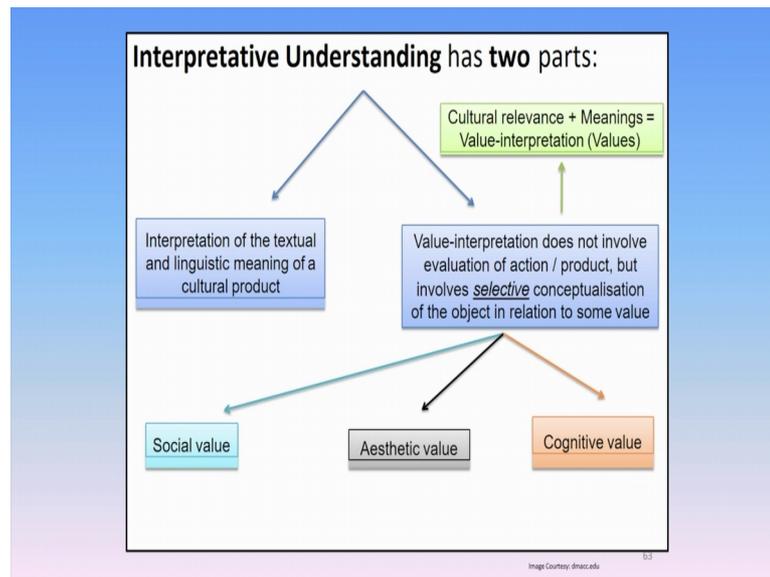
(Refer Slide Time: 17:07)



I mean it is a distinctive type of knowledge which may be achieved by a variety of methods or no method at all for Weber the concept of Verstehen refers primarily to the spontaneous.

And immediate recognition of acts and their meanings in everyday life it is very important, when I say when Weber says the I mean Verstehen, I mean understanding understanding the need of the other understanding the role of the other is primarily spontaneous and immediate recognition of acts and their meanings which they attach to they generate in that everyday life.

(Refer Slide Time: 18:13)



Then what we saw in interpretive understanding I mean we saw I mean interpretive understanding that refers to a method that stresses the importance of understanding of intentional human action, I mean purposive human action, goal oriented human action such and from there we have we are discussing Verstehen understanding and so on. Such interpretive understanding has 2 parts one what are those 2 parts; one interpretation of the textual or linguistic meaning of a cultural product and. Secondly, value interpretation does not involve evaluation of action or product, but involves selective conceptualization of the subject in relation to some value.

Let us go one by one what is what does it imply when I say interpretation first one interpretation of the textual and linguistic meaning of a cultural product. If I say you see I teach at I T Guwahati I mean which is located in the northeastern northeastern part of India in Assam particularly we use handloom woven textile products silk products also, there is a famous place in Assam in Guwahati it is I mean near Sualkuchi it is named Sual there people use Mekhla mekhla, there it can be basically it is a Saadi which women wear it is a cultural product. In Assam we celebrate Bihu it is a cultural product it is not a religious product religious issue, but it is a cultural product many festivals in India you will find they may appear to us as religious, but they are essentially culture and different textual and linguistic meanings are attached to it attached to those cultural products.

Secondly, when I say value interpretation, because it emanates from that value relevance value interpretation does not involve, whether I am going to evaluate or examine a particular cultural product or not I am not going to do that rather value interpretation involves selective conceptualization of the object in relation to some value; what kind of value be it social value be it aesthetic value be it cognitive value.

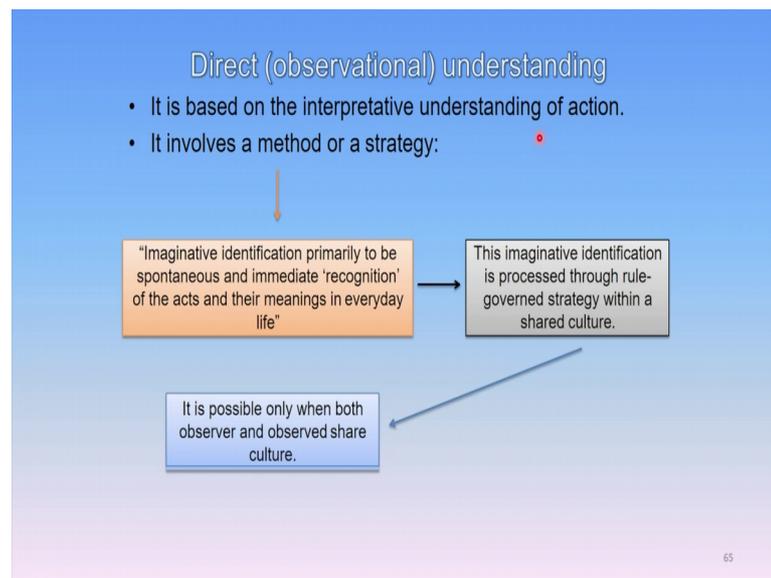
Then somebody may say what do you mean by those values social values, aesthetic values, cognitive values, because in economics value means people know only value in use value in exchange in economic terms, but this is not a modern characteristic of value this is a pre modern element of value values in in the modernist construction are a combination of 2 things. One cultural relevance and meanings that they attach or they that they generate that is why here if you look at this if you add meanings to cultural relevance.

We tend to arrive at value interpretation or values be it social value aesthetic value or cognitive value these are very important. According to Weber, but when we when Weber said these values involve selective conceptualization of the object in relation to some value, what is that selective conceptualization thing according to Weber selection is based on cultural relevance and value for a sociologist is always an object of study. In the pre modern scenario values were considered something esoteric in nature they cannot be questioned, but for a sociologist for a social scientist, for a researcher, even values can be must be interrogated. Weber divides interpretive understanding in 2 parts one is direct understanding and the other indirect understanding. Direct understanding of social action is alternatively known as observational understanding of social action and indirect understanding these alternatively known as explanatory understanding of social action.

And both have the elements of interpretation what I observe I as I said earlier that I do not tend to observe anything and everything, I tend to make observations on the basis of certain amount of selection, when I do that when I tend to select from a wide range of phenomena from a wide range of potentially observable aspects of nature, then what I do it I tend to put my perspective into that process of selection, when I do that I tend to interpret the way, I have put my perspectives your perspective your perspective refers from my perspective, then your interpretation will differ and let me tell you nothing in this world is the ideological nothing in this world is a political if this is. So, then we must have multiple interpretations we will have interpretation of interpretations.

Even when I explain when I tend to develop an explanatory understanding of social action I tend to look at explanatory understanding of social action with some amount of interpretation again the process of selection will be there again the again I will have to deploy my perspective to make some strategy to select and so on. If I say it involves I have to put I have to make some strategy to go ahead with the process of selection it involves a method or a strategy.

(Refer Slide Time: 27:27)

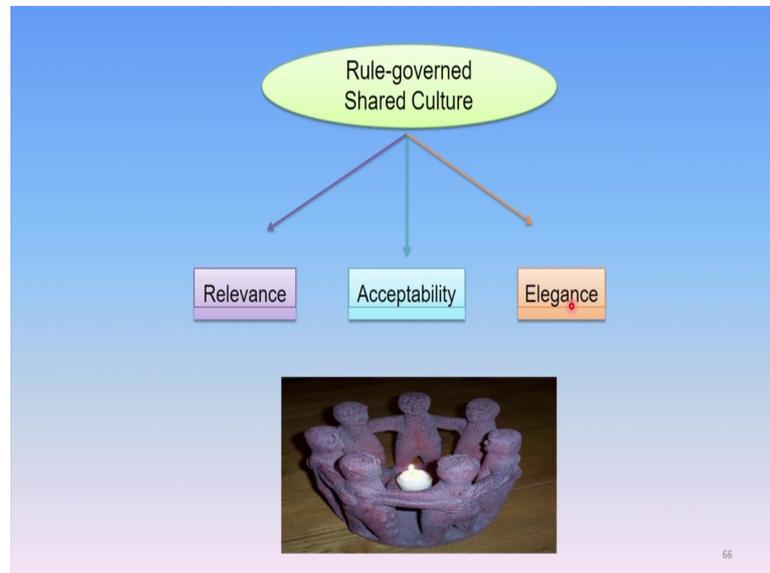


When I say it involves a method or strategy what is that method or strategy, know that is that imaginative identification to be spontaneous and immediate recognition of the acts and their meanings in everyday life. What is that imaginative identification know this imaginative identification is processed through rule governed strategy within a shared culture and it is possible only when both observer and observed shared culture I mean it is possible I mean this, this imaginative identification.

Which is processed through rule governed shared strategy within a shared culture it is possible only when the knower and known the observer and the observed the researcher and the researched share culture. We will see if they do not share culture what will happen, but (Refer Time: 28:53) here we have discussed what is imaginative identification, which is processed through rule governed shared culture. I mean rule governed strategy within a shared culture, which is very important and from now onward

we will see first of all what is that rule governed strategy within a shared culture, I mean alternatively it is known as rule governed shared culture.

(Refer Slide Time: 29:30)



What is that rule governed shared culture; rule governed shared culture is based on at least 3 things one is relevance I mean importance significance. Secondly, acceptability and thirdly elegance when I say rule governed shared culture norm bound shared culture.

Those norms those rules those strategies, those methods, they must be relevant to my own culture, that must be relevant to your own culture. If they are not relevant to our respective cultures, then we will not have any norm bound or rule governed shared culture. They must have some amount of significance importance relevance to both cultures. If it is relevant then there is a possibility that both cultures would accept it, then the second one is acceptability, the third one they must be elegant, I mean they must be able to be dynamic, they cannot remain static that is why I have been maintaining that whether you say economy, quality, culture, society, norms, values, shared culture, geography, rules, norms, value systems they all are dynamic they are not static in nature. They keep on changing, because our real world phenomena keep on changing if our real world phenomena undergo transformation, then all these rules norms theories they will also undergo changes concepts they all will undergo changes.

And there we must be able to select problem that is why I said earlier that selection is based on cultural relevance. Suppose I will give you let me give you an example suppose

somebody will say that what do you want to work on your PHD thesis or in a dissertation or M Phil dissertation see generally in general, we do not say that I want to study the I mean hailing from Indian subcontinent I mean hailing from India. Somebody generally will not say that no I want to study the consumption pattern of American middle class that may be a beautiful steady beautiful topic I do not know, but given the context given the cultural relevance generally we do not select these topics. We will say no we will look we want to look at the consumption pattern of Indian middle class or we will say Assam is middle class, Bengali middle class, Telugu middle class, we may say that that is also these are also I mean controversial issues.

But one may study that why not, but we do not look at other societies to study them that is why for Weber selection is based on cultural relevance this is very important. Then as we have earlier said that this imaginative identification is processed through rule governed strategy within a shared culture, which is possible only when both observer and observed share culture.

(Refer Slide Time: 34:32)

**If observer and observed do not share culture, then:**

- Observer may give a different meaning, or
- Observed should get socialised into the **culture** that the observer wants to study.



67

But there may be a situation when you will say see that no observer observer and observed researcher and researched knower and known they do not share culture. Then what will happen then then for Weber if then if observer and observed do not share culture then observer may give a different meaning suppose if I go to Australia. I want to

study their culture their food habits their the way they wear dresses clothes the way they celebrate their festivals.

If I do not have if I do not attempt to make any kind of understanding about that system then I may give a different meaning of meaning to those items those products, those habits, those festivals, that is why if observer and observed do not share culture, then observer may give a different meaning or observed should get socialized into the culture that the observer wants to study. Then both will both of both these things are problematic they may pose serious threats to quality research reliable research valid research that is why observed or observer observed. In fact, should give that account which is reliable which is valid and observer and both observer and observed must make an attempt to share culture to an extent. So, that that would enable them to make the production of knowledge more valid more reliable and authentic then then we are talking about observer observed shared culture.

But, but actually what is culture then for Weber Weber defines culture as the totality of real objects to which we attach generally acknowledged values or complexes of meaning constituted by values then what are what were real objects for Marx the rational is the real right. For Weber what is real; real objects represent our culture. Culture is the totality of real objects; objects which are found in the real in in the world of reality to which we attach generally acknowledged values or complexes of meaning constituted by values. For Weber culture consists of all those items produced by human beings for the sake of value ends for.

(Refer Slide Time: 38:27)

**Verstehen** comprises **two** things:

- (i) Imaginative identification is useful but it is not an essential condition for a meaningful action.
- (ii) Recognition of the rational connection between means and ends.

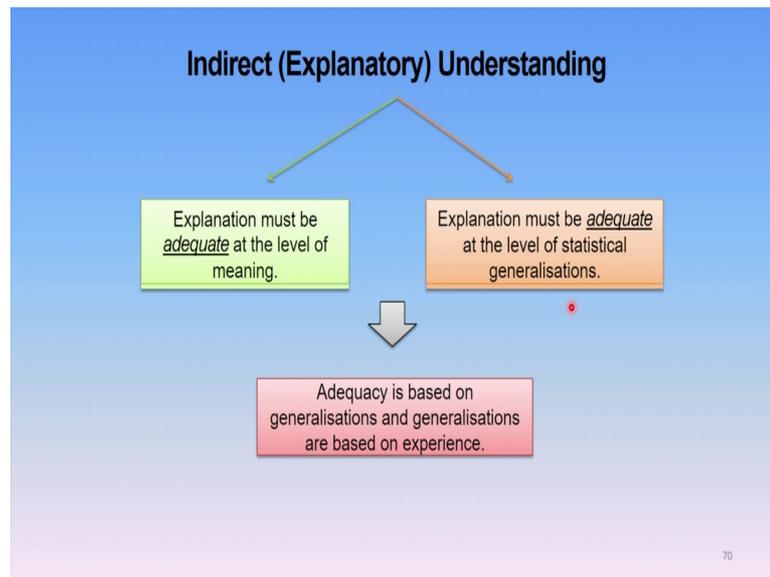


69

So, if this is so then for Weber such understanding of culture such Verstehen comprises 2 things one imaginative identification is useful I mean imaginative identification is processed not to evaluate a product.

But it involves selective conceptualization of certain value I mean may maybe be it be it aesthetic value be it social value be it cognitive value that is why this this imaginative identification is useful, but it is not an essential condition for a meaningful action. Secondly, what Weber emphasized on that then I mean we must recognize the rational connection between means and ends when you try to when you attempt to make an understanding of the situation circumstances conditions in intentional human action. We must try to make or we must try to recognize the rational connection between means and ends, that is why we must recognize the rational connection between substantive rationality as well as instrumental rationality this is very important.

(Refer Slide Time: 40:26)



Then if when we when we come to indirect understanding indirect or explanatory understanding it involves 2 things for Weber to what extent we will explain what is the if I say no this explanation is not adequate this explanation is insufficient, then Weber came out very strongly came up very strongly when he said explanation must be adequate at the level of meaning. Mean meaning generation meaning meanings which are attached to individual social action and their entities I mean individual social entities, at the same time explanation must be adequate at the level of statistical generalizations. If when I say explanation must be adequate at the level of meaning Weber was a neo-Kantian, when Weber said explanation must be adequate at the level of statistical generalizations he is a positivist that is why I said when I said Weber's theoretical positions.

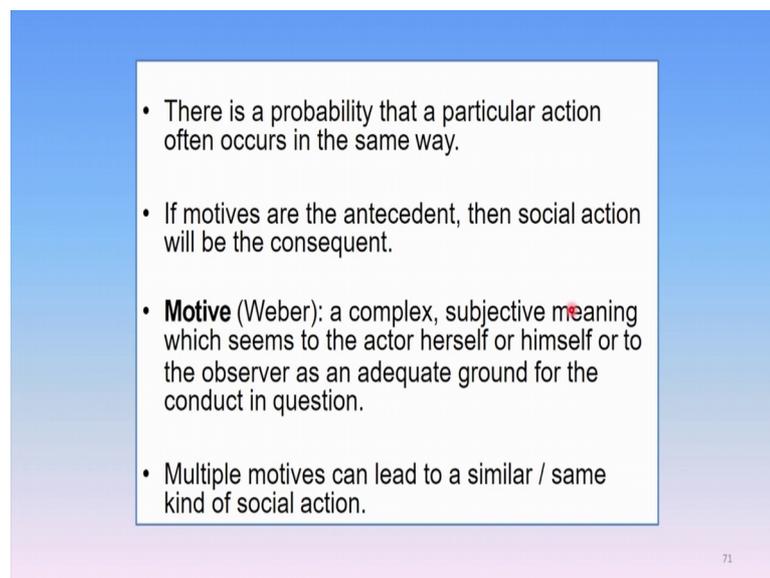
And methodological writings they mediate between positivism as well as neo-Kantianism if meaning represents neo-Kantianism then statistical generalization represent positivism, that is why I said if positivism depicts the quantitative research methods in social sciences then neo-Kantianism represents qualitative research methods in social sciences.

Then Weber was very much worried about one component he kept on thinking yes explanation must be adequate at the level of meaning explanation must also be adequate at the level of statistical generalizations, then what is the meaning of this adequate who will decide adequacy, whether something is adequate or not it also involves interpretation

I will say no it is not adequate you will say no it is adequate it it also involves certain amount of interpretation.

This is a modern phenomenon things are pretty subjective in nature world is very subjective nothing is objective in this world, than Weber said adequacy is based on generalizations and generalizations are based on experience. Here Weber is becoming again a positivist and empiricist when he refers to experience that is why Weber said there is a probability that a particular action often occurs in the same way if motives are the antecedent, then social action will be the consequent, then what is a motive if there is no motive there is no cause there is no reason, there is no goal, there is no ambition, there is no aim, there is no objective, then we will not undertake any kind of social action the kind of social action that we undertake is very much contingent upon certain motives certain causes certain reasons that is why if motives are the antecedent then social action will be consequent for Weber what is a motive for Weber .

(Refer Slide Time: 45:09)



- There is a probability that a particular action often occurs in the same way.
- If motives are the antecedent, then social action will be the consequent.
- **Motive** (Weber): a complex, subjective meaning which seems to the actor herself or himself or to the observer as an adequate ground for the conduct in question.
- Multiple motives can lead to a similar / same kind of social action.

71

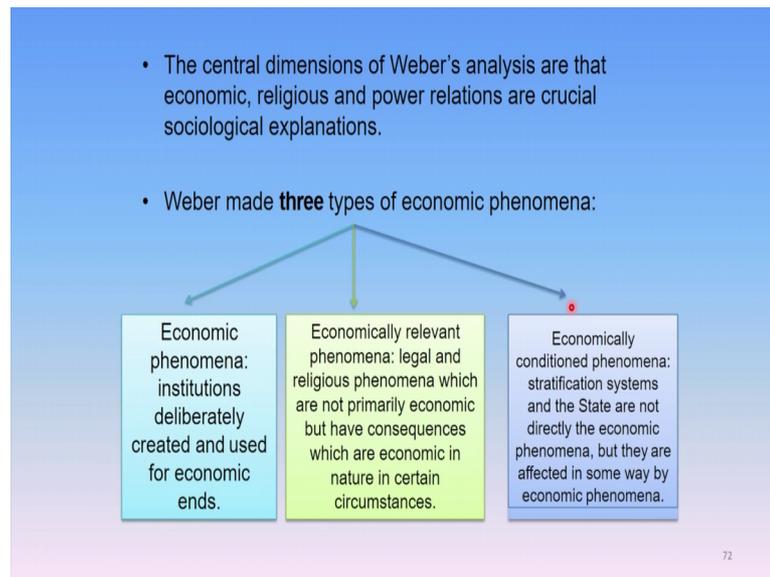
I mean Weber defines motive as a complex subjective meaning which seems to the actor herself or himself or to the observer as an adequate ground for the conduct in question for Weber multiple motives can lead to a similar kind of or same kind of social action, I mean we can have I can go back a little I mean when I say multiple motives can lead to a similar and same kind of social action. In fact, and we are trying to provide some kind of explanation it is interesting to see I mean there is another sociologist of repute Emile

Durkheim. In fact, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Karl Marx they are known as the founders of sociology not so much in the sense of disciplinary formation, but all, but more; so in the sense of advancing the thinking in sociology the thinking in and through sociology. Once Durkheim in fact, while dwelling up on what may be the possible models of explanation; Durkheim proposed monocausal model of explanation.

I mean there is single cause single effect model if I say my consumption depends on my income, but apart from my consumption there are many other things which depend on my income right that is why Durkheim analysis does not hold good here in this context in this context Mono-causal model single cause single effect model, but for Weber it holds it holds partially good I mean it he is partially I mean to a great extent correct, but not absolutely again when he emphasized on multiple causes single effect model the same kind of social action may be emanated through different kinds of motives. Why do I earn money, why do you earn money there may be multiple motives yeah I want to earn money for food for clothing for shelter somebody may be earning money not only for food clothing and shelter.

But also for other conspicuous consumption suppose somebody will say population problem or overpopulation is a cause of underdevelopment, but I can also say that know under development also is a cause of overpopulation, there are different ways of looking at things. In today's world what we are looking at we often come across multiple causes multiple effects model the central dimensions of Weber's analysis are that economic religious and power relations are crucial sociological explanations.

(Refer Slide Time: 50:01)



What Weber pointed out that power relations power structures are not simply represented through economic problems, but also religion to buttress the argument to strengthen the argument Weber made 3 types of economic phenomena. What kind what are those 3 kinds of economic phenomena; one economic phenomena; secondly, economically relevant phenomena and thirdly economically conditioned phenomena.

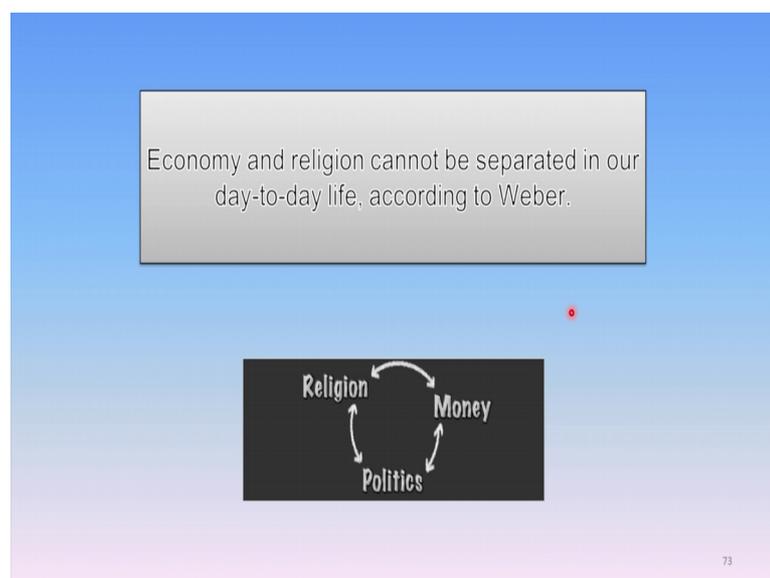
When Weber refer to economic phenomena he tried to look at the institutions deliberately created and used for economic ends economically relevant phenomena are those religious legal and religious phenomena, which are not primarily economic, but have consequences which are economic in nature in certain circumstances suppose legal institutions religious institutions they are not primarily economic, but they have significant implications for economic power economic powers. Suppose if I have to give you an example of economic phenomena institutions deliberately created and used for sorry used for economic ends suppose market; market is deliberately created and used for economic goals, economic objectives, economic ends, but when you look at economically relevant phenomena.

Which are I mean they are legal and religious institutions which are not primarily economic, but have consequences which are economic in nature in certain circumstances even a court, a temple, a mosque, a church all these legal and religious institutions they are not primarily economic in nature, but they have significant implications for the ways

in which economic laws are also applicable to them and thirdly Weber pointed out economically conditioned phenomena what are, I mean Weber refers to the stratification systems and the state I mean stratification systems I mean hierarchical structures, caste, race, class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, rural, urban, divide they are they are all stratification systems. These stratification systems as well as the political institutions namely the state are not directly the economic phenomena; obviously, the state is not an economic phenomena.

Economic institution the state is always a political institution, but it is, but the state is very much conditioned by economic phenomena though it is a political institution though stratification systems mostly their social institutions may be caste gender patriarchy race, class, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship there mostly their social institution, their economic institutions, their political institutions, political phenomena, but they are affected in some way by economic phenomena. In this sense Weber made the way Weber made 3 types of economic phenomena namely economic phenomena, economically relevant phenomena, and economically conditioned phenomena the way he made that, It is also important to see how economy and religion cannot be separated in our day to day life for Weber not for Marx not for Marx.

(Refer Slide Time: 55:28)



But for Weber in the in the modernist construal in the classic statements of sociological modernism these 2 are the standout performers and you will see that why Weber stressed

on the relationship between economic economy and religion can be understood through these 3 types of economic phenomena.

Then what we have discussed today we have in this lecture we have discussed we started with interpretive understanding I mean interpretive sociology, I mean how interpretive understanding is a method, that stresses the importance of understanding of intentional human action then understanding are Verstehen.

Then we have discussed how Verstehen is not a method at all, but an objective an achievement or a goal it is a distinctive type of knowledge, which may be achieved by a variety of methods or no method at all I mean the concept of Verstehen refers primarily to the spontaneous and immediate recognition of acts and their meanings in everyday life and then we have discussed interpretive understanding has 2 parts, I mean interpretation of the textual and linguistic meaning of a cultural product and then value interpretation does not involve evaluation of action or product, but involves selective conceptualization of the object in relation to some value be it social value be it aesthetic value be it cognitive value and values I mean value interpretation is a byproduct of the combination of cultural relevance and meanings.

And the way we select is based on cultural relevance value for a sociologist is always an object of study interpretive understanding may be of 2 types direct or observational understanding indirect and explanatory understanding, then we have discussed direct and or observational understanding in detail and then we have discussed imaginative identification rule governed shared culture, then culture by Weber, then explanation explanation must be adequate at the level of meaning as well as statistical generalizations and adequacy is based on generalizations and generalizations are based on experience and then we have discussed if motives are the antecedent then social action will be consequent, how multiple motives can lead to a similar or same kind of social action and then we have discussed 3 types of economic phenomena by Weber namely economic phenomena economically relevant phenomena and economically conditioned phenomena.

In the and in this sense according to Weber economy and religion cannot be separated in our day to day life in the in against the backdrop of this we are going to discuss in the next lecture Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lenses of holism or totality

reflexivity rationality and social movements I mean those 4 central philosophical and political foundations of modernity.

Thank you.