

**Sociological Perspectives on Modernity**  
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**Lecture – 09**  
**Sociological Modernism: Marx Weber III**

Welcome to the ninth lecture of the course on Sociological Perspectives on Modernity. In the last 2 lectures we have started Marx Weber's interpretation of modernity and we have discussed certain prefatory remarks about Weber's interpretation of modernity, I mean we have discussed Weber's theoretical positions and methodological writings.

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**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

Which are extremely important to make sense of his contributions to the debates in modernity? We have discussed I mean in within sociological modernism I mean classic statements of sociological modernism in the works of Marx and Weber we have already completed Marx and in the last 2 lectures in the 7th and 8th lecture we have discussed Weber's theoretical positions and methodological writings, I mean how they are usually characterized as effecting reconciliation between positivism and neo-Kantianism, I mean positivism indicates the supremacy of sciences over non sciences positivism suggests that science is the most objective thing known to human species where is neo-Kant and I mean positivism suggests that our knowledge is absolute science must be accorded an

esoteric values a value system in contradistinction with other areas of human activity or creativity ok.

I mean we have already discussed how positivism suggested that that science is distinct from all the range of human activity or creativity, because it possesses a method unique to it that there is only one method; that there is only one single method, common to all sciences irrespective of their subject matter that is methodological managing that the method of science is the method of induction that the hallmark of science lies in the fact that all scientific statements must be systematically verifiable, that is systematic till that is systematic verifiability. We have also discussed how that positivism maintains that there must be our dichotomy between fact and value I mean facts are value neutral whereas, values do not have any factual content the relationship between observation and theory is unilateral in the sense that theories are observation dependent whereas, observations are theory independent.

In other words, observation leads to theory, but the converse is not true I mean theory does not lead to observation, such absolutist idealist characterization of science was questioned by new condensed all of thought. What does the nuke intelligence suggests no our knowledge of the natural world as well as the social world is not absolute is relative is partial it is not subjective it is sorry, it is not objective, rather it is subjective, that is where our knowledge of the social world is a constructed one which involves selection and interpretation of multiple data systems.

And we do not simply remain at the level of interpretation of multiple data systems as Weber said that no we also aim at interpretation of interpretations that is very important, then Weber's methodological writings and theoretical positions are usually characterized as effecting a reconciliation between positivism and neo-Kantianism we have already discussed, at times Weber rejects certain viewpoints of neo-Kantians 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.

At the same time Weber was committed to neo Kantian insistence of the methodological peculiarities of the cultural senses I mean by foregrounding the distinction between natural sciences from cultural sciences. For Weber these methodological peculiarities

centered around 2 related concepts namely value relevance and interpretive understanding.

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- For Weber, the cultural sciences differ from the natural sciences in the distinctive role of valuations in the formation of concepts, and in the distinctive type of knowledge involved in them.
- A **third** area of methodological differences was thought by Weber to be the use of 'idealisations' in the cultural sciences.

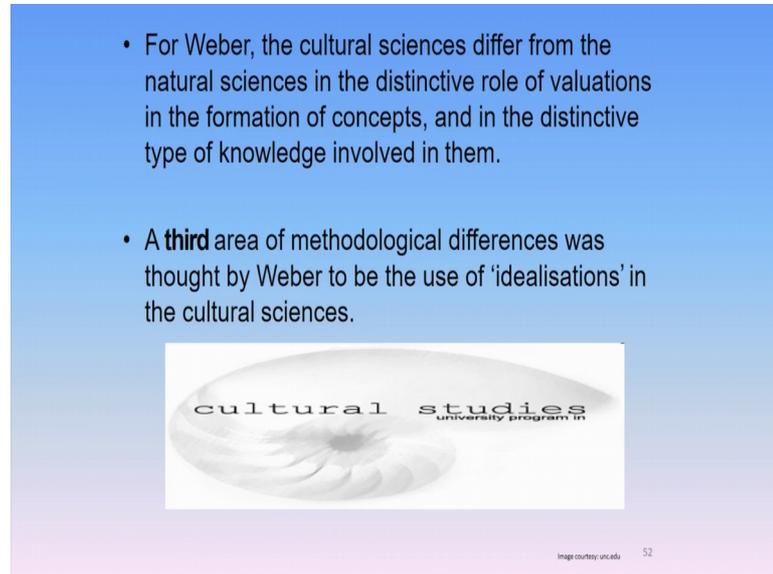


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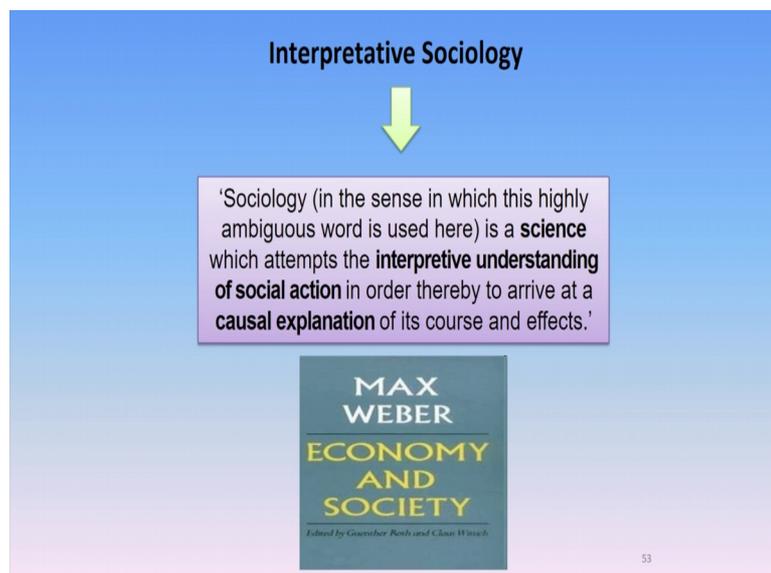
For Weber the cultural sciences differ from the natural sciences in the distinctive role of valuations in the formation of concepts, I mean in and in the distinctive type of knowledge involved in them. Then another third area of methodological differences was taught by Weber to be the use of idealizations; idealizations within quote idealizations in the cultural sciences.

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**Interpretative Sociology**

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'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.'

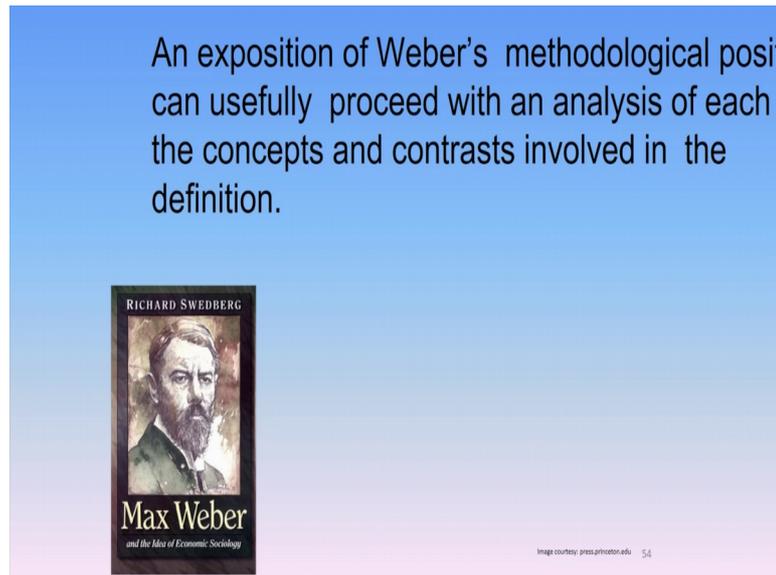


MAX WEBER  
**ECONOMY AND SOCIETY**  
Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich

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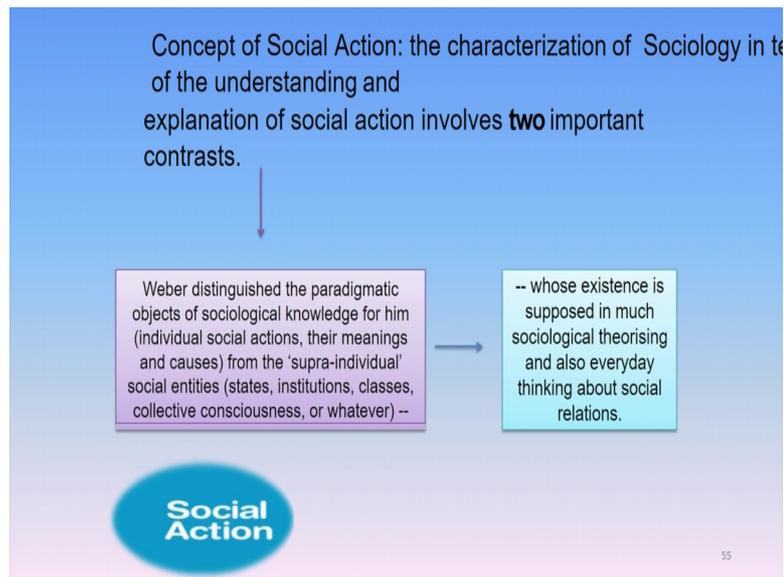
We have discussed this then Weber made another leap by defining sociology I just signs he who is no nevertheless very much aware of the ambiguities involved in the term sociology but, he defines sociology at the science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of it is course and effects.

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And that is why we have we have discussed how an exposition of Weber's methodological positions and theoretical positions can usefully proceed with an analysis of each of the concepts and contrasts involved in this definition of sociology, I mean 3 important components sociology is a science sociology just. Secondly, sociology is a science which attempts interpretive understanding of social action and thirdly a causal explanation, I mean caution effect relationship.

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Then we have discussed the concept of social action and in 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 neo-Kantianism, when I discuss explanation I refer to positivism. What kind of 2 important contrasts now important contrast between the paradigmatic objects of sociological knowledge for Weber on the one hand and supra individual social entities from the other, when what are those paradigmatic objects of sociological knowledge for Weber. Now those individual social actions their meanings and causes and what are those supra individual social entities, for Weber states institutions classes collective consciousness and so on. Whose existence is supposed in much sociological theory and also a everyday thinking about social relations.

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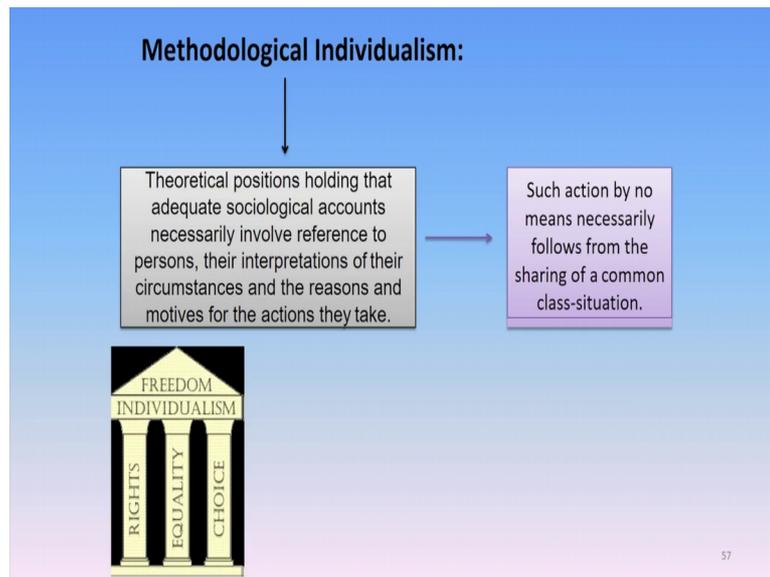
- Weber does not actually deny the existence of such 'entities', but argues that for interpretative sociology they must be 'treated as solely the resultants and modes of organisation of the particular acts of individual persons...'
- Weber's position here would now be regarded as 'methodological individualist', 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.

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And Weber was Weber. In fact, do you methodological individualists position Weber undertakes Weber does not actually deny the existence of such supra individual social entities, but argues that for interpretive sociology these supra individual social entities must be treated as only the resultants and modes of organizations of the particular acts of individual persons in contradistinction with what Marx said it is I mean for whatever social change that we witness it is because of the changes in the modes of production by collective social action not individual persons for Marx, but for Weber it is the resultant and mode of organization of the particular acts of individual persons.

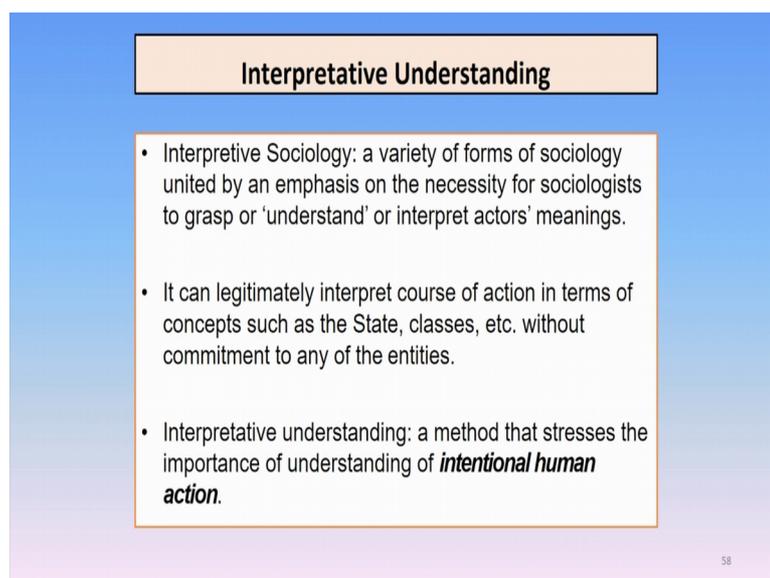
That is why his position is often regarded as methodological individualist which involves the claim that. So, far as collectivities may be said to have characteristics independent of the individuals, which make them up those characteristics are to be explained in terms of individual actors and then actions, then we have discussed methodological individuality which refers to theoretical positions holding that adequate sociological accounts necessarily involve reference to individuals, their interpretations of their circumstances and the reasons and motives for the actions those individuals take.

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Suppose for Marx such axial such individual social action or collective action, my no means necessarily follows from I mean for Marx it always it necessarily follows from the sharing of common class situation, but not for Weber for Weber such action by no means necessarily follows from the sharing of a class situation it may be status it may be party it may be market and so on.

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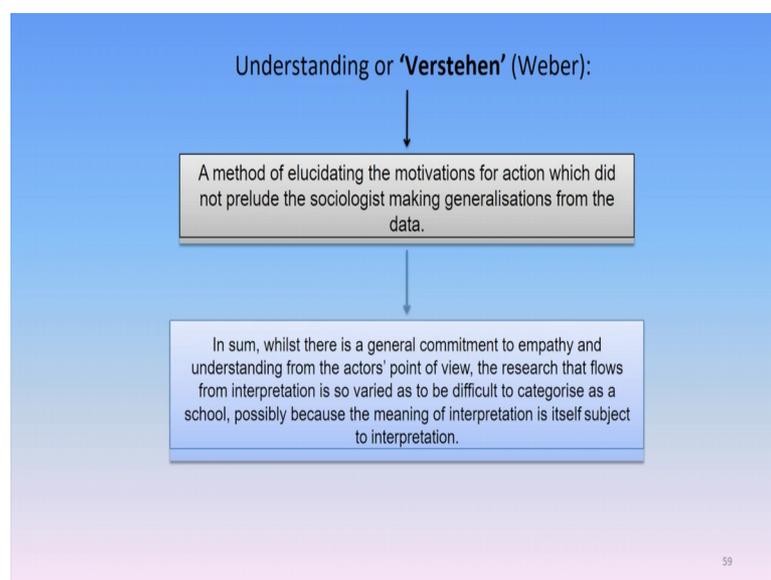


Then in then we discussed interpretive understanding by Marx Weber I mean interpretive sociology refers to a variety of forms of sociology ignited by an emphasis on the

necessity for sociologists to grasp or understand or interpret, now actors meanings subjects meanings.

It can legitimately interpret the course of action in terms of concepts such as the state classes and so on, without commitment to any of these any of such entities; that is why for Weber interpretive understanding refers to a method that emphasizes on the importance of understanding of intentional human action instrumental nationality goal oriented social action.

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Then such understanding that interpretive understanding of so selection such understanding in German it is called Verstehen, which Weber used Verstehen refers to a method of elucidating the motivations for accent which did not renew the sociologists making generalizations from the data. In a nutshell whilst there is a general commitment to empathy I mean understanding the need of the other understanding the role of the other and understanding from the actor's point of view the research that follows from interpretation or multiple interpretations is. So, varied as to be difficult to categorize I just full of thought they may be multiple schools of thought, that was the view of the Verstehen school of thought in Austria maybe perhaps because the meaning of interpretation is itself subject to interpretation aiming at interpretation of interpretations I mean aiming at multiple interpretations.

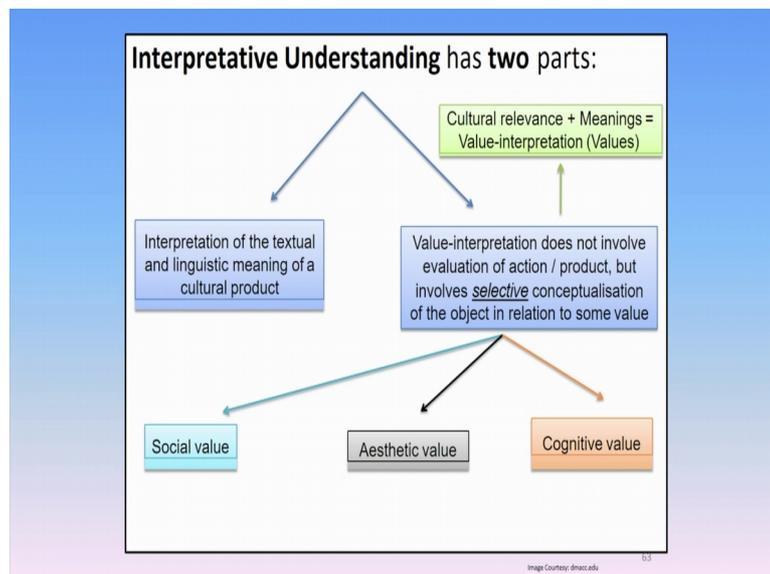
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- **Verstehen** is not a method at all but an 'objective', an 'achievement' – it is a distinctive type of knowledge which may be achieved by a variety of methods, or no 'method' at all.
- For Weber, the concept of '**Verstehen**' refers primarily to the spontaneous and immediate 'recognition' of acts and their meanings in everyday life.

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Image Courtesy: psychology.wikia.com

That is why Verstehen is not a method at all for Weber, but an objective, a goal and achievement. 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 this spontaneous and immediate recognition of acts and their meanings in everyday life.

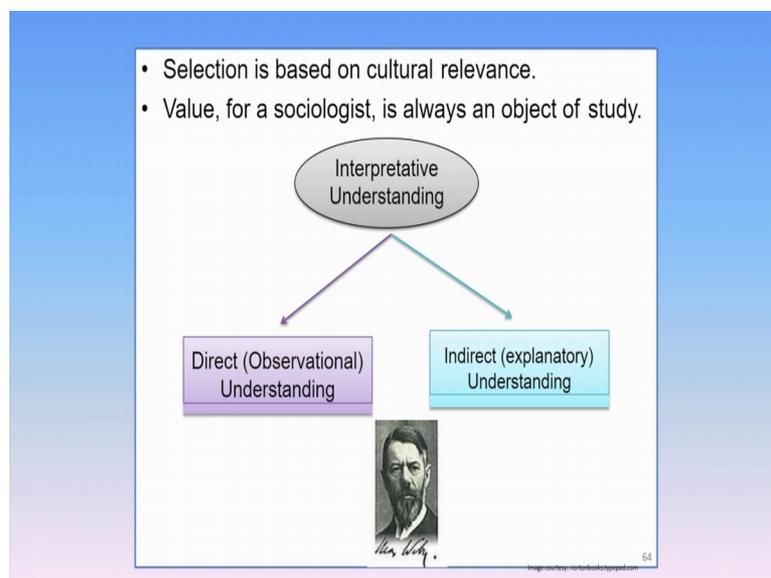
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For according to Weber interpretive understanding of social action has 2 components, 2 parts, 2 elements, what are those elements interpretation of the textual and linguistic meaning of a cultural product we have we have discussed in the context of any festival

that is why I gave you the example of Necklosadi in in Assam these are cultural products and certain textual and linguistics meanings are attached to it on that is there I mean interpretation of the textual and linguistic meaning of a cultural product on the one hand and value interpretation, which does not involve evaluation of selection, evaluation of action or product, but involves selective conceptualization of the object in relation to something on the other. What are what do we mean by such value it may be social value or aesthetic value or cognitive value, when I say value interpretation or values it is a combination of cultural relevance and meanings that they generate as well as that which are attached.

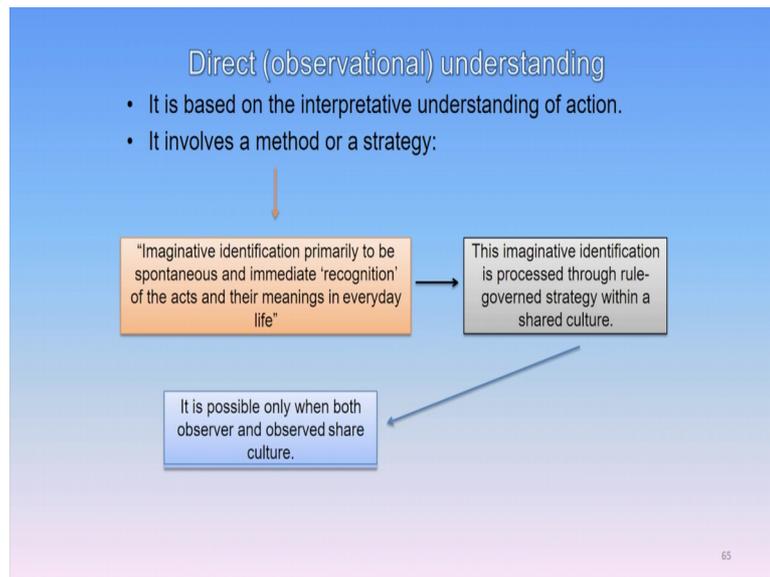
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When I say selective conceptualization of the object what is the basis of selection why how do we select selection is based on cultural relevance and values in the modernist construction in a modernist control for a social scientist, for a sociologist is always an object of study.

Hence interpretive understanding of social action when I say there are 2 types of interpretive understanding of social; one is direct understanding alternatively known as observational understanding and the other indirect understanding or alternatively known as explanatory understanding.

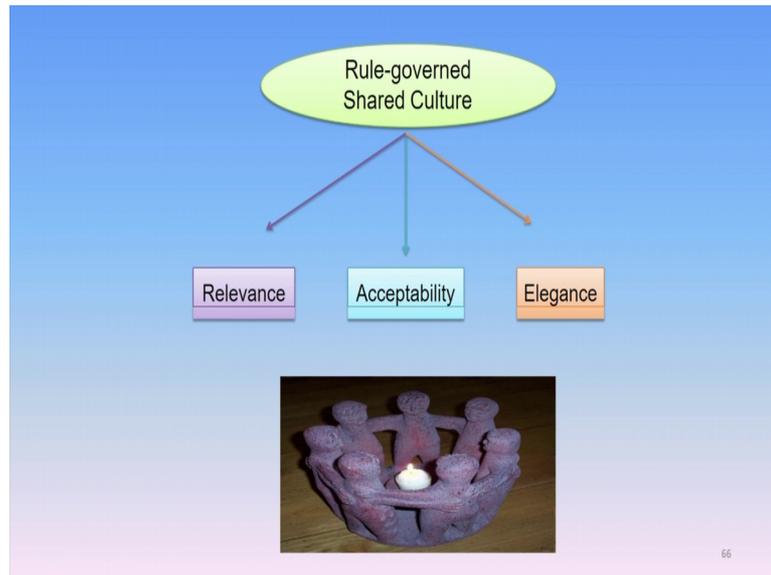
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Then what is direct of understanding or observational understanding of socialites it is based on the interpretive understanding of action it involves a method or strategy, what is that method or strategy. Now that that method or strategy refers to the imaginative identification which is primarily to be spontaneous and immediate recognition of the acts and their meanings in everyday life, I mean this then what is this imaginative identification now this imaginative identification is processed through rule governed strategy within a shared culture.

Which is possible only when both observer and observed share culture.

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What is then that rule governed strategy within the shared culture I mean rule governed shared culture. Now rule governed shared culture is based on relevance acceptability and elegance we have discussed this.

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

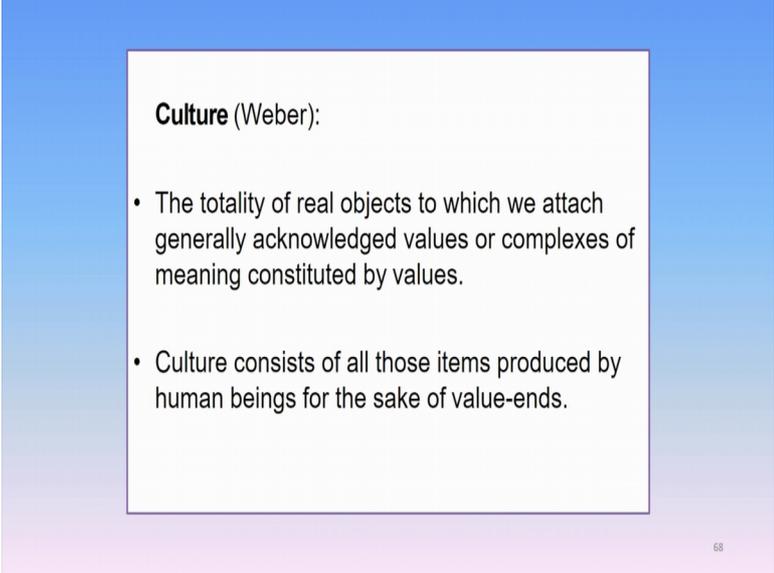
- Observer may give a different meaning, or
- Observed should get socialised into the **culture** that the observer wants to study.

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Then what we just now discussed that this imaginative identification is processed through rule governed strategy within a said culture which is possible only when both observer and observed share culture, but if they do not share culture then what will

happen then observer may give a different meaning or observed should get socialized into the culture that the observer wants to study.

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**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.

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That will give some different results I mean it may it may give us it may give us some unreliable data invalid data. Then sharing culture said culture rule governed strategy within a shared culture we have discussed, but what is culture for Weber for Weber culture refers to the totality of real objects to which we attached generally acknowledged values or complexes of meaning constituted by values in contradiction with Marx said the rational is the real.

For Weber no culture is the totality of real objects to which we attach generally acknowledged values or complexes of meaning constituted by languages in this sense culture consists of all those items produced by human beings, for the sake of value ends and in both value resin also selection as well as gold oriented social action.

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

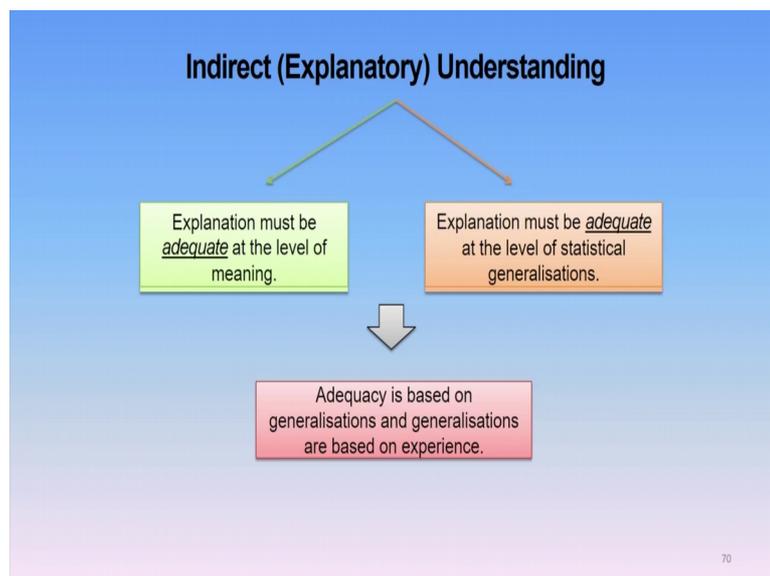
- (i) Imaginative identification is useful but it is not an essential condition for a meaningful action.
- (ii) Recognition of the rational connection between means and ends.



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I mean such understanding such Verstehen 10 comprises 2 things one is imaginative identification which is useful, but not an essential condition for an for a meaningful social action what is a meaningful social action will discuss, when will be discussing typology of social action by web. And we must be able to recognize the rational connection between means and ends we must be able to recognize the rational connection between substantive rationality on the one hand and instrumental rationality on the other.

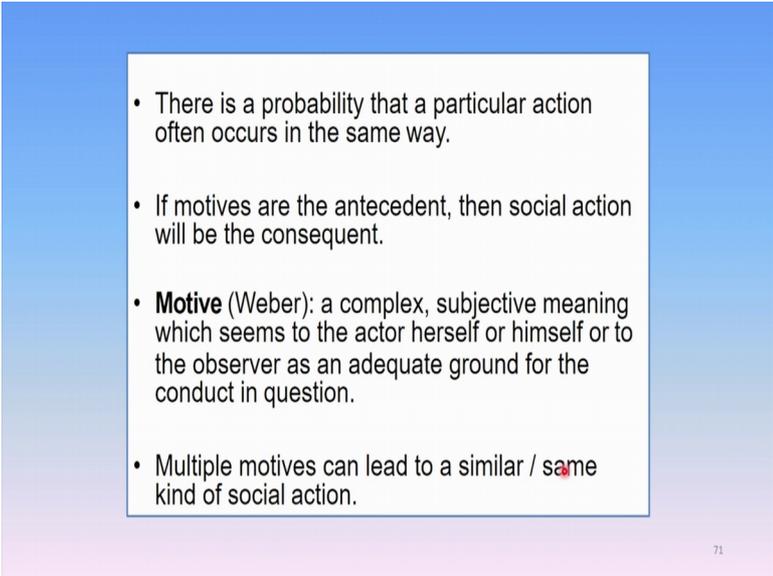
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While coming to indirect understanding of social action or explanatory understanding of social action Weber suggested that explanation must be adequate at the level of meaning as well as explanation must be adequate at the level of statistical generalizations.

Then what is the basis of adequacy who will determine what is adequate what is not adequate no adequacy is based on generalization ends and generalizations are based experience he comes back to I mean, if meaning is represented by if meaning is represented by or meaning represents neo-Kantian position, then statistical generalizations represent positivistic school of thought, but when whether suggests that no adequacy is based on generalizations and generalizations are based on experience that he becomes a positivist and empiricists and inductivist this is the theory .

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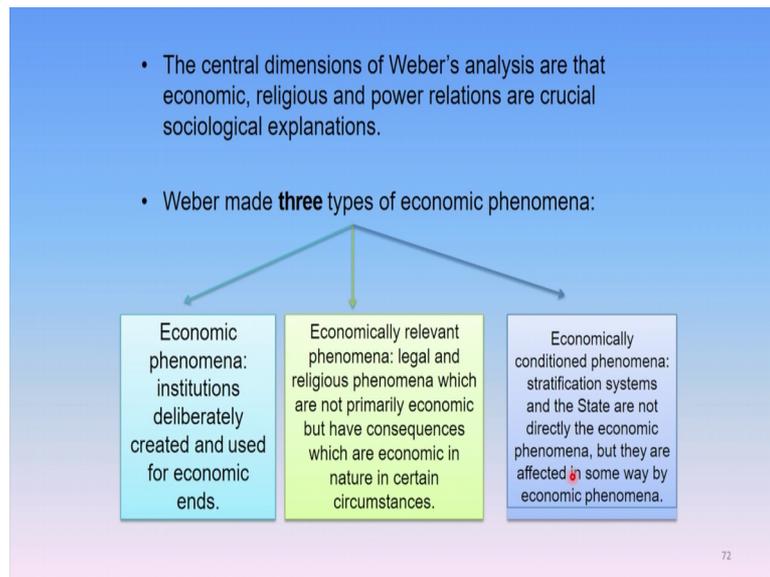


- There is a probability that a particular action often occurs in the same way.
- If motives are the antecedent, then social action will be the consequent.
- **Motive** (Weber): a complex, subjective meaning which seems to the actor herself or himself or to the observer as an adequate ground for the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

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Then we have discussed 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 we have also discussed motive how multiple motives can lead to a similar and same kind of social action, I mean motive when Weber said he refers to complex subjective meaning who seems to the actor herself or himself or to the observer as an adequate ground for the conducting question.

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And the central dimensions of Weber's analysis are that economic religious and power relations are crucial sociological explanations; thereby he made 3 types of economic phenomena namely economic phenomena, economically relevant phenomena, and economically conditioned phenomena.

Within economic phenomena he gave the examples of institutions deliberately created and used for economic ends, I mean market economically relevant phenomena he referred to legal and religious phenomena which are not primarily economic, but have consequences which are economic in nature in certain circumstances. And economically conditioned phenomena Weber refers to stratification systems and the state which are not direct the economic phenomena.

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Economy and religion cannot be separated in our day-to-day life, according to Weber.

Religion Money Politics

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But they are affected in some way by economic phenomena by doing this he suggested that economy and religion cannot be separated in our day to day life and so on.

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### 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.

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Now, in this lecture what we are going to do against this backdrop I always try to recapitulate whatever we have discussed in the last lecture. Now we are going to characterized I mean I mean we have to capture Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lenses of 4 central philosophical and political formations of modality namely

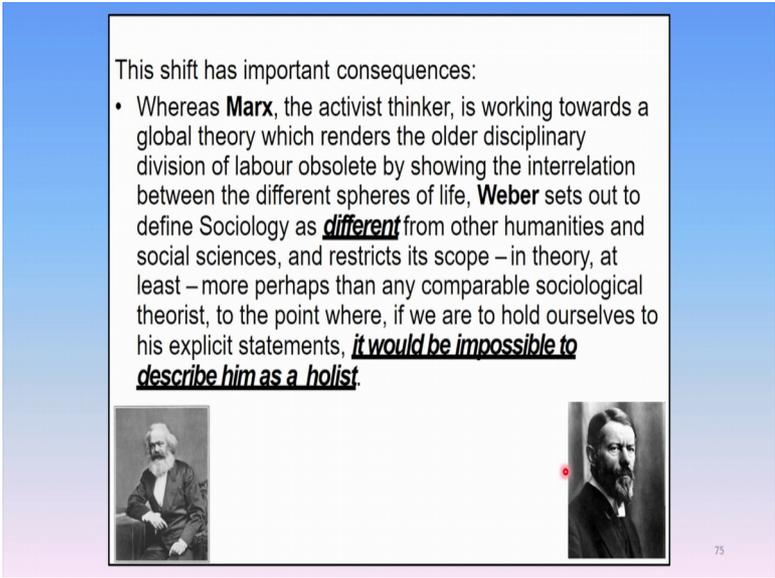
holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements. Now let us start with holism or totality.

Let me tell you that Marx is not a sociologist in the disciplinary sense for the simple reason is that he is not an academic person rather, 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 in the American trends. Indeed, Weber moves from the study of law political economy and history to an identity as a sociologist.

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This shift has important consequences:

- Whereas **Marx**, the activist thinker, is working towards a global theory which renders the older disciplinary division of labour obsolete by showing the interrelation between the different spheres of life, **Weber** sets out to define Sociology as *different* from other humanities and social sciences, and restricts its scope – in theory, at least – more perhaps than any comparable sociological theorist, to the point where, if we are to hold ourselves to his explicit statements, *it would be impossible to describe him as a holist.*



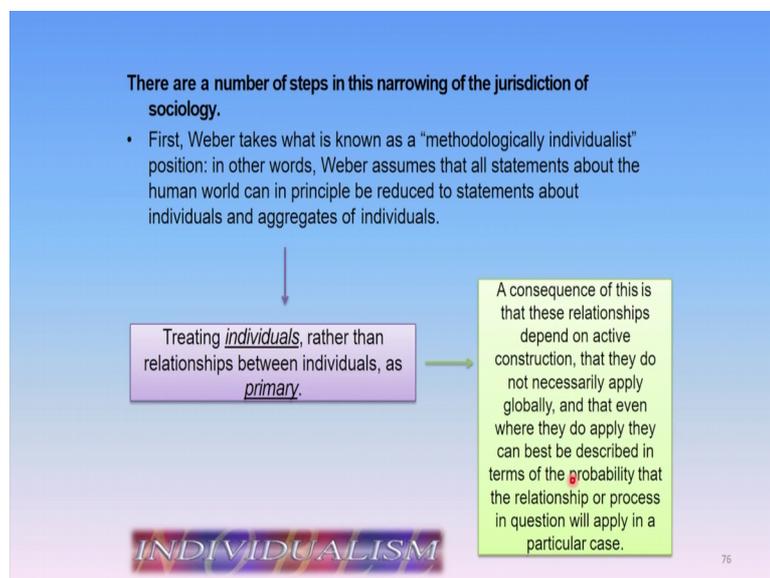
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And this is and such shift has significant consequences whereas, Marx the activist thinker is working towards the global theory which renders the old disciplinary division of labor obsolete outdated by showing the inter relation between the different spheres of life Weber sets out to define sociology as different from other humanities and social sciences as, I mean and restricts it is scope in theory at least at least in theory. More perhaps than any comparable sociological theories to the point where we are to hold ourselves to his explicit statements it would be impossible to describe him as a holist.

There are I mean the way Marx extended the scope of source collective consciousness intellectual and political consciousness, which have which has contributed to the debates and debates of modernity makes in actual. In fact, he extended the scope and ambit of modernity.

That is why he is often referred to as a holist his explanations are often referred to as a holist as holist holistic explainist whereas, if you look at Weber who sets out to define sociology as a science that aims that aims at interpretive understanding of social action. In order there by to arrive at a causal explanation of it is course and effects that is why he tried to branch sociology out from other spheres of other disciplines within humanities and social sciences. And thereby he attempted to restrict the scope and ambit of sociology at least in theory and more perhaps than any other any comparable sociological theories to the point where we have to hold ourselves to it is explicit statements I mean it would be impossible to describe him as a holist.

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There are a number of steps in which narrowing of the jurisdiction of sociology. Firstly, Weber takes what is known as a methodologically individualists position as we have already discussed in please try to understand that methodologically individualist position, when I say I refer to at least 3 components; I mean individuals actors individual actions to the circumstances against the backdrop of which individuals undertake those actions and thirdly the motives and reasons for which individuals undertake such actions these 3 things very important.

Then when I said firstly, Weber takes what is known as a methodologically individualist position. In other words Weber assumes that all statements about the human world can in principle be reduced to statements about individuals and aggregates of individuals, very

when Weber talks about individually he always emphasizes on only individuals actions, individual actors, individual action, in context in perspective I mean in certain circumstances and the reasons and motives of such individual action. I mean for Weber he treats individuals and as primary not the relationships between individuals. For Marx an individual is not very important rather the relationships that individuals forge in society assume better significance for max, but for Weber and in Weber traits individuals rather than relationships between individuals as primary for Weber relationships between individuals is not as important as individuals themselves a consequence of such analysis. I mean if it implies treating individuals rather than relationships between individuals as primary a consequence of this is that these relationships depend on active construction that they do not necessarily apply globally and that even where they do apply, they can best be described in terms of the probability that the relationship or process in question will apply in a particular case.

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- Secondly, Weber restricts the scope of sociology as a discipline to the study of meaningful social action: in other words, to the action of these individuals insofar as their action is oriented towards each other and insofar as they attach meaning to it.

This involves an exclusion of Biology, of the unconscious, potentially of some economic relationships, and so on.

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Secondly, why he is I mean why Weber statements cannot be now considered holistic explanations precisely, because whoever restricts the scope and ambit of sociology as a discipline to the study of meaningful social action putting it succinctly to the action of these individuals insofar as their action is oriented towards each other and insofar as they attach meaning to it. If this is so then it involves an exclusion of biology of the unconscious potentially of some economic relationships and so on. And this position this

position is stated in detail in the opening section of Weber's work on basic concepts in sociology.

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- So Weber is not a straightforward holist:

Weber undermines both the possibility of general explanations and the scope of Sociology and the *Social* itself to a very great extent. However, this theoretical refusal of holism is undermined by a number of features of his thinking.

Image courtesy: epoca.eu 78

So, Weber is not a straightforward holist Weber undermines both the possibility of general explanations and the scope and ambit of sociology and the social itself to a very great extent. However, this theoretical refusal of holism is undermined by a number of features of his thinking this is very important, I mean when you look at different types of things you will find that Weber is also the holist, but where we are trying to challenge that now which is a modern phenomenon that I must be able to interrogate or I will be I will perish civilization must interrogate or parish.

Modernity must interrogate or there is no significance of modernity right, modernity I mean the way multiple modalities alternate alternatives to linear view of modernity alternatives to European modernity. If you look at you will find that that we always tend to question we always tend to interrogate the hitherto existing ideas. In this sense we argue that Weber is not a straightforward holist, but it does not implied he is not absolutely of holist no he is not a straightforward holist through different parameters he is works also can be considered holistic explanations considered to have holistic explanations.

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**Rationality and Modernity**

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

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If this is so then we must link what is the rational position that Weber took. The first and most obvious of these questions is this that there is that there is a tension between the statement that that we start from individuals rather than relationships and the statement that we are what we are interested in is the way, who's individuals orient there in the way those individuals orient their action to each other in other words their interacts.

Next what we have discussed just now I mean Weber always treats individuals as primary not the relationships between individuals or among individuals. If this is so the effect of this this if the effect of the way Weber treated individuals as primary becomes clear, when we consider the second element of Weber's definition of sociology that it is not just about social action, but about meaningful social action.

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- Weber proceeds to develop a categorisation of the types of meaning which can be attached to social action: a categorisation which appears in some senses as a general statement of the kinds of ways in which people can relate to one another, or in other words precisely the kind of general statement about social relationships that methodological individualism finds suspect.
  - These types of social action reappear in a number of forms, for example as the different ways in which a given power structure can find legitimation.
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He Weber proceeds to develop categorization of the types of meaning which can be attached to social action what is that categorizes this this categorization, which appears in some senses as a general statement of the kinds of ways in which people can relate to one another or in other words precisely the kind of general statement about social relationships that that methodological individualism find suspect. Then what are these the categorization of the types now these types of social action reappear in a number of forms for example, as the different ways in which a given power structure can find legitimation. For Weber there are 4 types of social action traditional social action effective or emotive social action, value oriented social action and goal oriented social action, not goal rational social action.

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The slide is titled "Typology of Social Action" and has a blue background. It contains two bullet points: one for "Traditional" action and one for "Affective" action. Below these is a white box with a downward arrow pointing to it, containing text about the distinction between value-rational and goal-rational actions. At the bottom left, there is a white box titled "FOUR TYPES OF SOCIAL ACTION:" with a list of four types: ZWECKRATIONAL, WERTRATIONAL, AFFECTIVE, and TRADITIONAL. A small red dot is visible on the right side of the slide.

**Typology of Social Action**

- **Traditional**: meanings of action are related simply to habit and custom, and are described by Weber as coming close to having no meaning, because unreflective.
- **Affective** action relates to the emotions, and is equally seen as often meaningless in these terms.

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The major distinction of clearly meaningful action, then is between the last two categories: the *value-rational* and the *goal-rational*.

**FOUR TYPES OF SOCIAL ACTION:**

- ZWECKRATIONAL
- WERTRATIONAL
- AFFECTIVE
- TRADITIONAL

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What is that what do we mean by these 4 types of social action. Traditional social action refers to the fact that meanings of action and related simply to habit and custom and are described by Weber as coming close to having no meaning because unreflective. Traditional social action is based on habits and costumes, what is your habit as ace horn be who writes oxford dictionary of social oxford dictionary of English for ace horn be a habit is something that an individual has been doing it for a long time you join.

In other words a habit is something that an individual gets accustomed to they do not have clearly defined objectives. Suppose your custom the way we perform our customs festivals marriages they are important I am not denying that, but is that a clearly defined objective for whoever known that is why traditional social action is very much based on habits and customs and hence they are meaningless they do not have any meaning and hence unreflective in nature they are not reflexive, they are not meaningful social action, where we are coming to what is meaningful social action for Weber why was he emphasizing more and more on meaningful social action .

Secondly, effective or emotive social action relates to the emotions and is equally seen as often meaningless in these terms. I mean effective or emotive social action which is based on effects and emotion, it becomes unreflective in nature and hence loses it is meaning it becomes meaningless. For web the major distinction of clearly meaningful action then is between the last 2 getting ways the value rational and the goal rational.

When you rational action treats action as having a value in itself which is independent from its effect and derives for example, from more modern aesthetic or religious criteria, I mean when I say when Weber said value rational, I mean it is based on values which are known as higher ordered norms if I say speak the truth always honesty is the best policy they are values.

If I say walk on the left hand side of Indian roads I mean in Europe people walk on the right hand side of the road that is why I said walk on them I mean this is a rule a rule which is legally bound this is a not. It is well accepted by the by the citizens by the passengers it is also it has evolved through social acceptance also it is well accepted. If I say this then there is a difference between value and value on the one hand and rule or norm on the other.

Then the value rational social action is very much based on values honesty is the best policy I may follow that I may not follow that, but if I say no walk on the left hand side of Indian roads then I am legally bound to follow that is a rule that is not a value, but when I say value it is very much related to the world of morality, ethics, aesthetics and religious criteria for web. Then Weber dwelt upon goal rational social action which is alternatively known as instrumental rationality, I mean action that is oriented purely towards desired results.

Action that is purely toward that is oriented purely towards desired results I mean goal rational social action or instrumental rationality involves a specific goal, objective, aim and so on. And particularly this goal rational social action is associated with Weber account of modernity, which is sees action as deriving which is sees as a action as deriving it is sole meaning and interest from its results to dominate all contemporary society.

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Slide 82 contains two bullet points. The first bullet point defines **Value-rational** action as having a value in itself, independent of its effect, and deriving from moral, aesthetic, or religious criteria. The second bullet point defines **Goal-rational** or instrumental action as being oriented purely towards desired results, particularly associated with Weber's account of modernity as a progressive extension of instrumental rationality, where action derives its sole meaning and interest from its results to dominate contemporary society. A small red dot is visible at the end of the second bullet point. The slide number '82' is in the bottom right corner.

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

I mean which he sees if I have to say I mean goal oriented social action or goal rational social action alternatively known as instrumental rationality is oriented purely towards desired results, which is particularly associated with Weber's account of modality, which Weber sees as a progressive extension of this principle of instrumental rationality, which sees action as deriving it is sole meaning and interest from it is results to dominate all contemporary society. For Weber the history of modernity is the history of the progressive orientation of all social action, in all contexts to instrumental rationality.

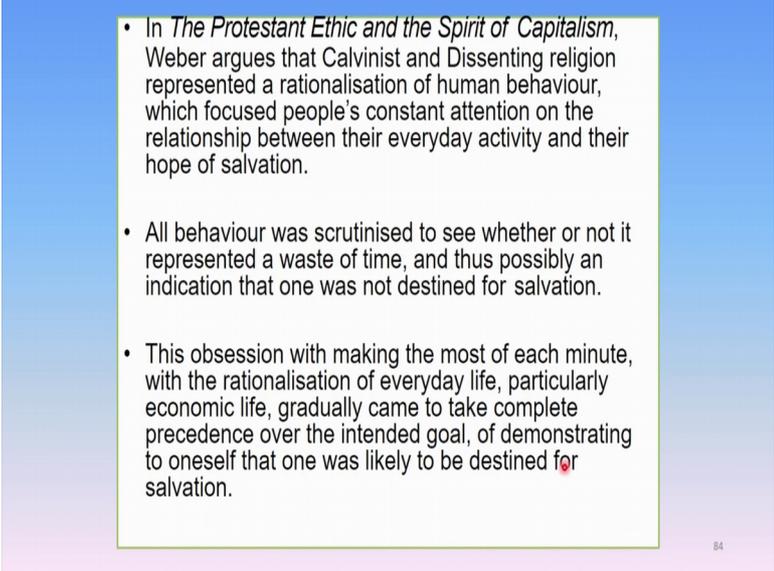
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Slide 83 contains two bullet points. The first bullet point states that for Weber, the history of modernity is the history of the progressive orientation of all social action, in all contexts, to instrumental rationality. The second bullet point states that this rationalisation of social life involves an ever-greater development of technical means and a progressive orientation of the ends towards which these means are supposed to lead. A small red dot is visible at the end of the second bullet point. The slide number '83' is in the bottom right corner.

- For Weber, the history of modernity is the history of the progressive orientation of all social action, in all contexts, to instrumental rationality.
- This rationalisation of social life involves an ever-greater development of technical means and a progressive orientation of the ends towards which these means are supposed to lead.

And this rationalization of social life involves an ever greater development of technical means and a progressive orientation of the end towards which these means are supposed to lead.

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

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For example, Weber argues in the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism that Calvinist and dissenting religion represented a rationalization of human behavior. Which focused on peoples, which focus peoples constant attention on the relationship between their everyday activity and the hope of salvation. All behavior was scrutinized to see whether or not it represented a waste of time and thus possibly an indication that one was not destined for salvation.

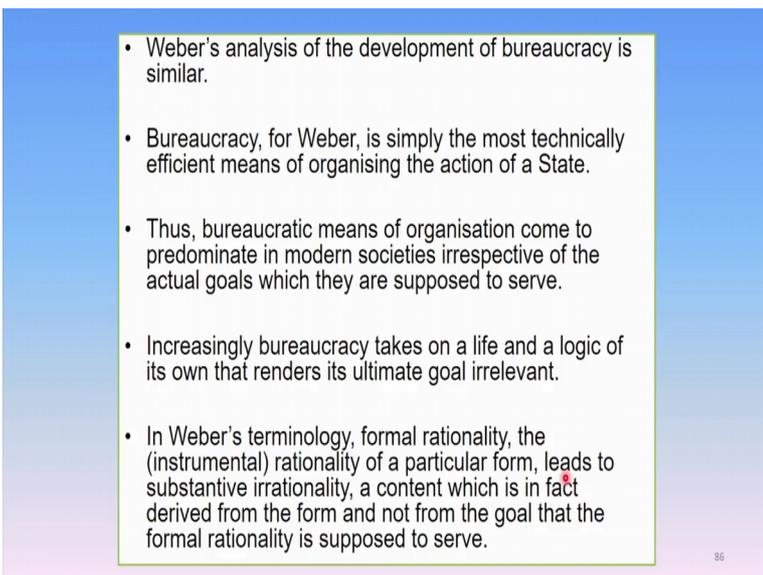
And such obsession with making the most of each minute with the rationalization of everyday life particularly economic life gradually came to take complete precedence over the intended goal, intended aim, intended desired result, ambition of demonstrating to oneself that one was likely to be distinct for salvation.

I mean Weber's analysis of the development of bureaucracy again is similar bureaucracy for Weber is simply the most technically efficient means of organizing the action of a state; bureaucracy again is a modern phenomenon bureaucracy in capitalism is a modern phenomenon. This bureau it does not imply that other forms of bureaucracy did not exist earlier in the pre capitalist social formation they were there, but bureaucracy in

capitalism again is different bureaucratic means of organization come to predominate in modern societies irrespective of the actual goals which they are supposed to serve.

Increasingly I mean it implies that increasingly bureaucracy takes on a life and a logic of its own that renders its ultimate goal irrelevant I mean in Weber's terminology formal rationality.

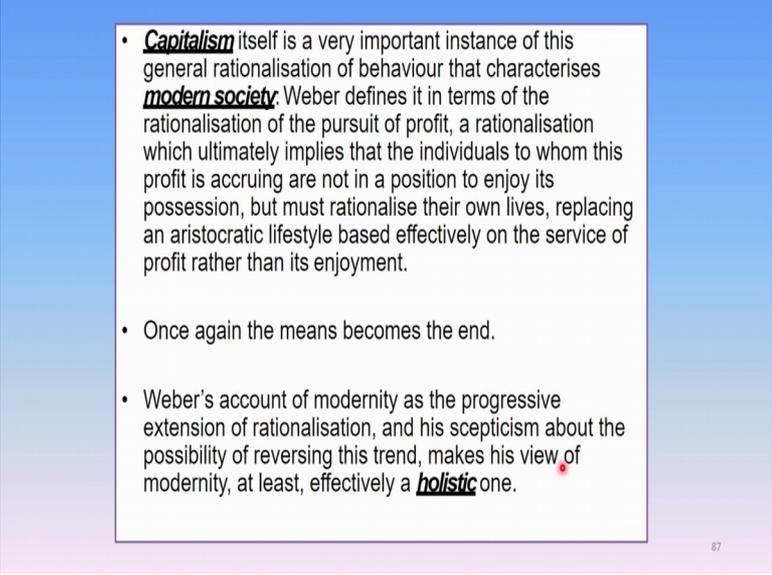
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- Weber's analysis of the development of bureaucracy is similar.
  - Bureaucracy, for Weber, is simply the most technically efficient means of organising the action of a State.
  - Thus, bureaucratic means of organisation come to predominate in modern societies irrespective of the actual goals which they are supposed to serve.
  - Increasingly bureaucracy takes on a life and a logic of its own that renders its ultimate goal irrelevant.
  - In Weber's terminology, formal rationality, the (instrumental) rationality of a particular form, leads to substantive irrationality, a content which is in fact derived from the form and not from the goal that the formal rationality is supposed to serve.
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The instrumental rationality of a particular form leads to substantive irrationality. I mean ends determine the means our objectives will determine what will be the possible methods that we are going to undertake this is very important.

Then if in Weber's terminology that that that formal rationality the instrumental rationality of a particular form leads to substantive irrationality; I mean a content which is in fact, derived from the form and not from the goal that the formal rationality is supposed to serve.

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

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Capitalism is itself capitalism itself is a very imp important instance of this general rationalization of behavior that characterizes modern society. Weber defines it in terms of the rationalization of the pursuit of profit I mean in economy and society if you look at a Weber's exposition of such arguments that, how he defines rationalization I mean I mean I mean this this rationalization of general rationalization of behavior that characterizes modern society in terms of the rationalization of the pursuit of profit.

A rationalization which ultimately implies that the individuals to whom this profit is occurring and not in a position to enjoy it is position, but must rationalize their own lives replacing an aristocratic lifestyle based effectively on the service of profit rather than now it is enjoyment once again if this is.

So, then once again the means becomes the end Weber's account of modernity as the progressive extension of rationalization and his skepticism about the possibility of a reversing this trend makes this view of modernity at least effectively a holistic one. In holism or totality what we discussed he Weber is not straightforward holist polished, but through the lens of rationality Weber's account of modernity as the progressive extension of rationalization and Weber skepticism about the possibility of reversing this trend makes his view of modernity at least effectively holistic one then let us quickly browse what we have discussed today.

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**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.

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We started with Weber's interpretation of modernity through the lenses of holism or totality on the one hand and rationality on the other. Weber is or rather became or sociologist, because he is living in 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, and such shift has important consequences. Weber sets out to define sociology as different from other disciplines within humanities and social sciences and restricts its scope and ambit at least in theory and which compels the reader compels us not to describe him as your holist.

There are a number of steps that we have discussed in this narrowing of the jurisdiction of sociology of the scope and ambit of sociology, I mean the way Weber treats individuals as primary rather than relationships between individuals and the consequence of this is that these relationships depend on active construction that they do not necessarily apply globally and that even where they do apply they can best be described in terms of the probability that the relationship or process in question will apply in a particular case.

And we have also discussed how Weber restricts the scope of sociology as a discipline to the study of meaningful social action in terms of value oriented value rational social action and goal rational social action. Goal rational social action is alternatively known as instrumental rationality. That in this case we will as Weber restricted the scope of

sociology to the study of only meaningful social action Weber is not a straightforward hoist.

But in the case of rationality through the lens of rationality we have learned how Weber Weber's explanations are holistic in nature. We have discussed in rationality that there is a tension between the statement that we start from individuals rather than relationships and the statement that we are interested in is the way those individuals orient their action to each other in other words their interaction.

The effect of this becomes clear when we consider the second element of Weber's definition of sociology that it is not just about social action, but about meaningful social action. Then we have discussed web Weber developed categorization of the types of meaning which can be attached to social action thereby he provided typology of social action namely, I mean 4 types of social action namely traditional social action, effective social effective action, or emotive social action, a value rational social action and goal rational social action.

Out of these 4 for Weber traditional social action and effective or emotive social action or unreflective in nature whereas, value rational and goal rational social action and reflective in nature hand and hence there meaningful social action. In fact, Weber emphasizes more on goal rational social action or instrumental rationality.

We have also discussed how for Weber the history of modernity is the history of the progressive orientation of all social action in all contexts to instrumental rationality I mean goal oriented social action. Then we have discussed how he argues that Calvinist and dissenting religion represented a rationalization of human behavior in the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, then we have discouraged Weber's analysis of the development of bureaucracy has also contributed to the debates on modernity and then we have discussed how capitalism itself is very important of such general like general rationalization of behavior that characterizes modern society and Weber defines it in terms of the rationalization of the pursuit of profit or rationalization, which ultimately implies that the individuals to whom this profit is accruing are not in a position to enjoy it is possession, but must rationalize their own lives replacing an aristocratic lifestyle based effectively on the service of profit rather than it is enjoyment.

Once again the means becomes the end and Weber's account of modernity as the progressive extension of rationalization and his skepticism about the possibility of reversing; this strain makes this view of modernity at least effectively holistic one keeping this in mind in the next lecture we are going to discuss.