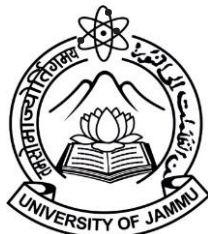


Centre for Distance & Online Education

UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU

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SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

MDP SOCIOLOGY

(SEMESTER-I)

TITLE: CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITION

COURSE NO.: SOC-103

UNIT: I-IV

LESSON: 1-20

COURSE COORDINATOR
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University of Jammu
Jammu

<http://www.distanceeducationju.in>

Printed & published on behalf of the Centre for Distance & Online Education, University of Jammu by the Director, CDOE, University of Jammu, Jammu.

SEMESTER-IST

SOC-C-103

CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITION

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**Syllabus of Sociology M.A. Ist Semester for the examination to be held in
the year December 2025, 2026 and 2027 (NON-CBCS for CDOE)**

Course No: SOC-C-103

Title: Classical Sociological Tradition

Credits: 6

Duration of examination: 3 hours.

Maximum Marks: 100

a) Semester Examination (External): 70

b) Session Assessment (Internal): 30

Objective: Classical Sociological Tradition exemplifies the foundation of Sociology as a discipline. The prominent classical thoughts of Sociology from the late 19th and early 20th centuries include Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Vilfredo Pareto. This course introduces the students with the seminal thoughts of these thinkers. It provides them with an understanding of views of classical social thoughts as well as familiarizes them with their contribution to the emergence and growth of sociology.

Unit-I Karl Marx

Dialectical Materialism; Materialistic Interpretation of History; Emergence of Classes and Class Conflict; Theory of Surplus Value; Alienation in the Capitalist Society.

Unit-II Emile Durkheim

Methodology: Social Facts; Division of Labour: Mechanical and Organic Solidarities, Suicide; Theory of Religion: Sacred and Profane.

Unit-III Max Weber

Methodology: Verstehen and Ideal types; Social Action: Types, Types of Authority and Bases of their Legitimacy; Bureaucracy; Protestant Ethic and the Emergence of Capitalism.

Unit-IV Vilfredo Pareto

Contribution to the Methodology: Logico - Experimental Method; Logical and Non-Logical Action; Residues and Derivatives; Types of Elites: Circulation of Elites.

NOTE FOR PAPER SETTING:

A. Session Assessment Internal (30 marks)

There will be three Internal Assessment Assignment scarrying the total weightage of 30 marks.

IAA1. Long Answer Type Questions (10X1=10 Marks)

Long answer type question (of maximum 1200 words) of 10 marks (one to be attempted, out of two, each from unit I and II.

IAA2. Short Answer Type Questions (5X2=10 Marks)

Two short answer type questions (of about 600 words), each of 5 marks. These shall be taken from units III and IV.

IAA3. Very Short Answer Type Questions (2.5X4=10Marks)

Four very short answer type questions (of about 250 words), each of 2.5 marks. These shall be taken from all the four units.

B. Semester Examination External (70 marks)

The question paper will consist of two sections A and B.

Section A will consist of eight long answer-type questions, two questions from each unit. The candidate will be required to answer four questions, selecting one from each unit. Each question will carry 13 marks (**13 X 4=52 marks**).

Section B will consist of eight short answer-type questions, two questions from each unit. The candidate will be required to answer four questions, selecting one from each unit. Each question will carry 4.5 marks (**4.5 X 4=18 marks**).

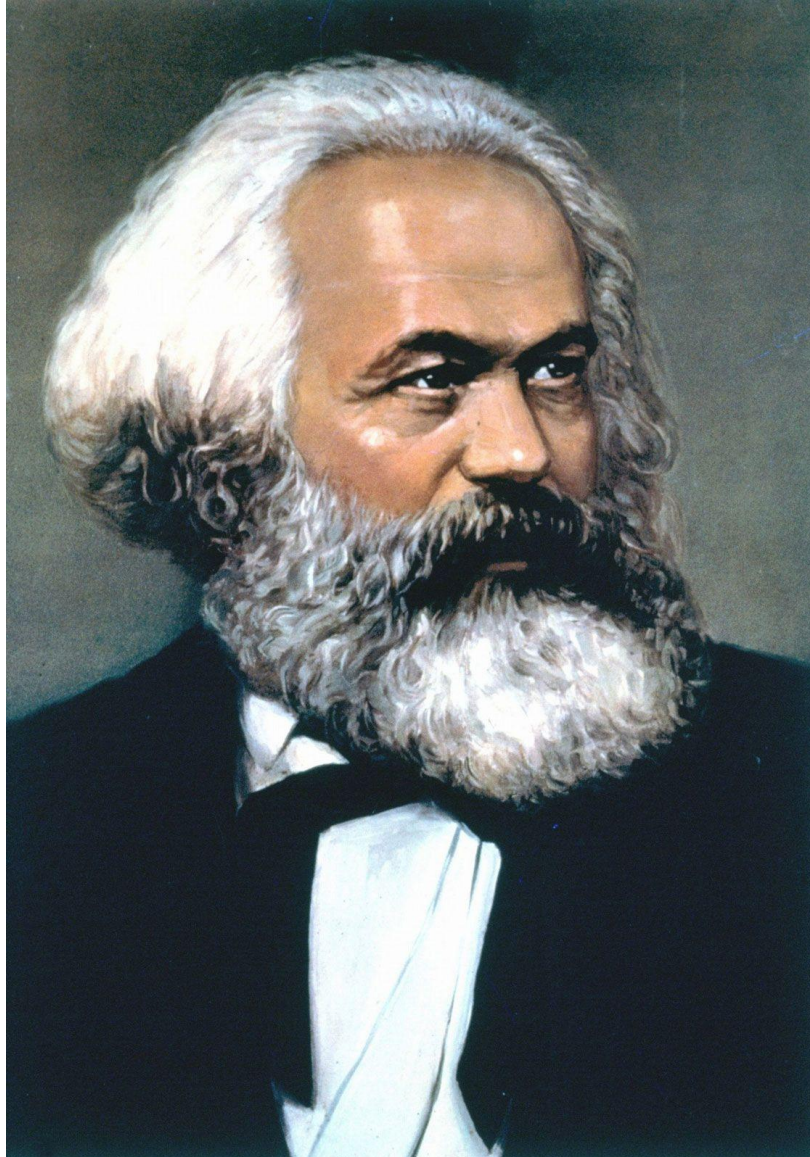
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KARL MARX (5 MAY, 1818 – 14 MARCH, 1883)



DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Karl Marx: Biographical Sketch
- 1.3 Development of Marxism
- 1.4 Theory of Social and Political Change
- 1.5 The Concept of Dialectics
- 1.6 Dialectical Materialism
- 1.7 Laws of Dialectics
 - 1.7.1 The Law of the Unity and Conflict of Opposites
 - 1.7.2 The Law of Negation of the Negation
 - 1.7.3 The Law of Transition of Quantity into Quality
- 1.8 Criticism of Dialectical Materialism
- 1.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.10 Glossary
- 1.11 Self-Assessment Questions
- 1.12 Suggested Readings

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The main focus of this lesson is to equip you with:

- Role of Dialectics in understanding society.
- The Marxian concept of dialectics and social change.
- The laws of dialectics.
- The application of the laws of dialectics to understand the social change.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The philosophy of Marxism is of paramount importance in the contemporary world. It is "a dialectical theory of human progress". It purports to provide a theory of social change and a scientific philosophy which help in understanding the laws of social development. It also provides a revolutionary programme for the emancipation of the 'exploited classes' and suggests revolutionary methods for changing the present society. It wants to establish society on a rational basis a society in which man shall not be exploited by man. It will be a society in which all will live in peace, harmony and comfort; enjoy true freedom and liberty; and will have the full opportunity to develop their potentialities and personality. In fact, this society, as the Marxists call it the Communist society, shall be a classless and state less society a really ideal society.

The Marxian philosophy came into being as a reaction to the failings of liberal ideology. But over the years, its gospel of revolution has spread like a wild fire and has engulfed many countries in the world. Today, Marxism reigns supreme in many parts of the world and, therefore, its proper understanding is very essential for us. However, before we discuss 'Marxism' in detail, it would be quite in order to give a brief biographical sketch of the father of Marxism', i.e., Karl Heinrich Marx.

1.2 KARL HEINRICH MARX (1818-83): A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Karl Marx, the father of Marxism or modern socialism, was born in Trier (Treves) in the Rhineland province of Prussia (Germany) on May 5, 1818. His father, Herschel

Marx was originally a Jew but in 1824, the family embraced Christianity to avoid persecution. At that time young Marx was unable to understand the significance of the change. But it is likely that later on he realized that religion was being used by fanatics as an instrument for persecution. What ever may be its truth the fact remains that Marx became an atheist and an avowed enemy of intelligent religion.

An intelligent and perspicacious child Marx, in 1835, at the age of 17 joined the University of Berlin as a law student. In 1836 he went to the University of Berlin. In 1841, Karl Marx took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena on the subject "The difference between the Natural Philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus." In 1843, he married a charming. Women Jenny, the daughter of Freiherr Ludwig Von West phalen with whose family he had closes and intimate relations.

From the very beginning Marx was a great rebel. His radical views made him a suspect in the eyes of authorities and this prevented his employment as a university teacher. Because of his bad hand writing he was denied even a clerical job. He tried his luck in the army too but was declared unfit for it. Finally, he entered the field of journalism and began to edit a paper entitled Rheinische Zeitung. However, its publication too was stopped by the authorities after a year. He then went to Paris. There he struck up a firm and lasting- friendship with Fried Erich Engels who became his life-long friend, disciple and collaborator.

In 1845, in Brussels (Germany) Karl Marx founded an organization called the German Working Men's Association. In 1847 Marx and Engels founded together the International Communist League, with Engels as its first Secretary. Together they drafted the famous Communist Manifesto in 1848 which to this day is a gospel and the Bible for

all communists. In 1849, he settled down in London and remained there till his death on March 14, 1883. In a speech over his grave in High Gate cemetery, Friedrich Engels declared that, "his name and works will endure through the ages."

Karl Marx was an intellectual giant and a prolific writer. In 1847, with the aid and help of Engels, he prepared the Communist Manifesto. Laski described it as "one of the outstanding political documents of all times." According to Bertrand Russell, the Communist Manifesto is "the best contribution that Karl Marx made to the history of Political Thought". It contains his most lucid, clear and compact statement regarding his conception of the struggle between classes in human history; the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in modern times; the inevitable destruction of capitalism and a programme of action for the working classes to establish a classless and stateless society.

Another important and life work of Karl Marx is Das Capital. It consists of three volumes. The first volume was published in 1867 during his life time. The second and the third volume of Das Capital were edited by Engels after the death of Karl Marx in 1883. They were published in the years 1885 and 1894 respectively. Regarding Das Capital it is said, "The appearance of this book was an epoch-making event in the history of International Socialism". It was conceived as a comprehensive treatise on the laws of morphology of the economic organization of modern society seeking to describe the process of production, exchange and distribution as they actually occur, to explain their present state as a particular stage in the development constituted by the movement of the class struggle."

Besides numerous articles and pamphlets, the other important works of Karl Marx are the following:

- (1) The Poverty of Philosophy (1847).
- (2) A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859).
- (3) Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach (1845).
- (4) The Eighteenth Brummaire of Louis Bonaparte (1894).
- (5) Civil War and the Class Struggle in France (1849).
- (6) The Critique of the Goetha Programme (1891).
- (7) Revolution and Counter Revolution.

1.3 DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM

Karl Marx was a social scientist, a great political philosopher and a revolutionary. He was interested in creating a real socialist society. Prior to him, philosophers had only interpreted the world as they had found it. Marx was interested in a critical analysis of society in order to change and restructure it on new foundations and new human relationships. Thus, Marxism not only shows as a way of understanding the world but also provides us with a scientific philosophy with the help of which it can be changed.

According to Laski, Karl Marx was the first socialist thinker who fully realized the futility of formulating a utopian constitution of socialist society. He, therefore, wholly devoted his attention to find out a new path which could lead to the establishment of a socialist society. This involved the necessity of a detailed analysis of the working and growth of the capitalist system. "Marx", says Laski "wrote at once the epitaph of the new capitalism and the prophecy of its ultimate outcome. The first aspect of his work, both by reason of the material he used and the thesis he deduced from them, put the defenders of economic individualism finally upon the defensive; the second provided an inspiration to his followers which has increased in profundity as they have gone by."

Marxism is not only a revolt against the capitalist system but also a sound alternative to that system. Earlier, the 'utopian' socialists - Thomas More, Fourier, Robert Owen, Saint Simon, etc., had also vehemently denounced 'capitalism' in their philosophy. But they could never provide the means of ending capitalism or provide an alternative sound system. It was Karl Marx who with his intellectual treatises and active struggle provided both the means to wipe out capitalism and an alternative system for it. It is his abiding and everlasting contribution to political philosophy.

No philosophy can afford to be static. If it can, it becomes dogmatic and ultimately declines for ever. Every philosophy has to be adjusted according to the needs of the times and change in circumstances on account of the passage of time. Today, Marxism has been greatly enriched not only by the rediscovery of the old texts written by Karl Marx and his contemporary Engels, but also by the contributions of the thinkers and revolutionaries of the Marxist such as, F. Mehring (1846-1919), K. Kautsky. (1854-1938), G. Plekhanov, (1856-1918), V.I. Lenin (1870-1924), R. Luxemburg (1871-1919), L. Trotsky (1879-1940), N. Bukharin (1888-1938), J.V. Stalin (1871-1953) and Mao-Tse-tung (1896-1976). Besides these, many more writers have helped the development of Marxism. They have interpreted its theory and practice according to the changing circumstances and have made it a living creed and philosophy. In fact, the philosophy of Marxism as a philosophy of social and political change cannot be properly understood without a reference to their writings and works.

1.4 THEORY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The value and worth of Marxism lies in its essence as a theory of social and political change,

though many philosophers had pointed out the evils of capitalism and emphasized the need for an equitable and just socio-economic order, it was left to Marx to equitably scientifically the principles and revolutionary methods to achieve these ends. The intention of Karl Marx was to produce an empirical work by considering “the development of the economic structure of society as a natural historical process”, and by studying the “social antagonisms which arise from the natural laws of capitalist production.” Therefore, he laboriously studied the system of the capitalist mode of production; class relations in this system and the struggles generated by that mode of production. On the basis of this study formulated his philosophy of scientific socialism (or Marxism) and his views on social and political change in society. Marx's Capital is one of the earliest, one of the best and one of the most valuable works of social history. It is not only a great classic and scientific work but at the same time a strong moral indictment of capitalism and capitalist society. In form and content, it expresses his practical conception of social science and his views on social and political change in society.

Marx's interest in social sciences and in social philosophy was fundamentally practical. He only wanted to discover the law and method of historical and social change. He knew that the discovery of the law and method of historical and social change would make it quite possible and easy for him to formulate the tactics suited to the revolutionary proletarian theory.

According to Meyer, "Marxism is a dialectical theory of human progress." And, when the method of dialectical materialism is misapplied to the interpretation of history it is known as 'historical materialism', and both these form the basis of Marxian scientific socialism. The idea of dialectic was not an original contribution of Marx; it was known to the Greeks as a method of arriving at the truth by bringing contradictions through a

discussion, debate or exchange of ideas. Plato used dialectical process in his dialogues to expose false beliefs of his time. However, Marx gave the dialectics a materialistic bias which became the basis of all social sciences with post-Marxian era.

Marxism has also been defined as a philosophy of history based on a materialistic conception of human development. Therefore, in order to understand Marx's political philosophy and his theory of social and political change correctly it is imperative for us to know his doctrines of:

- (i) Dialectical Materialism,
- (ii) Historical Materialism and
- (iii) Economic Determinism.

1.5 THE CONCEPT OF DIALECTICS

The word 'dialectics' refers to a method of intellectual discussion by dialogue. It is a term of logic. According to the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), it referred to the art of deputation by question and answer. Before Aristotle, another Greek philosopher Plato (427-397 B.C.) developed this term in relation with his doctrine of ideas. Even before Plato, yet another Greek philosopher Socrates (470-390 B.C.) used this term to examine the presuppositions at the back of all sciences. Until the end of the Middle Ages, this term remained a part of logic. Carrying the same tradition of treating this term as reason, in modern philosophy of Europe, the word was used by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) to discuss the impossibility of applying to objects of a no sensuous understanding the principles which are found to govern phenomena of sense-experience. There is one more strand in the meaning of the term dialectics. It is the idea of dialectics as a process. This means the dialectics is a process of reason in ascending and descending forms.

In ascending form of dialectics, one is able to demonstrate the existence of a higher reality, e.g., the forms of God. In descending form of dialectics, one is able to explain the manifestation of a higher reality in the phenomenal world of sense- experience.

In order to understand how Karl Marx made use of the term ‘dialectics’, we need to remember that Marx evolved his concept of dialectical materialism on the basis of his critique of the German philosopher Hegel’s theories of idealism. Hegel combined the two strands of dialectic, i.e., the idea of dialectic as reason and as process. In broad sense, he used the notion of dialectics as a logical process and more narrowly he traced it as the generator or motor of the logical process. Hegel maintained that God or the Absolute comes to self-knowledge through human knowledge. In other words, the categories of human thought are equal to objective forms of being and logic is at the same time the theory about the nature of being. Further, Hegel proposed that dialectics can be conceived more narrowly as grasping of opposites in their unity. Hegel saw it as a process which brings out what is implicit. In this way, each development is a product of a previous less developed phase. In a way new development is a fulfillment of the previous state. Thus, there is always a hidden tension between a form and its process of becoming a new form. Hegel interpreted history as progress in the consciousness of freedom. Marx was initially influenced by Hegel’s philosophy but later on he criticized it due to its idealist nature and propounded his own dialectical materialism. Marx criticized Hegel for deducing the laws of dialectics from consciousness instead of material existence. On this point Marx said that to get a scientifically sound dialectical method one will have to totally invert the logic of Hegelian dialectics. This is what Marx did in his dialectical materialism, where in contradistinction to Hegel, he said it is the matter which is supreme and determinant of consciousness and idea and not vice-versa.

1.6 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

For his philosophical concept Marx is indebted to Hegel, from whom he borrowed the science of dialection. Though, Karl Marx rejected the substance of Hegel's philosophy, he did adopt his dialectical method as the basis of his historical materialism. Therefore, to understand the dialectical materialism of Marx, it is necessary for us to know something of Hegel.

According to Hegel the essence of history lies in the interaction of ideas. Through dialectic he tried to explain and give a complete account of everything, the development of man, laws, thought and the creation of the universe. In his view, history depended upon the gradual unfolding the "world spirit" or "absolute idea" and it was accomplished according to a divine plan which was imminent in the universe. No idea of consequence was static and all the things were in a state of becoming.

Every idea (**thesis**), according to Hegel, is incomplete and there are inherent contradictions in every idea (thesis). The incompleteness or inherent contradictions in every idea (**thesis**) led naturally to its opposite, which may be called (**antithesis**). From the struggle between the two, i.e. thesis and antithesis there emerged the truth embraced by both.

This truth may be called **synthesis**. This synthesis becomes a new thesis and again there came an antithesis and again there emerged a synthesis, and the process goes on repeating itself in an unending chain.

Thus, dialectics is a mode of argument believes in the infinite possibility of changes through the dialectical triad process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. **Thesis**

affirms a proposition, **antithesis** negates it and **synthesis** further negates the antithesis.

Karl Marx agreed with Hegel that history unfolded itself according to a dialectical plan. But according to him (Marx), the ideas were the result of material conditions. In *Capital* he says:

"To Hegel the process of thinking, which under the name of 'the ideal', transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurges (the Creator) of the real world, and the real world, is only the external phenomenal form of the idea. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human minds, and translated into forms of thought." **Materialism for Marx, says Prof. Sabine, meant three things**

- (i) the real motive forces in history were material conditions.
- (ii) Materialism implied a radical rejection of religion, indeed a militant theism.
- (iii) suggestion of a new and far-reaching revolution.

Dialectical materialism believes in the inseparability of matter and motion. From the dialectical point of view, any stage may be taken up as a thesis because it serves as a starting point and a working hypothesis. But a change over from thesis to antithesis and further from antithesis to synthesis is always through struggle and each stage is an advance over the previous stage. Every advance led to a higher transformation. Thus, if feudalism is thesis, its antithesis is capitalism which represents a distinct advance over feudalism. Synthesis is more progressive than both thesis and antithesis as it incorporates the valid points of both. Thus, socialism can be taken as a synthesis of feudalism and capitalism. It incorporates the valid points of

even capitalism e.g., technology. Therefore, progress takes place through the dialectical cycle of change.

Synthesis too is negated and becomes an improved thesis; to be further negated by another antithesis. There is, thus, an unending spiral of progress which ultimately leads to a point of perfection beyond which no progress is possible. This is the acme of progress which in Marxian terminology is the establishment of a classless and a stateless society. This is the consummation most ardently to be wished for an unending and unfailing human progress achieved through constant struggle and contests. It represents the philosophical foundation of Marxism. It is the doctrinal base on which the entire edifice of Marxism stands.

Larson has very nicely outlined the basic postulates of Marxian dialectical method as follows:

- (1) all the phenomena of nature are part of an integrated whole;
- (2) nature is in continuous state of movement and change;
- (3) the development process is a product of quantitative advances which culminate in abrupt qualitative changes; and
- (4) contradictions are inherent in all realms of nature but particularly human society.

This methodology perceived history as a series of stage based on a particular mode of production and characterized by a particular type of economic organization. Because of the inherent contradictions, each stage contained the seeds of its own destruction. And in the words of Stalin, “the dialectical method holds that the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as a nonward

and upward movement, as transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state from the lower to the higher.”

1.7 LAWS OF DIALECTICS

Dialectical materialism evolved by Marx is diametrically opposite to Hegelian dialectics. It seeks to explain everything in terms of contradictions of matter. Dialectical materialism provides abstract laws for natural and social change. Contrary to metaphysics, it believes that in Nature, things are interconnected, interrelated and determined by each other. It considers Nature as an integral whole. Dialectical materialism declares that the law of reality is the law of change. There is constant transformation in inorganic nature and human world. There is nothing eternally static. These transformations are not gradual but there is a violent, revolutionary shift. Marx’s colleague Friedrich Engels put forward the following **three major laws** of dialectical materialism.

1. The Law of the Unity and Conflict of Opposites

We have studied that everything changes, we have also learnt about the nature and direction of change, but what remains to be seen is the cause behind change. What leads to change? The law of the unity and conflict of opposites is the core of dialectics. This law reveals the sources, the real causes of the eternal motion and development of the material world.

It states that there are internal sides, tendencies, forces of an object or phenomena, which are mutually exclusive but at the same time presuppose each other. The inseparable interconnections of these opposite tendencies or contradictions are responsible for the unity of opposites. This contradictoriness of objects and phenomena of the world is of a general, universal nature. There is no object or phenomenon in the world which could not be divided into opposites. These opposites coexist and one is inconceivable without the other. However,

these opposites cannot coexist peacefully in one object: the contradictory, mutually exclusive character of opposites necessarily causes a struggle between them. The old and the new, the emergent and the obsolete must come into conflict. Here it is important to note that the unity of opposites is a necessary condition of the conflict, because it takes place only where opposite sides exist in one object or phenomenon. It is the contradiction, the conflict of opposites that is the main source of development of matter and consciousness. Development is the struggle of these opposites. Here, more often than not one opposite or tendency of the two tries to maintain the status quo and the other counterpart tries to radically change the status quo. This conflict leads to a new situation, object, phenomenon or stage or development, when the mature conditions come into existence after several quantitative changes. This radical change is the qualitative change. This is how one can find the logical interconnections between these three laws of dialectical materialism. It would be erroneous to ignore the role of external influences which may help or hinder one form of movement or another. Nevertheless, each movement takes its source from internal contradictions, so that the emergence of new contradictions gives rise to a new form of movement, while their disappearance gives place to another form of movement for which other contradictions are responsible. The opposites can never become balanced completely. The unity, the equal effect of opposites, is temporary and relative, whereas their conflict is eternal. Both the laws of transition from quantitative changes to qualitative changes and that of negation of the negation may be regarded as particular instances of the law of unity and conflict of opposites, which reveals the sources of all development and change. This abstract law of the unity and conflict of opposites can be explained and understood if applied to successive modes of production in the history of development of society.

2. The Law of Negation of Negation

The term 'negation' was introduced in philosophy by Hegel but with an idealist meaning. Hegel believed that the negation was present in the development of the idea, of thought. Marx criticized Hegel and gave a materialistic interpretation of negation. He showed that negation is an integral part of development of reality itself. Marx wrote, "In no sphere can one undergo a development without negating one's previous mode of existence." Let us explain it. For example, the development of the earth's crust has undergone a number of geological eras, each new era, arising on the basis of the preceding one, represents a certain negation of the old. In animal world also, each new species of animal, arising on the basis of the old, at the same time represents its negation. The history of society also consists of a chain of negations of the old social order by the new: as Raymond Aron (1965) puts it, capitalism is the negation of feudal society, and socialism would be the negation of capitalism i.e. negation of negation. In the realm of knowledge and science also, each new scientific theory negates the old theories, for example, Bohn's theory of atom negated Dalton's molecular theory or Darwin's theory negated earlier speculations about human evolution. Here one thing should be kept in mind. Negation is not something introduced into an object or phenomenon from outside, but is the result of the objects or phenomenon's own, internal development. Objects and phenomena develop on the basis of their own inherent, internal contradictions: they themselves create the conditions for their destruction, for the change into a new, higher quality.

Karl Marx Negation is the overcoming of the old through internal contradictions, a result of self-development, self- movement of objects and phenomena. Thus, socialism comes to take the place of capitalism because it resolves the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. Dialectical negation, therefore, consists of the fact that something of a stage which is negated is lost, something becomes part of the new, negating stages (although in a modified form),

and something entirely new is added. Thus, recognition of continuity, the connection of the new and the old in development is a feature of the Marxist understanding of negation. But we must bear in mind that the new never takes over the old completely, as it is. It takes from the old only certain elements or aspects. This too, it does not absorb mechanically, but assimilates and transforms them in conformity with its own nature. For example, after throwing off the colonial yoke, in India we started building a new nation. In this process, we tried to do away with all the vestiges of oppression and the institutions that blocked national development. However, we did retain the educational, legal and bureaucratic structures along with the modern infrastructure of transportation and telecommunication. Due to these reasons, the succession of developmental stages is progressive. Although no stage is ever completely repeated, some features of earlier stages necessarily recur, although in a different form, at later stages. In this way, the old is destroyed and the new arises. This is only one of the stages of development, not to end, because development does not stop here. Anything new does not remain new forever. While developing, it prepares the prerequisites for the rise of something newer and more progressive. When these prerequisites and conditions ripen, negation again occurs. This is a negation of the negation, that is the negation of that which itself previously overcame the old: this is replacement of the new by something newer. The result of this second negation is again negated, overcome, and so on till infinity. Development thus appears as a countless number of successive negations, as an endless replacement or overcoming of old by the new.

3. The Law of Transition of Quantity into Quality

In nature, everything is in a state of continuous movement and change. Certain things are arising or coming into existence whereas certain things are developing, and/or decaying and certain things are dying or going out of existence at a given time. This means a state of

continuous flux. As said earlier, Marx believed that law of reality is the law of change. Now the question arises regarding the nature of change. What kind of change is this? This law responds to this particular question. According to this law, process of change is not simple or gradual but it is a product of quantitative advances which result in abstract qualitative changes at a particular moment when mature conditions are present. There is never repetition of occurrences. This change is always from lower to higher, simpler to complex, homogeneous to heterogeneous levels of reality.

Let us elaborate this point of quantitative and qualitative changes. The appearance or the birth of the new and the death or disappearance of the old can be considered as qualitative changes, philosophically as well as logically. Whereas all other changes, whereby different parts or aspects of object become rearranged increase or diminish (while the object retains its identity) could be considered as quantitative changes. To explain and simplify it further, one could say that the qualitative changes may be of two forms: (i) something did not exist, but now it does, and (ii) something existed but now it does not. Quantitative changes, on the other hand, are infinitely diverse, e.g., larger smaller, more/ less, more often more seldom, faster-slower, warmer-colder, lighter-heavier, worse-better, poorer-richer, and so on. In fact, these quantitative changes occur continuously in every object of Nature and they reach to a limit determined by the nature of each process, after which a leap inevitably occurs.

The limit beyond which continuous change is interrupted is described as measure philosophy. This leap is the qualitative change. To give a concrete example, Indian national movement for freedom was continuing for more than a century leading to continuous quantitative changes and when it reached its limit there was a leap at the midnight stroke of the clock on 15th August 1947. India was a free country. Independence from colonialism was the qualitative change. Similarly, the process of ageing in human being does not stop even for a fraction of a second. We keep getting older or in other words we keep undergoing quantitative changes

and when we reach the limit prescribed by nature, we meet the qualitative change i.e. death. This example could also be applied to birth of an infant. Quantitative changes keep going on during gestation period right from the day of conception but the qualitative change occurs when the baby breaths air in this world i.e. when it is born. Hence the dialectical level or law of transition from quantity to quality and vice versa is that continuous quantitative changes, upon attaining measure, cause abrupt qualitative changes, which in their turn determine the character of the further continuous quantitative changes. From this law, we move on the other very significant law of dialectical materialism known as the law of negation of the negation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Briefly discuss the three laws of the dialectical materialism.

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2) What is dialectical materialism.

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3) What is meant by law of negation of negation.

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1.8 Criticism of Dialectical Materialism

The contention of Marx that the dialectic furnishes a clue to history is not correct. No one can explain history dialectically. "History" as Karl Federn points out, "proceeds from an unending stream of which no one knows the beginning or the end as the span of history being unlimited". It is difficult to determine the stages of history which correspond to thesis, antithesis or synthesis. The difficulty with this dialectical triad is that their precise location in history is more a matter of hypothesis than any actual occurrence.

If every movement of history is a movement towards progress in terms of dialectical process, then how do we account for 'dissolution and decay'? Can we say that this part of history cannot be subjected to dialectic?

The doctrine of dialectic is also not correct because where as it is only an 'Optimistic doctrine' the actual history is both a record of rise and fall. History is not merely a record of progress. It also tells the story of downfall and regress. Thus, as a theory of continued and uninterrupted progress, the dialectic stands in sharp contrast to actual history which is as much a narrative of rise and progress as a tale of decay and dissolution.

1.9 Let us Sum Up

Thus, to sum up the term dialectic has not been precisely defined and uniformly used. There is no consistency among the Marxists as regards its true important and connotation. In fact, the use of the term 'contradiction' in relation to the dialectic has often been confused with the word's negation or antagonism. This makes the confusion worse confounded and hampers a correct comprehension of the Marxian logic and philosophy.

1.10 Glossary

- **Dialectical materialism:** It is a philosophy that combines the ideas of materialism and dialectics to explain reality.
- **Materialism:** The philosophical view that facts are dependent on material reality. Materialism is a realist philosophy of science that holds that the world is material and that all things are interconnected and develops according to natural law.
- **Dialectics:** A method for understanding how people with differing view points can establish the truth through rationality.
- **Historical materialism:** A theory developed by Marx and Engels that argues that social and political change is a function of changes in the economic system.
- **Law of transition from quantity to quality:** The idea that continuous quantitative changes cause abrupt qualitative changes. For example, an infant's birth is a qualitative change that occurs after quantitative changes during gestation.
- **Law of negation of the negation:** The law of the negation of the negation is a philosophical principle describing development through a cyclical process where a contradiction is first negated, and then that negation is itself negated.

1.11 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Discuss Marxism concept of Dialectical Materialism in brief.

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2. Discuss the law of the unity and conflict of opposites briefly.

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1.12 Suggested Readings

1. Ritzer, George. 1992. *Sociological Theory*. McGraw-Hill.
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MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY**STRUCTURE**

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Materialistic Interpretation of History
- 2.3 Application of the Laws of Dialectical Materialism
- 2.4 Primitive-Communal Form of Society
- 2.5 Slave-Ownning Society
- 2.6 Feudal Society
- 2.7 Capitalist Society
- 2.8 Criticism of Historical Materialism
- 2.9 Economic Determinism
- 2.10 Criticism of Economic Determinism
- 2.11 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.12 Glossary
- 2.13 Self-Assessment Questions
- 2.14 Suggested Readings

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The main focus of this lesson is to equip you with:

- Role of History in understanding society.
- The Marxian concepts of History and social change.

2.1 Introduction

Marx not only accepted the dialectic as a kind of philosophical gospel; he also endeavored to show that it has actually operated in history through the medium of contending classes. He aspired to make his socialism scientific and, therefore, began probing into history to discover its rational kernel. His investigations revealed the important role that economic factors play in human history. The importance which he attached to the material forces in history led to the enunciation of the doctrine called "historical materialism." According to Engels, historical materialism is that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historical events in the economic development of society, in the changes, in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes and in the struggle of these classes against one another. Plekhanov says that historical materialism is simply dialectical materialism applied to the particular field of human relations within society. And, Stalin explains, "Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the study of society and its history."

2.2 Materialistic Interpretation of History

Materialistic interpretation of history is another basic principle of Marxism. Marx applied the principle of dialectical materialism to the interpretation of history. As Marx has stated economic conditions determine historical phenomena. Human beings must eat and drink and obtain shelter and clothing before they can pursue politics, Science, religion and art. Thus, the stage of advancement of the production, distribution and

exchange of goods and organization of society resulting therefore, determine in the final analysis, the political, social and cultural developments.

Historical materialism is the economic interpretation of history: that is, all evolution is the result the economic forces alone. Marx regarded the economic forces as the predominant dynamic agency of human society and its history. This kind of economic interpretation found in Marx's historical materialism consists of the following aspects.

- **Essential aspects of the Economic Interpretation**

1. According to Marx, the material or economic conditions are more important than the ideological spiritual things. He did not accept spiritualism not idealism but based his concept of dialectics on materialism. With the pre-occupation of the materialistic ideas in his mind he declared that "It is not the consciousness of the man that determines their consciousness."
2. The form and structure of every society is determined by its economic structure. This economic structure is referred to as the "infrastructure" of society. This infrastructure consists of two things.
 - (a) "Material forces of production", and
 - (b) The indispensable "relations of production."
3. The economic infrastructure constitutes the basis on which the social, political, religious, moral, educational, legal and other institutional network referred to as "super-structure" is built. The "social consciousness" which includes the thoughts, ideologies and philosophies of the people, is rooted in this institutional network.
4. The forces of conflict which are associated with the historical development within the society have brought about conflict within the economic infrastructure, that is, between the "forces of production" and "relations of

production." It is through the ideological form's men become conscious of the conflict within the economic structure.

5. The productive forces of the society determine its total conditions. The modes of production determine the character of the social, political and intellectual life, in general. Change in the system of production brings about transformation in the social, political, legal and cultural institutions. Thus, according to Marx, the form of production is the cause of difference between the legal, political, intellectual and religious institutions of the pastoral, feudal and capitalist societies.

2.3 APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

The principles or laws of dialectical materialism hold good for nature, world and society alike. When these laws are applied to the history of society they take the shape of historical materialism. Here we shall see how the laws of dialectical materialism are applied to understand the successive forms and modes of production and hence social change.

2.4 Primitive-Communal Form of Society

This was the first, the simplest and the lowest form of mode of production. During the period of this form of mode of production, appearance of improved and also new implements, such as bows and arrows and learning to make a fire were examples of quantitative changes in terms of the laws of dialectical materialism. Even beginning of cultivation and herding were examples of similar type of changes. The extremely low-level relations of production were based on cooperation and mutual help due to common, communal ownership of means of production. These relations were conditioned by the fact that people with their primitive tools

could only collectively withstand the mighty forces of nature.

Even in primitive society the productive forces developed steadily. The tools were improved and skills were gradually accumulated. The most significant development was the transition to metal tools. With the growth of productivity, the communal structure of society started breaking into families. Private property arose and the family started becoming the owner of the means of production. Here the contradiction between the communal relations of production and the potential forms of exploiting classes led to the qualitative change i.e. transition into ancient mode of production. There was conflict of opposites within the system which led to the negation of primitive-communal system. Consequently, a new stage of slavery appeared. The slavery system can be described as the negation of primitive communal system.

2.5 Slave-Ownning Society

In this form of society, the primitive equality gave way to social inequality and emergence of slave-owning classes and slaves. The forces of production underwent further quantitative changes. In the slave-owning society, the relations of production were based on the slave-owner's absolute ownership of both the means of production and the slaves themselves and their produce. In this society, there existed the contradictions between slave-owners and slaves. When the mature conditions were reached the struggle of these contradictions led to the qualitative change i.e. the negation of slave-owning society by way of its transition into feudal society. The conflict of the opposites i.e. the slave-owners and slave culminated into violent slave revolts ultimately effecting the negation. We can say that the feudal system stands as an example of negation of negation. It means that feudal society can be seen as an example of negation of slave owning society which itself is a negation of primitive-communal society.

2.6 Feudal Society

Slavery system was the first stage where relations of production were based on domination and exploitation by the slave-owner class of the slave class. This was the stage, where the relations of production saw qualitatively fundamental differences compared to previous stage. In feudal stage, the forces of production saw rapid quantitative change where for the first time inanimate sources of energy such as water and wind were tapped. The development of these productive forces was facilitated by the feudal relations of production. The feudal lords oppressed and exploited their serfs. However, towns began to emerge at this time. Trade, commerce and manufacture began to flourish. Many serfs ran away from the feudal estates to pursue a trade in the growing towns. The conflict of opposites within the feudal system namely, that of landless serfs against feudal lords, reached its maturity. The feudal system declined and its negation was the capitalist system.

2.7 Capitalist Society

Based on private capitalist ownership, the capitalist relations of production facilitated tremendous growth of the productive forces. With this growth of productive forces, capitalist relations of production ceased to correspond to forces of production in feudal system. The most significant contradiction of the capitalist mode of production is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation. Production in capitalist society bears a strikingly pronounced social character. Many millions of workers are concentrated at large plants and take part in social production, while the fruits of their labour are appropriated by a small group of owners of the means of production. This is the basic economic contradiction of capitalism. This contradiction or conflict of opposites gives rise to economic crisis and unemployment, causes fierce class battles between the bourgeoisie (the capitalists) and the proletariat (the working class), in other words,

quantitative changes. The working class would help bring about a socialist revolution. This revolution would, according to Marx abolish the capitalist production relations and usher in the new qualitative change i.e. the communist socio-economic formation.

The new communist socio-economic formation, as we have seen earlier, passes in its development through two phases, socialism and communism. Socialism does away with private ownership of the means of production. It establishes public ownership of means of production. In such a society the proletariat will jointly own means of production and distribute the produce according to the needs of people. This is the stage of dictatorship of proletariat, which will later on also; do away with the state apparatus leading to a stateless society. This stage of the stateless society will be possible in communism, where the dialectic finally unfolds itself, ushering in a social system which would be free of any contradictions within classes. According to the laws of dialectics contradictions will remain as this is the basis of development. Under communism there will be contradiction between Human Being and Nature, as in Primitive-Communism. The basic difference now is that the level of technology will be higher and Nature will be exploited more efficiently. Thus, we see how the three laws of dialectics operate in Marx's interpretation of the history of society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Name the four modes of production.

(a) (b) (c)

(d)

Q2) Class antagonism reaches its climax and it leads to which of the following formations.

(a) Revolution

(b) Slavery

(c) Bourgeoisie

(d) Proletariat

Q3) What is the main contradiction of capitalist mode of production.

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Q1 Answer: 1. Communist 2. Slave 3. Feudal 4. Capitalist

Q2. Answer: (a) Revolution

2.8 Criticism of Historical Materialism

We shall consider the criticism of both Historical Materialism and Economic Determinism together, as both are inseparably linked together. Both the doctrines have been criticized as dogmatism, historicism, utopianism, historical fatalism, essentialism, holism, etc. The main points of criticism of historical materialism are as under:

The emphasis put on the economic factor as being the final pace setter or ultimate determinant to fall history is out of proportion to the actual role played by it. No doubt, the economic factor is an important determinant of changes, but it is neither the sole cause nor the ultimate cause in shaping the events of history. Marxism over-emphasizes the materialistic elements, ignoring the fact that many other elements also play an important role in the historical development of society.

Marxism maintains that the basis of historical development of society is changes in the mode of production. Various critics, however, point out that historical developments do not take place on the basis of economic changes or changes in the mode of production alone. There are ideological, psychological, demographic or

geographic and other factors which have equally contributed to the historical development of society.

The Marxian theory does not say anything about the role and contribution of great men and making and changing the course of history, Alexander's conquests, Asoka's peace efforts and Akbar's endeavors to bring about amity among the different religious communities of India cannot be explained in economic terms. The teachings of Prophet Mohammed, Jesus Christ or Lord Buddha cannot be explained in terms of economic urges or economic motives. Nor can the Indian nationalism be explained fully in purely economic terms. And, it would be preposterous to trace or explain Homer's poetry, Plato's philosophy, Newton's science and St. Paul's spirituality in terms of economic forces. The fact is that Marx grievously erred and greatly exaggerated the role and relevance of economic factors in shaping human history.

The theory does not take into account the 'contingent element' or 'chance happenings' of great historical significance. Imagine the course history would have taken if Lenin had not been allowed to return to Russia in 1917, or if Hitler had not committed the mistake of attacking Russia in that case, the entire course of Russian history would have been different. Thus, 'contingencies' and 'chance happenings' also play a decisive role in history.

2.9 Economic Determinism

This theory is also known as the theory of Economic interpretation of history or the Materialistic interpretation of history. This theory stresses the importance of economic factors in the evolution of human story. In the preface of his famous work "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" (1859), Marx poses the question: "What is the principle that governs human relations"? He himself replies: "It is the common ends which all men pursue

that govern human relations. That common end is the Production of means to support life and the exchange of things produced." This means that all changes are caused by the changes in the mode of production and exchange. A change in any other sphere, such as social or political sphere will affect history only marginally; a change in the economic sphere will cause lasting changes in history and affect its future course. Hence, history is determined by economic factors such as modes of production and exchange.

There are two factors which enter into Production, i.e., the productive forces (the instruments of production, such as land, labour, etc.) and the productive relations between men and men (the relations men enter into with one another while engaged in production). Engels explains the transition from materialist to economic interpretation as under:

"The materialistic conception of history starts from the principle that production, and with production the exchange of its products, is the basis of every order; that in every society which has appeared in history the distribution of the products, and with it the division of society into classes is determined by what is produced and how it is produced and how the products are exchanged. According to this conception, the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought not in the minds of men, in their increasing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange; they are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of the period concerned."

The productive relations depend upon and vary according to productive forces. If in a certain country, the productive forces are land and the plough, the productive relations will be that of the land owner and the peasant. If one varies the productive forces from land and plough to machines, manufacturing and skilled and non-skilled labour, the productive forces will become that of mill-owner and the industrial proletariat. Thus, a change in productive forces will indubitably change productive relations also. In the primitive society, the relations of production were those of co-operation owing to the fact that the worker was also the owner

of his tools or the means of production, while under capitalism, these relations become relations of conflict. This is because under capitalism, the means of production are privately owned by the capitalist and the worker has no control over them.

Marx calls the economic system of a country the substructure and the rest consisting of social, political and religious life as coming under the appellation superstructure. The economic system is the base and on it rests the superstructure of social, political, ethical and spiritual relationship. The superstructure is built upon and is determined by the substructure. A change in superstructure will be only superficial, only a change in the sub-structure can be real and lasting. Since the substructure is controlled by the economically dominant class, the superstructure will be so made as to suit the interests of this class. Laws, institutions, political principles, religious precepts, social code and moral values are carefully framed and shaped to suit the interests of the economically dominant class. And, as all laws, social norms and religious beliefs are based on the economic substructure; genuine social changes will not take place by the emergence of new principles of truth and justice as they belong to the superstructure. Real and purposeful changes will take place only if the control of substructure passes from the capitalist to those of the proletariat. So long as the productive forces are controlled by the capitalists, productive relations will always be that of exploitation and this will only provoke a class war. It will only sharpen the existing class antagonisms.

According to the Marxian theory of economic determinism, the forms of production will vary with the systems of feudalism, capitalism and socialism each representing the three stages of dialectical evolution, i.e., thesis, antithesis and synthesis. However, two things are of paramount importance. First, from the point of view of production, each stage is an advance over the other.

Secondly, the transition from one stage to another is always through struggle.

This is because the class which controls the levers of economic and political power will try to maintain the status quo and formally resist any attempts at changing it. However, the Marxian doctrine of dialectic is optimistic in nature. It believes that every struggle will be successful in the end; in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the bourgeoisie will be completely defeated by the revolutionary class-conscious proletariat; capitalism will collapse and ultimately a stateless society will be established. Therefore, in history, economic causes predominate other factors are only of marginal importance.

It is a rather lengthy quotation. Its main points areas follow:

- (i) In production, men enter into definite relations which are independent of their will.
- (ii) These relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production.
- (iii) The sum-total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real basis on which a juridical and political superstructure arises.
- (iv) It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.
- (v) At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production or property relations.
- (vi) Then an epoch of social revolution opens, with the change in the economic foundation, the whole vast superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

From the above discussion it is obvious that according to Marx, economic factors are the true determinants of history.

2.10 Criticism of Economic Determinism

The Theory of Economic Determinism, the critics point out, is both ambiguous and 'methodologically deficient'. While Marx considered 'production' as the prime mover of history, neither he, nor his friend Engels has clearly defined the meaning of 'production'. It is difficult to make out whether by production Marx meant 'productive forces' or the 'mode of production' or productive relations'. Moreover, his contention that the 'mode of production' is determined by technology only is not correct. The mode of production is surely affected by other factors including 'the state of science generally'. And, once we concede to being in 'other factors' the relationship of the sub-structure and the super-structure as visualized by Marx cannot remain the same. Therefore, critics consider his theory of economic determinism rather ambiguous and deficient.

Critics also consider the Marxian contention that the requirements of 'productive forces' determine the advancement of science and technology as untenable. In this regard Hallowell comments, "To say that scientific investigation is conditioned by the environment in which it takes place is one thing; to say, as Marx and Engels do, that it is determined by the economic environment is nonsense."

Marx naively assumed that changes in the economic substructure determine changes in the super-structure of religion, laws, institutions, etc., and the super-structure always remained passive. According to him all changes were caused by changes in the sub-structure and the superstructure was fully controlled by the sub-structure. Here, the question which has not been satisfactorily answered by Marxist is what brings about

changes is productive forces which constitute the economic sub-structure? Is the change automatic? Or, is it brought certain other factors in the super-structure? If so, how can we say that productive forces are fundamental?

Moreover, Marx included science in the super-structure and did not realize that it is not economics that has revolutionized science but science that has changed economics so thoroughly and completely. The modern economic system is largely conditioned by and is dependent upon the latest advances in the techniques of science. Technology today entirely depends on science. This clearly dispels the fallacy that the sub-structure determines and controls the super-structure. Today it is the science ridden super-structure which is decisively controlling the economic sub-structure. Even politically, the super-structure is not always passive and recognizing this fact, Stalin at a later date enunciated his famous theory of active super-structure and tried to remove the Marxist fallacy of sub-structure always controlling the superstructure.

2.11 LET US SUM UP

We studied Marx's most philosophically profound contribution of dialectics and social change. There was an introduction to the concept of dialectics followed by the fundamental laws of dialectics and change. This was followed by a discussion of the application of the laws of dialectical materialism in the successive modes of production and consequent social change in society. In this unit, we have therefore studied these successive forms of mode of production in the context of dialectical principles of Karl Marx. Finally, we discussed Marx's views on revolution and social change.

2.12 GLOSSARY

- **Historical materialism:** A theory of history that states that economic activity is the basis for all human institutions, and that social and political change occurs when those institutions no longer reflect the economy's "mode of production".
- **Mode of production:** A specific set of resources and human labor required to run an economic system.
- **Class struggle:** The inevitable conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat throughout history.
- **Dialectical materialism:** The idea that all things develop through material contradictions.
- **Base and superstructure:** The idea that the specific forms of social organization that emerge reflect the underlying structure of the means of production.
- **Raw material:** A substance that comes directly from nature, untouched by labor.

2.13 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Discuss Marxism concept of Historical Materialism in detail.

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2. Discuss the slave and feudal society as given by Marx in brief.

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2.14 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Ritzer, George;1992. *Sociological Theory*, McGraw-Hill.
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EMERGENCE OF CLASS AND CLASS CONFLICT

STRUCTURE

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The Class Structure
- 3.3 Classification of Societies in History and Emergence of Classes
- 3.4 Theory of Class and Class Conflict
- 3.5 Criticism of the Theory of Class Struggle
- 3.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.7 Glossary
- 3.8 Self-Assessment Questions
- 3.9 Suggested Readings

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, you should be able to:

- Define the concept of class.
- Describe the various criteria for class formation.
- Identify the various stages involved in the history of society that change due to class conflict or change in mode of production.

3.1 Introduction

While studying Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labour you have noted that Durkheim considered division of labour a social fact which contributed to social differentiation. He also stated that the differentiated society and its pathologies could be maintained through organic solidarity. Marx however has something different to say in relation to the role of division of labour. For him, society has been divided into classes because of its absolute dependence on the division of labour which precipitated dominance among the ruling class and subordination among the subjugated class. On the question of class and class antagonism, let us look at the most classical statement of Marx:

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journey men in a world, oppressor and oppressed, stood inconstant opposition to one another, candied in an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or common run of the contending classes.”

The above statement we have quoted from the, “The Communist Manifesto” (Marx and Engels) and the manifesto is a "propaganda pamphlet in which Marx and Engels presented some of their scientific ideas in collective form". Its central theme is class struggle to explain the above classical statement in some detail:

1. Human history is characterized by the struggle of human groups which will be called social classes.
2. The society is characterized by an antagonism between oppressors and oppressed

and there is a tendency towards apolarization into two blocks.

3. Among the two polarized classes (bourgeoisie and proletariat) the bourgeoisie is incapable of maintaining its ascendancy without revolutionizing the instrument of production.
4. The basis of antagonism is the contradiction between the forces and the relationship of production.
5. By revolutionizing the instrument of production, the capitalist system is able to produce more and in spite of this increase in wealth, poverty remains the lot of the majority.
6. This contradiction will eventually produce a revolutionary crisis.
7. The proletariat being the vast majority of the population will become a class. i.e., a social entity aspiring to the seizure of power and the transformation of social relations.
8. The proletarian revolution will mark the end of classes and of the antagonistic character of capitalist society.
9. According to Marx (in the communist Manifesto), in place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

3.2 THE CLASS STRUCTURE

The word 'class' originated from the Latin term 'classis' which refers to a group called to arms, a division of the people. In the rule of legendary Roman king, Servius Tullius (678-534 B.C.), the Roman society was divided into five classes or orders according to their wealth. Subsequently, the word 'class' was applied to large groups of people into which human society came to be divided. Marx recognized class as a unique feature of capitalist societies.

This is one reason why he did not analyze the class structure and class relations in other forms of society. Marx's sociology is, in fact, sociology of the class struggle. This means one has to understand the Marxian concept of class in order to appreciate Marxian philosophy and thought.

Marx has used the term social class throughout his works but explained it only in a fragmented form. The clearest passages on the concept of class structure can be found in the third volume of his famous work, Capital (1894). Under the title of 'Social Classes' Marx distinguished three classes, related to the three sources of income: (a) owners of simple labour power or labourers whose main source of income is labour; (b) owners of capital or capitalists whose main source of income is profit or surplus value; and (c) landowners whose main source of income is ground rent. In this way the class structure of modern capitalist society is composed of three major classes viz., salaried labourers or workers, capitalists and landowners.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

- i) Define a social class in two lines.

.....

.....

- ii) Name the two criteria for determining a class.

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.....

.....

3.3 Classification of Societies in History and Emergence of Classes

Marx differentiated stages of human history on the basis of their economic regimes or modes

of production. He distinguished four major modes of production which he called the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the bourgeois or capitalist. He predicted that all social development will culminate into a stage called communism. Let us simplify this classification of societies or various stages of human history into

- (i) Primitive-communal
- (ii) Slave-owning
- (iii) Feudal
- (iv) Capitalist
- (v) Communist

i) The Primitive-communal Society

The primitive-communal system was the first and the lowest form of organisation of people and it existed for thousands of years. Men and women started using primitive tools like sticks and stones for hunting and food-gathering. Gradually they improved these tools, and learned to make fire, cultivation and animal husbandry. In this system of very low level of forces of production, the relations of production were based on common ownership of the means of production. Therefore, these relations were based on mutual assistance and cooperation. These relations were conditioned by the fact that people with their primitive implements could only withstand the mighty forces of nature together, collectively.

ii) The Slave-owning Society

In the slave-owning society, primitive tools were perfected and bronze and iron tools replaced the stone and wooden implements. Large-scale agriculture, livestock raising, mining and handicrafts developed. The development of this type of forces of production also changed the relations of production. These relations were based on the slave owner's absolute ownership of both the means of production and the slave and everything they produced. The owner left

the slaves only with the bare minimum necessities to keep them from dying of starvation. In this system, the history of exploitation of humans by humans and the history of class struggle began. The development of productive forces went on and slavery became an impediment to the expansion of social production. Production demanded the constant improvement of implements, higher labour productivity, but the slaves had no interest in this as it would not improve their position. With the passage of time the class conflict between the classes of slave-owners and the slaves became acute and it was manifested in slave revolts.

iii) The Feudal Society

The progressive development of the productive forces continued under feudalism. People started using inanimate sources of energy, viz., water and wind, besides human labour. The crafts advanced further, new implements and machines were invented and old ones were improved. The labour of crafts persons was specialized, raising productivity considerably. The development of forces of production led to emergence of feudal relations of production. These relations were based on the feudal lords' ownership of the serfs or landless peasants. The production relations were relations of domination and subjection, exploitation of the serfs by the feudal lords. Nevertheless, these relations were more progressive than in slavery system, because they made the labourers interested, to some extent, in their labour. The peasants and the artisans could own the implements or small parts of land. These forces of production underwent changes due to new discoveries, increasing demands for consumption caused by population increase and discovery of new markets through colonialism. All this led to the need and growth of mass scale manufacture. This became possible due to advances in technology. This brought the unorganized labourers at one place i.e. the factory. This sparked off already sharpened class conflict leading to peasant revolution against landowners. The new system of production demanded free labourer whereas the serf was tied to the land, therefore, the new forces of production also changed the relations of production culminating

into a change in the mode of production from feudalism to capitalism.

iv) Capitalist Society

According to Marx, a capitalist society is characterized by private ownership of the means of production, class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the exploitation of labor for profit. In contrast, a communist society, as envisioned by Marx, would be a classless, stateless society with collective ownership of the means of production, eliminating exploitation and alienation.

v) Communist Society

The Communist Society was a free association of completely free men, where no separation between 'private and common interest' existed: a society where 'everyone could give himself a complete education in whatever domain he fancied'. For 'man's activity becomes an adverse force which subjugates him, instead of his being its master' when there is 'a division of labour'; everyone must then have a profession, that is a 'determined, exclusive sphere of activity' he has not chosen and in which 'he is forced to remain if he does not want to lose his means of existence'. In their Communist Society, on the contrary, a man would be given 'the possibility to do this today and that tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, to go fishing in the afternoon, to do cattle breeding in the evening, to criticize after dinner', as he chose.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-II

1) Give the name of five stages of society as given by Marx.

- a)
- b)
- c)
- d).....
- e)

2) Mark True or False against each of the following statements.

- a) History of class antagonism begins with slavery systems. True/False
- b) There was no private ownership of property in primitive-communal system.
True/False

Q1) Answer: 1. Primitive Communal 2. Slave 3. Feudal 4. Capitalist 5. Communalist

Q2) Answer: a) False b) True

3.4 Theory of Class and Class Conflict

A social class in Marx's terms is any aggregate of persons who perform the same function in the organization of production. It is determined not by occupation or income but by the position an individual occupies and the function he performs in the process of production. For example, two carpenters, of whom one is the shop owner and the other his paid worker, belong to two different classes even though their occupation is the same. Benedix and Lipset have identified five variables that determine a class in the Marxian sense:

- (1) Conflicts over the distribution of economic rewards between the classes;

- (2) Easy communication between the individuals in the same class positions so that ideas and action programs are readily disseminated;
- (3) Growth of class consciousness in the sense that the members of the class have a feeling of solidarity and understanding of their historic role;
- (4) Profound dissatisfaction of the over its inability to control the economic structure of which it feels itself to be the exploited victim;
- (5) Establishment of a political organization resulting from the economic structure, the situation and maturation of class-consciousness.

According to Marx, the organization of production is not a sufficient condition for the development of social classes. There must also be a physical concentration of masses of people, easy communication among them, and repeated conflicts over economic rewards and the growth of class consciousness. The small peasants form a vast mass and live in similar conditions but they are less interests and predicament; hence they do not constitute a class. In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life their interests and their culture from those of other classes, and put them into hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small peasants, and the identity of their interests be gets no unity, no national union, and no political organization, they do not form a class."

From the beginning of human existence in community, society has been divided into classes because of its absolute dependence on the division of labor which precipitated dominance among the ruling class and subordination among the subjugated class. Marx's classic statement clearly established the most fundamental premise of all his theoretical work on the question of class:

The history of all hitherto society is the history of class struggle. Free men and

slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journey man, in the word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

Although the class war has always been between the oppressor and the oppressed, the leading contenders in the social drama of conflict differed markedly in different historical periods. "The fact that modern workers are formally 'free' to sell their labor while being existentially constrained to do so makes their condition historically specific and functionally distinct from that of earlier exploited classes.

In addition to a recognition of the origin of class, Marx was even more interested in the future of class, especially as that future relates to the emergence of class-consciousness, an awareness of shared interests and the necessity of mutual support to other struggling classes against the ruling class. Marx made a distinction between "class in itself" and "class for itself" to reflect the movement from a class' potential self-awareness to actual self-awareness. Only when the "common struggle" as a point of consciousness appears within a class does that class actually emerge as a potential power force. "Self-conscious classes", Coser explains, "arise only if and when there exists a convergence of what Max Weber later called 'ideal' and 'material' interests, that is the combination of economic and political demands with moral and ideological quests.

The assault upon the class structure of western society was almost an obsession with Marx. And the changing of social class was not to be thought of as manageable in terms of "social mobility", for which Marx gave virtually no room in his methodology or analysis. Social class was bigger than the individual and the individual was dominated by

it. It fell upon the responsibility of the class system itself, of the state, to take in hand steps to alter the situation.

In the Capital Marx said that "here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class-interests. "To deal with the predicament of modern man, alienated, dominated, and estranged from himself, his neighbours, and his world, the analyst must not begin with the individual but with the social structure within which the individual is essentially caught up and lost as a person".

This emphasis on the objective determinants of man's class bound behavior does not mean Marx reified society and class at the expense of the individual; rather his primary interest laying the identification of the source of the problem of modern man and his entrapment in the complexities of social relations that control and constrain him. "The individual is a social being", Marx insisted. "The manifestation of his life-even when it does not appear directly in the form of social manifestation, accomplished in association with other men-is therefore a manifestation and affirmation of social life.

Marx developed his theory of class conflict in his analysis and critique of the capitalist society. The main ingredients of the theory may be summarized as follows:

1. The development of the proletariat. Marx described the process of development of the proletariat as follows:

The first attempts of the workers to associate among themselves always take place in the form of combination (unions). Large-Scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interest. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in common thoughts of resistance combinations. Thus, combinations

always have a double aim, that of stopping the competition among themselves, in order to Bring about a general Competition With the capitalist.

The capitalist economic system transformed the masses of people into workers, created for them a common situation and inculcated in them an awareness of common interest. Through the development of class consciousness, the economic conditions of capitalism united the masses and constituted them into a class for itself.

2.The importance of property: To Marx, the most distinguishing characteristics of any society is its form of property, and the crucial determinant of an individual's behaviour is his relation to property. Classes are determined on the basis of individual's relations to the means of production. It is not a man's occupation but his position relative to the instruments of production that determines his class. Property divisions are the crucial breaking lines in the class structure. Development of economic rewards fortified the class barriers. Since work was the basic form of man's self-realization, economic conditions of the particular historic era determined the social, political and legal arrangements and set in motion the processes of evolution and social transformation.

3.The identification of economic and political power and authority. Although classes are founded on the forces and relations of production, they become socially significant only in the political sphere. Since the capitalist society is based on the concentration of the means of production and distribution in the hands of a few, political power becomes the means by which the ruling class perpetuates its domination and exploitation of the masses. The capitalists who hold the monopoly of effective private property take control of the political machinery, and their interests converge in the political and ideological spheres, "Political power, property so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." The bourgeoisie use the State as an instrument of economic exploitation and

consolidation of self-interests. "The State is the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests". The economic power of the bourgeoisie is transformed into political power, and the entire political processes and institutions including the courts, the police and the military and the ruling elites become subservient to the interests of the capitalists.

4.Polarization of Classes: Inherent in capitalist society is a tendency toward radical polarization of classes. "The whole society toward radical polarization of classes. "The whole society breaks up more and more into great hostile camps, two greats, directly antagonistic, classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat. The capitalists who own the means of production and distribution, and the working classes who own nothing but their own labor. This is not to deny the existence of other classes; indeed, Marx repeatedly referred to the small capitalists, the petit bourgeoisie, and the lumpen proletariat. But on maturation of class consciousness and at the height of the conflict, the petit bourgeoisie and small capitalists will be deprived of their property and drawn into the ranks of the proletariat. This is what Aron calls the process of proletarianization which "means that, along with the development of the capitalist regime, the intermediate strata between capitalists and proletarians will be worn thin and that an increasing number of the representatives of these intermediate strata will be absorbed by the proletariat. Marx is emphatic that only two classes-capitalist and proletariat represent a possibility for a political regime and that on the day of the decisive conflict, every man will be forced to join either of the two contending classes.

5.Pauperization: Poverty of the proletariat grows with increasing exploitation of labor. One capitalist kills many others and the wealth of the bourgeoisie is swelled

by large profits with corresponding increase in "the mass of poverty, of pressure, of slavery, of exploitation," of the proletariat.

"It follows that in every mode of production which involves the exploitation of man by man, the social product is so distributed that the majority of people, the people who labor, are condemned to toil for no more than the barest necessities of life. Sometimes favorable circumstances arise when they can win more, but more often they get the barest minimum-and at times not even that. On the other hand, a minority, the owners of means of production, the property owners, enjoy leisure and luxury. Society is divided into rich and poor." Thus, to Marx poverty is the result of exploitation, not of scarcity.

6. Alienation: The economic exploitation and inhuman working conditions lead to increasing alienation of man, a theme about which we will have more to say later. Here we will only reproduce an extended passage from Marx:

Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of, the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into hated toil; they estrange from him the intellectual potentialities of the labor-process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as an independent power; they distort the conditions under which he works; subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his lifetime into working-time and drag his wife and child under the wheels of the juggernaut of capital. But all methods for the accumulation of surplus value are at the same time methods of accumulation; and every extension of accumulation becomes again a means of the development of those methods. It follows therefore that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the laborer be his payments high or low, must grow worse."

Work is no longer an expression of man himself, only a degraded instrument of livelihood. It is external to the worker and imposed upon him; there is not fulfillment in work. The product of work becomes an instrument of alien purpose. The worker becomes estranged from himself, from the process as well as the product of his labor, from his fellowmen and from the human community itself.

7. Class solidarity and antagonism: With the growth of class consciousness, the crystallization of social relations into two groups become stream lined and the classes tend to become internally homogeneous, and the class struggle more intensified. In the words of Marx:

With the development of industry, the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels the strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeoisie and the resulting commercial crises makes the wages of the workers ever more fluctuated. The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeoisie take more and more character of collisions between two classes. There upon the workers begin to form to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeoisie and the resulting commercial crises makes the wages of the workers ever more fluctuated. The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeoisie take more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeoisie take more and

more than character of collisions between two classes. There upon the workers begin to form combination (trade unions) against the bourgeoisie; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent association in order to make provisions before hand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

8.Revolution: At the height of the class war a violent revolution breaks out which destroys the structure of capitalist society. This revolution is mostly likely to occur at the peak of economic crises which is part of the recurring booms and repressions characteristic of capitalism. To quote Marx: "Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, infact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie ideologists who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole."

9.The dictatorship of the proletariat: The bloody revolution terminates capitalist society and lead to the social dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolution is violent but does not necessarily involve mass killings of the bourgeoisie; since property is wrested from them, the bourgeoisie will cease to have power and will be transformed into the ranks of the proletariat. Thus, the inevitable historical process destroys the bourgeoisie and the proletariat establishes a social dictatorship, merely a transitional phase, to consolidate the gains of the revolution. The political expression of the social dictatorship was conceived as a form of worker's democracy which later became "a fateful bone of contention" among Marxists. Irving Howe observes: "By now, almost all socialists have abandoned the treacherous phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat', both because it is open to obvious misconstruction and because it has

acquired, in the Stalinist and post-Stalinist dictatorship, abhorrent connotations. Marx himself had written that he differentiated himself from 'those communists who were out to destroy personal liberty and who wish to turn the world into one large barrack or into a gigantic warehouse'.

The theory of class struggle is an important component of the contemporary political theory. Karl Marx was of the opinion that when the superstructure of any society fails to adjust itself to the rapid changes in the system of production and exchange there comes a crisis which can only be resolved by means of a revolution. Unless the new social order uses force, the old social order does not give place to it. In the Communist Manifesto Marx declared that the only way of changing any social structure was the class struggle. **He said: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."**

But what is a class? Marx does not define a class and only obliquely refers to the existence of various intermediary classes. But Lenin gives a comprehensive definition of classes. He defines them as 'large groups of people who differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of social production, by their relations to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and consequently by the dimensions and methods of acquiring the share of the social wealth they obtain.' A man's class was, therefore, determined not by his belief, but by the position he occupied within the system of production.

Marx maintains that the various intermediary classes, in the end, group themselves into two broad categories or divisions, i.e., the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. He made it clear that he was not the originator of the idea of class struggle. He says: "No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeoisie historians had, described the historical development of this struggle of the classes and bourgeois economists, the economic

anatomy of the classes. What I did was to prove:

That the existence of classes is only bound up with particular phases in the development of production; that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. That this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and a classless society. The driving force behind the dialectic of history is not the clash of nations, as Hegel and other historians believed, but the class struggle.

As has been pointed out earlier, in the primitive society, means of production were owned by the workers themselves. In this society the needs of men were few and everybody used to work to produce the means to support life. Products were exchanged through the barter system and there were no intermediaries in between. Hence, the relations of production were those of co-operation and harmony.

However, with the establishment of capitalism, conditions and relations of production changed drastically. Under capitalism, the means of production are owned privately by the capitalists. A capitalist purchases human labour as any other commodity raw materials, machinery, etc.

The labourer by selling his 'labour' gets mere daily wages which are much less than what he should get for the quantity of his real labour. Thus, in return for the poor wages, the labourer loses the entire control over the product of his labour. As the means of production are already owned by the capitalist, he appropriates the 'surplus value' produced by the labourer. This strains the relations between the workers and the capitalist and now the productive relations get entangled in discord, conflict and enmity. In this manner, under capitalism the polarisation of society into two hostile camps becomes complete. Whereas in earlier times the divisions of society were at best only nominal; under capitalism the polarisation of classes takes place on a vast scale and results in sharpening the class conflict. Now class differences become

genuine, sharp and irreconcilable. They can now only be resolved through a violent revolution, which of course, the Marxists believe, will end in the eventual victory of the proletariat. This whole phenomenon has been lucidly explained by Karl Marx in the Communist Manifesto. He says that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles, “Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journey man, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes”.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs. In almost all of these classes again, subordinate gradations are there.

The modern bourgeoisie society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, and new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature. It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into great, hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the explanation of the class struggle, Marx establishes that (a) the dialectic has actually operated in history through the medium of these contending classes and that (b) under capitalism this class struggle sharpens and can only end in the revolutionary victory of the proletariat.

Karl Marx is of the opinion that most of the history was written under the great illusion that states have fought and clashed against one another. In fact, the struggle has always been between economic classes and not the states. All the struggles within a state, whether they were for a change of government from monarchy to democracy, or the struggle to gain universal franchise or other political reforms, were in essence the struggles waged by different contending economic classes.

Marx, as we have pointed out earlier, divides the classes into two broad categories, i.e., the bourgeoisie and the proletariat or the rich and the poor classes. The rich being the owners of means of production and, appropriators of the 'surplus value', live on rent, profits, interests, dividends and unearned income.

The poor, on the other hand, sell their labour in return for fixed wages and are, thereby, deprived of all control over the product of their own labour. Marx explains it thus: "Man's own deed becomes an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him." In the same vein Herbert Marcuse says: "An uncontrolled economy legislates over all human relationship."

This causes social disequilibrium, which in turn results in a virulent class war. Economic disparity between the two classes goes on increasing and creating irreconcilable class differences. The gap which exists in bourgeois society, between the rich and the poor; in what the 'labour produces' and what it gets in return and the plight of the labour is explained by Marx with a telling effect in the following words: labour produces for the rich wonderful things but for the worker it produces privation. It produces palaces but for the workers, hovels. It produces beauty but for the workers, deformity. It replaces labour by machines but for the worker it throws back to a barbarous type of labour, and the other workers in turn into machines. It produces intelligence but for the worker idiocy, criticism. "With the realization by the workers of the glaring disparities and their own plight, the existing class

antagonisms are further sharpened. This leads to a class war, which in the opinion of Marx, will culminate in the revolutionary victory of the class consciousness proletariat. Capitalism, to Marx, is marked for destruction. Its own minor contradictions as well as revolutionary efforts of the proletariat shall completely annihilate Capitalism from the earth”.

Therefore, according to Karl Marx, class struggle is a very important factor in the historical evolution from the primitive society to the feudal society and the modern bourgeoisie industrial society. Its germs lie in the centuries old struggle of contending economic classes. The struggle is destined to wipe out capitalism and to lead to the establishment of a classless and stateless society. The class struggle will end in the final victory of the proletariat who will ultimately usher in the communistic society.

3.5 Criticism of the Theory of Class Struggle

The theory of class struggle has been severely criticised by many thinkers. According to Prof. Lancaster, "As a propaganda, this theory is excellent, if for no other reason than that it puts the worker on the side that it informs him that he is sure to win. As a science, it is considerably less satisfactory, since there are grave difficulties about the term 'class' and, therefore, about the reality of class struggle. In view of the fundamental importance of the conception of class it is curious to see how little attention the Marxists give to defining it."

In the opinion of **Prof, Carew Hunt**, the theory of class struggle as an explanation of history is quite untenable, He says: "Marx's thesis that all conflict among men arises from the class struggle, albe it, is of undoubted tactical value as calculated to convince the masses that their misfortunes are attributed to the capitalist system and will disappear with the victory of the proletariat is, nonetheless, fallacious. For the supreme source of conflict in life is the inevitable opposition between the claims of the individual and those of society, a conflict which is not reducible to class struggle and cannot be dialectically resolved as it is

part of the unchanging human situation."

The critics of the theory of class struggle also point out that in explaining the role of social classes in history, Marx committed two great mistakes. First, he identified social classes with economic classes. For him, there was no difference between the two. Secondly, he equated the struggle between classes with the struggle between the capitalist employer and exploiter, on the one hand, and the exploited labour or wage earner, on the other. He called it the 'class struggle'. It is pointed out that class struggle cannot come into existence unless social classes possess the solidarity and unity of purpose. Popper has aptly remarked: "Indeed, the divergence of interests within the ruling and the ruled classes goes so far that Marx's theory of classes must be considered as a dangerous over-simplification, even if we admit that the issue between the rich and the poor is always of fundamental importance. One of the great themes of medieval history, the fight between popes and emperors, is an example of dissension within the ruling class. It would be probably false to interpret this quarrel as one between exploiters and exploited."

3.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have discussed the concept of class and class conflict in the history of development of society as given by Karl Marx. He defined class in terms of people's relationship to the means of production and their class-consciousness. In Marxian terms, the history of society, so far, is the history of class struggle. This means that ever since the social inequality and exploitation started in human history, that is, beginning from slavery system, society has been divided into mutually warring classes of Haves and Have-nots. This successive class conflict and change in mode of production has led to change in the stages of society from slavery to feudalistic and feudalistic to capitalistic system. The final social

revolution would transform the capitalistic system into communist system where there would be no more classes, social inequality and class conflict. In other words, there will be de-alienation of the proletariat.

3.7 GLOSSARY

- **Bourgeoisie:** Also known as ‘Haves’ are those people who own the means of production for example: landowners and capitalists in industrial societies.
- **Capitalism:** It is one of the historical stages of society where the means of production are mainly machinery, capital and labour.
- **Class:** When people share the same relationship to the means of production and also share the similar consciousness regarding their common interest, they constitute a class.
- **Class-conflict:** When two classes having basic antagonism Class and Class Conflict of class interests struggle or clash in order to safeguard their class interests then it is called class conflict.
- **Feudalism:** It is also one of the historical stages of society where the means of production are mainly land and labour.
- **Relations of Production:** According to Marx, the forces of production shape the nature of the ‘relations of production’. These are, in fact, the social relations found in production i.e., economic roles, e.g., labourer, landowner, capitalist, etc.
- **Mode of Production:** It refers to the general economic institution i.e., the particular manner in which people produce and distribute the means that sustain life. The forces of production and the relations of production together define the

mode of production. Examples of modes of production are capitalistic mode of production, feudal mode of production, etc.

- **Proletariat:** These people are also known as ‘Have-nots’ and these are the people who do not own any means of production except their own labour power. Hence all the landless peasants or agricultural labourers in feudal societies and industrial workers in capitalist societies are the proletariat.
- **Forces of Production:** Forces of production mean the ways in which production is done; the technological ‘know-how’, the types of equipment’s in use and types of goods being produced, e.g., tools, machinery, labour, etc.
- **Infrastructure:** According to Marx, the materialistic structure or economic structure is the foundation or base of society. In other words, it is also called the infrastructure. The superstructure of society rests on it. Infrastructure includes mode of production and hence forces of production and relations of production.
- **Means of Production:** It includes all the elements necessary for production, e.g., land, raw material, factory, labour and capital, etc.
- **Superstructure:** All social, political and cultural institutions of societies accepting economic institutions constitute the superstructure of a society.
- **Revolution:** It is the sudden, total and radical change in society brought in by the matured conditions of class conflict.

3.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the main features of communism in five lines.

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2. Give the five stages of society as given by Marx.

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3. Discuss Marxism concept of Dialectical Materialism in brief.

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4. What is meant by the term Alienation.

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5. How you define the term class.

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6. Discuss the concept of Materialistic Conception of history as given by Marx in brief.

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3.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Coser, Lewis A, 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas in Historical and Social Context*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Inc.: New York (Chapter 2, pp. 43-88).

ALIENATION IN THE CAPITALIST SOCIETY**STRUCTURE**

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Alienation as a Concept
- 4.3 Alienation as a Process
- 4.4 Marx four types of Alienation
- 4.5 How to Overcome Alienation according to Marx
- 4.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.7 Glossary
- 4.8 Self-Assessment Questions
- 4.9 Suggested Readings

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After you have studied this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the concept of alienation
- how it is applied in analyzing the modern society study explain aspects of alienation like objectification

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The theory of alienation of Karl Marx is to be found in his Economic and Political Manuscripts (1843), known for its humanist content and written by him when he was in his mid-twenties. This theory involves a view of human relationships not based on the principle of equality but of one man being, superior to another; of one man being a master and another slave; of one man being an exploiter and another being exploited. Marx used the theory of alienation to analyse the problem of man and his humanity in a capitalist system and forcefully condemned capitalism as a 'vulgar system' because it resulted in the shameless process of dehumanizing man. Like his concept of dialectic, the theory of alienation was borrowed by Marx from Hegel and Feuerbach. According to Hegel, the goal of man was the realisation of self or freedom. Therefore, all human actions are directed to achieve this goal. However, two factors, i.e., necessity and alienation, prevent its realisation. While necessity refers to natural and physical constraints, alienation is dissociation of the subject from the object. Man wants to be a master of himself. Instead, he becomes a tool in the hands of others. Thus, the failure to realise one's self becomes the main reason for human alienation.

4.2 Alienation as a Concept

The concept alienation describes the estrangement of individuals from one another, or from a specific situation or process. It is central to the writings of Karl Marx and normally associated with Marxist sociology. There are philosophical, sociological and psychological dimensions to the argument. Hegel provided the philosophical means to overcome the Kantian dualism of is and ought since for Hegel, the actual was always striving to become the ideal. The passage of self-creating, self-knowing idea through history, its alienation

through externalization and objectification and its appropriation through knowledge, provided Marx with his revolutionary imperative. Turning Hegel on his head and rooting his own ideas in a “materialist vision, Marx argued that humanity is lost in the unfolding historical epochs.” Thus, Marx argued that with the advent of communism, there would be a complete return of individuals to themselves as social being.

After Hegel, Feuerbach carried the idea of alienation further. He identified religious superstitions as the source of alienation. He suggested a simple remedy to overcome this problem bring the divine back into man through a religion of self-love. It is not God who creates man but man who creates God. If God is a creation of man there is nothing that could stand in the way of man to do what they will. Though Marx borrowed the idea of alienation from Hegel he gave it an altogether different meaning. According to him, the alienation was neither the result of man's failure to realise himself, nor the outcome of religious superstition. It was to be found in man's work, and human activity. Daniel Bell explains, "In locating man's alienation in work, Marx had taken the revolutionary step of grounding philosophy in concrete human activity." As a result of division of labour man has, on the one hand, lost control of the process of work and, on the other lost control over the product of his labour. This has led to dehumanization and depersonalization respectively. The manufacturing process or the technology is mainly responsible for changing the relationship between the craftsman and his product. Men thus become 'means for the ends' of others. The product dominates over the producer and machine over the machine owner. A worker cannot buy that he produces and those who can afford possession of products do not work; they are idlers. In his Manuscripts, Marx says: "It would be noted first that everything which appears to the worker as an activity of alienation, appears to the non-worker as a condition of alienation."

Alienation, Marx further explains, is a rotten product of capitalism. In the capitalist

society, man becomes a slave-the rich man of his property and the poor man of his needs."In such a society, the worker is alienated from his labour, from society, from nature and fellow beings and becomes a commodity in the capitalist market. The capitalist system, under the cover of hollow system, under the cover of hollow slogans of liberty, equality and rights has, in fact, been responsible for direct, naked, shameless and brutal exploitation of many men."

In Communist Manifesto he says: "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourers. It has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation the labourers must sell themselves piecemeal, have been reduced to mere commodity, like every other article of commerce owing to the extensive use of machinery the worker becomes an appendage of the machine. Not only the workers are the slaves of the bourgeoisie class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the individual bourgeois manufacturers himself." Thus, in the capitalist system there is a complete alienation of man. Man is alienated from his fellow man because the basis of the relationship is only money relationship; he is alienated from nature because he has neither the time nor the inclination to enjoy the beauties of nature; and he is alienated from himself because he has to 'overwork' for his bare subsistence and survival.

According to Marx, the objective of socialism is to overcome alienation. And, alienation would end with the revolution of the proletariat which will abolish capitalism and private property and establish a stateless and classless society

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

1. Give the four types of Alienation as given by Marx.

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2. Mark True or False against each of the following statements.

- a) Alienation leads to increase in surplus value. True/False
- b) Alienation is powerlessness and estrangement. True/False

Q2. Answer: a) True b) True

4.3 ALIENATION AS A PROCESS

In his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (EPM) published in 1844, Marx analyses various aspects of alienation.

- 1) Firstly**, the worker is alienated from the product of his labour. The product in which he expresses and realizes himself does not belong to him. It is appropriated by the capitalists and sold on the market. With realization of surplus-value capital grows, and with capital the alien power which controls and dominates the life of the worker. The more he works, the better he produces, the stronger becomes this alien power of capital.

- 2) Secondly, under the capitalist conditions the worker is alienated from the act of producing itself. The most human activity does no longer belong to the producer himself. It has become a commodity sold and bought on the market, the commodity of labour power. The buyer of this commodity, the capitalist, determines what the worker does and how he has to do it.
- 3) Thirdly, capitalist production alienates the worker from his being a member of the human species and from his humanity, as being a fellow being with other human beings. His social activity, production turns into a means for his individual existence, for earning a wage. This implies his alienation from other human beings with whom he competes for scarce jobs.

- **Features of Alienation**

Marx's exposition of the functioning and prospects of capitalist economy cannot be studied in isolation from his anthropological ideas and his philosophy of history. His theory is a general one embracing the whole of human activity in its various interdependent spheres. His successive writings culminating in *Capital* itself are more and more elaborate versions of the same thought which may be expressed as follows: "we live in an age in which the de-humanisation of man, that is to say the alienation between him and his own works, is growing to a climax which must end in a revolutionary upheaval; this will originate from the particular interest of the class which has suffered the most from de-humanisation, but its effect would be to restore humanity to all mankind".

The fundamental novelty of *Capital* consists in two points, which entail wholly different view of capitalist society from that of the classical economists:

- a) What the worker sells is not his labour but labour power, and that labour has two aspects – abstract and concrete. Exploitation consists in the worker selling his labour power and thus divesting himself of his own essence; the labour process and its results

become hostile and alien, deprivation of humanity instead of fulfillment.

- b) Marx, having discovered the dual nature of labour as expressed in the opposition between exchange value and use value, defines capitalism as a system in which the sole object of production is to increase exchange value without limit. The whole of human activity is subordinated to a non-human purpose; the creation of something that man cannot as such assimilate for only use-value can be assimilated. The whole community is thus enslaved to its own products, abstractions which present themselves to it as an external, alien power. The deformation of consciousness and the alienation of the political superstructure are consequences of the basic alienation of labour – which, however, is not a ‘mistake’ on history’s part but a necessary precondition of the future society of free beings in control of the vital process of their own lives.

4.4 Marx four Types of Alienation

1. Alienation from the Product of Labor

Instead of the workers crafting products from the initial idea to completion, under capitalism, the product is entirely directed by someone else. The product is highly specific in nature, is repetitive, and workers may only produce one aspect of a larger product on a production line. Thus, the final product does not feel like the worker’s own and is creatively unrewarding. The product becomes an alien object, one that the worker produces only for the means of wages and survival.

2. Alienation from the Process of Labor

Instead of having the freedom to choose how and when they work, workers under a capitalist system must work as and when their employer requires. They also must complete the tasks set by their employer, meaning that the process of labor is something external to the worker. Marx perceived the process of labor as directed against the worker as if it 'does not belong to him.' While the process of labor is not physically forced upon workers, it is forced in the sense that it becomes non-voluntary. If the worker does not want to starve and must pay for their home, they feel forced to engage in the process of labor under capitalism.

3. Alienation from the Self

According to Marx, satisfying work is an essential part of being human. Since workers under capitalism feel alienated from the product and the process, it is not satisfying. Karl Marx asserted that capitalism is a system that alienates the masses and that workers do not have control over the goods they produce for the market. Marxism is critical of capitalism because that the people who are the laborers behind the goods and services lose their value over time. When once the workers would have crafted the whole product, they may now be reduced to producing one component on the production line. Work under capitalism alienated individuals from themselves since work is no longer a joy, but simply a means to earn wages to survive. Workers become alienated from their true selves, desires, and the pursuit of happiness by the demands placed on them by capitalists. They are essentially converted into objects by the production method, meaning they are viewed and treated not as humans but as replaceable elements of a system.

4. Alienation from Other Worker

Under capitalism, workers are encouraged to compete against each other for jobs, better products, and higher profits. This pits individuals against each other in a competition to sell their labor for the lowest possible value. Instead of seeing and understanding their shared

experiences and developing class consciousness, alienation prevents this and instead fosters false consciousness's.

4.5 HOW TO OVERCOME ALIENATION ACCORDING TO MARX

To overcome alienation, Marx suggested that changing perception is not enough. Rather, a reorganization of society is required. According to his historical materialist approach, this is the next step to liberate workers. Marx predicted that there would be a proletariat revolution that would put an end to capitalism and bring about communism. The continued exploitation of the capitalists would cause the revolution. A proletariat revolution is a social revolution in which working-class laborers attempt to overthrow the capitalist bourgeoisie. In the *Communist Manifesto*, written in **1848**, Marx and Engels proposed that the proletariat revolution was inevitable and would be caused by the continued exploitation of the capitalists. The workers will eventually revolt due to increasingly worse working conditions and low wages. In a communist society, there would be shared resources, wealth, and no social classes. The accumulated labor would widen and enrich the laborer's existence rather than exploit it. Since there would be no private property, it can be assumed that the workers would have control over their work, meaning that feelings of alienation would lessen.

4.6 LET US SUM UP

The concept of alienation has been present in sociological works since the 19th century, but it wasn't until the 1930s that it became more widely recognized in social science reference books. Some common types of alienation include: Powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, cultural estrangement, social isolation, and self-estrangement.

Alienation is an objective condition inherent in the social and economic arrangement of capitalism. It is impossible to extricate Marx's ideas about alienation from his wider sociological discussion of the division of labor, the evolution of private property relations, and the emergence of conflicting classes. In the Marxian terminology, alienation is an objectively verifiable state of affairs, inherent in the specific social relations of capitalist production. For Marx, the history of mankind is not only a history of class struggle but also of the increasing alienation of man.

4.7 GLOSSARY

Alienation is a term with multiple meanings, including:

- **Feeling of separation:** The feeling of being estranged or separated from people, work, or one's own self. This can include feeling a lack of connection with others, or feeling like one's destiny is determined by external factors.
- **The act of making someone unfriendly:** The action of causing someone to stop supporting or agreeing with you.
- **The transfer of property:** In law, alienation is the voluntary transfer of ownership of real property from one person to another.
- **Marxist theory:** In Marxist theory, alienation is the process by which workers are made to feel estranged from the products of their own labor.

4.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by Alienation.

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2. Discuss alienation as a process in brief.

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4.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Herbert Marcuse, 1967. *Reason and Revolution*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
2. Marx, Karl, 1977. *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. Progress Publishers.
3. Raymond, Aron. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, Vol- I, Penguin.

THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

STRUCTURE

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Meaning of Surplus Value
- 5.3 Definition of Surplus Value
- 5.4 Marx Labour Theory of Value
- 5.5 Different Concepts used by Marx in the theory of Surplus Value
- 5.6 Let us Sum up
- 5.7 Glossary
- 5.8 Self-Assessment Questions
- 5.9 Suggested Readings

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After you have studied this lesson, you will be able to understand about:

- The concept of surplus value.
- How surplus value led to pauperization and domination.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Surplus Value is the social product which is over and above what is required for the producers to live. The measure of labour is labour time, so surplus value is the accumulated product of the unpaid labour time of the producers. In bourgeois society, surplus value is acquired by the capitalist in the form of profit. The capitalist owns the means of production as

Private property, so the workers have no choice but to sell their labour power to the capitalist to live. The capitalist then owns not only the means of production, and the worker's labour power which he has bought to use in production, but the product as well. After paying wages, the capitalist then becomes the owner of the surplus value, over and above the value of the worker's labour-power.

5.2 MEANING OF SURPLUS VALUE

As an economic theory, Surplus Value is used by the German philosopher and economist Karl Marx to criticize capitalist-style economic systems. Surplus value is the difference between a worker's wage and the price of a good or service produced by that worker. This theory is based on the fact that workers provide value through the labor used to produce goods and services. Surplus value does not relate to the actual value of a physical economic resource or good. This added value is realized through the labor needed to produce the resource or good, which increases the value of the item above its original cost. Marx believed that individual workers and their productivity is what really determined the value of consumer goods or services. It is a concept used famously by Karl Marx in his critique of Political Economy, although he did not himself invent the concept. It refers roughly to that part of the new value created by production which is claimed by enterprises as "generic gross profit". Marx used the labor theory of value primarily as a tool to develop the concepts of surplus. Surplus Value is the central point of Marx's theory of Surplus Value.

5.3 DEFINITION OF SURPLUS VALUE

Total surplus-value in an economy (Marx refers to the *mass* or volume of surplus-value) is basically equal to the sum of net distributed and undistributed profit, net interest, net rents,

net tax on production and various net receipts associated with royalties, licensing, leasing, certain honorariums etc. The way generic profit income is grossed and netted in social accounting may differ somewhat from the way an individual business does that.

According to Marx: -

Marx believed that the price of a commodity is to be determined according to the labour invested in it. He held that the basis of wealth is labour. The labourers produce wealth with their labour, but the capitalists do not give them their share of profit. The capitalists are in a position to establish big industries, whereas the labourers cannot establish big industries. They are compelled to sell their labour and get employment in the factories established by the capitalists. The capitalists sell the finished goods at a high rate and give insufficient wages to the labourers. The difference between the costs of the finished goods and their sale price is called profit. This process of earning profit is called 'the theory of Surplus value'.

Marx held the view that this profit should go to the labourer and not to the capitalist because labour is the basis for production of all types of wealth. Marx's own discussion focuses mainly on profit, interest and rent, largely ignoring taxation and royalty-type fees which were proportionally very small components of the national income when he lived.

Marx himself considered his theory of surplus-value his most important contribution to the progress of economic analysis (Marx, letter to Engels of 24 August 1867). It is through this theory that the wide scope of his sociological and historical thought enables him simultaneously to place the capitalist mode of production in his historical context, and to find the root of its inner economic contradictions and its laws of motion in the specific relations of production on which it is based.

Marx's theory of classes is based on the recognition that in each class society, part of society i.e. the ruling class appropriates the social surplus product. But that surplus product can take three essentially different forms (or a combination of them).

It can take the form of:

- Straight forward unpaid surplus labour,
- As in the slave mode of production
- Early feudalism or some sectors of the Asiatic mode of production (unpaid forced labour for the Empire).

It can take the form of goods appropriated by the ruling class in the form of use-values pure and simple (the products of surplus labour), as under feudalism when feudal rent is paid in a certain amount of produce (produce rent) or in its more modern remnants, such as sharecropping. And it can take a money form, like money-rent in the final phases of feudalism, and capitalist profits. Surplus-value is essentially just that: "the money form of the social surplus product or, what amounts to the same, the money product of surplus labour". It has therefore a common root with all other forms of surplus product: unpaid labour.

This means that Marx's theory of surplus-value is basically a deduction or residual theory of the ruling classes' income. The whole social product (the net national income) is produced in the course of the process of production, exactly as the whole crop is harvested by the peasants. What happens on the market (or through appropriation of the produce) is a distribution (or redistribution) of what already has been created. The surplus product, and therefore also its money form, surplus-value, is the residual of that new (net) social product (income) which remains after the producing classes have received their compensation (under capitalism: their wages). This 'deduction' theory of the ruling classes' income is thus an important factor of an exploitation theory, as mentioned above. Not in the ethical sense of the word - although Marx and Engels obviously manifested a lot of understandable moral

indignation at the fate of all the exploited throughout history, and especially at the fate of the modern proletariat - but in the economic one. The income of the ruling classes can always be reduced in the final analysis to the product of unpaid labour: that is the heart of Marx's theory of exploitation.

According to Marx's theory of exploitation, living labour at an adequate level of productivity is able to create and conserve more value than it costs the employer to buy; which is exactly the economic reason why the employer buys it, i.e. to preserve and augment the value of the capital at his command. Thus, the surplus-labour is unpaid labour appropriated by employers in the form of work-time and outputs, on the basis that employers own and supply the means of production worked with. The commercial function of labour is only to conserve their value, add value to them, and transfer value.

Marx finds himself with economic dilemma capitalism and its systematic ability to maintain a profit. With this quandary Marx finds himself with the conclusion that a profit produced by a capitalist system intrinsically relies upon an exploitative relationship between that of the capitalist and the worker.

“With the increasing exploitation of labor, the profit of the capitalists also accumulates. The Theory of Surplus Value refers to the quantity of value produced by the worker beyond necessary time. The price of any commodity is determined by the amount of labor it takes to produce it. The increasing exploitation leads to the surplus wealth accumulated by the capitalist thereby dividing the society into rich and poor.”

5.4 MARX LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE

The Labour Theory of Value is a theory in the science of political economy to explain how the working classes are exploited under capitalism and how capitalist society works. The Labour Theory of Value is central to an understanding of the economics of capitalism

because capitalism is commodity production par excellence; and is the stage in the development of human society characterized by class monopoly of the means of production, with wage-labour and commodity-production.

According to Marx's labor theory of value, human labor is the only source of net new economic value, but is also indispensable for the conservation and transfer of economic value (maintenance and redistribution of capital assets). Asset revaluations according to this theory only redistribute claims to product-value which has already been created previously.

- **Absolute and Relative Surplus Value.**

According to Marx, the unnecessary labour time in which the worker recoups for the capitalist the value which the capitalist has not paid wages for creates surplus value. The rate of surplus value can be increased by lengthening the working day so that more surplus-labour is extracted on top of a given amount of necessary labour. Surplus value can be equally increased, within the limits of a given working day, if necessary, labour-time can be reduced, that is, if the value of labour power falls.

According to Marx,

1. **Absolute Surplus Value** is obtained by increasing the amount of time worked per worker in an accounting period. Marx talks mainly about the length of the working day or week, but in modern times the concern is about the number of hours worked per year; and
2. **Relative Surplus Value** is obtained mainly by reducing wages — this can only go to a certain point, because if wages fall below the ability of workers to purchase their means of subsistence, they will be unable to reproduce themselves and the capitalists will not be able to find sufficient labour power; by reducing the cost of wage-goods by various means, so that wage increases can be curbed; by increasing the

productivity and intensity of labour generally, through mechanisation and rationalisation, yielding a bigger output per hour worked.

Surplus value that derives from a reduction in necessary labour-time is called Relative surplus value, distinguished from Absolute Surplus Value, which results from a lengthening of the working-day. It is however necessary to understand that it is not possible to identify one part of surplus value as relative and another part as absolute without a starting point.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

i) Briefly discuss the different types of surplus value.

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ii) Mark True or False against each of the following statements.

- a) Theory of Surplus value is given by Emile Durkheim. True/False
- b) There was no private ownership of property in capitalist system. True/False

Q2. Answer: a) False b) False

5.5 Different Concepts used by Marx in the theory of Surplus Value.

- **Labour:** Labour according to P. Savchenko, has always been a domain of exchange between man and nature. Objectively to man's vital activity, labour is his eternal companion and a most important factor in the evolution of world civilization. The

instruments and objects of labour essential to manufacturing the things that man needs are material elements of the labour process. In their totality, they constitute the means of production.

The excess value created by the wage-workers over and above the value of their labour power is referred to as **Surplus Value**: It is appropriated by the capitalist without remuneration. That explains why surplus value is the goal of capitalist production from the capitalist's point of view only that labour is productive which produces surplus value and increases his capital.

- **The concept of Value:** To understand the importance of value in the concept of Surplus value, it is important to brief about Marx's theory of Value. According to this theory, the main postulates emphasized by Karl Marx are: Commodity production is the outcome of a specific division of labour: "Only such products can become commodities with regard to each other, as result from different kinds of labour, each kind being carried on independently and for the account of private individuals". The value of commodities expresses what private labors have in common: it is a socially necessary quantity of labour. Exchange relations are the manifestation of the social character of value: "If we bear in mind that the value of commodities has a purely social reality it follows as a matter of course, that value can only manifest itself in the social relation of commodity to commodity"
- **Valorization:** Valorization thus specifically describes the increase in the value of capital assets through the application of living, value-forming labour in production. The valorization of capital is a concept created by Karl Marx in his critique of political economy. In modern translations of Marx's economic writings, the term valorization is preferred because it is recognized that it denotes a highly specific economic concept. It refers both to the process whereby a capital value is conferred or

bestowed on something, and to the increase in the value of a capital asset. A value creation process which goes beyond the point at which the worker has just created the equivalent of the value of his own labour power, and begins to increase the value of capital, is a valorization process, not just a value creation process.

- **Rate of Surplus Values:** The rate of surplus value is also called as “percentage of surplus value” and ‘degree of exploitation’ as well. When the workers get down to work, they have to perform, for some time, work that is equivalent to the value of wages. This portion of the work is one that has to be performed for his own sake. Workers have to do this portion of work. For labourers, this is the portion of necessary labour. After the completion of work that is equivalent to the value of wages, whatever work that is performed thenceforth, the whole of it will be not for the sake of the workers but for the sake of the capitalist. Which means, after getting down to work every day, workers perform ‘necessary labour’ for some time and ‘surplus labour’ for some more time. Neither the capitalists nor the workers know that the work done daily thus consists of two portions.

If the working day is ‘12 hours’, it may have 6 hours of necessary labour and 6 hours of surplus labour. Or there may be 4 hours of necessary labour and 8 hours of surplus labour.

These two portions might thus be of any portion.

It is the “rate of surplus value” that expresses the ratios of the two portions of labour in a ‘working day’. By means of ‘this rate’ one can know how much work the workers have done for themselves and how much for the exploiters. This rate of surplus measures ‘exploitation’ just as a thermometer measures ‘heat’. It reveals the degree of exploitation. The rate of surplus value can, therefore, be called as ‘degree of exploitation’.

‘Surplus value’ will be known only if the expenditure spent initially on the commodity and the value at which the commodity is sold are known. Thus, the rate of surplus value will be known if the proportions of wages and surplus value are seen.

The rate of surplus value is represented by the following formulae:

Surplus value (s/v) = surplus value = surplus labour

- **Disapproval of the Marx Concept of Surplus Value:** The most fundamental criticism of Marx's theory of value is offered by Austrian economics, which holds that the value is purely subjective, and cannot be derived from labour, surplus or otherwise. The labour itself can be productive, resulting in creation of goods which are desired by other people, or destructive, merely wasting resources on creation of goods nobody wants – this phenomenon was quite evident in the socialist economies.

Thus, we can say whether something has value or not only by observing voluntary exchange between people. When such exchange is prevented, there is no way to tell if the labor is creative or destructive, and so it is impossible to direct the efforts towards creation of value. This impossibility of economic calculation was famously proposed by Ludwig von Mises as the reason for imminent failure of socialist economies, in stark contrast to predictions of Marx's theory. There are two major issues with this approach.

First, Marx's theory never made any 'predictions' of the managing and functioning of a 'socialist' economy. The socialist calculation debate was largely carried out by neoclassical sympathizers attempting to apply concepts that functioned within the framework of neoclassical economics to the maximization of production in planned economic development - its failure shows the failure within the neoclassical paradigms more than anything else.

Second, and more fundamentally, this argument misses or ignores the fact that Marx did not attempt to explain value from the labor time of individual producers in isolation, but from socially necessary labor time that becomes normalized as capitalist production expands and

includes the mass of producers in a social web of production. Value begins to dominate exchange to a greater extent as production becomes social, or the division of labor that capitalist production encourages expands.

Some economic historians argue that Marx did not discover the concept of surplus-value, because other political economists had already discovered it first. There is some truth in this, but as against that, Marx only claimed that he had theoretically refined and systematized existing notions of added value, removing inconsistencies and apologetic theories. His theoretical presentation is far superior though to that of his contemporaries, as economic historians acknowledge.

A substantive, foundational criticism of Marx's concept of the surplus product and surplus-value was made by Harry W. Pearson in the 1950s in his essay, "The economy has no surplus". Another modern, more sophisticated critique of the concept is by Helen Boss.

An alternative criticism is by Steve Keen, who argues that the economy *does* have a surplus, but that it can arise from numerous different sources. Specifically, he claims that "mathematics and Marx's philosophy confirm that surplus value - and hence profit - can be generated from any input to production". Thus, Marx's view that economic value is a human attribution or comparison, and that only human labour can conserve, transfer and create value is rejected.

- **Some issues concerning surplus value and its rate:** If an example is taken of cloth manufacturing where the constant value is 80 and the variable value is 20, there are still fixed means of 400 value in the 'work place'. The rate of surplus value has nothing to do with either the 80 constant or with the fixed means in the work place. As wages along give the surplus value, the relations of these 2 factors alone continue the rate of surplus value.

- a. Surplus value and the 'rate of surplus value' are not the same.

- b. Surplus value' means the 'mass' which is excess than the capital.
- c. The 'rate of surplus value' means the relationship between the ratios of necessary labour and surplus labour.
- d. The formula to know surplus value is: "commodity value 'minus' capital'.
- e. Symbol of surplus value is S and symbol of wages is V.
- f. The formula of rate of surplus value is S/V .
- g. Symbol for rate of surplus value is S' .

5.6 LET US SUM UP

Surplus Value is critical to the expansion of capital. The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of direct producers, determines the relationship of rulers and ruled, as it grows directly out of production itself and, in turn, reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this, however, is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the production relations themselves, thereby simultaneously its specific political form. It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers -- a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage of the methods of labour and thereby its social productivity which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state. This does not prevent the same economic basis -- the same from the standpoint of its main conditions -- due to innumerable different, empirical circumstances, natural environment, racial relations, external historical influence, etc. from showing infinite variations and gradations in appearance, which can be ascertained only by analysis of the empirically given circumstances. The overall conclusion after going through the Marx concept of Surplus Value is that, the theory is relatively important in the support of the labourers but

when it comes to the owners, this theory has its own weak points. It does not completely support or is against the system of capitalism. The concept in this theory is not practically possible.

5.7 GLOSSARY

- **Surplus value:** The difference between the price of a good or service and the wage paid to the worker who produced it. It's the value created by workers that goes beyond their own labor costs and is claimed by capitalists as profit.
- **Labor theory of value:** The idea that human labor is the source of economic value. Marx used this theory to develop his concepts of surplus value.
- **Capitalist:** A person who claims to own the means of production, the worker's labor power, and the product that is produced.
- **Surplus labour:** The value created by a worker's labor that goes beyond what the worker is paid for.
- **Exploitation:** The act of capitalists appropriating surplus value to make a profit. Marx's theory of surplus value is used to criticize capitalist economic systems. He believed that the value of consumer goods and services is determined by individual workers and their productivity.

5.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by surplus value.

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2. How surplus value is an instrument of domination? Discuss.

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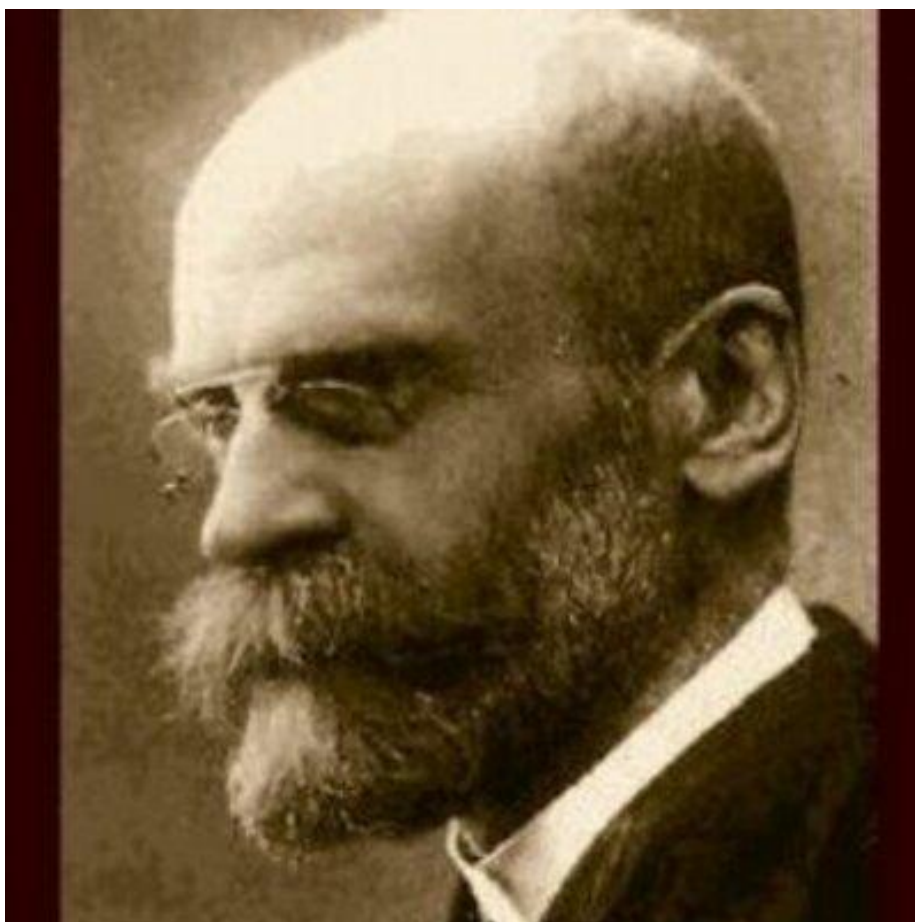
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EMILE DURKHEIM (15 APRIL, 1858 – 15 NOVEMBER, 1917)



EMILE DURKHEIM: METHODOLOGY SOCIAL FACTS**STRUCTURE**

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Biographical Sketch
- 6.3 Social Facts
- 6.4 Types of Social Facts
- 6.5 Methodology of Sociology
- 6.6 Sociology as Science (Social facts)
 - 6.6.1 Social Facts: Meaning
 - 6.6.2 Types of Social Facts
- 6.7 Comments and Criticism
- 6.8 Let us sum up
- 6.9 Self-Assessment Questions
- 6.10 Suggested Readings

6.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:

- Identify the bases for defining social facts
- Classify social facts
- List the rules of observation of social facts
- Identify the rules for explaining facts.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Although Auguste Comte coined the term sociology, he was never able to obtain the academic recognition, he so desired for his theory. The first sociologist in France to hold an academic post was Emile Durkheim. Therefore, Durkheim is one of the classical theorists whose work has underlying significance for sociological theorizing; this underlying ideology is similar to that of Herbert Spencer, another classical theorist of the time. But Spencer has far less influence today than Durkheim. Both, Spencer and Durkheim, compared society to an organization, distinguished between structure and function in the operation of society, and both had an evolutionary perspective on social change. They also agreed that modern society produced pathologies, but while Spencer believed that the solution lies in less government or less social regulation, Durkheim was of opinion that society itself was the key to influence on individuals. For Spencer, social life is result of individual natures, but Durkheim believed that the individual natures are the product of the social life or society.

6.2 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was the first French academic sociologist. His life was dominated throughout by his academic career even though he was intensely involved in the affairs of French society. (Preacher of Jewish belief) Son of a rabbi, decided to follow the family tradition, Emile Durkheim also studied the regular schools. An interesting feature of his schooling days may be of some interest to you. In the school days, Durkheim was caught in the dilemma of sacred for the intellectual elite of France. After two unsuccessful attempts to pass the entrance examinations, Durkheim was finally admitted in 1879. Although admission to Ecole Normale was an achievement in Youngman's life, Durkheim once admitted, seems not to have been happy at the Ecole. He was studious and dedicated and was nicknamed as the 'metaphysician' by his friends. However, Durkheim was soon dissatisfied with the literary and esthetic emphasis that still predominated at the school.

He rebelled against a course of studies in which the reading of Greek verse and Latin prose seemed more important than acquaintance with the new philosophical doctrines of recent findings of the sciences. He, therefore, had few friends and was isolated from other peers for his inquisitiveness for systematic learning. His professors disagreed with him for his apparent dissatisfaction with much of their teaching by placing him almost at the bottom of the list of successful candidates when graduated in 1882.

On leaving *Ecole* in 1882, Durkheim taught philosophy at a number of schools in the Paris area. Philosophy, as was taught then, seemed to him far removed from the issues of the day and was too much devoted to frivolous hair splitting. He wanted to devote himself to a discipline that would contribute to the clarification of the great moral question that agitated the age, as well as to practical guidance of the affairs of contemporary society. Such guidance, he believed was possible only through a solid scientific training. Hence, he decided to dedicate himself to the scientific study of society. In 1885, he was offered a scholarship to study in Germany for a year. Durkheim's stay in Germany was mainly devoted to the study of methods of instruction and research in moral philosophy and the social sciences. At this time in France, there was an attempt to reform the education system from the bottom, focusing on deconstruction. Reforms at universities as the model, Durkheim was enthusiastic about the precision and scientific objectivity in research that he witnessed during his stay in Germany and he stressed that France should emulate Germany in making philosophical instruction to serve social as well as national goals.

With the publication of his *Revue* in Germany, Durkheim became recognized as a promising figure in the social sciences and in social philosophy. On his return from Germany in 1887, Durkheim obtained a position at the University of Bordeaux. The first position was with the Department of Philosophy. It was until 1896 that he was appointed a full Professor of social science, the first such position in any French University.

Here in Bordeaux, Durkheim was attached to the department of philosophy where he was charged with the course in both sociology and pedagogy. During his tenure in university of Boudreaux, he wrote three of his most important sociological works.

1. The Division of Labour in Society (1893)

2. The Rules of Sociological method (1895)

3. Suicide (1897)

In addition to the books, Durkheim in 1898 founded a new journal, *L'Année Sociologique*. The journal was a yearly review of sociological works and works of related interest in the other sciences.

Durkheim had introduced a course in sociology at the university of Boudreaux and he held the chair there from 1896 to 1902 from the outset of his academic career, Durkheim had set out to promote sociology as a legitimate and significant academic discipline. He believed that the promotion of sociology as a legitimate discipline was imperative because philosophy and psychology claimed to cover the subjects that sociology claimed for itself. But for Durkheim, sociology as a discipline to be possible, it must above all have an object of its own.

Durkheim's promotion of sociology was not simply academic. He also stressed its practical importance. In this first book- the *Division of Labour* he remarked that although sociology aims to study reality, it does not follow that "we should give up the ideal of improving it". He was against, therefore, sociology becoming speculative in nature. However, Durkheim recognized that sociology was often accused of simply observing "what exists without supplying rules for future conduct.

In short, Emile Durkheim was not only the first real practitioner of the new science of society, but he is credited to be the first Professor of sociology. Auguste Comte had come from amongst the French social aristocracy and could not gain legitimate entry into academia.

Herbert Spencer before Durkheim had spurned academic opportunities in defense to his close life of the private scholar. But it was Emile Durkheim who created for himself the first course and first chair in Sociology to be recognized anywhere in the world. The man devoted his entire life to the great moral questions of his time and he did it by a solid scientific training. It was for him, said Durkheim, “imperative to construct a scientific sociological system, not as an end in itself, but as a means for the moral direction of society”.

Durkheim along with Max Weber must be credited with founding the modern phase of sociological theory. It began with his first book; “The Division of Labour in Society” submitted as his French doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne along with his Latin doctoral thesis on Montesquieu in 1893. In 1902, Durkheim joined Sorbonne, the great university of Paris and adored the chair created for him in sociology and Education. As such, Education was soon dropped from his prestigious title and Durkheim remained interested in the application of sociology to the field of education throughout his career.

His final and provocative work came fifteen years after his previous work (in 1897) entitled. The Elementary forms of the Religious Life in 1912. Religion, once a major passion for him in his childhood, became once again major pre-occupation, but as a scrutinizing observer.

The tragedy of the First World War was a very great blow to France, and Durkheim felt the strain acutely. In 1915, when his only son, Andre died in a Bulgarian hospital of wounds taken in battle, Durkheim could not bear the shock. After two years of ill health, Durkheim died at the age of 59 on November 15, 1917.

The major contributions of Emile Durkheim in the form of books are:

1. The Division of Labour in Society (1893)
2. The Rules of Sociological Method (1895)
3. Suicide: A Study in Sociology (1897)

4. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912)
5. Education and Sociology (1922)
6. Sociological Philosophy (1924)
7. Moral Education (1925)

Durkheim's contributions, comparable to his German contemporary, Max Weber, may be categorized as under.

1. He provided the essential principle of structural and functional analysis in Sociology.
2. He furnished highly pertinent critique of psychological methods in the study of society.
3. He introduced such key concepts as a nomie, social integration and organic solidarity.
4. His conceptualization of social facts paved the way to facticity approach and objectivity in social research.

6.3 Social Facts

Durkheim based his scientific vision of sociology on the fundamental principle, i.e., the objective reality of social facts. Social fact is that way of acting, thinking or feeling etc., which is more or less general in a given society. Durkheim treated social facts as things. They are real and exist independent of the individual's will or desire. They are external to individuals and are capable of exerting constraint upon them. In other words, they are coercive in nature. Further social facts exist in their own right. They are independent of individual manifestations. The true nature of social facts lies in the collective or associational characteristics inherent in society. Legal codes and customs, moral rules, religious beliefs and practices, language etc. are all social facts.

6.4 Types of Social Facts

Durkheim saw social facts as lying along a continuum. First, on one extreme are structural or morphological social phenomena. They make up the substratum of collective life. By this he meant the number and nature of elementary parts of which society is composed, the way in which the morphological constituents are arranged and the degree to which they are fused together. In this category of social facts are included the distribution of population over the surface of the territory, the forms of dwellings, nature of communication system etc. Secondly, there are institutionalized forms of social facts. They are more or less general and widely spread in society. They represent the collective nature of the society as a whole. Under this category fall legal and moral rule religious dogma and established beliefs and practices prevalent in a society. Thirdly, there are social facts, which are not institutionalized. Such social facts have not yet acquired crystallized forms. They lie beyond the institutionalized norms of society. Also, this category of social facts has not attained a total objective and independent existence comparable to the institutionalized ones. Also, their externality to and ascendancy over and above individuals is not yet complete. These social facts have been termed as social currents. For example, Émile Durkheim sporadic currents of opinion generated in specific situations; enthusiasm generated in a crowd; transitory outbreaks in an assembly of people; sense of indignity or pity aroused by specific incidents, etc.

6.5 METHODOLOGY OF SOCIOLOGY

The book, "the rules of sociological methods", was published in 1895. This is his second important book. Durkheim's contribution to methodology in social sciences is of great importance. His general aim was to make sociology an empirical study and he endeavored in his work to practice the 'crucial experiment' used so successfully in physical sciences, Durkheim

therefore, insisted that for an empirical statement of social data it is necessary to treat "social facts as things. In the lesson on "social facts you told on social facts in detail. Though social facts are the main plank of his methodology, but we will like to state the rules of sociological method which according to Durkheim involves “the procedures for the definitive study and explanation of social facts”. Thus, the sociological methods of Emile Durkheim on the basis of his work are:

- (1) 'Social facts' (2) Procedure for definitive study and explanation of social facts
- (a) causality (b) functionality

Durkheim, after defining the nature of social facts and having defined sociology as the scientific study of them (social facts) provided a set of rules whereby this scientific task could be carried out and accomplished. This was not done by the earlier sociologists. The set of rules are clear guidelines of procedure for scientific work in sociology. These rules are:

1. Rules for observing social facts.
2. Rules for distinguishing between 'normal' and pathological social facts.
3. Rules for classifying societies: The construction of 'types' or 'species'
4. Rules for explanation of social facts.
5. Rules for testing sociological explanations: for establishing sociological proofs.

1. Observation of Social Facts. (Rules)

There are six rules which Durkheim proposed for observing social facts reliably. We know, in science accurate observation is essential. Durkheim in order to make sociological study scientific was of opinion that agreed rules for observation are of fundamental importance. The essential rule, therefore, is that sociologists should consider social facts as things which are the first rule.

- (a) The first and foremost rule is that social facts should always be treated as if they are things. He was, through this rule, rejected the introspection and

personal conjecture of any sort. He stated that social facts were to be recognized through its characteristics which were objectively true. It exists outside our minds and therefore we have to go out of ourselves to observe them. Please see Box –A to clarify any doubt in relation to social facts as things. Because Durkheim never said they are things but he maintained they were to be treated as if they are things. To be treated as if they are -is to be noted carefully. The other rules are corollaries of the above:

Box-A

We assert not that social facts are material things but they differ from them in type. What precisely is a thing: Things include all objects of knowledge that cannot be conceived by purely mental activity, those that require for their conception from outside the mind, from observations and experiments, those which are built up from the more external and immediately accessible characteristics to the less visible and more profound. To treat the facts of a certain order as things is not, then, to place them in a certain category of reality but to assume a certain mental attitude toward them.....

(Fletcher: 333)

- (b) The voluntary nature of a social fact should never be assumed as before hand. Social facts are voluntarily but what Durkheim emphasized that for connect and exhaustive observation, we should not assume their voluntarily nature before hand.
- (c) All pre-conceptions should be eradicated. Durkheim here argued that the pre conceived notions about the social facts are to be eradicated in order to avoid distortions. We should be critical of them while making scientific observations.
- (d) Observation should seek always those external distinguishing characteristics about which there can be no doubt. While observing a

social fact during investigation it is possible that the investigator is subjectively convinced that this social fact is such and such. But he should always seek such external attributes which could be ground of common and testable observation.

- (e) Observation of social facts should go beyond that of their individual manifestations. Durkheim stated that social facts exist in their own right. They are beyond the individual's manifestations. Let us take an example of any regularity of social behaviour institution of marriage (a social fact). So, for individual like the manifestations are concerned every one of us may know what marriage, is how it is done, why it is done but all these are our own set of experiences. The question is; however, would these observations of marriage give us a full and reliable knowledge of the nature of the institution of marriage in a society. In fact, to know about the nature of the institution of marriage we would have to go behind all these individual manifestations. There may be a constraining set of facts in accordance to which each couple and their families were obliged to act in the way in which they were acting. We may have to go to the law of pertaining marriage, the regulations and provisions and sanctions. The social fact of marriage clearly possesses characteristics which go beyond the individual manifestations of it.
- (f) The observation and study of social facts should be definitive as far as possible. This rule insists upon the clear definition of range or area of observation; or a certain completeness of coverage of any particular study. To quote him: "The subject matter of every Sociological study should comprise a group of phenomena defined in advance by certain common external characteristics, and all phenomena so defined should be

included within this group." (See Box B for what Durkheim was aiming at).

BOX-B

Every scientific investigation, he wrote, is directed towards a limited class of phenomena, includes in the same definition. The first step of the sociologist, then ought to be to define the thing he treats, in order that his subject matter may be known. This is the first and most indispensable condition of all proofs and verifications. A theory can be checked only if we know how to recognize the facts of which it is intended to give an account. (Durkheim: Rules: 34)

II. Rules for distinguishing between Normal and Pathological social facts:

In the preceding pages we discussed as to how to observe and describe social facts. Durkheim further argued that we should seek to establish their normal and pathological conditions in particular types of society. How to do it? Durkheim suggested the following three rules.

- (a) A social fact is normal in relation to a given social type at a given phase of its development when it is present in the average society of that species at the corresponding phase of its evolution.
- (b) One can verify the results of the preceding method by showing that the generality of the phenomenon is bound with the general condition of collective life of the social type considered.
- (c) This verification is necessary when the fact in question occurs in a social species which has not yet reached the full course of its evolution.

III. Rules for classifying societies: The construction of types or species. Before Durkheim, other sociologists have sought the classification of societies. He

also felt that some classification scheme or framework was necessary. This can be done by defining certain type of society in accordance with the one or more criteria which were thought to be most significant. Durkheim spoke of these types as social species and defined them in terms of their degree of composition. Durkheim's full rule, then, was that we should classify societies....

‘According to the degree of organization they present, taking as a basis the perfectly simple society of one segment. Within these types we shall distinguish different varieties according to whether a complete coalescence of the initial segments does or does not appear.’ (In Fletcher: 341).

This, Durkheim called social morphology which is about the constitution and classification of social types. He, thus suggested the form of the classificatory device on the basis of which one may distinguish between:

- (a) 'Horde' (hypothetical) which was the simplest of all human groupings.
- (b) The aggregation of these 'Hordes' into simple 'poly-segmental' societies consisting of clans (primal Horde) within a tribe.
- (c) The aggregation of tribes themselves in confederations to form 'Poly-segmental societies simply compounded', and then
- (d) The aggregation of these unions of tribes to form larger societal forms (like city-states) which were 'poly-segmental' societies doubly compounded'

But in addition to this, Durkheim felt it necessary to construct marked typology-polarized models- for interpretation of change of societies from its simple to complex form of social aggregation. You know his polar opposite types of societies on the basis of the mechanical solidarity and organic

solidarity (This we have already discussed in the lesson on Division of labour.)

(IV) Rules for the explanation of social facts:

1. Society was a natural entity, a system of social facts their own level.
2. An explanation of any of these facts and their relationship can be explained in terms of cause-and-effect connections between a certain species of things. Thus, Durkheim excluded the teleological and utilitarian explanations and replaced it by efficient causes and functions in terms of their fulfillment of societal needs. Thus, his first rule of explanation says:
 - (a) “When the explanation of a social phenomenon is undertaken, we must seek separately the efficient cause which produces it and the function it fulfills.”
 - (b) The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not in the states of individual consciousness. Durkheim just rejected all purpose in individual consciousness and all uses which individual could apprehend as purpose from being possible sources of explanation.
 - (c) The third rule of explanation of Durkheim is that the function of a social fact ought always to be sought in its relation to some social end. The two important things which emerge out of the discussion made above is:
 - (i) A historical account of how a social fact has come to be what it is in terms of antecedent social facts, and
 - (ii) A functional account of how the social fact is related to the others in society is a certain pattern of interconnection.

If the emergence of social fact can be explained through the preceding social fact and if it is not explained through any psychological or biological factors this may lead to an infinite regress of social facts. So, what is the finite

terminus in some social fact which was original Durkheim's next rule of explanation replies this:

- (d) The first origin of all social processes of any importance should facts in question should be studied in all social species.

In other words, Durkheim argued that the original causes of social fact resided in certain collective condition of the social millennium.

(V) Rules for testing sociological explanations: For establishing Sociological Proofs.

Durkheim was distinctive that the theories should be definitive and they should be tested and comparative method should be used for this. He insisted that comparative method was to be employed to test explanations and causal connection between social facts. It must proceed on the assumption that a given effect has always a single corresponding cause. Secondly this method (comparative) should be based upon the method of concomitant variation or correlation. Constant concomitance between social facts was a law in itself

What is concomitant variation? In fact, Durkheim borrowed it from John Stuart Mill. This method holds that if a change in one variable e.g. rate of suicide is accompanied by a comparable change in another variable e.g. religious of implication, then the two changes may be causally directly or linked through some basic social facts such as degree of group solidarity (the third variable).

The rules for the establishing proof can be summarized as follows:

1. Crucial experiment is the method of testing theories,
2. The comparative method is the only alternative to experiment.
3. The formulation of comparative method should be based upon the method of concomitant variation or correlation.

4. To establish constant concomitance is itself to establish laws-regularization of connection)
5. The causal relation underlying this concomitance can be investigated further by deductive inference by more refined hypothesis.
6. For full test of such an explanation of a concomitance the social facts in question should be studied in all social species.

Durkheim's fascination with causality in method led him to a functional approach to the study of social phenomena. Functionalism for Durkheim was his alternative to both Comte's and Spence's teleological method in which social facts were thought to be explained when their specific usefulness in terms of modifying human desires was brought in it. The task of functional analysis is to classify how institutions and other social phenomena contribute to the maintenance of the social whole.

Summary of the Points

(A) Durkheim identified 5 basic rules. They are:

- (a) Observation of social facts.
- (b) Distinction between normal and pathological social fact.
- (c) Classification of society.
- (d) Explanation of social fact.
- (e) Testing or proof

Further the sub-points in relation to the above five rules-

(a) Observation: The detailed points under the rules of observation of

social facts are: -

1. Social fact should be treated as if they are things.
2. The voluntary nature of social fact should never be assumed as before hand.

3. All pre conditions should be eradicated.
4. The observers should seek always the external distinguishing characteristic.
5. It should be beyond that of the individual manifestations.
6. The observation should be definitive.

(b) Distinction between normal and pathology: These are the following points.

1. Social fact is normal when it is present in the average society at the corresponding phase of its evolution.
2. It should be the generality of the phenomenon bound up with the general condition of collective life.
3. This verification is necessary when the species has not reached the full course of its evolution.

(c) Rules for classification: Durkheim defined the societal types in terms of degree of their composition. Initially he identified the following four types of societies:

1. The simplest (hypothetical) society for example 'horde'.
2. The simple poly segmental society for example the 'clans'.
3. Polysegmental societies simply compounded for example Tribal society.
4. Polysegmental societies doubly compounded for example City state.

Further Durkheim gave a polarized model of a marked typology on the basis of solidarity; they are segmental society (mechanical) and differentiated society (organic).

(d) Explanation of social fact: He made these two observations before he spoke about the specifics rule of proof

1. Society was a natural entity with a system of fact at their own level.
2. An explanation of any of these facts should be done in terms of

cause-and-effect connections.

Further Durkheim rejected teleological and utilitarian logic and replaced it by efficient causes and functions. So, the specific rules for explanation are as under:

- We must seek the efficient cause which produces a social phenomenon and function it fulfills.
- The cause of a social fact should be sought among the social fact preceding it -not in individual consciousness.
- The function of social fact always should be sought in its relation to some social end.
- The original causes of a social fact resided in certain collective conditions of the social milieu.

(e) Testing of sociological explanation: -

The rules for establishing proof and there by testing may be summarized as follows.

1. Crucial experiment.
2. Comparative method.
3. Concomitant variation or correlation.
4. Constant concomitance to establish laws.
5. Deductive inference with the help of defined hypothesis.
6. The concomitance of social fact should be studied in all social species.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

Fill in the blanks with suitable words.

- i) Society is a mere sum of individuals. It is a system formed by the of individuals.
- ii) Society is a reality
- iii) In society there are legal codes, customs, moral rules, religious beliefs and ways of feeling, acting thinking etc. Durkheim called
- iv) Durkheim treated social facts as
- v) Social facts are of the will or desire of individuals.
- vi) Social facts are to individuals. They are capable of exercising upon them.
- vii) There are normal social facts in society. Also, there are facts in society.

Answers i) not, association ii) sui generis iii) social facts iv) things v) external vi) external, constraint vii) pathological

6.6 SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE (SOCIAL FACTS)

Durkheim is acknowledged as one of the founders of Sociology who helps to define the subject matter and to accord an autonomous status to sociology as a discipline. His aim was to introduce scientific comparative approach to the study of social institutions. He rejects theories which consider individual as their starting point and rejected theories of society built upon the will desire or interest of the individual. He held that scientific understanding of all social phenomena must emerge from the collective nature of a social group community or

society i.e. collectivity. For Durkheim, society is sui-gensis. It is self-generating. It is always present and has no point of origin. It is more than just sum total of individuals that constitute it. It existed before the individual and will continue to exist long after individual.

In the book "The Rules of sociological Method", Durkheim demonstrated the legitimacy of sociology as a scientific discipline. In his essay, "Sociology and its Scientific Field" he pointed out that history, political economy, statistics and demography study "What occurs in society not society itself". Without sociology it is impossible to know the origin, progress or social context of the subject matter of those disciplines. Durkheim defines sociology as a science of institutions. He notes that society has a reality *seigneur* i.e. an objective reality apart from the individual within it.

Although the term sociology was given by Auguste Comte, "there was as yet no disciplinary "home" for sociology" on the contrary there was strong opposition from the existing disciplines- psychology and philosophy to the founding of a such a field. To separate sociology from philosophy, Durkheim agreed that sociology should be oriented towards empirical research. Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, before Durkheim, were far more interested in philosophizing than in studying the social world empirically. This way Comte and Spencerian sociology was becoming nothing more than a branch of philosophy.

Durkheim while developing his scientific method insisted that the study of social facts cannot employ the method of introspection as sociology is neither metaphysical philosophy nor subjectivist psychology. Sociologist must seek objectivity. According to Durkheim, while studying a social problem care should be taken about observation and experimentation as the foundation principal of physical science. He meant thereby that subjective elements- personal likes and dislikes should not influence the study of a social phenomenon. He put special stress on concomitant variations (borrowed from John Stuart Mill), which show logical as well as statistical reason for the relationship before casual connection can be

assumed.

Durkheim general aim was, therefore, to make society an empirical study and he attempted in his work to practice crucial experiment used to successfully in physical sciences. Talcott Parsons, great sociologist of America, called Durkheim as "one of the greatest empirical scientists of his days" and went on to say that "Durkheim was a scientific theorist in the sense of one who never theorized in air, never indulge in idle speculation, but was always seeking the solution of crucially important empirical problems. In the preface to the *Division of Labour* (1893), Durkheim wrote, "this book is above all an attempt to treat the facts of moral life by method of positive science".

6.6.1 SOCIAL FACTS: MEANING

Durkheim insisted that for an empirical treatment of social data is necessary to treat 'social facts' as 'things' before we proceed further let you know how Durkheim defined the 'social facts' which helped him to claim sociological analysis as scientific. He defined 'social facts' as "ways of acting, thinking, and feeling, external to individual and endowed with a power of coercion by reason of which they control him". As you know, Durkheim defined sociology as science of institutions and institutions comprise "all the beliefs and all the modes of conduct instituted by the collectivity. In other words, institutions contain all social facts that sociology studies.

Social facts are not "factual" they are things objective, even measurable things the main characteristics of social facts are (1) externality (2) constraint (3) independence (4) generality.

- 1. Externality:** - According to Durkheim, social facts exist outside the individual consciousness for example. The law and customs, beliefs and practices exist prior to the individual because they exist outside him. Social real is inspires the existence if

a 'group mind' distinct from that of its members taken together. Social facts are external to the any existing individual because they have been culturally transmitted to them from the past. Thus, first pair of the definition i.e. externality have been explained to you. The definition is, "social facts treated as thing that are external to and coercive of actors".

2. **Constraint:-** The main points of constrain, as, inferred, from Durkheim's analysis areas under.
 - The need to follow certain rules in order to carry out certain activities successfully.
 - The casual influence of ecological or morphological.
 - Cultural determination and the influence of socialization.
 - It is meant as when an individual who wishes to act differently is made to act according to social norms. It is the exercise of authority backed by sanction to get individuals to conform to rules.
3. **Generality and Independence:** Generality plans independence. Social facts are general with the groups and it exists independently of the forms it assumes in being generalized. As a social fact, which is 'general' to a given type of society is normal. This is from when this generality is shows to be founded in the conduct of functioning of a societal type.

6.6.2 TYPES OF SOCIAL FACTS

Durkheim saw social facts through a continuum. He identified two broad types of social facts. However, there are various classifications identified by different writers. We will mention some of them for your convenience. The classifications mentioned in Ritzer are more comprehensive.

The major levels of social reality as depicted

A. Material social facts:

1. Society
2. Structural components of society (for example. Church and state)
3. Morphological components of society (for example, population)

B. Non material social facts:

1. Morality
2. Collective conscience
3. Collective representations
4. Social currents

The level within the two categories listed above is done in terms of descending order of generality.

Box-A

Externality, Constraint and Generality:

A. Externality: -In two ways social facts are external to the individual.

1. Every individual is born into an ongoing society, which already had a definite organization or structure. There are values, norms, beliefs and practices, which the individual found readymade by birth and which he learns through the process of socialization.
2. It is external to individual in the sense that any one individual is only a single element within the totality of relationship which constitutes a society. These relations are not creation of any single individual. They are constituted by multiple interactions between individuals for Durkheim the whole is greater than the sum total of parts.

B. Constraint: Social facts are endowed with coercive power (constraint) here; individuals are compelled to accept the prescribed ways of behaviour. For example, caste endogamy (marriage within a Group) is a social fact in a Hindu society. If someone tries to marry a person of other caste, he becomes a subject of condemnation.

C. Generality: - social facts are must be followed and practiced by a majority of society. Thus, it implies generality. But it may not be universal as the social fact for a particular society and may not be for other.

Further, Durkheim made a distinction between normal pathological social facts. A social fact is normal when it is generally encountered in a society of a certain phase

in its evolution. For example, some amount of crime is inevitable in a society and it may, at this level, be considered as normal. But an extraordinary increase in rate of crime is pathological.

Another classification which is generally mentioned by some writers is along a continuum. The types identified are three.

1. Structural 2. Institutionalized 3. Transitional (non-institutionalized)

However, by way of summary in relation to the types of social facts, we can also consider the following classification mentioned in Adams and Sydney.

1. Material facts such as the nature of society itself, social structures and morphology facts such as population size and density and geographical locations.
2. Communications links or non material facts, such as norms and values, or collective representation and the collective consciousness.
3. Social current-the great movements of enthusiasm, indignation, and pity in a crowd- which do not arise in anyone individual consciousness.

By now, you know that a social fact is a thing and that it is external and coercive. Durkheim, as you have seen, has mainly identified between two broad type material and non-material. Material social facts are very clear because they are real material entities. As such, material facts are of lesser significance in the work of Durkheim. But Durkheim concentrated more on the non-material social facts.

What we now call norms and values (or culture) were the good examples for Durkheim as non-material social facts. we now call norms and values (or culture) were the good example for Durkheim as non-material social facts.

Explanations (Rules):

In terms of the explanation of social facts, one can identify two approaches-

1) Causal 2) functional. The causal is concerned with the explanation through as to why a social phenomenon in question exists.

The functional explanation involves establishing the correspondence between the fact under consideration and the general needs of the social organism. We will take help of Ronald Fletcher to identify the approaches with regard to the rules of explaining social facts.

1. When the explanation of a social phenomenon is undertaken, we must seek separately the cause which produces it and the function it fulfills.
2. The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of individual consciousness.
3. The function of a social fact ought always to be sought in its relation to some social end.

Durkheim's rules even here, specifies two things for the explanation of social fact. The two essential elements are:

- (i) A historical account-of how a social fact has come to be what it is in terms of antecedent social facts.
 - (ii) A functional account- of how the social fact is related to the others in society, in a certain pattern of inter connection.
- (d) The first origins of all social processes of any importance should be sought in the internal constitution of the social groups.

A causal account of a social fact was not either a historical account or functional account but essentially required both. A historical account could trace.

The actual sequential nature of a social fact but comparative and functional analysis could clarify its place within the conditions of the social milieu.

General, causal relationships between social facts could be established - not simply historical chronologies, or functional analyses, but the explanation of their actual

interdependencies within specified social milieus.

In sum, the causes which have risen to a given social fact must be identified separately from what ever social functions it may fulfill. This is because knowledge of the causes which bring phenomena into being can allow us to derive some insight into its possible functioning. Although cause and function have separate characters. This does not prevent a reciprocal relation between the two and one can start either why.

6.7 COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

- Given his focus on non-material social facts, Durkheim is sometimes accused of having a meta physical, group mind imitation.
- He comparatively had little to say about micro level phenomena. But the commentators would say, although Durkheim dealt with all major levels of social reality, he did focus the causal impact of the large scale forces on the individual level.
- Durkheim is critical for his neglect of psychology. This he did by stressing the importance of studying as a reality sui-generis.
- But in spite of some of the drawbacks, Emile Durkheim makes a bold attempt to enter into the empirical domain and succeeded in inspiring the full time scholar to pursue scientific sociology.

6.8 LET US SUM UP

Our discussion of Durkheim's conception of sociology we may say that Durkheim clearly considered sociology to be an independent scientific discipline with its distinct subject matter. He distinguished it from psychology. He identified social facts, laid down rules for their observation and explanation. He stressed on social facts being explained through other social

facts. For him explanation meant the study of functions and causes. The causes could be derived through the use of the comparative method. He demonstrated the nature of these studies through the study of division of labour in different types of solidarities, of suicide-rates in different types of societies, and the study of Religion in a single type. His life and works are regarded as a sustained effort at laying the legitimate base of sociology as a discipline. Further, it follows the empiricist method, which is valid in the natural sciences, biology in particular, observation, classification and expands explanation through the help of 'laws' arrived by means of the comparative method.

6.9 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) What rules have to be followed to observe social facts objectively.

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- 2) What are the two aspects of the explanation of social facts

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6.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Aron, R. 1967. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. Volume 2, Penguin Books: London. Durkheim, E. 1950.

- *The Rules of Sociological Method*. (Translated by S.A. Solvay and J.H. Mueller and (Ed) E. G. Catlin), The Free Press, of Glencoe: New York.

DIVISION OF LABOUR: MECHANICAL AND ORGANIC**SOLIDARITY****STRUCTURE**

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Division of Labour
- 7.3 Division of Labour: Mechanical and Organic Solidarity
- 7.4 Comments and Criticism
- 7.5 Let us Sum Up
- 7.6 Glossary
- 7.7 Self-Assessment Questions
- 7.8 Suggested Readings

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you would be able to understand:

- the relationship between mechanical solidarity and its specific social structure.
- the repressive law as the means of strengthening the social solidarity in segmental social structure.
- the significance of collective conscience in primitive societies that organic solidarity.
- the characteristic feature of complex social structure, is based on division of labour.
- the role of restitutive law in complex social structure with reference to the solidarity and the changed form of collective conscience in advanced societies.

7.1 Introduction

De La division du travail social (Division of Labour in society, 1893) is the doctoral thesis and first major work of Durkheim. In this work, he has traced the relation between individuals. His concern was how a multiplicity of individuals makes of a society. He has

also discussed in this work as to how individual can achieve what is the condition of social existence. This led him to distinguish between two kinds of solidarities i.e Mechanical solidarity and Organic solidarity.

7.2 DIVISION OF LABOUR

It exists in different sectors of society and Durkheim did not limit his understanding to strictly economic exchanges. He held that Division of Labour is a social phenomenon and merits social explanation. He held that as volume and density of population increases in a given area there is an increase in interaction and struggle for survival. Social differentiation is practiced in modern societies to overcome this struggle for survival between individuals. The individuals are more dependent on one another for specialized functions and this leads to social cohesion and increase in individual autonomy. In modern societies there is an increase of individualism but there is also a need to maintain social solidarity. In his writings, Durkheim explained how individuals relate to one another and to society by the social bonds. His doctoral dissertation on Division of Labour in Society focused on the concept of 'social solidarity'. He was influenced by Rousseau's thinking that social solidarity is neither dependent on politics nor economy. Durkheim held that solidarity can be expressed in two distinct ways which are 'mechanical' and 'organic'. In small societies with mechanical solidarity, individual autonomy is lowest and society is characterized by likeness of beliefs. There is no specialization of tasks and very little division of labour. Collective conscience pervades amongst all individuals in the group. The links bonding the individual to the social whole is intense and there is perfect social integration. In such a society the institution of religion is dominant and an individual's place in society is determined by kinship. There is a system of penal law which punishes crimes violently so as to reaffirm the core beliefs and values.

This law is repressive and severely punishes the offence. On the other hand, in societies with organic solidarity there is greater division of labour and individuals are dependent on one another for specialized tasks rather than on society as a whole. Such societies are dense and cover a large geographical area. The political, legal and economic institutions are more specialized and the force of the collective conscience over the individuals is weakened. There are greater individual differences between individuals and the integration of individuals when the social whole is weakened. Restitutive law is operative and aims at restoring the wrongs to their original state.

7.3 DIVISION OF LABOUR: MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY AND ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

In his opinion, the two forms of solidarities correspond to two extreme forms of social organization. This work of Durkheim is in two volumes. The first part of the study deals with the function and effects of division of labour and in the second part he has discussed the nature and function of division of labour. For Durkheim, in the beginning of society there was neither division of labour nor ever its necessity was felt. When society became complex, the need of it was felt and it became unavoidable.

1. MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY

Mechanical solidarity is *sui generis* i.e. born in the natural course of events based on resemblances of individuals. It directly links them with the society. This type of solidarity has arisen out of a number of common experiences of like members in a given society. Mechanical solidarity can be characterized by segmental system in which every segment is homogenous and involved in the social structure. Hence the society is divided into quite small compartments which envelop the individual completely. Originally, the segmental society was based on clans which were frequently found in less developed societies. But in

the process of evolution, the segmental characteristics could not be confined to this one characteristic and started expanding on the bases of territories. Consequently, the division of the society was not solely according to the relation of consanguinity (real or fictitious) but also on territorial bases.

The segmental social structure is characterized by a low degree of interdependence. What occurs in one segment hardly has any effects on others. Finally, it can be said that the segmental social structure has relatively low volume of moral and material density. This means that interactions take place among limited people (volume). It also means that the number of times people interact is also limited (density). The reason is that what one can do, the other can also do. So, he does not need others until more people are needed in a work. If a man has to cut a piece of wood, or catch a bird, or pick a fruit from a tree in a forest, he can do this work by himself like any other. Thus, people do the same type of work. They are similar; their inter-dependence is limited. Their density of interactions is low. Then a question arises what forms of custom regulate and control the conditions of people bound in mechanical solidarity? Durkheim answers this through collective conscience. Homogeneity of experience leads to the collective conscience. This gives rise to common beliefs and practices. The social life blended with religion and economic institutions of such a society, nearer to primitive communism as differentiations are few. Most of the property is common, the experiences are similar, and rules and regulations too relate to common life. Customs and laws protect the group — its property and its sentiments. The nature of laws is thus collective — a wrong-doer is punished by the collectivity. Penal or repressive law is an indicator of mechanical solidarity. Legal sanctions derived from the penal are directly proportional to the number of social bonds, which are regulated and controlled by collective conscience. Thus, we can understand the relative significance of the two. A wrong against the group is punished. On the one hand, punishment is given to the individual; on the other hand,

punishment strengthens the beliefs and values of the society. Any wrong brings injury to the group sentiments; every punishment restores the authority of the collectivity. If a group of individuals are less dependent and conversely more autonomous and if the density of volume of communication is less in such a society, or sect, how is it possible for it to develop collective conscience or social control across individuals or across groups or such sects?

2. ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

Durkheim viewed that division of labour is an essential condition of organic solidarity, and it gradually replaces that engendered by social likeness. Here individual depends upon those parts, which the society is composed of. In this respect a society is an arrangement of different and specific functions which are linked mutually by social bonds. In this conception the differences among the individuals are visible to the extent that everybody has his specific field of activities and confines himself or herself to that area only. Hence, the individual's conscience is distinct from the collective conscience.

The basic question which inspired Durkheim to study division of labour was the conflict among classes. He has observed that, "the lower classes not being satisfied with the role which has developed upon them from custom or by law aspire to functions which are closed to them and seek to dispossess those who are exercising these functions". Thus, civil wars arise which are due to the manner in which labour is distributed. Secondly the concept of 'Anomie' also inspired Durkheim to study division of labour. Anomie means "normlessness" in society due to conflicting sets of norms and values. Modern man is in isolation. He had become anonymous and impersonal in an urbanizing mass. He was uprooted from the old values, yet without faith in the new rational and bureaucratic order. This is the notion of anomie of Durkheim i.e. a social condition caused by the disintegration of social norms, which ultimately becomes the characteristic of society. The anomic division of labour is therefore the major abnormal form of division of labour distinguished by Durkheim.

It is to be recognized that division of labour, for Durkheim, is a functionally integrated system of occupational roles or specializations within a society. The concept of division of labour is a theoretical tool for analyzing social system. Durkheim assumed that this division exists in all societies. In non-literate primitive Societies, sex and age are the most important bases for differencing occupational activities. While in liberated and industrial societies, money and education were instrumental in dividing labour. However, in more complex societies the division was one of the outstanding characteristics of industrialization.

One may, therefore, discern that it is not only caste but other stratifications of society had promoted division of labour in early social groups. In a factory, we notice a system which divides the workers: **as blue-collar worker and white-collar worker** in a similar fashion as class and caste divides its members in early social groups. The basis of classification is anomic division of labour. The result of this is alienation of man which is not self-imposed but imposed by the society or system.

Durkheim, further, insists that division is a social phenomenon. It can be explained in terms of three factors-

1. The volume
2. The material density
3. Moral density of the society.

The volume of the society refers the population and material density refers the number of individuals on a given ground surface. Moral density means the intensity of communication between individuals. With the formation of cities and the development of communication and transportation, the condensation of society multiplies intra-social relations. Thus, the growth and condensation of society and the resultant intensity of social inter course necessitate a greater division of labour.

"The division of labour varies in direct ratio with the volume and density of societies".

- **Social organizations (Types)**

We can see a distinctive typology or classification of societies on a dichotomous manner. He identifies two extreme types of social organizations which he calls as-

A Segmental society (simple)

B. Differentiated (complex) society.

The segmental societies correspond to the primitive- preliterate societies, while the modern-industrial societies are a differentiated one. The segmental society, he compared to the structure of the body of an earthworm which consists multiple segments and every segment can have independent existence. If you happen to see an earthworm during rainy season you can try to cut the earthworm into multiple pieces. Even after the cutting, each piece of the body of the earthworm being independent, will survive and grow instead of being dead. The segments are similar to each other. Durkheim, thus, gave the features of a segmental society as under:

A. SEGMENTAL SOCIETY

1. Society consists of different independent groups may be on the basis of class or some other kinship groups.
2. The segmental groups are similar to each other which has been explained as likeness or resemblance.
3. Collective conscience is high. The strength and independence of collective conscience are strongest when similarities among individuals in society are most pronounced. The collective conscience is so strong in primitive societies that there are drastic reactions against violations of group institutions. There exists, therefore, severe criminal law and constraints against mores in primitive society
4. Durkheim, thus, noted repressive law as another feature of segmental or

primitive society which is primitive and severely punishes any breach of social rules.

5. Mechanical solidarity is another important feature of simple societies. These communities being homogeneous, uniform and non-atomized are integrated on the basis of mechanical solidarity which is a solidarity of resemblance.
6. Minimal or no division of labour

B. DIFFERENTIATED SOCIETY: In contrast to the segmental, primitive, simple societies, Durkheim has characterized the modern industrial urban complex societies on the basis of differentiation or role specialization. So, the name differentiated society. This type of society is in contrast to the segmental has the following feature:

1. Interdependence of social groups and individuals.
2. Differentiation instead of likeness or resemblance.
3. The strength of collective conscience slow.
4. Restitutive or cooperative (democratic) law.
5. Organic solidarity in place of mechanical solidarity.
6. Increased form of division of labour.

❖ **Solidarity: (Mechanical and Organic)**

Durkheim in his work, the division of labour in society debated on the central question as to, how can't the individual, while becoming more autonomous, depend ever more closely upon society. Division of labor leads to differentiation, and individual in a differentiated society becomes more autonomous. The general notion would be that there will be more in difference and disintegration. Durkheim has

answered the question through social solidarity, or social cohesiveness which is itself transformed by the division of labours. That is, in modern society the division of labour becomes the source of social solidarity. As people fulfill specific roles (specialization) within modern capitalist industrial society as mechanic, doctor, merchant, student, teacher and soon, they become more dependent on others within society since they themselves cannot produce or do not have time to produce all their needs independently.

In the book, “The Division of labour in society” Durkheim, therefore, demonstrated how the division of labour and the development of autonomous individuality affect social solidarity. He has done it in three parts.

1. A determination of the function of the division of labour
2. A determination of the causes and conditions upon which it depends, and
3. A description of normal and abnormal forms of division of labour.

Durkheim identifies two types of social solidarity mechanical and organic.

1. MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY

The mechanical solidarity, as has been said earlier, is the characteristic feature of the segmental or simple undifferentiated social organization. In using the term mechanical, Durkheim was making an analogy in inanimate objects, the parts of which cannot operate independently if the cohesion of the whole are to be maintained, for example, a clock cannot work if one of its parts is out of order. You must have witnessed the electronic gadget used in your home. If any one of the vital parts is (analogous to individual in a society) of the machine malfunctions, then you have to wait for that part to be repaired or replaced so that the equipment again starts working.

Mechanical solidarity is characteristic of more primitive communities in which division of labour is minimal and individuality is zero. The individual does not belong to himself but

is literally a thing at the disposal of society. The common consciousness in this type of society is primarily religious.

Mechanical solidarity is solidarity of resemblance, people are homogeneous, they feel the same emotions, cherish the same values and hold the same things sacred. Communities are, therefore, uniform and non-atomized. Durkheim explained that this solidarity grows only in inverse ratio to personality. Thus, a society having mechanical solidarity is characterized by strong collective conscience. Since crime is regarded as an offence against common conscience, any disregard of it (common conscience) is severely punished. Durkheim here examined the system of law used in different types of societies. All laws involve sanctions involved in legal codes.

1. Repressive sanctions, which are associated with plural law. They consist of inflicting of some form of suffering such as loss of liberty or even life upon the transgressor
2. Restitutive sanctions are characteristic of civil or commercial law. (We will discuss it in detail while discussing the organic solidary type of society).

In short, therefore, Emile Durkheim was of opinion that early societies were small and homogeneous. People had similar tasks and thus possessed similar values and emotions. This totality of social similarities led to what Durkheim called a collective or common conscience. Common conscience means a set of social rules held in common and experienced in common. In such a situation, individualism could not find expression and was weak. The integration of this type of society was one of mechanical solidarity which we have discussed in the preceding lines. Mechanical solidarity is based upon the common values in the absence of or minimum existence of division of labour. However, the central thesis of the social Division of labour of Durkheim is about the nature of solidarity and evolution.

As the society increased in size and complexity, the social tasks no longer be the same for everyone. In other words, a division of labour came into being and the differentiation of social tasks also caused diversification of values and emotions. This emergence of new type of society in the social differentiation has been characterized by Durkheim as "differentiated society".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

i) Read the following statements carefully and tick the correct answer.

i) Mechanical solidarity was found in that society were

- a) the group was based on likeness and repressive law was in practice
- b) the group was based on differentiation and repressive law was in practice
- c) the group was based on likeness and restitutive law was in practice
- d) the group was based on differentiation and restitutive law was in practice.

ii) Durkheim has described mechanical and organic solidarity in his work on

- a) the suicide
- b) the elementary form of religious life
- c) the division of labour in society
- e) the rules of sociological method.

iii) Organic solidarity is found in that society where social structure is:

- a) simple b) organized c) mixed d) imaginary

iv) Discuss in few lines the organic solidarity.

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Answers: i) A ii) C iii) B

2.ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

Organic solidarity meant that division of labour had itself great integrative power. The term organic was borrowed from biology contracts. Durkheim, however, noted that there was an important difference between biological and social realm. In the organism, each cell had a defined role and was unable to change it. Even in a rigid social organization, men were not pre-determined and always possessed a certain degree of liberty. With the increase of division of labour liberty also increased.

The emergence of differentiated society is due to the assertion of individualism. Certain personality broke away from tradition and mechanical solidarity, and became the first political leader. For Durkheim, Chiefs are in fact the first personalities to emerge from the social mass. Their exceptional situation putting them beyond the level of others gives them a distinct physiognomy and accordingly confers individuality upon them. In dominating societies, they are no longer forced to follow all of its movement. A source of initiative is, thus, opened which had not existed before them. There is thereafter someone who can produce new things and even, in certain and measures deny collective usages. Equilibrium has been broken (Durkheim 1893-1895) Mechanical solidarity or integration could no longer be operative when this trend further developed. A new form of solidarity had to come into being because people no longer of one mind and presumed of different goals. The in coming of division of labour through differentiation reduced competition and assigned different tasks to different people. They thus in this new form of situation became mutually dependent. This new form of solidarity was called as organic solidarity by Durkheim.

Organic solidarity is a feature of differentiated modern society which is characterized by specialization and individuality. The resemblance between individuals (mechanical solidarity) is replaced by difference between them and the individual, as opposed to the collective, as division of labour increased and each individual becomes more specialized each individual must rely more on others. In modern society people perform an arrow range of tasks, so they need many other people in order to survive. Unlike primitive family, in modern family, in order to make it through the week, people would acquire the service of a grocer, baker, butcher, auto mechanic, teacher, police, and so forth. These people, in turn, need the kinds of services that others provide in order to live in the modern world. Modern society, is thus held together by the specialization of people and their need for the service of many others.

We have discussed so far, the structural basis of organic solidarity. Now let us discuss the integrational aspect through the regulatory mechanisms as has been done by Durkheim. You were told about two types of sanctions -repressive and restitutive earlier. The repressive law or sanctions were true of the primitive society with mechanical solidarity. But in organic solidarity society, it is the restitutive (cooperative) sanctions which help in integration.

Restitutive sanctions are embodied in civil law, commercial law, procedural law, and administrative and constitutional law. They do not necessarily produce suffering for the criminal but consist in “restoring the previous state of affairs. Organic solidarity relies on this type of sanction because of the need to regulate relation between individuals.”

In short, the features of organic solidarity are: (1) division of labour and differentiation (2) individuality and inter-dependence (3) restitutive sanctions and (4) Secular and human orientation in content.

- **Types of division of labour**

Durkheim's theory of division of labour was partly a reaction to earlier writers like Herbert

Spencer and August Comte on the growing complexity of division of labour in modern societies. Spencer's argument was that solidarity in a divisive society is produced automatically between each individual pursuing his own interests in economic exchange with other. Durkheim also rejected the argument of economists that men divided among themselves, and assigned everyone a different job, is to assume that individuals were different. Durkheim also opposed the above said Spencer, as a contractualist, who stressed the increasing role of contracts among individuals in modern societies. He also rejected Comte's argument of moral belief as related to social cohesion. To Durkheim modern society is defined first and foremost by the phenomenon of social differentiation of which contractualism is the result and expression. Since division of labour is a social phenomenon, the principle of the homogeneity of cause and effect, demands an essentially social explanation.

There was no need for specialization and thereby division of labour in a society where population is less in number. Durkheim discusses population in terms of volume and material density. In less populated society the group or family is self-sufficient. But division of labour becomes inescapable when the group grows in size with a need for services. In a growing society variety of interest groups originate resulting in social and individual conflicts.

As has been stated earlier, for Durkheim division of labour is a material social fact because it is the pattern of interaction in the social world. He also has discussed another closely related material social fact called dynamic density. Dynamic density as a material social fact is the major causal factor in Durkheim's theory of transition from mechanical to organic solidarity. This concept refers to the number of people in a society (material density) and the amount of interaction (moral density) that occurs among them. An increase in population and an increase in the interaction among them lead to the transition possible from mechanical to organic solidarity. Thus, this is associated with the division of labour which may take different forms depending upon the development of organic solidarity through

dynamic density. The division of labour can be of, at least, two types- (1) Normal and (2) Abnormal (anomie or pathological).

- **Anomic Division of Labour**

The pathology in modern society was anomic division of labour. Durkheim considered anomie as pathology. If it is pathology, it can be cured. He believed that structural division of labour in modern society is a source of integration. This compensates the declining strength of collective morality which was the source of cohesion in mechanical solidary society.

Durkheim also admitted that division of labour cannot be a total substitute to the role that was played by collective morality with the result that anomie is a pathology associated with the rise of organic solidarity. Individuality can become isolated and be cut a drift in their highly specialized activities. They can more easily cease to feel a common bond with those who work and live around them. This however was viewed by Durkheim as an abnormal situation because only in unusual circumstances does the modern division of labour reduce people to isolated and meaningless tasks and positions.

In general, Durkheim was a sociology is to for morality. Therefore, his concern was with the declining strength of the common morality in the modern world because of which people were in danger of a pathological loosening of moral bonds. As such the pathological division of labour can be cured through increasing morality and organic solidarity.

- **Functions**

Social differentiation is the outcome of division of labour. In Durkheim's writing of division of labour, the concept of function is dominant and individual is taken to be an expression of collectivity. Division of labour and social differentiation largely characterizes the modern society. Social differentiation is the peaceful solution to the struggle for survival. Instead, some being eliminated social differentiation enables a greater number of individuals to survive. Each man ceases to be in competition with all, each man is only in competition with

a few of his fellowmen, each man is in a position to occupy his place, to play his role, to perform his function.

- **Effects**

The division of labour helps to bring in efficiency in society which in turn possible to result in social progress. Since there is division of labour and specialization, therefore everyone does only a limited job with the result that there is interdependence on others who are not specialized in their own field. This helps in increasing the spirit of co-operation.

7.4 COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

1. Durkheim's asserts that small scale tribal societies lack division of labour appears to be simplistic.
2. Many scholars are of opinion that the governments in modern states are also repressive not restitutive.
3. In his theory of division of labour Durkheim's only took account of population and neglected other factors.
4. According to Barnes Durkheim's concept is obviously biological rather than sociological, hence he has given biological explanation rather than sociological.
5. But in spite of drawback, his theory is very useful because it discusses the relationship of population with social progress.

7.5 LET US SUM UP

Durkheim was curious to know the forces, which regulate and control social life. To

conceptualize his ideas, he established dichotomy between segmental and complex societies. What are the characteristics of these societies and what 49 types of solidarities are found among them? He answers these questions Forms of Social Solidarity with reference to forms of solidarities. While explaining these affirmatively, he propounds that two types of solidarities i.e., mechanical and organic, can be identified through the types of law in different kinds of social structures. In this regard the repressive forms of the law, painful to the criminals, are analysed with reference to the segmental type of social structure. The sub-sections of this part deal with the importance of the collective conscience in the social structure, the definition of collective conscience and its nature.

7.6 GLOSSARY

1. **Collective Conscience:** A set of beliefs and customs, which on an average are common in a society and form a determinant system which has its own style of life.
2. **Social Solidarity:** The condition within the group in which there is social cohesion and cooperation, and the collective action is directed towards the achievement of group goals and in which social organization is shown by permanency. These conditions are changeable according to the social conditions. That is why Durkheim proposes two types of solidarity (mechanical and organic).
3. **Repressive Law:** Law that punishes the wrong-doer to reestablish the power and authority of the group or the collectivity. The most prevalent type of law in primitive societies.
4. **Restitutive Law:** Law which appears no longer a law for punishment but for restitution or reform. Its function is not to expiate but rather to restore to the rightful person what he or she has lost e.g. an amount of money given on loan or a

house given on rent.

7.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by mechanical and organic solidarity.

Q2. Discuss different types of division of labour briefly.

7.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Bierstedt, Robert 1966. *Emile Durkheim*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London
2. Durkheim, Emile 1893. *The Division of Labour in Society*. Macmillan: London
- Lukes, Steven 1973.

SUICIDE**STRUCTURE**

8.0 Objectives

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Suicide: A Sociological Understanding

8.3 Suicide and Social Current

8.4 Suicide and Social Solidarity

8.5 Types of Suicide

8.6 Social Integration and regulation in Emile Durkheim's Theory of Suicide

8.7 Suicide Rates among different groups

8.8 Important impact of Durkheim theory of suicide

8.9 Comments and Criticism

8.10 Let us Sum Up

8.11 Self-Assessment Questions

8.12 Suggested Readings

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you would be able to understand:

- The concept of suicide.
- Suicide rates among different groups.
- Impact of Durkheim theory of suicide on society.
- The types of suicide.

8.1 Introduction

The book 'Le Suicide' was published in French in the year 1897. For Durkheim, the central problem of modern societies is the relation of individuals with the group. This relationship has been complex because individual has become too conscious and cannot accept any or all social imperatives. The work on 'suicide' represents an extension of the basic idea of Durkheim's first book-the division of labour (1893). In this book, he continued the analysis of the pathological aspects of the modern society. He selected the topic suicide for study because it demonstrated the coercion of social facts even in these seemingly most personal decisions. Moreover, the occurrence of suicide illustrated the inter relationship between individual and collectivity.

In division of labour, Durkheim had cited the increased suicide rate in the 19th century as an argument against the happiness principal of utilitarian. Using statistical tabulations, Durkheim showed, how there were no consistent correlations between rates of suicide and organic or psychic dispositions such as race, poverty, insanity, personal unhappiness, similar personal factors, and heredity, these may be psychological and biological pre-dispositions, but since frequencies of suicide remained fairly constant, they must be due mainly to social determinants."

8.2 Suicide: A Sociological Understanding

Durkheim defined suicide as "every case of death which results directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act, accomplished by the victim itself which he knows must produce his result". Suicide is a social fact not psychological or biological. Social forces do require sociological explanation, maintained Durkheim. The tendency to commit suicide depended not on individual psychology or feature of the physical environment

but on the nature of individual action represented social solidarity. You have studied on social solidarity, mechanical and organic when we discussed the lesson on the division of labour. As has been said earlier, Durkheim refuted all the non-sociological explanations. In Durkheim's methodology, one social fact may cause the other since suicide is a social fact, the cause for it should be looked in other social facts. Durkheim also refuted the theory that suicide is an outcome of social attributes like, race, sex etc. Race does not provide any explanation for suicide as it cannot explain the death of a few out of many. It is not sexual because it must affect both sexes equally. For Durkheim, therefore, the real explanation of suicide is found only in preceding social facts. To know a little more about social facts and its types, you may see box A.

Box-A

In his attempt to give Sociology its separate identity as a scientific discipline, study of social facts. In order to separate Sociology from philosophy, he maintained that social facts are to be treated as things, so that they can be studied empirically, not philosophically, further to differentiate Sociology from psychology, Durkheim argued that social facts are external to, and coercive of, actor. He thus, distinguished between two types-material and non-material facts. Let us restrict ourselves to the latter i.e. non-material social facts. The non-material facts are external to and coercive of psychological facts. For Durkheim, morality, collective conscience, collective representation and social currents are the non-material social facts. Among them, we will confine to social currents, which is related to the explanation of suicide. The examples of social currents are the great movements of enthusiasm, Durkheim argued that the distinctive subject matter of sociology should be the indignation, and pity in a crowd. Although social current is less concrete than other social facts, yet, Durkheim said, they come to each one of us from without and can carry us away

inspite of ourselves.

8.3 Suicide and Social Current

In suicide, Durkheim demonstrated that social facts, in particular social currents, are external to, and coercive of, the individual. He chose to study suicide because it is a relatively concrete and specific phenomenon. There were relatively good data available on suicide. Durkheim true to the sociological tradition was not concerned with studying why any specific individual committed suicide. Instead, Durkheim was interested in explaining differences in suicide rates. He was interested in why one group had a higher rate of suicide than another.

For Durkheim, the changes in suicide rates were to be found in differences at the level of social facts. In Box A, we have talked about two types of social facts. As such, the material social facts occupy the position of causal priority but not of casual primacy, Durkheim examined ‘dynamic density’ (a social fact) for differences in suicide rates, but found its effects is only indirect. But he was of opinion that the non-material social facts have an influence, know about in different components of non-material social facts from box A. Durkheim, therefore, argued that different collectivities have different collective consciences and collective representation. These, in turn, produce different social currents, which have different effects on suicide rates. Further, Durkheim argued that changes in collective conscience led to change in social currents, which, in turn lead to changes in suicide rates.

8.4 Suicide and Social Solidarity

On the basis of statistical and theoretical construct, Durkheim distinguished three factors operating in suicide rates and they are altruistic, egoistic, and anomic each of them was related to the degrees of social solidarity- mechanical and organic.

In the section on division of labour, you have been told about mechanical solidarity which is a feature of the primitive societies. You, therefore, know that in mechanical solidarity, the collective attachment and pressures are so strong that the individual life becomes relatively unimportant; this is how we said that in primitive society the collective consciousness was very high. The altruistic suicide is associated with the idea of extreme mechanical solidarity with high collective conscience. An example of the altruistic suicide in Indian context is, *Sati Partha*, in which a Hindu widow throws herself in the funeral pyre of her husband and is cremated with him. She, thus, follows the command of the society without asserting her individuality.

The egoistic suicide is seen more in transient type of societies. Here, mechanical solidarity had diminished and organic solidarity was not yet in full force with the progressive emphasis on value of individuality –A transient society is, therefore, between mechanical and organic solidarity. Durkheim has cited statistics from political, religious and family life to illustrate the egoistic suicide. He shows that suicide rates have significant relationship to family status. Married persons have lower rate of suicide than unmarried and parents have lower rate than childless couple. In egoistic suicide, the individual becomes so detached from social institutions (lack of support of collective conscience) that he cannot recognize or feel the power of an authority beyond himself. He is faced with a dislocation, which can make life unbearable. In course of dislocation, the stress and anxiety he finds himself without group support a dislikely to take his own life out of desperation.

Anomic suicide is more in societies with organic solidarity. The increase in anomic suicide rates is related to the pathological aspects of modern society. It is increased in terms of social stress and unrest. Anomic suicide is related to the presence of strong individualism, which gave rise to social expectations, which could not be realized. According to Durkheim,

anomic is simply the weakening or disruption of collective conscience. Durkheim attempted that neither family, nor religion, nor could state or government provide a context of integration (solidarity) in modern societies. He felt that only corporations or professional organizations could re-integrate society.

Durkheim finds that the altruistic current in suicide has not increased, in fact, it has diminished. The egoistic and anomic currents have shown a great increase and can alone be considered morbid. In both cases, the underlying cause is a weakening of social solidarity due to rapid expansion and differentiation of a revolutionized economic structure.

❖ SOCIAL CAUSES OF SUICIDE ACCORDING TO EMILE DURKHEIM'S THEORY

- Emile Durkheim studied suicide to show social factors influence individual actions. Emile Durkheim theory of suicide, published in 1897, identifies different types of social causes of suicide which are as follows:
- Durkheim aimed to prove suicide has social causes beyond personal reasons. He studied differences in suicide rates between social groups.
- Durkheim identified two types of suicide with different social cause's i.e. egoistic and altruistic. Self-centered suicide results from a lack of social integration. People are not attached to society. This causes weak social bonds and bonds which leads to egoistic suicide.
- Altruistic suicide occurs due to too much social obligation on a person. The excessive social control and influence of the group lead to altruistic suicide.
- Durkheim studied suicide rates between religious and non-religious people. Religious people had lower rates. Religion integrates people into society, creating

strong social bonds. This reduces egoistic suicide, according to Emile Durkheim's theory of suicide.

- Durkheim also studied married and unmarried people. Married people had lower suicide rates. Marriage integrates people into the social unit of the family, creating bonds. This reduces egoistic suicide.

8.5 TYPES OF SUICIDE

Society, according to Durkheim, Constraint individuals in two ways, one of the ways is to attach the individuals to socially given purposes and ideals which he calls integration. Secondly, the desires and aspirations of the individuals are moderated by society which may be called regulation. For Durkheim, suicide is inversely proportional to the degree of integration in a particular society at a given point of time. This degree can be higher or lower according to the socio-temporal facts. Altruism and egoism are desired from integration. Anomic and fatalistic (which he mentioned in the foot note) is desired from regulation. You may recall from the earlier readings that integration is achieved through collective consciousness and value consensus. Let us discuss the four types of suicide on the basis of integration and regulation.

"Integration refers to the degree to which collective sentiments are shared. Altruistic suicide is associated with a high degree of integration and egoistic suicide with a low degree of integration. Regulation refers to the degree of external constraint on people. Fatalistic suicide is associated with high regulation, anomic suicide with low regulation". Schematically, it can be put in the following manner as has been done by Whitney Pope.

Types of suicide

1. Low ----- Integration ----- Egoistic Suicide

2. High ----- Integration ----- Altruistic Suicide

3. Low ----- Regulation ----- Anomic Suicide

4. High ----- Regulation ----- Fatalistic Suicide

1. EGOISTIC SUICIDE

As said earlier, egoistic suicide is associated with low degree of integration.

Some of the general features can be stated in relation to egoistic suicide.

1. It is more prominently found in modern society.
2. It occurs when individual gains precedence over the collectivity.
3. Here (in case of egoistic suicide) the individual feels detached from the society. In other words, the individual is not well integrated into the larger social unit.
4. The lack of integration leads to a sense of meaninglessness among individuals
5. When social currents are weak, individuals feel free to do as what they wish. On the contrary, strong social currents prevent suicide by providing people with a sense of broader meaning to their lives.
6. In large scale societies, the weak collective conscience results in individualism and thereby the possibility of more egoistic suicide.

But Durkheim was of the opinion that strongly integrated families, religion and groups act like as agent of a strong collective conscience and act as counter agents to suicide.

Box-B

Religion protects man against the desire for self-destruction. What Constitutes religion is the existence of a certain number of beliefs and practice common to all the faithful, traditional and thus obligatory. The more numerous and stronger these collective states of mind are, the stronger the integration of the religious community also the greater its preservative value (Durkheim 1897/1951:170)

According to Durkheim, the Protestants, professionals, urban-dweller, industrial worker etc. are more prone to suicide when compared to aggregates of opposite nature. He, with the help of data, found that catholic population dominated countries have a lower suicide rate than the protestant dominated countries. It is due to differences in the social organization of the churches; the protestant church promotes the spirit of inquiry while the Catholic Church honors the authority of priest hood. Likewise, family (well-integrated) is another counter agent of suicide. The above discussion on egoistic suicide indicates that social facts are the key determinants.

2. ALTRUISTIC SUICIDE

Where as egoistic suicide is more likely to occur when social integration is too weak, altruistic suicide is more likely to occur when social integration is too strong. In other words, if excessive individualism leads to suicide, so does insufficient individualism. Let us look at some points related to altruism and suicide.

1. The individual is excessively bond with them oral order.
2. Here the individual is governed by custom, and tradition to such an extent that there is a tendency among them to subordinate personal interests and sacrifice to achieve social ends, it is characterized as obligatory altruistic suicide.
3. Lesser importance to the ego by the individual and the resultant suicide is known as 'Optimal altruistic suicide' Example in lower societies out of a simple quarrel people used to kill themselves.

4. In mechanical solidary society, where death is meaningful and considered heroic if achieved in order to fulfill religious and collective interests. This may be called as heroic altruistic suicide.
5. Altruistic suicide has been characterized to be a feature of less developed societies.
6. Durkheim also found a modern example of altruistic suicide. In case of army, when the soldier may sacrifice his life for duty or when the captain of a ship who does not choose to survive its loss, dies along with the ship.

While discussing the types of suicide along with social current, we discussed the example of "Sati-pratha" of Hindu widows. Now let us take another classic example of altruistic suicide by the followers of the Reverent Jim Jones in Jones town, Guyana. It is a case of mass suicide. The followers knowingly took a poisoned drink due to the fanatical following of Jones.

Durkheim saw melancholy social current as the cause of high rates of altruistic suicide. The increased likelihood of altruistic suicide springs from hope, for it depends on the belief in beautiful perspectives beyond this life.

3. ANOMIC SUICIDE

Anomie is a social condition characterized by the breakdown of norms governing social interaction. It is a concept that bridges the gap between explanations of social action at the individual level with those at the level of social structures. Durkheim inserted that there is a relation between suicide rate and regulation. Inadequate regulation leads to anomic suicide. Let us discuss some of the points, which have a relation to anomic suicide.

1. They are the regular feature of modern societies.
2. Rate of anomic suicide are likely to rise with any dramatic disruption society.
3. Where there is sudden disturbance and if it is prolonged and the resultant

anomic suicide may be characterized as 'acute'.

4. The nature of disruption may be either positive (for example: - an economic boom) or negative (an economic depression). The regulation of the society becomes weak and the result is anomie and anomic suicide.
5. Periods of disruptions unleash current of anomie i.e. moods of rootlessness and normlessness. This current leads to an increase in rate of anomic suicide.
6. In case of economic depression, the closing of factories may lead to loss of job. Social current of anomic is possible to result in anomic suicide.

4. FATALISTIC SUICIDE

This fourth type of suicide was not seriously developed by Durkheim. Where as Anomic suicide is more likely to occur in situations in which regulations is too weak Fatalistic suicide is more likely to occur when regulation is excessive. Persons whose future are pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline are prone to commit suicide which has been characterized as fatalistic. The classic example is the slave who takes his own life because of the hopelessness with the oppressive regulation of his every action.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Define suicide.

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.....
.....
.....

2. When a person commits suicide due to high integration in society, which type of suicide is it? Tick the right one.

a) Egoistic

c) Fatalistic

b) Altruistic

d) Imaginary

3. According to Durkheim suicide is a term. **Social/ psychological**

Answers: 2. Altruistic 3. Social

8.6 Social Integration and Regulation in Emile Durkheim's Theory of Suicide

Social integration and social regulation are two important concepts in Emile Durkheim's theory of suicide. Durkheim believed that proper and adequate levels of social integration and regulations are needed to reduce suicide rates in society. These are some of the facts related to role of social integration and regulation in his theory of suicide:

- Social integration refers to how connected people are to each other through shared values, beliefs and community. High social integration means people have strong bonds and relationships.
- Social regulation refers to the rules and norms that shape people's behaviors. Proper social regulation provides stability and guidance.
- According to Durkheim, too little or too much social integration and regulation can lead to different types of suicide.
- Egoistic suicide results from low social integration. People feel isolated and lack connections.
- Altruistic suicide happens with very high social integration. People lose their individual identities.
- Anomic suicide occurs due to low social regulation. People struggle during times of social change with no clear norms.
- Fatalistic suicide happens with extreme social regulation. People's lives are fully controlled with no hope.
- Durkheim believed balancing social integration and regulation in society reduces most types of suicide.

- Strong connections to others through high social integration give life meaning and a sense of belonging. This discourages egoistic suicide.
- Clear rules and norms from proper social regulation provide stability, especially during change. This prevents anomic suicide.

8.7 Suicide Rates Among Different Groups in Emile Durkheim's Theory of Suicide

Emile Durkheim's theory of suicide proposed that factors in society influence suicide rates more than individual factors alone. Durkheim identified differences in suicide rates between various religious, marital, occupational and ethnic groups based on his statistical studies. These are the following groups:

- **Protestants and Jews:** Protestants had higher suicide rates than Catholics and Jews during Durkheim's time. He attributed this to Protestants having lower social integration within their religion compared to Catholics and Jews. Protestants did not have as much structure, ritual and community ties in their religion as Catholics and Jews. This created conditions for more egoistic suicide due to fewer social bonds.
- **The Married and Unmarried:** Married individuals had lower suicide rates compared to unmarried, widowed and divorced people. Durkheim argued that marriage provided social integration that reduced suicide risk. Spouses create bonds, give life meaning and provide emotional support that married people miss when widowed or divorced. This explains higher rates of egoistic suicide among the unmarried.

- **Occupational Groups:** Workers in creative occupations, like artists and writers, had higher suicide rates compared to others. Durkheim believed this was due to less structure and regulation in their work. In contrast, members of the military, police and clergy who had uniformity, hierarchy and rules in their occupations had lower suicide rates. They had greater social regulations reducing anomic suicide.
- **Men and Women:** Men had higher suicide rates than women during Durkheim's time. He argued this was because women had more social constraints and regulations through obligations of wife/mother roles. This reduced conditions for fatalistic suicide in women. However, unmarried and widowed women had higher suicide rates than married women. They lacked the social integration provided by the role of wife, increasing egoistic suicide risk.
- **National and Ethnic Groups:** Some ethnic groups had higher suicide rates than others. Durkheim attributed this to differences in levels of social integration and regulation between groups. Groups with tighter social bonds, community ties and shared traditions through high integration and regulation saw lower suicide rates.

8.8 Important Impact of Durkheim's Theory of Suicide

Emile Durkheim is known as the father of sociology. His famous book 'Suicide' presented a groundbreaking sociological explanation for why people commit suicide. The Emile Durkheim theory of suicide had a significant impact in several ways:

- Durkheim established that suicide is a social fact. Before him, suicide was seen as an individual issue caused by mental health and personal problems. Durkheim showed that suicide rates in societies follow patterns not explained by individual factors alone.

Social causes like integration, rules and guidance influence suicide rates. This established suicide as a subject of sociological study.

- The theory highlighted the role of social integration in preventing suicide. Durkheim found that people more integrated through relationships and groups have lower suicide rates. Strong social connections provide a sense of belonging that stops people from killing themselves. This insight into how integration reduces suicide was new.
- The theory explains that a lack of social rules increases suicide risk. Durkheim showed that in societies with weak guidelines and values, more suicides occur due to confusion. But communities with clear regulations and morals have lower suicide. This idea of 'anomic suicide' was necessary.
- The Emile Durkheim theory of suicide demonstrated how social changes impact suicide rates. During times of significant social and economic upheaval, old values fade before new one's form. This temporary disorder increases suicide rates. Durkheim's analysis of the link between societal shifts and suicide helped the understanding of suicide.
- The theory improved knowledge of suicidal behaviour. Durkheim's concepts of 'egoistic', 'altruistic' and 'anomic' suicide and his data analysis helped explain different types of suicidal behaviour and their causes.
- The theory stimulated further research. Durkheim's work prompted scholars to study how other social factors like social support, community ties and family structure influence suicide rates. His theory paved the way for more comprehensive sociological explanations of suicide.
- Durkheim established suicide as a topic of sociology. Before him, suicide was mainly studied by psychologists, biologists and theologians. He showed sociological concepts

and methods could provide insights into suicide. He pioneered the sociological perspective of suicide, which continues today.

8.9 COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

- **Ignores Individual Factors:** The Emile Durkheim theory of suicide focused only on social causes of suicide and ignored individual factors. But individual factors like mental illness, personal crisis, trauma etc., can also lead to suicide. Durkheim overlooked the role of psychological and biological factors in a person's decision to end their life.
- **Ignores Cultural Differences:** The Emile Durkheim theory of suicide is based on studies of European societies which have different cultural norms from other parts of the world. But suicide rates and factors influencing suicide vary considerably across cultures. So, Durkheim's conclusions based on European data may not be applicable universally across all cultures.
- **Overgeneralization:** Durkheim's study used aggregate suicide data to make conclusions about individual behaviour. But aggregate data can sometimes result in overgeneralization. The differences between individuals within each group are ignored. So, Durkheim's conclusions may be too broad and not explain specific cases of suicide.
- **Problems with Classification:** Durkheim classified suicides into egoistic, altruistic and anomic based on social integration and regulation. But there are problems with this classification. Some suicides cannot be clearly categorized into one type. Many suicides have elements of more than one type. So, Durkheim's rigid classification does not fully capture the complexities of different suicidal behaviours.

- **Ignores Social Support:** The Emile Durkheim theory of suicide focuses on concepts like social regulation, norms and integration but ignores the role of social support, which is also crucial in preventing suicide. Social support from family, friends and community can help individuals overcome difficult times and reduce suicidal thoughts. But Durkheim did not consider social support's influence in his theory.
- **Focuses only on Society:** The Emile Durkheim theory of suicide puts excessive emphasis on Society and social causes of suicide. It argues that suicidal behaviour is determined completely by social factors. But individuals also have free will and make choices based on their own judgements. Durkheim's theory does not account for individual agency and choice in the decision to take one's life.
- **Outdated Data:** Durkheim conducted his famous study of suicide in the late 19th century. But many things have changed in societies since then. Durkheim's data and conclusions are based on the social conditions of that time which are very different from modern times. So, his theory may not be relevant in explaining suicidal behaviour in the 21st century. Though Durkheim's theory of suicide was ground breaking and highlighted the social causes of suicide, it has several limitations. It ignored individual factors, over generalized data, had problems with classifications, did not consider social support and focused excessively on Society. It also used outdated data.

8.10 LET US SUM UP

To sum up, one can say that for Durkheim that there is no pathological condition that has regular and definite relation to suicide. Durkheim dismissed the distribution of suicide as purely psychological phenomena. He also rejected the social / demographical attribute of race, sex, climate etc. as causing suicide. All the types of suicide depend upon the

relationship between individual and collectivity. Durkheim has been criticized for laying too much emphasis on society, ignoring the individual. There is no room in his analysis for individual enterprises of creativity. He has been also criticized for his definition of suicide and mismatch between the definition and that embodied in suicide statistics used by him. Critics further argue that Durkheim has shown an extreme polarization of social and psychological explorations. He thus used aggregate data for making inferences about individuals.

8.11 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. Define Suicide.

Q2. Explain different types of Suicide as given by Durkheim.

8.12 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Bierstedt, Robert 1966. *Emile Durkheim*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London
 - Durkheim, Emile 1893. *The Division of Labour in Society*. Macmillan: London
- Lukes, Steven 1973.

THEORY OF RELIGION:**SACRED AND PROFANE****Structure**

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Emile Durkheim's Contribution to the Sociology of Religion
- 9.3 Definition of Religion - Beliefs and Rites
- 9.4 Durkheim's Study of Totemism
- 9.5 Religion and Science
- 9.6 Durkheim: Sacred and Profane
- 9.7 Glossary
- 9.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.9 Self-Assessment Questions
- 9.10 Suggested Readings

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to understand:

- Emile Durkheim's views on religion
- Meaning of beliefs and rituals
- Relationship between religion and science

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Religion, as you are aware, is something to which human beings attach a great deal of importance. It includes a system of beliefs and practices, which help human beings to shape their actions and orientations. It binds people with other followers, bringing about a feeling of identification and unity. Sometimes it even makes people unite against followers of a different faith. Religion helps people to come to terms with the tragedies and crises of human life by providing explanations for these. It is a social phenomenon intimately connected with other social systems. The subject of religion has been one of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists. The contributions of Durkheim and Weber are very important in this regard.

9.2 EMILE DURKHEIM'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

Durkheim's work *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* is an important one. Its major ideas are discussed and debated by scholars and students even today. Before we go on to examine its major arguments, let us take up an important question. Why was Durkheim interested in the 'elementary forms' of religious life? Could he not have directed his attention to major religions like Hinduism, Islam and Christianity? Let us try to answer this question by taking a simple example from day-to-day life. If you can ride a bicycle, you will find it easier to balance on a motor-bike. Similarly, if the simplest form of religion is understood, it will be of immense use in understanding the complexities of 'organised' religions, in Durkheim's view. The most elementary or simple form of religion will be found in those societies with a correspondingly 'elementary' social organisation, namely, amongst the aborigines or primitive tribal communities. It is by understanding the aboriginal religion that Durkheim hoped to contribute to the understanding of complex systems of thought and belief. In the following sub-sections, we will try and see how he does this. Let us begin by

examining how Durkheim defines religion.

9.3 DEFINITION OF RELIGION: BELIEFS AND RITES

To define religion, says Durkheim, we must first free the mind of all preconceived ideas of religion. Durkheim discards the notion that religion is concerned only with ‘mysterious’ or ‘supernatural’ phenomena, with gods, spirits and ghosts. He points out that religion is as concerned with the ordinary as the extraordinary aspects of life. The rising and setting of the sun, the regular patterns of the seasons, the growth of plants and crops, the birth of new life are as much a part of religious ideas as miracles and spectacular happenings. To define religion, he says, the various religious systems of the world must be examined in order to derive those elements, or characteristics, which they have in common. As Durkheim puts it, “religion cannot be defined except by the characters which are found wherever religion itself is found”. According to Durkheim, all religions comprise two basic components, namely, beliefs and rites.

The sacred is that which is set apart, considered holy and venerated or dreaded and avoided. The sacred is usually in a higher position, valued more than profane things, and its identity and power are protected by social rules. The profane, on the other hand, refers to the mundane, ordinary aspects of day-to-day existence. The sacred and profane are kept apart, says Durkheim, because they are heterogeneous (different), antagonistic (in conflict) and isolated (separated). Rites therefore exist to mediate between the two worlds. Let us take an example. Why are believers not allowed to wear their shoes inside a temple? Wearing shoes or *chappals* for walking is a routine, practical or profane act. The temple is considered a holy, pure place; it is sacred. The floor of the temple must therefore be protected from the polluting dirt of our shoes. The sacred and profane are kept apart. Beliefs and rites, says Durkheim, unite to form religion. Beliefs are the moral ideas, the rules, the teachings and myths. They

are the collective representations which exist outside of the individual, yet integrate the individual into the religious system. Through beliefs, human beings understand the sacred and their relationship to it. They can lead their lives accordingly.

Rites are the rules of conduct that follow from beliefs, which prescribe how human beings must behave with regard to sacred things. They can be positive, where the sacred is sought to be brought closer to the world of men, for example, through 'havan' or sacrifice. Rites can be negative, which means the sacred and profane are sought to be kept apart, e.g. purification rites, fasts, penance or suffering. In Durkheim's view rites serve to sustain the intensity of religious-beliefs. They bring individuals together, strengthening their social natures. They are modes of expression of the collective conscience, which, as you have studied, refers to the commonly held values, beliefs and ideas of the community.

Defining religion in terms of beliefs and rites poses one problem. This definition would also include magic. Is there no difference between magic and religion? Following the ideas of the anthropologist Robertson-Smith, Durkheim holds that magic and religion are indeed different. Magic is a private, selfish practice, performed at the individual level. For example, if one wants to do better than one's neighbour, so one goes to the magician and by paying his/her fee, one asks him to cast a spell or perform '*jadootona*' to kill your neighbor's cows or spoil his crops. Magic thus involves a bond only between the magician and his clients based on a selfish motive, in order to manipulate nature to suit individual purposes. Religion, on the other hand, is public and social. There are social bonds between followers, which unite them into a group leading a common life. Durkheim's definition of religion taking into account these factors is as follows.

“A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unites into one single

moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.” (It must be clarified

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

i) Complete the following sentences

a) Durkheim studied ‘elementary’ forms of religion because

b) According to Durkheim, all religions comprise

c) The ‘profane’ refers to.....

ii) How does Durkheim distinguish between science and religion.

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Answers: a) Because this would help him to understand the complex and organised religion.

b) Beliefs and Rituals

c) Mundane or Unholy or Ordinary aspects of day-to-day existence

that by the term ‘Church’, Durkheim does not refer to the Christian Church alone. He uses it in the sense of a moral community or an organized group of followers of all faiths.)

9.4 DURKHEIM’S STUDY OF TOTEMISM

As has been mentioned earlier, Durkheim believes that to understand the more complex religions, one must understand first the simple forms. Durkheim maintains that totemism is the simplest form of religion. He chose to study totemism as practiced by the aborigines of

Central Australia. Ethnographic information on these groups was available in plenty. Their social organisation was the simplest known to sociologists and anthropologists. Totemism is linked with the social organisation of clans. The members of the clan believe themselves to have descended from some common ancestor — an animal, a plant or even some non-living object. The “common ancestor” is the “totemic object”. It is the totemic object that gives the clan its name and identity. But it is more than just a name, it is an emblem. It is often carved, engraved or designed on other objects belonging to the clan, even on the bodies of the clan members. This makes otherwise ordinary or common objects special. They are endowed with sacredness. Many taboos or ‘don’ts’ are attached to the totemic object. It cannot be killed or eaten; it must be treated with reverence. All things arranged in the clan are connected with and extensions of the totemic object. The clan members may not be related by blood, but they have a common name, a common emblem. Clan exogamy is thus an important rule. Religion and social organisation are thus intimately connected in such simple societies.

The totemic object and all that is concerned with it is considered sacred. Why? Durkheim maintains that it is not actually the animal or plants itself that is worshipped or held sacred, but a nameless and impersonal force which exists throughout the world and is diffused amongst all the material objects of the world. This force is described by various names “mana” by the Samoans, “wakan” by the Melanesians, “orenda” by some North American tribes. The totemic object is merely a symbol of the ‘totemic principle’ which is nothing but the clan itself. The clan is given a reality of its own. It is personalized and represented through the totemic object. In Durkheim’s view, ‘god’ is nothing but society apotheosized or glorified and given a different shape and form. Why is society worshipped? Durkheim says that it is physically and morally superior to individuals. It is ‘sui-generis’, with a reality of its own. Its power is feared; its authority is respected. When a soldier gives up his life to defend the flag of the country, he is not worshipping the flag itself, but what the flag stands for,

namely, the nation. Society exists in and through individual conscience. It demands our sacrifices; it strengthens and elevates the divine or sacred within each one of us. This is particularly evident during important religious ceremonies and festivals, which require the participation of the whole clan. Rituals such as festivals help to produce “collective effervescence” or a feeling of collective enthusiasm and involvement which strengthens social bonds and promotes social solidarity. Briefly, members of a clan venerate a certain totemic object from which they claim descent. This object gives them their identity. But according to Durkheim, it is not the object itself that is being worshipped, but the clan itself. Religion is nothing but giving society itself a divine form because it stands outside of individuals, exerting physical and moral constraints on them. Worshipping society produces in its members a feeling of oneness, solidarity and enthusiasm, helping them to participate in the collective life and expressions of the society.

9.5 RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Durkheim maintains that scientific thought has its origins in religious thought. Both religion and science reflect on nature, human beings and society. Both attempts to classify things, relate them to one another and explain them. Scientific thought is a more developed and refined form of religious thought. The terms used in modern science like force and power have a religious origin. Durkheim writes that religious thought will ultimately give way to the advance of scientific thought. He points out that social sciences are in fact undertaking a scientific study of religion itself! Both religious and scientific thought contribute to the collective representations of society. There cannot be any conflict between the two because both are directed towards seeking universal principles. Thus, the goal of both systems of thought is to help human beings rise above the limitations of private, individual nature and lead a life which is both, individual and social. Individuals need society in order to be truly

human, and religion and science both contribute to unifying individuals with society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-II
i) Why is clan exogamy a strict rule in totemic clans.
ii) Why is society worshipped, according to Durkheim.
iii) Why in the view of Durkheim there can be no conflict between religion and science.

9.6 DURKHEIM: SACRED AND PROFANE

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) explained the positive function of religion for society. His major argument about religion has been incorporated in his book, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. It was published in French in 1912 and was translated in English in 1915. Durkheim wanted to demonstrate the social functions of religion by taking totemism as the test case. He studied Totemism among the central Australian tribes. He chose to study totemism for two reasons:

1. He considered totemism to be an elementary form of religion.
2. He considered that sacred-Profane distinction arose from the totemic practice.

Features of totemism were unique to itself. Durkheim rejected animism and naturism. Both assumed that religion arose out of primitive people's ignorance about nature. Totemism is a system of beliefs and rites centered on totem. The totem is very often an animal or a

vegetable spice or a mythical ancestor. The totem is the symbol of a community/tribe. The totem is sacred and it is held in respect and cannot be approached without proper rites and ceremonies. To approach the Totem, which is sacred, one has to purify oneself both internally and externally. The object at the center of the totemic religion is the pictorial representation of the animal etc. which is worshipped. It serves as clan-identity. Against the sacred world of Totem lies the profane world. The profane world includes human beings and all that is not related with the sacred totem. Myths, legends, dogmas and beliefs represent the sacred totem, its power, virtues and relationship with the profane world. The sacred and the profane are entirely different and the lines of separation are clearly demarcated. According to Durkheim, the distinction between the sacred and profane is “absolute”. These two worlds are often hostile to each other. He argues that this type of sacred – profane dichotomy is common to all religions. The sacred refers to those collective representations that are set apart from society, or that which transcends the humdrum of everyday life. The profane, on the other hand, is everything else, all those mundane things of our routine everyday life.

9.7 GLOSSARY

SACRED

- **Set apart and forbidden:** Things designated as sacred are treated with reverence and are often shielded from the mundane world.
- **Supernatural or extraordinary:** Sacred objects, places, or beings are often perceived as beyond the ordinary, sometimes even supernatural.
- **Inspires awe and reverence:** The sacred elicits a sense of respect, wonder, and even fear, prompting rituals and practices to maintain its sanctity.

- **Reinforces social solidarity:** Sacred symbols and rituals often represent the collective conscience of a group, fostering a sense of unity and shared identity.
- **Examples:** Religious symbols, sacred texts, holy places, certain rituals, and even individuals or animals considered sacred within a particular belief system.

PROFANE

- **Mundane and ordinary:** The profane encompasses the everyday aspects of life, the routine and commonplace.
- **Lacks spiritual significance:** Unlike the sacred, the profane does not carry the same sense of awe or reverence.
- **Essential for daily life:** The profane is necessary for the functioning of society but is distinct from the realm of the sacred.
- **Examples:** Daily activities, work, leisure, material possessions, and anything not specifically designated as sacred.

9.8 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have tried to see how Emile Durkheim and Max Weber dealt with religion as a social phenomenon. We first tried to understand the views of Durkheim. We saw how and why he studied ‘elementary forms’ in simple societies. We examined how he arrived at his definition of religion, Max Weber how he understood totemism as an expression of clan worship and how he saw the continuity between religious and scientific thought.

9.9 Self-Assessment Questions

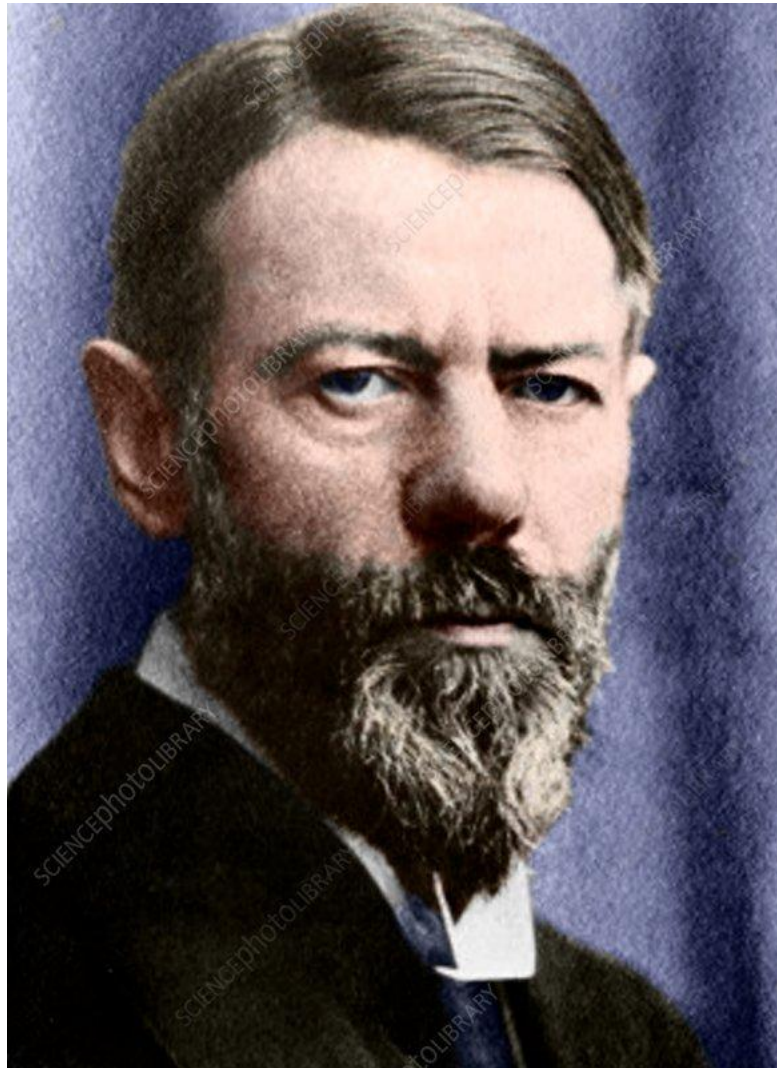
Q1. What is meant by sacred and profane.

Q2. Define totemism.

9.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. George Ritzer. 1992. *Sociological Theory*, McGraw Hill, Inc.
2. Abraham and Morgan. 2002. *Sociological Thought*, Macmillan India.
3. Lewis A Coser. 1996. *Masters of Sociological Thought*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur & New Delhi.
4. Rizer, George. 1992. *Sociological Theory*, third edition McGraw Hill Inc. New York.
5. Coser, Lewis. A. 1996. *Master of Sociological Thought*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur
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MAX WEBER (APRIL 21, 1864 TO JUNE 14, 1920)



MAX WEBER: VERSTEHEN**STRUCTURE**

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Biographical Sketch
- 10.3 Verstehen
- 10.4 Types of Verstehen
- 10.5 Verstehen in Sociological Research
- 10.6 Verstehen in Action
- 10.7 Criticism of Verstehen
- 10.8 Let us sum up
- 10.9 Glossary
- 10.10 Self-Assessment Questions
- 10.11 Suggested Readings

10.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this lesson are:

- To understand Sociology as Science.
- To understand the meaning of Verstehen in Weber's Work.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber (1864-1920) is perhaps the best known and the most influential figure in the discipline of Sociology. He is considered as one of the founding fathers of Sociology and various schools of thought and perspectives are drawn from his work. Weber's initial training was in the law and legal history, but later, he developed interest in many other fields of arts and social sciences. Weber's childhood was a disturbing one and this influence can be seen in his late life and work as well.

Max Weber was a great sociologist. He has attempted his peculiar definition of sociology in the simple manner.

Max Weber believed that social science should also be studied in the same manner as employed in the study of natural sciences they should aim at the rigor and precision available in the natural sciences.

For this purpose, he invented a methodology which would be applicable and useful in the study of both social and natural sciences. Max Weber has given his unique definition of sociology and specified the scope of the subject in his own way.

10.2 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Germany on April 21, 1864 into a middle- class Protestant family. He was the eldest of the seven children of Max Weber (senior) and his wife Helene. He came from a family of merchants of Western Germany, driven away from Catholic Salzburg because of their Protestant conviction. Weber's father took the government job in Berlin and later became Magistrate in Erfurt (where Max Weber was born). However, he soon embarked upon a political career being an important member of the National Liberal Party. In Berlin, he was a city councilor and latter, a member of the Prussian house of Deputies and of the German Reichstag. He belonged to the right wing liberals and was of a fairly typical

German bourgeois politician. Very much a part of the political establishment, the senior Weber lived a self-satisfied and pleasure-loving life. Max Weber's Mother, Helene Fallenstein, came from a similar background but was a pious and religious lady. With her strong religious commitments and Calvinist sense of duty, she has little in common with her husband whose personal ethic was catholic rather than Protestant. The deep differences between the parents led to marital tension and had an immense impact on Weber, as could be seen in his life throughout.

Weber received an excellent formal education in languages, history and philosophy. Exceptionally bright, Weber was nevertheless a difficult student.

In 1882, Max Weber went to the University of Heidelberg at the age of eighteen and joined law, his father's profession. Here, he became active and popular, which showed his identification with his father, even though, he was a strong authorization. Weber also studied medieval history and philosophy as well as has a great deal in theology. After three terms, Weber left Heidelberg for military service in Strasbourg.

In the fall of 1884, his military service over, Weber returned to his parent's home to study at the University of Berlin. For the next eight years of his life, he stayed at his parent's house. During these days, Weber developed greater understanding of his mother's personality and religious values, at the same time developing antipathy towards his father. In these years, Weber submitted himself to a right and ascetic life completing his PHD on the topic "History of Commercial Societies in the Middle Ages" in 1889. He also did his post-doctoral thesis on the "Roman Agrarian history" which was necessary for a university teaching position. Soon, he started teaching at the University of Berlin and in the process his interests shifted more toward his life-long concerns-economics, history and Sociology.

Besides his scholarly concerns, Weber also pursued his political interests and was settling down to an active and creative life in the worlds of both-scholarship and politics. But

suddenly, this promising career came to a halt in 1897 when his father died following a heated and violent clash in which Weber defended his mother and accused his father for treating his mother brutally. In 1899, he suffered from a nervous breakdown and did not recover for more than five years. During the next few years, Weber was unable to work. He tried to recover and resume his work, but when he realized he could not do so, he resigned from the chair at Heidelberg. Doctors advised him to travel and exercise and slowly Weber began to recover after his visits to Italy and Switzerland. In 1902, he returned to Heidelberg and resumed writings but returned to teaching only in the last few years of his life.

- **Major Contributions**

Weber resumed his full scholarly activities in 1903 upon his return in Heidelberg. In 1904, he went to America to deliver a lecture on the 'Social Structure of Germany'. Weber travelled through America for over three months and was deeply impressed with the character of American Civilization. The roots of many of his writings later, on the role of protestant ethic in the emergence of capitalism and on the bureaucracy, can be traced to his stay in America.

Weber's methodological writings, the most important of which are translated are Max Weber on the Methodology of Social Sciences date from these years. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism was published in 1905. In 1908 and 1909, Weber did a major empirical study in the social psychology of industrial work and of factory workers. In these years, he participated actively in academic conventions and spoke at political meetings. In 1910, he became the co-founder of the German Sociological Society with Tönnies and Simmel and remained its secretary for several years of its initial programme of study.

Max Weber's definition of sociology is to be found in his book "The Theory of Economics and Social Organisation".

In this book Weber has defined sociology in the following words: "Sociology is the

science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and results."

This definition of Max Weber brings into relief three important facts. **Firstly**, we may assert that according to Weber the chief purpose of sociology is to understand the nature and the causes of social action.

Secondly, it tries to map out the causal pattern of social action.

Thirdly, it aims at knowing the results of social action.

A study of the social thought of Max Weber clearly reveals that in his conception of sociology, it is intimately concerned with social action. There in order to comprehend the conceptual framework of Max Weber it is necessary to discuss his idea and meaning of the term 'social action.'

10.3 VERSTEHEN

Verstehen is a sociological approach, first proposed by Weber and Dilthey that presses sociologists to take the frame of an insider in their research, rather than that of an outside observer.

In other words, verstehen posits that, in order to truly understand individuals or groups, sociologists must "walk a mile in their shoes." The term originates from the German word for "understanding." used this term to refer to the attempts of social scientists to understand both the intent and context of human action. Max Weber argued that a sense of empathetic understanding, or "Verstehen", is crucial to understand human action and social change.

This approach follows three main beliefs:

1. that sociology should consider not just behavior, but the motivation for that behavior;
2. that reality is constructed through interactions (this is in a similar vein to the symbolic interactionist approach);

3. that quantitative methods can be used to understand individual subjectivity.

Weber sought to understand a version of social reality driven by individual subjectivity, constructed collectively through the interactions between people.

As such, it has been characterized as an “interpretive” or qualitative method of inquiry.

10.4 Types of Verstehen

Weber (1947) distinguished between two types of Verstehen: the verstehen that resulted from direct observation and those sociologists can apply when trying to understand the motives that give rise to a particular action.

He called these *Aktuelles* and *erklärendes* verstehen, respectively. Someone who observes someone’s emotional state from their body language or facial expression would be employing *aktuelles* verstehen, while someone using *erklärendes*, or empathetic understanding would examine why someone is doing an action in the first place.

1. Aktuelles Verstehen or Contemporary Understanding

Aktuelles Verstehen, or “**contemporary understanding**”, is a variation of the verstehen approach that specifically looks at understanding the explicit actions that people are carrying out. For example, a sociologist could observe someone’s actions – such as building a house or cooking dinner as well as their emotional state while doing so, based on body language and facial expression.

2. Erklärendes Verstehen or Explanatory Understanding

Nonetheless, Weber did not consider *aktuelles* verstehen alone to be sufficient in explaining verstehen. *Erklärendes* Verstehen, or “**explanatory understanding**,” is a variation of the verstehen approach that specifically looks at trying to understand the meaning of an act in terms of the motives that have given rise to it.

This could involve understanding historical events, trends, or any other phenomenon that happened in the past. For instance, consider a person who is destroying a house. Eklarendes Verstehen would ask whether the person destroying the house is motivated by practical reasons, like clearing land while farming or making way for a new house, or whether the person is motivated by more destructive reasons, like hatred or revenge.

10.5 Verstehen in Sociological Research

Max Weber and Georg Simmel introduced Verstehen as a systematic process in sociology. This systematization of verstehen was later carried into the United States by Talcott Parsons (1937), who used structural functionalism to argue that the individual institutions of societies are functional. There are a number of different ways in which the verstehen approach can be used in sociological research.

One way is through participant observation, where the researcher actually takes part in the lives of the people they are studying. This could involve living in the same community, working the same job, or taking part in the same activities as those being studied. Another way to use verstehen is through interviews, where the researcher asks questions about people's experiences and feelings in order to better understand their actions and motivations. This mode of qualitative data can be combined with traditional quantitative data approaches to create an approach that combines the perspectives of insiders and outsiders in a society.

10.6 Verstehen in Action

One early instance of Weber using Verstehen is in his work, *The Protestant Ethic*. In the Protestant Ethic, Weber aimed to understand how Protestantism had led to the emergence of Western capitalism in 15th and 16th-century Europe.

He did this by looking at the religious beliefs of Protestants, and how these beliefs influenced their attitudes toward work.

Weber (1936) argued that understanding these deeply ingrained religious beliefs held by individuals was a key to understanding the emergence of capitalism as a whole. In this way, His work was an early instance of the verstehen approach in action.

1. Traditional social action refers to the actions of individuals within a society that are based on long-standing norms and customs. In other words, traditional social action is based on the idea that people will act in certain ways because that is what they have always done.

One example of traditional social action is the way in which people dress. In many societies, there are specific norms and customs regarding how men and women should dress. These norms and customs are passed down from generation to generation, and as such, they often become quite deeply ingrained in the way people think and behave.

2. Affective social action is determined by one's specific affections and emotional state. An example of effective social action would be if someone were to get married because they were in love, as opposed to getting married for practical reasons.

3. Value rational social action is determined by the belief that a certain action is inherently valuable. For instance, someone may practice their religion because they believe that doing so is inherently worthwhile.

4. Instrumental-rational social action is determined by the belief that a certain action will help to achieve a specific goal. An example of instrumental social action would be if someone decided to study for an exam in order to get a good grade. The goal in this case is to do well on the exam, and the individual has decided that studying is the best way to achieve this.

In particular, Weber was interested in the theory that modern societies encouraged “instrumental action.” He believed that people in modern societies are obsessed with efficiency, rather than evaluating whether actions are inherently worthwhile or right – a value-rational action.

5. This theory of social action both derives from and is encouraging of the verstehen approach, as it attempts to deconstruct why people are motivated to carry out certain behaviors.

10.7 Criticism of Verstehen

It is never possible to truly put yourself into the shoes of another person; therefore, we cannot really know or understand their motives. The verstehen approach has been critiqued for a number of reasons. Some argue that it is impossible to completely understand another person’s mental state, and that the approach therefore relies on too much speculation.

For instance, Bakhtin and McConnell (1986) counter that it is arrogant and conceited to attempt to interpret the significance of one’s culture’s symbols and customs through the terms of another culture, especially when that culture sees themselves as superior. Others argue that the approach is subjective, and that different researchers will interpret the same data in different ways. Additionally, some have argued that the verstehen approach actually reinforces stereotypes, as it relies on generalizations about groups.

Symbolic interactionists, for example, contend that individuals have more freedom to shape their identities than is implied by verstehen Ist theories, such as Max Weber’s social action theory. In this view, understanding the motives of a greater society is necessary, but not sufficient, to understanding the motives of individuals. Others have criticized Verstehen for assuming that one can necessarily understand a society in its entirety by understanding what a society’s inhabitants understand about it. That is to say, an individual may be completely

unaware of how their actions and experience tie-in to the greater beliefs and movements of society.

For instance, a person who is destroying a house may be motivated by practical reasons, but if that house is part of a neighborhood that is being gentrified, the act of destruction could also be seen as political resistance to gentrification.

The critics of *erklärendes verstehen* argue that some level of interpretive understanding is necessary in evaluating behavior on a broader level.

10.8 LET US SUM UP

The conclusion for Max Weber's concept of *Verstehen* is that while it is a crucial first step for sociology, it is not the end goal. *Verstehen* involves empathetic understanding of subjective meanings behind social actions, but its ultimate purpose is to enable sociologists to move from this interpretive understanding to a more causal explanation of social phenomena. It allows for a deeper insight, but should be combined with systematic analysis to explain the course and effects of actions.

10.9 GLOSSARY

1. **Affective Action:** It is that type of action, which is carried out under the sway of some sort of emotional state or condition.
2. **Authority:** Authority is that type of power whose exercise people see as legitimate.
3. **Bureaucracy:** A system of administration based on the division of labour, specialisation, hierarchy of officials, formal body of rules to govern, written documents, impersonal relations, recruitment and promotion on the basis of ability and separation of private and official income etc.
4. **Calvinism:** One of the four main streams of Protestantism besides Methodism,

Pietism and Baptist. Calvinism has three major important tenants: that the universe is created to further the greater glory of God; that the motives of the Almighty are beyond human comprehension; and that only a small number of people are chosen to achieve eternal grace i.e. the belief in pre-destination.

5. **Capitalism:** An economic organisation which consists of private ownership of property, control of Max Weber capitals, has market mechanism and provision of workers and which aims at making maximum profit.
6. **Charismatic Authority:** In this type of authority, commands are obeyed because followers believe in the extraordinary character of the leader.
7. **Rational-Legal Authority:** This involves obedience to formal rules established by regular public procedure.
8. **Protestant Ethic:** A doctrine of Christianity which provided much of the cultural content of capitalism like individualism, achievement motivation, hostility to inherited wealth and luxury, emphasis on work and profit, opposition to magic and superstition and commitment to rational organisation.

10.10 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by ideal type.

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Q2. Explain briefly different types of ideal types.

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Q3. What is meant by verstehen.

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10.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Aron, R. 1967. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. Volume 2. Penguin Books: London, pp 193-210.
2. Bendix, R. 1960. *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*. Anchor: New York.

MAX WEBER: SOCIAL ACTION**STRUCTURE**

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Social Action: Features
- 11.3 Stages of Social Action
- 11.4 Classification of Social Action
- 11.5 Let us sum up
- 11.6 Glossary
- 11.7 Suggested Readings
- 11.8 Self-Assessment Questions

11.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this lesson are:

- To understand the meaning of social action
- To know about different types of social actions and their stages.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of social action is the center of all social ideas of Max Weber. According to him, all social concepts hinge upon the central conception of social action. Defining social action is that action of an individual which is somehow influenced by the actions and behaviour of other persons and by which it is modified or its direction determined. Thus, it is clear that by the term social action we mean the actions of individuals which are somehow influenced, guided or determined by the actions of other individuals. Max Weber has made a very subtle analysis of the concept of social action.

11.2 SOCIAL ACTION: FEATURES

1. Social Action may be influenced by an action of past, present and future: It should be by now quite obvious to the reader that the social action is a result or a modification of some action of other person or persons. But it need not necessarily be coterminous with the modified action, that is, it may not be occurring at the same time or just before in order to influence the action of an individual. Indeed, such an action may be a past occurrence or even an expected by certain illustrations. For example, if A lends B rupees one hundred, B may return these at some future date. Thus, here the social action of B is due to past action of A. In other example, we can visualize a man giving alms to the poor man and the poor man wishing him well. This will be because of present action. As regard the future action we may think of a man decorating his premises in order to impress his friends and relatives whom he expects to visit him in near future. Thus, we may conclude this point by pointing out that a social action is necessarily a result or modification of some action of some other individual; but the causal or modifying action may be an occurrence of past, present or future.

(2) Social action pre-supposes the existence of other individual and some action by

him: As we have remarked earlier, a social action is a result of some action by some individual whose action, in turn results in an action by some other individual. This means that there can be no social action in isolation, that is an individual living in complete wilderness removed from all inter-personal contacts cannot do a social action. The contemplation and meditation of a recluse are not to be included in the category of social action. Therefore, social action is possible if and only if there is another human whose action or behaviour is prompting any given individual to act in a particular manner.

(3) Necessity of subjective meaning: In a social action it is necessary that it should have subjective meaning to the doer of a particular social action. If two persons collide accidentally and without any motive whatsoever the collision will not be a social action. On the other hand, if a notorious smuggler causes a collision of a truck with a police jeep resulting in injuries or death, then such a collision would be a case of social action. Even if an accidental collision is followed by some quarrel or tendering the apologies to each other then, too, the action will be social action. A blind imitation without any understanding of the nature of act being imitated is no social action. Only if there is some understanding of what is being done, social action is the result. Thus, the actions of even advanced and sophisticated computers will not be included in the category of social actions.

The above discussion makes the meaning of social action very clear. The primary task of sociology, according to Max Weber is the study of social action. Sociology, studies the different aspects of social action. It studies human behaviour. However, it is not a mere description of behavior but is the study of the meaning, purpose and value of the human behaviour. By the analysis of social action, it tries to discover the causes underlying social action. Besides, sociology also tries to comprehend the consequences of social action. Thus, we may conclude that there is an intimate connection between sociology and social action.

11.3 Stages of Social Action

Besides clarifying the meaning of social action, Weber has also described the various stages of social action. The stages of social action are determined by the patterns of social behaviour. According to Weber there are four stages of social action. These are:

- (1) **Traditional stage:** -This stage is concerned with long standing customs, tradition and usages. Thus, all those actions which are influenced, guided or determined by these customs or traditions are covered under this stage.
- (2) **Emotional stage:** - An emotional reaction to the action of other comes under this stage. If there is expression of love, hatred, sympathy, compassion or pity in response to the behaviour of other individuals, the consequent social actions are covered by this stage.
- (3) **Valuational stage:** - The social actions pertaining to values are considered valuational. The religious and ethical actions come under this category.
- (4) **Rational-purposeful stage:** - The actions covered by this category are primarily guided by reason and discrimination. The pursuit of goals is corollary of the fact the rational choices involve consciousness of ends of goals.

11.4 Classification of Social Action

In so far as it is a science, Sociology begins its analysis with empirical reality. A some of the pioneers in the field, and who tried to make of sociology a scientific enquiry, and Weber's sociology. His very definition of the "highly ambiguous" word sociology is "the interpretative understanding of social action in order there by to arrive at casual explanation of its causes and effects." "Action" is "social" in so far as it takes into account of the behaviour of others and is there by social orientation.

Typically, any scientist should start with observable data and then proceed on higher and higher levels of abstractions. So too, sociology, according to Weber, in tune with the other sciences studies basically social action. This is certainly an observable phenomenon and forms rightly the crux of Weber's analysis. It is an interpretative understanding of the subjective meaning of social action.

For social action there must be a minimum of mutual orientation. That is to say, taking the simplest kind of interaction with alter-ego situation, the alter behaviour must be influenced by and oriented to the ego and vice versa. Similar action doesn't become social action because mutual because mutual orientation is absent, for instance; the fact that all people who are out, open up their umbrellas when it rains does not imply social action because each one is reacting individually to an external stimulus incidentally common to all. On the mode of orientation Weber classified social action into four types as follow:

(1) Zweck rational action (Goal Oriented Action): - This is purely rational action. It means that the actor is fully conscious of these ends and selects the appropriate means towards the attainment of his goal. Economic behavior is purely rational in the sense that a producer chooses the most cheap and efficient means in the production of goods. Every entrepreneur aims at optimum level of production using the best, efficient means to achieve this end. Hence, he chooses between the innumerable alternatives open to him to achieve this goal and exercise rationality principle. His decision is purely rational in economic terms. This is referred as "Zweck rational action" by Weber.

(2) Wertrational action (Value Oriented Action): - The second kind is Wertrational action in which the actor is governed by values. Here logicity refers more to the means that to the ends may or may not be true. Religious behaviour, in which people engage in a number of activities for the achievements of certain things, is

typically an example of this kind of social action. Whether a devotee does achieve his ends through a particular religious means cannot be known but the fact that he engages in prayer and other related activity denotes that he is influenced by religion as a value.

(3) Traditional Action: Traditional behavior is the third kind. This action is performed merely because it has always been done. All customs, folk ways and mores belong to this category. A particular way of dressing for instance is followed because that is what people before have been following, observance of several rites and performance of ceremonies are matter more of custom than rationality.

(4) Affectual action: The fourth kind of action is 'Affectual' in which sentiment, emotion and certain other states of mind play an important part. The affectual relationship of members within a family is an example. The mother does not love her children because she can't help loving her children. Here, the role of sentiments and affections as the base of the actions, the kinship bonds of the members of the group, cannot be ignored any conditions of study.

Weber broadly classifies the above four kinds into rational and irrational typologies. The classification however, is not mutually exclusive because a particular action may fall into both the categories. However, the typologies of social action propounded by Weber have been the banes of not only "social action" as such but that of the 'ideal type' analysis, Ideal types, referred to as standards for comparative methods are based on the Zweckrational classification of social action and these formulations in modern sociological theory are indeed immense.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

1. Define social action.

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2. In which type of social action sentiments and emotions played a vital part? Tick the right one.

a) Affectual

c) Dramatical

b) Traditional

d) Ethical

Answer: 2) Affectual action

- **Unit of Sociology**

After knowing the definition and subject matter of sociology it is necessary to know the unit of the subject of sociology. According to Max Weber individual is the unit of sociological study. Weber has made clear this point in the following words: "Interpretive sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit, as its atom. In this approach, the individual is also the upper limit and carrier of meaningful conduct. In general, for sociology such concepts as the state, association, feudalism and like designate certain categories of human interaction. Hence, it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to Understandable action, that is, without exception to the actions of participating individual man."

- **Distinction Between Social Science and Physical Science**

Max Weber does not recognize any fundamental differences between social and physical sciences. He wants to raise the social sciences to the level of physical sciences on matter of rigour and precision. However, a number of contemporary thinkers held views divergent from those of Weber. Therefore, in order to appreciate the view of Weber it is necessary to know something about the views of the German thinkers living at the time of Max Weber.

- **The Views of other German Thinkers**

In the times of Max Weber German social thought had the impress of Kant's philosophy. Under these views social and physical were two disparate fields having no common points of meeting. Therefore, it was not possible to extend the laws of one field to the other. The social laws were different from the latter. The physical laws were completely objective and the same level of objectivity could not be achieved in matters of social laws. The free will supposed to be possessed by individuals was considered to be an insurmountable obstacle in achieving objectivity in social laws was not possible because human behaviour was characterized by consciousness and free-will. Therefore, the two fields were regarded completely different.

11.5 Let us Sum Up

Max Weber did not accept the view that there was any fundamental difference between the physical and social sciences and each required an independent approach and methodology. On the contrary he believed that the social laws could be generalized in the same way as the physical laws. He tried to develop a scientific method of the development of sociological studies. The law of causality applied as much to social events as to physical order of things and once we discovered the definite causes of social events, it was easy to evolve definite causes of social laws. For this purpose, Max Weber has evolved the concept of 'Ideal Type'. With the help of this concept generalizations about social events can be made. This concept will be discussed in the sequel.

11.6 GLOSSARY

- **Social Action**

Any human behavior that is meaningfully related to the actions of others. It involves an individual attaching subjective meaning to their actions, taking into account the behavior of others.

- **Traditional Action**

Actions guided by long-standing customs, habits, and traditions. These are often performed without conscious reflection or consideration of alternative actions.

- **Affectual Action**

Actions driven by emotions, feelings, or passions. These are often impulsive and not based on a careful evaluation of goals or consequences.

- **Vert rational Action**

Actions guided by conscious beliefs in the inherent value of a particular behavior, regardless of the outcome. This can include actions motivated by ethical, religious, or aesthetic values.

- **Zweckrational Action**

Actions taken to achieve a specific goal or outcome, using the most efficient means. This involves a calculated and strategic approach to achieving desired results.

11.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the different types of social actions as given by Weber.

Q2. What are the different stages of social action.

11.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Aron, Raymond. 1970. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. Vols. 1 and 2, Penguin Books: London.
- Collins, Randall. 1986. *Max Weber: A Skeleton Key*. Sage Publications: Beverly Hills. Jones, Robert Alun 1986.

MAX WEBER: IDEAL TYPES

STRUCTURE

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Biographical Sketch

12.3 Ideal Type: Meaning, Construction and Characteristics

12.4 Let us sum up

12.5 Glossary

12.6 Suggested Readings

12.7 Self-Assessment Questions

12.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this lesson are:

- To understand Sociology as Science.
- To understand the meaning of Ideal types and Verstehen in Weber's Work.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber (1864-1920) is perhaps the best known and the most influential figure in the discipline of Sociology. He is considered as one of the founding fathers of Sociology and various schools of thought and perspectives are drawn from his work. Weber's initial training was in the law and legal history, but later, he developed interest in many other fields of arts and social sciences. Weber's childhood was a disturbing one and this influence can be seen in his late life and work as well.

Max Weber was a great sociologist. He has attempted his peculiar definition of sociology in the simple manner. Max Weber believed that social science should also be studied in the same manner as employed in the study of natural sciences they should aim at the rigor and precision available in the natural sciences.

For this purpose, he invented a methodology which would be applicable and useful in the study of both social and natural sciences. Max Weber has given his unique definition of sociology and specified the scope of the subject in his own way.

12.2 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Germany on April 21, 1864 into a middle- class Protestant family. He was the eldest of the seven children of Max Weber (senior) and his wife Helene. He came from a family of merchants of Western Germany, driven away from Catholic Salzburg because of their Protestant conviction. Weber's father took the government job in Berlin and later became Magistrate in Erfurt (where Max Weber was born). However, he soon embarked upon a political career being an important member of the National Liberal Party. In Berlin, he was a city councilor and latter, a member of the Prussian house of Deputies and of the German Reichstag. He belonged to the right wing liberals and was of a fairly typical German bourgeoisie politician. Very much a part of the political establishment,

the senior Weber lived a self-satisfied and pleasure-loving life. Max Weber's Mother, Helene Fallenstein, came from a similar background but was a pious and religious lady. With her strong religious commitments and Calvinist sense of duty, she has little in common with her husband whose personal ethic was hedonistic rather than Protestant. The deep differences between the parents led to marital tension and had an immense impact on Weber, as could be seen in his life throughout.

Weber received an excellent formal education in languages, history and the classics. Exceptionally bright, Weber was nevertheless a difficult student.

In 1882, Max Weber went to the University of Heidelberg at the age of eighteen and joined law, his father's profession. Here, he became active and popular, which showed his identification with his father, even though, he was a strong authorization. Weber also studied medieval history and philosophy as well as has a great deal in theology. After three terms, Weber left Heidelberg for military service in Strasbourg.

In the fall of all 1884, his military service over, Weber returned to his parent's home to study at the University of Berlin. For the next eight years of his life, he stayed at his parent's house. During these days, Weber developed greater understanding of his mother's personality and religious values, at the same time developing antipathy towards his father. In these years, Weber submitted himself to a right and ascetic life completing his PHD on the topic "History of Commercial Societies in the Middle Ages" in 1889. He also did his post-doctoral thesis on the "Roman Agrarian history" which was necessary for a university teaching position. Soon, he started teaching at the University of Berlin and in the process his interests shifted more toward his life-long concerns-economics, history and Sociology.

Besides his scholarly concerns, Weber also pursued his political interests and was settling down to an active and creative life in the worlds of both-scholarship and politics. But suddenly, this promising career came to a halt in 1897 when his father died following a

heated and violent clash in which Weber defended his mother and accused his father for treating his mother brutally. In 1899, he suffered from a nervous breakdown and did not recover for more than five years. During the next few years, Weber was unable to work. He tried to recover and resume his work, but when he realized he could not do so, he resigned from the chair at Heidelberg. Doctors advised him to travel and exercise and slowly Weber began to recover after his visits to Italy and Switzerland. In 1902, he returned to Heidelberg and resumed writings but returned to teaching only in the last few years of his life.

12.3 IDEAL TYPES: MEANING, CONSTRUCTION AND CHARACTERISTICS

- **MEANING OF IDEAL TYPES**

To Max Weber, the term ‘ideal type’ has a distinctive meaning and there are certain underlying principles pertaining to its construction. Here in this lesson, we shall explain the general and Weberian meanings of the term ‘ideal type’, its construction and characteristics. Let us begin with the dictionary meaning of the terms ‘ideal’ and ‘type’. According to New Webster’s Dictionary (NWD 1985), ‘ideal’ is a ‘conception or a standard of something in its highest perfection’. It refers to a mental image or conception rather than a material object. It is a model. The Collins Co-build English Language Dictionary says: ‘Your ideal of something is the person or thing that seems to you to be the best example of it’. The term ‘type’ means a kind, class or group as distinguished by a particular character. Thus, generally speaking, we may conceptualize ideal type as a kind, category, class or group of objects, things or persons with particular character that seems to be the best example of it. Weber used ideal type in a specific sense. To him, ideal type is a mental construct, like a model, for the scrutiny and systematic characterization of a concrete situation. Indeed, he used ideal type as a methodological tool to understand and analyse social reality. Methodology is

the conceptual and logical research procedure by which knowledge is developed. Historically much of the methodological concern in the social sciences has been directed towards establishing their scientific credentials. Max Weber was particularly concerned with the problem of objectivity in social sciences. Hence, he used ideal type as a methodological tool that looks at reality objectively. It scrutinizes, classifies, systematizes and defines social reality without subjective bias. The ideal type has nothing to do with values. Its function, as a research tool, is for classification and comparison. To quote Max Weber, “The ideal typical concept will develop our skill in imputation in research. It is not a description of reality but it aims to give unambiguous means of expression to such a description”. In other words, ideal types are concepts formulated on the basis of facts collected carefully and analytically for empirical research. In this sense, ideal types are constructs or concepts which are used as methodological devices or tools in our understanding and analysis of any social problem. To understand ideal types, as used by Max Weber, we explain how ideal types are constructed.

- **CONSTRUCTION OF IDEAL TYPES**

Ideal Types Ideal types are formulated by the abstraction and combination of an indefinite number of elements, which though found in reality, are rarely or never discovered in specific form. Therefore, Weber does not consider that he is establishing a new conceptual method. He emphasizes that he is making explicit what is already done in practice. For the construction of ideal types, the sociologist selects a certain number of traits from the whole which is otherwise confusing and obscure, to constitute an intelligible entity. For example, if we wish to study the state of democracy in India (or for that matter of secularism, communalism, equality a court of law) then our first task will be to define the concept of democracy with the help of its essential and typical characteristics. Here we can mention some of the essential characteristics of democracy, namely, existence of a multi-party system, universal adult franchise, formation of government by people’s representatives, people’s

participation in the decision making, equality before law, respect to majority verdict and each other's' views as well. This formulation of a pure type or an ideal type concept of democracy will guide us and work as a tool in our analysis. Any deviation from or conformity to it will unfold the reality. Ideal types, therefore, do not represent the common or the average characteristics but focus on the typical and the essential characteristics. For instance, in his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber analyses the characteristics of the 'Calvinist Ethic'. These characteristics are taken from various historical writings and involve those components of Calvinist doctrines which Weber identifies as of particular importance in relation to the formation of the capitalist spirit. Ideal types are thus a selection of certain elements, certain traits or characteristics which are distinctive and relevant to the study undertaken. However, one thing which should be kept in mind here is that though ideal types are constructed from facts existing in reality, they do not represent or describe the total reality, they are of pure types in a logical sense. According to Weber 'in its conceptual purity, this ideal mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality'. This then is the way in which ideal types are constructed. To facilitate our understanding later in this lesson we will take up those ideal type concepts which have been used by Weber.

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF IDEAL TYPES**

From the above discussion we can draw some important characteristics of ideal types.

1. Ideal types are not general or average types. That is, they are not defined by the characteristics common to all phenomena or objects of study. They are formulated on the basis of certain typical traits, which are essential to the construction of an ideal type concept.
2. Ideal types are not a presentation of total reality or they do not explain everything. They exhibit partial conception of the whole.
3. Ideal types are neither a description of any definite concept of reality, nor a

hypothesis, but they can aid both in description and explanation. Ideal types are different in scope and usage from descriptive concepts. If descriptive concepts can be used, for instance, in the classification of different sects, and if one wants to apply the distinction in order to analyse the importance of these for the economic activity, then one has to reformulate the concept of sect to emphasise the specific components of sectarianism which have been influential in the economic pursuit.

4. The concept then becomes an ideal typical one, meaning that any descriptive concept can be transformed into an ideal type through abstraction and recombination of certain elements when we wish to explain or analyse rather than describe a phenomenon.
5. They also help in reaching to general propositions and in comparative analysis.
6. Ideal types serve to guide empirical research, and are used in systematization of data on historical and social reality.

Weber has based his sociology upon this theory of ideal types. In his works he has defined the nature of these ideal types. According to Weber following three characteristics are found in his conception of ideal types:

(1) Ideal Types are Subjective: - The ideal types are subjective in character. The subjective nature of these types marks them off from the physical laws. The physical events of process are objective, where as social laws cannot be objective. This is because social law spells into human actions and behavior and human behaviour is characterized by subjective motive, intention and goal. Man is a creature of free-will and his actions are not quite predictable on the basis of casual laws. Weber wanted to make sociology fully objective but fully objective is not possible in human affairs because man's actions are not determined in manner of physical events. However, with the help of the concepts like 'ideal types' it should be possible to achieve a great deal of objectivity.

(2) Ideal Types are Emotional: - The ideal types are emotive in content, they concerned

into our affections and reside in our imagination. The ideal types are not concrete but abstract in nature. Even the physical laws like ideal types in the aspect. As Laws of physics are abstract and cannot be perceived, similarly concept like 'economic man', religions man' etc., are also abstract and no existing manfully answers to these concepts.

(3) Ideas types are Changeable: - According to Max Weber, the ideal types are purely human constructions and are therefore, subject to the considerations of time and place. These are affected by the common thinking and social atmosphere. Naturally, therefore, the ideal types are changeable. These cannot be eternal or permanent. In this respect, they are altogether unlike Plato's ideas which standard forms and are extra-human, that is, they are conceived by human reason and not fabricated by it. On the other hand, Max Weber's conception of 'ideal types' is that these are constructed man by consideration of actual realities; therefore, these are changeable and non-eternal. The ideal types are subject of modification in response to changes in social realities. According to Weber ideal types are mere constructs or instrumentalities to study 'social action' scientifically and thus they have no reality in themselves.

A social scientist need not only construct ideal types but also modify these in response to changing conditions. For example, the construct 'Economic Man's an ideal type but is meaning is liable to changes in social realities.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

A) Tick mark the correct answer to the following question.

i) What are ideal types.

- a) Ideal types are general types.
- b) Ideal types are average types.
- c) Ideal types are pure types.
- d) Ideal types are normative types.

ii) Tick mark True or False given below each of the following statements.

- a) Ideal type is a description of reality. **True/False**
- b) Ideal type helps in the analysis and explanation of a social phenomenon.
True/False
- c) Ideal types are constructed by selection of typical and essential traits.
True/False
- d) Ideal types are hypotheses. **True/False**
- e) Ideal types represent a total reality. **True/False**
- f) Ideal types help in the causal and in comparative analysis. **True/False**

Answers: 1) C

2)i False ii True iii True iv False v False vi True

12.4 PURPOSE AND USE OF IDEAL TYPES

Ideal types are constructed to facilitate the analysis of empirical questions. Most researchers are not fully aware of the concepts they use. As a result, their formulations often tend to be imprecise and ambiguous, or as Weber himself says, ‘the language which the historians talk

contains hundreds of words which are ambiguous constructs created to meet the unconsciously conceived need for adequate expression, and whose meaning is definitely felt, but not clearly thought out'. It is however the job of social scientists to render subject matter intelligible by avoiding confusion and obscurity. For example, we may talk about the construction of ideal types of authority. Weber distinguishes three types of authority, namely, rational, legal, traditional, and charismatic, each of which was defined by the motivation of obedience or by the nature of legitimacy claimed by the leader. Reality presents a mixture or confusion of the three ideal types and because of this very reason we must approach the types of authority with a clear idea. Because these types merge in reality each must be rigorously defined. Ideal types are not formed out of a nexus of purely conceptual thought but are created, modified and sharpened through the empirical analysis of concrete problems. This, in turn, increases the precision of that analysis. We can therefore say that, ideal types are a methodological device which not only helps us in the analysis of empirical questions, but also in avoiding obscurity and ambiguity in the concepts used, and in increasing the accuracy of our analysis.

Ideal type, a key term in Weber's methodological essays has been used by him as a device in understanding historical configurations or specific Max Weber historical problems. For this he constructed ideal types, that is, to understand how events had actually taken place and to show that if some antecedents or other events had not occurred or had occurred differently, the event we are trying to explain would have been different as well. For example, because of the implementation of the land reform laws and penetration of other modernising forces, like education, modern occupation etc., the joint family system has broken down in rural India. This means that there is a causal relation between the event (land reform, education and modern occupation) and the situation (the joint family). In this way ideal type concept also helps in the causal explanation of a phenomenon.

This, however, does not mean that every event has a particular or a specific cause. Weber does not believe that one element of society is determined by another. He conceives the causal relations both in history and sociology as partial and probable relations. It means that a given fragment of reality makes probable or improbable, favourable or unfavourable to another fragment of reality. For instance, certain Marxists would say that private ownership of the means of production makes inevitable the political power of the minority possessing these means. Weber would say that an economic regime of total planning makes a certain type of political organisation more probable. In Weber's work such analysis of causal relations was related to his interest in worldwide comparisons or in analysis of events and establishment of general preposition. That is, he used ideal types to build up a conception of a particular historical case, and used the same ideal type conceptions for a comparative analysis. This interdependence of history and sociology appears most clearly in Weber's conception of the ideal type. Besides examining any particular historical case Max Weber also used ideal types to analyze the abstract elements of social reality and to explain particular kinds of social behaviour.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-II

I. How do we construct ideal type.

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II. Discuss briefly the characteristics of ideal types.

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12.5 IDEAL TYPES IN WEBER'S WORK

Weber used ideal types in three distinctive ways. Indeed, his three kinds of ideal types are distinguished by three levels of abstraction. The first 15 kind of ideal types are rooted in the historical particularities namely, Western Ideal Types city, the Protestant ethics etc. In reality, this kind of ideal types refer to the phenomena that appear only in the specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. The second kind relates to the abstract elements of social reality, for example, the concepts of bureaucracy or feudalism. These elements of social reality are found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. The third kind of ideal type relates to the reconstruction of a particular kind of behaviour.

12.5 LET US SUM UP

This lesson began with a clarification of the general meaning of the terms ‘ideal’ and ‘type’. We discussed the concept and characteristics of ideal type as associated with Max Weber’s writings. Ideal types are those constructs or concepts which are formulated for interpretation and explanation of social reality. Weber used ideal types in three distinctive ways. First, he used ideal types of historical particulars to explain Protestant ethics that appeared only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. Secondly, he used ideal type to explain abstract elements of social reality, namely, bureaucracy, types of authority, social action and so on. His third kind of ideal type relates to the reconstruction of particular kind of behaviour.

12.6 GLOSSARY

1. **Authority:** Authority is that type of power whose exercise people see as legitimate.
2. **Bureaucracy:** A system of administration based on the division of labour, specialisation, hierarchy of officials, formal body of rules to govern, written documents, impersonal relations, recruitment and promotion on the basis of ability and separation of private and official income etc.
3. **Capitalism:** An economic organisation which consists of private ownership of property, control of Max Weber capitals, has market mechanism and provision of workers and which aims at making maximum profit.
4. **Charismatic Authority:** In this type of authority, commands are obeyed because followers believe in the extraordinary character of the leader.
5. **Rational-Legal Authority:** This involves obedience to formal rules established by

regular public procedure.

12.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by ideal type.

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Q2. Explain briefly different types of ideal types.

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12.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Aron, R. 1967. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. Volume 2. Penguin Books: London, pp 193-210.
2. Bendix, R. 1960. *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*. Anchor: New York.

PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE EMERGENCE OF CAPITALISM

STRUCTURE

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism
- 13.3 Weber's Comparative Studies on Religion
- 13.4 Let us Sum Up
- 13.5 Glossary
- 13.6 Suggested Readings
- 13.7 Self-Assessment Questions

13.0 Objectives

After studying this lesson, you should be able to:

- understand the Weber's contribution to the theory of religion;
- know the relationship between economy and religion.

13.1 Introduction

In the previous lessons on social action and its types, you came across with two types of rationality: Zweck rationalist and Wert rationalist and the corresponding goal-oriented (instrumental) and value oriented ideal typical social actions. From this micro subjective emphasis (on understanding meaningful social action, Weber also shifted his attempt to understand the large-scale structures) (macro emphasis).

He thus develops two ideal types of bureaucracy, capitalism, and protestant ethics to provide a methodological tool for analysis of society. These types are concerned with rational social action. Of these, the Capitalism (economy) and Protestant Ethics (religion) concerns in this lesson.

The spirit of Capitalism was the rational pursuit of gain, which is instrumental action, i.e., action oriented to the attainment of goals through rational means-ends- calculations. Western Capitalism pursued profit as an end in itself (instrumental rationality) and work as a moral injunction (value rationality). The protestant ethic (the other ideal type formulation of Weber) was routine activity in the world or dutiful work in a calling which is valuerational action.

You can, therefore, understand that Weber tried to trace the relation between values (Wert rationality) or value-oriented actions and goal-oriented actions (Zweck rationality). This is his view in relation to the role of ideas and values in social change. Here, capitalism and its emergence and development are equal to the introduction of modern society through the process of social change of rationalization (See Box A to know more on function of ideas in Weber's thesis).

Box-A

The function of ideas (Coser: 227)

The Weber's concern with the meaning actors impute to relationships did not limit him to the study of types of social action. Rather he used the typology of social action to understand the drift of historical change... In this connection, he received the shift from traditional and radical action as crucial. For him, rational action (instrumental) within a system of radical-legal authority is at the heart of modern rationalized economy i.e. capitalist system. Weber maintained that the rationalization of economic action can only be realized when traditional notions are discarded and a positive ethical sanction (value rationality) is provided for acquisitive activities aimed at maximizing the self-interests of the actor. Such ethical sanction was provided by the Protestant Ethic, argued Weber.

Weber was fascinated by the dynamics of social change; he attempted to show that the relation between systems of ideas and social structures were multi form and varied and the casual connecting in both directions. Thus, he was rejecting the Marxian thesis-depicting it from any infrastructure to superstructure.

In this topics, Max Weber brings out the inter-relationship between religion and economy by showing the affinity between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. It is stated what Weber means by the 'spirit of capitalism' and how the contrast is made between it and 'traditionalism'. Certain aspects of the 'Protestant ethics' are then discussed which, according to Weber, contributed to the development of capitalism in the west.

An analysis of Weber's comparative analysis is made by focusing in details about the religion like: Confucianism, Judaism and Hinduism. This is done to show the relationship

between the religion and economy and give an understanding of Weber's use of ideal types and the casual explanation in Weber's work.

13.2 The Protestant Ethic and the Emergence of Capitalism

- **Sociology of Religion: Max Weber**

Religion, as a deeply ingrained and widespread institution, holds significant sway over human society. It goes beyond mere establishment, permeating and shaping various other societal facets. Scholars in fields like sociology and anthropology have long been intrigued by the mystical aspects of religion, and Max Weber was no exception. In his exploration of the sociology of religion, Weber delved into its impact on everyday life, as well as its effects on political, administrative, economic, and moral behaviours across different historical contexts.

Weber's focus wasn't solely on the rituals and practices of religion but on how they intersected with broader human experiences and societal structures. He sought to understand and organize the complexities of religion's role in shaping cultures and societies. According to Weber, religion, driven by cultural imperatives, has evolved to encompass new dimensions of human life and development.

Weber's sociological examination of religion aligns with his broader sociological inquiries. He investigated how specific religious sects could influence the economic behaviours of their adherents. Of particular interest to Weber was the extent to which religious worldviews impacted economic activities, particularly within Western societies. He posited that certain religious movements, such as the Calvinist branch of Protestant Christianity, wielded significant influence in the development of capitalism.

The theory also encompasses significant socio-economic influences that differentiate Western from Eastern characteristics. Weber employed the method of difference to conduct a

comparative examination of the relationship between economic ethics in world religions and economic life. His aim was to highlight the unique elements of Western religious economic ethics.

Weber proposed that Protestant institutions and their ethics have significantly influenced economic development. This concept is elaborated in his renowned work, “Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism.” In this book, Weber meticulously explores his interpretation of religion. Prior to writing the book, he distinguished his roles as a scientist and a publicist. His visit to America provided him with first-hand insights into capitalism, labour relations, and Protestant ethics in action. Consequently, Weber viewed his work as a factual rebuttal of the materialistic conception of history.

- **Motivation for Writing**

Weber aimed to elucidate the distinctiveness of Western capitalism, investigating its values and interests inherent in its unique structures and dynamics. He explored this relationship from two perspectives:

1. Examining the influence of religious doctrines on the economy.
2. Analyzing the positioning of various groups within the economic system.

Rather than focusing on the ethical doctrines articulated by theologians, Weber was more interested in understanding how these doctrines, in their popular form, shaped group behavior. His objective was to grasp capitalism as a civilization, the embodiment of modern society. Weber was particularly intrigued by the predominant drive for profit within ostensibly peaceful systems of exchange relationships.

Weber’s theory stemmed partly from his quest to conduct a distinct and autonomous theoretical analysis of social and political issues. He found dissatisfaction with both Marxism and German historical economics and jurisprudence in addressing these concerns, motivating his intellectual endeavours.

- **Weber: Religious ethics and Economy**

Religion being a pervasive and universal institution is deeply rooted in human beings. It is not just a strict institution but also exerts a tremendous influence upon all other institutions. What Weber was concerned within the sociology of religion was not religion on everyday life, on political, administrative, economic and moral behavior in different historical situations that he tried to understand and reduces to order. His study depicts that religion which is based on cultural needs of man has now added new dimensions to human life and human development. Weber suggested that the protestant institution and its ethics have played an important role in the development of their economy. This idea has been depicted in his book “Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism” (1905) His study promulgates that how far a particular sect of religion can influence the economic behavior of its followers. Weber’s major concern was to emphasize to the extent to which the religious conception of the world of existence have influenced the economic behavior of various societies and specially the western society. Weber says that the Calvinist sect of protestant Christian religion has strongest influences on the development of Capitalism.

The theory also captures several significant socio-economic influences which distinguish western from the eastern characteristics. He was less concerned with the ethical doctrines as expounded by theologians than with these doctrines in their popular form as they guide group behavior. Superficially, religion and society seem poles apart. Religion concerns itself with the “beyond”, whereas economy deals with the practical business of working, producing and consuming. Are these two seemingly diverse systems related? Weber thought so. According to him, it was the ideas, beliefs, values and world views of human societies that guided the way their members acted, even in the economic sphere.

- **Inter-relationship Between Religious Ethics and Economy**

On the surface, religion and society may appear distinct. Religion often delves into matters beyond the tangible realm, while economics focuses on the practical aspects of production, work, and consumption. However, Max Weber suggested a connection between these seemingly disparate systems. He proposed that the ideas, beliefs, values, and worldview prevalent in societies influence the actions of their members, including economic activities. Religious teachings often provide moral guidelines for behavior, shaping how adherents conduct themselves in various aspects of life, including the economy. Weber aimed to elucidate this relationship between religious beliefs and economic behavior in his work.

13.3 Weber's Comparative Studies on Religion

Weber endeavors to elucidate the connection between religious ethics and economic behavior. This correlation is further explored through comparative analyses of different world religions. Weber examines Confucianism in Ancient China, Hinduism in ancient India, and Judaism in ancient Palestine (West Asia) in his quest to validate this concept:

1. Confucianism in China: Ancient China boasted a robust economy marked by advancements in trade, commerce, finance, and manufacturing. However, unlike Western societies, it did not adopt a capitalist system. Max Weber attributed this variance to Confucian principles, which played a significant role in shaping Chinese societal norms.

Confucianism emphasizes several key tenets:

1. Reverence for the natural order and harmony of the universe.
2. Advocacy for individuals to align themselves with nature and cosmic balance.
3. Adherence to tradition, with an emphasis on drawing wisdom from the past.
4. Strong emphasis on familial and kinship ties, with obligations never to be overlooked.

These principles, particularly the emphasis on harmony, tradition, and familial duties, are fundamentally at odds with the profit-driven ethos of Western capitalism. In Chinese society, the pursuit of profit purely for its own sake would likely have been viewed as socially inappropriate, given the prioritization of communal harmony and respect for tradition.

2. Judaism in West Asia: This describes Judaism, the religion practiced by the original inhabitants of Palestine in West Asia, the Jews. Judaism stands as the oldest among monotheistic religions, emphasizing the belief in one all-powerful God. Within Judaism, there's a belief in being chosen by God, known as "Jahweh," with prophets guiding them toward establishing God's Kingdom on Earth. Unlike Confucianism and Hinduism, Judaism advocates for mastery over the environment rather than harmony with it.

According to Weber, Judaism potentially could have fostered the spirit of capitalism. However, various historical factors intervened. The Jewish community experienced mass migrations, such as the Exodus, driven by persecution, which scattered them, worldwide. Despite facing restrictions in various economic activities, such as land ownership, Jews excelled in money lending, establishing a successful niche in financial endeavours.

3. Hinduism in India: Weber offered a critical perspective on the compatibility of rational capitalism within the framework of Hinduism as observed in India. He doubted the feasibility of modern capitalism emerging from a caste-based society like India, or thriving if imported from the West.

Despite India's historical economic advancement, exemplified by significant contributions to science and establishment of global trade links, Weber argued that Hinduism lacked the ethical foundation conducive to capitalist development. Concepts such as 'Dharma', 'Karma', and "*punarjanma*" instilled defeatism and fatalism, discouraging proactive economic improvement. According to Weber, the belief that present circumstances are predetermined by past actions stifles motivation for economic advancement among Hindus.

Moreover, Hinduism emphasizes otherworldly asceticism, prioritizing spiritual welfare over material prosperity. The transient nature of material wealth and the emphasis on the immortal soul ('*atma*') diminish the significance of material pursuits. Religions emphasizing such asceticism are unlikely to foster capitalist attitudes, as seen in India and China despite their economic infrastructure. Despite possessing trade, technology, and financial systems, the societal values in these cultures prioritize ideals incongruent with the pursuit of wealth for its own sake and the rational organization of labour required by capitalism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

I) Complete the following sentences.

- a) According to Weber, the central belief in Hinduism is
- b) The Hindu ideal was aspiring towards
- c) Capitalism did not develop in China because of the Confucian ideal of
- d) The ethic of is a key feature of modern western civilization.
- e) Weber tries to interpret human action in terms of its

Answers: a) the doctrine of karma b) Moksha c) Harmony d) Mastery over the environment e) Meaningfulness to actors

• Merits of Weber's Study of Religions

Raymond Aron highlights the distinctive merits found within Weber's scholarship. Notably:

- Weber refrained from rigidly establishing causal relationships. He never asserted that the Protestant ethic, particularly the Calvinist ethic, singularly caused the emergence of capitalism. While Weber provided an interpretation of Protestantism, he acknowledged the possibility of alternative interpretations, emphasizing the importance of considering a comprehensive range of viewpoints.

- Weber effectively demonstrated the connection between religious attitudes and economic principles, rendering it plausible.
- He posed a significant sociological inquiry regarding the impact of worldviews on societal structures and individual behavior, a question of considerable significance.
- Contrary to the notion that Weber presented a thesis diametrically opposed to Marx's, his approach didn't substitute religion as the sole explanatory factor for economic phenomena. Instead, Weber examined the relationship between religion and economy without exclusively privileging one over the other.

- **The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**

In "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," the author explores how the ethical principles of ascetic Protestantism contributed to the emergence of modern capitalism. Weber argues that theological beliefs, particularly those of Calvinism, influenced the development of a capitalist mindset. He observes a correlation between Protestantism and involvement in business, prompting him to investigate religion's role in shaping contemporary economic systems.

Weber contends that the prevailing capitalist ethos prioritizes profit as a fundamental objective, considering profit-seeking as virtuous. Early European capitalism, he suggests, was heavily influenced by Protestant groups who viewed earthly success as indicative of eternal salvation, driving them to pursue wealth fervently.

Key aspects of Calvinism, such as disdain for material indulgence, emphasis on responsible stewardship of resources bestowed by God, and the structured approach to life, are identified by Weber as significant factors contributing to the economic ethic.

- **Protestant Ethics**

Protestantism, originating during the European Reformation in the sixteenth century, denotes a religious movement that challenged the Catholic Church. Martin Luther and John Calvin,

pivotal figures in its inception, opposed what they perceived as the Catholic Church's excessive focus on doctrines and rituals, believing it had disconnected from the common people and fallen into greed and corruption. This dissatisfaction led to the emergence of various Protestant sects across Europe, aiming to revive a simpler, more devout form of Christianity. Calvinism, pioneered by John Calvin, was one such sect. Interestingly, Calvinists later played a significant role in the establishment of the United States of America, migrating to North America and contributing to its development. Max Weber observed that Protestants, particularly Calvinists, excelled in education and were prominent figures in the Western world, occupying positions as administrators, technical experts, and industrialists.

- **Calvinism and Predestination**

Weber posited that the tenets of Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, played a pivotal role in the emergence of industrial capitalism. Calvinism, a Christian denomination shaped by theologians like John Calvin during the Reformation, centered on the doctrine of predestination. This doctrine held that certain individuals were predestined for salvation while others were not, solely at the discretion of an omnipotent God. Initially, adherents accepted this fate passively. However, over time, a shift occurred as Calvinists sought signs of their predestined salvation in their worldly success.

Desiring assurance of their salvation, many Calvinists engaged in strenuous labour and reinvested their earnings to further their prosperity. This pursuit of material success often led them to neglect charitable giving, as poverty was viewed as a sign of being among the predestined damned. Yet, despite their efforts, the doctrine of predestination instilled a pervasive sense of uncertainty and anxiety, known as "salvation panic," as adherents grappled with the ambiguity of their eternal fate.

In response to this existential unease, Calvinists began to interpret worldly achievements as indicators of their chosen status. Consequently, they devoted themselves fervently to their work, viewing their accomplishments as divine affirmations of their salvation.

- **The Theory of Religion**

Based on the preceding explanation by Max Weber, the emergence of capitalism within the Protestant sect of Christianity is elucidated, along side the absence of its development in other religious contexts worldwide.

Weber delineates that within the Catholic sect, adherence to church doctrine directed individuals towards dedicating their time and resources primarily to the service of the Church. This resulted in the enrichment of the Church while the populace suffered a decline in their conditions. This divergence from the prerequisites of capitalism hindered its evolution.

However, the advent of figures such as John Calvin and Martin Luther brought about a shift in perspective. They advocated for a Protestant Ethic, emphasizing the value of industriousness and discouraging blind adherence to the Church. According to this ethic, individuals were encouraged to devote their efforts towards productive labour rather than solely to religious activities. Wealth accumulation through diligent work was endorsed, with reinvestment into business endeavours prioritized over contributions to the Church. Weber posits that it was these principles that facilitated the rise of capitalism within the Western sphere, contrasting starkly with the trajectories of other regions and religions worldwide.

- **Critical Evaluation**

Weber asserts that only those with expertise should critique his theory, showcasing his significance as a sociologist. He acknowledges limitations in his work, such as in “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,” where he suggests it may not fully capture

reality, recognizing that economic motives are essential for societal progress alongside ideological constructs.

Moreover, Weber concedes to presenting only one facet of a multifaceted issue, acknowledging the unexplored socio-economic dynamics in Europe. His analysis of capitalism's origins also may have been flawed, as evidenced by its emergence in non-Calvinist societies contrary to his initial thesis.

In his exploration of the interplay between religion and capitalism, Weber delves into how rational religious doctrines, exemplified by Calvinism, contributed to the development of rational economic systems. Conversely, he identifies religious systems like Confucianism, Judaism, and Hinduism as hindrances to rational economic growth.

- **Critique and defense**

1. Weber illegitimately replaced a materialist these Marxism) with an idealist one. Weber frequently denied this. But he did suggest capitalism could not have developed without Protestant Ethic. However, Tantney (1975) would say that capitalism predated Calvinism, so the influence was reverse or both arose from an independent source-urbanization. They reply Weber gave was that the evidence for the pre-existence of capitalism is itself subject to dispute. For Weber, capitalism, as opposed to the desire for money, was not universal but historically specific.
2. Many Calvinists were anti-capitalists and Baptists were precursors of socialism. Weber does not deny this. But the thesis is about unintended emergencies-said Weber.
3. Calvinism was more conservative than Catholicism and the latter was not hostile to capitalism. Italian cities had complex banking systems. Weber replies that it may be true, but his thesis was about the consequences of Calvinism, not its essential beliefs.
4. Weber defined protestant 'calling' in terms compatible with the spirit of

capitalism. It is alleged that his selection of texts was unrepresentative. Weber agrees to this, but he was of opinion that it is a problem with the construction of idea-types.

13.4 Let us Sum Up

In this lesson, we tried to understand the important causal relationship between Protestant Ethic and the spirit of Capitalism which Weber tried to show in his famous book, the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. This affinity between the two could be only understood when we understand the important characteristics of both the 'Protestant Ethic' and the 'Spirit of Capitalism'.

In two separate subsections, the features of capitalism and its 'spirit' as well as those of Protestantism and 'Calvinist ethic' were brought out. It was shown that the rationality, discipline and systematic establishment of Western capitalism was only 'Possible because of the 'ethic' which emphasized on 'work as duty', devotion or 'calling' and condemned laziness, dishonesty and luxurious life as undersized by God against God's glory on earth.

It was because of 'Ethic' of this Calvinism that rational capitalism could develop in Western Europe and not in other parts of world where other religions existed. To prove this, Weber made a comparative study of major religions of the world like: Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, Judaism and Buddhism. The two of these Confucianism in China and Hinduism in India have been dealt with in greater detail.

13.5 GLOSSARY

1. **Calvinism:** One of the four main streams of Protestantism besides Methodism, Pietism and Baptist. Calvinism has three major important tenants: that the universe is created to further the greater glory of God; that the motives of the Almighty are beyond human

comprehension; and that only a small number of people are chosen to achieve eternal grace i.e. the belief in predestination.

2. **Protestant Ethic:** A doctrine of Christianity which provided much of the cultural content of capitalism like individualism, achievement motivation, hostility to inherited wealth and luxury, emphasis on work and profit, opposition to magic and superstition and commitment to rational organisation.

13.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the relationship between religion and economy according to Weber.

Q2. What are the different ethics of Protestants.

13.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Aron, Raymond. 1970. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. Vols. 1 and 2, Penguin Books: London.
- Collins, Randall. 1986. *Max Weber: A Skeleton Key*. Sage Publications: Beverly Hills.
- Jones, Robert Alun 1986.

TYPES OF AUTHORITY AND BASES OF THEIR LEGITIMACY**STRUCTURE**

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Max Weber views on Authority
- 14.3 Theory and Types of Authority
- 14.4 Let us sum up
- 14.5 Glossary
- 14.6 Self-Assessment Questions
- 14.7 Suggested Readings

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you should be able to:

- understand the Weber's contribution to the theory of bureaucracy;
- explains the types of authority;

14.1 INTRODUCTION

In the classical approach to administration, Weberian model of bureaucracy finds a central place. Max Weber is the first thinker who has systematically studied the bureaucracy. He has provided a theoretical framework and basis for understanding bureaucracy. Max Weber's analysis influenced many modern writers on bureaucracy. Weber, apart from bureaucracy, wrote on various aspects of the society ranging from history, religion to legitimacy and domination. Weber was founder of modern sociology and a greatest scholar among the pioneers of administrative thought. He was one of the towering thinkers of the twentieth century. The Weberian ideal type bureaucracy continues to be the dominant paradigm in the public administration.

14.2 MAX WEBER VIEWS ON AUTHORITY

Max Weber's concept of bureaucracy is closely related to his ideas on legitimacy of authority. He worked on theories of domination, leadership and legitimacy of authority. Weber differentiated authority, power and control. To him, a person could be said to poses power, if in a social relationship, his will could be enforced despite resistance. Such exercise of power becomes controlled. Authority manifests when a command of definite content elicits obedience on the part of specific individuals. For Weber, 'authority' was identical with 'authoritarian power of command'. Authority is state of reality where a person willingly complies with legitimate commands or orders because he considers that a person by virtue of his position could issue orders to him. Unlike in 'power' there is willing obedience on the part of clientele to legitimize authority.

14.3 THEORY AND TYPES OF AUTHORITY

The unified system of social stratification was not acceptable to Max Weber. The ruling class and its domination as explained by Marx was improvised by Weber to give a complex system of stratification in society. The fundamental complexes of social stratification manifest themselves in form of legitimate authority and then particularly in bureaucratic organization. Thus, Weber moved from class to authority to bureaucracy in relation to the nature and function of power. Legitimate authority was of special interest to Weber as expressed in conventional social action. From the above three important concepts can be of interest to us: **(1) Power, (2) Authority (domination) and (3) Legitimation**. Let us define them before we continue with the discussion on authority and the bases of legitimation.

Power

Weber understood social relations as basically conflict relations. The key determinant in social relations was power. He defined power as the "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis, on which this probability rests." Weber differentiated between *factua* and authoritarian power.

Domination

It is a related concept. Domination, he defined, as the "probability that a command will be obeyed by a given group of persons. For Weber, every social sphere was influenced by structures of domination. He distinguished between two types of domination: (1) Indirect and (2) direct form. The indirect form of domination involved control which could be used to constrain the activities of others so that they behaved in the manner required by and in the interest of social enterprise. For example, Banks could impose conditions for credit to which customers had to submit. In contrast, the direct form of domination involved control over

other as an absolute duty to obey, regardless of personal motives or interests, there are a variety of bases of domination Legitimate and illegitimate. But Weber was interested in legitimate forms of domination or what he called authority.

Legitimation and Authority

All forms of domination require self-justification legitimation. When power is legitimized, it becomes authority. In other words, authority refers to legitimized power. Weber viewed power as coercion and it is illegitimate. For him, power (the probability that a command will be obeyed) is in itself an insufficient basis for social order. But simple possession of power of anybody or a group will be used to further their own interest and thus, will not work for the welfare of society. Here, comes the discussion of legitimation. It is through legitimation; the power becomes authority. Weber constructed three pure types of legitimate authority-traditional, charismatic and rational.

Theory and Types of Authority

One of the methodological tools, Weber developed is the construction of 'ideal types'. Weber constructed four types of social action which have been discussed in the earlier lesson. He also constructed three types of legitimate domination or authority.

Weber's interest in the structures of authority was motivated by his political interests. He preferred democracy, which according to him, offered maximum dynamism. Before we proceed further, let me relate the types of action, which are the basis of legitimation and legitimate domination (authority).

Figure: 1 Typology of Action and Legitimation

Action	Legitimation	Example
Habitual (Traditional)	Traditional	Monarchy
Affective	Charismatic	Theocracy
Value-Rational	Substantive	Welfare State
Formal-rational	Rational-legal	Democratic republic

From the above figure-I, the given typology of action and types of legitimate domination, one may find that tradition (Habitual) action corresponds to traditional authority, affective action to charismatic authority and formal-rational to legal- rational authority. It has been discussed by critics that there is a lack of conformity between the typology of social action and typology of authority. Weber, in fact, distinguishes four types of social action but three types of authority. Larry. J. Ray, however, writes that Weber did hint at a forming type of legitimation in his introductory discussion of legitimation and his account of substantive rationality. It involves, the provisioning of given groups with goods under a criterion of ultimate values such as social dictatorships that distribute welfare to secure the loyalty of cadres (Soviet societies). This mode of legitimation can combine aspects of charisma with rational legality. In the pages that follow, we will discuss the three types of legitimate domination (authority) as is popularly done by scholars.

Authority Types

Weber distinguished between three ideal types of authority: -

- 1. Traditional Authority**
- 2. Charismatic Authority**
- 3. Rational-Legal Authority**

These are all ideal types of domination/legitimations. But in actual historical situation, forms occur in combinations, mixtures, through adaptations or modifications of these pure types.

1. Traditional Authority

It is based on tradition or custom that justifies over even sacrifices, the position of the ruler. A basic form of traditional domination is particularly centered in the household group or clan. The claim to legitimacy is based on descent from some founding fathers of traditional authority may be mentioned.:

- 1) The person or persons exercising are designated according to traditionally transmitted rules.
- 2) The object of obedience is the personal authority of the individual which he enjoys by virtue of his traditional status.
- 3) The organized group exercising authority is based on personal loyalty.
- 4) The person exercising authority is a personal chief.
- 5) No systematic administration staff, but personal retainers who handle the administration.

The commands of the traditional ruler are legitimized in one of the two ways:

1. Contents of command and objects and extent of authority.
2. Double sphere of competence, (i) traditional action, (ii) no specific rules.

The administration staff recruitment is as following:

- a. Relations of the chief who have personalities of personal loyalty known as patrimonial recruitment; Ex: Kinsmen
- b. It can be extra-patrimonial in the sense that those persons who have personal loyalty like all sorts of favorites.
- c. Free from patrimoniality, but develops relation of loyalty.
- d. The numbers are treated as subjects.

The patrimonial receives support in any of the following ways:

- (a) Maintenance at the table and in the household of the chief.

- (b) Allowances from the stores of the chief.
- (c) Right to use land in return to services.
- (d) Appropriation of property in come taxes.
- (e) By fields.

2)Charismatic Authority

Charisma, for Weber, was a revolutionary force-one of the most revolutionary forces of social works. A leader with 'charisma' may have outstanding characteristics. The charisma is applied to certain qualities of an individual personality but is not sufficient if he has no set of followers or disciples. According to Weber, if the disciples define a leader as charismatic, then he or she is likely to be a charismatic leader irrespective of her or she actually possesses any outstanding traits. Such a leader is set apart from ordinary people and treated as if endowed with supernatural, super human or at least exceptional powers or qualities that are not accessible to the ordinary person. Let us quickly look at some of the important features:

- 1) The charisma is applied to certain qualities of an individual.
- 2) The disciples or a set of followers are to be there to define a leader as charismatic.
- 3) Charisma is revolutionary force.
- 4) The administrative staff of the leader does not consist of officials but the followers do the job. However, they are not trained.
- 5) The recruitment of such members is done on the basis of again charismatic qualities.
- 6) There may be territorial or functional limits to charismatic powers.
- 7) The followers tend to live primarily in a communistic relationship with Their leader as there are no salaries.
- 8) The means to run such an organization are contributed by voluntary gift.

- 9) There is no system of formal rules, legal principles.
- 10) The type of social action that the charismatic authority is related to affective action. The disciples worship their hero.
- 11) The leader and his assistant do not have a regular occupation and often reject their family responsibilities.
- 12) Problem of succession arises with the death or disappearance of the leader.

Routinization of Charisma

After the death or disappearance of the leader, the person who succeeds may not have charismatic powers. The transmission of the message and philosophy of the leader may require some sort of organization. The original charisma gets transformed either into traditional authority or rational-legal authority Weber calls it routinization of charisma.

If the leader is succeeded by a son/daughter or some close relative, it transforms into traditional authority. On the other hand, if the original message, the charismatic qualities, the sayings of the leader are identified and written down, then the transformation is towards legal rational authority. Weber also discussed various ways of routinization of charisma. (a) Motives of routinization. This may be either because of loss of charm of the leader or that he would like to link up his authority with some kind of traditional authority, structure, etc. (b) Various forms of routinization such as traditional, bureaucratic or combination of both.

There are three methods through which the succession of the leader or routinization of charisma is done:

- 1) A new charismatic leader is designated on the basis of criteria that are thought to meet the requisite qualities of the chosen one.
- 2) The original charismatic leader designates his own successor.

- 3) The disciples and followers of the leader are believed to be the best suited to designate a qualified successor.

So, Routinization of charisma is the process by which the charismatic authority (original) is re-finalized or traditionalized.

Further, the routinization also takes the form of appropriation of powers of control of economic advantages of the followers. Routinization is not free of conflict especially between charisma of hereditary status and personal charisma.

3) Rational- Legal Authority

Rational-legal domination refers to belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority to enact them. Formal-rational legitimation is impersonal and procedural in that authority is found on a belief that commands should be obeyed because they are legal. This type of domination is based on the belief in the sanctity of formal rules and laws and thus on the legitimacy of legally appointed leader. Weber listed five mutually interdependent ideas that signify pure type of rational legal domination.

Any legal norm is valid on the ground of expediency or value rationality or both and commands the obedience of all within the sphere of power or within the relevant organization. The legal norms are a consistent system of abstract rules that have normally been intentionally established and that are then applied to particular cases. All are subjects to the law, even those who exercise legal authority, and all must behave according to the legal norms. Obedience is a consequence of membership of the organization and individuals obey only the law. Members of the organization obey the person in authority, because he or she is legally designated or elected; they do not owe obedience to him as an individual.

Rational-legal authority is a typical feature of modern society. The basis of rational-legal authority is rational action (formal rational action). A few examples of this type of authority may be mentioned here for your convenience. In day-to-day routine, we meet many

functionaries of (who are legally appointed) system and obey them. We stop our vehicles when asked by the traffic police because he has authority for it. In your class room, you would accept a teacher who is appointed legally for the purpose. A doctor on duty is any authorized to operate and treat a person because he has the requisite qualification and legally appointed for the purpose. Modern societies are, therefore, are governed by laws and ordinances, not by individuals.

Continuous organizations of official functional bound by rules and specific spheres of competence are said to be the fundamental categories of rational-legal authority. For this, the following facts are to be observed.

- a) a sphere of obligations to perform functions, which are marked off as part of systematic division of labour.
- b) Provision of obligations to perform functions which are marked off as part of systematic division of labour.
- c) Means of compulsions are defined.

Further, the other categories are

- (1) The administrative staff should be separated from the means of production or administration.
- (2) The rules, which regulate the conduct of an office, may be technical rules or norms.
- (3) The principle of hierarchy in the organization of offices.
- (4) The rules regulating the conduct of an office show complete absence of appropriation of this official position by the incumbent.
- (5) Records are written and mentioned.
- (6) The incumbents are remunerated by fixed salaries by money.
- (7) The officials are free to resign.

(8) The termination of the incumbents should not bear arbitrary.

(9) The official is subjected to strict and systematic discipline.

From the above discussion, one may find that the different types of social action (ideal types) correspond to the different types of authority or legitimate domination.

To understand as to how the rational-legal authority functions, we now discuss a purest form of it, which is found in Weber's formulation of ideal typical bureaucracy. Before we proceed further, let me make some quick points for you.

(1) Unlike traditional and charismatic domination and authority, which are finally male-power, rational legal domination is, in the pure type, general and neutral. Technical qualifications and merits are the basic entry stipulations.

(2) conduct in the office is regulated by impersonal, formal rules and regulations, which are not subjected to gender discrimination. Also, let me reproduce a comparative distinction between charisma and rationalization.

Distinction between Charisma and rationality:

Charisma

- 1) Personality forces its way into history
- 2) Non-bureaucratic
- 3) Creative
- 4) Revolutionary
- 5) De-differentiating
- 6) Often religious
- 7) Ephemeral (Becomes Routinized)

Rationalization

Intellect and impersonality Bureaucratic

Adaptation to values or material goals

Routinized Differentiating Disenchanted Persistent

Example: Puritanas certains

Example: spirit of rational accounting

Thus, by way of summing up the following points may be made for your convenience inrelation to formal-rational organization:

- i. Hierarchical authority, in which lower offices are supervised by higher ones. Once fully developed, hierarchy is monocratic ally organized with a single command Centre, from which order semanate and are acted upon.
- ii. Impersonality and separation of office from the office holder, the work place will be separated from the official's receive a salary, are graded according to hierarchy, and unlike patrimonial bureaucracy, cannot use the office for personal benefit.
- iii. Written rules of conduct. The modern office is based on written documents, which are preserved in original form, which requires a staff so sub altern officials and scribes of all sorts.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is meant by the term authority.

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2. Define Charismatic authority by giving examples.

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.....

- **COMPONENTS OF AUTHORITY**

Weber identified five essential components of authority.

They are:

- (1) An individual or a body of individuals, who rule,
- (2) An individual or a body of individuals, who are ruled,
- (3) The will of the rulers to influence conduct of the ruled,
- (4) Evidence of the influence of the rulers in terms of the objective degree of command.
- (5) Direct or indirect evidence of that influence in terms of subjective acceptance with which the ruled obey the command.

14.4 LET US SUM UP

Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy highlights its efficiency and rationality in large organizations, particularly within modern societies. He identified three types of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational, with the latter being crucial to bureaucracy. While Weber saw bureaucracy as a powerful tool for organization and control, he also acknowledged its potential downsides, such as rigidity and dehumanization.

14.5 GLOSSARY

1. **Authority:** The legitimate power to give commands and expect obedience.
2. **Traditional Authority:** Power legitimized by long-standing customs and traditions. Examples include hereditary rulers like kings and queens.

3. **Charismatic Authority:** Power legitimized by the exceptional personal qualities or charisma of a leader. Examples include revolutionary figures or religious prophets.
4. **Legal-Rational Authority:** Power legitimized by formal rules, laws, and regulations. This is the most common type of authority in modern societies, where people obey those in power because of the established legal framework.

14.6 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What are the different Ideal Types of authority given by Weber, Explain them with example.

2. What is Sociology according to Max Weber? What is the significance of the concept value relevance.

- In what way you think methodology developed by Weber is a contribution to the discipline of sociology.

14.7 Suggested Readings

1. Abraham, Francis and J.H. Morgan, *Sociological Thought*. Macmillan India Limited, Delhi; 1985.
2. Coser, Lewis, A., *Masters of Sociological Thought*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1996.
3. Ritzer, George, *Sociological Theory*, McGraw-Hill, Inc. New Delhi, 1992.
4. Aron, Raymond, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. Basis Books, New York, 1967. Vol.II.

BUREAUCRACY

STRUCTURE

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Bureaucracy
- 15.3 Functional Features of Bureaucracy
- 15.4 Criticism
- 15.5 Let us sum up
- 15.6 Glossary
- 15.7 Self-Assessment Questions
- 15.8 Suggested Readings

15.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you should be able to:

- understand the Weber's contribution to the theory of bureaucracy;
- know the elements of bureaucracy;
- discuss the limitation of the bureaucracy;

15.1 INTRODUCTION

In the classical approach to administration, Weberian model of bureaucracy finds a central place. Max Weber is the first thinker who has systematically studied the bureaucracy. He has provided a theoretical framework and basis for understanding bureaucracy. Max Weber's analysis influenced many modern writers on bureaucracy. Weber, apart from bureaucracy, wrote on various aspects of the society ranging from history, religion to legitimacy and domination. Weber was founder of modern sociology and a greatest scholar among the pioneers of administrative thought. He was one of the towering thinkers of the twentieth century. The Weberian ideal type bureaucracy continues to be the dominant paradigm in the public administration.

15.2 BUREAUCRACY

Max Weber has discussed in detail the concept of Bureaucracy. He has discussed this concept in the context of social power and prestige. Indeed, bureaucracy is an administrative organization in which the distribution and classifications of the power is of particular kind. It is hierarchical. But before we can understand the sociology of bureaucracy, we must discuss the nature and kinds of Authority.

MEANING

According to Weber, authority is related to power. Indeed, legitimate power is authority and authority is nothing but legitimate power. Therefore, the various forms of legitimate power will be the various forms of authority.

According to Weber, authority determines the social action and the social organization. Weber recognizes three types of authority. These are:

- (1) Traditional Authority**
- (2) Charismatic Authority**

(3) Rational-Legal Authority

(1) Traditional Authority: - The traditional authority is that power is legitimized through the force of tradition. In different communities the traditions vary and this authority also varies in nature accordingly. In tradition authority a particular class or group is regarded superior only because this has always been so in the past. Reason has no place in determination of the traditional authority. Certain classes are regarded inferior merely because this has always been so and no need for rational justified called for. In India Brahmins have enjoyed supremacy on account of traditional authority.

(2) Charismatic Authority: There are certain individuals who are also talented and so versatile that they require neither position nor the boost of tradition to make impact upon others. This extraordinary form of authority is known as charismatic. The religious prophets and social reformers are persons who have charismatic authority. The literacy and scientific geniuses a real so persons of charismatic authority. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, M.K. Gandhi, Martin Luther King etc., are examples of persons of charismatic authority.

(3) Rational-Legal Authority: - The rational- legal authority is derived from the social status or occupation of an individual or individuals. A person occupying no 'positions' has no authority. In modern administrative set- up this form of authority is important. For example, a head of a corporation or Board has authority over all things under him. There is well accepted proposition that it is the chair which bestows authority on the chairman and not the other way round.

The above account of authority makes plain that the rational legal authority is the form of authority which constitutes bureaucracy.

15.3 Functional Features of bureaucracy

Max Weber has enumerated seven features of bureaucracy. These are as follows:

- (1) **Importance of impersonal rules:** - The bureaucracy set-up is strictly governed by rules and regulations. These rules and regulations are impersonal and impartial. This lends permanence and continuity to the bureaucratic functioning. In bureaucracy no person is indispensable. The bureaucratic set-up is like a machine in which the parts can be easily replaced without impairing the work of machine. Thus, it is the laws and not person that make the bureaucracy work.
- (2) **Clear and specified functions:** - In bureaucratic set-up each member whether low or high in the hierarchy has his functions determined and specified. There is clear and unambiguous division of labour in bureaucracy. The basis of the division of labour is efficiency and ability. The more able and efficient person occupy higher rung in the hierarchy. If this principle is violated, the bureaucratic set-up is liable to breakup.
- (3) **Hierarchy of positions:** - In bureaucracy there is a hierarchical arrangement of posts and positions. In bureaucracy there is one chief functionary and under his there are several assistants, each of whom has, in turn, many more assistants under him.
- (4) **Bureaucracy has rules of control:** - In bureaucratic set-up the superior officer exercises control over his juniors. However, this control is not due to personal qualities of the officer but is on account of rules and regulations.
- (5) **Separation between administrations and proprietors:** - In a bureaucratic set up the owner of an enterprise is not necessarily the highest officer. Indeed, if an organisation requires highly technical personnel the owner may have no role in the actual operations of that organisation.

(6) **Lack of monopoly:** - In bureaucracy no person has monopolistic control and therefore no person is indispensable. If need be, any person can be replaced or transferred.

(7) **Rules, decision and commands are written:** -In a bureaucratic set-up all rules, regulations and decisions are reduced to writing in order to avoid ambiguity and misuse. To write down all laws and decisions is very necessary for smooth functioning of bureaucracy. Weber regards this feature as a highly important part of bureaucracy though some others derisively call it mere paper work.

- **Qualities and features of officers in bureaucracy**

Besides discussing the features of bureaucracy, Weber has also discussed the qualities of officers in bureaucracy. These are as follows:

1. the staff members are personally free, observing only the impersonal duties of their offices,
2. they are appointed to an official position on the basis of the contract,
3. an official exercises authority delegated to him in accordance with impersonal rules, and his loyalty is expressed through faithful execution of his official duties,
4. his appointment and job placements depend upon his professional qualifications,
5. his administrative work is full time occupation,
6. his work is rewarded by regular salary and by prospects of career advancement,
7. there is a clear-cut hierarchy of officials, and
8. he is subjected to a unified control and disciplinary system.

As a result of bureaucracy, the performance of each individual worker is mathematically measured, each man becomes a little cog in the machine, and aware of this, his one preoccupation is whether he can become the higher cog in the machine. Weber observes that it is in such an evolution that we are already caught up, and the great question is

therefore no how we can promote it, but that can we oppose to his machinery in order to keep a portion of mankind free this parceling out of the soul, from this supreme mastery of by bureaucratic way of life.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-I

I. Tick the correct one

A) Bureaucracy comes under which type of authority.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1) Rational-Legal | 2) Traditional |
| 3) Charismatic | 4) Affectual |

II. Bureaucrat possess legal power. Yes/No

III. Bureaucracy has administrative organization. Yes/No

Answers: A) Rational-Legal II Yes III Yes

15.4 CRITICISM

A number of thinkers have criticized Weber's theory of bureaucracy. The main points of criticism are as follows;

- (1) **A clear-cut division of authority is not possible:** - Weber has divided authority into three clear parts, but his is in fact not feasible. In fact, the three forms of authority are always found in mixed forms. No form of authority is purely either traditional or rational or charismatic. Indeed, these elements tend to overlap or found present together in each and every instance of authority. In ancient Egypt there were many administrative set-ups in which the elements of tradition and bureaucracy were found together. So was the case in ancient China.
- (2) **No authority is continuous:** - According to Weber authority is continuous; but this is not in fact true. The continuity of authority can be interrupted from time to time. For example, in military organization formally all orders are in written form, but in times of

war these orders are oral. Moreover, the forces actually engaged in fighting often throw up persons of charismatic authority. Thus, Weber's belief that authority is uniform and continuous is not correct.

According to Weber, charismatic authority is with persons occupying highest office. But this is not always the case. At times we come across persons occupying middle positions in the hierarchy to exhibit the charismatic authority.

15.5 LET US SUM UP

Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy highlights its efficiency and rationality in large organizations, particularly within modern societies. He identified three types of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational, with the latter being crucial to bureaucracy. While Weber saw bureaucracy as a powerful tool for organization and control, he also acknowledged its potential downsides, such as rigidity and dehumanization.

15.6 GLOSSARY

- 1) **Bureaucracy:** An organizational structure characterized by:
- 2) **Hierarchy of Authority:** A clear chain of command with levels of authority.
- 3) **Division of Labor:** Tasks are divided into specialized roles.
- 4) **Formal Rules and Regulations:** Standardized procedures govern operations.
- 5) **Impersonality:** Rules are applied impartially, without personal favoritism.
- 6) **Formal Selection:** Officials are selected based on qualifications, typically through examinations or training.

15.7 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What are the qualities of a bureaucrat.

2. Briefly discuss the different functional features of bureaucracy.

15.8 Suggested Readings

1. Coser, Lewis, A., *Masters of Sociological Thought*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1996.
2. Ritzer, George, *Sociological Theory*, McGraw-Hill, Inc. New Delhi, 1992.
3. Aron, Raymond, *Main Current in Sociological Thought*. Basic Books, New Delhi, 1967, Vol. II.

VILFREDO PARETO (JULY 15, 1848 - AUGUST 19, 1923)



VILFREDO PARETO

CONTRIBUTION TO THE METHODOLOGY

STRUCTURE

16.0 Objectives

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Contribution to the Methodology: Logico-Experimental Method

16.3 Let us Sum Up

16.4 Self-Assessment Questions

16.5 Suggested Readings

16.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this lesson is to understand:

- Classification of Logical and Non-Logical Actions
- Basic Components and features of residues and derivation
- Conceptual clarification of elites and its typology

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Among two Italian sociologists (Pareto-Mosca) who were influential in their time, this unit is concerned with Vilfredo Pareto. Pareto developed his major ideas as a refutation of Marx and also the enlightenment philosophy. If enlightenment philosophers were emphasizing rationality, Pareto worked on the non-rational factors such as human instincts. Pareto also gave a theory of social change in contrast to Marx. If Marx emphasized on masses as an agent of change, Pareto offered an elite theory of social change.

- **Biographical Sketch of Vilfredo Pareto**

Vilfredo Pareto (Marquis Vilfredo Federico Damaso Pareto) was born in Paris to an Italian political exile father and a French mother. He was born on 15 July 1848. When Pareto (Vilfredo) was a small boy, the family moved back to Italy where he was imbibed by the political development of that time. From 1855, Pareto stayed and lived in Italy and was educated in that country. He received classical education in the very demanding Italian secondary school system. He then proceeded to the Turin Poly-technical School to become a civil engineer which included mathematics in its first two years which deeply influenced Pareto's future intellectual work. In 1870, he graduated with a thesis on "the fundamental principles of equilibrium in solid bodies." His later interest in equilibrium analysis in economics and sociology is prefigured in his thesis.

- **Socio-Historical Background**

Vilfredo Pareto, whose full name was Marquis Vilfredo Federico Damaso Pareto, belonged to that period of European history when major changes were taking place in the socio-political structure of Italian society. Initially he was influenced by the old-fashioned liberal democratic views of his father and his friends but slowly with age he turned against these ideas, which represented the values and ideals of Mazzini, one of the great political leaders of Italy, who

helped in the process of unification of Italy. Pareto rejected the values of humanitarianism, republicanism, and democracy of the kind found in France and Italy of his times and as Coser writes, “Like a spurned lover he turned against the political system of Italy during this period, i.e. around the middle of the nineteenth century. The reason for his rejection of these ideals was that the government did not heed his advice and suggestions. In his book, *Treatise on General Sociology*, he has criticized democracy which later led Mussolini, the fascist ruler of Italy, to offer Pareto a seat in the Italian Senate. However, it goes to the credit of Pareto that he refused to accept this offer. It was the disenchantment with the liberal democratic ideals that perhaps led Pareto to say that the task of a social analyst is to unmask the real nature of values and theories like “equality”, “progress”, “liberty”, etc. According to him these are vacuous or empty words which human beings use to rationalize or justify their actions. Now in the light of Vilfredo Pareto socio-historical background let us examine some of his central ideas.

- **Central Ideas**

Vilfredo Pareto, in order to avoid being non-scientific, stated that sociology should use a logico-experimental method. By experimental he actually meant something which could be empirically observed. This method was based solely on observation i.e., to study social reality which exists in real life, and then draw logical inference. By logical inference he meant to study several social phenomena and derive a conclusion in a logical, ordered manner. In his book, *The Treatise on General Sociology*, Vilfredo Pareto made it clear that he wanted to study social reality by applying to the social sciences the methods, which have been used in natural sciences, like physics, chemistry, astronomy etc. Borrowing from the natural sciences, Vilfredo Pareto came to believe that society is a system in equilibrium and that any disturbance in one part of the system leads to adjustive changes in other parts of that system. Like the “molecules” in physical matter, the individuals in social system have

interests, drives, and sentiments. Social system for him is a framework for analysing mutually dependent variations among a number of variables which determine human behaviour. But Pareto was not interested in all kinds of variables. He wanted to study the non-rational variables. His earlier study of economics revealed to him that the rational variables of human action studied by economics do not cover the whole gamut of human behaviour. There are many kinds of human behaviours which are non-rational and non-logical.

- **Pareto as a politician**

After schooling Pareto decided for a business career. He became director of a railway company and then managing director of the iron products company. However, these years he like his father was an advocate of democratic, republican and even pacifist sentiments. He later changed these sentiments and thus rejected the ideas given by his father.

Italy, in 1876, ended up with these trading rightist regimes to be followed with along period of moderate left doctrine. Pareto was opposed to the moderate left protectionist regime which advocated social transformism. In 1882 he ran as an opposition candidate for a Florence constituency but was beaten by the government supported candidates. Thus, he declared the new ruling elite as a band of corrupt and self- serving careerists. After the death of his parents, he left his job and in 1889 married a Russian girl from Venice. He then moved to Fiesole where he started translating the classics and turned to a serious study of economics. Between 1889 and 1893, he wrote- some 167 articles which contained views against the then government's policies. Pareto further cultivated relations with liberal economists and wrote on economic theory. He was an advocate of free trade. In April 1893, Pareto moved to the University of Lausanne as an extraordinary professor of political economy. He here, pursued his anti interventionist.

- **Pareto's teaching career and sociology**

In the University of Lausanne, where Pareto was appointed as social economist in the faculty of law, he found himself along though taught social and economic theory. In spite of intellectual isolation, he became full professor and became dean of faculty of law. As such, he was stifled in his effort to reform and restructures the social studies curriculum because of resistance and lack of cooperation from colleagues. Not only his attempt to strengthen sociology thwarted, he did not even prove to be a good teacher. His lack of skill in teaching led Pareto to reduce his teaching responsibility. He, however, retained his chair of sociology and continued to be a teacher in political sociology and also taught the history of social and economic. In 1907, he relinquished the chair in the political economy and became full professor of political and social science. In 1909, he gave up teaching and confined himself to his villa in Celigny.

- **Pareto's political career**

Owing to his rejection of democracy and its concomitant belief in humanity's ability to improve and advance by goodwill and self-determination, Pareto welcomed Italian fascism under the banner of Mussolini (Abraham and Morgan 76:) Mussolini was also convinced and appreciated Pareto as a political genius. He said that the great sociologist's conceptualization in the circulation and theory of elites was "probably the most extraordinary sociological conception of modern times. To the early fascists, Pareto's political sociology provided a ready-made system for defense and propagation of their plans for Italy's control. But as a true and free intellectual, Pareto's love with the fascists did not last long.

Pareto was critical of the system. Mussolini started stifling the intellectual activities and free speech in the Universities in Italy.

Early in 1923, Pareto knew that death was approaching and he died, at the age of seventy - five, on August 19, 1923 after a long illness.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Briefly discuss the contribution of Pareto in sociology.

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2) Discuss Pareto's political career in four lines.

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3) Briefly share the central ideas of Pareto's theory.

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16.2 CONTRIBUTION TO THE METHODOLOGY: LOGICO - EXPERIMENT METHOD

Political elite concept developed in the United States, after the World War II and there after, that became quite popular. Pareto, Mosca and Robert Michels are the chief exponents of the concept. Pareto in his work in 1915 'Mind and Society' (1915-1919) describes his "theory of elites" in a beautiful manner.

By scientific sociology Pareto means a "logico- experimental science" based exclusively on the observation of and experiment with the facts. No reasoning, no speculation no moralization, nothing which goes beyond the facts or does not describe the qualities or uniformities can compose an element or a theory of logico-experimental sociology. In the other words, no prior element or principle is to enter in, or to be admitted to sociology. The propositions and statements of such a sociology are nothing but a description of a facts and their uniformities. As such they are never absolute but relative being subject to change as soon as new facts show their inaccuracy. The categories "necessity" "inevitability" "absolute truth" or "absolute determinism and so on has no place in such a science. Being based on the principle of, and being measured according to, the theory of probability, its propositions are only more or less probable. Nothing that is beyond observation or experimentation may become the object of such a science. About trans-empirical problems, logico-experimental, sociology has nothing to say. No entity, no absolute value, nor moral evaluation nothing that lies beyond observation and experimental verification may become a component of logic-experimental sociology.

Up to this time, almost all sociological theories have not presented such propositions. They have always been dogmatic to this or that degree metaphysical non-logical-experimental, absolute and "moralising". They usually trespassed the boundaries of facts, observation, and experimentation and even of logic. From this stand point, Comte's or Spencer's "sociologies" are almost as unscientific as those theological and religious theories which they criticize. Under other names these and other sociologies have introduced into their theories the same "super-factual and super-experimental entities", (Moral evaluation dogmatism) "religion of progress and evolution", religion of "positivism" and so on which are nothing but the super-observational and super-factual entities and absolutes of the criticized religious doctrines, only slightly changed. All

such theories and propositions, so abundantly scattered which preach what ought to be and what ought not to be, theories which evaluate what is good and what is bad and various "laws" of evolution and development are as unscientific as any "theology" because they are nothing but a modification of it. Like it, they are not based on facts or observations nor do they describe the characteristics and uniformities of the facts. They dogmatically command what ought to be or postulate some entities which lie beyond observation and experimentation.

16.3 LET US SUM UP

The above in brief, is Pareto's conception of logico-experimental science of sociology. It is easy to see that this conception of science is similar to that A. Coumot, Mach. K. Pearson, partly that of Max Weber and other prominent representative's theories and beliefs. On the contrary, he more than anybody else, insisted on the fact that the non-scientific or the non-logico-experimental theories are very often useful and necessary for the existence of a society, while the logico-experimental theories may often be socially harmful. In this way Pareto separates the twin categories of truth and usefulness. If nevertheless he pitilessly expelled all the nonlogico- experimental propositions from science he, did it only to avoid a mixture of science which other forms of social thought.

16.4 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by logico-experimental method.

Q2. Give short biographical sketch of Pareto.

16.5 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Coser, L.A. 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought, Ideas in Historical and Social Context. Under the General Editorship of Robert K. Merton.* Second Edition. Harcourt Brace Javonovich Inc: New York
- Timasheff, Nicholas S, 1967. *Sociological Theory. Its Nature and Growth.* Third Edition, Random House: New York.

LOGICAL AND NON-LOGICAL ACTION

STRUCTURE

- 17.0 Objectives
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- 17.4 Glossary
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- 17.6 Self-Assessment Questions

17.0 Objectives

The main objective of this lesson is to understand:

- Classification of Logical and Non-Logical Actions.

17.1 Introduction

As mentioned earlier, society for Vilfredo Pareto is a system in equilibrium. This equilibrium implies that in all societies there are certain forces which maintain the form or structure of that society. Outward forces change society and inner forces push towards restoring its equilibrium. According to Pareto, the inner forces are mainly composed of the sentiment of revulsion against any disturbance that affects the equilibrium of society. The validity of the theory of restoration of equilibrium is in the fact that a society even after undergoing a revolution or war readjusts itself and attains equilibrium. Vilfredo Pareto's concept of logical and non-logical action is related to the analysis of the inner forces in society. He has drawn a distinction between the two types of action. Logical actions are those "which use means appropriate to ends and logically links means with ends". These actions are both subjectively (i.e., the person who performs it) and objectively (i.e., from the point of view of the other persons) logical. Non-logical actions (which do not mean illogical or contrary to logic) are simply all actions which do not fall into the category of logical actions. Thus, non-logical action is a residual category. The study of non-logical actions is important since it explains the inner forces, such as sentiments of actors. Vilfredo Pareto says that non-logical actions originate in the mental or psychic states, sentiments and subconscious feelings of human beings. But unlike the psychologists our task as social analyst is to treat these sentiments, etc., as data of fact without going deeper than that.

17.2 ACTION: LOGICAL AND NON-LOGICAL

1. Logical Action

Logical action may be defined as those "that use means appropriate to end and which logically links means with ends" behaviour for Pareto, is logical when it is so both subjectively as well as objectively. An action is logical if the end is objectively attainable and

if the means employed are objectively united with the end within the frame work of the best knowledge available. For example, the construction of a road or bridge. The engineers while constructing a bridge have the knowledge of material, in terms of volume, proportionate mixing of it. The end is the construction of the bridge, have the means are in accordance with the calculation. The best knowledge is available with the engineer. So, the end can be objectively attainable for action to be logical, connection between the means and the end must exist both in the mind of the actor who performs the act. This is done in the objective reality, that is, from the stand point of other persons. Who have more extensive knowledge? Logical actions are those actions that are both subjectively and objectively logical.

2. Non-Logical Action: Non-Logical action is simply taken to mean all human actions which do not fall within the scope of logical action. It is a residual category. But non-logical, you should note, is not illogical. It is important to see that Pareto claimed that the non-logical actions are not illogical and therefore, he was not belittling its importance on the contrary, he argued, non-logical attachments were the very basis of the life of the society. They were the chief springs of appropriation and of conflict. What is non-logical action? Were rooted in attachment to sentiments a subjective desire, sometime without a definite orientation to ends. If oriented to ends, it may be vague diffuse, unattainable and impossible to estimate in terms of logic or experimental test.

The theories which men held about non-logical action were supremely important for their utility, not their truth. Pareto, therefore, attempted to separate the experimental truth from social utility. Having considered certain theories related to non-logical action in society-such as religious theories he wrote.

"We realized that from logico-experimental view point they were absolutely lacking in precision and devoid of any strict accord with the fact. On the other hand, we could

not deny their great importance in history and in determining the social equilibrium".

It is clear from the above statement that Pareto thought of theories, which supplied non-logical action in society as being of great importance among the determination of the social equilibrium irrespective of their truth further he wrote in logical action it was the logical experimental method which can test the truth, whereas in non-logical action, it was not theory which was the ground for the actions but the persisting instinctual propensities which underlay their feeling, thinking, and behaviour. The theories, in this case, were variable manifestation of the underlying propensities. Pareto called them as 'derivations' further, there were residues in the human mind stemming from its instinctual attribute and theories were derived from them. How the non-logical action is of greater importance in Pareto's analysis. He maintained that these actions (non-logical) possessed power as ideologies. In fact, Pareto's entire analysis of social systems rested upon the basic importance of the nature, persistence and power of these non-logical components of mind and action to quote him (Pareto);

"The principle of any sociology; he started; rests precision upon separating logical from non-logical actions and in showing that in most men the second category is far larger than the former." Reason is of little importance in shaping social phenomena. The cooperative forces are different ones; this is what I want to prove in my sociology."

By now it must be clear to you that, for Pareto, logical actions are those which are motivated by reasoning and non-logical actions by a motivation of sentiments. Further, the logico-experimental method or science covers a narrow domain of reality. The greater part of human behaviour will be non-logical. But men would try to logicalize their non-logical behaviour, Pareto, therefore, believed that individuals wish to make their behaviour appear logically to follow from a legitimate set of ideas both to themselves (self-descriptions) and to others (public deceit).

The double characteristics of subjectively and objectively and the correspondence between them are the basis of defining logical action. Those which do not fit the test of subjective and objective criteria and non-logical this can be seen in a table form as has been done by Raymond Aron.

	Means/Ends	Category and non-logical actions		
	I	II	III	IV
Objectively (Reality)	No	No	Yes	Yes
Subjectively (Mind)	No	Yes	No	Yes
Category I (No-No)	- Means are not connected to ends neither in reality here in mind			

This category is an ideaty peisir are be cause man is a reasoner

Category II (No-Yes) - It is in widespread

- The act is not logically related to the result
- No logical connections between means employed and endsattained
- Actor's imagination of means to have possible effects on the result means.
- Example-Sacrifice and prayers (to have rainfall) (ends)

Category III (Yes-No) - It is preponderant

- Reflex actions and instinctual behaviour are best examples
- For example-we close our eye lid to stop the entry of any dust particles not the eye during the stormy winds.
- In subjective plain one is not aware of the means and ends.

Category TV (Yes-Yes) - I t includes acts in which the actor subjectively conceives a relation between the means and ends. -But the objective

sequence does not correspond to the subject five sequence.

Examples: Acts and behavior of revolutionaries during and after revolution. Let us say to Russian Revolution.

1. In these cases, there exists an objective relation between the behavior and its result.
2. A subjective relation between the utopia of a classless society and the revolutionary acts.
3. But what man accomplishes does not correspond to what they intended.
4. The ends they desired (to graduate total freedom to people) to attain cannot be achieve by the means (authoritarian regime) they employ.

Raymond Aron argues that among from the categories of non-logical actions, two are particularly important- the no yes (second category) and yes-yes (the fourth category). In the second category i.e. no-yes where non-logical actions which has no objective goal but do have a subjective goal fall under the majority of actions which can be called ritual or symbolic e.g. religious rituals. The fourth category defined as yes-yes in which there does not exist coincidence between the subjective and the objective the means employ actually to producea resulton the level of reality; means in relation to ends have been placed in the mind of actor; but what happen does not confirm to what should have happened according to him.

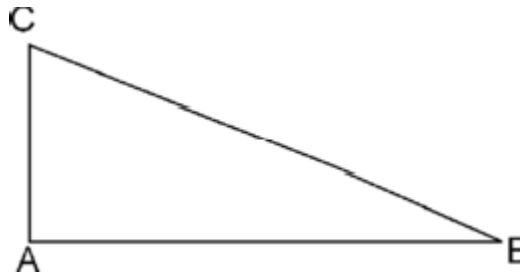
Thus, all non-logical actions involve to some degree a motivation by sentiment (a state of mind different from logical reasoning).

Pareto's aim was to study non-logical behavior in a scientific manner which however has been has interpreted by Paretians that his aim to make a logical study, of non-logical studies of no-logical actions in a logical manner. As been said earlier the following points given below

1. The greater part of human behavior will be non-logical.

2. However, all men went to give an appearance of logic to behaviour.
3. Pareto believed that individuals wish to make their behavior logically to follow from legitimate set of ideas.

Let us now look at the following diagram which is often reproduced from Pareto's treatise:



A = Sentiments or actor's state of mind which we do not know or it eludes direct experience (non-observable).

B = the acts or the behavior of the actors (observable)

C = various expressions of the actors, especially their words (observable)

The logical study of non-logical behaviour is not without problems in a situation as put diagrammatically above. We only can observe B and C but not 'N'. How, then, are we to explain C and B, or in particular 'B' when do not know 'N', (state of mind). The tendency of interpreters is to explain the acts (B) by expressions (C) i.e. through theories. Let us examine this through an example of non-logical action and its logicalization by the practitioners of such rituals.

Some of the tribes in India and even people in rural society devote themselves to a number of rites in a calculative style to bring rain for a better harvest. The acts (rites) involve complex offerings of prayers whose explicitly announced aim is to cause rain. In this case, the act (B) is directly known to us. We also know expression or justifications (C) because men are reasoners. When they practice these rites, they immediately utilize theories about offerings and prayers about its effects on rainfall. The interpreter's tendency here is to explain

the acts by theories, to explain B (ACI) by C (expressions). The explanation is a human weakness (when it is done to explain B by C) to logicalize the non-logical behaviour. This is what Pareto calls logicalization. But in reality, what determines both acts (V) and expressions (C) is *N* (State of mind) i.e. sentiments.

1. The above diagram gives you three series of relations. The influence of state of mind upon both expression and acts.
2. The secondary influence of expression upon actors, and
3. The secondary influence of acts upon expressions, i.e. upon rationalizations, ideologies and doctrines.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Pareto major focus is on which type of action? Tick the right one.

a) Logical action b) non-logical action c) Teleological

Action

d) Illogical action

Q2) What is meant by logical action according to Pareto.

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Answer: 1) Logical action

17.3 Let us Sum Up

Vilfredo Pareto's concept of logical and non-logical action is related to the analysis of the

inner forces in society. He has drawn a distinction between the two types of action. Logical actions are those “which use means appropriate to ends and logically links means with ends”. These actions are both subjectively (i.e., the person who performs it) and objectively (i.e., from the point of view of the other persons) logical. Non-logical actions (which do not mean illogical or contrary to logic) are simply all actions which do not fall into the category of logical actions. Thus, non-logical action is a residual category. The study of non-logical actions is important since it explains the inner forces, such as sentiments of actors. Vilfredo Pareto says that non-logical actions originate in the mental or psychic states, sentiments and subconscious feelings of human beings. But unlike the psychologists our task as social analyst is to treat these sentiments, etc., as data of fact without going deeper than that.

17.4 Glossary

- **Logical Actions:** Actions where the means and ends are logically connected, both objectively and subjectively.
- **Non-logical Actions:** Actions where the connection between means and ends is not based on logic or objective reality, often driven by emotions, habits, or beliefs.

17.5 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. Distinguish between logical and non-logical action given by Vilfredo Pareto.

17.6 Suggested Readings

- Coser, L.A. 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought, Ideas in Historical and Social Context. Under the General Editorship of Robert K. Merton.* Second Edition. Harcourt Brace Javonovich Inc: New York
- Timasheff, Nicholas S, 1967. *Sociological Theory. Its Nature and Growth.* Third Edition, Random House: New York.

THEORY OF RESIDUES**STRUCTURE**

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Theory of Residues
- 18.3 Features of Residues
- 18.4 Types of residues
- 18.5 Let us Sum Up
- 18.6 Glossary
- 18.7 Suggested Readings
- 18.8 Self-Assessment Questions

18.0 Objectives

The main objective of this lesson is to understand:

- Basic Components and features of residues.
- Features of residues.
- Types of residues.

18.1 Introduction

It is the non-logical actions which are related to his theory of residuals and derivatives. Residues and derivatives are both manifestations of sentiments which are according to Pareto instincts or innate human tendencies. The study of these residues and derivatives can be used to unmask non-scientific theories and belief systems. By derivatives he means the changing elements or variables accounting for these theories. Residues as a contrast are the relatively permanent elements. To explain these concepts of residues (which are basically constant elements) and derivatives (which are changing variable elements) further, let us take an example. We find in all societies a great variety of religions – polytheistic (which believe in the worship of many Gods or more than one God), monotheistic (believing in the doctrine that there is only one God), atheistic religion (which do not believe in the concept of God, such as, Jainism, Buddhism). These religions may take any form. However, in all these religious doctrines there lies a residue which remains constant everywhere and in all times. Thus, here we find that the changing forms of religion found in many societies at various times are the derivatives Founding Fathers-II while the constant common factors in all religions are the residue. Vilfredo Pareto has described six classes of residues which have remained almost constant throughout the long span of western history. Out of these six classes of residues, the first two are important to us since they are related to Vilfredo Pareto's theory of elites and circulation of elites. These two classes of residues are i) Instinct for combination, and ii) Group persistence's (Persistence of Aggregates). Pareto's theory of residues helped him to explain various theories and belief systems. It also enabled him to explain social movements, social change and the dynamics of history (Coser 1971: 392).

18.2 THEORY OF RESIDUES

Residues are the most important among social factors. P.A. Sorokin has explained the meaning of residues. According to him, “Human actions depend greatly on the character of their drives. Among these drives, the especially important are those which are relatively constant.” Pareto calls them residues. His residue is not an instinct, nor is it exactly a sentiment.

From this explanation it is clear that residue is a sort of motivator which is more or less fixed in human behavior. Though it bears to instinct and sentiment, it is none of these.

- **According to Pareto**, “The Residues are the manifestations of instincts and sentiments as the elevation of mercury in a thermometer is the manifestation of a rise in the temperature.”

Thus, according to Pareto residues are manifestations of instinct and sentiment but the manifestation is not constant. Thus, sexual instinct may manifest itself heterosexuality, homosexuality, auto-erotically or in some other way.

18.3 FEATURES OF RESIDUES:

1. They are the manifestation of sentiments and instincts.
2. Residues are related to individual instincts but these residues do not cover all of them.
3. Residues are intermediary between the sentiments we cannot know directly and the belief system and acts that can be known and analyzed.
4. Residues are non-logical.
5. Residues are not based on any reason.
6. Residues are more or less permanent motivators of human behaviour. They guide human behaviour.

7. Residues represent the general elements of human actions and behaviour.
8. Residues cannot be explained with the help of logic and experimentation.
9. Residues are responsible for maintaining social equilibrium.
10. Residues may change according to the demand of time and condition even if they are relatively stable elements.
11. Residues are not instincts and sentiments.

In his work “**Treatise on General Sociology**”, **Pareto** explained about residues by saying that residues as conceived as manifestation of sentiments or at least corresponding to them and not as equivalent of sentiments. Residues, **Pareto** says are motivating forces coming directly from sentiments. He considered residues as a fundamental analytical concept of sociology.

18.4 Types of Residues

Pareto classified residues into six groupings which corresponding more or less to certain instincts or emotional propensities of mankind.

These six types are:

1. **Residues of Combination:** These are the motivators which combine similar or opposites. These residues combine like with like. It explains human intellectual curiosity and ability to synthesize information. Legends and myths are built up by this residue.
2. **Residues of Persistence of Aggregates:** These are the drives to keep persistence or perseverance of man's relations to other men or place. These are expressions of sentiments held in high esteem and handed down from generation to generation.

3. **Residues of Manifestation of sentiments through external acts:** Such residues impel us to express our sentiments by external acts. Our sentiment of patriotism may manifest itself in burning the effigy of the enemy leadership.
4. **Residues of Sociability:** These residues make for communal living. They also impel men to confirm and induce uniformity in behavior.
5. **Residues of the Integrity of Personality:** These are drives which helps us to integrate our personality and ward off injuries sentiments.
6. **Residues regarding Sexuality:** These are the residues concerning the sexual urges. These residues influence our outlooks, attitude and thinking. Since there are many sex taboos, therefore sexual residues are very complex and complicated.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is meant by residues.

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2) Define Residues of Combination? How is it different from residues of aggregates.

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3) Which of them is not come under the category of residues. Tick the right one.

a) Combination b) Sociability c) Sexuality d) Explanation

Answer: 3) Explanation

18.5 Let us sum up

It is the non-logical actions which are related to his theory of residuals and derivatives. Residues and derivatives are both manifestations of sentiments which are according to Pareto instincts or innate human tendencies. The study of these residues and derivatives can be used to unmask non-scientific theories and belief systems. Residues as a contrast are the relatively permanent elements. To explain these concepts of residues (which are basically constant elements) and derivatives (which are changing variable elements) further, let us take an example. We find in all societies a great variety of religions – polytheistic (which believe in the worship of many Gods or more than one God), monotheistic (believing in the doctrine that there is only one God), atheistic religion (which do not believe in the concept of God, such as, Jainism, Buddhism). These religions may take any form. However, in all these religious doctrines there lies a residue which remains constant everywhere and in all times. Vilfredo Pareto has described six classes of residues which have remained almost constant throughout the long span of western history. Out of these six classes of residues, the first two are important to us since they are related to Vilfredo Pareto's theory of elites and circulation of elites. These two classes of residues are i) Instinct for combination, and ii) Group persistence's (Persistence of Aggregates). Pareto's theory of residues helped him to explain various theories and belief systems. It also enabled him to explain social movements, social change and the dynamics of history.

18.6 GLOSSARY

- **Residues:** Residues are the manifestation of sentiments or instincts that are relatively constant in human behavior. They are the underlying, non-logical forces that motivate actions.

18.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by residues.

Q2. Give short biographical sketch of Pareto.

Q3. What are the different classes of residues mentioned in this lesson.

18.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Coser, L.A. 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought, Ideas in Historical and Social Context. Under the General Editorship of Robert K. Merton.* Second Edition. Harcourt Brace Javonovich Inc: New York
- TimaSheff, Nicholas S, 1967. *Sociological Theory. Its Nature and Growth.* Third Edition, Random House: New York.

DERIVATIVES

STRUCTURE

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Theory of Derivatives
- 19.3 Types of Derivatives
- 19.4 Relationship between residues and derivatives
- 19.5 Let us Sum Up
- 19.6 Glossary
- 19.7 Suggested Readings
- 19.8 Self-Assessment Questions

19.0 Objectives

The main objectives of this lesson are to understand:

- Meaning of derivatives.
- Theory of derivatives.
- Types of derivatives.

19.1 Introduction

It is the non-logical actions which are related to his theory of residuals and derivatives. Residues and derivatives are both manifestations of sentiments which are according to Pareto instincts or innate human tendencies. The study of these residues and derivatives can be used to unmask non-scientific theories and belief systems. By derivatives he means the changing elements or variables accounting for these theories. Residues as a contrast are the relatively permanent elements. To explain these concepts of residues (which are basically constant elements) and derivatives (which are changing variable elements) further, let us take an example. We find in all societies a great variety of religions – polytheistic (which believe in the worship of many Gods or more than one God), monotheistic (believing in the doctrine that there is only one God), atheistic religion (which do not believe in the concept of God, such as, Jainism, Buddhism). These religions may take any form. However, in all these religious doctrines there lies a residue which remains constant everywhere and in all times. Thus, here we find that the changing forms of religion found in many societies at various times are the derivatives while the constant common factors in all religions are the residue. Vilfredo Pareto has described six classes of residues which have remained almost constant throughout the long span of western history. Out of these six classes of residues, the first two are important to us since they are related to Vilfredo Pareto's theory of elites and circulation of elites. These two classes of residues are i) Instinct for combination, and ii) Group persistence's (Persistence of Aggregates). Pareto's theory of residues helped him to explain various theories and belief systems. It also enabled him to explain social movements, social change and the dynamics of history.

19.2 Theory of Derivatives

Pareto defined sociology by saying that it is that social science which studies irrational activities. For studying these activities, he brings in use rational experimental method. Those activities which are rational, their study, Pareto says, is done by economics. Whatever behaviours are out of the field of rational activities, they are irrational and their study and only their study are done by sociology. Further to this, Pareto says that irrational activities are made of derivatives and residues. Going further when Pareto puts forward the theory of *circulation of elites*, he describes it through the medium of residues and derivatives.

Description of derivatives is when a person does his activities then society has some expectation from those activities. When there is a difference the expectation of the society and the person's activities, then the person tries to present the reasonableness of his activities. Presenting this reasonableness only is derivatives.

There is a view point. A person does a tyrannous behaviour towards his wife; if given an opportunity, lays hands upon her. Society's expectation is that he should not do such behaviour towards his wife. In such a situation, he cites Tulsi Das. This great poet has said, "*Drum, boor, scheduled caste and women are worth beating*". This is giving derivation of one's activity. On the other hand, a husband praises his wife with his full might, gets her whatever she wants. In general language it is called "*slave to the wife*". Society's expectation is that he should not bow himself so much before his wife. At the most, he should treat her equally. But he says that God lives where women are worshipped. Such saying is derivation. In derivation, person believes that whatever he does, i.e., his feelings, emotions etc. are all backed by rationality.

19.3 Types of Derivatives

As is the process of Pareto's theory building, like residue, he tells the classes of derivatives also. There are four classes of derivatives:

i. **Derivatives of Assertion:** For manifesting his sentiments humans take the help of assertions. He claims that whatever he has done is right. When he puts his assertion, he also gives the threat of power. He puts his saying in a high-pitched voice. Does up his fist and with all might, says his assertion to be right.

ii. **Derivatives of Authority:** When people accept the assertion from the rational point of view then it becomes authority. One the society accepts that men have the right to beat his wife, this right becomes the authority. In this, it happens that in which field a person uses authority, his authority establishes in other fields too. For e.g., education minister is considered to be a man of authority in family planning too.

iii. **Derivatives accord with sentiments:** These are those derivatives which a person presents to prove the reasonableness of any activity. Such kinds of derivatives are based on some feelings and activities of those feelings are only considered to be appropriate.

iv. **Derivatives of verbal proofs:** Such kind of behaviour that has no relation then with the actuality is accepted on oral saying. It includes false reasoning sophistry and double meaning talks which are not in accordance with actual facts and they are used only for proving the reasonableness of behaviour.

Pareto has written a lot about residues and derivatives in Treatise. When he describes derivatives, he also accepts that such reasons are not correct. These reasons only misguide the society. Despite of this drawback, social interworking of derivatives may not be ignored.

Worldwide and especially in our country women liberation movements are going on, a big battle of theirs is on the controversies these derivatives only. On the death of husband wife becomes widow while on the death of wife husband re-marries. This entire system is based

on derivatives. Many such viewpoints may be found

in *Epics*, *Upanishads* and *Brahmins* which glorify widow life and that is why widows are suffering. This is the wonder of derivation.

He has tied the complete psychology in some important perceptions. For understanding Pareto's theories, it is important to understand his explanation of sociology. There are some key concepts of this sociology: *irrational activities*, *rational activities*; *objectivity*, *individuality*; *residues and derivatives*. All these concepts are helpful in understanding Pareto's theories also.

Pareto's belief is that many derivatives are such that help in maintain unity in social system. **Bogardus** describing derivatives has said that whatever emotional or passionate behaviour humans do, establishes their reasonableness through derivatives. Pareto has written a lot about residues and derivatives in Treatise. When he describes derivatives, he also accepts that such reasons are not correct.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) What is meant by derivatives according to Pareto.

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2) What is meant by derivative of authority and assertion according to Pareto.

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19.4 Relationship between Residues and Derivatives:

1. Residues are the "why" behind actions, while derivatives are the "how" or the explanation used to make those actions seem logical.
2. Residues are relatively stable, while derivations can change based on social and historical contexts.
3. Pareto argued that understanding both residues and derivations is crucial for understanding human behavior and social phenomena

19.5 Let us sum up

It is the non-logical actions which are related to his theory of residuals and derivatives. Residues and derivatives are both manifestations of sentiments which are according to Pareto instincts or innate human tendencies. The study of these residues and derivatives can be used to unmask non-scientific theories and belief systems. By derivatives he means the changing elements or variables accounting for these theories. Residues as a contrast are the relatively permanent elements. To explain these concepts of residues (which are basically constant elements) and derivatives (which are changing variable elements) further, let us take an example. We find in all societies a great variety of religions – polytheistic (which believe in the worship of many Gods or more than one God), monotheistic (believing in the doctrine that there is only one God), atheistic religion (which do not believe in the concept of God, such as, Jainism, Buddhism). These religions may take any form. However, in all these religious doctrines there lies a residue which remains constant everywhere and in all times. Thus, here we find that the changing forms of religion found in many societies at various times are the derivatives Founding Fathers-II while the constant common factors in all religions are the residues. Vilfredo Pareto has described six classes of residues which have remained almost constant throughout the long span of western history. Out of these six classes of residues, the first two are important to us since they are related to Vilfredo Pareto's theory of elites and circulation of elites. These two classes of residues are i) Instinct for combination, and ii) Group persistence's (Persistence of Aggregates). Pareto's theory of residues helped him to explain various theories and belief systems. It also enabled him to explain social movements, social change and the dynamics of history.

19.6 GLOSSARY

- **Derivatives:** Derivatives are the logical explanations, justifications, or rationalizations that individuals use to explain their actions, even if those actions are primarily driven by residues.

19.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Coser, L.A. 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought, Ideas in Historical and Social Context. Under the General Editorship of Robert K. Merton.* Second Edition. Harcourt Brace Javonovich Inc: New York
2. Timasheff, Nicholas S, 1967. *Sociological Theory. Its Nature and Growth. Third Edition,* Random House: New York.

19.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by derivatives.

Q2. Briefly give relationship between residues and derivatives.

Q3. Describe any two types of derivatives mentioned in this lesson.

THEORY OF ELITE AND CIRCULATION OF ELITES

STRUCTURE

20.0	Objectives
20.1	Introduction
20.2	Theory of Elites
20.3	Definitions
20.4	Types of elites
20.5	Bases of elites
20.6	Basic Characteristics of elites
20.7	Circulation of elites
20.8	Criticism
20.9	Let us Sum Up
20.10	Glossary
20.11	Suggested Readings
20.12	Self-Assessment Questions

20.0 Objectives

The main objective of this lesson is to understand:

- Classification of governing and non-governing elites
- Conceptual clarification of elites and its typology.
- Meaning of circulation of elites.

20.1 Introduction

By the term elite we mean superior persons or the persons belonging to a class which is above the average masses. Vilfredo Pareto's completed system is vulnerable at the points of its mechanistic and atomistic nature, its definition of what is "non-logical" it's over ship dichotomy between ends and means, its assumption that ends are random and unsusceptible to any "logic of ends" and so forth. The present discussion is confined to the theory of elites, since this is the main pillar on which the system rests. Unlike the residue theory, Pareto's theory of the elites has exercised a massive influence, and has proved altogether more acceptable. But as stated, his theory is just the beginning of wisdom. He makes no effort to relate his elites to social groupings and classes. His concept will apply to terrible Autocracy as well as presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

20.2 Theory of Elites

Vilfredo Pareto firmly believed that human beings are unequal physically, as well as mentally and morally. In all social groups there are some people who are far more intelligent and capable than others. It is these people who become the elite in any social group or society as a whole. Pareto defined elite as "a class of the people who have the highest indices (or scores) in their branch of activity".

He distinguished between the governing elites and the non-governing elites. Both these belong to the class of elites. However, the governing elites are those individuals who directly or indirectly play an important part in the government, while the non-governing elites comprise the rest of the elite population. In his work, Vilfredo Pareto has focused his attention more on governing elites. In spite of defining elites as the most intelligent and capable people in a society, Vilfredo Pareto has many times failed to distinguish between elites who inherit their status due to inheritance of wealth, good connections, etc. and those

who achieve their elite status on the basis of their merits.

However, Pareto is clear about the fact that in cases where the majority of the elites occupy their status not due to their own achievements but due to their ascribed status, the society becomes degenerate. It is replaced by elites who have the first kind of residue, that is, instinct for combination. The new elites have vitality and imaginativeness which is lacking in the elites who derive their elite status on the basis of ascription. Thus, according to Vilfredo Pareto it is not only the intelligence and capability but also the residue of class I that affects society. The ideal governing elite must have a mixture of residues of class I and class II kinds (class II stands for group persistence) for its proper functioning. These two residues correspond to two different types of individuals – the lions and the foxes. In this way Vilfredo Pareto's concept of circulation of elites is also related to his distinction between two types of human beings, the lions and the foxes.

Pareto borrowed these concepts from Machiavelli. The lions have the class II type of residue. They are conservative in ideas and represent social inertia i.e., the element of stability, persistence in societies. Such type of individual harbor strong feelings of loyalty to family, tribe, city and nation etc. They reveal in their behaviour class solidarity, patriotism, and religious zeal and are not scared of taking strong action when a need occurs. The foxes are characterized by residue of the class I, of instinct for combination. These people are involved in system making, manipulating various elements found in experience, such as in large scale financial manipulations. In other words, "foxes" are responsible for the changes, experiments, innovations in society. They are not conservative and faithful or stable. In Pareto's opinion, the governing elite must have the mixture of lions and foxes for it to form an ideal governing class. He described the political system but the same rule follows for the economic system as well. In the ideal economic system, a mixture of "speculators" who are foxes in this situation and "rentiers" who are the lions, is required. In society both lions

capable of decisive and forceful action, as well as, foxes imaginative, innovative, and unscrupulous are needed. Thus, in his theory of circulation of elites, from lions to foxes and vice versa,

Vilfredo Pareto has given a theory of social change. His theory of change is cyclical in nature. It is not linear like Marx's theory in which the process ends with the coming of a communist society. In Pareto's views all societies move from one state to another in a cyclical manner, with no beginning or end.

20.3 Definition

Vilfredo Pareto used the phrase “**circulation of elites**” to describe the never-ending cycle of renewal and replacement of elites, in which another replaces one kind of political elite. According to Pareto, there is a tendency for elites with one psychological orientation, such as lions, to alternate with more creative but unreliable foxes. Pareto believed that more democratic forms of governance could never take the place of elite power in this process.

20.4 Types of Elites

Pareto has distinguished two classes of elites. These are:

- (a) **Governing Elites:** -In this class are included persons who are directly or indirectly concerned with administration. These persons play highly important role and enjoy prestigious place in society.
- (b) **Non-Governing Elites:** - In this class are included persons who are not connected with administration but occupy such a place in society that they some how influence the administration.

20.5 Bases of Elites

According to Pareto there are two fundamental features which contribute to the formation of elites. These are:

- (a) **Qualities:** The intelligence and the mathematical ability and love of fine arts, high moral caliber is some of the qualities which make persons superior to others. These qualities also contribute to making riches and therefore we normally find that cities belong to the class of rich people.
- (b) **Riches:** As observed above, the better classes of persons are also rich. It is normal that men of superior qualities should become rich. As Pareto says, "The so-called upper classes are also usually the richest". These classes represent elite.

20.6 Basic Characteristics of Elites

- (a) There are two types of elites; the governing and non-governing elites. The persons not belonging to either of the above category are called non-elite.
- (b) The elite manipulate overtly or covertly the political power.
- (c) The class of elite is universal. It is to be found in every society. Whatever type or method of administration may be in any country, there is bound to be a class of superior persons which is directly or indirectly concerned with it.

20.7 Circulation of Elites

In every society there are two main groups. The one is concerned with government and usually controls the means of production and is therefore rich. The other group is constituted by those who are poor and governed.

This fact is expressed by saying that in every society we find upper and lower classes.

The upper classes are elite and the lower are non-elite. However, the distinction of elite and non-elite is neither permanent nor fixed. There is up and down movement of members of elite and non-elite.

Elite may degenerate into non-elite and non-elite may rise to the level of elite. This exchange between classes is technically known as circulation of elites. No society can maintain status quo indefinitely; there are bound to be changes which may adversely affect the elite and help the non-elite. Though the governing class does not it's best to prevent the entry of the member of non-governing class into its fold, is a graveyard of aristocracies. They do not last long; they are doomed to disappear by thinking down of the membership.

The up and down movement of elites takes place in two ways. Firstly, some non-elite with their merit may rise to the level of elite and secondly by revolution the entire governing class may be reduced to the status of the governed. Indeed, in the opinion of Pareto, circulation of elite is necessary for healthy change. A slowing down of this circulation of individuals may result in considerable increase of elements of elements of superior quality in subject classes. In such a case the social equilibrium becomes unstable and the slightest shock will be destroying it. A conquest or revolution produces an upheaval which brings new elite to power and establishes a new equilibrium.

According to Pareto, the circulation of elites is due to acquisition or loss of qualities or merits. The persons who acquire merit move upward and those who become degenerate lose the membership of elite class.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) How many types of elites Pareto talked about? Discuss one of them briefly.

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2) What is meant by circulation of elites? Discuss in five lines.

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3) Who are Lions and Foxes according to Pareto.

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• Pareto's Foxes and Lions principle

According to him, there are two primary categories of the ruling elite: "foxes" and "lions." Lions can act forcefully and directly, which helps them rise to positions of leadership. Military dictatorships illustrate the ruling class, while foxes control via cunning and deceit, diplomatic manipulation, and backroom trading. Members of the ruling elite are in their positions mostly because of their individual traits, either because they are lion-like or foxlike.

The “Circulation of Elites,” as Pareto called it, happens when one elite is replaced by another, causing significant social change. All elites have a propensity to degenerate. They lose their “vigor” and “decay in quality.” With the benefits of a comfortable life and the perks of authority, they can become soft and ineffectual or too set in their ways and rigid to adapt to new circumstances. Each sort of elite is deficient in the traits that, in the long term, are necessary to preserve power.

The elite of lions will have to accept foxes from the crowd to make up for their lack of inventiveness and cunning essential to retain their power. Foxes gradually saturate the whole elite, changing its nature. However, foxes cannot take strong, decisive action, which is sometimes necessary to hold onto power. The elite of foxes is overthrown by a well-organized minority of lions determined to restore powerful rule. According to Pareto, history is a never-ending cycle of elites. History is and always will be “a cemetery of aristocracies,” and nothing changes.

- **Elites: Foxes and Lions (features)**

Let us recall the definition of elites as "a class of the people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity". Pareto further divides it into two classes governing and non-governing elites. But Pareto's main discussion focuses on the governing elites. In general, however, a successful businessman, the successful artist, the successful writer and successful professor are all elites. In terms of elites functioning, Pareto is of opinion that a very unequal distribution of power and prestige enables a few to govern the many. Being influenced by the Machiavellian Pareto states that elites are able to manipulate and control the masses by restoring two methods-force and fraud. In Machiavellian formula forces are equated to the power of ‘Lion’ and fraud to ‘Foxes’ some of the important features of foxes which are of course, cunning in nature, metaphorically represents fraud behavior may be started as follows.

1. The foxes are endowed with residues of combinations. It includes a prosperity or instinct in social groups to adapt flexibly to situational circumstances.
2. They are capable of innovation and experiment.
3. They prefer materialistic goals.
4. But they lack fidelity to principles
5. They use strategies that vary from emotional appeal
6. They maintain power by cunning propaganda and by multiplying policies financing combinations.

Secondly, the 'Lions' whose present 'force' to retain power may have the following:

1. Lions are conservative elites.
2. They represent, therefore, the residues of the persistence of aggregates.
3. They have faith in ideology.
4. They display group loyalty and class.
5. They gain and retain power by force.

- **Elite circulation**

As has been said earlier, Pareto expressed that history is a "Graveyard of aristocracies". It means that ruling elites emerge, dominate, fall into decadence and will be replaced by new, non-decadence elites. In every society there are potential and dissatisfied leaders. Those leaders are either must be absorbed into them.

At the same time every society is disturbed by fluctuating in the frequently of residue of combination (first class) and the residue of persistence of aggregates second (residue). In simple terms, the society's disturbance is due to fluctuations in residues of change or residues of conservatism (status quo). The foxes are for change and lions use force to resist change. The dis-satisfied leaders here may be equated to foxes and the ruling elites to lions. The latter

may either absorb the dis-satisfied ones as part of governing elite or may use force to eliminate them.

Pareto's conception of circulation of elites was meant, however, to understand the conditions of equilibrium and disequilibrium in society. He, thus, argued that it was the nature and change of elite which is crucial for this purpose. In this regard, he made two further qualifications.

1. The many elites in the society could never be sharply and accurately distinguished. As such, all social activity is a cumulative but fluctuating process. The elites, here, are continuously changing by recruitment, promotion, replacement and displacement.
2. As has been said earlier, among all elites in a society, one was of a dominant importance - which he has referred as governing elites. These elites are responsible for the manipulation of power and decision makers. They are also through displacement or replacement by others.
3. Thus, when an elite has been in power for a long time either:
 - (1) It develops a tendency to close ranking against potential elites.
 - (2) It becomes dominated by the residues of combinations and increasingly reluctant to empty force.

They, thus, become more tolerant and moderate and lose the propensity toward forceful action required by the social order. When this happens, the family of lions will mobilize the masses against the elite foxes. Pareto believes that when the governing elites attempt to close the entry of new and capable elements from amongst other elites and non-elites. It will account to inhibition of the circulation. This will result in decay of social order and alteration of social equilibrium. In such a situation of imbalance, the governing elite's failure to assimilate the exceptional individual (potential

elites) either by rapid social change or violent revolution, the old elite will be replaced by the new capable ones.

Citing the situation of European societies of his times, Pareto believed that the foxes in ascending. The political leaders sought to maintain themselves in position of domination by the use of fraud. But he also saw a new kind of elite emerging i.e. the family of lions-men of persistence of aggregates - who are capable of forceful action and who would sweep the rule of foxes aside for a few equilibriums and stable society.

So far, we discussed the elites and its circulation in the political arena Pareto has also deal in with the economic relation. Corresponding to the lions and the foxes among the political elites, there are 'renters' and 'speculators' in the economic life (See Box-B).

BOX-B ELITE'S TYPES AND RESIDUES IN SOCIETY

Nature	Political	Economic	Residues
Governing	Foxes	Speculators	Class I (Innovative)
Non-Governing	Lions	Renters	Class II (Conservative)

- **Elites and Economic Relation**

In the speculator group, the residues of combinations (class I) predominate and in the renter group, class II residues (persistence and aggregates) operate the two groups perform functions of differing utility in society. The speculator is primarily responsible for change. The renter group is, on the contrary, a powerful element instability. Further, the renter may contract the dangers attending the adventurous capers of the speculators. A society in which the speculators predominate lacks stability and equilibrium in shaky.

Pareto has consistently maintained that a stable social order requires a judicious mixture in topelites of men with residues of combinations (change) and the residue of persistence of aggregates (conservatisms). In other works, it should be of combinations of lions andfoxes and in political realm. This would maintain the social system in equilibrium through necessary check and balances.

Rejecting the theory of social evaluation or progress, Pareto believes that human society was bound to externally repeat the cycle from rule by lions to rule by foxes.

- **Comments**

Bottomore points out two important difficulties to be confronted, in Pareto's work one lites. He (Bottomore) therefore, questions (1) do the circulations of elites refer to a progress in which individuals circulate between the elites and non-elites or (2) is it a process in which one elite is replaced by another both conceptions are found in Pareto's work, but the former predominates.

Secondly, Bottomore questions about the explanation of the circulation of elites. He writes that, onsome occasions Pareto seemstoregard elites representing particular social interests, and circulation of elites resulting from the decline of established interest and the rise of newi nterests for example, Pareto observed that in the beginning, military, was religious and commercial autocracies and Plutocracies must have constituted part of

the governing elite and sometimes have made up the whole of it.

It is clear, however, that Pareto intends to explain the circulation of elites mainly by the changes in the psychological characteristics of members of elite on one side and the lower strata on the other. This puts it as change in the residues occurring within the two strata.

One of Pareto's students, Marie Kolabinska, while working on circulation of elites in France differentiated the various types of circulations of elites. He distinguishes three types of circulation.

1. The circulation which takes place between different categories of the governing elite itself.
2. There is circulation between elite and the rest of the population which takes either of two forms.
3. Individuals from the lower strata may succeed in entering the existing elite or

Individual in the lower strata may form new elite group which then engage in a struggle for power with the existing elite.

Further, Pareto's two type of elite animated by residue (I) combination and residue (II) persistence of aggregate respectively which also refers to as speculators and renters bears a close resemblance to Machiavelli's foxes and lions:- but are dressed in a scientific grab their scientific nature is open to doubt.

Pareto's study of the rise and decline of elites as such is equally unsatisfactory, writes Bottomore. No systematic evidence is supplied to show that there are regularities in elite circulation which may connect with changes in sentiments.

Finally, it is argued that Pareto does not resolve the question of how the two types of elite circulation-ascent and descent of individuals and the rise and fall of social groups

are connects to each other. However, he briefly suggests that if the governing elite are relatively open to superior individuals from the lower strata it has better changes of enduring. Conversely, he also mentioned that the replacement of elite by other may result from a failure in the circulation of individuals.

20.8 Criticism

- (1) Pareto has not given adequate definition of the qualities of elites. These are vague and unscientific.
- (2) To say that circulation of elites is due to psychological factors is not sufficient. It must be shown as to what is the nature of these factors.
- (3) Pareto's hypothesis is not borne out by history.
- (4) Pareto has failed to maintain distinction between residues and their derivations

20.9 Let us sum up

Pareto's interpretation of history is straight forward and over simplified. He ignores the variations on a fundamental theme that characterize political regimes like western democracies, communist single-party governments, fascist dictatorships, and feudal monarchies. The variations between them are negligible compared to the reality that they are all fundamentally manifestations of elite power. Pareto falls short in offering a way to quantify and differentiate between the better traits of elites. He believes that the elite has better traits than the general population. His standard for separating lions from foxes is essentially his interpretation of the form of elite leadership.

Pareto doesn't even provide a measure to gauge the elite decadence process. He does, however, argue that elite will quickly lose its energy and vitality and have a limited life if it is

closed to recruiting from below. Modern democracies, in Pareto's opinion, are just another kind of elite dominance. He disapprovingly rejected those who saw democratic systems as a more egalitarian and inclusive form of governance.

20.13 GLOSSARY

- **Elite:** In the context of elite theory, elites are individuals who possess superior qualities, skills, or resources, and who therefore hold positions of influence and power.
- **Governing Elite:** This group consists of individuals who directly or indirectly play a significant role in the functioning of government and political processes.
- **Non-Governing Elite:** This group comprises individuals who, while not part of the formal governing structure, hold positions of power and influence in other sectors of society, such as the economy, media, or culture.
- **Elite Theory:** This theory suggests that a small group of elites holds significant power and influence over society, shaping its decisions and policies, often in ways that may contradict democratic ideals.
- **Circulation of Elites:** This concept, developed by Vilfredo Pareto, refers to the process by which individuals move between elite and non-elite classes, and how elites are constantly being replaced or renewed within a society.

20.11 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1. What is meant by circulation of elites.

Q2. Give short biographical sketch of Pareto.

Q3. What are the two classes of elites.

20.12 Suggested Readings

- Coser, L.A. 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought, Ideas in Historical and Social Context*. Under the General Editorship of Robert K. Merton. Second Edition. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc: New York
- Timasheff, Nicholas S. 1967. *Sociological Theory. Its Nature and Growth*. Third Edition, Random House: New York.