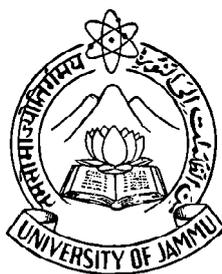


Directorate of Distance Education

**UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU**



STUDY MATERIAL

FOR

MDP SOCIOLOGY (SEMESTER -IST)

COURSE NO. : SOC-C-103

UNIT-I-IV

Classical Sociological Tradition

LESSON No. 1-4

**Course Co-ordinator
PROF. VISHAV RAKSHA
H.O.D, Dept. of Sociology
University of Jammu**

**Teacher Incharge
DR. NEHA VIJ
P.G. Sociology
University of Jammu**

<http://www.distanceeducationju.in>

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SCRIPT WRITERS

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| * Prof. B.K. Nagla | * Prof. Madhu Nagla |
| * Prof. J.R. Panda | * Prof. Ashish Saxena |
| * Prof. Abha Chauhan | * Prof. Vishav Raksha |

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SYLLABUS OF SOCIOLOGY
M. A. 1st SEMESTER
FOR THE EXAMINATION TO BE HELD IN
THE YEAR DEC. 2018, 2019, 2020 (NON-CBCS)

Course No. SOC-C-103	Title :- Classical Sociological Tradition (NON-CBCS)
Credits : 6	Maximum Marks : 100
Duration of examination 2½ hrs	a) Semester Examination (External) : 80 b) Sessional Assessment (Internal) : 20

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 century 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 thought as well as familiarize 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

The question paper will consist of three sections A,B and C. Section A will consist of eight long answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. The candidate is required to answer any four questions selecting one from each unit. Each question carry 12 marks. (12×4=48 marks.)

Section B will consist of eight short answer type questions-two from each unit with internal choice. The candidate is required to answer any four questions selecting one for each unit. Each question carry 6 marks (6×4=24 marks).

Section C will consist of eight objective type questions-one mark each. The candidate is answer all the eight question. Total weighage will be of 1×8=8 marks.

PRESCRIBED READINGS

1. Abraham F. & Morgan. J. H. Sociological thoughts, Ms millan India ltd. (1985)
2. Aron, Raymond: Main currents in sociological thought Vol. I & II Penguin, 1965& 1967.
3. Collins, Randall: Sociological theory, Rawat Publications, Jaipur (1997).
4. Coser, Lewis: Masters of sociological thought, Rawat publications, Delhi (1996).
5. Giddens, Anthony, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An analyses of writings of Marx, Durkheim and Weber, Cambridge university press, (1997)
6. Ritzer, George: Sociological theory, New York, McGraw Hill, Singapore (1992)
7. Turner J. H.: The structure of sociological theory, Rawat Publication, Jaipur (1995).

MODEL TEST PAPER
M.A. SEMESTER I
SOCIOLOGY
COURSE NO. SOC-C-103

Time Allowed : 2½ hours

Maximum Marks : 80

Note :

Section-A consist of 8 long answer type questions, out of which the candidate will be required to answer 4 questions, one from each unit. Each question carries 12 marks. **(4×12)**

Section-B consist of 8 short answer type questions, out of which the candidate will be required to answer 4 questions, one from each unit. Each question carries 6 marks. **(4×6)**

Section-C consist of 8 objective type questions, the candidate will be required to answer all the questions. Each question carries 1 marks. **(8×1)**

SECTION - A

Unit I

1. Discuss in detail the materialistic interpretation of history as a prespective of explaining transformation of human society through different stages.

OR

Explain in detail the various factors that led to the emergence of class-confilict in capitalist society.

Unit II

2. Explain in detail the contribution of Durkheim in understanding the concept of social solidarity in his work 'The Division of Labour'.

OR

'The idea of society is the soul of religion'. Discuss the given statement in the light of Durkheim's perspective.

Unit III

3. Give a detailed account of the different types of social action as given by Max Weber. Support your answer with examples.

OR

Describe the impact of Protestant Ethic in the emergence of capitalism.

Unit IV

4. Discuss in detail the contribution of oPareto in explaining logico-experimental method.

OR

What is elite? Explain the theory of circulation of elites propounded by Pareto.

SECTION - B

Unit I

1. Write a short note on theory of surplus value.

OR

Briefly explain the alienation in the capitalist society.

Unit II

2. Write a short note on Social facts.

OR

Critically examine Durkheim's theory of suicide.

Unit III

3. Explain briefly Weber's verstehen approach in understanding society.

OR

Write a short note on Bureaucracy.

Unit IV

4. Write a short note on logical action.

OR

Explain briefly the different categories of Non logical action.

SECTION-C

1. Material and economic life of the common man is the real basis of history. Who said this?
a) Comte

- b) Max Weber
 - c) Karl Marx
 - d) Spencer..
2. According to Max Weber,is a mental construct and heuristic device.
- a) Class
 - b) Ideal type
 - c) Science
 - d) Verstehen
3. The concept of collective conscience was given by.....
- a) Marx
 - b) Durkheim
 - c) Comte
 - d) Max Weber
4. Who wrote the book 'The Elementary Forms of Religious Life'?
- a) Max Weber
 - b) Durkheim
 - c) Hegel
 - d) Pareto
5. action use means appropriate to ends.
- a) Affectual
 - b) Logical
 - c) Non logical
 - d) Both a & c
6. The book 'Das Capital-I' was published in the year.....
- a) 1984
 - b) 1867
 - c) 1885
 - d) 1894

7. Which category of residues motivates individuals for communal living?
- a) Sociability
 - b) Combination
 - c) Persistence of Aggregates
 - d) Interguity
8. Who among the following wrote 'Mind and Society'?
- a) Marx
 - b) Max Weber
 - c) Pareto
 - d) Durkheim

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Unit II	<p style="margin-left: 20px;">Emile Durkheim</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Methodology : Social Facts → Division of Labour : Mechanical and Organic Solidarity, → Suicide → Theory of Religion : Sacred and Profane → Contribution to the Methodology of Sociology 	49
Unit III	<p style="margin-left: 20px;">Max Weber</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Methodology : Verstehen & Ideal types → Social Action → Protestant Ethic and the Emergence of Capitalism → Types of Authority and Bases of their Legitimacy → Bureaucracy 	99
Unit IV	<p style="margin-left: 20px;">Vilfred Pareto</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Contribution to the Methodology → Logico Experimental Method → Logical and Non-Logical Action → Residues and Derivatives → Types of Elites : Circulation of Elites 	142



Karl Marx

1818-1883

KARL MARX

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Biographical Sketch
- 1.4 Development of Marxism
- 1.5 Theory of Social and Political change
- 1.6 Dialectical Materialism
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- 1.10 Theory of Surplus Value
- 1.11 Criticism
- 1.12 References

1.1 OBJECTIVES

The main focus on this unit is to equip you with :

- * Role of Dialectics in understand society
- * Materialistic Interpretation of History

- * Theory of Class Struggle
- * Concept & forms of Alienation

1.2 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 stateless 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.

1.3 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 realised that religion was being used by fanatics as an instrument for persecution. Whatever 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 woman Jenny, the daughter of Freiherr Ludwig Von Westphalen with whose family he had close 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 handwriting 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 Friedrich Engels who became his life-long friend, disciple and collaborator.

In 1845, in Brussels (Germany) Karl Marx founded an organisation 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 organisation 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 Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1894).
- (5) Civil War and the Class Struggle in France (1849).
- (6) The Critique of the Gotha Programme (1891).
- (7) Revolution and Counter Revolution.

1.4 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 realise 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 materials 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 the years 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 mould 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 has 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.

1.5 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 emphasised 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 applied 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.

1.6 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 demiurgos (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 mind, 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 and (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 leads 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 an onward upward movement, as transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, from the lower to the higher.”

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.” 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 whereas 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.

The terms '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 words 'negation' or 'antagonism'. This makes the confusion worse confounded and hampers a correct comprehension of the Marxian logic and philosophy.

1.7 MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Marx not only accepted the dialectic as a kind of philosophical gospel, he also endeavoured 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.”

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 organisation 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 forms 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.

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 criticised 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 pacesetter or ultimate determinant of all history is out of all 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 overemphasises 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, Ashoka's peace efforts and Akbar's endeavours 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.

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 end 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 product is 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 classconscious 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 are as follows :

- (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.

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 visualised 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 Marx is what brings about changes in productive forces which constitute the economic sub-structure? Is the change automatic? or, is it brought about by 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 realise that it is not economics that has revolutionised 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 recognising 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.

1.8 EMERGENCE OF CLASSES AND CLASS CONFLICT :

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". (Abraham & Morgan :35). 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 journeymen in a world, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried in an uninterrupted, now hidden , now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in common run of the contending classes.”

The above statement we have quoted from the “ The comunist 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” (R.Aron : 116). 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 a polarization 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 inspite 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.

With the above, it has been corroborated by Raymond Aron (P118) that the aim of Marx science is to provide a strict demonstration of the antagonistic character of capitalist society, the inevitable self destruction of an antagonistic society and the revolutionary explosion that will put an end to the antagonistic character of modern society.

The theory of class conflict and struggle in relation to the analysis of capitalist society may be summarized follows :

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. Bendix 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, 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 isolated one another and are not conscious of their common 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 begets 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 struggles. Free men and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in the word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on a 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 oppresses, 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’s 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 an 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 behaviour does not mean Marx reified society and class at the expense of the individual; rather his primary interest lay in 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 summarised 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 a common thoughts of resistance - combinations. Thus combinations always has 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 great, 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 petitbourgeoisie, and the lumpenproletariat. 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 and 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 life time 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 fellow men 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 streamlined 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 make 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. Thereupon the workers begin to form to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeoisie and the resulting commercial crises make 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 the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon 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 beforehand 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 an 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, in fact with in 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 bourgeois 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 dictartorship 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 bougeoisie 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 to 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 bourgeois 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:

- (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular phases in the development of production;
- (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat .
- (3) 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 was 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 bourgeois 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, 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 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 some of workers 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 conscious proletariat. Capitalism, to Marx, is marked for destruction. Its own inner 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.

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 if 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, albeit, 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 exploiter and exploited."

1.9 ALIENATION OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY

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 midtwenties. 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 dehumanising 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.

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 yet 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 dehumanisation and depersonalisation 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 richman 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 man."

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 bourgeois 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. A man is alienated from his fellow man because the basis of their relationship is only moneyrelationship; 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

1.10 THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

Capitalists accumulate profit through the exploitation of labor. The value of any commodity is determined by the amount of labour it takes to produce it. "The labour time necessary for the worker to produce a value equal to the one he receives in the form of wages is less than the actual duration of his work. Let us say that the worker produces in five hours a value equal to the one contained in his wage, and that he works ten hours. Thus he works half of his time for himself and the other half for the entrepreneur. Let us use the term "surplus value" to refer to the quantity of value produced by the worker beyond the necessary labour time, meaning by the latter the working time required to produce a value equal to the one he has received in the form of wages. Since employers have the monopoly of the instruments of production, they can force workers to do extra hours of work, and profits tend to accumulate with increasing exploitation of labor.

1.11 CRITICISM OF OTHER ASPECTS

Marxism is inimical to liberty, individuality, initiative and freedom. It makes the man a prisoner of society and of the laws of social development. Every member of the community becomes a slave of the community as a whole. Everything is managed by the central authority and the individual becomes merely a cog in the machine.

The Marxian view about the transitional nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not accepted by critics. It is pointed out that once in power, people do not want to surrender authority. There is no guarantee that the proletariat will do so either.

The Marxists believe that in the evolution of society, the Jigger capitalists eliminate the smaller or ones as the big fish eat op the smaller fish. However, this view is not supported by the historical facts. Instead, experience shows that side by side with the big capitalists, the smaller capitalists and the middle classes continue. There does not seem to be anything fundamentally wrong with their co-existence.

The dream of capitalism disintegrating owing to its own internal contradictions seems romantic and' unlikely to be realised. In fact, greater production makes the foundations of capitalism stronger to withstand the revolutionary onslaughts.

The assertion that in the last analysis, capitalism hinders production is not borne out by facts. In the U.S.A., U.K., France, West Germany or Japan, production instead of being retarded has increased manifold. An increased production means an increase in profits, which in turn means a rise in wages, bonus and other benefits for workers. So, under capitalism if the rich become richer, the poor also become less poorer and their standard of living often tends to rise.

The Marxian thesis of increasing misery of workers is also contrary to facts. In the advanced industrial capitalist countries the status of the employed is continuously improving and even the unemployed are looked after by the government. They are given unemployment relief which is an effective check against what Marx calls the conditions of increasing misery of the proletariat. Besides, factory legislation and labour laws, have succeeded in eradicating many, if not all, evils of the nineteenth century capitalism. Hence, the theory of increasing misery of workers is an unnecessary pessimistic forecast unrelated to the facts of life.

Marx predicted socialist revolutions for advanced capitalist and industrialised countries like Germany or England. His prediction has not turned out to be true. It broke out with backward Tsarist Russia and the agrarian society of China. Moreover, capitalism is still alive and thriving in many countries without any indication of a revolution. The U.S.A. does not even have a strong socialist

party.

According to Marxism, the state is a class organisation. It is always used for aggressive purposes. It is based on force. It is a temporary institution. It will 'wither away' after the vested interests have been eliminated from society. Critics point out that the state is not a class organisation. It is not based on force. It is based on the will of the people. It is a moral institution whose objective is to develop human personality. The establishment of a 'stateless' and 'classless' society is a proposition of a very doubtful nature. The experience of Soviet Russia shows that it is not possible to do away with the state. The state has not 'withered away'. It is becoming stronger instead of weaker.

The Marxian view that a change in the state can only be brought through class struggle is not acceptable. Professor William Ebenstein in his famous work, *Today's Isms*, says that Karl Marx could not give a proper weight to the great revolutionary changes brought about by the electoral reforms in England by the Act of 1832, and in the United States by President Jackson. He adds : If Marx had accorded the political factor due weight, if he had fully grasped the importance of the Reforms Act in England and of the Jacksonian Revolution in the United States, he might have realised that socialism, too, might be accomplished violence in countries that possessed democratic traditions strong, enough to absorb far-reaching social and economic changes without resorting to civil war. A recognition of the cultural and political factors in the equation of social changes would have amounted, however, to a virtual abandonment of the central position of Marx, that history of class-wars and that ruling classes defend their positions to the bitter end."

The Marxists overlook the important fact that man co-operates as well as competes. Maciver rightly says that men can live without competition but they cannot live without co-operation. It is wrong to assume that all important social changes are accomplished by force.

Marxism fails to take into account the forces of nationalism and even

racialism. The two World Wars have conclusively proved that the working men of the world do not all unite together in putting down wars which are largely capitalistic in character. Instead, they take side of the governments of their own countries and bring about untold hardships on the working classes everywhere.

Marxism is also too abstract and doctrinaire. It is based on broad generalisations rather than hard facts or evidence. It is apocalyptic in nature in that it builds a beautiful vision of the future without taking into account some of the basic elements of human nature.

Max Lerner refers to six errors of emphasis and calculation of the Marxists. They are : (i) an under estimate of the strength of capitalism; (ii) an over estimate of the revolutionary character of the proletariat; (iii) an under estimate of the strength of the middle class and the misreckoning of its direction; (iv) an under estimate of the nationalist idea; (v) a faulty theory of human nature in politics and (vi) the misreckoning on proletarian dictatorship.

Finally, critics of Marxism say that “Like all dogmas, Marxism is strong in what it asserts and weak in what it denies.” Marx did not have proper understanding of social psychology, religion or ethics. “He was at his best only when he was thundering as a prophet against the capitalists.”

In spite of all the criticism that has been levelled against Marxism, it can neither be dismissed nor ignored. It is an accepted revolutionary philosophy of the toiling masses and Marxism as a philosophy of social and political change has come to stay. It does provide a coherent and consistent account of the history of mankind and its scientific approach reveals a universal phenomenon of society. It brings to the forefront the question of the inadequacy of the present social organisation. It is an admirable ‘diagnosis of capitalism’. Hallowell write: “We may reject the programme of Marxism but we cannot ignore the indictment which it makes of capitalism.” It is a coherent socialist system with a definite purpose and a clear programme of action. It discloses to the proletariat its historical mission.

It is also a fact Marxism has profoundly influenced a whole generation of political philosophers, writers and statesman alike. How deeply it has

influenced them can be seen from one of the passages of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography in which he writes :

“The theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it, and it became an unfolding drama with some order and purpose, however, unconscious, behind it. In spite of the appalling waste and misery of the past and the present, the future was bright with hope, though many dangers intervened. It was the essential freedom from dogma and the scientific outlook of Marxism that appealed to me...”

Pt. Nehru further explains that relevance and significance of Marxism in the contemporary world and says : “The great world crisis and slump seemed to justify the Marxist analysis. While all other systems and theories were groping about in the dark, Marxism alone explained it, more or less, satisfactorily and offered a real solution.”

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Emile Durkheim

1858-1917

EMILE DURKHEIM

STRUCTURE

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2.1 OBJECTIVES

To equip the students with:-

- * methodology and concept of social
- * facts given by Emile Durkheim.
- * Concept of Division of Labour
- * To understand relationship between individual and society
- * Types of societies and its nature.
- * Theory of Religion

2.2. 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.

2.3 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 features 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 rapid him for his apparent dissatisfaction with much of their teaching by placing him almost at the bottom of the list of successful candidates when graduate 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 hairsplitting. 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, focuossing on deculturization. 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 to the stressed that France should emulate Germany in making philosophical instruction to serve social as well as national goals.

With the publication of his reports on German academic life, 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 Bourdeaux. 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 Bourdeaux, 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 Bourdeaux, 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 Bourdeaux 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. August

comte had come from amongst the french social artistoracy and could not gain legitimate entry into academia. Herbert Spences before Durkheim, had spurned academic oppurtunities in defence 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 anwhere 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 alongwith Max Weber must be credited with founding the modern phase of sociological theory. It began with his first book, “The Division of Labour” submitted as his Frenchy doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne alongwith his Latin doctoral thesis on Montequieu 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 carrer.

His final and provocative work came fifteen years after his pervious work (in 1987) 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 serutinzing observer.

The tragedy of the First World War was 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 contribution of Emile Durkheim in the form of books are:

1. De la division Lu travail social *1893
2. Les regets de la methods sociology (1895)
3. Lesucide (1897)

4. Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse (1912)
5. Éducation sociologique (1922)
6. Sociological Philosophy (1924)
7. L'éducation morale (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 anomie, social integration and organic solidarity.
4. His conceptualization of social facts paved the way to scientific approach and objectivity in social research.

2.4 METHODOLOGY OF SOCIOLOGY

The book, "The Rules of Sociological Method", was published in 1938. This is his second important book. Durkheim's contribution to methodology in social sciences are of great importance. His general aim was to make sociology an empirical study and he endeavoured 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 form, 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 method 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 and (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. The set of 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 is 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 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 voluntary but what Durkheim emphasized that for correct and exhaustive observation, we should not assume their voluntary nature before hand.
- (c) All pre-conceptions should be eradicated. Durkheim here argued that the preconceived 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 individuals 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 everyone 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. Infact 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 these type 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 'polysegmental' societies consisting of clans (primal Horde) within a tribe.
- (c) The aggregation of tribes themselves in confederations to form

‘polysegmental societies simply compounded’, and then

- (d) The aggregation of these unions of tribes to form larger societal forms (like city- states) which were ‘polysegmental’ societies doubly compounded’

But in addition to this, Durkheim felt it necessary to construct a 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 if 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 antecedant 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 preceeding social fact and if it is not be 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? If 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 offilication 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 preconditions 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 polysegmental society for example the 'clans'.
 3. Polysegmental societies simply compounded for example Tribal society.
 4. Poly segmental 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 specific rule of proof.
1. Society was a natural entity with a system of facts 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 facts 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 thereby 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.

2.4.1 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 define sociology as a science of institutions. He notes that society has a reality seigneurs i.e. an objective reality a part from the individual within it.

Although the term sociology was given by August comte, “there was as yet no disciplinary “home” for sociology “(Ritzier :77) on the contrary there was strong opposition from the existing disciplines-psychology and philosophy to the foundng of a such a field. To separate sociology from philosophy. Durkheim agreed that sociology should be oriented towards empirical research. August comte and Herbert Spencer, before Durkheim, were far more interested in philosophizing than in studying the social world empirically. This way Contain 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 can not 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. 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 must 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 scientist 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.

Social facts :

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

2. Constraint :- The main points of constraint, as inferred, from Durkheim's analysis are as under.

- a) The need to follow certain rules in order to carry out certain activities successfully.
- b) The causal influence of ecological or morphological.
- c) Cultural determination and the influence of socialization.
- d) 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 implies independence. Social facts are general with the groups and exist independently of the forms they assume 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 shown to be founded in the conduct of functioning of a societal type. (See box-A for the better understanding)

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 Ritzier 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. Nonmaterial 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 in to 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 with in the totality of relationship which constitutes a society. These relation 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 with in a

group) is a social fact in a Hindu society. If some one 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 type at 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 Sydie (p.96)

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 nonmaterial 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 any one individual consciousness. (1895/IV)

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 phenomena 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 (Volume II - 343-347) 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 interconnection.
- (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 inter dependencies within specified social milieus.

In sum, the causes which have rise to a given social fact must be identified separately from whatever social functions it may fulfill. This is because knowledge of the causes which bring a 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.

2.4.2 Comments and Criticism

1. Given his focus on non-material social facts, Durkheim is sometimes accused of having a metaphysical, group mind imitation.
2. He comparatively had little to say about micro level phenomena. But the commentators would say, although Durkheim death with all major levels of social reality, he did focus the causal impact of the large scale forces on the individual level.
3. Durkheim is critical for his neglect of psychology. This he did by stressing the importance of studying as a reality *suigeneris*.

But inspite of some of the drawbacks, Emile Durkheim make a bold attempt to enter into the empirical domain and succeeded in inspiring the fulltime scholar to pursue scientific sociology.

2.5 DIVISION OF LABOUR

2.5.1 Introduction

De La division da travail socialae (Division of labour in society) 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 make 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 kind of solidarities.

1. Mechanical solidarity
2. 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.

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 anamic division of labour is therefore the major abnormal form of division of labour distinguished by Durkheim. It will be discussed later.

In the pages that follow, we will discuss the following sub-units to have a clear understanding of Durkheim’s contribution in his work on ‘ division of labour in society’.

- * Concept of division of labour
- * Types of social organizations or societies and its features

- * Types of solidarity corresponding two extreme forms of social organizations.
- * Types of division of labour its function, nature, effects.
- * Comments and criticisms.
- * Summary

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 differentiating 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 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 intercourse necessitate a greater division of labour.

“The division of labour varies in direct ratio with the volume and density of societies”. So more the volume and density, there will be more division of labour.

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 society 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 earth worm 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 are low.
4. Restitutive or cooperative (democratic) law.
5. Organic solidarity in place of mechanical solidarity.
6. Increased form of division of labour.

2.5.2 Solidarity : (Mechanical and Organic)

Durkheim in his work, the division of labour in society debated on the central question as to, how can 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 lab our. 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 so on, 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 oganic.

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 cohesian 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 (analogous to individual in a society) of the machine malfunction, 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 a 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 is characteristic of civil or commercial law. (We will discuss it in detail while discussing organic solidary type of society).

In short, therefore, Emile Durkheim was of opinion that early societies were small and homogenous. 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 every one. 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”.

Organic Solidarity

Organic solidarity meant that division of labour had itself great integrative power. The term organic was borrowed from biology. 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 predetermined 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 infact 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 it movement. A source of initiative is, thus, opened which had not existed before them. There is there after some one who can produce new things and even, in certain and measure 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 incoming 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, assets itself. As division of labour increased and each individual becomes more specialized each individual must rely more on others. In modern society people perform a narrow 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 helps 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.” (Adams and Sydie: P.95).

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 phenomena, 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. This, thus 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 a 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 adrift 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 sociologist of morality (Ritzer: 85). 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 every one does only a limited job with the result that there is interdependence on others who are not specialized in their own field. This help in increasing the spirit of co-operation.

2.5.3 Comments And Criticisms

1. Durkheim's assertion that small scale tribal societies lack division of labour appears to be simplistic.
2. Many scholars are of opinion that the government 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 inspite of drawback, his theory is very useful because it discusses the relationship of population with social progress.

2.6 SUICIDE

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 interrelationship 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 predispositions, but since frequencies of suicide remained fairly constant, they must be due mainly to social determinants." (Upadhyay and Pandey 275) you will see in the pages that follow as to how suicide is related to the existing degrees of mechanical or organic solidarity.

2.6.1 Introduction

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 out come 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 effect 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, Durkheim argued that the distinctive subject matter of sociology should be the study of social facts. In order to separate Sociology form 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, indignation, and pity in a crowd. Although social currents are less concrete than other social facts, yet, Durkheim said, they come to each one of us from without and can carry us away in spite of ourselves.

2.6.2 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 relative 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 an other.

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 causal 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 lead to change in social currents, which, in turn lead to changes in suicide rates.

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 Pratha, 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 become 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 and is likely to take his own life out of desperation.

Anomic suicide is more in societies with organic solidarity. The increase in anomic suicide rates are 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, that 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 state or government could provide a context of integration (solidarity) in modern societies. He felt that only corporations or professional organizations could reintegrate 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.

2.6.3 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 footnote) 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” (Ritzer: 90). Schematically, it can be put in the following manner as has been done by Whitney Pope.

	<u>Types of suicide</u>	
	Low	High
Integration	Egoistic	Altruistic
Regulation	Anomic	Fatalistic

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 prevents suicide by providing people with a sense of broader meaning to their lives.
6. In large scale societies, the weak collective conscience result in individualism and there by 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 the existence of a certain number of beliefs and practice common to all the faithful, traditional and thus obligatory. The more numerous and strong 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 promote the spirit of inquiry while the catholic church honors the authority of priesthood. Likewise family (well integrated) in other counter agent of suicide. The above discussion on egoistic suicide indicates that social facts are the key determinents.

Altruistic suicide

Whereas 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 bound with the moral 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 "Satipratha" of Hindu widows. Now let us take another classic example of altruistic suicide by the followers of the Reverent Jim Jones in Jonestown, 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.

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 relation between suicide rate and regulation. Inadequate regulation leads to anomic suicide. Let us discuss some of the points, which has 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. These currents 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.

Fatalistic suicide

This fourth type of suicide was not seriously developed by Durkheim. Whereas 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 opperssaive 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.

2.6.4 COMMENTS AND CRITICMS

You have been discussed about the concept, theory and types of suicide in the preceding pages. The types of suicide have been discussed at two different levels 1. On the bases of social current and 2. On the bases of regulation/ integration. However, you must have seen they are overlapping.

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.

2.7 THEORY OF RELIGION

2.7.1 Introduction :

The elementary forms of religious life (1912) is often regarded as the most profound and original work of Emile Durkheim. It contains a description and detailed analysis of the clan system and of totemism of a tribe. Durkheim's general theory of religion is the outcome of the study of the simplest and most primitive of religions institutions. So the title of the book justifies the attempt. Why did Durkheim focus on the elementary forms of religious life. His explanations are:

1. He believed that it is much easier to gain insight in to the essential nature of religion in a primitive setting than in modern societies.
2. Religious forms in the primitive societies could be shown in all their nudity.

3. The ideology of primitive religions are less well developed than those of modern religions, with the result that there is no accessories to hide the principle elements.
 4. Whereas religions in modern societies takes diverse forms, in primitive societies religion can be studied in its most primitive forms.
 5. Durkheim did not study religion per se, but he was interested in the study of the religious nature of man.
 6. Religion in primitive society is with collective conscience i.e. it is all encompassing collective morality. But as society develops and grows more specialized, religion comes to occupy narrow domain. It becomes simply of one of a number of collective representations. But the various collective representations of modern society have their origins in the all encompassing religion of primitive society.
- 2.) Durkheim refuted, all the previous, theories of the origin of religion, he rejected the *theory of, 'animism' (believe in supernatmal power e.g. spirits, ghosts, themder etc.) of E.B. Taylor and Herbert Spencer.* Also he rejected the theory of '*Naturism 'of Max Muller (belive in the natural objects e.g. trees, stones etc.)* which advocated the worship of natural forces. Durkheim rejected them because these concepts failed to explain the distinction between sacred and profane and also because they tended to explain religion as illusion. Durkheim was of the opinion that the idea of religion which have had a considerable place in history, to which people have turned in all ages, and for which they were willing to sacrifice their lives, should be mere tissues of illusion.

The central thesis of Durkheim's theory of religion is that throughout history men have never worshipped any other reality, whether in the forms of the totem or of God, than the collective social reality transfigured by faith. For Durkheim, the essence of religions is the division of the world in to two kinds of phenomena – the sacred and the profane (we shall discuss these concept a little later).

Durkheim defined religion as “a unified system of beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them.”(1912-62)

2.7.2 Religion and Social Facts

Durkheim after rejecting the earlier theories explaining the origin of religion, attempted to solve the question about the source of religion. He answered the question with his basic methodological position through facticity approach. The social fact analysis of facticity approach claims that only one social fact can cause another social fact. Religion is a social fact and so also society is a material social fact. Durkheim, therefore, concluded that society is the source of religion. Society creates religion by defining certain phenomena as sacred and other as profane. The differentiation between sacred and the profane and the elevation of some aspects of social life to the sacred level are necessary for the development. But Durkheim also adds three other condition which contributed for the creation of religion.

1. There must be the development of a set of beliefs (religion)
2. A set of religious rites
3. A religion required a church or a single overarching moral community.

Durkheim stressed that religion phenomena is communal rather than individual. He was however not concerned with the variety of religious experience of the individuals, but rather with the communal activity and the communal bonds to which participation in religious activities give rise (Coser: 136).

In earlier writings (suicide and method), Durkheim opined that social regulation was the main external forces to constrain particularly through legal regulations, later he was led to consider forces of control that were internalized in individual consciousness. He then became convinced that “society has to be present with in individual. “Thus religion for Durkheim, is one of the forces that created with in individuals a sense of moral obligation to adhere to society’s demand.

Function of Religion

The book, “The elementary forms of religious life” is devoted to a close and careful analysis of primitive religion. The data was used from the study of “Arunta” tribe containing Australian tribal forms of cults and beliefs. Durkheim, was, here concerned with the particular functions of religion rather than describing variant forms. Durkheim’s discussion on functions of religions can be classified into four (1) disciplinary (2) cohesive (3) vitalizing and (4) eupheric social forces (Coser : 139).

1. **Disciplinary** : Religious rituals prepare men for social life by imposing self-discipline and a certain measure of asceticism.
2. **Social Cohesion** :- Religious ceremonies bring people together and thus serve to reaffirms their common bonds and to reinforce social solidarity.
3. **Vitalization** :- Religious observance maintains and revitalizes the social heritage of the group and helps transmit its enduring values to future generations.
4. **Eupheric function** :- Religion has a eupheric function that it serves to counteract feeling of frustration and loss of faith by reestablishing the believer’s sense of well being, their sense of the essential rightness of the moral world of which they are a part. Thus religion reestablishes the balance of private and public confidence by countering the sense of loss.

2.7.3 Sacred and Profane

As has been said earlier, society is the source of religion. Durkheim argued that religions phenomena emerge in any society when a separation is made between the sphere of profane and the sphere of sacred. Profane is the realm of everyday utilitarian activities i.e. the everyday, common place and the mundane aspect of life. The sacred sphere is the area that pertains to the numerous, the transcendental and the extraordinary. The sacred otherwise can be defined as those areas of social reality which are set apart and deemed forbidden. The sacred brings out an attitude of reverence, respect, mystery, and honour. Thus, the respect accorded to certain phenomena transforms them from the profane to the sacred.

An object, therefore, is intrinsically neither sacred nor profane. It is all whether men choose to consider the object as of utilitarian value or of instrumental value. For example, when wine is served at mass (celebration of Roman Catholic a Christian) has sacred ritual significance to the extent that it is considered by the believer to symbolize the blood of Christ. In this context, it is not a simple beverage of profane nature. So, the sacred activities are valued by the community not as means to ends, but because the religious community has bestowed their meaning on them as part of its worship. To site another example from Indian context of which you the quite familiar. The Hindus, a community of believers, worship and adore cow and with reverence call her mother. But those who do not belong to this faith, cow is simply a quadruplet animal and has utilization value by giving us milk, and milk products. It is sacred for the former group of believers but utilization, mundane and profane for the later. Group always makes distinctions between sacred and profane who band together in a cult and who are united by their common symbols and objects of worship. Religion is an eminently collective thing. True to its etymological meaning, it binds men together.

The sacred and profane are cultural traits which symbolizes important cultural values and evoke attitude of either great respect or ridicule. Sacred is associated with holy things while profane is associated with ordinary things. Sacred things may be material or non-material. Profane is opposite of sacred traits. They are usually found in the national ways of thinking and identified with secular ideas.

Totemism

The term 'totem' comes from a North American language but it has been widely used to refer to animal or plant species. A totemic society is one that is divided into a number of named groups, the member of which believe themselves to be descended unilineally from a common ancestor. If sacred is related to religion then was as to sacred could have arisen. In order to solve this question, Durkheim turned toward most primitive religion, namely the totemism of Australian aborigines. The society of Australian aborigines was perfectly homogeneous. The civilization was most rudimentary. The social organization was most simple. They lived in small nomadic groups. Several of these nomadic groups were related among themselves by bonds of kinship which gave birth to clan. Clans had their

own names which was called as totem. The name of the totems were taken from a species of plants or animals. The object, plants or animals had its visual representation in an emblem, serving as proof of identity with the clan. The collective label was often engraved on objects of stone or wood, tattooed or drawn on the body, or carved on shields and ornaments. When the clans were united, the gatherings were festive and existing.

According to Durkheim, there is nothing inherent in an object (the symbol of the totem) which evokes a sacred attitude. On the contrary, it is the projection of belief upon an object that made it sacred. In other words, a sacred object is a symbol. For example , the tricolour (the flag of the Indian nation) or ‘triranga ‘ is simply a piece of cloth of different colours stitched together. But it is a symbol of national honour for the Indians – it is sacred. Thus a sacred object stands for some reality and our search should be not for the origin of scared ideas and object, but for the realities which are being symbolized.

As said elsewhere, instead of animism and naturism, Durkheim took to the ‘totemism ‘ as the key concept to explain the orgins of religion. Ordinary objects, whether pieces of wood, polished stones, plants, or animals, are transfigured into sacred objects once they bear the emblem of the totem. (See Box-‘A’)

Box –A

Totemism is the religion, not of certain animals or of certain men or of certain images, but of a kind of anonymous and impersonal force which is found in each of these things, without however being identified with any one of them. None possesses it entirely, and all participate in it. So independent is it of the particular subject in which it is embodied that it precedes them just as it is adequate to them. Individuals die, generations pass away and are replaced by the others. But this force remains ever present, living, and true to itself. It quickens today’s generation just as it quickened yesterday’s and as it will quicken tomorrow’s. Taking the word in a very broad sense one might say that it is the god worshipped by each totemic cult; but it is an impersonal god, without a name, without a history, abiding in the world, diffused in a countless multitude of things (Durkheim)

2.7.4 Comments and Criticism

The world of sacred things came into existence through the unification of clan. The clan itself was symbolized and made visible through the totemic emblems that were present during the festive meeting. Thus, the object of the totem became the sacred entry. Religion was thus, nothing other than the collective power of the clan. The object of totem representing it became the god of primitive societies.

Thus, primitive religions (totemism) was not different from the most advanced religions, but only the appearances differed. God may be personal or impersonal, ritually may be simple or complex, but everywhere, religion distinguished between profane and sacred realms. In this way, the function of religion is that it reaffirms society and also reaffirms man as a social being.

The analysis and explanation of totemism by Durkheim is different from the 19th century evolutionists. They attempted to establish absolute origin of religion as a historical fact. Evolutionists attempted to discuss how it happened, while Durkheim wanted to discover as to why it happened, society is *suigeneris* (representing a reality of its own) said Durkheim this way the concept of function is inseparable from his basic concept of society. Thus, function was not the serving of the needs of individuals, but the need of the society as a whole. So it is rightly said that Durkheim's functionalism is societal functionalism which is contrary to the individual or interpersonal functionalism of British tradition.

2. Although religion reinforces social values and promotes social solidarity, it is not the worship of society.
3. Durkheim's analysis may be relevant to primitive society, but in modern societies there exists many culture, social and ethnic groups, specialized organizations and a range of religious beliefs and practices for which Durkheimians need to review.
4. It is wrong to believe that society and religion is one.
5. His theory is also one sided because he was given importance to social aspect alone and forgotten every other aspect.

But in spite all these drawbacks, it cannot be denied that Durkheim made a bold attempt in studying religion on scientific lines. He established a close link between religion and society which had not been properly appreciated or accepted. It was felt that religion and society were two separate things but the credit goes to Durkheim for bringing both classes near to each other.

2.8 ASK YOURSELF

1. Describe the typology of Suicide as given by Durkheim.
2. Write a note on
 - a) Collective Conscience
 - b) Repressive Law
3. Discuss the causes of change from Mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity.

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Max Weber

1864-1920

MAX WEBER

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3. Biographical Sketch
- 3.4 Ideal Types
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3.1 OBJECTIVES

To understand Sociology as Science – Verstehen
Meaning & Types of Social Action

To acquaint the students with inter-relationship between religious ethics and Economy.

Ideal types in Weber's Work.

3.2 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 father 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 rigour 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.

3.3 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 councillor and later, 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 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 clerics. 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.

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 Toennies and Simmel and remained its secretary for several years influences 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 casual explanation of its course and results."

This definition of Max Weber bring 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 frame work of Max Weber it is necessary to discuss his idea and meaning of the term 'social action.'

3.4 IDEAL TYPES ---- HIS CONCEPT

An ideal type is simply a mental construct of the theoretically conceivable and the empirically probable. Martindale assumes that the scientific theory is a logically interrelated body of empirical laws.

Is the ideal types of theory? it is said that the ideal type has the character of theoretical mode. But according to Martindale's requisites for the theory, namely one of a theoretical function or which can be drawn out to produce hypothesis, the ideal types are not theories because they are not logically interrelated bodies of empirical laws.

McKinney, Wtkins and Parsons conceive ideal types as theories.

Martindale agrees with Weber, McIver and Merton that ideal types are not theories but simply mental constructs.

Scientific methods consists in the systematic procedure that institute an empirical proof. There are three kinds of systematic procedure for instituting a proof.

(i) experimental method (ii) statistical method and (iii) comparative method. The "logic of method" is the same in all the three methods. These subdivisions arise in terms of the degree of precision of the theory and the amount and kind of control possible over the data to which a theory is addressed. The oldest procedure of science is comparison. Comparison is an act intended to establish an item of empirical knowledge about which one is uncertain. Some idea guides the comparisons, and there is some idea, however crude, in the background.

Martindale's fundamental position taken in his essay is that ideal types are neither experimental mathematical models, nor theories, but devices intended to

institute comparisons as precise as the stage of one's theory of precision of his instruments will allow. Comparative procedure occurs most frequently in new sciences. the evolution of the ideal type in sociology was determined by the attempts to transform comparative method into a more precise procedure. The place occupied by ideal types in current sociological data still remaining on comparative level.

Thinkers who have made basic use of the concept of "social action" for the analysis of social life have been not only most sympathetic to the use of ideal types but have consciously attempted to improve them. Ideal types are not stereo-types, averages, or abstract concepts. To quote Martindale, "An ideal type is formed by the one sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of great many diffuse discrete individual phenomena which are arranged according to these one sidedly emphasised view point into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found anywhere in reality."

Weber urged that the basic purpose of the ideal types is "to analyse historically unique configurations or the individual components in terms of genetic concepts." They are used as conception instruments for comparison with and the measurement of reality. They are indispensable for this purpose.

For Weber ideal types were procedures by which historical materials were useful for the general purposes of sciences. As applied to historical materials Weber characterised ideal types as devices for descriptions, as implements for comparison and measurement and under special circumstances, as procedures for instituting and testing hypothesis. The component elements of the type and the criteria for constructing them are particularly important. For, Weber has also argued that the ideal types is not description, not a general concept, not a law, not a rural or ethical judgement.

Thus, for Weber, the ideal type contains both conceptual and observational materials are not put together arbitrarily. The ideal type is a conceptual tool. Items and relations actually found in historical and social life supply the materials. These are selected, fused, simplified into ideal types on the basis of some idea of the student as to the nature of social reality.

In Weber's classification of action, the ideal type was purely rational action. Weber contended that it was because of the influence of irrational factors and deviations from the ideal types were seen. In the comparative method, the use of ideal types to detect deviations and the possibility to phenomena which are otherwise not amenable to comparison with the application of the ideal type is indeed rewarding.

This not only facilitates the comparison of complex and seemingly unrelated phenomena, but also helps to make comparisons between two points in time. A particular phenomenon in present times could be compared to what it was at a different time in the past. Certain inferences could be made by the relative approximation of the phenomenon, past and present ideal types. The comparative method is gaining significance in recent times because a single study done in its exclusivity is not very illuminating.

Prior to Max Weber, sociology was not generally accepted as science. The physical sciences like physics and chemistry were considered very different from social sciences. The primary reason for this belief was the absence of general laws in sociology. It was generally held that inasmuch as sociology studies the behaviour of human beings and that human beings possess free-will, it is not possible to reduce human behaviour to general laws. Max Weber did not agree with the view. He wanted to develop the science of sociology. For this purpose he formulated the concept of 'Ideal Type'. According to Weber, the science of sociology could be developed on the basis of this concept of Ideal Type. The theory of ideal type developed by Weber was new in the field of sociology. In fact it was a mere extension and application of Plato's theory of ideas in the field of sociology.

According to Weber, sociology is concerned with social action and social behaviour. Every social action has an idea. The 'ideal type' of social action is in our mind. For example, we say that a particular man is materialist. The term materialist is an idea and how can we call a man materialist? How can we apply an idea to concrete man? It is only because we have conception of idea of ideal type. It is because of these theoretical or rational concepts that we are able to judge a man as materialist, idealist or pragmatist. This proves that every man has in his mind certain ideas about perfect social action or behaviour and this ideal type is subjective, that is, it is in the mind of man.

Weber has based his sociology upon this theory of idea 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, whereas social laws cannot be objective. This is because social laws pertain to human actions and behaviour 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 pertain to 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 concepts like 'economic man', 'religious man' etc., are also abstract and no existing man fully answers to these concepts.
- (3) ***Ideal 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 current 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 are 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' is an ideal type but its meaning is liable to changes in social realities.

3.5 SOCIAL ACTION

The concept of social action is the centre 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. The significant characteristics of his ideas are the following:-

- (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 contemporaneous 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 case 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 presupposes 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 solution,that is an individual living in complete wilderness removed from all inter-personal contracts 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 with out 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 plain the meaning of social action.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 behaviour 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.

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** :- The social actions pertaining to values are considered valuational. The religious and ethical actions come under this category.
- (4) **Rational-purposeful** :- 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 involves consciousness of ends of goals.

Classification of Social Action

In so far as it is a science, Sociology begins its analysis with empirical reality. As one of the pioneers in the field, and who tried to make of sociology a scientific enquiry, Max Weber's sociology. His very definition of the "highly ambiguous" word sociology is "the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at causal explanation of its causes and effects." "Action" is "social" in so far as it takes into account of the behaviour of others and is thereby 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, the alter-ego situation, the alter's behaviour must be influenced by and oriented to the ego and vice versa. Similar action does not become social action 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 follows:

- (1) **Zweckrational action** :- This is purely rational action. It means that the actor is fully conscious of his ends and selects the appropriate means towards the attainment of his goal. Economic behaviour 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 exercises rationality principle. His decision is purely rational in economic terms. This is referred to as "Zweckrational action" by Weber.
- (2) **Wertrational action** :- The second kind is Wertrational action in which the actor is governed by values. Here logicity refers more to the means than 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 activities denotes that he is influenced by religion as a value.
- (3) **Traditional action** :- Traditional behaviour is the third kind. This action is performed merely because it has always been done. All customs, folkways 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 4th 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.

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 it 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.

Views of Weber

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.

3.6 THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

3.6.1 Introduction

In the previous topic on social action and its types, you came across with two types of rationality-Zweckrationalist and Wertrationalist 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 value rational action.

You can, therefore, understand that Weber tried to trace the relation between values (Wertrationality) or value-oriented actions and goal-oriented actions (Wertrationality). This is his view in relation to the role of ideas and values in social change. Here, capitalism and its emergence and development is 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 a 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 multiform 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.

The Protestant Ethic and the Emergence of Capitalism

Inter-relationship between Religious Ethics and The Emergence Capitalism

Max Weber traces the relationship between the religious ethic and spirit of capitalism in his best known work '*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*' (1904-05 / 1958). In this book, Weber tried to show that there was a spiritual affinity between Calvinism, a doctrine of the protestant sect of Christianity and the economic ethics of modern capitalist activity. For this, he identified throne components of Calvinist doctrine which he considered as a particular and significant importance in the formation of capitalist spirit. In this sense, Weber showed the uniqueness of the historical event and explained it in terms of historical casual analysis.

Weber's main interest was in the rise of distinctive rationality in the west and capitalism with its rational re-organization of free labour its open market and rational book keeping system was considered as an important component of that system. Capitalism was also linked to the parallel development of natural science, law politics, art, architecture, literature and the polity, therefore Weber lined the protestant ethic to the

'spirit of capitalism' and not to the structure of the capitalist system as such. Thus, the book, *the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* is not so much about the rise of modern capitalism as it is about the origin of peculiar 'spirit that eventually made capitalism possible, Such elements of both 'the protestant ethic' and the spirit of capitalism' are explained ahead in this lesson.

Weber began by examining and rejecting alternative explanations of why capitalism arose in the west in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Some authors supported the idea that capitalism arose because the material conditions of that time. To this, Weber said that material conditions were also like at other times and capitalism did not arise. Weber also rejected the psychological theory that the development of capitalism was due simply to the acquisitive instinct, which in his view has always existed, but did not produce capitalism.

Weber examined various religions of the world to prove his hypothesis. He showed that in Calvinist ethics, religion and economic activities are combined in a way not found either in Catholicism or in any other world religion like : Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, Judaism and Buddhism of which Weber made a comparative analysis.

The Emergence of Capitalism

This essence of capitalism according to Weber, is embodied in that enterprise whose aim is to make maximum profit or to accumulate more and more. It is based on the rational organization of work and production. It is the conjunction of desire of profit and rational discipline which constitutes the historically unique feature of western capitalism. The desire for profit is satisfied not by speculation or conquest or adventure, but by discipline and rationality which is possible with the help of legal administration of the modern state or rational bureaucracy. In this sense, capitalism is defined as an enterprise working towards unlimited accumulation of profit through the rational organization production under a legal system.

The emphasis on rational reorganization or production made capitalism different from its earlier form known as traditional or adventurist capitalism. Adventurist, capitalism existed in many places, like in the Italian cities. It was a risky business,

involving the import of luxury items from distant places. Foreign silks, spices, ivory etc. were sold to buyers at exorbitant prices. The aim was to extract as much profit as possible because no one knew when and where next business ideal would occur. Rational capitalism, on the other hand, depends on mass production and distribution of goods. This became possible with the Industrial Revolution and factory production. Unlike adventurist capitalism, rational capitalism does not deal with only a few luxury items but with almost all the daily material requirements. Rational capitalism is constantly expanding looking for new networks, new inventions, new products and new customers, and in this way it is qualitatively different from traditional capitalism.

Thus, when traditional capitalism or adventurist capitalism gave way to rational capitalism, the emphasis shifted from a much less disciplined and efficient system to the other's on individualism, innovation and the relentless pursuit of profit. Intrinsic to this form of rational capitalism was its 'spirit'. According to Weber the 'Spirit of Capitalism' is not defined simply to economic greed, but it is moral and ethical system, an ethos, that among other things stresses economic success. In fact, it was the turning of profit making into an ethos that was critical in the west. In other societies, the pursuit of profit was seen as an individual act motivated at last in part by greed, and therefore, morally suspected. It was Protestantism, which turned the pursuit to profit into a moral crusades. It was the backing of the moral system that led to the unprecedented expansion of profit seeking and ultimately, to the capitalist system.

The spirit of capitalism can be seen as a normative system that involves a number of inter-related ideas. For instance, its goal is to instill an 'attitude which seeks profit rationally and systematically. (Max Weber 1904-05/1958:53). In the spirit, certain other ideas included are : 'Time is money, 'be industrious, 'be frugal', be punctual', be fair and 'earning money is legitimate end in itself. Above all, there is the idea that it is people's duty to ceaselessly increase their wealth. This takes the spirit of capitalism out of the realm of individual ambition and into the category of ethical imperative. The adventure capitalism that existed in China, India, Babylon, and during Middle ages was different from western capitalism, primarily because it lacked "this particular ethos." (Max Weber, 1904/1958:52).

The spirit of modern capitalism is thus, characterized by a unique combination of devotion to the earning of wealth through, legitimate economic activity, together with the avoidance of the use of this income for personal enjoyment. This is rooted in a belief in the value of efficient performance in a chosen vocation as a duty and a virtue.

The Protestant Ethic-Calvinism :

Protestantism, a sect of Christianity, literally means 'a religion of protest'. It arose in the sixteenth century in Europe in the 'Reformation' period. Its founding fathers like: Martin Luther King and John Calvin broke away from the Catholic Church as they felt that the Church had become too immersed in doctrine and rituals. It has lost touch with the common people and greed, corruption and vice had gripped the Church. The priests led a luxurious life and were more concerned about themselves and their life style rather about the common people.

It was this reason that Protestant sect sprang up all over Europe emphasizing on simplicity, austerity and devotion. Calvinism, founded by the Frenchman John Calvin was one such doctrine. The followers of Calvin in England were known as Puritans and they migrated to the continent of North America and became the founders of the American nation. It was a group of these people who made great progress in education and employment, becoming top bureaucrats, skilled and technical workers and the leading industrialists. It was the concept of 'calling' that was central to Calvinist doctrine, not found in Catholicism, the 'calling' of the individual is to fulfill his duty to God through the moral conduct of his day-to-day life. This implies the emphasis of Protestantism away from the Catholic ideal of monastic isolation, with its rejection of the temporal, into worldly pursuits.

This concept of calling was central to Calvinism and Weber's main concentration was on this, even though he differentiates other main strains of Protestantism as well like : Methodism, Pietism and Baptist sect. This was so, because of some of the distinctive tenets of Calvinism. Weber identified three of them as the most important ones.

Firstly, the doctrine that universe is created to further the greater glory of

God, and only has meaning in relation to God's purposes, 'God does not exist for men, but men for the sake of God,' *Secondly*, the principles that the motives of the Almighty are beyond human comprehension. Men can know only the small morsels of divine truth which God wishes to reveal to them. *Thirdly*, belief in pre-destination: only a small number of men are chosen to achieve eternal grace. This is something, which is irrevocably given from the first moment of creation; it is not affected by human action, since to suppose that it merely would be to conceive that the actions of men could influence divine judgement.

Calvinism demands from its believers of discipline, thus, eradicating the possibility of repentance and atonement, which the Catholic confessional repentance and atonement for sin makes possible. This will lead to his eternal salvation, which the Catholics believed could be done only through church and the sacraments. Thus, labour in the material world, for the Calvinist, becomes attributed with the highest positive evaluation, a devotion to his calling. It places, a premium upon the duty of the individual to approach his vocation in a methodical fashion as the instrument of God. The accumulation of wealth is morally condemned only to the desire that it forms an enticement to idle luxury, and therefore, material profit must be acquired through the ascetic pursuit of duty in a calling. To wish to be poor was, it was often argued, the same as wishing to be unhealthy; it is objectionable as a glorification of works and derogatory to the glory of God (Ibid: 163). Thus, the main features of Calvinism which influenced the development of capitalism are:

1. ***Image of God*** as all power in whose glory men should always work devotedly and through proper means. The protestant ethic proclaims work as virtue and encourages gainful enterprises. This helps a change in attitude towards work.
2. ***Doctrine of Pre-destination*** which emphasized on the fact that only few are chosen to reach heaven and others are destined to be damned. To be selected and avoid damnation, men should work for the glory of God on earth which lay in economic pursuit and material prosperity.

3. ***The notion of calling*** :- holds that all work is important and sacred because it is not mere work, but a 'calling' a mission which should be performed with devotion and sincerity. The idea emerged from the doctrine of predestination. It says that every soul at birth is predestined for heaven or hell. The list of names are already prepared by God and nothing an individual does in his life can his fate. But there are signs of which God indicates to every individual whether he is among the list of the elects. Since every man is anxious to know it he is marked for salvation or damnation, he should select a 'calling', a vocation, work hard at it and be successful. This doctrine exhorts men to seek gainful enterprises, accumulate wealth, and prove their destiny.
4. ***Calvinism and this-worldly asceticism*** :- It is a shift from ritualistic and other-worldly orientation to down to earth pragmatism. The focus has been on 'ascetic' life of strict self-discipline, control and conquest of desires, emphasis on hard-work and remaining away from sensual pleasures.

Since man cannot comprehend the infinite mind of the absolute and transcendent God who created the world for his own glory, there is no point in indulging in mysticism. Rather man should seek to understand the natural order. This is essentially an anti-ritualistic attitude that favours the development of science and rational investigation.

Further some more values embedded in Protestantism which are in harmony with the spirit of Capitalism. They are:

5. ***Strictness on alcoholism*** :- Consumption of alcohol is prohibited. In fact prohibition movement in Western societies was always spearheaded by Protestants.
6. ***Literacy and Learning*** :- Protestant Ethic placed great emphasis on literacy and learning. This is based on the conviction that every man should read his own Bible instead of depending on priestly interpretations.

It significantly improved the sphere of education leading to the development of mass education and of specialized skills.

7. **Rejection of holidays :-** In Hindu society of ours, we have full of holidays. Every holiday is a holiday. This is similar to Catholics in Western societies. This is consisted with the Catholic belief that we need leisure to honour God with ritualistic celebrations. However, for Protestants, since work contributes to the glory of God, there is no need of holidays and celebrations.

- (a) There exists an absolute transcendent God who created the world and rules it, but who is comprehensible and inaccessible to the finite minds of men.
- (b) This all powerful and mysterious God had predestined each of us to salvation or damnation, so that we cannot by our works alter a divine decree which was made before us.
- (c) God created the world for his own glory.
- (d) Whether he is to saved or damned, man is obliged to work for the glory of God and to create the kingdom of God on earth.
- (e) Earthly things, human-nature, and flesh belong to the order of sin and death and salvation can come to man only through divine grace (Raymond Aron, 1967:221-222)

It was these features of Calvinist religious ethic that led to the origin of capitalism spirit. On the basis of this relationship the book ‘The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism demonstrate that there is an ‘elective affinity’ (Wahlver Wandtschaft) between Calvinism and the economic ethics of modern capitalist society. (Anthony Gidden, 1971:131).

3.6.2 Weber’s Comparative Studies on Religion

Weber made a comparative study of major religions of the world to prove his hypothesis that the emergence of rational capitalism in the west has been due

to 'electric affinity' between its 'Spirit' and the 'ethic' of Protestant. He made a detailed study of such religions as: Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, Judaism and Buddhism to show that rational capitalism did not emerge in countries inhibited by the practitioners of these religions, because they lack the 'ethic' of Calvinism. Here, we take into account of Weber's studies of Confucianism in ancient China and Hinduism in ancient India.

Confucianism in China

In traditional China there was an existence of patrimonial bureaucracy i.e., according to Weber, in traditional China, there were a number of important developments, which were conducive to the rationalization of the economy. These helped the emergence of cities and guilds, the formation of monetary system, the development of law, and the achievement of political integration within a patrimonial state.

However, inspite of this relatively high degree of urbanization achieved in China in ancient times and of the volume of internal trade, the formation of money economy only reached a comparatively rudimentary land. The cities as well as money economy was not developed as in Europe. Also the Chinese Cities did not acquire the political autonomy and legal independence, which possessed by the medieval European urban communities. The Emperor combined both religious and political supremacy, which was the important feature of the social structure of traditional China. The citizens of the Chinese City tended to retain most of their primary kinship ties with their native village, and the city remained embedded in the local agrarian economy unlike in the west.

Despite, these differences in material conditions from the west, the most important thing which did not lead to the development of the rational capitalism in China was the lack of 'ethic' similar to Calvinism in the Confucian religion. Confucian ideas can be summed up as follows:

1. Belief in sorder of the universe, the consom.
2. Man should aim at being in harmony with nature and the cosmos.

3. Behaviour is to be guided by tradition. All wisdom lies in the past.
4. Family and kin ties and obligations were never to be neglected.

Thus, the ethic of Confucianism emphasized on the elements such as harmony, traditionalism and ferocity and kinship affiliations as more important than individual pursuit of profit making. This stress on these features made Confucian ethic not conducive to the development of capitalism that aimed at profit and accumulation of wealth through rational and organized means.

Hinduism in India

Like China, or even in many ways better, India had a flourishing civilization, which continued despite several upheavals and became firmly established, the development of manufacture and trade reached the peak. Merchant and craft guilds in the cities had an importance in urban economic organization comparable to the guilds in medieval Europe. Rational science was highly developed in India and numerous schools of philosophy flourished at different periods. There existed an atmosphere of tolerance not found anywhere else. Judicial systems were formed which were as mature as those of medieval Europe.

However, the emergence of the caste systems, together with the ascendancy of the Brahmin priesthood and religious beliefs and dogmas effectively prevented any further economic development in the direction. The most important religious beliefs were that of transmigration of souls and compensation (Karma). Both of these are directly bound up with the social ordering of the caste system as the individual's place in it in the present life is tied to his work in the other life. This puts an inseparable barrier in the face of any challenge to the existing order. The occupational structure in caste system was ritually italicized and it was not easy for the individual to break free of these vocational perceptions.

All these ideals of 'Karma' (Work), 'Dharma' (duty) and 'Punarjanam' (transmigration of soul) made Hindu defeatists and fatalists, according to Weber. Hinduism preached 'other worldly asceticism', the material world is considered to be temporary and illusionary and the individual must come above all the illusion or

'Maya Jaal' to attain the goal of 'Moksha' (salvation). In this way the emphasis of Hinduism on other-Worldly asceticism (unlike Calvinist 'this-worldly asceticism') and fatalistic attitude towards material well being and change are responsible for the lack of development of that ethic which promote conducive situation to the rise of rational capitalism. It was because of this reason that, India, despite having sound finance, trade and technology could not promote capitalism as in the west.

Critique and defence

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 preexistence 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. The Anabaptists 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 it 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.

3.6.3 Conclusion

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.

3.7 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. (You have been discussed about different types of social action in previous lesson). 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 factual 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 fourth 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-Traditional, Charismatic and Legal-Rational. These are all ideal types of domination/legitimation. But in actual historical situation, forms occur in combinations, mixtures, through adaptations. or modifications of these pure types.

Traditional Domination: (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 centred 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.
 - (6) The commands of the traditional ruler are legitimatised in one of the two ways:
 - (a) Contents of command and objects and extent of authority.
 - (b) Double sphere of competence, (i) traditional action, (ii) no specific rules.
 - (7) The administration staff recruitment is as following:
 - (a) Relations of the chief who have personal ties 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 favourites.
 - (c) Free from patrimoniality, but develops relation of loyalty.
- 1) The numbers are treated as subjects.

- 2) 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 income taxes.
 - (e) By fields.

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 a 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, superhuman or atleast 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 a 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 a revolutionary force.
- 4) The administrative staff of the leader does not consists of officials but the followers do the job. However, they are not trained.
- 5) The recruitment of such members are 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 is 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 refinalised or traditionalized.

Further, the routinization also takes the form of appropriation of powers of control of economic advantages of the followers.

Thirdly, routinization is not free of conflict especially between charisma of hereditary status and personal charisma.

Legal-rational 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. (Adam and Sydie: 184)

- 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 in 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. (Vasiraju: 118)

- 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 sustematic 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 be 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 idea 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. (Ray:185)

Distinction between Charisma and rationality:

Charisma	Rationalization
1) Personality forces its way into history	Intellect and impersonality
2) Non-bureaucratic	Bureaucratic
3) Creative	Adaptation to values or material goals
4) Revolutionary	Routinized
5) De-differentiating	Differentiating
6) Often religious	Disenchanted
7) Ephemeral (Becomes Routinized)	Persistent

Example: Puritan ascertains

Example: spirit of rational accounting

Thus, by way of summing up the following points may be made for your convenience in relation to formal-rational organization:

- Hierarchical authority, in which lower offices are supervised by higher ones. Once fully developed, hierarchy is monocratically organized with a single command centre, from which orders emanate and are acted upon.
- Impersonality and separation of office from the office holder, the workplace 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.
- Written rules of conduct. The modern office is based on written documents, which are preserved in original form, which requires a staff so subaltern officials and scribes of all sorts.

3.8 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 organisation 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 of authority. These are:

- (1) Traditional Authority**
- (2) Rational Legal Authority**

(3) 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 traditional 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 justification is called for. In India Brahmins have enjoyed supremacy on account of traditional authority.
- (2) **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 a well-accepted proposition that it is the chair which bestows authority on the chairman and not the other way round.
- (3) **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 literate and scientific geniuses are also persons of charismatic authority. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, M.K. Gandhi, Martin Luther King etc., are examples of persons of charismatic authority.

The above account of authority makes plain that the rational legal authority is the form of authority which constitutes bureaucracy.

Functional Feature 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 the machine. Thus, it is the laws and not the 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 a 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 occupies a higher rung in the hierarchy. If this principle is violated, the bureaucratic set-up is liable to break up.
- (3) **Hierarchy of positions :-** In bureaucracy there is a hierarchical arrangement of posts and positions. In bureaucracy there is one chief functionary and under him there are several assistants, each of whom has, in turn, many more assistants under him.
- (4) **A 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 places 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) ***In Bureaucracy*** :- Every functionary is independent in his personal life but in administrative work he has no function under the supervision of his superiors and follows the rules and regulations.
- (2) ***In bureaucracy, the setup is hierarchical***
- (3) ***Each officer has a well-defined field of action.***
- (4) ***Each officer must maintain the discipline.***
- (5) ***The officers are normally not the owners of properties.***
- (6) ***Vocation*** office holding is a “vocation”, an acceptance of specific obligation of faithful management in return for a secure existence; not a source for cancelling rents or making emoluments.
- (7) ***Appointment*** :- the personal position of the official is patterned according to the type of office held in “social esteem”. The pure type of bureaucratic official is appointed by a superior authority, though influence of party chiefs cannot be overruled altogether.
- (8) ***Tenure of life*** :- Normally, the position of official is held for life, at least in public. As a factual rule tenure of life is presupposed even where giving of notice or periodic reappointment occurs.

(9) **Emoluments** :- The official receive the regular pecuniary compensation of a normally fixed salary and the old age security provided by pension. The salary is not measured like wage in terms of work done, according to “status” that is according to length of service.

(10) **Career** :- The official is set to a “career within the hierarchical order of the service. He moves from the lower, less important, and lower paid to the higher positions in terms of ‘seniority’ ability and individual qualities.

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. Weber observes that it is in such an evolution that we are already caught up, and the great question is therefore not how we can promote it, but that can we oppose to his machinery in order to keep a portion of mankind free this parcel out of the soul, from this supreme mastery of by bureaucratic way of life.

Criticism. A number of thinkers have criticised 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 this 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-up 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.

3.9 ASK YOURSELF

1. What are the three distinctive ways in which Weber used Ideal Types?

2. In what way Weber used the concept of Ideal Type to show the relationship between Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism?

3. What are the main characteristics of ideal type of bureaucracy as outlined by Weber?

4. What are the different Ideal Types of authority given by Weber, Explain them with example.

5. Analyse briefly the relationship between History and Sociology.

6. What is Sociology according to Max Weber? What is the significance of the concept 'value relevance'?

7. How is historical causality different from sociological causality? Explain through examples.

8. In what way you think methodology developed by Weber is a contribution to the discipline of sociology?

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Wilfredo Pareto

1848-1923

VILFRED - PARETO (1848-1923)

STRUCTURE

- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Contribution to the Methodology - Logico-Experimental Method
- 4.4 Classification of Action, Explanation of non-logical actions in Terms of theory of residues and derivatives.
- 4.5 Theory of Social change, Types of Elites : Circulation of Elites
- 4.6 Ask Yourself
- 4.7 References

4.1 OBJECTIVES

The main thrust of this unit 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

4.2 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 refutations 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 a agent of change, Pareto offered an elite theory of social change.

Biographical Sketch

Vilfredo Pareto (Marquis Vilfredo Frederico Damaso Pareto) was born in Paris to an Italian political exile father and a French mother. He was born in 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 Polytechnical 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.

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 the these trading rightist regime to be followed with a long period of moderate left doctrine. Pareto was opposed to the moderate left protectionist regime which advocated social transformism. In 1882 he ran as a 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 antinterventionist.

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 stiffer in his effort to reform and restructure 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 economical. 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 Musolini (Abraham and Morgan 76:) Musolini 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. Musolini 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 short illness.

4.3 CONCEPTION ON LOGICO-EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE

Political elite concept developed in the United States, after the World War II and thereafter, that became quite popular. Pareto, Mosca and Robert Michels are the chief exponents of the concept. Pareto in his 1915 'Mind and Society' (1915-1919) describes his 'theory of elites' in a beautiful manner. Let us see his views in this chapter.

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 moralisation, 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 other words, no a priori 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 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 have 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 logico-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, nonlogical-experimental, absolute and "moralising". They usually trespassed the boundaries of facts, observation, experimentation and even of logic. From this standpoint, Comte's or Spencer's "sociologies" are almost as unscientific as those theological and religious theories which they criticise. 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 criticised religious doctrines,only slightly changed.All such theoriesand 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 evaluation 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.

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.Cournot, Mach. K. Pearson, partly that of M.Weber and other prominent representatives theories and beliefs.On the contrary ,he more than any body 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 seperates 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.

Action : logical and non logical: 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. With in the framework of the best knowledge available. For example, the construction of a road or bridge. The engineers while constructing a bridge how 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 perform the act. This is done in the objective reality, that is, from the standpoint of other persons. Who have more extensive knowledge. Logical action 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 does 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 with out 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 viewpoint 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 supported 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, where as 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 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. (the detail on the residues and derivations are discussed

in a separate lesson). 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 tested 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; resets precision upon separating logical from non-logical actions and in showing that in most men the second category is for larger than the former..” ...Reason is of little importance in shaping social phenomena. The cooperative force 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 individual wish to make their behaviour appear logically to follow from a legitimate set of ideas both to themselves (self-description) send to other (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		Criteria 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 a idea type is rare because man is a reasoner			

Category II (No-Yes) — It is indespead

- The act is not logically related to the result
- No logical connections between means employed and ends attained
- 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 eyelid 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 IV (Yes-Yes) — It includes acts in which the actor subjectively conceives a relation between the means and ends.— But the objective sequence does not corresponds to the subject five sequence.

Examples : Acts and behaviour of revolutionaries during and after revolution. Let us say to Russian Revolution.

1. In these cases, there exists an objective relation between the behaviour 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 can not be achieve by the means (authoritarian regime) they employ.

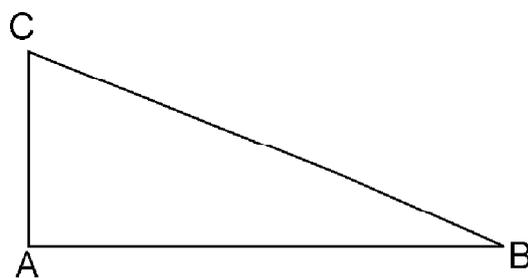
Raymond Aron argues that among the four categories of non-logical actions, two are particularly important- the no-yes (second category) and yes-yes (the fourth category). In the second category, as no-yes where non-logical actions which has no objective goal but do have a subjective goal fall the majority of actions, which can be called ritual or symbolic. Example-religious rituals. The fourth category defined as yes-yes in which there does not exist a coincidence between the subjective and the objective the means employ actually to produce a result on 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 involves to some degree a motivation by sentiment (a state of mind different from logical reasoning).

Pareto's aim was to study non-logical behaviour in a scientific manner which however has been 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.

1. The greater part of human behaviour 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 behaviour logically to follow from a 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 behaviour 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 'A' How, then, are we to explain C and B, or in particular 'B' when do not know 'A', (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 a 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 (ACT) 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 'A' (State of mind) i.e. sentiments.

1. "The above diagram gives you three series of relations...(1) 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.

4.4 THEORY OF RESIDUES & DERIVATIVES

According to Pareto there are different types of social systems. In various places of world, these systems differ inter se. The important question taxing the mind of sociologists is to find out the way and wherefore of these differences.

According to Pareto, various factors are responsible for these differences. These various social factors influence the society in different ways. It needs to be clearly emphasized here that while the said factors influence the system, they are themselves also influenced by the social system. Thus the social system and the social factors are interdependent. The social system is determined by certain social factors and these, in turn, are also modified by it.

After pointing out the interdependence of social factors and social system, Pareto has classified the social factors. This classification is as follows:

- (a) The first class of social factor is that of soil, climate and other geographical conditions.
- (b) The second class of social factors of external conditions which include other societies and past social history of the society.
- (c) The last class is modified by internal conditions which include emotional residues, interests and ideals, are the character of sentiments and their manifestations, feelings and ideologies.

The main value and significance of Pareto's theory of social factors is his rejection of single cause theory of social factor. He is his rejection of single cause theories of social phenomenon. According to Pareto, social reality is highly complex and cannot be explained by any single factors; there is an interplay and interaction of various factors. Pareto does not believe in determinism, that is, a phenomenon has a definite and fixed cause. He is a pluralist and functionalist. Pareto believes, however, in the quantitative analysis of all social factors and suggests that their mutual role, concomitance and sequence should be minutely studied. Thus, Pareto wants to make an accurate science of sociology.

Pareto however, is sufficiently pragmatic and realistic to realise that it is not possible to know in detail all the social factors and therefore suggests that in the study of a particular phenomenon the more important factors may be taken into account and the less important set aside for the time being. By knowing the influence of each factor we can later co-ordinate them and thus arrive at a suitable explanation of social phenomenon.

The chief social factors, in the opinion of Pareto, are as following:

- (1) Residues,
- (2) Derivation,
- (3) Economic factors,
- (4) Social heterogeneity and
- (5) Elites

These factors will be studied in detail in various questions to be discussed below.

Theory of Elites

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" its overship 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 he states, his theory is just the beginning of wisdom. To begin with it concentrates solely on the traits of inferiority and superiority and of psychological type. He makes an effort to relate his elites to social groupings and classes. His concept will apply to terrible Autocracy as well as to the presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In report to Marx the treatise is gargantuan. Pareto's strategy is, however not confrontation but development. He constructs social concepts and categories so broad as to reduce Marxist propositions to the status of more special case of a much more theory. He does not contradict Marxism but denatures it. The trick is worked by transcending the Marxist categories. For instance, the concept of ideology. The concept of 'spoilation' of 'rents' by 'speculators'.

It could be developed into a valuable supplementation and extension of marxist analysis, but it supports to be a substitute. Its simple message is that the many are always governed by the few, the less able by the more able. Only the psychological differences between the strata are admitted, socio-economic classes and all other groupings of the population are excluded. The result is thus to denature Pareto's own sociology.

The theory of elites has been best known and the most directly influential of Pareto's contributions to the field of social and political theory. In relating the governing elite concept to psychological type, and even more importantly to vertical mobility, Pareto stands alone. Contemporary political science finds the elite concept indispensable if only as a hypothesis to be rejected. From the Paretoian approach have sprung such radical reapraisals of democracy as that of Schumpeter for whom it is a system in which elites publicly compete for the authority of government. The work of Aron, interrelates elites, government and social structure. The studies of community power structure of Hunter argues for the presence of an unidentifiable elite. Dahl argues the contrary, the great programme of comparative elite carried out by Basswell and his school.

Pareto has developed his idea of elites in an original way. He has in the main discussed the class of governing elites. According to Pareto, all men are not equal. They differ among themselves in regard to their capacities and abilities. Some are more intelligent, efficient and capable and others. On account of this difference in regard to abilities, there is social stratification. Some belong to superior class by virtue of their higher qualifications. Defining the class of elites, Pareto says, "so let us make a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity, and to that class and are usually also the richest." Thus, in every sphere of social activity there is a class of superior persons which is termed elite. Pareto has chiefly discussed the governing elite.

Classes of Elite

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 somehow influence the administration.

Bases of Elites

According to Pareto there are two fundamental features which contribute to the formation of elites. These are:

- (a) **Qualities** :- The intelligence, The mathematical ability and love of fine arts, high moral calibre are some of the qualities which make persons superior to others. These qualities also contribute to making riches and therefore we normally find that elites belong to the class of rich people.
- (b) **Riches** :- As observed above, the better class 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 an elite.

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 categories 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.

4.3 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.

An 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 its 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 by 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 superior quality in subject classes. In such a case the social equilibrium becomes unstable and the slightest shock will be destroy it. A conquest or revolution produces an upheaval which brings a 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.

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.

Theory of Residues

Residues are the most important among social factors enumerated by Pareto.

In order to understand the meaning of term residue, Primitiv sorokin has explained the meaning of residue in the following word: "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..

For this explanation it is clear that residue is a sort of motivator which is more or less fixed in human behaviour. Though it bears relation to instinct and sentiment, it is none of these.

According to Pareto, "The residues are the manifestations of instincts and sentiments as the evaluation of mercury in a thermometer of rise in temperature." Thus according to Pareto residue are manifestation of instinct and sentiment but the manifestation is not constant. Thus sexual instinct may manifest itself heterosexually, homosexually, autoerotically or in some other way,.

Feature of Residues

- (a) Residues are more or less permanent motivations of human behaviour.
- (b) Residues are neither instinct nor sentiments though they bear close relation to these.
- (c) Residues are not based on any reason.

Type of Residues

- (1) ***Residues of combination:-*** These are the motivators which combine similar or opposites. These residues combine like with like.
- (2) ***Residues of persistence of aggregate:-*** These are the drives to keep persistence or perseverance of sentimentals held in high esteem and handed down from generation to generation.

- (3) *Residues of manifestation of sentiments through exterior acts* :- Such residues impel us to express our sentiments by external acts. Our sentiments 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 conform and induce uniformity in behaviour.
- (5) *Residues of the integrity of personality*:- These are drives which help us to integrate our personality and ward off injurious sentiments.
- (6) *Residues of sexuality*:- These are the residues concerning the sexual urges. These residues influence our outlook, attitude and thinking.

Theory of Residues and Derivations

Pareto's completed system is valuable at many points, its mechanistic and atomistic nature, its definition of what is "non-logical," its oversharp dichotomy between ends and means, its assumption that ends are random and unsusceptible to any "logic of ends" and so forth. The residue theory and derivations are the main pillars of the theory.

The central problem in the residue theory is ___ Is the residue a psychic cause of overt actions or merely a description of these? Pareto himself recognises both sense of the world and warns that he will use it to mean both the cause of actions and the description of them.

If we assume that the residues are psychic states and hence causes, two difficulties arise. First, Pareto himself admits that the only way he can establish he can establish the existence of the "residue cause" is through examination and classification of overt actions, not from any other and independent source. He also admits that he infers their existence from these overt acts; he does not know it. Thus the only evidence for the existence of this "cause" is the overt action which is alleged to be its effect. For quote Sorokin "he puts those residues into a man and later on deduces from them whatever he likes." Casual explanation such as Pareto gives may be correct but he provides no proof. In the absence of such a proof, they are merely labels.

This does not mean that they are useless of sociology. To establish that some actions from syndromes in the sense that a man who performs one is usually observed to perform the others is not a senseless exercise. At the worst, it has some predictive values; at the best it permits "typing" men according to the peculiar syndrome of actions they perform. This is precisely what underlines such conceptions as "introvert-extrovert" or Znaniecki's, "Bohemian" "Philistine" and "creative" types of characters or Reisman's "tradition-directed" "inner-directed" and "other director types."

Involved in the concept of the residues is the concept of the Derivation: and this corresponds, closely enough, with what we now conceive of as "ideologies". This aspect of Pareto's residue theory is a major contribution which has exercised on contemporary political science an influence which is direct as well as profound. Indeed, in so far as the founding fathers of Italian Fascism looked to Pareto as one of their antecedents, it can be claimed that it exercised a direct influence upon contemporary political practice. The expression "Ideology" first used during the Napoleonic period, owes most of its contemporary meaning to Marx. For him ideology was the "false consciousness" which sees the world upside down, unlike science (including Marxism itself) which sees it truly. Pareto widened the meaning into roughly what we mean today: a system of thought which mashes and rationalises human predispositions and urges—and not simply that ones that are due to their economic interest or class position. More important, however, has been the associated distinction between the inherent truth or falsity of a belief, and its social utility, for this the key to understand the social role of beliefs.

Pareto's position resembles Plato's doctrine of the "noble lies" his position was of course shared by Shonin and Mosca. Discipline like political science and the theory of propaganda have learned to regard beliefs as objective facts in the social situation, as far as social and political action is concerned, what matters is whether and how deeply the beliefs are held.

The role of ideology and propaganda as derivations of the residue theory cannot be underestimated. These are how the starting points in the comparative analysis of government and politics. They have enormously reinvigorated the discipline and made it far more realistic, work is the only one which incorporates the elite, residue and derivations as positional references.

Manifest and Latent functions.

In the study of social institutions, one is faced with the question of their functions. Functions simplifying the use of such groups of organisation or institutions to the society as a whole by most of the socio-logists functions have been classified into two classes 'latent' and 'manifest.' Sumner and others declare the manifest function of any institution as that which is immediately visible. This function is manifest. It is easily understandable as the primary function of the group. The 'latent' function, on the contrary, is hidden from the onlooker. It appears secondary on closer analysis for it is not immediately visible. But the latent functions are as necessary to sociological analysis as the manifest function. For example, the manifest function of the church and religious institutions is the imparting of Christian or religious knowledge to the members for religious uplifts. But the latent function which is not immediately visible is the 'group-cohesion' principle which trains the members to function as a whole "solidarity" in terms and not as individuals exercising freedom and choice.

By so doing they gain an increment of repute, or of the means with to lead a life of leisure from their pattern. With the disappearance of servitude, the number of various consumers attached to one gentleman, tends to decrease. But the middle class life still depends on the business of vicarious leisure and consumption for the good name of the household.

Box - A

Let us assume that in every branch of human activity each individual is given an index which stands as a sign of his capacity. It is like the grades given in various subjects in examination in school. The highest type of lawyer of instance, will be given 10. The man who does not get a elite will be given one reserving for the man who is an out-and-out idiot. To the man who has made his millions, honestly or dishonestly as the case may be we will give 10, to the man who has earned his thousand we will give six, to such as just manage to keep out of the poor house-one. So let us make a class of people who have the highest indices in their branches of activity, and to that class give the name of 'elite'

(C). That the change condition (equilibrium-disequilibrium) of society was a matter of circulation among the elites along with a changing distribution of residues.

Elites : Foxes and Lions (feature)

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 in 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 the control the masses by restoring two methods-force of 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 convse, cunning in nature, metaphorically represents fraud behaviours may be started as follows.

1. The foxes are endowed with residues of combinations. It includes a prosperity or instinct in social groups to adopt flexibly to situational exigencies.
2. They are capable of innovation and experiment.
3. They prefer materialistic goals.
4. But they lack fidelity to principles and
5. They use strategies that vary from emotional appeal
6. They maintain power by cunning propoganda and by multiplying policies financing combinations.

Secondly, the ‘Lions’ who represent ‘force’ to retain power may have the following :

Lions are conservative elites.

They represent, therefore, the residues of the persistence of aggregates.

They have faith in ideology.

They display group loyalty and class solidarity.

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 societies 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 dissatisfied leaders here may be equated to foxes and the ruling elites to lions. The latter may either absorb the dissatisfied 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. This elites is responsible for the manipulation of power and decision makers. They are also through displacement or replacement by others.

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 requires by the social order. When this happens, the family of lions will mobilize the masses against the elite foxes. There is a note of caution, Pareto believes that when the governing elites attempt tries 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 equilibrium 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)

Elites types and residues in society

Nature	Political	Economic	Residue
Governing	Foxes	Speculators	Class (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 in stability. 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 top elites of men with residues of combinations (change) and the residue of persistence of aggregates (conservatism). In other works, it should be of combinations of lions and foxes and in political realm. This would maintained 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 on elites and it SSS TTS. He (Bottomore) therefore, questions (1) does 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, on some occasions Pareto seem to regard elites representing particular social interests, and circulation of elites resulting from the decline of established interest and the rise of new interests 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 with in 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.
 - A. Individuals from the lower strata may succeed in entering the existing elite or
 - B. 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 connected 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 is relatively open to superior individuals from the lower strata it has better changes of enduring. Conversely he also mentioned that the replacement of one elite by another may result from a failure in the circulation of individuals.

Summing Up

In the preceding few pages, we discussed the concept of elite in general and Pareto's conceptualization, in particular. Looking at the need of the topic we then discussed the distinguishing features between two types of process rise and fall of either individuals as well as elite groups. Further, the importance of the residues (class I and II) in understanding circulation was also highlighted. Towards the end, the views of critics, commentators, supporters have been maintained. You must be now clear to at least understand the types of elites and types of circulations of elites let me, briefly, however end up the discussion as to how Pareto was rated and the importance of his contribution from circulation of elites.

In writings of Pareto on elites and its circulation led many to characterize him as an advocate of authoritarianism or a theoretician of Italian fascism. The Italian fascists considered themselves as the followers of Pareto. They declared that they are the non-decadent bourgeoisie, the generation of lions. They forcefully justified to snatch the reins of power from the foxes - the decadent aristocracies. They, therefore, defended an oligarchical form of government and defended violence. But according to Raymond Aron, it is unfair to treat Pareto as a doctrinaire for any particular type of regime. If Pareto can be interpreted as a fascist, he can also be interpreted as a liberal democrat. Aron, thus ably demonstrated that in terms of his economic doctrine Pareto is a liberal and on political level he is at once authoritarian and moderate.

4.6 ASK YOURSELF

1. Explain Pareto's concepts of 'logical' and 'non-logical' action by giving examples.
2. What are 'residues' and 'derivatives' as discussed by Pareto ?

4.7 REFERENCES

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SOCIOLOGY - COURSE NO. SCO-F-404

(Classical Sociological Tradition)

Time Allowed : 2½ hours

Maximum Marks : 80

Note : This question paper consists of 3 Sections, A, B and C. See notes under each Section for choice of questions.

SECTION - A

(Long Answer Type Questions)

Note : Do four questions, one from each Unit. Each question carries 12 marks.

Unit I

1. "All history is the history of class struggle..." Elaborate this famous statement of Marx to understand the formation of classes.

OR

By giving examples, distinguish between 'Mode of Production' and 'Relations of Production' as propounded by Marx.

Unit II

2. Examine the basis of social solidarity in simple and complex societies, as postulated by Durkheim.

OR

How does Durkheim explain the phenomena of suicide? Discuss various types of suicide as discussed by him.

Unit III

3. Discuss Weber's views on the role of ideas and values in economic development.

OR

Examine, in what way 'Weber conceives of sociology as a comprehensive science of social action'?

Unit IV

4. Describe Pareto's concepts of 'logical' and 'non-logical' action by giving examples.

OR

Critically examine Pareto's views on the 'circulation of elites'.

SECTION - B

(Short Answer Type Questions)

Note : Attempt four questions, one from each Unit. Each question carries 6 marks.

Unit I

5. Discuss the relationship between basic structure and superstructure.

OR

Discuss Marxian dialectical materialism as a perspective of change.

Unit II

6. What is a 'Totem' ? Discuss its functional role.

OR

Explain Durkheim's views on 'social facts'.

Unit III

7. Discuss Weber's notion of authority and discuss its types.

OR

What is social action, according to Max Weber ? Distinguish between various types of social action.

Unit IV

8. What are 'residues' and 'derivatives', as discussed by Pareto ?

OR

Explain Pareto's conception of logico-experimental method.

SECTION - C
(Objective Type Questions)

Note : Do all questions. Each question carries 1 marks.

9. i) Established patterns of behaviour towards the sacred, are called :
- a) Beliefs
 - b) Rituals
 - c) Prayers
 - d) Totemism
- ii) 'Authority is a legitimate power', is the position propagated by :
- a) Marx
 - b) Weber
 - c) Pareto
 - d) Engles.
- iii) Which of the following is not an example of social action ?
- a) Teacher teaching students in a class
 - b) Cricket match between India and Pakistan
 - c) Father talking to daughter
 - d) Carpenter making a door.
- iv) Who wrote "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life" ?
- a) Max Weber
 - b) Vilfredo Pareto
 - c) Emile Durkheim
 - d) Marx and Engles.
- v) Which of the following is not the base of 'charasmatic authority' ?
- a) Santity
 - b) Character

- c) Legality
 - d) Heroism.
- vi) When correspondence does not occur between means-ends relationship in objective reality and the mean end relationship is the mired of action, it is called :
- a) Affective action
 - b) Irrational action
 - c) Non-logical action
 - d) Illogical action.
- vii) According to 'Weber' ideal type is :
- a) an utopian method
 - b) analytical construct
 - c) desired action
 - d) perfect action.
- viii) High rates of egoistic suicide are likely to be found in the groups in which the individual :
- a) is well integrated
 - b) belong to social unit with weak collective conscience
 - c) has strong integrated families
 - d) is a member of religious group.

* * * * *