

Weber

dominant role in society. But it is more standard and developed

bureaucracy is to a great extent in all countries but since the rise of bureaucracy, population growth and formalism must be taken into account. Making wiring case of formal behaviour with the reduction as well as the employees. Similarly, the rules in an employment rules and procedures, maximise efficiency to solve all the problems. To some extent in terms of the income of workers. Varying levels of agents indicates the primary to the implying official rules and bureaucracy. According to Weber, the formal structure appears quite different from its formal structure analysis, in practice

order of both the formal organisational structure in a developed society, the formal structure could be implied in society without bureaucracy. Second, the formal structure is more and more formal as little or no control is required is a readjust-

ment and a democratic state".

The above mentioned wrong with the bureaucracy may be corrected if formal and informal aspects of it work together.

Q. 3. Explain the origin and characteristic of bureaucracy according to Max Weber. Illustrate the structural source of the dysfunction of bureaucracy.

Ans. : In his "*Economics and Antiquity*" (1908) Weber, first wrote on the subject of bureaucracy. Later in "*Economy and Society*", he included a much larger section on bureaucracy in which he looked more extensively into the question of the development and growth of the modern administrative apparatus. Formally, Weber's study of bureaucracy is a part of much larger study of the theory of domination which appeared in the part of "*Economy and Society*". Nevertheless, his discussion alone stands as an independent investigation into the historical determinations of bureaucratic administration in the society.

According to Weber, bureaucratic type of organisation began in the societies whose political organisation tended towards an officialdom. Early examples of societies with larger political administration include the Germanic and the Mongolian empire and feudal estate of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among these societies, Weber cited the cases of emperor and feudal lords, when making known their decrees and pronouncement would appoint, commissioner whose power were exercised within their large jurisdiction. Weber identifies six types of bureaucratic structure; (i) states which tended to control policy and policing functions (ii) ecclesiastical communities which are required to administer a large population of believers (iii) Economies whose main function is to distribute goods and coordinate functions (iv) The modern agency (v) the military and (vi) Judiciary.

One of the important factors which Weber had in developing a historical understanding of bureaucratization was to show that it was a development of modern society. In order to demonstrate this, he drew on several historical comparisons of administrative oriented societies. He looked at the administration of early Egypt and Rome, at the administration of the Catholic Church, at Asiatic societies and the feudal economics of central Europe. While these societies develop administrative staff and trained decision maker. they are in Weber's view, formally pre-bureaucratic in their administrative organisation.

According to Weber, in modern industrial capitalist society, bureaucratic organisation is fully developed and has become a function essentially for the society. The rational legal type of bureaucratic administration, which consists of technical superiority of the bureaucrat, strict official rules, hierarchy of job etc., has replaced the traditional and charismatic type of the bureaucratic administration.

The structural sources of the dysfunction of bureaucracy in the modern industrial capitalist society are embedded in firstly, in the traditional monarchical and feudal, and charismatic bureaucratic organization, and secondly the modern bureaucratic structure itself. Though, in the present society, democratic political system has been established around the world, in practice the power and authority of the bureaucrat are misused sometimes in the expression of it. To some extent, it has been affected by the aristocratic and feudal principle which does not suit to modern organisational society.

The second major factor which has led to dysfunction of bureaucratic organisation, according to R.K. Merton, is the principle of strict adherence to rules. He argues that rules and regulation, in itself, are not sufficient to get the organisational goals. Sometimes the situation arise, which are not covered by the rules, may result in its dysfunction. It requires the personal expertise of the bureaucrat through which he efficiently and effectively sorts out the solution. Secondly, it may lead to displacement of goal.

Thirdly, R.K. Merton argues that the emphasis on impersonality in the bureaucratic procedure may lead to friction between officials and public. For example a client in a job centre or maternity clinic, may expect concern and sympathy for their particular problems. The business like and impartial treat-

ment they might receive can lead to bureaucrats being seen as unsympathetic, abrupt and even arrogant. As a result, clients sometimes perceive that they have been badly served by the bureaucrats.

Commenting on the structural deficiency of bureaucracy, Peter Blau, has argued that the more formal nature of the bureaucracy is not fully conducive for the realizations of organisation goal. Blau's case study of the formality and informality work together, it will lead to realization of the organizational goal. He argues that no set of rules can anticipate all the problems which arise in bureaucracy. To some degree, these problems will be handled in terms of the informal norms of group of workers. Variation in these norms will result in differing level of efficiency. According to him a bureaucracy in operation appears quite different from the abstract portrayal of its formal structure.

Q. 4. Critically examine Max Weber's theory of social action and its limitation.

Ans. : Max Weber has propounded his theory of social action in his famous work "*Economy and Society*" which was written between 1911 and 1920. The term "Social action" is derived from the body of Weber's work which concerned itself with developing a theory for making valid judgement about the decisions, individual make in their action with others in a social environment. The theory of social action proposed by Weber eventually embraced the question of 'meaningful' social action and attempted to explain the relevance of values in a theory of social action.

The term social action in general denotes social behaviour. The concept is used both by the social scientists and psychologists. Action is social when the actor behaves in such a manner that his action is intended to influence the action of one or more other persons. In sociology, it was Max Weber who first explicitly used and emphasised social action as a basis of sociological theory.

According to Max Weber "*Sociology is science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its causes and effect.* According to Weber 'Action is social', in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it, by the acting individual, it takes account of the behaviours of the others and is thereby oriented in its course. Thus according to Weber, following are the characteristics of social action:

- (i) Social action includes all human behaviours.
- (ii) It attaches a subjective meaning to it.
- (iii) The acting individual or individuals take into the account the behaviours of others.
- (iv) It is oriented in its course.

Weber has classified social action into four major type on the basis of the meaning involved in it.

- (1) **Zweckrational action or rational action in relation to goal:** When a man engages in pursuit of specific goals, rationally decided and make use of most efficient means to achieve these goals; such type of action is termed as rational action in relation to goals. For example, an engineer constructing a bridge is good example of it. This action is corresponding to Pareto's logical action.
- (2) **Wertrational action or rational action in relation to values:** Here means are chosen for their efficiency but the ends are determined by values. For example the action of a soldier laying down his life for the country. His action is not directed towards attaining specific material goal. It is for the sake of certain values like **Honour** and patriotism.
- (3) **Traditional Action :** In traditional action both the means and ends are decided by the rituals, customs, ceremony and practices related to tradition. In traditional Indian society, doing pranam and namaskar to the elders are examples of this type of action.
- (4) **Affective Action:** This type of action is determined by the emotion and impulse of the individual. Embracing an old friend or attacking a foe is an example of affective action.

Weber has correlated rational action with the rational-legal authority, traditional action with the

traditional authority and affective action with the charismatic authority.

Limitations :

The first is that Max Weber conceives of Sociology as a comprehensive science of social action. The typology of action therefore is the most abstract level of conceptual system applicable to social fields. The classification of types of domination; rational domination, traditional domination, charismatic domination depend on the four types of action.

Secondly Sociology is also a comprehensive science of social action. According to Weber comprehension implies an understanding of the meaning man gives to his conduct. Pareto judged the logic of action in terms of the knowledge of the workers, but Weber's aim is to understand the meaning each man gives to his own conduct, so that becomes essential to the comprehension of the subjective meaning to proceed to a classification of types behaviours.

Thirdly, classification of the types of action to a certain extent governs the Weberian interpretation of the contemporary era. For, according to Weber the prime characteristic of the world we live in is its rationalization. The rationalization characteristic of modern society is expressed by a widening of the sphere of zweckrational action.

Fourthly, the classification of the type of action may be correlated with what constitutes the heart of Weber's philosophical thought, namely the relation of solidarity and independence between science and politics. For, Weber was always passionately interested in the question; What is ideal type of political man? The ideal type of scientist? How can one be both politician and professor. The question was for him personal as well as philosophical.

SHORT NOTES TYPE

Q. 1. Protestant Ethic.

Ans. : As the name suggests, it is the religion of protest. It arose in the 16th century in the Europe in the period known as reformation. Its founding father like Martin Luther and John Calvin broke away from the Catholic church. They felt that the church had become too immersed in doctrines and rituals. It had lost touch with the common people. Greed, corruption and vice had gripped the church. Priest

had a life-style more suitable for princes! The Protestant sect that sprang all over the Europe tried to recapture the lost spirit of the church. They stressed, simplicity, austerity and devotion. Calvinism, founded by the Frenchman John Calvin was one such sect. The followers of Calvin in England were known as Puritans. They migrated to the continent of North America and were founders of American nation. Max Weber observed that in the west, it was

by and large protestant who had made greatest progress in education and employment. They were the top bureaucrats, the most skilled technical workers and leading industrialists. The main features of Calvinism are; first *God is powerful and transcendent*, second, doctrine of predestination which refers to *God's selection* of certain persons for heaven while the rest are damned, third *asceticism*, which means strict discipline, control and conquest of desire and fourth, *notion of calling* which implies no work is too low or too dirty. Max Weber calls it spirit of capitalism.

Q. 2. Informal structure of Bureaucracy.

Ans. : The informal structure of bureaucracy refers to the governance and administration of society in a traditional way, which consists of the influence of religion, traditional values, customs, etc. The feudalism and monarchical or autocratic system are the best example of informality of bureaucratic administration. According to Weber this structure is characterized by uncodified laws, irrationality, unorganisation etc. He assumes that the traditional power structure of king, heads of church, Lords, masters etc. were characterised by these features. In the traditional authority rulers enjoy personal authority by virtue of their inherited status. Their commands are in accordance with custom and they also possess the right to extract compliance from the ruled. Often they abuse their power. The person who obeys them are subject in the fullest sense of the term, Thus traditional authority is based on the belief in the sacred quality of long-standing tradition. This gives legitimacy to those who exercise authority. The second is Charismatic authority which is enjoyed by religious leaders and associated with affective action. This gives such people the unique powers to capture the fancy and devotion of ordinary people. Weber has contrasted informal structure of bureaucracy to modern day formal structure of it.

Q. 3. Method of sociology according to Max Weber.

Ans. : According to Max Weber the aim of Sociology is different from those of physical and natural science which are primarily interested in search of laws or the underlying pattern of interconnection. Sociology seeks to understand social behaviour in terms of meaning and motives, though Sociology also attempts to arrive at limited generalisation.

Therefore, social science cannot rely on positive science method alone, Weber advocated '*Verstehen*' method to understand social action at the level of meaning and then tries to sequence of motives which underlie the social action. First step involved in this method is direct observational understanding of the obvious subjective meaning of actor's behaviour. Second steps involves, establishing an empathic liaison with the actor. Here the observer identifies, himself with the actor by imaginatively placing himself in the actor's situation and then tries to interpret the likely meaning which the actor might have had given to the situation and the consequent motives which would have given rise to the action. Weber argues further that application of this method is not confined to the study of present social behaviour, it can be applied equally to understand historical events. In Weber's Words, "*one need not be Caesar in order to understand Caesar*".

Q. 4. Dysfunction of bureaucracy.

Ans. : In this famous article "*Bureaucratic structure and personality*". Robert K. Merton argues that certain aspects of bureaucratic procedure may be dysfunctional to the organization. In particular, they may encourage behaviour which inhibits the realization of organizational goals. Firstly, the bureaucrat is trained to comply strictly with the rules but when situations arise which are not covered by the rules, this training may lead to inflexibility and timidity. The bureaucrat has not been taught to improvise and innovate, in addition, he may well be afraid to do so. His career incentive such as promotion is designed to reward 'disciplined action and conformity to official regulation'. Thus, it may not be in his interest to bend the rules even when such action might further the realization of organisational goals. Secondly, the devotion to the rules encouraged in bureaucratic administration, may lead to displacement of goals. There is a tendency to conformity of official regulations to become an end in itself rather than means to an end. The bureaucrat may lose sight of the goals of the organisation and therefore reduce its effectiveness. Thirdly, the emphasis on impersonality in bureaucratic procedure may lead to friction between officials and public.

Q. 5. Ideal Types.

Ans. : According to Max Weber, ideal type is a methodological device which not only helps us in the analysis of empirical question, but also in avoid-

ing obscurity and ambiguity in the concept used, and in increasing the accuracy of our analysis. Ideal types, a key term in the Weber's methodological essay has been used by him as a device in understanding historical configuration or specific historical problems. For this, he constructed ideal type, that is, to understand how event had actually taken place and to show that if same antecedent or other events had not occurred or had occurred differently, the event we are trying to explain would have been different as well. Thus, according to Weber, there is a causal relation between the events and the situations. This causal relation in History and Sociology is partial and probable relation. It means that given fragment of reality makes probable and improbable, favourable or unfavourable to another fragment of reality. Weber has distinguished three kinds of ideal type with three levels of abstractions. The first kind of ideal types is rooted in historical particularities viz, western city the protestant Ethic etc.. In reality, this kind of ideal type refers to phenomena that appear only in the specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. The second kind relates to the abstract element of social reality. For example, the concept of bureaucracy or feudalism. These elements of social reality are found in a variety of historical and cultural context. The third kind of ideal type relates to the reconstruction of the particular kind of behaviour.

Q. 6. "Authority".

Ans. : According to Max Weber authority is the legitimate power through which one commands and administers the other individual or group. Authority is closely related to power and legitimacy. Power is the man's ability to influence, cajole or persuade the other man according to his will by means of force, knowledge, charisma etc. It can be exercised by anyone. But when the power of an individual is legitimated; that is codified as a law, it becomes authority. It is always associated with a position. For example, the power exercised by university Vice Chancellor is called authority. Max Weber has pointed out three types of authority. The first is the *traditional authority* associated with Weber's concept of traditional action. In this, the ruler enjoys personal authority by virtue of his inherited status. The commands are in accordance with the custom and he also possesses the right to extract compliance from the ruled. Often they abuse their power. The second is the *charismatic authority* which is related to Weber's affective action. It is purely the result of the special qualities of the leader who governs and rules in his personal capacity. They are revolutionary and generally reject the conventional social obligation. Third is the *rational-legal authority* which is associated with rational legal action. The present bureaucratic organisation is its example.



SOCIOLOGY PAPER-I

constraint when, in a gathering or crowd, a feeling imposes itself on everyone or a collective reaction—Laughter, is for example, communicated to all. Such a phenomena is typically social in Durkheim's eyes. Because its basis is the group as a whole and not one individual in particular. Thus, on the basis of collectivity Durkheim treats social facts as any way of behaving, fixed or not, which is capable of exercising an outside constraint on the individual or again any way of behaving which is universal throughout a given society and has an existence of its own and independent of its individual manifestation.

These two propositions—to regard social facts as things and to recognise the social facts by the constraint it exercises are the foundation of Durkheim methodology. They have been the subject of endless discussion, which to a large extent, has been concerned with the ambiguity of the term implied. Durkheim is perfectly right to say that social fact must be regarded as thing.

Q.3. Critically examine Weber's theory of Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism.

Ans. The "*Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*" is one of the important works and doctoral thesis of Max Weber. Weber made his departure by rejecting the contemporary Marxian views on the development of capitalism which regarded economic substructure as the ultimate cause of social change. He also rejected Engel's views that protestantism rose in Europe as legitimising ideology to nascent capitalism which has already come into existence, instead he emphasized the role of ideals as an independent source of change. Refusing Engel's argument, he further states that capitalism existed in an embryo in Babylon, Roman, Chinese and Indian society and in China and India other material condition propitious for the development of capitalism existed at certain stages in the history. But this phenomena is peculiar to the western society alone.

On the basis of his analysis and statistical record, Weber found that the higher grade of skilled labour and modern enterprise were overwhelmingly protestant. This was not merely a contemporary phenomena but also a historical fact. Weber started the search for the ideas which contribute to form psychological motivation manifested in the spirit of capitalism. For Weber, these ideas lay in the belief and practices of certain protestant groups—Calvinism, Methodists and Peptists whose manner of life was characterized by asceticism. Weber elaborated these motivation in the

form of an ideal type which many be summed up as follows:

Underlying everything is an interpretation of predestination, hence religious conviction. Since Gods decrees are as impenetrable as they are invocable, so that it is impossible to lose grace once it has been bestowed as it is to gain if it has been refused. Thus, the protestant concerned is necessarily left in the state of wilderness, not knowing whether he is the elect of God or not. The success in one's professional activity is a manifestation of the glory of God and may be interpreted as a sign of election. Salvation may therefore not be brought through the efficiency of his faith which is attested by the success attendant upon his industry. In order to succeed in one's profession, one should not waste the fruit of his labour in leading a luxury of life, rather one should lead a disciplined and the ascetic life to ensure continued success in one's profession.

Weber classified religious activities into two categories. (1) Asceticism and (2) Mysticism.

(1) **Asceticism:** It consists of the belief that God directs religious activities, so that the believer sees himself to be the instrument of the divine will. Therefore, the purpose of this life is not to waste in the luxuries and pleasure of flesh rather one should lead a disciplined life to realize the glory of God.

(2) **Mysticism:** It consists of consciousness not so much of being an instrument of God but what Weber calls a vassal of God. Religious activities in this case is a question of achieving a condition akin to divine. This is accomplished by contemplation on both rather than those which can be demonstrated in this world.

Next, according to Weber asceticism can manifest in two forms :

(a) **Inner worldly asceticism :** where individuals do not feel themselves to be the instrument of God's will, but seek to glorify God's name through performing good work in the world. Here success in this world itself becomes a sign of divine approval,

(b) **Other worldly asceticism :** when individuals, renounce the world so that they may be of service to God alone, as in the case of monastic orders.

Here, Weber pointed out that only inner worldly ascetic type of religious belief which makes the believer treat day to day working as the calling of God, will foster the spirit of capitalism. Certain sect of protestantism alone was the inner worldly ascetic type and hence contributed to the rise of modern capital-

ism. On the other hand, other religions like Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism etc. were either other worldly ascetic or have preponderance of the mystic and therefore, failed to foster the spirit of capitalism, although material conditions propitious for the development of capitalism were present in Indian and Chinese societies.

Weber's thesis on "Protestant Ethic and spirit of Capitalism" has been criticised on various accounts. Famous English historians R.H. Tawney has pointed out that the empirical evidence on which Weber's interpretation of protestantism was based, was too narrow. According to him England was the first country to develop capitalism. However, the English puritans did not believe in the doctrine of predestination.

Secondly, there were aspects of traditional Catholic teaching which were equally comparable with capitalism. Yet capitalism was extremely slow in some Catholic dominated areas. Weber seems to have ignored crucial development in Catholicism which occurred after reformation and the modernised catholicism from within. Next, capitalism is contradictory in that it requires the consumption of commodities as well as saving for the future investment. Protestant asceticism aids the latter but the former may require hedonism. Finally, the present day capital is no longer guided by the inner worldly ascetism. What is more, the present day life style is increasingly hedonistic. Webers thesis can be defended against some of the criticism by pointing out that it was only an ideal type construction which sought to establish a connection between certain aspect of protestantism with some aspect of early entrepreneurial type of capitalism. At no stage did Weber claimed to be the sole cause. In fact, Weber did admit to the possibility of building other ideal types linking other contributory forces to capitalism. Thus, Webers thesis should not be treated as general theory of capitalism development. It is more ideographic in nature. Further Weber clearly states that the spirit of capitalism was only one component albeit an important one. There are other components too which together with the spirit constituted the modern capitalism. These components are:

1. Private ownership of the means of production
2. Technological progress to the degree the production can be calculated in advance. For example mechanisation or automation.
3. Formally free labour

4. The organisation of capitalist producers into joint stock companies.
5. Calculable law, that is the universalistic legal system which applied to everyone and is administered equitably.

These elements form the basis of the ideal type of modern capitalism.

Q4. Distinguish between sex and gender. Discuss the gender issues with suitable examples.

Ans. The term 'sex' is biologically determined while the term 'gender' and its role specification are socially, culturally, traditionally and to some extent religiously constructed. The patriarchal norms dominate society and therefore most women experience "gender oppression" to a greater or lower degree. While reviewing the United Nation's statistics envisages that (i) Women perform 67 percent of the world working hours (ii) They earn 10 percent of the world's income (iii) Women are two thirds of the world's illiterates and (iv) they own less than one percent of the world's property. These inequalities related to socio-economic and political fields are gender based. In comparison to their male counterpart, the women of the world especially in developing and underdeveloped countries are still lagging behind. They are deprived, alienated, disorganised, dependent and lack power, prestige, status, freedom etc. in comparison to their male counterpart around the world. In cases of developed countries these inequalities are rather less. On the other hand, one can also observe the sex based inequalities in the male dominated society. It is generally assumed that the physical strength of the women is too weak to do hard work. Their I.Q. (intelligent quotient) level is also supposed to be low in comparison to man. It is also belived that they are suitable only for certain limited professions like teaching and nursing.

The French philosopher Rousseau provided one of the earliest examination of the relationship between biologically based and socialley created inequalities. He refers to biological based inequality as natural or physical because it is established by nature and consists in a difference of age, health, bodily strength and the qualities of the mind or the soul. By comparison socially created inequality consists of different privileges which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others, such as that of being more rich, more honoured, more powerful, or even in a position to exact obedience. Rousseau believed that biologically based inequalities between men were