

Sociological Perspectives on Modernity
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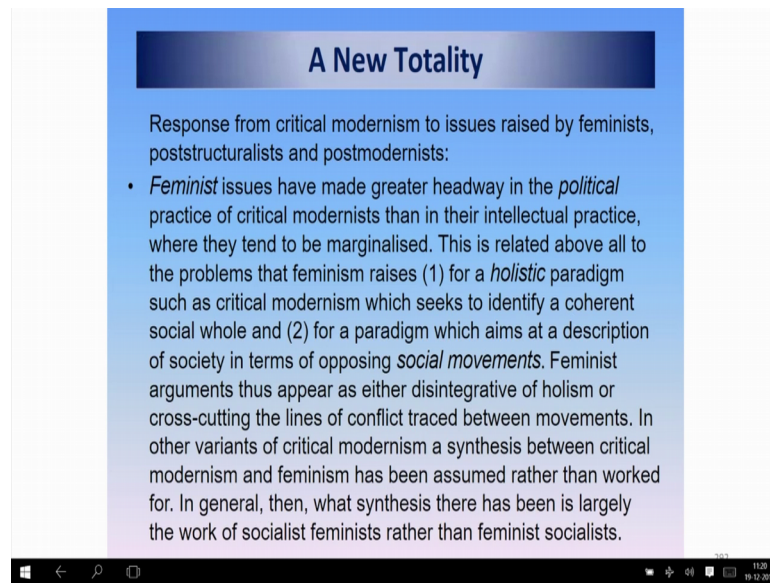
Lecture – 27
A New Totality I

Welcome to the 27th lecture of the course on Sociological Perspectives on Modernity. We have till now, we have completed the 6 modules of this course; namely first thematic preliminaries, secondly sociological modernity, thirdly the structuralist interpretation, fourthly western Marxism, fifthly synthesizing modernity and social theory and, sixthly we have covered deconstruction of modernity.

Now, here in this we have now we will discuss the 7th and the last module this is the last module of this course A New Totality, how to forge in total ok. And in this module we will first we will discuss a new totality how to forge a new totality.

Not simply rejecting the critical modernist paradigm in socialist as feminism cultural studies and post modernism has have done without rejecting, the central pillars of modernity namely holism, or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements how we can redesign, the discourses on modernity by keeping the concerns raised by feminists scholars drawn from cultural studies and post modernists, responses that we get from critical modernist paradigm in sociology to the issues raised by feminists scholars turn from cultural studies post structuralists and post modernists ok.

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A New Totality

Response from critical modernism to issues raised by feminists, poststructuralists and postmodernists:

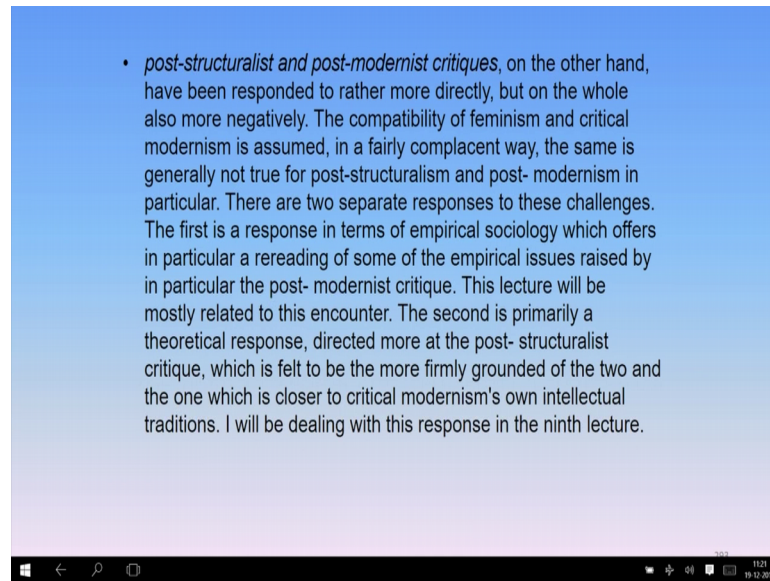
- *Feminist* issues have made greater headway in the *political* practice of critical modernists than in their intellectual practice, where they tend to be marginalised. This is related above all to the problems that feminism raises (1) for a *holistic* paradigm such as critical modernism which seeks to identify a coherent social whole and (2) for a paradigm which aims at a description of society in terms of opposing *social movements*. Feminist arguments thus appear as either disintegrative of holism or cross-cutting the lines of conflict traced between movements. In other variants of critical modernism a synthesis between critical modernism and feminism has been assumed rather than worked for. In general, then, what synthesis there has been is largely the work of socialist feminists rather than feminist socialists.

Let us first see feminist issues have made greater headway in the political practice of critical modernists, than in the intellectual practice where they tend to be marginalized. This is related above what to the problems at feminism ridges first for a holistic paradigm, such as critical modernism which seeks to identify a coherent social whole, social totality.

And secondly, for a paradigm which aims at a description of society in terms of opposing social movements. Feminist arguments thus appear as either disintegrative of holism, or cross cutting the lines of conflict rest between movements between old social movements and new social movements.

In other variants of critical modernist paradigm in sociology, a synthesis between critical modernist paradigm in sociology and feminist sociology has been assumed rather than what for, in general what synthesis there has been what kind of this synthesis we arrive at, there has been or what synthesis there has been is largely the work of socialist feminists rather than feminists socialists.

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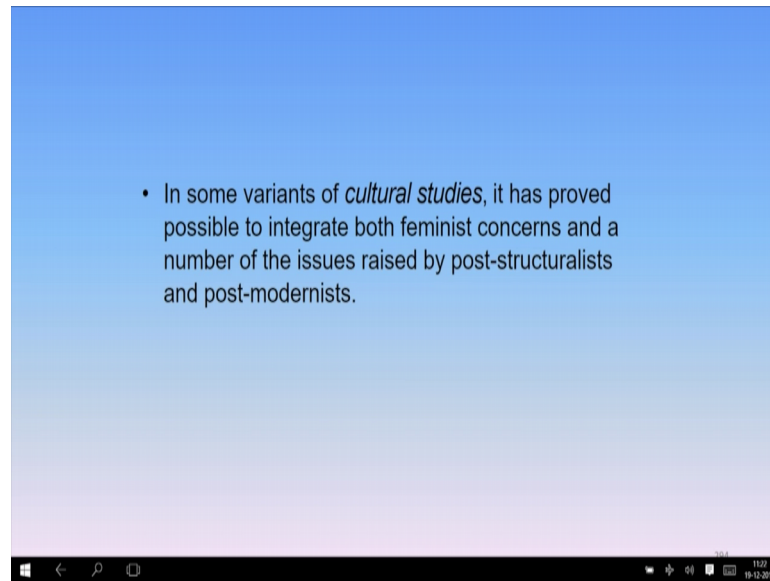
So, far as post structuralist and post modernist critics are concerned, they have been responded to rather more directly, but on the whole also more negatively, the compatibility of feminism and critical modernism is assumed in a fairly complicit way, the same is generally not true for post structuralism and post modernism in particular.

There are two separate responses to these challenges, it is not like that only feminism post structuralists, post modernists, they challenged the critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

In term critical modernist critical the proponents of critical modernist paradigm in sociology, they also responded to responded back to such challenges post by feminism feminists and post modernists, there are two separate responses to such challenges. The first is a response in terms of empirical sociology, which offers in particular or rereading of some of the empirical issues raised in raised by in particular the postmodern critic, post modernist critic.

And will try to relate to this encounter in this lecture and, the second is primarily a theoretical response one is empirical response and, the second is the theoretical response, which is directed more towards more at the post structuralist critic, which is felt to be the more firmly grounded of the 2 and the 1 which is closer to critical modernisms own intellectual traditions and then we will see ok.

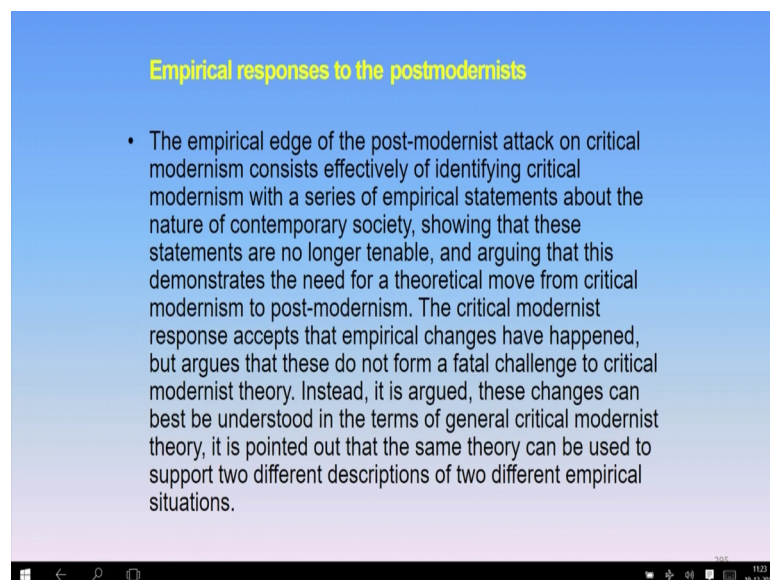
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And in some variants of cultural studies it has proved possible to integrate both feminist concerns and a number of the issues raised by post structuralists and post modernists.

In terms of a very loose coherence, we will return to these issues in the lectures to follow ok. What are the empirical responses to do the post modernists?

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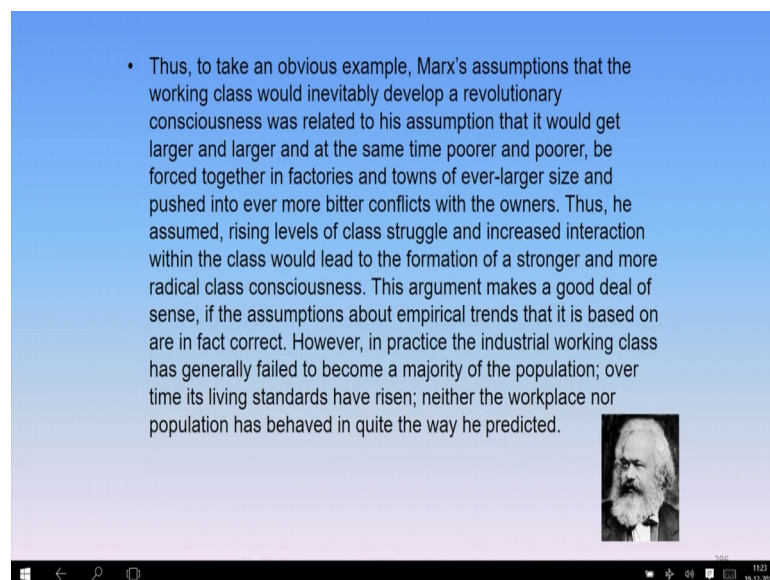


The empirical edge of the post modernist attack on critical modernist paradigm in sociology consists effectively of identifying critical modernism with a series of empirical statements about the nature of contemporary society, showing that these statements are

no longer tenable and, arguing that this demonstrates the need for a theoretical move from critical modernism to postmodernism. And the critical modernist response accepts that empirical changes have happened, but argues that these do not form a fatal challenge to critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

Instead it is argued that these changes can best be understood in terms of general critical modernist theory, it is pointed out that the same theory can be used to support 2 different descriptions of 2 different empirical situations, in this way to take an obvious example ok.

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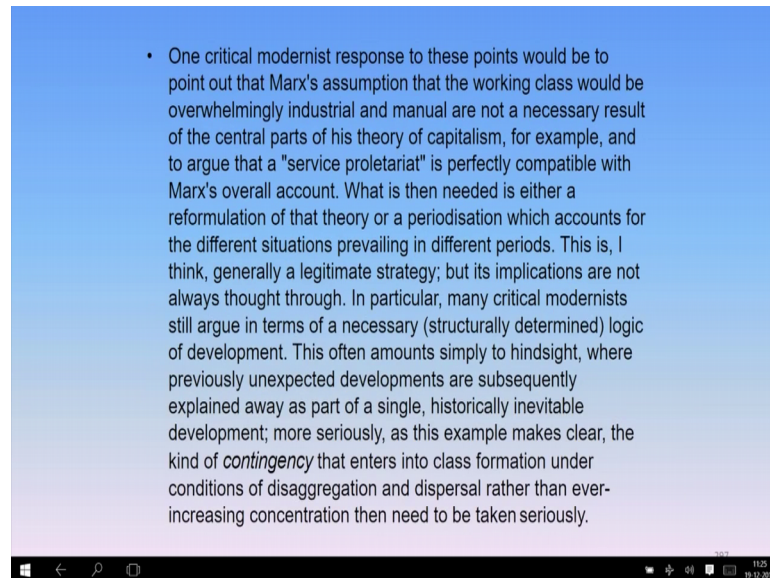
- Thus, to take an obvious example, Marx's assumptions that the working class would inevitably develop a revolutionary consciousness was related to his assumption that it would get larger and larger and at the same time poorer and poorer, be forced together in factories and towns of ever-larger size and pushed into ever more bitter conflicts with the owners. Thus, he assumed, rising levels of class struggle and increased interaction within the class would lead to the formation of a stronger and more radical class consciousness. This argument makes a good deal of sense, if the assumptions about empirical trends that it is based on are in fact correct. However, in practice the industrial working class has generally failed to become a majority of the population; over time its living standards have risen; neither the workplace nor population has behaved in quite the way he predicted.

Marxist assumptions that the working class would inevitably develop, a revolutionary consciousness was related to his assumption that it would get larger and larger and at the same time poorer and poorer, be forced together in factories and towns of ever larger size and pushed into ever more bitter conflicts with the owners, I mean all class contradictions that we have already discussed in sociological modernism through the works of Marx and Weber ok.

In this way Marx assumes that rising levels of class struggle and increased interaction within the class, would lead to the formation of a stronger and more radical class consciousness. And such argument makes a good deal of sense if the assumptions about empirical trades that it is based on are in fact correct. Nevertheless in practice, what we see that the industrial working class has generally failed to become a majority of the

population today over time its living standards have rising. Neither the workplace nor population has behaved in quite the way Marx predicted, this is important.

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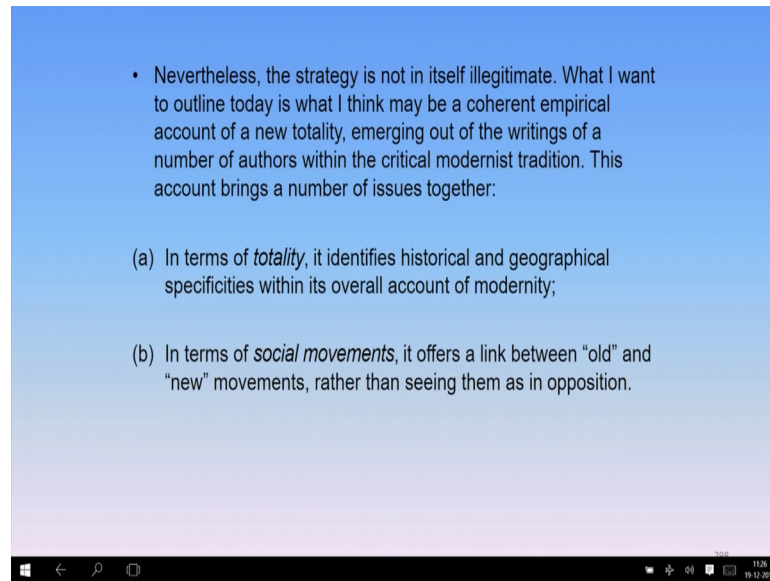


One critical modernist response to these points would be to point out, that Marx's assumption that the working class would be overwhelmingly industrial and manual industrial and manual are not a necessary result of the central tenets of his theory of capitalism.

For example, to argue that a service proletariat is perfectly compatible with Marx's overall account, what is then required is either a reformulation of that theory, or a periodization which counts which accounts for the different situations prevailing in different periods.

This is I think generally a legitimate strategy, but its implications are not always thought through. To be specific, many critical modernists still argue in terms of a necessary, I mean structurally determined logic of development, this often amounts simply to hindsight, where previously unexpected developments are subsequently explained away as part of a single historically inevitable development, more seriously as this example makes clear the kind of contingency that enters into class formation under conditions of desegregation and dispersal rather than ever-increasing concentration that need to be taken seriously.

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Nevertheless the strategy is not in itself illegitimate, it is very much legitimate valid. What I want to outline in this lecture is that is what I think may be a coherent empirical account of a new totality, emerging out of the writings of a number of authors within the critical modernist tradition, critical modernist trajectory. And this account brings a number of issues together. One in terms of totality this strategy identifies historical and geographical specificities within its overall account of modernity.

Now, why we are trying to look at both historical as well as geographical specificities, I mean within its overall account of modernity, what is what constitutes modernity or being modern maybe different in the context of Europe, maybe something else in the context of Latin America, may be different in the context of North America, may be different again in the context of Africa, may be different in the context of Asia, even within Asia what is modern what constitutes modern, may be different in the context of China, Japan, India and so on Bhutan Nepal right.

This is Pakistan this is this is very different right Sri Lanka and secondly, in terms of social movements such strategy offers a link between the old social movements and new social movements rather than seeing them as in a position. That what is so, old social movement that we have discussed, I mean old social movements always are related to the movements carried out by the industrial working class what Hamdi Alhabi and Theodore Shannon said, hypothetical proletariat ok.

And the new social movements that we see in I mean the way it has been theorized upon in the 1917, since 1917s and so on. The new social movements are carried out by the peasantry, by women by environmental groups by ecologists and so, on, if they are Hung Jalabiya and Teodorson in they use this term as against hypothetical proletariat they said empirical peasantry ok.

How to mediate the two, how to evolve, how to make a case, how to integrate both old social movements and new social movements, it is not the purpose of this course to the or this perspective to look at old social movements and new social movements in opposition with each other. Rather our purpose is to offer a link between old social movements and new social movements, that is why if we look at such strategy, then such strategy brings a number of issues, in terms of totality, how it the strategy must identify historical and geographical specificities which its overall account of modernity.

And in terms of social movements such strategy must offer a link between old social movements and new social movements, rather than seeing them in as in opposition. Then in this context ok, we must look at if we have to integrate critical modernist paradigm in sociology and the challenges or the constituents or if I have to say both yeah, if we have to integrate the concerns raised by both opponents of critical modernist paradigm in sociology and the proponents of critical modernist paradigm in sociology, we if we attempt to make such integration ok, then we must try to evaluate such integration against the backdrop of those four critical pillars of modernity.

Namely holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements and, already mentioned the idea of a periodization within modernity. One of the more promising accounts, in this direction periodization within modernity, when I said periodization within modernity, one of the more promising accounts in this direction comes from the German sociologist clause off and following his statement the British American team of Lash and Urry, in Lash and Urry this is specified fairly loosely as a move from an early liberal capitalism to an organized capitalism, early liberal capitalism to late organized capitalism, within which capitalist monopolies state involvement in economic activity and pressure from the working class combine to produce what we might describe.

As a national welfare capitalism this is not Lash and Urry argue the epitome of modernity and, modernism that it has often been taken to be rather it is simply a stage

within modernity, within capitalism. And one huge own internal dynamic moves towards a period where capital is concentrated, but production is dispersed both geographically and between subcontracting and subsidiary funds.

Where you will find its increasingly international articulation, but the bounds of control or direction by the nestle state and, where precisely those conditions which Marx identified as necessary for working class organization. I mean what is that working class organization, what is that necessary for working class organization.

I mean a strong and cohesive workplace and community base are eroded this argument obviously, parallels the opposition between fordist methods of production and post fordist methods of production, I mean that they are fordist accounts of political economy and post fordist accounts of political economic which, we have already discussed in our module on in the postmodernism I mean in my lectures on post modernist challenge to critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

The potential advantage of Lash and Urrys views are that it offers greater scope for social agency, which I will discuss a little while later and, a rather better account of the geographical organization of late modernity, that late organized capitalism what is the late modernity, or organized capitalism. As capital becomes increasingly international transnational Lash and Urry argue and that it not only bursts the bounds of the nation state.

But also disaggregates and dislocates its workers, there is a move from the kind of regional and urban specialization in given sectors, particularly of heavy industry which formed the backbone of the traditional workers movements, to a situation where there are greater differences within regions than between them and where the older urban manual working class are dumped in management strategies which aim at a fresh start in terms of plant on green field sites and, at relocating in areas; where the workforce is neither so, militant nor so, easily organized as in the old industrial cities.

It is at this point that I think that lash and Urrys account intercepts or can be made to do so with Wallersteins account of capitalist world economy that, I hope you remember this what we discussed in the context of capitalist world economy by Immanuel Wallerstein.

You will remember that the dependency theory, challenges the conventional account of modernization as a rising tide which lifts all boats sooner or later in terms of an account which sees the core countries of the North as exploiting and, dominating the peripheral countries of the South, in such a way as to produce a desegregation of their economies. Where economic activity becomes oriented more towards separate developments in the core, I mean developed countries then towards other forms of economic activity within the peripheral countries, I mean underdeveloped countries ok.

And the special metaphor here is quite useful it examines for example, the activities of a multinational corporation MNC in a peripheral country as exploiting and disaggregating that country's economy for the sake of an accumulation of profit in the core and, this is very important in the context of a fusion of integration of the concerns raised by the proponents of deconstruction of modernity, as well as the proponents of critical modernist paradigm in socialism.

And such world systems account, I mean such the world systems account, radicalizes this and does so, precisely in terms of holism or totality. Firstly, there is no a priori reason to assume that a society has the same boundaries as a nation or a state, a priori means prior to experience prior to impression, a posteriori means post experience, post empiricism that is why firstly, there is no a priori reason to assume that a society has the same boundaries as a nation or a state because, a state has a defined boundary nation as a defined boundary.

But the society does not have that kind of boundary right, that is why we sociologists we students of sociology as a student of sociology we always try to move beyond any boundary, if we follow the language of political economy used by Immanuel Wallerstein's an alternative to assume mean the national economy as a unit and then arguing that it is disaggregated in other words.

That its elements are primarily related to external rather than internal developments, it makes more sense to question this drawing of boundaries, the unit would not be the national economy, but the world economy because, of desegregation of national economies, we tend to arrive at world economy. In which what is primarily of interest are the economic relations which actually exist between two or more nation states and, not those which we might expect to exist within the boundaries of a single

nation state, putting it succinctly capital is increasingly becoming concentrated at a world level, at a global level and, is thus becoming independent of purely national constraints.

The international division of labor is becoming independent is not 1 between I mean this into what is that international division of labor, I mean underdeveloped countries like India, we provide cheap labor and developed countries like the countries of Europe, or North America I mean united states of America they try to provide capital ok, let that is the international division of labor ok. Is not one between whole national units, but if anything 1 between large scale corporate and financial corporate operations, which link activities of production and distribution on a global state ok.

And Lash and Urrys observation that that differences between regions in the North declining and differences between them are increasing, then mix rather more sense. In a country such as Ireland which orthodoxy dependency theory is likely to classify a semi peripheral effectively an admission of inability to explain its situation, we can then see on the one hand a managerial and political elite, closely integrated with an Anglo American income European elite of the same kind and, on the other hand local populations such as the Dublin working class of the farmers of the West whose labor is no longer needed and who are therefore, dumped.

The midlands and the urban middle classes are then used as producers and consumers of a capitalist culture which is international not so much; in terms of its content as in terms of the social relations that it involves our consumption of Australian soap opera the global consumption of Irish music and so on. Lash and Urry has describing disorganization, experienced at national level this relates to the reorganization at a world level described by Immanuel Wallersteins Albert with different timeframes for Lash and Urry this process is happening now for Wallersteins things have been like this.

Since the 17th century or so, that is what periodization 3 periods Wallersteins provided we have already discussed this ok. And the implications of these are that we need to describe this capitalist world system capitalist world economy in Wallersteins terminology as a society, in other words as an interconnection of economic political and cultural activity.

Accounts which focus simply on the changing nature of western society are then inadequate insufficient and, we need a theory of society which can manage not just to

make the connection between poverty exploitation and war in the third world and privilege in the first world, but which can also identify the clothes interconnections between the third world elites and the ex colonial powers.

For example, and for which the third world within the first, world and in the ghettos of North America for example is not on marginalize, what we can now identify as a precursor of this idea was developed by Antonio Gramsci ok, in his attempts to think about the creation of a unitary Italian state, our national culture and in particular about the economic relations between the developed countries and that and the underdeveloped countries.

It may also be worth pointing out, that this approach has the great advantage of not marginalizing warfare not welfare warfare ok, and international relations more generally as external relations between two separate societies, nation states and modern warfare and then events within a single society. That is how, perhaps this new totality that we are trying to forge ok, this such alliance that we are going to make may constitute or maybe holistic may constitute totality.

Then we will we will also try to evaluate it in terms of suppose reflexivity and rationality together; obviously, not really theorized within this account, you can always look at the lecture zone Anthony Giddens and Jurgen Habermas on this score on this on the reflections on reflectivity, and rationality in terms of the perspective drawn from new totality ok. Now let us discuss quickly social movements,.

I mean what are the arguments which are which can be posed as internal dynamics of capitalism, internal contradictions of capitalism ok. One may say that you know we have moved we have may be transition from working class pressure to welfare state, we have made a transition from fordist to post fordist methods of production, we have made a transition from Taylorization of capitalism to managerial revolution and so on, I mean if you if you look at the texts of texts, I mean these texts like Daniel belles the coming the post industrial society manual castles whirlwind Tufflers the third wave and so on, I mean network society, information society post industrial society and so on ok.

I mean these such there is such transitions from industrial to post industrial society, or the transition from fordist methods of production to post fordist methods of production ok, or the working class pressure to welfare state ok, both involve increased organization,

growth of the new middle class of individuals selling labour power and knowledge post for credentialization of all these I mean you can look at the will Lash and Urry argues Lash and Urrys arguments about the making of service class, in this information society.

This can then be thought of in terms of the development of a service class not people, but not people in services, or in terms of the increasing power of intellectuals. And post industrial society or information society has brought about, or has been responsible for the emergence of this class called service class.

Both state as well as capital, increasingly organized by directive, or theoretical intellectuals with educational credentials, it can be thought of in terms of foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge that power is exercised everywhere, or can be found everywhere for example, Conrad and Delaney I mean in their work the intellectuals on the road to class powers, it has I mean very seem similar analysis that you will get. So, far as Eastern Europe in the development of state managerial class and party intelligence, I mean intelligence here within a political party.

You can make compatible analysis between Foucault on the one hand and Conrad and Delaney on the other ok. And this becomes disorganizing in many ways, it is notable effects such as capital becomes internationalized, which at least relative autonomy of managerial class, there is increasing role of education and credentialized knowledge in social stratification and relations of power. And there is increasing fragmentation of culture ok. We do not see any in the culture we see fragmented cultures, I mean there is nothing called the culture, there is nothing called cultural superiority or so, ok.

Each every culture is similar every culture is unique in its own that is what postmodern cultural production has taught us and, there is a generation of new social movements that we have seen, that as I have mentioned it to mentioned earlier, that since the 1970s or so, these narratives about workers movements that has not simply included industrial working class, but also peasantry women environmental groups ecologists and so ok.

And all of these whether capital becomes internationalized with at least relative autonomy of managerial class, or increasing role of education, or credentialized knowledge in social stratification and power relations and, increasing fragmentation of culture I mean generation of new social movements all of these relate to increasing significance of intellectuals in Gramscis sense of theorizing and organizing activities,

that is why gram refer to the significance of the role of organic intellectuals in party building in carrying out social and political revolution.

Lash and Urrys account does not really theorize that division between capital and state service classes and, simply treat new social movements as effect of rise of service class. This runs into difficulty that their major enemies typically managers and bureaucrats. So, that simple account of new social movements as social movement of service class gets us nowhere, I mean what is the basis of new social movements here is has to be interrogated ok.

Then what we generally find that as (Refer Time: 31:50) mention that new that the base of new social movements is human services intelligence here ok. This is better in that it includes such as professional says such as I mean professionals such as journalists, therapists and so on, but it is not explained why for example, doctors are massively underrepresented, more importantly it is not clear why human services intelligences should form new social movements, or white human services intelligence here should form the base foundation of new social movements.

Advantages of such accounts include greater role of human agency ok, there is an emphasis on unintended consequences of for example, managerialism or welfare state and so, on and the role of the state and cultural capital or the role of knowledge becomes central elements of discussion.

Now, even if we have to evaluate this account, that there is continued difficulty over contingency, or necessity and that difference, or otherwise made by human agency, I mean there is a tendency tendency for accounts to fossilize into discussion of objectively necessary developments in which human agencies merely a conveyor belt.

Secondly, for example, feminism only appears in guise of new social movements and, hence effectively subsumed under ecology peace movements and so, on or peasantry clearly there is a relationship both with other new social movements and with for example, the development of welfare state rise of female intelligence here and so on, but this account is not adequate and has nothing to say about patriarchal organization of society.

That is why there is all the more and urgent need to make such integration possible. Otherwise it will be unsustainable it will be untenable ok, we must make an attempt to integrate the concerns raised by the opponents of critical modernist paradigm in sociology ok, on the one hand and the proponents of and the and the concerns also raised by the proponents of critical modernist paradigm in sociology ok.

In this lecture what we have discussed, we have we have tried to look at how a new totality can be forced ok, what are the responses or how the proponents of critical modernist paradigm in sociology responded to the concerns raised by feminists post structuralist post modernists and scholars drawn from cultural studies.

The empirical responses to the post modernists and, also the theoretical basis that is why we will discuss Marx very very carefully ok, Marx is account of the theory of capitalism and so on. And then we try to evaluate such new totality against the backdrop of those four critical pillars of modernity, namely holism, or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements.

In the next lecture, we are going to discuss radicalized modernity and, then we will discuss Indian case and, then we will try to somehow. Now, we are left with three more lectures one we will discuss radicalized, modernity, then modernity in India, I mean India is reflections on modernity and, then we will try to sum up the entire course through 7 different modules ok.

Thank you.