

Sociological Perspectives on Modernity
Dr. Sambit Mallick
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati

Lecture – 03
Thematic Preliminaries III

Welcome to the third lecture of the mooc sponsored course on sociological perspectives on modernity. In the second lecture in the last lecture we have discussed the nature of sociological theory.

(Refer Slide Time: 00:44)

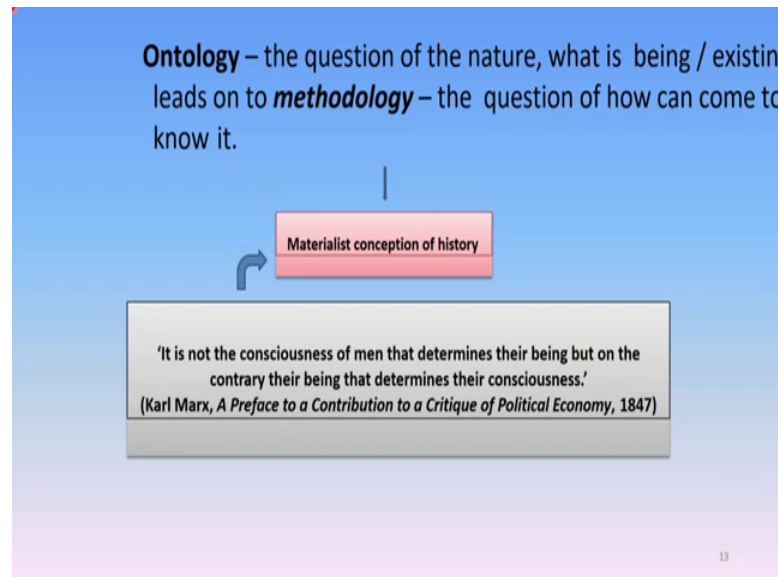


I mean sociological theory consists of perspectives on the nature of the social world. When I say the nature of the social world, they do not I mean it does not refer to the laws of society. Rather the nature of the social world represents concepts ideas and perspectives which are transferable from one context to another making a relevant distinction between substantive concepts on the one hand and formal concepts on the other. What are substantive concepts? Substantive concepts are derived from the specific contexts, particular contexts; whereas, formal concepts can mediate between specific contexts on the one hand and general contexts on the other. I mean I refer to Glaser and Strauss's works here.

Because what we are interested in is the social the interactive and the communicable. I mean, these are statements when we say nature of the social world I mean statements

about the social world they are not isolated categories. They are very much embedded in our society in our culture and so on. Then we have discussed ontology I mean the question of the nature.

(Refer Slide Time: 02:19)



I mean, what is being what is existing which leads them to methodology, I mean the question of how we can come to know it. And the method that we used we have used till now there is the method of sociological imagination by C Wright Mills. And when we when we related to these ontological questions what is being what is existing it leads us to reflect on Marxist materialist conception of history. I mean, it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary their being they determines their consciousness.

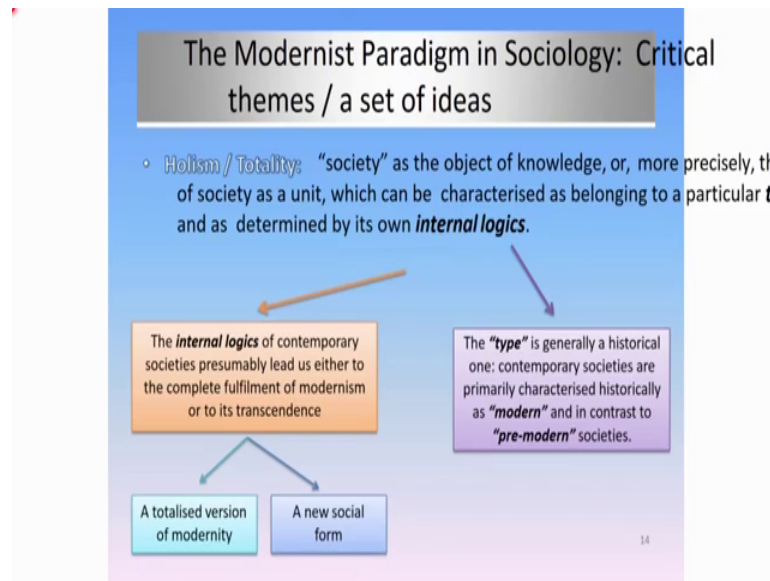
I mean matter is prior to the formation of ideas. And then then we discussed the lay out how we are going to approach the critical modernist paradigm in sociology or in sort critical modernity. This is then let us discuss in today's lecture we are going to discuss the critical themes or critical set of ideas which are very much embedded in the modernist paradigm in sociology. I have said a few things about sociological theory, and also a few things about the critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

I mentioned the central themes central pillars of critical modernism in the very beginning, they are holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements, but without really saying adequately about them. What I want to try and do now is took I am

trying to do I am trying to provide an outline of critical modernism as a set of ideas, as a set of themes.

Let us start with start with holism or totality. I mean what is holism or totality that we have discussed.

(Refer Slide Time: 05:14)



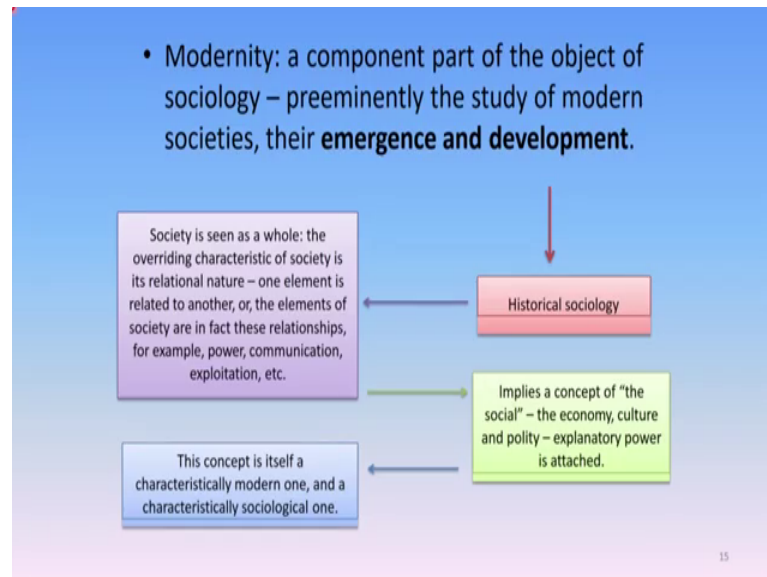
The society as the object of knowledge or more precisely the idea of society as a unit, which can be characterized as belonging to a particular type, and as determined by it is own internal logics. Now what we will see? I mean the initial and ultimately central idea of sociological modernism is that of holism or totality.

Of society as the object of knowledge or more precisely, the idea of society as a unit as a single unit which can be characterized as belonging to a particular type, and as determined by it is own internal logics. Then what do we mean by a particular type? What is the type? The type which contemporary societies are seen as belonging to in this approach is generally a historical one. That is to say contemporary societies are primarily characterized historically as modern and in contrast to pre-modern societies.

The internal logics of such societies presumably lead us if they lead anywhere at all of course, either to the complete fulfillment of modernism or to it is transcendence; if it is, if I mean there are 2 2 dimensions that we can look at. One is complete fulfillment of modernity and secondly, it may it may lead us to it is to do complete transcendence. It

will not be your complete fulfillment of modernity. That at the I mean in other words at the end of the road is either a totalized version of modernity. On the one hand, and the new social form on the other; this is very important.

(Refer Slide Time: 07:54)



Modernity in other words is a component part of the object of sociology. And it is in this sense that that we are told that sociology is pre-eminently the study of modern societies their emergence and development sociology, I mean in this paradigm is preeminently historical sociology.

When I say it is preeminently historical sociology in fact, C Wright Mills Dwelt much on historical sociology in his book. The sociological imagination if you look at the first part I mean the promise the first section. The promise, I mean he is dwelt much on he is dwelt much upon historical sociology. I mean, but there are other components which need equal stress. Society is seen as a whole, what does it mean? Not that it cannot be subdivided or there would be little enough to say it.

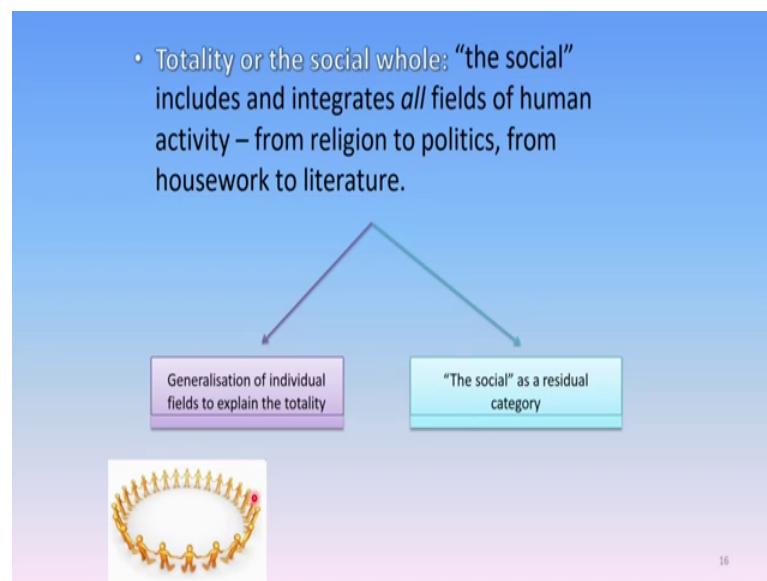
It when I say society is seen as a whole in terms of historical sociology, I mean it implies that the overriding characteristic of society is it is relational nature. One element is related to another or the elements of society are in fact, these relationships for example, power communication exploitation and so on. We might we might think of these relationships in a static way as a system of interactions connecting an entire society at a at a given point of time, at a given point in time.

We are likely to describe I mean, we are likely to describe such a system as a structure. Or we might think of these relationships in a historical sense. As a series of processes which interact with one another and link a society to itself over time and across space. In either case it is these interactions, I mean the idea of society has composed lot of units, but of relationships.

When we talk about society individual and so on, they are not units of study, rather we are trying to dwell upon the kind of relationships that they forge which enables us to think of society as a whole. In either case, we are likely to explain social change in terms of the internal logics of these systems or structures or processes. But all of these implies a concept of the social. Whether or not this is the word used or we shall see that culture politics economics are often transferred on to the social.

That is to say, they are given the same extension and range of explanatory power that we associate with the concept of the social. The concept is itself a characteristically modern one and as sociology is a modern activity, this concept is also characteristically or sociological one. If you look at this it is not only characteristically a modern one, but also characteristically a sociological. It is also one which most discussions of sociology find difficult to explain.

(Refer Slide Time: 12:03)



What I want to suggest here what I what I want to suggest here is that the reason for this that the social is coextensive with sociology. So, that there is a bootstrap problem or a

paradigm shift. I mean, paradigms also make changes. I mean we tend to witness shifts in paradigms. I mean, this is what I want to suggest. I mean, the reason for this is that the social is coextensive with sociology.

So, that there is a paradigm shift involved here properly understood; however, the issue is not so much to define the nature of the social, because that is a problem within individual theories. It is to define the scope of the theoretical blank with specific concepts of the social are to fill. This blank then is clearly that of totality or the social whole.

I mean the social precisely, the social is precisely that which includes and integrates all fields of human activity from religion to politics from household to literature and so on. It will then not surprise us that we sometimes find these individual fields being generalized to explain the totality or that we occasionally find the social becoming a residual category of that which cannot be handled by the concepts of the other humanities or social sciences. It is characteristic of sociology.

In other words, not to be satisfied with concepts and theories which leave blanks or fields to which they cannot be applied. And I mean what I refer to here is that an ideal sociological theory would be a theory of everything or at least of at least a theory of the totality of shared human experiences. And there are strong arguments to suggest that the 2 are identical.

We will get into this these debates on totality or the social whole, I mean a little further I mean when we when we say it an ideal sociological theory, would be a theory of everything. Or at least the or at least the sociological theory must be a theory of totality of shared human experiences, when I say shared human experiences our experiences (Refer Time: 15:27) in relation to other people's experiences. And there are strong arguments to suggest that the 2 are identical.

We must what we have discussed in holism or totality, that a holism or totality suggests or refers to the idea that that society is treated as the object of knowledge or more precisely the idea of society as a single unit which can be characterized as belonging to a particular type, and as determined by it is own internal logics, I mean the type is generally a historical one historically conditioned.

I mean, on the basis of which we say contemporary societies are primarily characterized historically as modern in contrast to pre-modern societies. And the internal logics, when we say I mean internal logics of contemporary societies presumably leads either to the complete fulfillment of modernism if it leads us to the complete fulfillment of modernism, then it leads us to a totalized version of modernity. And if it leads us if the internal logics lead us to it is transcendence.

I mean contemporary societies undergo transcendence, then a new social form is arrived at I mean modernity in this sense is a component part of the object of sociology preeminently the study of modern societies, when I say study of modern societies I must look at the way modern societies have emerged and developed over a period of time. When I say the emergence and development of modern societies I refer to a sub discipline within sociology that is historical sociology.

I mean society is seen as a whole the I mean when I say society is seen as a whole I mean the overriding characteristic of society is its relational nature one element is related to another or the elements of society are in fact, these relationships for example, power communication exploitation and so on. And this concept is itself a characteristically modern one and therefore, a characteristically sociological one.

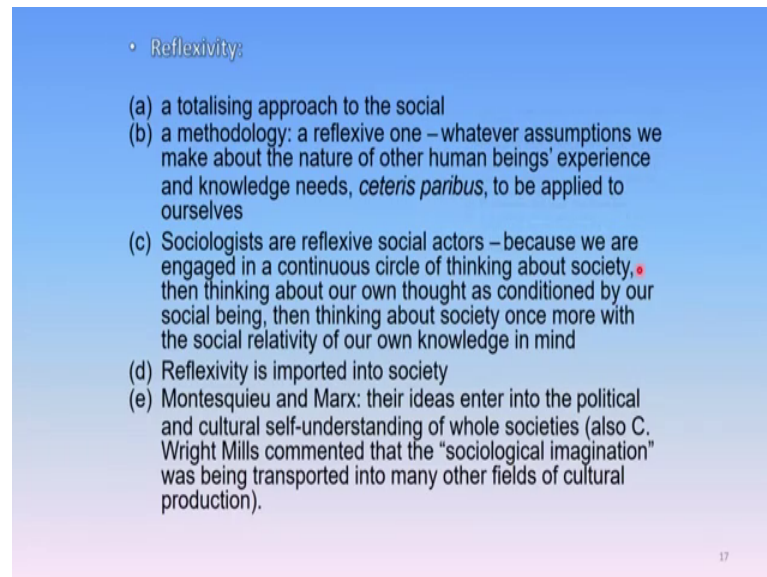
Then we then what we what we have discussed the social, I mean totality or the social whole the social includes and integrates all fields of human activity ranging from religion to politics from household to literature and so on, I mean it takes 2 forms this when I say the social includes and integrates, all fields of human activity and creativity I mean generalization of individual fields to explain the totality and secondly, the sociology or residual category.

Then if I say residual category of that which cannot be handled by the concepts of the other humanities and social sciences, it is characteristic of sociology in other words not to be satisfied with concepts. And theories which leave blanks or fields to which they cannot be applied, and an ideal sociological theory would be a theory of everything.

Or at least a theory of the totality of shared human experiences our experiences (Refer Time: 19:12) other people's experiences. And then from here from holism or totality we are going to move on to reflectivity. Now when we discuss reflexivity, the first element of such paradigm then is a totalizing approach to the social when I say

totalizing approach to the social. This then implies as I have suggested a methodology which is a reflexive one in the I mean in the modernist paradigm, in the critical modernist paradigm this methodology is primarily reflexive one.

(Refer Slide Time: 20:02)



- Reflexivity:
 - (a) a totalising approach to the social
 - (b) a methodology: a reflexive one – whatever assumptions we make about the nature of other human beings' experience and knowledge needs, *ceteris paribus*, to be applied to ourselves
 - (c) Sociologists are reflexive social actors – because we are engaged in a continuous circle of thinking about society, then thinking about our own thought as conditioned by our social being, then thinking about society once more with the social relativity of our own knowledge in mind
 - (d) Reflexivity is imported into society
 - (e) Montesquieu and Marx: their ideas enter into the political and cultural self-understanding of whole societies (also C. Wright Mills commented that the "sociological imagination" was being transported into many other fields of cultural production).

17

I mean, it implies that whatever assumptions that we make about the nature of other human being's experience and knowledge needs *ceteris paribus* to be applied to ourselves. When I say I mean *ceteris paribus* I mean it means other things remaining constant. I mean, when we say this in the modernist paradigm, this methodology is primarily a reflexive one. It implies that whatever assumptions we make about the nature of other human being's experience and knowledge means, other things remaining constant to be applied to ourselves.

In this sense sociologists are a reflexive social actors, because we are engaged in a continuous circle of thinking about society. Then thinking about our own thought as conditioned by our social beings, then thinking about society once more, with the social relativity of our knowledge in mind. This is very important; if we can be then then what we have to do as sociologists who are reflexive social actors? At least 3 things, please keep in mind. I mean, first we are engaged in a continuous circle of thinking about society and it is constituents. And it is relationship with individuals. And then thinking secondly, then thinking about our own thought, our own thinking as conditioned as conditioned by our social existence. And thirdly then thinking about society once again

with the social relativity of our knowledge in mind own knowledge in mind, because our knowledge is also conditioned by social relativity.

Our knowledge is also not absolute. Our knowledge is absolute was a pre-modern thinking as a part of pre-modern thinking. But our knowledge is conditioned by social historic and historical relativity is a modernist construal of is a modernist construal of the way we treat ourselves as reflexive social actors.

And if we can be reflexive social actors; however, it follows that others can be too reflexive social actors. And sociology is itself one of the key means by which reflexivity is imported into society. This is dramatically visible in in authors like montesquieu and Marx, whose ideas entering to the political and cultural self-understanding of whole societies. But it is also a more general and slower moving phenomenon. Already in 1959, I mean, in in the sociological imagination, C Wright Mills commented that the sociological imagination was being transported into many other fields of cultural production.

I mean I cannot understand society if I isolate myself from the society. Let that then then this is a this is a more reflexive position, because I am also a part of that society to make sense of the society. Our economy our culture our quality and so on. I want to remind you at this point that that the substantive definition of sociology that we have adopted.

Excludes a purely disciplinary emphasis here to the extent that non-academics have concerned themselves with the sociological problematic that they become sociologists for example, Marx was not an in in a strict disciplinary is disciplinary sense. It he was not a part of academic world. I mean to put it succinctly sociology as a social activity arises precisely at the point where sociological thinking becomes need felt by individuals, whether or not they go on to develop an academic discourse of the matter.

(Refer Slide Time: 25:28)

- Sociology: a social activity – significance of philosophical and sociological thinking
- Social reflexivity – transition *from* religious or other norms as one from their apparently natural and certainly taken-for-granted status *to* a situation where they become external roles that we play in a more or less consciously cynical manner *to* one where they are questioned in philosophical terms, where their existence is explained in terms of a theory of society, and where they are replaced by a way of living that we feel we have chosen for ourselves.
- Social reflexivity needs far more ideological work to maintain on our own part than pre-modern ways of thinking.

I mean therein lies the significance of philosophical and sociological thinking. There is then a general increase in in social reflexivity, and this is one of the characteristic features of modernity. You will recognize this, if you think of the transition from religious or other norms as one from their apparently natural or certainly taken for granted status to a situation where they become external roles that we play in a more or less consciously cynical manner to one where they are questioned in philosophical terms where their existence is explained in terms of a theory of society. And where they are replaced by a way of living that we fill we have chosen for ourselves. The then it is very important to understand that the way we use social reflexivity.

I mean, it is a it refers to a transition from religious or the norms as one from there apparently natural and certainly, taken for granted status earlier in the pre-modern era. When I say pre-modern era, I mean pre-enlightenment era pre-industrial revolution era. I mean religion and certain other norms value systems. They were they were considered natural. They were considered taken for granted status. I mean, but social reflexivity in the lengths of critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

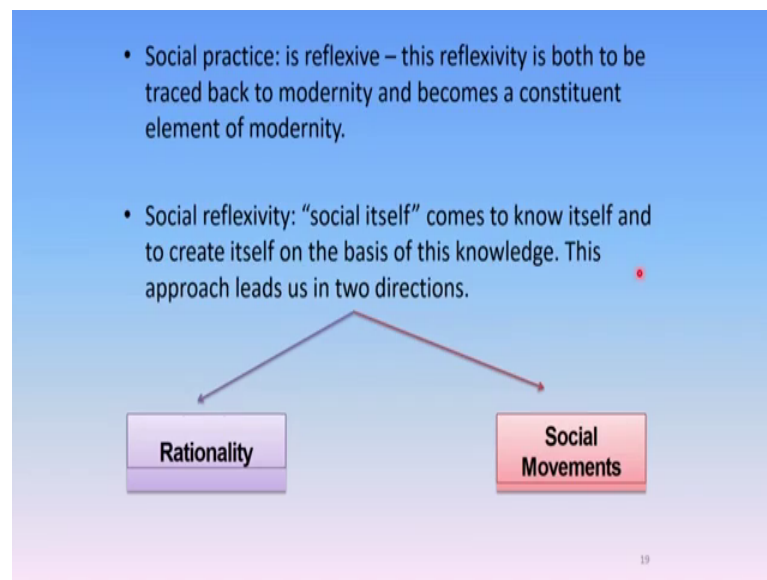
Replaces this taken for granted status of religion and other norms and values to a situation where they become external roles that we play in a more or less consciously cynical manner to one where they are questioned in philosophical and sociological terms. Where there it is where there existence is explained in terms of a theory of society. And

when and where they are replaced by a way of living that we fill we have chosen for ourselves. This is very important.

Then and which in any case needs I mean if I say that where they were they are replaced by a way of living that we feel we have chosen for ourselves, I mean which in any case needs far more ideological work to maintain on our own part then pre modern ways of thinking. Many other ideas of reflexivity exist and we will come to them we will come to them in in during the course in the lectures to follow when we will be discussing more and more on the ways different streams of thought have worked on modernity, either directly or indirectly.

Sociological practice then is reflexive in nature. And this reflexivity is both to be traced back to modernity and becomes a constituent element of modernity. Social reflexivity however, implies that society itself comes to know itself, and to create itself on the basis of this knowledge. And this approach leads us I mean, this social practice which I said is a reflexive one.

(Refer Slide Time: 29:36)



And this reflexivity is both to be traced back to modernity. And becomes the constituent element of modernity I mean, such social reflexivity I mean social I mean society itself comes to know itself and to create itself on the basis of this knowledge about social reflexive.

(Refer Slide Time: 30:06)

- Rationality: reason, self-understanding of modern society, application of understanding
- A description of the way in which we attempt to understand society – **NOT** simply pragmatically, **NOT** in terms of everyday commonsense, **NOT** religiously, **NOT** inarticulately.
- Society can be understood in terms of reason.
- Rationality: what it **does**, not it **is**




Image Courtesy: <https://www.shutterstock.com>

And this approach leads us in 2 directions one is rationality and the other social movements. We will go one by one. First there is the there is the development of what we call rationality. This is a critical theme, this is a central theme in the self understanding of modern society, I mean in other words in sociology.

And society is variously said to be rational in a number of different senses to be proceeding towards rationality. Or to be something which can be brought to rationality. I mean nearing very close to rationality. It will be apparent that despite the negative loading, the word rationality has acquired and the positive loading of reflexivity, the 2 concepts in fact, presuppose one another I mean.

What are those 2 concepts? Know one is understanding and this and secondly, application of understanding. I mean rationality in a as a whole refers to, what is rationality which is based on reason self-understanding of modern society and application of understanding. There are 2 2 important elements which must be kept in mind that that they are understanding.

And not only understanding but also the application of that understanding; that is why rationality is also; however, of a description of the ways in which we attempt to understand society. Not simply pragmatically not in terms of everyday common sense not religiously not inarticulately. The claim of I mean the claim of sociology and of modernity at this point are not to be distinguished, are not to be distinguished I mean the

claim of sociology and of course, one of modernity is that society can be understood in terms of reason. And this is fairly; obviously, a black box definition of rationality. It says what it does, but not what it is. That is why rationality is that what it does not what it is. Then then it is thinking capacity is more important than it is existence. That is why descartes said rene descartes the founder of rationalist philosophy of science. That that I think therefore, I am I doubt therefore, I am cogito ergo sum I think I doubt I interrogate I question.

Therefore, I am my entire existence is contingent upon the way I think. This is what rationality in terms of cartesian philosophy of science. In fact, the descriptions that I have given you we have discussed earlier about holism and holism or totality on the one hand and reflexivity on the other. As well as what I am going to say about social movements, I mean are equally black box accounts.


Although this may be less obvious this is because of the nature of the modernist paradigm itself. And it is a statement it is; obviously, a statement of what the important problem areas are, not a resolution of this of those problems. So, these descriptions are in effect questions which modernist approaches set out to answer. We will come across a number of different ways of thinking about what rationality is in the lectures to follow is during the course.

Then if I say if I as I have already said that the society itself comes to know itself and to create itself on the basis of this knowledge on social reflexivity, and this approach leads us 2 directions. One is rationality and the other social movements, then then if rationality is what it does, and not it is and rationality suggests that society can be understood in terms of reasoning capacity in terms of understanding and not only understanding, but also the application of understanding, then what do social movements signify.

The other implication of the statement that that modern society at least is self-knowing and self-creating is that we need to specify what this implies outside the narrow field of academic sociology. What I want to argue here is that just as there is an everyday sociological imagination there is an everyday sociological practice too.

(Refer Slide Time: 35:49)

- **Social movements:** self-knowing and self-creating (outside the domain of academic discourse)
- Sociological imagination and everyday sociological practice: a practical attempt to understand and transform society as a whole.
- Old and new social movements
- Women, ecology and peace movements
- Link between agency and structure – define social formations
- Practical sociology



21

What is that everyday sociological practice? I mean, it refers to a practical attempt to understand and transform society as a whole. I mean I not only attempt to understand society, but also attempt to transform society. That is why once an in the in in thesis on fall back Marx wrote, the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways the point; however, is to change it that is why it does not imply that he does not attach significance to interpretation is important understanding is very important, but how to change the society how to change our economy how to change our culture how to change our quality. That is very important to us. This this the most important form that exercise of understanding and transforming the society as a whole takes.

And a characteristic feature of modernity is that of social movements. We not only know we not only make an attempt to know ourselves, but also create ourselves. These are conventionally divided into old and new social movements. Primarily to start with class movements, I mean primarily meaning the workers movements, end news on the one hand and new social movements on the other.

Which is normally specified to mean the womens movements, ecological movements, peace movements, environmental movements, although in practice most theories are developed during the ecology movement in mind. In the sociological paradigm of modernity, social movements are classically seen as the link between agency and structure. That defines social formations in the in that modernity, capitalism, post

industrialism or whatever can be arguably derived as a theory from the observation of it is characteristic movements.

For example, of citizenship of class of knowledge and so on; this is not only because social movements come from particular types of social relations of production, but also because they create new forms of social relation. This is very important. They are not only the indicator of the nature of the society that formed them. They are themselves involved in reshaping the society. When I say they are involved who all are involved I mean both agency as well as structure. In layman's language agency is nothing but individual action, social action. Structure I mean it is the society as a whole. When I say this; when I say that no we must try to define social formations by linking agency with structure, these movements as practical sociology have a key interaction with academic sociology.

And I have already argued that that many of it not most of the classic social theorists have been practically or intellectually engaged with the social movements of that day. In other words, social movements like society itself or any individual social actor are both the objects of knowledge as well as creators of knowledge. I mean, self-knowing as well as self-creating. I mean, what we do in in this lecture what we have we have done? We have quickly, we have tried to capture the central themes, the critical themes, critical set of ideas, which are very much embedded in the modernist critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

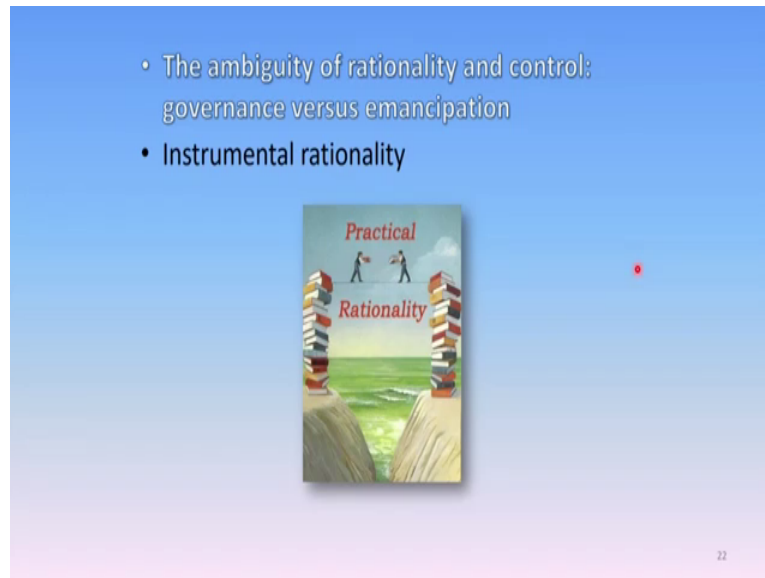
We started with holism or totality. Then we discussed reflexivity. Then we discussed rationality and now social movements. These 4 ideas holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements represent fields of intellectual conflict within the critical modernist paradigm in sociology. And competing theories offer different concepts to fill these fields.

And not only not only competing theories offer different concepts to fill these fields, but also, they provide competing theories also provide different answers to these questions. And critics to modernism in on the other hand argue that the questions themselves are the wrong ones and offer alternative ways of defining the problem, and even alternative problems. It is this modernist and anti-modernist responses to these questions answering the question or rejecting it or proposing the new one that we will be looking at in this

course. This is extremely important to understand the basic phenomena of or the basic or the central pillars of modernity or critical modernist paradigm in sociology.

(Refer Slide Time: 42:05)

- The ambiguity of rationality and control: governance versus emancipation
- Instrumental rationality



Once you, once we tend to look at this there is I mean, if there is the this is a debate on these are these are different debates on modernity.

We are trying to debate the controversies which are very much involved in in the construction of modernity, then there is there is a we have to question first of all we have to mention let me let me mention it very quickly that even these central pillars of modernity may be questioned. What constitutes modernity? What are the central pillars of modernity? They themselves be questioned will be questioned there is also a scope to interrogate the interrogator.

There is also a scope to reject all the options. There is also a scope to provide alternatives. There is also a scope to poach questions to the answers already given. Then there is an ambiguity of rationality and control I mean in a way there is an ambiguity governance and emancipation. I want to make one last remark about the paradigm that I have just discussed.

At the end of the twentieth century I mean in at the beginning of the 20 first century this century, we are accustomed to think of we are accustomed to thinking of rationality in negative terms, and to identifying with identifying rationality with instrumental

rationality, what is that instrumental rationality. It is the rationality instrumental rationality refers to the rationality of defining means to meet certain ends. And this is the sense in which we say rationalization and mean unemployment.

This is interesting I mean in itself what this critique points to is the extreme success of this particular mode of rationality, it can be applied successfully to virtually any end any goal. Instrumental rationality is conventionally opposed to substantive rationality, a rationality of ends rather than means or more exactly a way of thinking and doing things which is rational is it is result in it is results.

But not necessarily in it is methods. Substantive rationality aims at the means to achieve an end. What may be now what are what should be the methods that we must follow. Gandhi followed substantive rationality as well as instrumental rationality. Both his for him the means are as important as ends.

Whereas, substantive rationality emphasizes more on means instrumental rationality emphasizes more on ends goals, objectives, aims and so on. We will discuss instrumental rationality a little longer when we discuss max webers reflects are known or max webers typology of social acts. He discussed 4 types of social action. One traditional social action, two effective or emotive social action, three value oriented social action, and 4th goal oriented social action.

And goal oriented social action is alternatively known as instrumental rationality. And substantive rationality always attempts to make a critique to critique of tries to bring about a critique to instrumental rationality. And the weakness in this simple critique of instrumental rationality is that it is in philosophical terms a purely idealist one. It assumes that a particular set of ideas or a particular way of thinking produces a particular social reality.

What those ideas produce? What do these those ideas produce? Is that particular set of ideas or a particular way of thinking, it produces a particular social reality, then what those particular ideas produce? What those particular ideas produce; however, is geared to certain ends and the content of those ends and their sociological origins are often left out of sight. Thus, we treat though the we treat the cases of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As examples of instrumental rationality, but the goals for which these were instruments on the one end the addition of ethnic identity at the expense of all those defined as outsiders a definition which for all practical purposes remains a key part of federal German law nationally. Or the intention of defeating Japan prior to the entry of the Soviet Union into the war in the east.

I mean, introducing a logic of containing communism which remained operative up to. And including the introduction of cruise missiles to Europe are often taken for granted and this critique this critique of instrumental rationality becomes more serious when it is combined with the argument that scientific discourses are discourses of governance that they contribute to the definition of problems the organization of relations of power and thus to the control of their subjects. This critique of instrumental rationality makes the critique of instrumental reason that much more substantial by specifying the origin of the substantively irrational definition of aims reason in the service of domination and exploitation.

This is, this has been the negative contribution of sociological thinking to modernity. Most visibly perhaps in the discourse on modernization which I have already which I have already brought about a critique to I mean, what needs to be said is this is the following I mean sociology and in particular it is rationality is certainly not neutral technology, but rather it is structured in the service of power.

That is why technology is neutral see whether a technology is neutral or not it all depends on upon the way a specific technology has been designed, and that specific technology is controlled. Neutrality of a technology depends on design and control. The way public roads in India are constructed design I think, they are anti pedestrian not now I mean not now, but historically. Whenever we talk about technology or machines also, they have the way it is structured it is structured.

In the service of power in contemporary for example, let me give you an example from Europe's approach. In in contemporary Ireland suppose, this this tends to mean a close link with the institutions of the welfare state, and a perspective which typically combines a radical rhetoric of outrage with a practical reformism which double whose double aims are combined what are those double aims double objectives. I mean, to make the system work better and to improve the conditions of those affected by the system. And the net

effect of this this combined of course, is to extend the relations of domination subjugation and exploitation subject and also subjects. The improvements in people's conditions of existence brought about by this kind of top down activity are improvements in terms of the dominant relations of production. And not necessarily in terms of those people's own definition of their own needs.

I mean, an extreme variant of this logic was the American definition of this kind of rationality in the 1960's and 1970's of the needs of the Vietnamese in terms of subjugation of to right wing rather than a left-wing dictatorship even at the cost of the lives of the people. In question a milder example of the same logic is the administrative definition of the needs of travelers in terms of integration into the sedentary community and reforms in health education housing or social welfare which are improvements in terms of these administrative definitions of needs, but not necessarily in terms of the traveler's own definition of their own needs.

This is the major funding alternative to marketing research whose substantive irrationality I am taking for granted. What I want to suggest in a position to the generalized critique of instrumental rationality or instrumental reason is that this is precisely what happens when sociology becomes an instrument in hands of the state. One must remember that we cannot afford to make our discipline whether it is sociology or political science or philosophy or literature.

Or sciences engineering humanities and social sciences, we should not late them be at the service of the state for which not simply service, but at the beck and call of the state. We should not do that the alternative. Then what is the alternative? The alternative that it that it implies a radical restructuring of the nature of the sociological technology involved so that it becomes a convivial technology in in even religious terminology. That is precisely the link with social movements in this case the use of social theory to articulate alternative needs and alternative possibilities for their satisfaction.

The ambiguities what I say the ambiguity of rationality and control I mean governance versus emancipation the ambiguities involved in this case are clear, but a sociological practice determined by an interaction with the central institutions of exploitation and domination in welfare state capitalism faces ambiguities of quite a different order. This sociology such practice of sociology does not cease to be rational or indeed reflexive or

nor does it cease to be involved in power relations, such sociology as practice or just practical sociology.

It is it does not cease to be rational does not stop to be rational. It does not stop to be reflexive it does not stop to be involved in power relations. Any social movement is at least in part an exercise in hegemony in Gramscian sense, Antonio Gramsci who is who was the founder of the communist party of Italy, he wrote in a in his present notebooks, I am using the concept of hegemony in Gramscian sense, and thus I mean any social movement is at least in part an exercise in hegemony.

And thus, involves the organization of power via through intellectual and cultural dominance; however, social movements are also end to a degree unknown in capitalist forms of the state movements towards emancipation. We need governance, but we also, but what is more important? What do we get with good governance? Good governance cannot be bereft of the idea of emancipation freedom.

That is why I repeat social movements are also and are also to a degree unknown in capitalist forms or the state, movements towards emancipation and there is an appropriation of sociological thought by all those involved rather than simply by the elite. This this interaction with social movements, this interaction with social movements and as far as I can see only this interaction is what keeps us becoming managers and civil servants.

It is also what keeps sociology from degenerating into the positivism and lack of reflexivity that characterizes what Raymond Williams describes as a basic orientation to the world as available raw material which treats nature other people and finally, the self as the objects of domination and subordination and exploitation.

If the primary source of positivist modernism is common sense as the ideology of relationships of domination, then the primary source of critical modernism lies directly or indirectly in the theory and practice of social movements which challenge this domination. Now in this lecture what we have done, what we have discussed in this lecture? We have discussed the central pillars of modernity; I mean the central pillars in the critical modernist paradigm in sociology, holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements.

And then we in in light of these 4-central philosophical and political foundations of modernity, namely holism or totality, reflexivity, rationality and social movements we have tried to encapsulate the ambiguity of rationality and control governance versus emancipation.

What we talk of rationality is precisely instrumental rationality, but keeping the spirit of keeping the this spirit of the dialectic, or the dialectical relationship between substantive rationality and instrumental rationality, I mean substantive rationality aims towards means or methods, whereas, instrumental rationality aims towards ends results, goals, aims, objectives and so on. In the next lecture we will start with the classic statements of sociological modernism in through the works of Marx and weber.

Thank you.