WEBER'S METHODOLOGICAL CONCEPTION TODAY

Dalibor Savić, M.A.[1]
Faculty of Political Science
Banja Luka

Abstract:

This paper shall deal with the actuality of Weber's methodological conception. Contrary to frequent interpretations that declare classical sociology legacy obsolete, without offering a valid argument for these qualifications, Weber's methodological conception is presented as a fruitful heuristic framework for addressing the key aporias of modern sociology (e.g. dispute between modernists and postmodernists, relationship of action and structure / subject and object, advantages and disadvantages associated with the usability of qualitative / interpretive and quantitative / positivist approach in the study of social phenomena and processes. In this context, Weber's intellectual legacy should not be understood as a set of ideas that can be reactualized or rejected as needed via model of analogy, but rather as a theoretical and methodological active content that many sociologists (and not only them) use even today as a model and inspiration to understand contemporary social phenomena and processes.

Keywords: Max Weber, methodology of social sciences, aporias of modern sociology, multiple modernity paradigm, MacDonaldization, analytical sociology, interpretive sociology, Charles Ragin's configuration analysis

INTRODUCTION

In searching for *sociology in a new key* Berger and Kellner are largely referring to Weber: "Than again, why Weber?" As seen already, there are several answers to this question, nevertheless the most probable amongst them is the following: because Weber,

---

[1]   Corresponding author: Dalibor Savić, M.A., Faculty of Political Science Banja Luka.
     E-mail: daliborsavic@gmail.com.

more than anyone in the history of this discipline, was passionately and persistently devoted to the task of clarifying the very question of what could be a sociological way of seeing. And precisely this is where, more than to any other characteristics of Weber's sociology, today's sociologists should "return"– therefore, not to return to Weber as much as they should return to "the Weberian Spirit" (Berger & Kellner, 1991: 37). They, obviously, consider *the Weberian Spirit* to be the key for new sociology, but not in the form of presentist reading of Weber, but as a specific way of seeing – the method in the broadest meaning of the word – founded on the position of continuity between classical and contemporary sociology. If we set aside Berger's and Kellner's interpretation of Weber's intellectual legacy, which gets to the heart of Weber's sociological contemporaneous, while at the same time it represents the creative development of his ideas in a phenomenological key, we would choose something more modest, and hopefully more consistent, hermeneutic approach to the above topic. At the same time we will make reference to the *Weberian Spirit*, but without desire to make it more contemporary than it really is.

We think that Weber should be comprehended as *the middleman*[2], thinker whose theoretical and methodological settings transcend narrow paradigmatic and disciplinary divisions characteristic of the discursive space of the social sciences, as they are based on a general approach that does not ask for the origin, but the quality and applicability of ideas. Methodological purists would name such an approach as eclectic, but in Weber's case its comparative advantages are obvious. One should bear in mind that he was *the first sociologist*[3] who stoically confronted numerous aporias which even today characterize social sciences, not regarding them as irreconcilable opposites (e.g. dispute between modernists and postmodernists, the relationship of activity and structure / subject and object, the advantages and disadvantages related to the usability of the qualitative / interpretative and quantitative / positivist approach to the study of social phenomena). Before the analysis of the importance of Weber's methodological principles for overcoming the aforementioned aporias contemporary sociology is facing today, we will take this opportunity to give a brief look on positions of the two leading sociologists today regarding this issue: Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu.

PRESENTNESS OF THE *WEBERIAN SPIRIT*: GIDDENS AGAINST BOURDIEU

Giddens observes Weber's methodological legacy from the perspective of relativization point of view: "I shall not evaluate Weber's version of 'interpretative sociology' here because many critical analyses of it are already available in the literature, as it shall become clearer subsequently, for I regard much of Weber's discussion of the interpretation and explanation of action as obsolete in the light of subsequent developments in the

---

[2]   The aforementioned metaphor we take from Eliaeson. See: Eliaeson, S. (2002): *Max Weber`s Methodologies*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 104-105.

[3]   Despite the generally accepted opinion that Weber is one of the founding fathers of sociology, this definition should be used with caution. More in: Kaesler, D. (2004): „From Academic Outsider to Sociological Mastermind: The Fashioning of the Sociological *Classic* Max Weber" in: *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, http://www.bangladesh-sociology.org

philosophy of method" (Giddens, 1993: 28). Here he relies heavily on Schutz's critique of Weber's ideal-typical settings of social action, which is based on the problematisation of Weber's understanding of intersubjective and intentional nature of human action. Like his role model, Giddens does not notice that the questions of intersubjectivity and intentionality were not in the center of Weber's attention. In fact, he was far more interested in establishing a certain methodological criteria for testability of scientific knowledge, rather than epistemological questions about the possibilities of phenomenological knowledge. Commenting the abovementioned, Eliaeson emphasizes the following: „Even if Weber and Schutz have an obvious common interest in intersubjectivity, they travel only some of the way together. Weber's route is more seminal for the accomplishment intersubjective cumulative knowledge, accessible 'even to Chinese', but at the price of giving up the Icarian ambition of full understanding. Empathy might be indispensable to the practicing psychoanalyst but it is simply not compatible with the firm point of reference required by universally valid science. The utilitarian model of calculated rational economy actor, by contrast, could provide us with the Archimedian point required to advance from primitive cook-book of knowledge" (Eliaeson, 2002: 81).

Unlike Giddens, Bourdieu observes Weber as contemporary, accepting and (or) dismissing his intellectual settings depending on their compliance with his own theoretical and methodological determinations. This is a relationship based on excellent knowledge of Weber's intellectual legacy, but also the importance that the legacy had and has on the development of modern sociology, as well as his personal development in one of the most famous sociologists today. For the purposes of argumentation of above presented claims we shall present two of his statements. The first emphasizes the overall importance of Weber's approach to the problem of conceptualization (of course in a recognizable Bourdieu's reflexive manner): „In distinguishing the *ideal type* from the generic concept obtained by induction, Max Weber was simply trying to make explicit the rules of functioning and the conditions of validity of a procedure which uses even the most positivist, consciously or unconsciously, but which cannot be mastered unless it is used with full awareness of what one is doing" (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, Passeron, 1991: 49-50). Another statement is a part of Bourdieu's answer to the question whether the Weber was an inspiration to his own work, given during the interview under the symbolic title "With Webber against Weber" (said interview represents his intimate confession of his own reception of Weber's intellectual legacy and completely radiates with the *Weberian spirit*): "without any doubt. I have always found Weber inspiring and important. Yet, my work has, from the start, dealt with all sorts of different 'sources'. When I am asked about the development of my work, I cannot overemphasize this point. It is very common to reduce 'Bourdieusian thought' to a few key terms, and usually even just a few book titles, and this then leads to a kind of closure: 'reproduction', 'distinction', 'capital', and 'habitus' – all of these terms are often used in misleading ways, without really understanding what they stand for, and hence they become slogans. In reality, however, these concepts – these frameworks – are only principles for scientific work, which is usually of mere practical nature; they are synthetic or synoptic notions, which serve to provide research programmes with scientific orientations. At the end of the day, the important thing is the research itself, that is, the research on the subject matter itself" (Bourdieu, Schultheis, Pfeuffer, 2011: 117).

WEBERIAN SPIRIT AND
CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY APORIAS

To the main course of our presentation we'll get through the connection of Weberian spirit with current debates about the general character of the social era which we live in. In this respect, we want to present Weber's intellectual legacy as a possible guideline for overcoming paradigmatic dichotomy of modernity-postmodernity. Due to the nature of this work we are not able to engage in detail presentation of theoretical arguments presented by the modernists and postmodernists, and we believe that it is not necessary, because it is a commonly known disagreement within the social sciences.[4] For the same reason, our discussion on the above mentioned topic will be limited to two examples: *the multiple modernities paradigm and* Ritzer's thesis about the McDonaldization of society.

The multiple modernities paradigm represents relatively new approach to the problem of determination of the modernity epoch, which is based on the assumption of different modernities forms existence characteristic for particular civilizations. Representatives of this paradigm, such as Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, Johann Arnason and Peter Wagner, explicitly rule out the Universalist approach to the problem of modernity, not accepting the identification of modernization with Westernization / Americanization. Also, they tend to leave questions related to the interrelationship between traditional, modern and postmodern within particular civilizations opened, observing these categories not as successive developmental stages, but as the trends characteristic of the specific structural and cultural processes.[5] One of the common links that connects the above-mentioned authors is their interest in Weber's intellectual work, especially in his approach to conceptualization through ideal types, or his comparative-historical method in general.

Eisenstadt points to the misinterpretations of Weber, characteristic for the 50s and 60s of the last century, which his ideal-typical settings of formal rationalization overstate into the monolithic modernization theory. In contrast, he believes that the Weber formulated with great success the new cultural program of modernity based on the concept of the future, which implies openness of different options that can be implemented through an autonomous human actions: "The essence of this program is that the premise and legitimity for social, ontological and political order can no longer be taken for granted; thus was developed a very intense reflectivity based on ontological premise, and based on the social and political order of authority - reflexivity, which was shared by the most radical critics of the program, who basically denied the legitimacy of such reflexivity " (Eisenstadt, 2002: 29). In addition, the Eisenstadt emphasizes the impact of Weber's comparative-historical research on the creation of his own methodological approach: "At the same time, I undertook an analysis of the different heterodoxies and their impact on the dynamics of their respective civilizations in a series of researches (in the framework

---

[4] We must emphasize that this is a paradigmatic division to which were not immune many of interpreters of Weber's intellectual legacy either. More in: Turner, C. (1992): *Modernity and Politics in the Work of Max Weber*, London/New York: Routledge, and Bilal Koshul, B. (2005): *Postmodern Significance of Max Weber Legacy: Disenchanting Disenchantment*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan

[5] Compare with: Weber, M. (1997): "Inserted reflection: Theory of degrees and directions of religious rejection of the world" in: *Collected writings on the sociology of religion*, Volume I, Sremski Karlovci: Publishing Bookstore of Zoran Stojanović

of conferences on these topics, organized by a core group under the chairmanship of Professor W. Schluchter) that started with a reexamination of Weber's *The Protestant ethic* and his studies of some of the major civilizations – Jewish, early Christian, Indian, Buddhist, Chinese, and Islamic" (Eisenstadt, 1998: 50). Arnason makes similar observations: "If the impact of capitalist development on the human condition is ultimately unpredictable (as Weber argues in the final section of *The Protestant Ethic*, nobody knows who will inhabit the capitalist cage in the future), a comparison with other trajectories in other settings may at least help to clarify the issues. This position seems to me as distant from the naïve liberal image of a triumphant economic man as it is from the Marxist vision of an anti-capitalist revolution which would complete the self creation of humanity. Weber's awareness of open questions explains the caution of his introductory remarks on the comparative project as a whole. A distinctive trait of Western culture – its rationalizing capacity – is taken as a starting point for considerations on universal history, but it is presented as a developmental direction, rather than as an established model or paradigm... It seems clear that basic assumptions about the meaning and consequences of Western civilizational dynamics were to be put to the test in the course of comparative studies" (Arnason, 2003: 105). Let us mention Wagner's thoughts on the current importance of Weber's intellectual legacy for the paradigm of multiple modernity and for social sciences in general: "Max Weber suggested that 'objectivity' in the social sciences is possible in as far as there is a relatively stable social world and, importantly, some degree of a common interpretation of that world. Whenever 'the light of cultural problems moves on', however, new concepts would need to be elaborated for that changing world… I have similarly argued that the novel experiences call for novel interpretations, and that the concepts elaborated in such interpretations will often be found both viable and useful in as far as they can connect different experiences towards a common interpretation. More specifically, I have suggested that modernity has been undergoing a major transformation in recent decades so that a new interpretation may be required – or at least the question may be raised whether a new interpretation is required" (Wagner, 2008: 233).

Another example of a relatively successful revitalization of the *Weberian spirit* represents a Ritzer's thesis on McDonaldization of society. In its original form thesis of McDonaldization of society, presented as a homonymous essay in 1983 and homonymous book in 1993, reflects Ritzer's ambition to bring Weber in step with time and offer distinctive modernist interpretation of Weber's settings about the process / processes of rationalization. He reserves the basic heuristic potential of the original thesis, but with remark that bureaucratic organizations are no longer paradigmatic example of rationalization, and that this role should be assigned to fast food restaurants; based on that, neologism MacDonaldization emerges as a metaphor related to the first and largest American fast food chain – McDonald's. In this context, Ritzer defines the MacDonaldization as "the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world" (Ritzer, 1999: 15). According to him, there are four basic principles of the organization of work/production in fast food restaurants that simultaneously represent a fundamental dimension of the McDonaldization process:

1. *efficiency* – Finding optimal/best possible means to achieve the set goal,
2. *quantification* – highlighting the measurability and cost-effectiveness as a surrogate for quality,

3. *predictability* – emphasizing discipline, order, systematization, formalization, routine, consistency and methodical activities as a basis for business and personal security,
4. *control* – the effective management of human beings and the development of non-human technology (machines, materials, skills, knowledge, rules, regulations, procedures and methods).

Even though he also mentions the benefits of McDonaldization (different variations on a theme: a greater selection of goods and services, and facilitated ability of their acquisition), Ritzer emphasizes the downside of this process: the irrationality of rationality, i.e. Aspiration of rationally administrated system to produce a series of dehumanizing consequences, which not only undermine human anthropological preconditions (ability of deliberation, skill, creativity, versatility, fellowship with other people), but also the environmental sustainability of the planet Earth (logging for paper production, pollution with polystyrene and other materials, many ecological contradictions that accompany intensive agricultural production and so on) (Ritzer, 1999: 29-33).

It is particularly interesting, from a methodological perspective, that the arguments for the thesis on McDonaldization Ritzer does not base on his own academic research or academic researches of other scientists, but primarily relies on journalistic reports on current developments in various areas of social life (nutrition, popular culture, housing, health, education, sports). The above-mentioned approach, which he will continue to apply in his empirical analyses that will follow, justifies with the explorative character of his own research, or circumstances related with the absence of similar studies within the American academic community; reduced reflective ability of American scientists due to their blending with the process of McDonaldization and their attitude that certain social phenomena, such as fast food restaurants, or credit cards, have trivial character, and for that reason do not even deserve to be the subject of serious scientific researches.[6] And this Ritzer's argument can be linked to the way in which Weber has used a variety of data sources in his researches (e.g. in "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"), but also to his commitment to value-free science and equal status for all cultural phenomena.

If the original thesis on McDonaldization of society represents an interesting, but somewhat archaic attempt to reactualize Weber within the modernist paradigm, Ritzer directs its further development towards the postmodernist, and then postmodernist paradigm. Taking into account comments of numerous critics who have complained that he ignored the ideological and cultural dimension of the process of McDonaldization, Ritzer first turns to Baudrillard and his conceptions of the consumer society, simulation and hyper reality. In his works from this period[7] the process of McDonaldization is shown as part of a broader movement related to revolutionize the means of consumption, offering us insight into the many social settings – cathedrals of consumption / non-places – which

---

6   More in: Ritzer, G. (1998): *The McDonaldization Thesis: Explorations and Extensions*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd., pp. 13-15.

7   Like: Ritzer, G. (2000): *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd. or Ritzer, G. (2001): *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

are dominated by consumption, phantasmagoric advertising and postmodern hybridization between modern and traditional (large shopping malls, amusement parks, etc.). The latest phase in the McDonaldization thesis development marks Ritzer's effort to draw attention to new trends in the fusion of production and consumption, which are typical for the use of modern information technologies.[8] Although with these new advances in the development of his own theoretical orientation greatly exceeded achievements of the original thesis of McDonaldization (a large part of the heuristic potential of Weber's concept of formal rationalization), Ritzer's tendency for constant revision and empirical verification of his own conceptual settings still remain close to the *Weberian spirit.*

In addition to these particular examples presentness of Weber's intellectual legacy can be proven at more abstract level. Namely, Weber's methodological writings show us the way how to overcome many of the key problems and divisions within contemporary social sciences. In the first place, we think on his epistemological and theoretical assumptions concerning the relationship between subject-object / action-structure, as well as the attempt of linkage of the qualitative / interpretive and quantitative / positivist paradigm that stands at their basis. Although originally conceived as a response to the famous *battle over methods* (Methodenstreit), the aforementioned settings do not lose their significance because the social sciences today are burdened by a deep lack of understanding that separates modern supporters of idiographic and nomothetic approach to social phenomena. A major role in maintaining the division also had a distorted reception of Weber's intellectual legacy, which popularized many sociologists – Parsons and Schutz among the first ones. While Parsons managed to overstate the theoretical and analytical dimension of Weber's methodological concept, equivalent Schutz's attempt in the opposite direction will have no significant impact on the development of interpretative sociology until the mid 60-ies of the last century.[9] When it reached that point, many interpretative sociologists ignored Weber's insistence on a methodological approach that combine understanding and the causal explanation. In contrast to him, they continued to equate social sciences / sociology with understanding, reducing the latter to the interpretation of subjective meaning, or motivation and intentionality of individuals. However, in methodological and sociological circles there are more and more voices which propose to return to the *Weberian spirit*.

Aakvaag believes that Weber's intellectual legacy provides a good basis for the development of the approach that make it possible to consolidate the abstract universality of the great theories of modernity in the empirical program of analytical sociology based on the concept of social mechanism (easily recognizable and frequent causative form – a constellation of individuals, their characteristics and activities – that can be activated in a largely unknown conditions and having indeterminate consequences). In his opinion, there are three main reasons why Weber is current in this context:

1. Weber should be seen as a great theorist of modernity, because he offered a comprehensive overview of cultural, institutional and psychological matrix

---

[8] See: Ritzer, G. and Jurgenson, N. (2010): „Production, Consumtion, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of Digital 'Prosumer'" in: *Journal of Consumer Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 1, http://joc.sagepub.com

[9] Jennifer Platt convincingly argues that American interpretive sociology is genuine, and that Weber was subsequently characterized as her precursor and model. More in: Platt, J. (1985): „Weber's *Verstehen* and the History of Qualitative Research: The Missing Link" in: *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 36, No. 3, http://www.jstor.org/stable/590460

of modern societies; his concept of formal rationality represents a fundamental structuring principle of modernity which is manifested as demystified at the level of culture, as bureaucratization is at the institutional level and as the inner-worldly ascetism/ disciplining is at the level of personality,

2. Weber was not only a supporter of methodological individualism, but also the pioneer of analytical sociology. His ideal types can be seen as a pioneering attempt to introduce the concept of social mechanism, because they are carefully structured causal models that allow understanding and explanation of the outcome of social action,

3. in Weber's sociology there is no conflict between his grand theory of modern societies and ideal types; on the contrary they mutually support each other. Weber's grand theory of modern societies is nothing but a constellation of ideal types and social mechanisms. (Aakvaag, 2013: 206-209).

Weber's intellectual legacy can serve as an example for methodological upgrade of interpretative approach. According to Baker, Weber's actuality for the interpretive paradigm is reflected in his attempt to expand the meaning of the term understanding (Weber's division to present understanding and understanding through explanations). Referring to the Weberian spirit he further elaborates that idea:

1. *Extra-cultural Verstehen* – The understanding we have of others from totally alien cultures,

2. *Intra-cultural Verstehen* – The understanding we have of others who share with us a commonly understandable symbol system (or language),

3. *Pattern Analysis of Verstehen* – hermeneutics or understanding "Patterns of patterns" (e.g. A linguistic mapping of language structures or ethnography mapping of religious rituals),

4. *Verstehen as Interpersonal intuition* – "common sense" knowledge of human behavior.

Also, Becker points out that qualitative origin of ideal types is not an obstacle to their further theoretical purification to variables, which can then be operationalized and quantified using some form of statistical analysis (Bakker, 1981: 41-44).

A Swedish sociologist Ola Agevall offers a particularly interesting reactualization of Weber's methodological concept. According to her, Weber's conception of causality can be associated with one of the most innovative concepts in contemporary sociological methodology - configuration analysis of Charles Ragin.[10] Like Weber and Ragin developed the concept of causal explanation directed to the realization of specific events. Key terms for understanding of the concept are multiple causality (the existence of several causal paths that lead to the same outcome) and conjectural causality (condition A is not sufficient to cause the result P, but it will cause it in conjunction with B). Representation and exploration of these forms of causality Ragin bases on the Boolean algebra, functions and truth tables:

---

[10] See: Ragin, C. (2008): *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, and Ragin, C. (2009): *Configurational Comparative Methods: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Related Techniques* (Edited by Benoît Rihoux and Charles Ragin), Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks/London

1. the presence of a certain condition is marked with a capital letter (A = 1), while its absence is marked a small letter (a = 0),
2. multiple causality – logical *or* is marked with addition symbol (e.g. equation P = A + B means that the result P shall occur if the condition A is present or if the condition B is present),
3. conjectural causality - logical *and* is marked by mathematical symbol for multiplication (e.g. equation P = A x B or abbreviated P = AB means that the result P shall occur only if conditions A and B are present at the same time).

Obvious similarity between Weber's conception of *adequate causation* and Ragin's configuration analysis can be proven, if the above settings are transferred into particular example of the search for a combination of conditions that lead to a consequence, based on common methodological categories of sufficient and necessary conditions (*Table 1.*) (Agevall, 2005: 13).
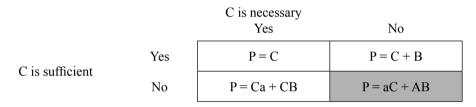
		C is necessary	
		Yes	No
C is sufficient	Yes	P = C	P = C + B
	No	P = Ca + CB	P = aC + AB

Table 1. *An example of truth table based on the Ragin's configurational analysis*

In contrast to the combination of the conditions in the non-shaded cells, the combination of the conditions in the shaded cell exceeds the reaches of the explanatory models a sufficient – necessary causality. In this case, the condition C is not necessary, because there is a causal path that does not include the condition (AB), but it is not sufficient, because it will not lead to consequences P unless combined with the absence of a condition A (a). Agevall points out that Weber did not use the presented terminology, but that it was the same form of causal explanation used in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

CONCLUSION

With the phrase *Weberian spirit* we have tried to emphasize the sensitivity of the issues related to the possibility of actualization of Weber's methodological conception. Particularly, we thought that it was a neutral definition, which refers to Weber's methodological preferences, does not have a presentist connotation, and yet points to their current actuality. Guided by this idea, we have chosen examples that are not simple analogies, but also an open invitation to return to the *Weberian spirit*. Naturally, the authors and their studies mentioned in this paper represent only a small part of a larger movement directed towards (re)actualization of Weber's intellectual legacy. In addition to the aforementioned, Weber's theoretical and methodological solutions are still very relevant for

researchers who study social phenomena and processes related to religiousness[11], group identity[12], politics[13] and economics[14].

At the end of this paper we will not bring a classic *final conclusion*, because that would be in contradiction with the presentness that characterizes the spirit of Weber's methodology. Instead, we will give a quote from known Weber's text "'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy", published in 1904, which appropriately reflects the eternal message of the spirit: "The light of great cultural problems moves on. Then science too prepares to change its standopoint and its analytical apparatus and view the streams of events from the heights of thought" (Weber, 1986: 83-84).

REFERENCES:

– Aakvaag, G. (2013). Social Mechanism and Grand Theories of Modernity – Worlds Apart?. *Acta Sociologica*, 56(3), http://asj.sagepub.com
– Agevall, O. (2005). Thinking about configurations: Max Weber and modern social science. *Etica & Politica/Ethics & Politics,* 7(2), http://www.units.it/etica/2005-2
– Arnason, J. (2003). *Civilizations in Dispute*. Boston: Brill.
– Bakker, H. (1981). *Exorcising the Spectres: Weber's Interpretative Sociology as the Solution to Key Problems in Sociological Theory*. University of Guelph, http://www.semioticsigns.com
– Berger, H. & P. Kellner (1991). *Sociologija u novom ključu*. Niš: Gradina.
– Bilal Koshul, B. (2005). *Postmodern Significance of Max Weber Legacy: Disenchanting Disenchantment*. London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
– Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J. and Passeron, J. (1991). *The Craft of Sociology: Epistemological Preliminaries*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
– Bourdieu, P., Schultheis, F. and Pfeuffer, A. (1999). With Weber Against Weber: In Conversation with Pierre Bourdieu. *The Legacy of Pierre Bourdieu* (2011), London: Anthem Press.
– Eisenstadt, S. N. (1998). Comparative studies and sociological theory: Autobiographical notes. *The American Sociologist*, 29(1), http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007
– Eisenstadt, S. N. (2002). *Multiple Modernities*. Piscataway: Transactions Publishers.
– Eliaeson, S. (2002). *Max Weber`s Methodologies*. Cambridge: Polity.
– Giddens, A. (1993). *New Rules of Sociological Method*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

---

[11] More in: Berger, P. (2010): "Max Weber is Alive and Well, and Living in Guatemala: The Protestant Ethic Today" in: *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 4, http://www.tandfonline.com (downloaded on 24th August 2012)

[12] See: Putinja, F. , Stref-Fenar, Ž. (1997): *Teorije o etnicitetu*, Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, p. 37-41.

[13] Kalberg, S. (2001), "The Modern World as a Monolithic Iron Cage? Utilizing Max Weber to Define the Internal Dynamics of the American Political Culture Today" in: *Max Weber Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, http://www.maxwebe-rstudies.org (downloaded on 23rd September 2011)

[14] Ford, L. (2008): *Economic Sociology: An Aristotelian-Weberian Approach*, Center for the Study of Economy and Society, http://www.scribd.com/doc/23398744/ (downloaded on 14th August 2011)

– Kaesler, D. (2004). From Academic Outsider to Sociological Mastermind: The Fashioning of the Sociological *Classic* Max Weber. *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 1(1), http://www.bangladesh-sociology.org
– Platt, J. (1985). Weber's *Verstehen* and the History of Qualitative Research: The Missing Link. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 36(3), http://www.jstor.org/stable/590460
– Ragin, C. (2009). *Configurational Comparative Methods: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Related Techniques* (Edited by Benoît Rihoux and Charles Ragin). Thousand Oaks/London: Sage Publications.
– Ragin, C. (2008). *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
– Ritzer, G. (2000). *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.
– Ritzer, G. (2001). *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.
– Ritzer, G. (1998). *The McDonaldization Thesis: Explorations and Extensions*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.
– Ritzer, G. and Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, Consumtion, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of Digital 'Prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 10(1), http://joc.sagepub.com
– Turner, C. (1992). *Modernity and Politics in the Work of Max Weber*. London/New York: Routledge.
– Wagner, P. (2008). *Modernity as Experience and Interpretation*. Cambridge: Polity.
– Weber, M. (1986). *Metodologija društvenih nauka*. Zagreb: Globus.