ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

AN OUTLINE OF INTERPRETIVE SOCIOLOGY

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16. Power and Domination

A. "Power" (Macht) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.

B. "Domination" (Herrschaft) is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons. "Discipline" is the probability that by virtue of habituation a command will receive prompt and automatic obedience in stereotyped forms, on the part of a given group of persons.

1. The concept of power is sociologically amorphous. All conceivable qualities of a person and all conceivable combinations of circumstances may put him in a position to impose his will in a given situation. The sociological concept of domination must hence be more precise and can only mean the probability that a command will be obeyed.

2. The concept of discipline includes the habituation characteristic of uncritical and unresisting mass obedience.

C. The existence of domination turns only on the actual presence of one person successfully issuing orders to others; it does not necessarily imply either the existence of an administrative staff or, for that matter, of an organization. It is, however, uncommon to find it unrelated to at least one of these. A "ruling organization" (Herrschaftsverbund) exists insofar as its members are subject to domination by virtue of the established order.

1. The head of a household rules without an administrative staff. A household chief, who levies contributions from the caravans, persons and possessions which pass his stronghold, controls this group of changing individuals, who do not belong to the same organization, as soon and as long as they face the same situation; but to do this, he needs a following which, on the appropriate occasions, serves as his administrative staff in exercising the necessary compulsion. (However, it is theoretically conceivable that this type of control is exercised by a single individual.)

2. If it possesses an administrative staff, an organization is always to some degree based on domination. But the concept is relative. In general, an effectively ruling organization is also an administrative one. The character of the organization is determined by a variety of factors: the mode in which the administration is carried out, the character of the personnel, the objects over which it exercises control, and the extent of effective jurisdiction. The first two factors in particular are dependent in the highest degree on the way in which domination is legitimized (see ch. III).

17. Political and Hierocratic Organizations

A "ruling organization" will be called "political" insofar as its existence and order is continuously safeguarded within a given territorial area by the threat and application of physical force on the part of the administrative staff. A compulsory political organization with continuous operations (politischer Anstaltsbetrieb) will be called a "state" insofar as its administrative staff successfully upholds the claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order. Social action, especially organized action, will be spoken of as "politically oriented" if it aims at exerting influence on the government of a political organization, especially at the appropriation, expropriation, redistribution or allocation of the powers of government.

A "hierocratic organization" is an organization which enforces its order through psychic coercion by distributing or denying religious benefits ("hierocratic coercion"). A compulsory hierocratic organization will be called a "church" insofar as its administrative staff claims a monopoly of the legitimate use of hierocratic coercion.

1. It goes without saying that the use of physical force (Gewaltsamkeit) is neither the sole, nor even the most usual, method of administration of political organizations. On the contrary, their heads have employed all conceivable means to bring about their ends. But, at the same time, the threat of force, and in the case of need its actual use, is the method which is specific to political organizations and is always the last resort when others have failed. Conversely, physical force is by no means limited to political groups even as a legitimate method of enforcement. It has been freely used by kinship groups, household groups, consociations and, in the Middle Ages, under certain circumstances by all those entitled to bear arms. In addition to the fact that it uses, among other
CHAPTER X
DOMINATION AND LEGITIMACY

1. Domination by Economic Power and by Authority

Domination in the most general sense is one of the most important elements of social action. Of course, not every form of social action reveals a structure of dominance. But in most of the varieties of social action domination plays a considerable role, even where it is not obvious at first sight. Thus, for example, in linguistic communities the elevation by authoritative fiat of a dialect to the status of an official language of a political entity has very often had a decisive influence on the development of a large community with a common literary language, as, for instance, Germany. On the other hand, political separation has determined the final form of a corresponding linguistic differentiation, as, for instance, in the case of Holland as against Germany. Furthermore, the domination exercised in the schools stereotypes the form and the predominance of the official school language most enduringly and decisively. Without exception every sphere of social action is profoundly influenced by structures of dominance. In a great number of cases the emergence of rational association from amorphous social action has been due to domination and the way in which it has been exercised. Even where this is not the case, the structure of dominance and its unfolding is decisive in determining the form of social action and its orientation toward a “goal.” Indeed, domination has played the decisive role particularly in the economically most important social structures of the past and present, viz., the manager on the one hand, and the large-scale capitalist enterprise on the other.

Domination constitutes a special case of power, as we shall see.
presently. As in the case of other forms of power, those who exercise domination do not apply it exclusively, or even usually, to the pursuit of purely economic ends, such as, for example, a plentiful supply of economic goods. It is true, however, that the control over economic goods, i.e., economic power, is a frequent, often purposively willed, consequence of domination as well as one of its most important instruments. Not every position of economic power, however, represents domination in our sense of the word. Nor does domination utilize in every case economic power for its foundation and maintenance. But in the vast majority of cases, and indeed in the most important ones, this is just what happens in one way or another and often to such an extent that the mode of applying economic means for the purpose of maintaining domination, in turn, exercises a determining influence on the structure of domination. Furthermore, the great majority of all economic organizations, among them the most important and the most modern ones, reveal a structure of dominancy. The crucial characteristics of any form of domination may, it is true, not be correlated in any clearcut fashion with any particular form of economic organization. Yet, the structure of dominancy is in many cases both a factor of great economic importance and, at least to some extent, a result of economic conditions.

Our first aim here is that of stating merely general propositions regarding the relationship between forms of economic organization and of domination. Because of this very general character, these propositions will inevitably be abstract and sometimes also somewhat indefinite. For our purpose we need, first of all, a more exact definition of what we mean by “domination” and its relationship to the general term “power.” Domination in the quite general sense of power, i.e., of the possibility of imposing one’s own will upon the behavior of others, can emerge in the most diverse forms. If, as has occasionally been done, one looks upon the claims which the law accords to one person against one or more others as a power to issue commands to debtors or to those to whom no such claim is accorded, one may thereby conceive of the whole system of modern private law as the decentralization of domination in the hands of those to whom the legal rights are accorded. From this angle, the worker would have the power to command, i.e., “domination,” over the entrepreneur to the extent of his wage claim, and the civil servant over the king to the extent of his salary claim. Such a terminology would be rather forced and, in any case, it would not be of more than provisional value since a distinction in kind must be made between “commands” directed by the judicial authority to an adjudged debtor and “commands” directed by the claimant himself to a debtor prior to judgment. However, a position ordinarily designated as “dominating”

can emerge from the social relations in a drawing room as well as in the market, from the rostrum of a lecture-hall as well as from the command post of a regiment, from an erotic or charitable relationship as well as from scholarly discussion or athletics. Such a broad definition would, however, render the term “domination” scientifically useless. A comprehensive classification of all forms, conditions, and concrete contents of “domination” in that widest sense is impossible here. We will only call to mind that, in addition to numerous other possible types, there are two diametrically contrasting types of domination, viz., domination by virtue of a constellation of interests (in particular: by virtue of a position of monopoly), and domination by virtue of authority, i.e., power to command and duty to obey.

The purest type of the former is monopolistic domination in the market; of the latter, patriarchal, magisterial, or princely power. In its purest form, the first is based upon influence derived exclusively from the possession of goods or marketable skills guaranteed in some way and acting upon the conduct of those dominated, who remain, however, formally free and are motivated simply by the pursuit of their own interests. The latter kind of domination rests upon alleged absolute duty to obey, regardless of personal motives or interests. The borderline between these two types of domination is fluid. Any large central bank or credit institution, for instance, exercises a “dominating” influence on the capital market by virtue of its monopolistic position. It can impose upon its potential debtors conditions for the granting of credit, thus influencing to a marked degree their economic behavior for the sake of the liquidity of its own resources. The potential debtors, if they really need the credit, must in their own interest submit to these conditions and must even guarantee this submission by supplying collateral security. The credit banks do not, however, pretend that they exercise “authority,” i.e., that they claim “submission” on the part of the dominated without regard to the latter’s own interests; they simply pursue their own interests and realize them best when the dominated persons, acting with formal freedom, rationally pursue their own interests as they are forced upon them by objective circumstances.

Even the owner of an incomplete monopoly finds himself in the same position if, despite existing competition, he is able by and large to “prescribe” prices to both exchange partners and competitors; in other words, if by his own conduct he can impose upon them a way of conduct according to his own interest, without, however, imposing on them the slightest “obligation” to submit to this domination. Any type of domination by virtue of constellation of interests may, however, be transformed gradually into domination by authority. This applies particularly to
domination originally founded on a position of monopoly. A bank, for instance, in order to control more effectively a debtor corporation, may demand as a condition for credit that some member of its board be made a member of the board of the debtor corporation. That board, in turn, can give decisive orders to the management by virtue of the latter’s obligation to obey.

Or a central bank of issue causes the credit institutions to agree on uniform terms of credit and in this way tries, by virtue of its position of power, to secure to itself a continuous control and supervision of the relationships between the credit institutions and their customers. It may then utilize its control for ends of currency management or for the purpose of influencing the business cycle or for political ends such as, for instance, the preparation of financial readiness for war. The latter kind of use will be made in particular where the central bank itself is exposed to influence from the political power. Theoretically, it is conceivable that such controls can actually be established, that the ends for and the ways of its exercise become articulated in regulations, that special agencies are created for its exercise and special appellate agencies for the resolution of questions of doubt, and that, finally, the controls are constantly made more strict. In such a case this kind of domination might become quite like the authoritative domination of a bureaucratic state agency over its subordinates, and the subordination would assume the character of a relationship of obedience to authority.

The same observation can be made with respect to the domination by the breweries over the tavern owners whom they supply with their equipment, or the domination to which book dealers would have to submit if there should some day be a German publishers’ cartel with power to issue and withhold retailers’ licenses, or the domination of the gasoline dealers by the Standard Oil Company, or the domination exercised through their common sales office by the German coal producers over the coal dealers. All these retailers may well be reduced to employed sales agents, little different from linemen working outside the employer’s plant or other private employees but subject to the authority of a department chief. The transitions are gradual from the ancient debtor’s factual dependency on his creditor to formal servitude for debt; or, in the Middle Ages and in modern times, from the craftsman’s dependence on the market-wise exporter over the various forms of dependency of the home industry to the completely authoritarian labor regulation of the sweatshop worker. And from these other gradations lead to the position of the secretary, the engineer, or the worker in the office or plant, who is subject to a discipline no longer different in its nature from that of the civil service or the army, although it has been created by a contract concluded in the labor market by formally "equal" parties through the "voluntary" acceptance of the terms offered by the employer. More important than the difference between private and public employment is certainly that between the military service and the other situations. The latter are concluded and terminated voluntarily, while the former is imposed by compulsion, at least in those countries where, as in ours, the ancient system of mercenary service has been replaced by the draft. Yet, even the relationship of political allegiance can be entered into and, to some extent, be dissolved voluntarily; the same holds true of the feudal and, under certain circumstances, even of the paternalistic dependency relationships of the past. Thus even in these cases the transitions are but gradual to those relationships of authority, for instance slavery, which are completely involuntary and, for the subject, normally nonterminable. Obviously, a certain minimum interest of the subordinate in his own obeying will normally constitute one of the indispensable motives of obedience even in the completely authoritarian duty-relationship. Throughout, transitions are thus vague and changing. And yet, if we wish at all to obtain fruitful distinctions within the continuous stream of actual phenomena, we must not overlook the clear-cut antithesis between factual power which arises completely out of possession and by way of interest compromises in the market, and, on the other hand, the authoritarian power of a patriarch or monarch with its appeal to the duty of obedience simply as such. The varieties of power are in no way exhausted by the examples just given. Even mere possession can be a basis of power in forms other than that of the market. As we pointed out before, even in socially undifferentiated situations wealth, accompanied by a corresponding way of life, creates prestige, corresponding to the position in present society of one who "keeps an open house" or the lady who has her "salon." Under certain circumstances, every one of these relationships may assume authoritarian traits. Domination in the broader sense can be produced not only by the exchange relationships of the market but also by those of "society"; such phenomena may range all the way from the "drawing room lion" to the patented arbeit elegantiarum of imperial Rome or the courts of love of the ladies of Provence. Indeed, such situations of domination can be found also outside the sphere of private markets and relationships. Even without any formal power of command an "empire state" or, more correctly, those individuals who are the decisive ones within it either through authority or through the market, can exercise a far-reaching and occasionally even a despotic hegemony. A typical illustration is afforded by Prussia's position within the German Customs Union or, later, in the German Reich. To some, although much lesser extent, New York's posi-
Domination within the United States affords another illustration. In the German Customs Union the Russian officials were dominant, because their state's territory constituted the largest and thus the decisive market; in the German Reich they are paramount because they dispose of the largest net of railroads, the greatest number of university positions, etc., and can thus cripple the corresponding administrative departments of the other, formally equal, states. New York can exercise political power because it is the seat of the great financial powers. All such forms of power are based upon constellations of interests. They thus resemble those which occur in the market, and in the course of development they can easily be transformed into formally regulated relationships of authority or, more correctly, into associations with heterocephalous power of command and coercive apparatus. Indeed, because of the very absence of rules, domination which originates in the market or other interest constellations may be felt to be much more oppressive than an authority in which the duties of obedience are set out clearly and expressly. That aspect must not affect, however, the terminology of the sociologist.

In the following discussion we shall use the term domination exclusively in that narrower sense which excludes from its scope those situations in which power has its source in a formally free interplay of interested parties such as occurs especially in the market. In other words, in our terminology domination shall be identical with authoritarian power of command.

To be more specific, domination will thus mean the situation in which the manifested will (command) of the ruler or rulers is meant to influence the conduct of one or more others (the ruled) and actually does influence it in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if the ruler had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake. Looked upon from the other end, this situation will be called obedience.

Further Notes: 1. The definition sounds awkward, especially due to the use of the "as if" formula. This cannot be avoided, however. The merely external fact of the order being obeyed is not sufficient to signify domination in our sense; we cannot overlook the meaning of the fact that the command is accepted as a "valid" norm. On the other hand, however, the causal chain extending from the command to the actual fact of compliance can be quite varied. Psychologically, the command may have achieved its effect upon the ruled either through empathy or through inspiration or through persuasion by rational argument or through some combination of these three principal types of influence of one person over another. In a concrete case the performance of the command may have been motivated by the ruled's own conviction of its propriety, or by his sense of duty, or by fear, or by "dull" custom, or by a desire to obtain some benefit for himself. Sociologically, those differences are not necessarily relevant. On the other hand, the sociological character of domination will differ according to the basic differences in the major modes of legitimation.

2. Many transitions exist, as we have seen, between that narrower conception of domination as we have defined it now and those situations of setting the tone in the market, the drawing room, in a discussion, etc., which we have discussed earlier. We shall briefly revert to some of these latter cases so as to elucidate more clearly the former. It is obvious that relationships of domination may exist reciprocally. In modern bureaucracy, among officials of different departments, each is subject to the others' powers of command insofar as the latter have jurisdiction. There are no conceptual difficulties involved, but where a customer places an order with a shoemaker for a pair of shoes, can the shoemaker say that either one has control over the other? The answer will depend upon the circumstances of each individual case, but almost always it will be found that in some limited respect the will of the one has influenced that of the other even against that other's reluctance and that, consequently, to that extent one has dominated over the other. No precise concept of domination could be built up, however, upon the basis of such considerations; and this statement holds true for all relationships of exchange, including those of intangibles. Or what shall we say of the village craftsman who, as is often the case in Asia, is employed at fixed terms by the village? Is he, within his vocational jurisdiction, a ruler, or is he the ruled, and, if so, by whom? One will be inclined rather not to apply the concept of domination to such relationships, except with respect to the powers which he, the craftsman, exercises over his assistants or which are exercised over him by those persons who are to control him by virtue of their official position. As soon as we do this, we narrow the concept of domination to that technical one which we have defined above. Yet, the position of a village chief, that is, a person of official authority, may be exactly like that of the village craftsman. The distinction between private business and public office, as we know it, is the result of development and it is not at all so firmly rooted elsewhere as it is with us in Germany. In the popular American view, a judge's job is a business just as a banker's. He, the judge, simply is a man who has been granted the monopoly to give a person a decision with the help of which the latter may enforce some performance against another or, as the case may be, may shield himself against the claims of others. By virtue of this monopoly the judge enjoys directly or indirectly a number of benefits, legitimate or illegitimate, and for their enjoyment...
he pays a portion of his fees to the party boss to whom he owes his job.

To all of these, the village chief, the judge, the banker, the craftsman, we shall ascribe domination, wherever they claim, and to a socially relevant degree find obedience to, commands given and received as such. No usable concept of domination can be defined in any way other than by reference to power of command; but we must never forget that here, as everywhere else in life, everything is “in transition.” It should be self-evident that the sociologist is guided exclusively by the factual existence of such a power of command, in contrast to the lawyer’s interest in the theoretical content of a legal norm. As far as sociology is concerned, power of command does not exist unless the authority which is claimed by somebody is actually wielded by a socially relevant degree. Yet, the sociologist will normally start from the observation that “factual” powers of command usually claim to exist “by virtue of law.” It is exactly for this reason that the sociologist cannot help operating with the conceptual apparatus of the law.

2. Direct Democracy and Rule by Notables

We are primarily interested in “domination” insofar as it is combined with “administration.” Every domination both expresses itself and functions through administration. Every administration, on the other hand, needs domination, because it is always necessary that some powers of command be in the hands of somebody. Possibly the power of command may appear in a rather innocent garb; the ruler may be regarded as their “servant” by the ruled, and he may look upon himself in that way. This phenomenon occurs in its purest form in the so-called, “immediately democratic administration” (direct democracy). This kind of administration is called democratic for two reasons which need not necessarily coincide. The first reason is that it is based upon the assumption that everybody is equally qualified to conduct the public affairs. The second: that in this kind of administration the scope of power of command is kept at a minimum. Administrative functions are rotated, or determined by drawing lots, or assigned for short periods by election. All important decisions are reserved to the common resolution of all; the administrative functionaries have only to prepare and carry out the resolutions and to conduct “current business” in accordance with the directives of the general assembly. This type of administration can be found in many private associations, in certain political communities such as the Swiss Landsgemeinden or certain townships in the United States, or in universities (insofar as the administration lies in the hands of the rector and the deans), as well as in numerous other organizations of a similar kind. However, modest the administrative function may be, some functionary must have some power of command, and his position is thus always in suspense between that of a mere servant and that of master. It is against the very development of the latter that the “democratic” limits of his position are directed. However, “equality” and “minimization” of the dominant powers of functionaries are also found in many aristocratic groups as against the members of their own ruling layer. Illustrations are afforded by the aristocracy of Venice, Sparta or that of the full professors of a German university. They all have been using those same “democratic” forms of rotation of office, drawing lots, or short-term election.

Normally this kind of administration occurs in organizations which fulfill the following conditions:

1) the organization must be local or otherwise limited in the number of members; 2) the social positions of the members must not greatly differ from each other; 3) the administrative functions must be relatively simple and stable; 4) however, there must be a certain minimum development of training in objectively determining ways and means. This latter requirement exists, for instance, in the direct democratic administrations in Switzerland and the United States just as it existed in the Russian mir within the confines of its traditional scope of business. We do not look, however, upon this kind of administration as the historical starting point of any typical course of development but rather as a marginal type case, which lends itself well as the starting point of investigation. Neither taking turns nor drawing lots nor election are “primitive” forms of picking the functionaries of an organization. Wherever it exists, direct democratic administration is unstable. With every development of economic differentiation arises the probability that administration will fall into the hands of the wealthy. The reason is not that they would have superior personal qualities or more comprehensive knowledge, but simply that they can afford to take the time to carry on the administrative functions cheaply or without any pay and as part-time jobs. Those, however, who are forced to work for a living would have to sacrifice time, which means income, and the more intense labor grows, the more intolerable does this sacrifice become. The bearers of that superiority are thus not simply those who enjoy high incomes but rather those who have an income without personal labor or derive it from intermittent labor. Under otherwise equal conditions a modern manufacturer can thus get away from his work less easily and is correspondingly less available for administrative functions than a landowner or a medieval merchant patron, both of whom have not had
to work uninterruptedly. For the same reason the directors of the great university clinics and institutes are the least suited to be rectors; although they have plenty of administratice experience, their time is too much occupied with their regular work. Hence in the measure in which those who have to work are becoming unable to get away from it, direct democratic administration will tend to turn into rule by notables (honoratores).

We have already met the type as that of the bearer of a special social honor connected with the mode of living. Here we now encounter another indispensable requirement, viz., that capacity to take care of social administration and rule as an honorific duty which derives from economic position. Hence we shall tentatively define honoratores as follows:

Persons who, first, are enjoying an income earned without, or with comparatively little, labor, or at least of such a kind that they can afford to assume administrative functions in addition to whatever business activities they may be carrying on; and who, second, by virtue of such income, have a mode of life which attributes to them the social "prestige" of a status honor and thus renders them fit for being called to rule.

Frequently such rule by honoratores has developed in the form of deliberating bodies in which the affairs to be brought before the community are discussed in advance; such bodies easily come to anticipate the resolutions of the community or to eliminate them and thus to establish, by virtue of their prestige, a monopoly of the honoratores. The development of the rule by honoratores in this way has existed a long time in local communities and thus particularly in the neighborhood association. Those honoratores of olden times had a character quite different, however, from those who emerge in the rationalized direct democracy of the present. The original qualification was old age. In all communities which orient their social conduct toward tradition, i.e., toward convention, customary law or sacred law, the elders are, so to speak, the natural honoratores not only because of their prestige of wider experience, but also because they know the traditions. Their consent, advance approval (συνοπτική), or ratification (acuatorius) guarantees the properness of a resolution as against the supernatural powers just as it is the most effective decision in a case of dispute. Where all members of a community are in about the same economic position, the "elders" are simply those oldest in the household, the clan, or the neighborhood.

However, the relative prestige of age within a community is subject to much change. Wherever the food resources are scarce, he who can no longer work is just a burden. Also where war is a chronic state of affairs, the prestige of the older men is liable to sink below that of the warriors and there often develops a democratic bias of the younger groups against the prestige of old age (sexagenarios de ponte). The same development occurs in periods of economic or political revolution, whether violent or peaceful, and also where the practical power of religious ideas and thus the veneration of a sacred tradition is little developed or on the decline. The prestige of old age is preserved, on the other hand, wherever the objective usefulness of experience or the subjective power of tradition are estimated highly.

Where the elders are deposed, power normally accrues not to youth but to the bearers of some other kind of social prestige. In the case of economic or class differentiation the councils of elders (senatus) may retain its name, but de facto it will be composed of honoratores in the sense discussed above, i.e., "economic" honoratores, or bearers of status honor whose power ultimately is also based upon their wealth.

On the other hand, the battle cry that a "democratic" administration must be obtained or preserved may become a powerful tool of the poor in their fight against the honoratores, but also of economically powerful groups which are not admitted to status honor. In that case democratic administration becomes a matter of struggle between political parties, especially since the honoratores, by virtue of their status prestige and the dependency on them of certain groups, can create for themselves "security troops" from among the poor. As soon as it is thus made the object of a struggle for power, direct democratic administration loses its specific feature, the undeveloped state of domination. A political party, after all, exists for the very purpose of fighting for domination in the specific sense, and it thus necessarily tends toward a strict hierarchical structure, however carefully it may be trying to hide this fact.

Something similar to this social alienation of the members, who lived in substantially the same manner in the marginal case of "pure" democracy, occurs where the group grows beyond a certain size or where the administrative function becomes too difficult to be satisfactorily taken care of by anyone whom rotation, the lot, or election may happen to designate. The conditions of administration of mass structures are radically different from those obtaining in small associations resting upon neighborly or personal relationships. As soon as mass administration is involved, the meaning of democracy changes so radically that it no longer makes sense for the sociologist to ascribe to the term the same meaning as in the case discussed so far.

The growing complexity of the administrative tasks and the sheer expansion of their scope increasingly result in the technical superiority of those who have had training and experience, and will thus inevitably
favor the continuity of at least some of the functionaries. Hence, there always exists the probability of the rise of a special, perennial structure for administrative purposes, which of necessity means for the exercise of rule. As mentioned before, this structure may be one of honoratores, acting as equal "colleagues," or it may turn out to be "monocratic," so that all functionaries are integrated into a hierarchy culminating in one single head.

3. Organizational Structure and the Bases of Legitimate Authority

The predominance of the members of such a structure of domination rests upon the so-called "law of the small number." The ruling minority can quickly reach understanding among its members; it is thus able at any time quickly to initiate that rationally organized action which is necessary to preserve its position of power. Consequently it can easily squelch any action of the masses (Massen- oder Gemeinschaftshandeln) threatening its power as long as the opponents have not created the same kind of organization for the planned direction of their own struggle for domination. Another benefit of the small number is the ease of secrecy as to the intentions and resolutions of the rulers and the state of their information; the larger the circle grows, the more difficult or improbable it becomes to guard such secrets. Wherever increasing stress is placed upon "official secrecy," we take it as a symptom of either an intention of the rulers to tighten the reins of their rule or of a feeling on their part that their rule is being threatened. But every domination established as a continuing one must in some decisive point be secret rule.

Generally speaking, however, the specific arrangements for domination, as they are established by association, show the following characteristics:

A circle of people who are accustomed to obedience to the orders of leaders and who also have a personal interest in the continuance of the domination by virtue of their own participation and the resulting benefits, have divided among themselves the exercise of those functions which will serve the continuation of the domination and are holding themselves continuously ready for their exercise. (This is what is meant by "organization.""

Those leaders who do not derive from grant by others the powers of command claimed and exercised by them, we shall call masters; while the term apparatus shall mean the circle of those persons who are holding themselves at the disposal of the master or masters in the manner just defined.

The sociological character of the structure of any particular case of domination is determined by the kind of relationship between the master or masters and the apparatus, the kind of relationship of both to the ruled, and by its specific organizational structure, i.e., its specific way of distributing the powers of command. There can also be considered, of course, a good many other elements, which may then be used to establish a great number of varying sociological classifications. For our limited purposes, we shall emphasize those basic types of domination which result when we search for the ultimate grounds of the validity of a domination, in other words, when we inquire into those grounds upon which there are based the claims of obedience made by the master against the "officials" and of both against the ruled.

We have encountered the problem of legitimacy already in our discussion of the legal order. Now we shall have to indicate its broader significance. For a domination, this kind of justification of its legitimacy is much more than a matter of theoretical or philosophical speculation; it rather constitutes the basis of very real differences in the empirical structure of domination. The reason for this fact lies in the generally observable need of any power, or even of any advantage of life, to justify itself.

The fates of human beings are not equal. Men differ in their states of health or wealth or social status or what not. Simple observation shows that in every such situation he who is more favored feels the never ceasing need to look upon his position as in some way "legitimate," upon his advantage as "deserved," and the other's disadvantage as being brought about by the latter's "fault." That the purely accidental causes of the difference may be ever so obvious makes no difference.

This same need makes itself felt in the relation between positively and negatively privileged groups of human beings. Every highly privileged group develops the myth of its natural, especially its blood, superiority. Under conditions of stable distribution of power and, consequently, of status order, that myth is accepted by the negatively privileged strata. Such a situation exists as long as the masses continue in that natural state of theirs in which thought about the order of domination remains but little developed, which means, as long as no urgent needs render the state of affairs "problematical." But in times in which the class situation has become unambiguously and openly visible to everyone as the factor determining every man's individual fate, that very myth of the highly privileged about everyone having deserved his particular lot has often become one of the most passionately hated objects of attack; one ought only to think of certain struggles of late Antiquity and of the Middle Ages, and quite particularly of the class
struggle of our own time in which such myths and the claim of legitimate domination based upon it have been the target of the most powerful and most effective attacks.

Indeed, the continued exercise of every domination (in our technical sense of the word) always has the strongest need of self-justification through appealing to the principles of its legitimation. Of such ultimate principles, there are only three:

The "validity" of a power of command may be expressed, first, in a system of consciously made rational rules (which may be either agreed upon or imposed from above), which meet with obedience as generally binding norms whenever such obedience is claimed by him whom the rule designates. In that case every single bearer of powers of command is legitimated by that system of rational norms, and his power is legitimate insofar as it corresponds with the norm. Obedience is thus given to the norms rather than to the person.

The validity of a power of command can also rest, however, upon personal authority.

Such personal authority can, in turn, be founded upon the sacredness of tradition, i.e., of that which is customary and has always been so and prescribes obedience to some particular person.

On personal authority can have its source in the very opposite, viz., the surrender to the extraordinary, the belief in charisma, i.e., actual revelation or grace resting in such a person as a savior, a prophet, or a hero.

The "pure" types of domination correspond to these three possible types of legitimation. The forms of domination occurring in historical reality constitute combinations, mixtures, adaptations, or modifications of these "pure" types.

Rationally regulated association within a structure of domination finds its typical expression in bureaucracy. Traditionally prescribed social action is typically represented by patriarchalism. The charismatic structure of domination rests upon individual authority which is based upon rational rules nor upon tradition. Here too we shall proceed from the type that is the most rational and the one most familiar to us: modern bureaucratic administration.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all notes are by Rheinstein.
2. Among numerous German dialects and ways in which the language was used in poetry, literature, and polite parlance, acceptance as the standard was achieved by that form which was used in the late fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

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