

Laurent Fleury, *Max Weber*, PUF / Que sais-je ?

Compte-rendu par Anne Revillard, paru in *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 4, 2005.

Ecrire un « Que sais-je ? » sur une pensée d'une telle complexité que celle de Max Weber peut sembler une gageure. La démarche adoptée ici par Laurent Fleury part du constat que « Weber a rarement été lu pour lui-même » (p.10). Face à une pensée complexe et d'accès difficile, nombreuses ont été les réductions interprétatives, faisant de l'auteur un anti-Marx ou un anti-Durkheim, ou en encore ne retenant de la thèse sur l'éthique protestante que sa dimension empirique. L'approche proposée ici se veut plus respectueuse de l'œuvre dans sa globalité, mettant l'accent sur les grandes articulations de la pensée weberienne plutôt que sur la diversité des interprétations et réappropriations dont celle-ci a fait l'objet.

Par-delà les hésitations et évolutions, l'œuvre du sociologue trouve sa cohérence dans un choix tant théorique que méthodologique, celui d'une sociologie de l'action, que Laurent Fleury place à juste titre en ouverture de son analyse. En effet, si Weber refuse de fonder les sciences de la culture sur le modèle des sciences de la nature, il n'en rejette pas moins l'idée d'une forme amoindrie de causalité pour les sciences sociales. Le but ultime de la sociologie est bien l'explication, et cette explication passe par la compréhension et l'interprétation de l'action sociale des individus. Aussi l'explication sociologique prend-elle appui sur une sociologie de l'action. Laurent Fleury prend toutefois soin de préciser que cette sociologie de l'action est celle « d'un acteur socialisé et d'une action instituée » (p.18), bien loin de l'individu désocialisé de la théorie du choix rationnel. Il identifie par ailleurs dans l'œuvre du sociologue trois questionnements étroitement liés qui prennent sens par rapport à cette sociologie de l'action : la spécificité du rationalisme occidental, le façonnement de la conduite de vie et la tension entre rationalité et irrationalité. Laurent Fleury expose l'imbrication entre ces trois questionnements dans l'analyse weberienne de l'économie moderne (chapitre 2), des religions (chapitre 3) et du politique (chapitre 4).

Restituant la thèse de *L'éthique protestante*, notre auteur insiste sur « le caractère indirect et réciproque du lien entre religion et économie » (p.38) chez Weber, ainsi que sur le fait qu'il s'agit moins pour le sociologue de démontrer l'existence d'une influence des facteurs culturels sur le développement de l'économie moderne que de « qualifier la nature de cette influence » (p.38). Cette observation tend à discréditer l'objet même de la controverse post-

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