Chapter One

The Strong Programme in the Sociology of Knowledge

Can the sociology of knowledge investigate and explain the very content and nature of scientific knowledge? Many sociologists believe that it cannot. They say that knowledge as such, as distinct from the circumstances surrounding its production, is beyond their grasp. They voluntarily limit the scope of their own enquiries. I shall argue that this is a betrayal of their disciplinary standpoint. All knowledge, whether it be in the empirical sciences or even in mathematics, should be treated, through and through, as material for investigation. Such limitations as do exist for the sociologist consist in handing over material to allied sciences like psychology or in depending on the researches of specialists in other disciplines. There are no limitations which lie in the absolute or transcendent character of scientific knowledge itself, or in the special nature of rationality, validity, truth or objectivity.

It might be expected that the natural tendency of a discipline such as the sociology of knowledge would be to expand and generalise itself: moving from studies of primitive cosmologies to that of our own culture. This is precisely the step that sociologists have been reluctant to take. Again, the sociology of knowledge might well have pressed more strongly into the area currently occupied by philosophers, who have been allowed to take upon themselves the task of defining the nature of knowledge. In fact sociologists have been only too eager to limit their concern with science to its institutional framework and external factors relating to its rate of growth or direction. This leaves untouched the nature of the knowledge thus created (cf. Ben-David (1971), DeGré (1967), Merton (1964) and Stark (1958)).

What is the cause for this hesitation and pessimism? Is it the enor-

mous intellectual and practical difficulties which would attend such a programme? Certainly these must not be underestimated. A measure of their extent can be gained from the effort that has been expended on the more limited aims. But these are not the reasons that are in fact advanced. Is the sociologist at a loss for theories and methods with which to handle scientific knowledge? Surely not. His own discipline provides him with exemplary studies of the knowledge of other cultures which could be used as models and sources of inspiration. Durkheim's classic study 'The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life' shows how a sociologist can penetrate to the very depths of a form of knowledge. What is more Durkheim dropped a number of hints as to how his findings might relate to the study of scientific knowledge. The hints have fallen on deaf ears.

The cause of the hesitation to bring science within the scope of a thorough-going sociological scrutiny is lack of nerve and will. It is believed to be a foredoomed enterprise. Of course, the failure of nerve has deeper roots than this purely psychological characterisation suggests, and these will be investigated later. Whatever the cause of the malady, its symptoms take the form of a priori and philosophical argumentation. By these means sociologists express their conviction that science is a special case, and that contradictions and absurdities would befall them if they ignored this fact. Naturally philosophers are only too eager to encourage this act of self-abnegation (e.g. Lakatos (1971), Popper (1966)).

It will be the purpose of this book to combat these arguments and inhibitions. For this reason the discussions which follow will sometimes, though not always, have to be methodological rather than substantive. But I hope they will be positive in their effect. Their aim is to put weapons in the hands of those engaged in constructive work to help them attack critics, doubters and sceptics.

I shall first spell out what I call the strong programme in the sociology of knowledge. This will provide the framework within which detailed objections will then be considered. Since a priori arguments are always embedded in background assumptions and attitudes it will be necessary to bring these to the surface for examination as well. This will be the second major topic and it is here that substantial sociological hypotheses about our conception of science will begin to emerge. The third major topic will concern what is perhaps the most difficult of all the obstacles to the sociology of knowledge, namely mathematics and logic. It will transpire that the problems of principle involved are not, in fact, unduly technical. I shall indicate how these subjects can be studied sociologically.

The Strong Programme

The sociologist is concerned with knowledge, including scientific knowledge, purely as a natural phenomenon. The appropriate definition of knowledge will therefore be rather different from that of either the layman or the philosopher. Instead of defining it as true belief—or perhaps, justified true belief—knowledge for the sociologist is whatever people take to be knowledge. It consists of those beliefs which people confidently hold to and live by. In particular the sociologist will be concerned with beliefs which are taken for granted or institutionalised, or invested with authority by groups of people. Of course knowledge must be distinguished from mere belief. This can be done by reserving the word 'knowledge' for what is collectively endorsed, leaving the individual and idiosyncratic to count as mere belief.

Our ideas about the workings of the world have varied greatly. This has been true within science just as much as in other areas of culture. Such variation forms the starting point for the sociology of knowledge and constitutes its main problem. What are the causes of this variation, and how and why does it change? The sociology of knowledge focuses on the distribution of belief and the various factors which influence it. For example: how is knowledge transmitted; how stable is it; what processes go into its creation and maintenance; how is it organised and categorised into different disciplines or spheres?

For sociologists these topics call for investigation and explanation and they will try to characterise knowledge in a way which accords with this perspective. Their ideas therefore will be in the same causal idiom as those of any other scientist. Their concern will be to locate the regularities and general principles or processes which appear to be at work within the field of their data. The aim will be to build theories to explain these regularities. If these theories are to satisfy the requirement of maximum generality they will have to apply to both true and false beliefs, and as far as possible the same type of explanation will have to apply in both cases. The aim of physiology is to explain the organism in health and disease; the aim of mechanics is to understand machines which work and machines which fail; bridges which stand as well as those which fall. Similarly the sociologist seeks theories which explain the beliefs which are in fact found, regardless of how the investigator evaluates them.

Some typical problems in this area which have already yielded interesting findings may serve to illustrate this approach. First, there have been studies of the connections between the gross social struc-

people do things that are correct but something does make, or cause, them to go wrong (cf. Hamlyn (1969), Peters (1958)).

The general structure of these explanations stands out clearly. They all divide behaviour or belief into two types: right and wrong, true or false, rational or irrational. They then invoke sociological or psychological causes to explain the negative side of the division. Such causes explain error, limitation and deviation. The positive side of the evaluative divide is quite different. Here logic, rationality and truth appear to be their own explanation. Here psycho-social causes do not need to be invoked.

Applied to the field of intellectual activity these views have the effect of making a body of knowledge an autonomous realm. Behaviour is to be explained by appeal to the procedures, results, methods and maxims of the activity itself. It makes successful and conventional intellectual activity appear self-explanatory and self-propelling. It becomes its own explanation. No expertise in sociology or psychology is required: only expertise in the intellectual activity itself.

A currently fashionable version of this position is to be found in Lakatos's (1971) theory about how the history of science ought to be written. This theory was explicitly meant to have implications for the sociology of science as well. The first prerequisite, says Lakatos, is that a philosophy or methodology of science be chosen. These are accounts of what science ought to be, and of what steps in it are rational. The chosen philosophy of science becomes the framework on which hangs all the subsequent work of explanation. Guided by this philosophy it ought to be possible to display science as a process which exemplifies its principles and develops in accord with its teachings. In as far as this can be done then science has been shown to be rational in the light of that philosophy. This task, of showing that science embodies certain methodological principles, Lakatos calls either 'rational reconstruction' or 'internal history'. For example, an inductivist methodology would perhaps stress the emergence of theories out of an accumulation of observations. It would therefore focus on events like Kepler's use of Tycho Brahe's observations when formulating the laws of planetary motion.

It will never be possible, however, to capture all of the diversity of actual scientific practice by this means. Lakatos therefore insists that internal history will always need to be supplemented by an 'external history'. This looks after the irrational residue. It is a matter which the philosophical historian will hand over to the 'external historian' or the sociologist. Thus, from an inductivist standpoint the role of Kepler's