

The Method Concept

Lecture March 31st, 2020

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The rationale behind offering you two parallel courses
on "Methods" and "Research Techniques" (1)

Our choice of vocabulary in the naming of the courses
reflects how concepts such as "method" and "technique"
will be treated.

A more mainstream course name would be something
like "Theory and method."

However, we will often avoid talking about "theories"
simply since it is a most ambiguous term. Instead we
prefer "methods", "research traditions" or "epistemologies."



The rationale behind offering you two parallel courses on "Methods" and "Research Techniques" (2)

An example of how "theory" is perceived:

In natural sciences, medicine and macro economics, as well as in our every-day language the term "theory" often signifies a *hypothesis* that is to be tested, if possible by the help of experiments or quasi-experiments. The virologists currently discuss the "theory" that the new Covid-19 Corona virus was transferred from pangolins ("myrkottar" in Swedish) to bats to humans.



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The rationale behind offering you two parallel courses on "Methods" and "Research Techniques" (3)

Further, we avoid the rather common habit of using the word "methods" to signify technical matters such as how to formulate the items of a questionnaire, conduct an interview or perform a statistical procedure.

Here we prefer the word "techniques".



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The rationale behind offering you two parallel courses on "Methods" and "Research Techniques" (4)

Thus, "methods" and "research techniques" are two concepts the significance of which is worth considering.

There are others. At the end of my slide show there are comments on the meaning and use of a few of those concepts (method, research tradition). During the rest of the course you will have reason to return to questions on this matter.

-
- What is method?
 - What is a research technique?
 - What is theory?
 - What is a research tradition?
 - What is sociology's *differentia specifica*?
 - What is scientific?
 - What is objectivity?
 - What is a classic?
 - How are scientific controversies resolved?
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On Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Chamboredon & Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le métier de sociologue* (1)

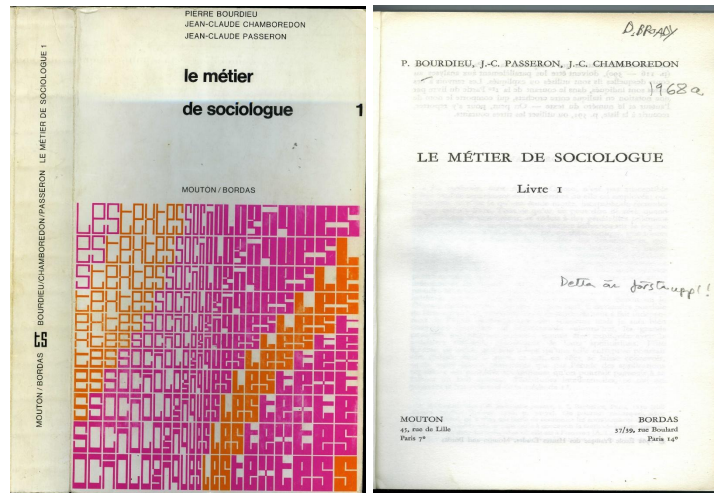
The prime aim of this lecture is help you to get further acquainted with *The Craft of Sociology (Le métier de sociologue)*, used in several of our courses, and an excellent source of inspiration concerning sociological methods.

For example when you plan the work for your master's thesis.

The book is very condensed and hard to read, no doubt. The first reading might be an ordeal. It is not bad if you manage to grasp 5 %. From that you might understand more than from introductions and handbooks that are easy to read and hard to understand. And when you return to the book things will gradually become more clear. I will do my best to try to explain the most important stuff.

On Bourdieu, Pierre, Jean-Claude Chamboredon & Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le métier de sociologue* (2)

First edition:
Le métier de sociologue. Livre I,
Mouton/Bordas,
Paris 1968, 430 p.



The title

The title is "The sociologist's craft,"
i.e. handicraft, profession, vocation.

Nota bene, the craft of the *sociologist*,
a human of flesh and blood, anchored in a specific historical
and social context. Not the craft of *sociology*, as the cover of
the English version says.

Original plan: to edit three volumes of *Le métier de sociologue*

Vol. 1. entitled "Epistemological preludes"

Vol 2 on the construction of the sociological object

Vol. 3 on the instruments, i.e. the concepts and the techniques to be used in empirical research

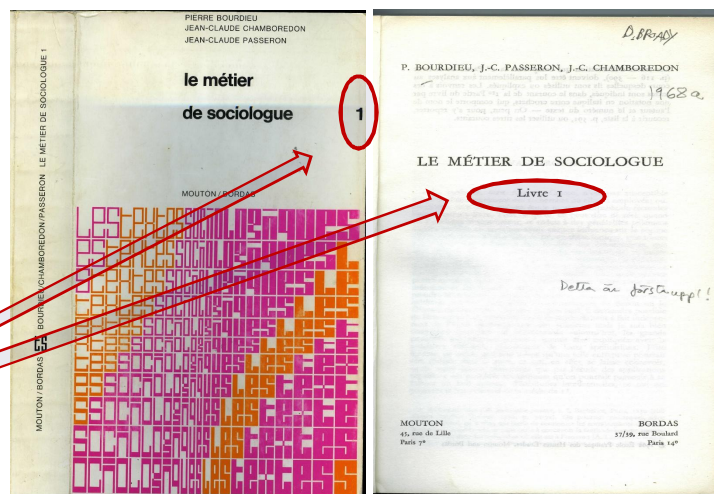
Only the first volume was ever realised, in 1968.

According to Bourdieu this first volume was more needed since nothing similar existed among mainstream textbooks on method, while there was vast literature on the matters planned to be treated in volume 2 and 3.

Though indented as a course-book — the only one written by Bourdieu — it is difficult to read. To understand 5 % is not bad. Preferable to introductions or handbooks that are easy to read and difficult to understand.

Bourdieu, Pierre, Jean-Claude Chamboredon & Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le métier de sociologue*

First edition:
Le métier de sociologue. Livre I,
Mouton/Bordas,
Paris 1968, 430 p.



Volumes 2 and 3
never published

Later editions

Abridged edition 1973, 357 p.
 with the new sub-title
 "*Préalables épistémologiques*",
 unchanged in later printed
 editions. Also an unchanged
 ebook version 2010.

Translated German and English
 versions, both published by de
 Gruyter in 1991.



Three central aspects of the sociologist's craft (1)

From now on information on pages refers to the 2 ed. 1973 (and following
 French editions) and the English and sometimes the German
 translation thereof.

The three central aspects of the sociologist's craft
 are mirrored in the disposition of the book:

1. La rupture, pp. 27–49
 (Engl. transl. 1991: "Part One — The break," pp. 13–31)
 And illustrative texts, pp. 125–192 (Engl. transl. 1991, pp. 93–145)
2. La construction de l'objet, pp. 51–80
 (Engl. transl. 1991: "Part Two — Constructing the object,"
 pp. 33–55)
 And illustrative texts, pp. 193–264 (Engl. transl. 1991,
 pp. 147–199)
3. Le rationalisme appliqué, pp. 81–94
 (Engl. transl. 1991: "Part Three — Applied rationalism," pp. 57–68)
 And illustrative texts, pp. 265–307 (Engl. transl. 1991, pp. 201–232)

Three central aspects of the sociologist's craft (2)

"conquered, constructed and confirmed"
(French: *conquis, construit, constaté*)
is a condensed formulation of this tripartite architecture of
the book project (and of the proposed epistemological
program for sociological research)

"Poser avec Bachelard que le fait scientifique est conquis, construit, constaté [...]"
(Bourdieu et al., 1973, p. 24)

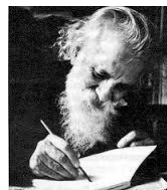
"Att med Bachelard utgå från att det vetenskapliga faktumet är erövrat,
konstruerat, fastställt [...]"

"Bachelard's premise that the scientific fact is won, constructed and confirmed
[...]" (Engl. transl., 1991, p. 11)

French historical epistemology (1)

Inspired by French historical
epistemology, i.e. philosophers
of science such as

- Gaston Bachelard
- Georges Canguilhem
(the patron of for example the doctor
theses of Michel Foucault and Pierre
Bourdieu, the latter never
accomplished).
- Jean Cavailles
- Henri Poincaré
and others



French historical epistemology (2)

Six themes:

1. Bachelard's "applied rationalism,"
2. The sciences should stand on their own feet, by deliberating themselves from traditional philosophical positions (traditional rationalism, realism, empirism etc) and from the images of spontaneous thinking,
3. The "philosophy of no" that overcomes epistemological errors and obstacles,
4. The primacy of relations,
5. The constructed research object and the constructionist character of scientific work,
6. The research subject is historically situated. Regional epistemologies.

(See D. Broady, *Sociologi och epistemologi*, 2. ed. 1991, pp. 305-386, i.e. chapter IV)

The beginning of *Le métier*

Pp. 11–80 in the second French edition 1973
(and following French editions)

Corresponding to pp. 1–77 in the English edition
The Craft of Sociology, 1991,

and pp. 1–89 in the German edition
Soziologie als Beruf, 1991.

These pages are hard to read but keep in mind that they are not to be read as a stand-alone text but as a synthetic exposition of themes illustrated by the commented extracts constituting the rest of the book.

Introduction – Epistemology and methodology (1)

Pp. 11 –25 (Engl. transl. pp. 1–12)

The aim of sociological education is to create good intellectual habits! Cf. the introductory citation from Comte: no more and no less could be expect from “la méthode” (p. 11, Engl. transl. p. 1). [This statement by Comte was probably a swipe at the Cartesian megalomaniac faith in The Method – note that Descartes used the singular form of the word. There was only *one* method.]

Thus, this is not a recipe book but an exposé of principles to be interiorised by the sociologist, who thus will be procured with the habitus needed to undertake fruitful research.

Introduction – Epistemology and methodology (2)

Most important in this interiorisation of god intellectual habits is to cultivate the capacity for *vigilance* (Swedish: *vaksamhet*), a term borrowed from Bachelard.

With another vocabulary we might talk about critical science – “critique” understood in the sense of Kant or Marx, i.e. to investigate conditions of possibility (*Möglichkeitsbedingungen*), what makes things possible.

Introduction – Epistemology and methodology (3)

Bourdieu et al disqualified “the methodologists,” such as the authors of mainstream handbooks on method who treat “methods” detached from research practices and by “methods” mean – and prescribe – specific techniques, in fact suitable only for very specific research operations.

Avoid such abstract recipes for producing scientific research. Regional epistemologies (for example an epistemology for sociology) are needed.

Introduction – Epistemology and methodology (4)

What unites classical European sociology?

A starting point for Bourdieu et al. is that the great sociological traditions all share the *same epistemological principles* (namely the those treated in this book: the principle of breaking with common knowledge, of constructing the object, etcetera). This goes for Comte, Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and so on up until today's serious social scientists, and to a great extend also for the natural scientists.

We often do not recognise this common ground because of all the diversities among those scholars when it comes to their *different theories of social system*.

(Cf. pp. 16, 49; Engl. transl. pp. 4 f, 30 f.)

The Break (1)

The Break (*La rupture*), pp. 27–49.
Engl. transl. pp. 13–31

Necessary to break with

- your own personal presumptions,
- common spontaneous everyday interpretations,
- loans from other disciplines, or other domains of knowledge
- the taken for granted of that which in fact is the outcome of struggles within the field you investigating
- in short, all kinds of prenotions

The Break (2)

Our familiarity with the social world is the greatest obstacle to sociological knowledge.
(p. 27; Engl. transl. p. 13)

An opinion not shared by everyone. There is what the Danes call “microphone holding sociology” (mikrofonholdersociologi). Some wish to “give voice” to their fellow man. The opposite of Durkheim’s standpoint that if humans knew why they do what they are do there would be no need for social science.

Constructing the object (1)

Constructing the object (*La construction de l'objet*), pp. 33–49.
Engl. transl. pp. 33–55.

Each science should have its own epistemology
and should construct its own objects.

Constructing the object (2)

An example: the provisional or preliminary definitions (*définitions préalables*) advocated by the Durkheimians, demonstrated in e.g. Marcel Mauss' work on the prayer [extract pp. 130-133; Engl. transl. pp. 97-99].

Later on in his work on the prayer (p. 385 ff. in Mauss, *Œuvres 1*, 1968) from which this text piece is extracted, Mauss states that the prayer is a rite.

He then first (p. 409) creates a preliminary definition of religious rites: "*des actes traditionnels efficaces qui portent sur des choses dites sacrées.*" (traditional actions that are directed towards things that are called sacred), whereafter he creates (p. 414) a preliminary definition of prayer: "*un rite religieux, oral, portant directement sur les choses sacrées*" (a religious rite that is oral and directly oriented towards sacred things).

Constructing the object (3)

The necessity to construct the object is not acknowledged by everyone. Bourdieu, as well as for example Marx or Durkheim, was not found of empiricism and have not been loved by empiricists.

(cf. pp. 54–58; Engl. transl. pp. 35–38.)

Applied rationalism (1)

Applied rationalism (*Le rationalisme appliqué*), pp. 81–94.
Engl. transl. pp. 57–68.

“Applied rationalism” was Bachelard’s term and concept, denoting the kind of research he advocated.

Nota bene that *rationalism* is the key word. A scientist have to think, to avoid the pitfalls of naïve realism, empiricism and positivism.

– but your thinking has to be *applied*, in empirical research.
Avoid the pitfalls of idealism, conventionalism and formalism.

Applied rationalism (2)

It might not be evident what those isms mean. Bachelard and Canguilhem and their followers used the terms in the following manner.

- *Naïve realism* [or simply "realism", as Bachelard did put it] means the belief that the word *is* as it appears to our senses, in our immediate perceptions and observations.
- *Positivism*, e.g. Comte, or Carnap's, the early Neurath's or the early Wittgenstein's correspondence theory (i.e. scientific propositions should mirror observed facts)
- *Empiricism* [or empirism, as Bachelard did put it] means the belief that our senses and immediate perceptions and observations offer reliable knowledge of the world as it is.
- *Idealism*, e.g. Platonism or Cartesianism
- *Conventionalism*, e.g. Breuwer
- *Formalism*, e.g. Kantianism

Applied rationalism (3)

DIALECTICA

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY OF KNOWLEDGE
REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE PHILOSOPHIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE
INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE DER ERKENNTNIS

VOL. 1 • 1947

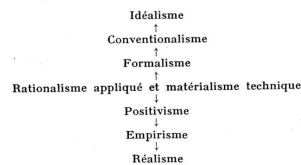
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G. BACHELARD

ses preuves de fécondité jusque dans l'organisation de la pensée technique. C'est par ses applications que le rationalisme conquiert ses valeurs objectives. Il ne s'agit donc plus, pour juger la pensée scientifique, de s'appuyer sur un rationalisme formel, abstrait, universel. Il faut atteindre un rationalisme concret, solidaire d'expériences toujours particulières et précises. Il faut aussi que ce rationalisme soit suffisamment ouvert pour recevoir de l'expérience des déterminations nouvelles. En vivant d'un peu près cette dialectique, on se convainc que la réalité éminente des champs de pensée. Dans ces champs épistémologiques s'échangent les valeurs du rationalisme et de l'expérimentalisme.

II

En fait, ce chassé-croisé de deux philosophies contraires en action dans la pensée scientifique engage des philosophies plus nombreuses et nous aurons à présenter des dialogues sans doute moins serrés, mais qui tendent la psychologie de l'esprit scientifique. Par exemple, on mutilerait la philosophie de la science si l'on n'examinait pas comment se situent le *positivisme* ou le *formalisme* qui ont certes tous deux des fonctions dans la physique et dans la chimie contemporaines. Mais une des raisons qui nous fait croire au bien-fondé de notre position centrale, c'est que toutes les philosophies de la connaissance scientifique se mettent en ordre à partir du *rationalisme appliqué*. Il est à peine besoin de commenter le tableau suivant quand on l'applique à la pensée scientifique :



Indiquons seulement les deux perspectives de pensées *affaiblies* qui mènent, d'une part, du rationalisme à l'idéalisme naïf et, d'autre part, du matérialisme technique au réalisme naïf.

Ainsi, quand on interprète systématiquement la connaissance rationnelle comme la constitution de certaines *formes*, comme un

Applied rationalism (4)

Idealism
-
Conventionalism
-
Formalism
-
Applied rationalism and technical materialism
-
Positivism
-
Empirism
-
Realism

(Gaston Bachelard, "La philosophie dialoguée", *Dialectica. Revue internationale de philosophie de la connaissance* [Neuchâtel], vol. I, no 1, 1947, p. 14.)

Questions

What is method?
What is a research technique?
What is theory?
What is a research tradition?
What is sociology's *differentia specifica*?
What is scientific?
What is objectivity?
What is a classic?
How are scientific controversies resolved?

What is method?

What is method? (1)

By “method” we do in this course (and in the research at SEC) mean a certain manner to conduct research. Methods comprise certain interrelated concepts and certain ways

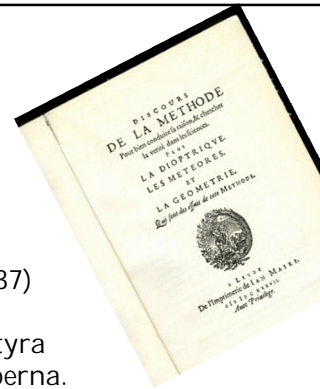
- to pose the research questions
- to construct the research object
- to decide what kind of techniques for data collection and treatment to choose (the practical management of those techniques is, though, something else than method)
- to bring about interpretations or explanations
- to argue and to present the results, including the very style and tone of the produced scientific texts

What is method? (2)

Descartes, *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison, & chercher la vérité dans les sciences. Plus la Dioptrique, les Météores et la Géométrie, qui sont les Essais de cete Méthode* (1637)

In Swedish: Utläggning om metoden för att rätt styra sitt förnuft och för att söka sanningen i vetenskaperna. Plus dioptriken, läran om himlafenomenen och geometrin, vilket är de Försök där denna Metod prövas.

In English: A Discourse on the Method of Correctly Conducting One's Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences. Plus the Dioptrics, the Celestial Phenomena and the Geometry, which are the Attempts with this Method.

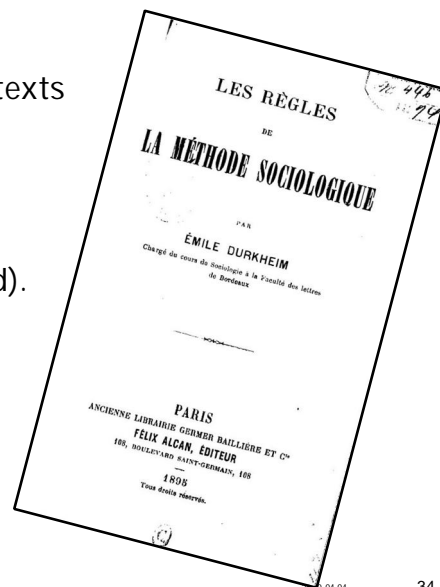


What is method? (3)

Most famous among sociological texts on method:

Émile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (The Rules of Sociological Method).

Published as articles in a philosophical journal 1894, as a book 1895.



Durkheim on social facts

[Les faits sociaux] consistent en des manières d'agir, de penser et de sentir, extérieures à l'individu, et qui sont douées d'un pouvoir de coercition en vertu duquel ils s'imposent à lui.

(Émile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* [1895], P.U.F., Paris, 20 ed. 1981, p. 5)

På svenska:

[Sociala fakta] består av sätt att handla, tänka och känna som är utvärtas i förhållande till individen och som med tvångsmakt tvingar sig på individen.

(Transl. D. Broady)

In English:

[Social facts] consist of ways of acting, thinking and feeling that are external to the individual and are endowed with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him.

(*Readings from Émile Durkheim*. Ed. Kenneth Thompson, Routledge, London/New York, revised edition 2004, p. 47. Transl. Margaret Thompson & Kenneth Thompson.)

Durkheim's rules of the sociological method (1)

La première règle et la plus fondamentale est de *considérer les faits sociaux comme des choses*.

(Émile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* [1895], P.U.F., Paris, 20 ed. 1981, p. 15)

På svenska:

Den första regeln, och den mest grundläggande, är att *betrakta sociala fakta som ting*.

(Transl. D. Broady)

In English:

The first and fundamental rule is to *consider social facts as things*.

(*Readings from Émile Durkheim*. Ed. Kenneth Thompson, Routledge, London/New York, revised edition 2004, p. 50. Transl. Margaret Thompson & Kenneth Thompson.)

Durkheim's rules of the sociological method (2)

Le premier de ces corollaires est que : *Il faut écarter systématiquement toutes les prénotions.*

(Émile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* [1895], P.U.F., Paris, 20 ed. 1981, p. 31)

På svenska:

Den första av dessa följsatser är: *man måste systematiskt avlägsna alla förutfattade föreställningar.* (Transl. D. Broady)

In English:

The first of these corollaries is: *All preconceptions must be systematically avoided.*

(*Readings from Émile Durkheim*. Ed. Kenneth Thompson, Routledge, London/New York, revised edition 2004, p. 52. Transl. Margaret Thompson & Kenneth Thompson.)



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Durkheim's rules of the sociological method (3)

La cause déterminante d'un fait social doit être cherchée parmi les faits sociaux antécédents, et non parmi les états de la conscience individuelle.

(Émile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* [1895], P.U.F., . Paris: 20 ed. 1981, p. 109)

På svenska:

Den determinerande orsaken till ett socialt faktum bör sökas bland de föregående sociala fakta, och icke hos det individuella medvetandets tillstånd.

(Transl. D. Broady)

In English:

The determining cause of a social fact must be sought among antecedent social facts, and not among the states of the individual consciousness.

(*Readings from Émile Durkheim*. Ed. Kenneth Thompson, Routledge, London/New York, revised edition 2004, p. 61. Transl. Margaret Thompson & Kenneth Thompson.)



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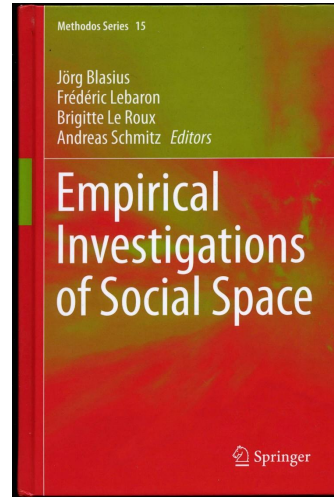
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A current use of the term method (4)

“Metodos” is the name of book series published by Springer Nature. (In the most recent volume, published last month, there are contributions from SEC.)

Thus, despite today’s wide-spread habit to let “methods” signify “techniques”, a more classic meaning still exists.



An example of research methods: the uses of Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts in explanations of social phenomena

Explore the encounter between

- what people carry with them, and
- the social world in which they enter

Individuals equipped with a certain habitus and certain species and amounts of capital

Available strategies

Positions in the social world (the social space, the educational system, different fields)

Methods vs research techniques

A method is a rather stable way to conduct research. Methods tend to change slowly. To develop and master them takes time. They might be the result of the collective efforts of several scholar generations.

E.g. to use the methods of Bourdieu & Co illustrated above means to investigate

1. properties of human beings (capitals, habitus)
2. the prevailing order in the social world (the structure of the social space or of other spaces or fields)
3. the connections between the two

A research technique is an instrument that might be replaced when the methods call for it.

E.g. to uncover the order or structure of a space or field (the ellipse to the left in the image above) shifting techniques might be applied and combined, such as ethnographic observations, interviews, questionnaires, text analysis of current documents or historical sources, elementary statistics or (common but not at all mandatory in studies by Bourdieu & Co) statistical techniques belonging to the GDA (Geometric Data Analysis) family, such as multiple correspondence analysis, principal component analysis, Euclidean classification.

What is a research tradition?

Research traditions (1)

Definition: By “research tradition” we mean the social practices of researchers of flesh and blood and their positions in an historical and social context –their positions within a scientific field (Bourdieu), a scientific city (Bachelard), thought collectives (Fleck) or whatever you wish to call this context.

Within a tradition the researchers share certain interrelated concepts and a certain bundle of methods (as defined above). They also tend to favour certain research techniques but, as mentioned, those techniques might be replaced by other.

Thus e.g. the common opposition quantitative/qualitative does not signify an opposition between research traditions. In social sciences and humanities many traditions use and combine different kinds of techniques.

Research traditions (2)

To give concrete examples: traditions and authors represented in the pensum of the course “Sociology of Education, Traditions,” Sept.–Oct. 2019:

- Bourdieusianism (Bourdieu, Moi)
- Discourse analysis (Foucault).
- Durkeimianism (first generation: Durkheim, Mauss, Simiand)
- Historical epistemology (Bachelard, Canguilhem)
- Kantianism (Kant)
- Marxism (Marx, Engels, Bowles & Gintis)
- Phenomenology (Husserl)
- Positivism (Comte)
- Rational choice theory, aka rational action theory (Gary Becker)
- Structure functionalism (Parsons)
- Symbolic interactionism (Goffman).
- Weberianism (Weber, Collins)

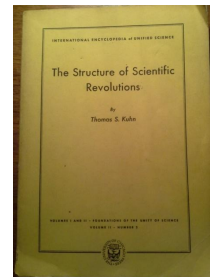


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Research traditions (3)

To use Bourdieu's vocabulary a research tradition is situated within a *scientific field* where it competes with a multitude of other traditions and is defined by its relations to their positions in the field.

Research traditions in this sense are something else than e.g. Thomas Kuhn's *paradigms*. According to Kuhn one paradigm rules during a period of normal science that after a messy revolutionary interregnum is succeeded by another ruling paradigm. Thus, Kuhn viewed e.g. cosmology as the history of the emergence, dominance and fall of monopolies. His prime example was how the geocentric world view was overthrown and replaced by the Copernican. A perspective very different from Bourdieu's notion of "fields of struggles" or "fields of competition" – if only one totally dominant position exists at a given time there is no field but an "apparatus". (We should, though, bear in mind that Kuhn considered astronomy, physics and so on, not social sciences and humanities where it is debatable if paradigms in Kuhn's sense exist, except maybe in disciplines such as macro economics where there during the last decades has been a widespread consensus on what doctrine is legitimate.)



Further, Kuhn's paradigm concept only covered "mental" aspects, not social.



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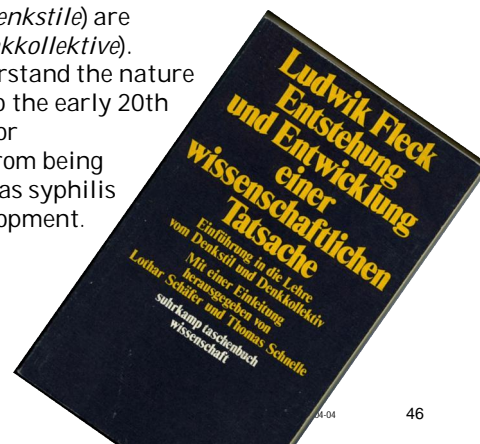
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Research traditions (4)

Ludwik Fleck did present us with an instructive classic example of how research traditions are not merely about shared mental tools, concepts, techniques etcetera but also historically, socially and culturally situated.

Fleck showed how certain thought styles (*Denkstile*) are anchored in certain thought collectives (*Denkkollektive*). His starting point was the attempts to understand the nature of syphilis, from the medieval ages and up to the early 20th century when the first efficient techniques for diagnosing the disease were invented. Far from being a given "fact" (*Tatsache*) a phenomena such as syphilis is a product of an historical and social development.

L. Fleck, *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache. Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv*, 1935.
(Engl. transl. *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, 1979.)



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Research traditions (5)

Sociological traditions are cultivated by scholars who are trained and active at different faculties and departments, from theological to archaeological – thus, not only those with “sociology” in their names. Do not confuse disciplines in the sense of research traditions with disciplines in the administrative sense, i.e. the organisational categorisation and naming of departments, chairs, PhD exams, courses etcetera.

Historical aspects of contemporary social phenomena were omni-present in classical European sociology and still are among the inheritors, while (roughly speaking) more U.S. oriented sociologists tend to pay less interest to historical conditions. By consequence what in the anglo-saxon sphere of influence is called “historical sociology” is treated as a rather marginal speciality. So far Durkheim has been wrong in his prediction that history and sociology will eventually merge into one single discipline.

Research traditions (6)

One example of that social aspects are important for the understanding of differences between research traditions:

Individualised practices versus collective practices

Misleading to make individualistic interpretations of the works from collective research environments such as those of the Durkheimians or Bourdieu & Co.

What is a classic?

What is a classic?

We tend to take for granted Durkheim's or Max Weber's status as classics and founding fathers of modern sociology. But the consecration of a classic author is the outcome of developments and struggles within scientific fields.

When Weber died in 1920 he was considered merely one among many German economists and sociologists. In the US also Durkheim was poorly known during the first decades of the 20th Century.

Until Parsons made Weber and Durkheim fathers of modern sociology – a discipline crowned by Parsons' own programme.



Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action. A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers*, 1937

In the 1968 paperback edition:
194 pages on Max Weber
149 pages on Émile Durkheim
122 pages on Wilfredo Pareto
48 pages on Alfred Marshall
and 10 pages on Karl Marx – thereof 7 pages in the section "The Idealistic Tradition"!

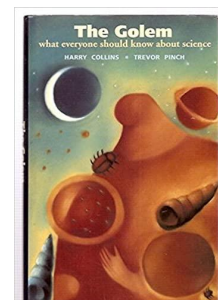
How are scientific controversies resolved?

How are scientific controversies resolved?

A classic treaty:

Harry Collins & Trevor Pinch, *The Golem: What everyone should know about science*, 1993

An examination of a number of scientific discoveries and experiments that have been regarded as empirical verifications of theories or hypotheses. Such as Eddington's and Dyson's photos of stars during the solar eclipse in 1919, celebrated as the first and definitive empirical proof of the gravitation-caused curved deflection of light predicted by Einstein's general theory of relativity. Einstein became a world-famous celebrity. However, the astronomers' expeditions yielded rather useless photos and inconclusive calculations. According to Collins and Pinch the recognition of Einstein's theory is explained by a consensus produced within the field of physics.





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