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APPENDIX
SOME ATTRIBUTES OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN MODE 2

Michael Gibbons

Mode 2 knowledge production can be described in terms of a number of attributes which can be used analytically to specify -the principal differences between Mode 1 and Mode 2. In Mode 2, knowledge is produced in the context of application. It is trans-disciplinary, involves a variety of different skills in problem-solving and utilises more flexible organisational structures. Mode 2 knowledge production is more socially accountable and makes use of a wider range of expertise in its quality control processes. Let us look at each of these attributes in turn.

Knowledge produced in the context of application

The relevant contrast here is between problem-solving which is carried out following the codes of practice relevant to a particular discipline and problem-solving which is organised around a particular application. In the former, the context is defined in relation to the cognitive and social norms that govern basic research or academic science. Latterly, this has tended to imply knowledge production carried out in the absence of some practical goal. In Mode 2, by contrast, knowledge results from a broader range of considerations. Such knowledge is intended to be useful to someone - whether in industry, government, or society more generally - and this imperative is present from the beginning. Thus, knowledge is always produced under an aspect of continuous negotiation - that

is, it will not be produced unless and until the interests of the various actors are included. Such is the context of application.

Application in this sense is not equivalent to product development carried out for industry, and the processes that operate to determine what knowledge is produced are much broader than is normally implied when one speaks about taking ideas to the market place. In the context of application, users and producers of knowledge meet to articulate their various needs and requirements. As knowledge producers arise in a variety of institutions, so users of specialised knowledge come from many quarters, including industry, government departments and voluntary sector organisations. The context of application provides the framework within which users and producers of knowledge work out research programmes and mobilise resources for their execution.

Trans-disciplinarity

Mode 2 does more than assemble a diverse range of specialists to work in teams on problems in a complex applications-oriented environment. To qualify as a specific form of knowledge production it is essential that inquiry be guided by specifiable consensus as to appropriate cognitive and social practice. In Mode 2, the consensus is conditioned by the context of application and evolves with it. The determinants of a potential solution involve the integration of different skills in a framework of action but the consensus may be only temporary depending on how well it conforms to the requirements set by the specific context of application. In Mode 2 the shape of the final solution will normally be beyond that of any single contributing discipline. It will be trans-disciplinary.

Trans-disciplinarity has four distinct features:

- It develops a distinct but evolving framework to guide problem-solving efforts. This is generated and sustained in the context of application, and not developed first and then applied to that context later by a different group of practitioners. The solution does not arise solely, or even mainly, from the application of knowledge that already exists. Although elements of existing knowledge must have entered into it, genuine creativity is involved and the theoretical consensus, once attained cannot easily be reduced to disciplinary parts.

Because the solution comprises both empirical and theoretical components it is undeniably a contribution to knowledge, though not necessarily disciplinary knowledge. Though it has emerged from a particular context of application, trans-disciplinary knowledge develops its own distinct theoretical structures, research methods, and modes of practice, though they may not be located on the prevalent disciplinary map. The effort is cumulative, though the accumulation may travel in a number of different directions after a major problem has been solved.

Unlike Mode 1, where results are communicated through institutional channels, the results of Mode 2 knowledge production are communicated to those who have participated as they participate. So, in a sense, the diffusion of the results is initially accomplished in the process of their production. Subsequent diffusion occurs primarily as the original practitioners move to new problem contexts, rather than through reporting results in professional journals or at conferences. Communication links are maintained partly through formal and partly through informal channels.

Trans-disciplinarity is dynamic. It is problem-solving capability on the move. A particular solution can become the cognitive site from which further advances can be made, but where this knowledge will be used next and how it will develop are as difficult to predict as are the possible applications that might arise from discipline-based research. Mode 2 is marked especially but not exclusively by the ever closer interaction of knowledge production with a succession of problem contexts. Even though problem contexts are transient, and problem solvers highly mobile, communication networks tend to persist and the knowledge contained in them is available to enter into further configurations.

Good examples of trans-disciplinarity in the context of application can be seen in the development of a new computer architecture. In these cases a diverse set of skill is required, including solid state physics, software engineering, linguistics, psychology, physics, philosophy and, of course, computer scientists. They aim to produce knowledge which will be of use. These experts come together in what has been referred to as a context of application because they are challenged by the problem of the next generation of computer architecture and because they know that whatever the solution found, the next but one generation will begin from it. In a sense they can't afford to be left out of the conversation. Further, such architectures are not the result of developing theory first and applying it later. Rather, theory must in some sense be as much the outcome of a successfully working new computer as an input to its design. In the case of novel computer architectures, some maintain that the theory, the design configuration and the relevant software are so intertwined that they emerge at the same time, rather like a new aeroplane which rolls out of a hangar accompanied by a flight simulator precise enough to train the pilots. It is simply too complex to design the aeroplane first and then build a simulator based primarily upon flight test information.

Heterogeneity and organisational diversity

Mode 2 knowledge production is heterogeneous in terms of the skills and experience people bring to it. The composition of a problem-solving team changes over time as requirements evolve. This is not planned or coordinated by any central body. As with Mode 1, challenging problems emerge, if not randomly, then in a way which makes their anticipation very difficult. Accordingly, Mode 2 is marked by:

- an increase in the number of potential sites where knowledge can be created - no longer only universities and colleges, but also non-university institutes, research centres, government agencies, industrial laboratories, think tanks, consultancies, and their interaction;

the linking together of sites in a variety of ways - electronically, organisationally, socially, informally - through functioning networks of communication;

the simultaneous differentiation at these sites of fields and areas of study into finer and finer specialities. The recombination and reconfiguration of these sub-fields form the bases for new forms of useful knowledge. Over time, knowledge production moves increasingly away from traditional disciplinary activity into new societal contexts.

In Mode 2, flexibility and response time are the crucial factors, and because of this the types of organisation used to tackle these problems may vary greatly. New forms of organisation have emerged to accommodate the changing and transitory nature of the problems Mode 2 addresses. Characteristically, in Mode 2 research groups are less firmly institutionalised; people come together in temporary work teams and networks which dissolve when a problem is solved or redefined. Members may then reassemble in different groups involving different people, often in different loci, around different problems. The experience gathered in this process creates a competence which becomes highly valued and which is transferred to new contexts. Though problems may be transient and groups short-lived, the organisation and communication patterns persist as a matrix from which further groups and networks, dedicated to different problems, will be formed. Mode 2 knowledge is thus created in a great variety of organisations and institutions, including multinational firms, network firms, small hi-tech firms based on a particular technology, government institutions, research universities, laboratories and institutes as well as national and international research programmes. In such environments the patterns of funding exhibit a similar diversity, being assembled from a variety of organisations with a diverse range of requirements and expectations which, in turn, enter into the context of application.

Social accountability and reflexivity

In recent years, growing public concern about issues to do with the environment, health, communications, privacy, procreation, and so forth, have had the effect of stimulating the growth of knowledge production in Mode 2. Growing awareness about the variety of ways in which advances in science and technology can affect the public interest has increased the number of groups who wish to influence the outcome of the research process. This is reflected in the varied composition of the research teams. Social scientists work alongside natural scientists, engineers, lawyers and businessmen because the nature of the problems requires it. Social accountability permeates the whole knowledge production process. It is reflected not only in the interpretation and diffusion of results, but also in the definition of the problem and the setting of research priorities. An expanding number of interest groups are demanding representation in the setting of the policy agenda as well as in the subsequent decision-making process. In Mode 2, sensitivity to the impact of the research is built in from the start. It forms part of the context of application.

Contrary to what one might expect, working in the context of application, increases the sensitivity of scientists and technologists to the broader implications of what they are doing. Operating in Mode 2 makes all participants more reflexive. This is because the issues which forward the development of Mode 2 research cannot be specified in scientific and technical terms alone. Research towards the resolution of these types of problems has to incorporate options for the implementation of the solutions, and these are bound to touch the values and preferences of different individuals and groups which have been seen traditionally as outside of the scientific and technological system. They can now become active agents in the definition and solution of problems as well as in the evaluation of performance. This is expressed partly in terms of the need for greater social accountability, but it also means that the individuals themselves cannot function effectively without reflecting - trying to operate from the standpoint of - all the actors involved. The deepening of understanding that this brings, in turn, has an effect on what is considered worthwhile, hence on the

structure of the research itself. Reflection of the values implied in human aspirations and projects has been a traditional concern of the humanities. As reflexivity within the research process spreads, the humanities, too, are experiencing an increased demand for the sorts of knowledge they have to offer.

Some effects of reflexivity and enhanced social accountability can be seen in the outcomes of various forums for the expression of public concern. Of particular interest is the role played by public controversies. These create meeting places for discussion. Because many diverse actors are involved these meeting places can be regarded as hybrid forums. Controversies frequently lead to the establishment of inquiries dealing with questions of public policy, regulation and a host of other social and ethical issues. New knowledge is gathered, some of it based on the results of previous scientific research and technological developments that have gradually become the cause of social concern. For example, new forms of knowledge such as risk analysis, technology assessment, and the growth of various specialities in environmental science are responses to public concern about the safety of high-risk buildings, the adverse effects of automobile traffic or the effects of global warming. Through these controversies, markets for alternate technologies are developed and foci for new research agendas established.

Quality control

Criteria to assess the quality of the work and the teams which carry out research in Mode 2 differ from those of more traditional, disciplinary science. Quality in Mode 1 is determined essentially through peer review judgements about the contributions made by individuals. Control is maintained by careful selection of those judged competent to act as peers, which is in part determined by their previous contributions to their discipline. So, the peer review process is one in which quality and control mutually reinforce one another. It has both cognitive and social dimensions, in that there is professional control over what problems and techniques are deemed important, as well as who is qualified to pursue in their solution. In

disciplinary science, peer review operates to channel individuals to work on problems judged to be central to the advance of the discipline. These problems are defined largely in terms of criteria which reflect the intellectual interests and preoccupations of the discipline and its gatekeepers.

In Mode 2 additional criteria are added through the context of application, which now incorporates a diverse range of intellectual, social, economic and political interests. To the criterion of intellectual interest and its interaction, further questions are posed: Will the solution, if found, be competitive in the market? Will it be cost effective? Will it be socially acceptable? Quality is determined by a wider set of criteria that reflects the broadening social composition of the review system. This implies that 'good science' is more difficult to determine. Since it is no longer limited strictly to the judgements of disciplinary peers, the fear is that control will be weaker and result in lower quality work. Although the quality control process in Mode 2 is more broadly based, it does not follow that because a wider range of expertise is brought to bear on a problem that it will necessarily be of lower quality. Rather, it is of a more composite, multidimensional kind.