# International Sociological Association
# e-bulletin

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## Editorial

I am excited to place before the readers of the July 2009 issue of the ISA E-Bulletin, a collection of papers on a matter of critical importance to all practicing social scientists. This special issue was proposed to me by Michael Burawoy (a suggestion I was more than pleased to follow through) and presents a selection of papers that were presented at the ISA Conference of National Associations held in Taipei, March 23-25, 2009, together with an important piece by Melinda Mills published previously in the ISA E-Bulletin. In a variety of modes, speaking from different positionalities and regions, the authors of these seven papers, reflect on the dilemmas, challenges and possibilities of legitimately rating, ranking and recognizing the various markers of tertiary education - including universities, journals, departments – in the contemporary context. The papers by Melinda Mills, Tom Dwyer, Tina Uys, John Holmwood and Christian Fleck are held together by an introductory piece by Michael Burawoy.  I invite readers of the E-Bulletin to engage, debate and respond to the ideas carried in this special issue.  The 'In Conversation' segment of the E—Bulletin carries a stimulating exchange between Dennis Smith and Karen O'Reilly. The text is accompanied by an audio recording of the conversation as well.

As always, I welcome comments, feedback and suggestions from readers to enable me to put together an issue of the E-Bulletin that sociologists will find relevant, meaningful and thgouth-provoking. I would also like to thank readers and contributors for their continued support of the ISA E_Bulletin.

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## Challenges for Global Sociology: From the Evaluation of Sociology to the Sociology of Evaluation

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This special issue of the E-bulletin arose from the ISA Conference of National Associations held in Taipei, March 23-25, 2009. There were 60 participants from 43 countries, evenly spread across the planet. The theme of the conference was "Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Sociology."[1] We were in Taipei to confront the fissures that divide us, the dominations that oppress us, the dependencies that limit us. One issue that came up time and again was the issue of international rating of higher education – the rating of universities, of disciplines, of journals, of departments, and of individual academics. Should there be such ratings? What purpose do they serve? How should they be conducted? Who should do the evaluating? While the audit culture is sweeping across the world of higher education, it assumes different forms in different countries, with different consequences for the pursuit of teaching and research, for sociology's public and policy engagements. Academics have generally been passive or complicit in the face

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[1] The papers, together with power-point presentations, and audio recordings are available at the conference website http://www.ios.sinica.edu.tw/cna/index.php. A film and three volumes of Conference Proceedings are in preparation.

of this offensive, which not only threatens our autonomy but also deepens inequalities and dependency.

The six papers – 5 of which come from the Taipei conference – aim to begin a collective discussion within the ISA about the technologies deployed to evaluate sociologists, the institutions in which they work and the knowledge that they produce. This is the inaugural move of the ISA Task Force set up to examine and interrogate systems of evaluation so as to better understand their hidden mechanisms and the assumptions upon which they rest, and to determine whose interests they serve, all with a view to gaining control over them, and to turn them to our advantage or at least to minimize their harm.

We start with the one paper that does not come from the conference but we are reprinting it here from an earlier E-Bulletin because it so simply and clearly shows the biases in the so-called "impact factor" used to compare journals across countries and disciplines. Melinda Mills, herself the editor of International Sociology, shows just how arbitrary is the supposedly scientific measurement of "impact" derived from citation counts. She shows how journals increase their "impact" if they have a broader focus, have more review articles, are in English, are U.S. based, and publish articles that have immediate "impact" rather than slowly acquire renown. It is important to investigate the biases in the measurement of "impact" because "impact" matters, determining which journals libraries subscribe to, which journals sociologists publish in, and indeed which areas sociologists specialize in! One strategy is to get rid of "impact" altogether, but the alternative is to redefine impact, or to develop multiple measures of impact. It certainly wouldn't be difficult to think up different metrics.

There is a prior problem, however, which Mills does not address and that is how one gets on the list of journals recognized by the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), for only such journals will have citations counted in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) from which the impact factor is calculated. Tom Dwyer takes up the story here. Quoting research done by his Brazilian colleague Alice Abreu he points out that less than 3% of Latin American sociology journals appear on the ISI list, so that there is an overwhelming bias against the articles likely to be cited by Latin American sociologists. It is one thing to be concerned about the "impact factor," but many (probably most) journals in the world don't count; they don't even have an "impact factor" (according to the ISI)! The excluded outnumber the included. Brazilians have responded by initiating their own ranking system of their own journals, and to distribute rewards accordingly. Even if US or European journals still, informally, may count for more, nonetheless this strategy shows a determination to redefine "internationalization" to suit national interests.

In South Africa academics have deployed a different strategy. Tina Uys describes how the National Research Foundation (NRF) applies the same rubric to social sciences and humanities as it does to the natural sciences, rewarding individuals according to their international standing. She describes all the distortions this introduces, drawing sociologists away from national problems, pursuing research programs defined in the US or Europe rather than programs relevant to domestic issues, further polarizing the academic community between the anointed and the ignored, and undervaluing the importance of teaching and mentoring a new generation of sociologists. While a few

academics have engaged with the NRF, most have taken to boycotting the whole system as a humiliating and vast distraction, governed by false priorities.

Emma Porio introduces a range of other issues that stem from the obsessive concern of nation states, in her case the Philippine state, with the world standing of their universities and how this has given rise to new incentive schemes and promotion criteria of academics, again orienting the priorities of knowledge production to "Western" models. At the same time that political pressure leads to excessive monitoring of universities, economic pressures lead academics out of the university to participate in policy research attached to NGOs. The economic pressure to deliver research on demand is at odds with political pressure to climb the world university rankings, which calls for "internationally" recognized, "peer reviewed" research. Porio underlines another consequence of the twin pressures of professional "internationalization" and policy-driven "localization," namely the concentration of resources in central universities at the cost of the impoverishment of provincial centers of learning. "Internationalization," therefore, creates an educational and research chasm not only between center and periphery at a world level, but just as devastatingly between center and periphery within the Philippines.

But the picture is not so rosy in the center, in Europe. After all, the audit culture began in 1986 with Thatcher's Conservative government seeking to patrol the universities but especially the good-for-nothing social sciences (not to mention sociology!). It was then that the much calumniated Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) began to rate departments within disciplines and to distribute funds accordingly. John Holmwood describes the system, its origins, its dynamics, the gaming strategies it elicits,

the enormous time and labor it consumes, and also some of its hidden consequences. On close inspection he discovers that what appears to be sociology's comparative advantage – its interdisciplinary character, its loose boundaries – is proving to be a liability as whole sub-disciplines migrate into omnibus departments, such as business schools or communication studies, where they may fair better in the RAE. The result is the depletion of sociology and its greater fragmentation as it is pulled apart.

Christian Fleck contributes another account of fragmentation, this time from within the wider European Union. With all the pressures to build an integrated professional community, the domination of the English language is not surprising. Between 1990 and 2008 within "Europe," according to Sociological Abstracts, 62.7% of all articles (and 77.5% of all peer reviewed articles) were published in English. French came second with 10.7% (7.7% of peer reviewed) and German third with 8.8% (6.0% of peer reviewed) of all journal articles. Studying the rankings of journals by impact factor and by language of publication Fleck concludes that there is no sign that publication in English actually constructs a broader community of scientists. We are still stuck in our reference groups even as we use English. He draws the ironic conclusion that English is used to further the national standing of disciplines, but that does not necessarily create any more transnational collaboration or exchange. So English is being used as the template for organizing national competition but not necessarily international communication.

Well, of course, English is used, and has always been used, in such international associations as the ISA. Indeed, the frequently heard lament is that only English is used, even though there are three official languages, putting so many at a tremendous

disadvantage. Yet any other language would make communication impossible for so many more for whom English is the second language – much of Africa, India, and much of Asia – leading to their withdrawal. This is a profound problem, indeed, and Tom Dwyer is therefore right to underline the importance of a multi-polar world, perhaps built on regional associations, in which there is South-South exchange as well as North-North and North-South. Indeed, the Latin American Sociological Association is a superb example of effective South-South exchange – a regional association whose lingua franca is Spanish that has sustained a powerful and original sociological presence in Latin America. Similar regional associations with common languages – Francophone and Lusophone associations already exist – as well regional associations (Asian Pacific Sociological Association, European Sociological Association, and the African Sociological Association) should be the building blocks of a truly international sociology, acting as mediators between national associations and the International Association – a global sociology built from below rather than imposed from above.

The Journal Impact Factor and Citation Rankings in Sociology:
Nonsense or Necessity?

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## Introduction

In the current academic climate, the quality and sustainability of individuals, departments and universities is largely based on publications in international refereed journals. Sociologists require publications to survive, often encapsulated in the mantra "publish or perish". Publication prowess is furthermore often tied to funding opportunities and resource allocation in addition to providing substantial returns in terms of career mobility and recognition. In the increasingly competitive academic system, citations and journal impact factors have emerged as a defining ranking device of individuals and institutions.[2] When individual researchers or institutions are evaluated, it is often done so via

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[2] There is also documentation that it has been used as evidence in alleged discriminatory hiring and used to determine whether salaries are distributed in an equitable manner (Cronin, Snyder and Atkins, 1997).

publication counts, number of citations and the prestige of the journals where they publish. Quantitative and seemingly more "objective" indicators in the form of journal impact factors and citation indices were therefore developed as a practical and cost-effect tool to serve these evaluation goals.

But what exactly are these impact factors and citation indices? How do they operate in sociology in comparison to other disciplines? Do they accurately reflect the quality of publications? What are the positive and negative aspects of using these indices to rank and gauge academic ability and success within the discipline of sociology? After defining these ranking instruments, this article explores how they operate within sociology and places the ranking system within a larger scientific context. The discussion concludes with some cautionary reflections on the blind reliance of these "quality" indicators for the international sociological community.

## The Anatomy of "Quality" Publications: Defining the Journal Impact Factor and Citation Index

The evaluation of academic "quality" is a commonplace and yet highly difficult and contentious task. Quality is initially guarded and gauged via the peer review process and often numerous revisions, which culminate into the published articles that we read. An article must first pass through the reviewers and editors before it is permitted to join the ranks of the "cited" or have any impact on the scientific community. There are mixed reactions to this peer review process that is intrinsic to publication. Some have argued that peer review is more reminiscent of a lottery than a rational process (Seglen, 1997) while others contend that authors must "prostitute" themselves and "sell their soul" in

order to publish (Frey, 2003). While some urge authors to "reap the rewards" of the reviewers (Agarwal et al, 2006) others call reviewers an "author's best friend" (Seibert, 2006). Regardless, once these manuscripts successfully pass through the editorial process, the articles, their authors and the journals where they are published are then examined in order to rank and evaluate the quality of publications.

Initiated by Garfield (1955), the journal impact factor and citation indices have emerged as the central evaluation device in many academic institutions across most disciplines. The journal impact factor is a quantitative measure of journal quality in the form of an index that charts the frequency with which journal articles are cited in scientific publications. Its strikingly simple calculation is rather out of proportion with the weight often attached to its value. The impact factor covers a three-year period that calculates the average number of times published papers are cited for up to two years after publication. For example, the impact factor for a journal in 2005 is calculated as follows:
A = total citations of articles during 2005 of articles published from 2003-4

B = total number of articles, reviewers, proceedings or notes published in 2003-4

Therefore the 2005 Impact Factor = A/B.

In a similar manner, the impact of individual researchers is also assessed via a citation index. The Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) in the United States produces citation information by recording the number of times each publication has been cited within an allotted period and by whom. This is published in the form of the *Social Science Citation Index* (SSCI). The value of research is then calculated on the basis of citations, which is discussed in more detail shortly.

Table 1 provides a ranking of the top journals in sociology over the 24-year period from 1981 to 2004. In an expanded calculation based on similar premises to the one described above, the impact factor in this table is calculated as the total citations to a

journal's published papers as divided by the total number of papers that the journal

published, which produces a citations-per-paper impact over this period.

*Table 1: Journals Ranked by Impact Factor in Sociology, 1981-2004*

| Rank | Impact Period 1981-2004 | Impact Factor |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | American Sociological Review | 39.97 |
| 2 | American Journal of Sociology | 33.47 |
| 3 | Annual Review of Sociology | 27.94 |
| 4 | Journal of Marriage and the Family | 20.91 |
| 5 | Ethnology and Sociobiology | 18.63 |
| 6 | Sociology of Education | 17.05 |
| 7 | Social Forces | 14.47 |
| 8 | Social Problems | 13.89 |
| 9 | Population and Development Review | 13.39 |
| 10 | Sociological Methodology | 12.92 |

Source: Journal Performance Indicators.

These top journals in sociology have a relatively stable position over time and represent

the journals that publish a broader range of subject matter or contain the largest number

of review articles. It is a well-established fact that review articles are heavily cited and

thereby inflate the impact factor of journals, which is largely the case for the *American

Sociological Review* (e.g., Seglen, 1997). The broader journals do comparatively better

than specialized ones do to the fact that the impact factor of a journal is proportional to

the database coverage of its research field. Small or specialized fields will therefore

always receive low impact factors. Yet, a central reason for the dominance of American

scientists and journals appears to be a cultural one. Americans are more prone to citing

each other and self-citation, which means that they comprise of over half of the actual

citations, raising both the citation rate of their own journals and the subsequent impact of

American science (Møller, 1990). In fact, one of the most cited articles at this moment in sociology according to the ISI web of Knowledge, Essential Science Indicators is Henshaw's (1998) article "Unintended Pregnancy in the United States", which clearly reflects a topic generally relevant to the American context (with 391 citations).

### Are these Indicators a Measure of Quality? A Critical Assessment

Numerous articles across multiple disciplines have criticized whether these indicators are a valid measure of scientific quality. Several points are directly pertinent to the discipline of sociology. A leading argument is that the impact factor *measures the quantity rather than the quality* of publications. A related point is that the focus on quantity reflects the absolute number of publications in that area of research, which is not always associated with quality.

The *limitations of the three-year temporal window* have also been a topic of contention. A three-year window for citation is very short and negates the significance of classic studies that are cornerstones of many articles. In addition, if a journal has a long time between submission and publications, it is difficult to cite articles within the 3-year window.

Another problem is the fact that journal impact factors *do not properly statistically represent individual journal articles* and correlate poorly with actual citations of individual articles. The impact factor should fundamentally refer to the average number of citations per paper, which should show a Gaussian distribution around the mean value. Yet as an Editorial in the journal *Nature* (Vol. 435: 1003-4, 23 June 2005) notes: '…we have analysed the citations of individual papers in *Nature* and found that 89% of last year's figure was generated by just 25% of our papers.' In fact, the

distribution of article citation rates across all disciplines is very skewed, which illustrates that only a few key articles are repeatedly cited (Cronin, Snyder and Atkins, 1997).

A fundamental criticism is the *limitation of the database* and subsequent bias that is created due to the way that the citations and impact factors are calculated. The first critique is that the index has a high English-language bias, which largely favours American publications. For example, in the Social Science Citation Index, only two German social science journals are included, whereas the actual number of journals is over 500 (Artus, 1996). Another clear difference is the cultural differences in citation behaviour, discussed previously. The central critique of the limitations of this database is the fact that the database only includes academic journals and not books, which is a substantial amount of scientific output in sociology. An additional criticism is that beyond normal articles, notes and reviews, incorrect citations are also included such as editorials, letters, meeting abstracts and even translations. The database is also unable to correct for self-citation, which is a further compounding problem.

Cronin, Snyder and Atkins (1997) engaged in an empirical analysis to examine whether the citation rankings in sociology produced a skewed picture of scholarly impact. They asked whether the citation counts based solely on journal articles and omission of books failed to identify key authors and/or incorrectly impact their impact. Table 2 shows a comparison of the citation rankings of major sociological authors based on books and articles for the period from 1985 to 1993. They found that six sociologists (Durkheim, Janowitz, Weber, Freud, Portes and Parsons) were cited fifty times or more. An interesting deviation is that only nine of the "top authors" in the book sample were represented in the "top author" list for journals. However, when the list of top authors for

book and journal articles was compared, the relative rankings of the authors did not appear to differ in a statistically significant way between the two forms of literature. Yet, since there was only a minimal overlap between these two publication mediums, the authors conclude that there are two populations of highly cited authors, one that is highly cited in books and the other in journals. This provides evidence that the omission of books means that a significant area of scientific impact is omitted in the discipline of sociology.

**Table 2: Comparative Citation Rankings Based on Monographs (Books) and Journal Articles, 1985-1993**

| Name | Monograph (Book) Rank | Journal Rank | Name | Monograph (Book) Rank | Journal Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Durkheim, E. | 1 | 3 | Foucault, M. | 13.5 | 12 |
| Janowitz, M. | 2.5 | 21 | Wallerstein, I. | 13.5 | 15 |
| Weber, M. | 2.5 | 1 | Lenin, V.I. | 16 | 22 |
| Freud, S. | 4 | 16 | Giddens, A. | 18.5 | 4 |

| Portes, A. | 5 | 11 | Park, R.E. | 18.5 | 18.5 |
| Parsons, T. | 6 | 2 | Shils, E. | 18.5 | 20 |
| Marx, K. | 7 | 7 | Tilly, C. | 18.5 | 8 |
| Lipset, S. | 8 | 9 | Hechter, M. | 21 | 17 |
| Goffman, E. | 9.5 | 5 | Bradbury, T.N. | 22.5 | 26 |
| Habermas, J. | 9.5 | 13 | Merton, R.K. | 22.5 | 6 |
| Berger, P. | 11 | 10 | Bell, D. | 25 | 14 |
| Burgoyne, J. | 13.5 | 25 | Glazer, N. | 25 | 18.5 |
| Fincham, F.D. | 13.5 | 23 | Rose, R. | 25 | 24 |

Notes: Spearman's rho = .4402 (N=26)m Sig. .024 (2 tail test)

Source: Cronin, Snyder and Atkins (1997: 269, Table 7).


A further criticism levelled at these quality indicators is the notion of *differences in "doing science"* which is reflected in the disparity between the impact factor scores per

discipline. Figure 1 shows the 2005 impact factors for selected disciplines, including sociology. Here we see that certain disciplines such as the medical sciences or physics score remarkably better than disciplines such as sociology. But why is this the case? First, the absolute number of researchers within certain disciplines inevitably impacts this number. A second related point is the absolute number of journals. A smaller number of journals where authors can publish their work mean a higher number of citations in the journals that are available. Third, the average number of authors varies significantly per discipline. Within the medical sciences, papers are often authored by a large number of multiple authors. An inescapable fourth difference is the variation in citation habits between disciplines. Next, the length of the articles plays a role. Since the citation rate is roughly proportional to the length of the article, journals with longer articles also do relatively better. Finally, the nature of results and culture of publication and citation behaviour is a further consideration. Research areas where results are rapidly obsolete and use many references per article, such as the medical sciences or physics are favoured over disciplines such as mathematics.

**Figure 1: Comparison of Journal Impact Factor by Selected Disciplines, 2005**
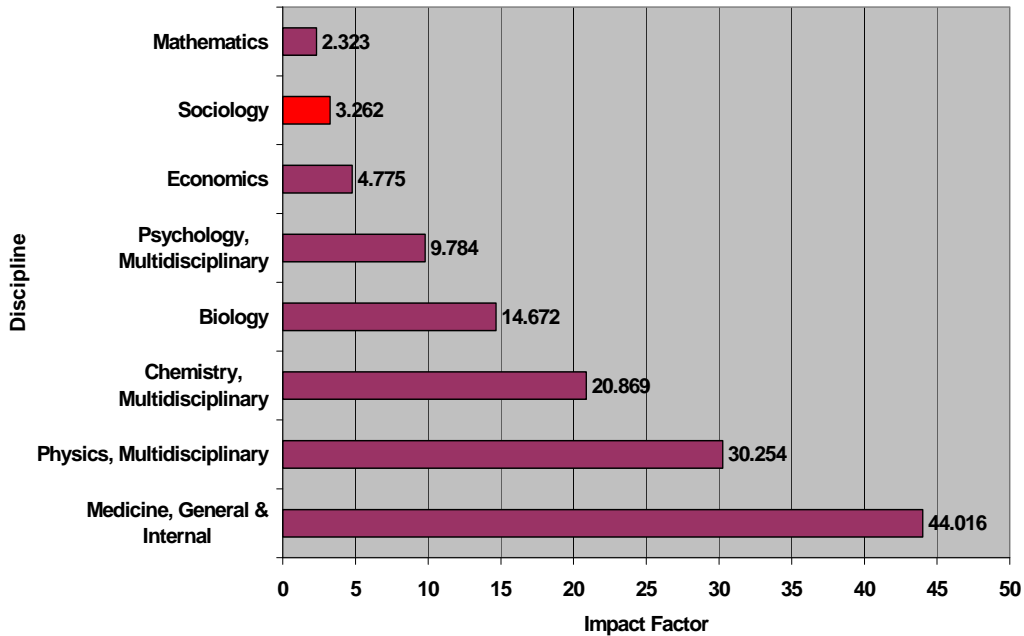


Source: Journal Citation Reports (graph produced by author).

## Discussion: The Consequence of these Indicators for the Discipline of Sociology

The underlying premise of the quality indicators of journal impact and citation frequency is that it measures the overall quality of scientific publications. These quality indicators are easily attainable and a seemingly objective and quantitative measure of scientific achievement. For this reason, they are increasingly used in many countries to evaluate individual researchers, institutions and universities.

This article explored the calculation of these indicators and key criticisms. When using these indexes as a gauge of quality it is important to be aware that particular journals fare better such as those with a broader focus, with more review articles, are

written in the English language and are American-based. It is questionable whether the impact factor measures merely the quantity or actually the quality of publications. It also has further limitations such as the three-year window when calculating journal impact factors and the fact that only a few key articles are repeatedly cited, meaning that journal impact factors do not adequately statistically represent individual journal articles. Key critiques include the limitation of the database and bias to the English language, reliance on only journal articles at the expense of books and the inclusion of incorrect and self-citations. There also appears to be a great deviation in the way that scientists in different cultures and disciplines "do science". Americans appear to be more prone to self-citation and citing one another, which increases their presence in these indicators and the dominance of American journals. Other factors to consider are the absolute number of researchers and journals within certain disciplines, the number of authors, citation habits, article length and speed at which results become obsolete.

In spite of the many criticisms and flaws, these impact factors appear to be only growing in their influence. The reliance on these indicators has several consequences. Libraries may use it to select relevant journals for their collections, thereby reinforcing the importance and use of prominent journals. More importantly, it inevitably impacts the publication behaviour of sociologists. Under these conditions, the natural tendency is to attempt to publish in journals that have the maximum impact when more specialist journals may actually be more efficient and are better vehicles for the dissemination of ideas and results. The consequence is that specialized fields or unpopular topics will become even more marginalized. This system also influences the type and potentially even the subject matter of research that is published, due to the fact that articles need to

be written for a broader, largely American-based audience and appeal and be relevant to this readership. The question of local relevance, particularly for non-English language scientists becomes a very real one. A positive impact of this system is the fact that sociologists are forced to place local arguments, behaviour and context into a broader international perspective. This can be useful not only for their own research, but also for practitioners and policy-makers who are suddenly forced to "think outside of the box" and seek different solutions to cope with local social problems. There is also a dark side as authors from smaller countries have difficulty "selling" the relevance of their particular social situation or context to a broader international audience. This article demonstrates that it is vital to be cautious of how these quality indicators are calculated and draws attention to their potential limitations.

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# On the Internationalization of Brazilian Academic Sociology

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### From Brazilian Sociology's early Reception of International Influences to its early Institutionalization

The origins of contemporary Brazilian sociology go back to the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and were strongly associated with the presence of foreign sociologists who played important roles, from the 1930s, in setting up what became important sociology departments or centers. Their influence guaranteed that early generations of Brazilian sociologists were trained and subsequent efforts permitted sociology to acquire a small degree of international exposure.

Sociological production during this early period was not subjected to international exposure. In spite of their extraordinary importance, of the foundational works of three sociologists who are today considered as classical Brazilian sociology, only one major work has been published in English.[3] This has certainly deprived foreign researchers of access to an understanding of Brazil and of Brazilian thought, one that would enrich their comprehension of the limits and strengths of the application of classical sociological

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[3] The three classic books are: Freyre, Gilberto (1933) *Casa Grande e Senzala* (The Master and the Slaves); de Holanda, Sérgio Buarque (1936) *Raízes do Brasil* (Roots of Brazil); Prado Junior, Caio (1942) *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (The Formation of Contemporary Brazil).

theories for understanding social formations that, while having very strong roots in the European traditions, are quite innovative.

In 1950, the Brazilian Sociological Society (SBS) was founded; what precipitated this move was a letter from the newly established International Sociological Association (ISA) where the Sociological Society of São Paulo (founded in 1934) was asked if the society would be interested in representing Brazil by joining ISA. In other words, the SBS was founded with a view to internationalizing Brazilian sociology. From an early stage two Brazilians occupied positions on the ISA's Executive Committee, the first president of the SBS Fernando de Azevedo during 1950-1952 and Luiz Costa Pinto between 1953 and 1959. Over the following years teaching programs in sociology were set up in diverse parts of the country. In these early days Brazil was a poor, largely rural country and quality transport was not readily available, so few sociology departments were set up and few students were trained.[4] In 1954 and 1962 national sociology conferences were held.

**Second Phase: Deinstitutionalization and a Certain Internationalization of Production[5]**

In 1964, a populist left-wing government, which had allies in the trade union and rural workers' movements, was overthrown by a right-wing military coup, which had support among the middle and upper classes. As the military regime consolidated its power, especially from the end of 1968, the process of sociology's institutionalization was

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[4] From the early 1930s until 1955 a total of 280 people earned sociology degrees in the State of São Paulo. In Rio de Janeiro, such statistics are more difficult to produce because of the variety of institutions involved; between 1939 and 1948 a total of 35 degrees were awarded (Brunner and Barrios, 1987)

[5] This section is drawn from Porto, M. S. G. and Dwyer, T. (forthcoming).

severely debilitated. Some prominent sociologists lost their jobs in public universities, others were imprisoned, tortured, and went into exile. The SBS went into hibernation, and the academic sociological community spent over two decades without organizing its own conferences. Brazilian sociology experienced many other difficulties, both institutional and linked to research and teaching during the military regime. The subjects studied changed and it became more difficult to carry out empirical research because of a combination of censorship, fear, and lack of funding.

Many Brazilian sociologists lived a painful process of forced internationalization that corresponded to their periods of exile. They became exposed to the reality of countries such as Chile (before Pinochet's coup), Mexico, France, United Kingdom, Canada, and the USA. This experience forced many to start thinking about Brazilian reality in new ways. During the dictatorship, the Latin American Sociological Association's (ALAS) bi-annual conferences became a significant meeting ground for Brazilian sociologists, which also proved true for sociologists in other Latin American countries under military rule. Also, many who had gone into exile became exposed to international ideas. In addition, international organizations, particularly the Ford Foundation and some European foundations, played a role in financing critical social sciences in Brazil.

In this period, there was a certain projection of Brazilian sociology onto the international scene as the book *Dependency and Development in Latin America* written by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto (1979) was translated into a number of languages. Indeed, it was during this period of the dictatorship that the image of Brazilian sociology in the world seems to have been very positive. Not only was the discipline

engaged in the movement for democratic change, but it also produced scholarly work that was highly relevant to its own society and to international sociology.

Cardoso would become vice president of the ISA between 1978 and 1982 and its president from 1982 to 1986.

**Institutionalization and a Low Degree of Internationalization of Production**

*Institutionalization*

In all fields of science and technology in Brazil, it has been common to attribute what is seen as mediocre performance to successive military and civilian government mismanagement, *e.g.*, start-stop policies, the legacy of high inflation, and the lack of commitment of resources (Fernandes, 1990; Schwartzmann, 1994). In the social sciences, the forces that affect the natural sciences were aggravated by the severe difficulties found under military rule. These have meant that it has fallen on the present generation of senior sociologists to take responsibility for the reinstitutionalization of the discipline: founding (or restructuring) departments, developing curricula, developing post-graduate programs from scratch, founding and editing scientific reviews, developing the discipline's scientific society (SBS), etc.[6] One consequence of such internal demands has been to reduce the time available for research and for confronting the numerous hurdles placed in front of those who wish to internationalize their production.

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[6] Beyond there being some 60 Brazilian sociological reviews in Latindex in 2005, there were some 132 degree awarding programs in 84 tertiary institutions and 13,000 students are enrolled in social sciences courses. There are about 900 university teachers in the social sciences and a total of 1,700 masters and 1,400 doctoral students enrolled in 51 post-graduate programs (Leidke, 2005). The most recent bi-annual Brazilian Sociology Conference had some 2,600 registered participants (nearly ten times the number of a decade earlier), and the SBS has nearly 1,000 members. These numbers constitute evidence of the consolidation and institutionalization of the area.

While it might appear that after more than two decades since the end of military rule the institutionalization process has finished, in fact, new demands arise. Most recently, in June 2008, the president of Brazil signed into law a project that requires sociology (social sciences) to be taught in all years of the high school education and in all of the more than 30,000 high schools in the country. This law reintroduces sociology, excluded by the military regime, into the secondary school curriculum. It places huge demands on many senior members of the discipline, for they shall have to write at least some of the specialized teaching materials necessary for the high schools, participate in commissions, and especially develop and teach courses to prepare a future generation of high school sociology teachers.

### From Academic to Non-Academic Sociology

So far, I have only mentioned about academic sociology. However, at the same time as the discipline becomes more institutionalized, it loses some of its most talented members to non-academic pursuits.

In consolidated democracies, the political and administrative spheres of power are usually relatively consolidated in institutional terms: a group of highly qualified public policy developers and analysts exists (frequently recruited from the ranks of sociology graduates), and the political class is professional. Such is not the case in many Latin American countries, where some of the most prominent social scientists are seconded from their universities into central and state government to play a role in public policy development and analysis. More rarely they will temporarily or permanently abandon their academic careers to exercise high political office. In other words, the perceived

success of the academic discipline and the relative weakness of the administrative and political classes combine to drain the discipline of some of its most talented academics. As such, those who remain in the universities frequently have to work harder to guarantee that basic teaching is carried out.

*Internationalization of Teaching and Training*

In Brazil, the ideas of foreigners, and especially European and North Americans, have been received for a long time and have fed and made Brazilian sociology prosper as an intellectual exercise. The tradition, which can be observed from the 1930s onwards, of importing foreign works, reading them intensely, and trying to apply them to build up an understanding of Brazilian society, has indeed been a hallmark of our sociology. Most post-graduate programs require reading proficiency in one or two foreign languages (beyond Spanish, which is easily read by native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese) as a prerequisite for entry. This means that teachers are able to use a wide range of sources and foreign texts (especially books). As a consequence, many Brazilian sociologists are capable of mixing literature written in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages to build a type of sociology that is extremely cosmopolitan, thereby guaranteeing an international flavor to local production. From my own observations, this is not so common among sociologists from English, French, and many Spanish-speaking countries.

In the past, a major obstacle to producing world-class sociology in Brazil was the lack of quality research libraries. Today, there are severe problems with the book collections in all Brazilian university libraries; however, the availability of journals has

increased remarkably with large collections (mainly written in English) now being available on-line in the most important universities. On-line databases such as *Sociological Abstracts* and *Social Science Citations Index* have also become widely available over the last decade to staff and students in all major Brazilian universities; however, the numbers of systematic users still appears to be quite low. One reason for this is that students observe that such databases do not adequately reflect international sociological production, because (as we shall soon see) their contents neglect much Brazilian and Latin American production; as such, their legitimacy is questioned.

It is worth noting that the return of democracy and the institutionalization of academic science and technology have been associated with an increased percentage of students completing their postgraduate training in Brazil. While this change reduces the exposure of the next generation of teachers to overseas living and academic cultures, it increases their sensitivity to their own country. In order to guarantee that the relative increase in the numbers of students studying at home does not result in academic disciplines become nationalistic or provincial in outlook, scholarships are widely available for postgraduate students to travel overseas for up to a year to enhance their doctoral training. Students typically attend universities in the Northern hemisphere, particularly ones to which their advisors or research teams already have institutional linkages. This has occurred due to generous government and limited international agency support.

**Internationalizing Brazilian Sociology's Production**

I shall divide this discussion into a number of sections. The first will examine the relationships with the ISA; the second will look at indexing of international sociology; following up on this, some considerations will be traced with regards to the forces that appear to operate upon sociological production from non-central countries. Subsequently, the question of language shall be examined. In the final part of this paper, I shall explore how Brazilian sociology is reacting to such forces and to the changing nature of power in the world that is redefining what internationalization means.

*The ISA as a Factor of Internationalization*

Generous government and funding agency support has without doubt had a role in underpinning Brazilian presence at the World Sociology conferences, organized by the ISA. In the last two editions, Brazil had the eighth largest national delegation in Brisbane and seventh largest at Durban. Brazilians have occupied leadership positions on some ISA research committees and on the executive committee. Executive committee members have included Neuma Aguiar (1990-1994) and Alice Abreu (2002-2010), and currently, Brazil is the only Latin American country which is represented on the ISA executive committee, where it has three members: Alice Abreu, Elisa Reis, and José Vicente Tavares dos Santos. However, while it is easy to form the impression that such presence helps internationalize the discipline, I am not aware of research that has sought to ascertain the connection between such presence and the wider visibility and image of Brazilian sociology internationally.

Brazilian researchers are active in many of the ISA research committees and certainly make their colleagues more aware to what is occurring in Brazil and in Brazilian sociology. However, the difficulties of talking in a foreign language, the outrageous fact that sessions allocate equal time for presentations to native and non-native speakers, and also the fact that sociologists from non-central countries feel obliged to make introductory remarks that set out the context of their country and their research (something which researchers from central countries assume everybody knows) leads many to feel that they are not given a fair hearing. Particularly, there is a diffuse feeling that a type of arrogance is exhibited by native speakers who do not pay attention or show interest in what non-native speakers have to say. To add insult to injury, native speakers frequently do not exhibit the cultural sensitivity to talk slowly when speaking to a cosmopolitan audience.[7]

One problem is, indeed, that many of the papers presented at ISA do not appear to be transformed into articles that are published internationally. Recent ISA initiatives to permit sessions in languages other than the ISA's three official languages and to encourage national associations to present session proposals are important steps to guarantee a wider range of international activities at the world sociology conferences.

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[7] I personally feel that these problems are sometimes so important that should ISA consider obliging all of those who present their work in ISA conference to speak in their second language (as long as it were one of the three official ISA languages). We would go a great way to removing a considerable source of domination exerted by many of our English native-speaker colleagues. It would also remove a source of considerable irritation and ill-feeling for non-native speakers of English (which is increasingly becoming ISA's lingua franca). Of course, there is a practical obstacle: not many native English speakers even know how to read, let alone speak, a second language! Indeed, in my view, the question of linguistic domination by English is a serious obstacle to the internationalization of sociology. Also, the lack of knowledge of foreign languages by English native speaking sociologists seriously limits their capacity to understand the role that language plays in forming social imagination and guiding practices, and it impoverishes, because such sociologists exclude themselves from having an intimate knowledge of other conceptual and cultural systems.

*International Indexing of Publications*

In the now distant past when there were no international indexing systems and the scientific community was far smaller, scientific production was recognized as "international" when it became widely visible. Since the gradual return to democracy in Brazil during the 1980s, no single Brazilian piece of academic sociology has been able to achieve the international prominence of Cardoso and Faletto's book. While this book was widely appreciated among scholars in central countries, it achieved large audiences in Latin America and in other dependent countries such as India, New Zealand, and Australia. In the absence of widely recognized "great books" written by Brazilian authors, we must move to look at other indicators of internationalization.

Alice Abreu (2002) pointed out that the percentage of all ISI indexed articles published in Brazil in the year 2000 was 1.33%, less than one half of the percentage published by Australia (2.83%), a country with a population that is about one tenth the size of Brazil's.[8] This is just one indication of the type of structural problems faced with regards to internationalization. Many Brazilian and Latin American scientific reviews in all fields, for a number of reasons that include problems of regularity in their production, and lack of institutionalization of the publishing field, are not listed by the internationally recognized indexing services. There are some indications that this is changing, as the number of articles by Brazilian researchers in all fields indexed by ISI increased by four

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[8] It is of course necessary to evaluate the number of scientists in each country and the demands on them. Also, it is more probable that Brazilian rather than Australian scientists publish in non-indexed reviews. A further element of a possible explanation is given by Connell (2007), "Natural scientists in Australia also have strong international connections, but they are focused on the United States and Britain, a pattern of quasi-globalisation" (218).

times in the 1990 to 2002 period (Abreu, 2007). One reason for this movement, which has not really touched the humanities and the social sciences, has been a large increase in Brazilian natural science reviews edited in English.[9]

The number of Brazilian sociology publications that are quoted in ISI is very small. Alice Abreu (2007) has observed that less than 3% of Latin American sociology journals that are indexed in Latindex (www.latindex.unam.mx) are included in ISI.

When we examine Sociological Abstracts we can see that the presence of Brazilian resident authors is extremely reduced. Consider the following table:

| | No. Articles | Articles published in Brazil | % | Articles with authors from Brazil | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | 7.835 | 19 | 0,24 | 17 | 0,22 |
| 1980 | 15.166 | 23 | 0,15 | 21 | 0,14 |
| 1990 | 22.175 | 53 | 0,24 | 95 | 0,43 |
| 2000 | 28.422 | 372 | 1,31 | 247 | 0,86 |
| 2005 | 28.658 | 554 | 1,93 | 45 | *** |

Here we see evidence that an increasing number of articles published in Brazil are indexed in Sociological Abstracts. If we exclude the year 2005 for which data was incomplete (data for this table was collected in July 2008), the number of Brazilian resident authors also appears to be on the increase. However, the contribution of both

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[9] The online *Brazilian Political Science Review* (www.bpsr.org.br/english/revista/natual.htm) was launched recently in an attempt to internationalize the audiences of that discipline's production. However, it has not yet been indexed internationally. The recently inaugurated *SciELO English Language Edition* (http://socialsciences. scielo.org/scielo.php) contains a limited number of English-language versions of articles that had previously appeared in some Brazilian and other Latin American social science journals.

Brazilian published articles and Brazilian authors appears to remain extremely low.

Raewyn Connell's (2007) book reflects about how researchers from countries that lie on the periphery will have severe difficulties in having their voices heard in international debates and publications, particularly books. "Texts are also material objects produced by publishers and governed by copyright laws. It has always been difficult for works published in the periphery to circulate in the metropolitan centers and to other parts of the periphery" (219).

A good example of a case where English language use is handled remarkably well by non-native English speakers is the Nordic countries. A search was carried out using the most recently developed international indexing system, Google Scholar (GS), of the publications of members of 16 sociology departments. The research team found that only 15% of scholars have more than five publications that turned up in the search. While 85% of department members that turn up in the GS search had at least one publication, less than 25% of these are cited more than ten times (Aaltojarvi et al., 2008). In other words, there appears to be a high degree of invisibility built into careers that, even when they can easily be conducted in the English language, are conducted outside of central countries.[10]

However, such an observation appears to affect not only the social sciences. A Costa Rican biologist wrote, 'Some of my colleagues dream of having a paper published in *Nature* or *Science*, usually considered the two most influential journals (in that order). However, their chances are low (for example, *Science* accepts 20% of manuscripts from the USA but only 1% of papers from "Third World" countries)' (Gibbs, 1995). The author concludes:

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[10] Here we include countries such as India, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Tropical scientists have three basic options. They can despair and make no effort to do good science, they can choose to live at the shadow of temperate science, trying to please the interests of temperate journals, readers and citation indices, or they can do what the USA did so successfully after spending many years at the shadow of British science, that is, to develop a local scientific pride based on quality and a good balance between basic and applied science.

National agencies that evaluate scientific activity are increasingly demanding that scientists publish internationally. Ming-Chang Tsai observed at the 2005 ISA Conference of National Associations that a positive evaluation based on the key indicator used by the Taiwanese evaluation agency, number of publications indexed by the SSCI, was almost entirely dependent on the country of advanced training. Basically, those trained in North America were indexed, whereas those trained elsewhere were far more likely to have few indexed publications. At the same meeting, Victor Arayza observed that his Israeli colleagues, should they wish to publish internationally, would have their best chances if they were to write about the only subject that seems to interest the so-called "international" journals: the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its ramifications. In other words, in order to be positively evaluated, it is necessary to turn one's back on the investigation of many pressing problems of one's society, because they are problems which do not spark "international" interest. Indeed, these two papers suggest that if one works outside of the central countries, it is necessary to deform one's thinking and research agendas to respond to research questions and to standards that are imposed from abroad, in order to be considered a good "international class" scholar by the evaluating agencies. Here, indeed, we are talking about a distortion that is produced by the demand that scientific production be evaluated by reference to publications in scientific journals

that are recognized as being international; in both cases publication in the researcher's native language is considered to be less relevant than publication in English.

In other words, the domination of international publishing markets, indexing systems, and referees by researchers from the central countries appears to threaten the capacity to produce knowledge in an autonomous fashion in the non-central countries. At this same ISA conference, I remember hearing Partha Mukherji, a former president of the Indian Sociological Society, use an expression to refer to colleagues who have become so infatuated with the West or of having influence in the West; he referred to them as developing a "captive mind syndrome." This indeed is a very powerful expression, and without consciously combating it, the social sciences are condemned to lose their unique perspective, which is not only theoretical and methodological, but which is also embedded in a culture and where research problems are classically determined by their relevance to society.

Raewyn Connell (2007) argues that Southern theories are excluded from world sociologies and that it is necessary to draw on marginalized forms of knowledge to reconstruct our image of the world. In other words, the Northern-dominated power structures are seen impeding the development of a viable sociology capable of responding to the complexities of our times.

**Difficulties of Internationalization of Sociology**

*For Sociologists from Non-English Speaking Countries*

Connell's interesting book leaves to a side any examination of the complex questions posed by the domination that the English language has achieved since the end of World

War II and that threatens the very idea that it is possible to develop an "international sociology." ISA recognized the nature of this problem over a decade ago when it commissioned a report on the language question that was presented at the Montreal Conference by Alain Touraine (1998). One important conclusion of this report was that "Sociology should consider itself as a world discipline integrating various intellectual traditions, especially when they have deep historical roots." This is a point that appears to be very similar to Connell's.

Few native English speakers realize how difficult it is to produce for a refereed journal that is published in a foreign country and language. Pina Cabral (2007), a prominent Portuguese social scientist, recently produced a short reflection around the question of internationalization of the social sciences. He notes that even senior social scientists who have published from the beginning of their careers and who have been fortunate enough to have seen their articles in journals and well-received edited books are often treated, when they submit articles and chapters for review in English language publications, as beginners; the work is refereed by very junior colleagues, who do not have sufficient understanding of what is being said to adequately review the article. Indeed, I have heard similar complaints over *cafezinhos* with Brazilian colleagues.

However, for those who choose to publish in ISI-indexed journals, Pina Cabral remarks that adopting such a strategy does not normally work well for those who are outside of the globally defined circuits of excellence, which are always linked to the hegemonic centers of power. Given the very nature of social power in intellectual fields, he argues, it is difficult to imagine things occurring in any other way. The capacity to guarantee a future *(futuridade)* for the results of scientific research on knowledge

production as a whole is not measurable in simple terms of "objective impact factors" that are so loved by technocratic evaluators. It is not enough to publish articles that are considered worthwhile in English to guarantee *futuridade* for what one publishes. Pina Cabral defends an idea that appears to emerge from rational choice theory: citation may depend on a type of cost-benefit relationship between the citer and the cited (and, of course, those who are deliberately not cited). Frequently, to publish in English it becomes necessary to deny one's intellectual roots to succeed. Pina Cabral explains, "It is more interesting/chic to quote Foucault (because he is an American craze, which has nothing to do with loving things French) than Thales de Azevedo, even when what is being said has more to do with the brilliant work of the latter, which, for the majority … is simply unknown" (236).

*A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy*

W. I. Thomas's genial formulation that if people define a situation as real it will be real in its consequences contributes to explain the low levels of internationalization of the production of Brazilian sociology. We do not publish in English, because we know that the odds are against us, and when published it is highly likely that we shall be ignored.[11] To submit any article for publication is always a time-consuming operation; to prepare articles in a foreign language normally requires spending considerable money on translation and revision. However, journals that use blind referees do not permit the researcher to have a reasonable degree of certainty of achieving a favorable outcome.

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[11] It is important to note that there exist specialists on Brazil who are called "Brazilianists." They normally (especially the more junior ones) write ignoring Brazilian production and do so using concepts from the central countries to fit their writings about Brazil into a supposedly "international" (but usually North American) perspective.

Indeed, we are far from being naïve actors; we know that much of what is unique in our society does not interest those who have power to define the so-called universal in terms of a dominant Western paradigm (which, in reality, is not one but many). For such reasons, many do not see publishing in English as a realistic goal.

Brazilian sociologists tend to give greater importance, as do sociologists in many lands, to the publication of books and book chapters in their native language than to the publication in refereed scientific reviews in English. This option can be interpreted in many ways, as part of a tradition, a desire to be relevant, or a flight from the challenges, the rigor, the marked playing cards, and the possible humiliation involved in having one's work evaluated "internationally." In Brazil, the vast majority of book production occurs nationally,[12] and should it circulate internationally, this will only occur in other countries that use the Portuguese language and more rarely in Latin American countries and nations that use Latin languages. Also, many Brazilian sociologists appear not to consider publication in national refereed journals to be more important than publication in non-refereed journals. Such a state of affairs is a result of the "culture of the invitation," whereby people prefer to be invited to submit an article, in full knowledge that publication will be guaranteed, than to go through the considerable effort and pain necessary to publish in a refereed journal.

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[12]It is important to note that the system of national circulation of books published in the various regions of Brazil is often fragile. This led the SBS to launch, in 2006, its first scientific review, *SBS Resenhas,* which publishes book reviews online twice a year (to be found on www.sbsociologia.com.br).

Renato Ortiz (2006) incisively summarized the nature of the question when he considered that no language could be considered a *"lingua franca;"* such a role is only exercised in certain specific areas where it takes on the function of being "franca." He described:

> In this way English language, in the natural sciences, serves as a predominantly "franca" language; its role concentrates on the transmission of information, minimizing the other dimensions of social life (prestige, aesthetics, sentiments, etc.). But if this is possible, and this is the dimension that scientists value, a language which is emptied of other connotations with the aim of maximizing instrumental communication, so valued by natural scientists - what can be said about the social sciences? (35)

Indeed, we arrive at the provocative idea that it is impossible to develop quality social sciences by resorting to a lingua franca. This implies that a more complex strategy of internationalization must be adopted, one which involves high quality translations, with all their expense and difficulties, and which pays close attention to both narrative and concept development as it occurs in given linguistic and socio-historical contexts.

**Towards an Alternative View of Internationalization:**
**Recent Trends in the Internationalization of Brazilian Sociology**

*The Official Evaluation System*

The Brazilian classificatory system has been built up in response to demands from the leading funding agency CAPES, which conducts collective evaluations of post-graduate programs based on a complex system based on peer evaluation (see Adorno and Dwyer, 2006). Journals are classified by merit into six categories: International A, B, and C, and National A, B and C. Of the 23 journals that have been most recently classified by the

sociology committee as "International A," 12 are in published in English, seven in Portuguese, two each in French and Spanish. The number of journals classified as "International B" is, of course, far greater: three are published in Portuguese, 16.5 in English, 9.5 in French, seven in Spanish, one in Italian (the attribution of 0.5 to one journal having a bi-lingual title).

It is important to note that seven Brazilian journals that are published in Portuguese are considered international. In other words, they have editorial boards with non-Brazilian members and articles that are considered to be of international quality. The sociology area committee of the CAPES agency has made a strong movement to force the recognition that certain Portuguese language publications are of international quality. This introduces an endogenous definition of internationalization, rather than a purely exogenous one.

Given the arguments that have been put forward earlier in this paper, it is certainly not difficult for sociologists from other countries to understand what is at stake here, the movement to define Portuguese language publications as being of international quality is, of course, linked to the defense of language as a basis of the culture of the society which social scientists study and within which they must express themselves. However, there is also another aim: CAPES evaluates all areas of science, resources can be allocated as a function of comparative evaluations of the "worth" of each institution and area of knowledge, and the principle measure of "worth" is international publication. In their search for resources and power, natural scientists try to impose a universal criterion of evaluation, where English-language publications are considered as international, on all other areas of science. If Portuguese-language publications are not

considered "international," social scientists would be attesting to their own inferiority relative to the natural sciences. It far easier for a natural scientist to submit publications making an instrumental use of English, because such sciences are typically far more formalized and socio-historical, and cultural context is far less important than in the social sciences.

**Redefining Internationalization**

We have just seen that the sociology area committee of CAPES has produced a definition of internationalization that recognizes that publishing in Portuguese is to be considered, in certain cases, an international activity. This constitutes a political victory.

Until very recently, internationalization was defined as having links to, publications in and using research and teaching materials from wealthy Europe and North America (particularly the USA). More recently, Latin America has been newly defined as important, particularly in political sociology, where transitions towards democratic rule that occurred from the mid-1980s onwards meant that similar social and political processes were occurring in many countries simultaneously. Later, this intensified as, on the one hand, globalization, neo-liberalism, and the Washington Consensus were seen as imposing a certain sets of policies on most governments. Popular responses emerged within many of these societies to oppose the major forces criticized as seeking to impose inequality and cultural and institutional homogeneity on quite diverse populations and to weaken governments' capacity for autonomous action. However, another form of internationalization came through increasing regional exchanges, particularly in the

Southern Cone, where the formation of *Mercosul*, a common market, has generated international research agendas around many of the difficulties and challenges of economic integration and the concomitant rise of social problems. Also, there have been increasing exchanges of students and university staff between these countries and the Spanish language is being more frequently studied in Brazil (rather than improvised by mixing Portuguese and *espanhol* into the hybrid *portunhol*). In the Amazon region, the perception of the existence of urgent problems such as environmental degradation, issues relating to native cultures and their survival, drug trafficking, rising violence, development issues, and cross-border migration has led to a consciousness of the need to develop pan-Amazonian perspectives. Whilst the vast majority of the Amazon region's area is located in Brazil, a large population lives in neighboring countries and has been traditionally studied by anthropologists. The rise of economic integration, modernization, and more recent forces linked to globalization is altering research dynamics. Official targeted support is serving to stimulate both Pan-Amazonian and *Mercosul*-oriented research.

Globalization seems for many to be associated with the inevitable rise of English as a world *lingua franca*. One of the reactions against this seeming inevitability has been the formation of a political alliance of lusophone (Portuguese speaking) countries. Beyond Brazil and Portugal, these countries include East Timor (which, on independence, rejected English as a possible national language, placing the Portuguese language at the heart of its national identity), Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Cape Verde. Official support for the development of commerce and cultural exchange between lusophone countries has also extended into stimulus for

scientific cooperation. In early February of 2009, the 10th edition of the bi-annual *Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais* was held in Braga, Portugal. While studies in specialized areas such as violence and historical sociology occasionally have specific comparative dimensions, this conference is a point where a visible tendency can be seen to develop a common approach within the shadow of a linguistic community, a linguistic community which is international and cosmopolitan, uniting both rich and poor countries, countries with populations with varying degrees of internal differentiation, and at various stages of development, with problems of war and violence, in a common reflection. It is still too early to speak of these congresses as space where, in the shadow provided by a common linguistic identity, which permits both affective and instrumental dimensions of communication to be united, "counter-hegemonic" intellectual dynamics can be developed. Such development is certainly a major bet of some who are most deeply involved in this movement. There is a growing consciousness that development will require stimulus for comparative research between lusophone countries, greater visibility of the community's scientific journal *Travessias*, increased use by the countries of the Brazilian-based online journal and indexing system Scielo (www.scielo.br)[13] and efforts to move towards institutionalizing lusophone social sciences.

Indeed, there appears to be an increasing perception at government level of the necessity to develop deeper interchange with other countries that employ Latin languages, especially Spanish, French, and Italian. There have recently been scientific meetings in this direction. Also, there have been efforts to bring together researchers specialized in Brazil under auspices that are different to that provided by the

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[13] As we saw in note 9, one relevant development is that Scielo now publishes limited English-language online editions of some leading Brazilian Social Science journals.

metropolitan-dominated conferences of the Latin American Studies Association and the Brazilian Studies Association.

Quite recently, South Africa has become a reference point for some Brazilian researchers. Our two countries have many apparently similar social dynamics: school failure, extreme social exclusion, policies designed to promote social integration, and extreme levels of violence. Academic relations between South African and Brazilian sociologists received initial early support and/or stimulus from the University of Michigan and the Ford Foundation. As contacts developed, perceptions grew of the existence of scientific problems that are common to both countries have emerged.

The recently formed group of Heads of State (or government) of India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA) meets annually and has formed the IBSA trilateral development initiative.[14] The identity of this seemingly disparate group is that its members are unique in that they share large populations and areas, are developing countries, and have democratic governments. Cooperation has rapidly resulted in the signing of protocols to stimulate scientific research and in Brazil-specific research funds becoming available.

Over recent years, there has been much talk about the future world role to be played by a small group of previously subaltern or marginalized countries that have large territories and populations and considerable natural resources and will constitute not only large markets but will be important producer nations. Most frequently referred to as the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) this loose and highly diverse group of countries is marked, for Brazilian researchers, by considerable deficit in both our knowledge and understanding. It is worthwhile noting that the concept of BRICS is sometimes elastic, in

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[14] www.ibsa-trilateral.org

Brazil the "S" may be capitalized to represent South Africa, and a "M" occasionally inserted to include Mexico. Indian sociologists talk of a possible future inclusion of Pakistan should that country stabilize politically and become less hostile to the West. As these countries play an increasing role on the world stage in cultural, economic, and political terms, we can imagine that new tensions will occur between them and European and North American countries, tensions will emerge among them, and such tensions will produce new questions for sociological analysis.

Of great importance to contemporary Brazil are the increasing relations with China. It is worthwhile noting the pioneering nature of the work of one of the founding fathers of Brazilian social sciences, Gilberto Freyre (2003), recently republished as a book under the title of *China Tropical.* He documented some aspects of China's (and indeed the Orient's) historic influence on Brazil, which flowed from Portuguese-administered Macao via Goa and served to shape the country, including its customs, architecture, and lifestyles, until the 1850s, when new trading patterns led to a decline in this influence and the United States' long rise to a hegemonic position in the region. A century later, he saw another type of approximation emerging, as, in the mid-twentieth century, Brazilian and Chinese xenophobia emerged in relation to dominant countries, and especially the USA. While the USA continues to be Brazil's first trading partner, a rise in economic exchanges has today pushed China into a position, entirely unimagined even a decade ago, as Brazil's second trading partner. With this comes a need to build and disseminate an understanding of Chinese culture in Brazil and vice versa. It is necessary to build capacities to investigate and understand the conflicts that will inevitably emerge as exchanges increase in many areas: immigration, leisure, cultural

exchange, tourism, commerce, etc. Chinese sociologists express interest in learning about the extraordinary rapid processes of economic and social change that occurred in Brazil during the 20th century and specifically how this had an impact on youth and also on government, such interest is linked to attempting to understand the changes their country is currently undergoing, which have few parallels in the history of the world. Common research problems will emerge from this process. My bet is that, should this happen, a new comparative dimension will be introduced into the sociology of both countries.

The rise of these nations as economic powers has, in Brazil, started to be associated with a change in perception of what is relevant for the internationalization of Brazilian sociology and the social sciences more generally. Such a movement will take many years to build up, and certainly we shall have to learn from our North American and European counterparts because their sociologies have had international ambitions for a lot longer than Brazil. In terms of academic traditions, linguistic skills, regular funding, and institution building they are certainly a far ahead of us. It is imperative for sociology to widen its scope and to build up a research dynamic that is increasingly South-South in nature. In this way, we shall be able to understand our development processes through the eyes of comparative research that are in dialogue with, but relatively autonomous from, the research dynamics based on a North-South logic that have dominated for so long. This is, in a way, what Raewyn Connell (2007) and Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Meneses (2009), in spite of their differences, are talking about.

I must note that the role of the SBS in this fast changing arena cannot be omitted. It stimulates debates and encourages participation in international forums, be they the traditional international ones, regional, or linked to new global dynamics. Scientific

societies have a responsibility to lead and to stimulate. At the same time as Brazil's bi-annual national conferences always bring in some of the world's leading sociologists to talk, today participants come from an increasing variety of countries and continents. Simultaneously, SBS is seen as having relevance to the agendas beyond other Latin American developing countries. Normally, invitations to speak at conferences are made on an individual basis to prominent Northern scholars; in Brazil's case some invitations are made in an institutional manner, because many of our best sociologists are little known internationally (and frequently for the reasons exposed earlier on in this paper). While Brazil's best sociologists are up-to date with international debates and read these in a cosmopolitan manner, oral expression may be difficult. In the context of increasing formal international exchanges it is my bet that recourse to translators will become necessary to guarantee that many of the most complex ideas, and contexts, be understood as clearly as possible.

However, the fact is that these new intellectual dynamics are already occurring. Brazilian social sciences must equip themselves to comprehend the recent rise of Brazil to the status of a regional power and, as expressed in the notion of the BRICs, to a more important player in a global sense. Through exposure to other systems of social dynamics, new ways of learning and new angles of vision will certainly develop, enriching our understanding of ourselves and social theory. One key aspect will be the development of a deeper understanding of other cultures and the processes of change that are occurring outside of the countries that are today still referred to as "central." Here we are not speaking so much of the internationalization of Brazilian sociology but of the formation of a new type of international sociology, one not envisageable before the

building of international databases, air travel, Internet, and appropriate funding for comparative research.[15] The process by which our discipline will be transformed is likely to be chaotic. Yet, sociologists will still be motivated by the search for truth about universal dynamics of social life, and oriented by a rereading of the classical and contemporary sociological traditions, this motivation will guide sociologists into an labyrinth where knowledge about the lives of social actors in many parts of the globe will no-longer be able to be ignored. The complex nature of our contemporary world marked by cultural conflicts, environmental change, the rise of new centers of power, increasing exchanges of information and, as of September 2008, by the collapse in the domination of a form of economic thinking which sought to radically separate the economic dimensions of life from its social and political ones, sets the stage upon which future efforts will be conducted. In such a context, sociologists will redefine the role and purposes of internationalized sociology.

**Conclusion**

There is a tension inherent in the internationalization of Brazilian sociology that comes from, on the one hand a need to be seen and recognized in the centers that currently dominate world sociology, and on the other hand there is the imperative, propelled by globalization and supported by both the Brazilian government and committed researchers, to redefine international scientific relations in a way that is adequate to a new

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[15] Until very recently it was extremely difficult for Brazilian researchers to obtain financing for South-South research. The international efforts of the funding agencies, as occurs in many developing countries, were nearly all focused upon developing academic and research relations with Northern countries: the CAPES-COFECUB agreements with France, the many Brazilian *cathedras* in European universities, scholarship allocation to study in Northern hemisphere universities etc.

and changing international context. This latter effort raises a danger that is not present in the former; Brazilian sociology (and indeed social science) is small and has a strong commitment to being relevant within its own country, yet in this new effort, we may end up spreading ourselves far too thinly.

In the traditional centers of world power, the definitions and the criteria of excellence appear to be already defined: change will only be incremental; learn to play the game and your scientific work will become recognized for what it is worth. Such a definition, which as we have seen serves as an obstacle to the development of an internationally recognized Brazilian sociology, will be redefined in a multi-polar world.

We Brazilian sociologists still have a great deal of work to do at home. Some of us seek international recognition in a traditional sense; however, members of the discipline are now deeply involved in a process of seeking to redefine what is international as what is relevant in the world viewed from a Brazil in interaction with a renewed sociological tradition.

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# Resistance to Rating: Resource Allocation, Academic Freedom and Citizenship

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## Introduction

Since the early eighties universities worldwide have been confronted with the need to adapt to the pressures of marketisation. They have become "knowledge factories." The traditional role of the university (as espoused in the middle ages) as "the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake" has been replaced by the "pursuit of useful knowledge" (David, 1997: 4). This pursuit is characterised by the fact that scientific research is often transformed into technology, due to the demands of externally determined research agendas (Wasser, 1990: 112).

Marketisation is not the only factor which impacts negatively on the academic's time for reflection and '…the freedom to pursue research and excellence in conditions of security' (Miller, 1991: 124). Under the guise of the demands of globalisation, governments are placing pressure on universities to make a contribution to increased international competitiveness. This represents a strengthening of links between the university and industry (Kaplan, 1997: 69). Thus, knowledge is used for commercial

purposes and the focus is on short-term, applied research aimed at developing marketable products (Orr, 1997: 47).

Research is increasingly undertaken in order to make a profit, which leads to a greater emphasis on knowledge as private property and the protection of intellectual property rights. Free and open dissemination of knowledge is a thing of the past in the market university. The traditional unity of research, teaching and study or scholarship is increasingly being eroded with the development of more and more teaching-only or research-only institutions (Orr, 1997: 50-59). Wasser (1990: 121) argues that the university is evolving from the traditional into the entrepreneurial; governments favour research that has an economic benefit along with vocationally orientated courses.

The development of the entrepreneurial university is often referred to as "academic capitalism." Ylijoki (2003: 308) defines it as consisting of 'both direct market activity, which seeks for profit, such as patents, licences and spin-off firms, and of market-like behaviour, which entails competition of external funding without the intention to make a profit, such as grants, research contracts and donations. In both senses academic capitalism promotes market-orientation and competition in university research.'

In South Africa higher education is experiencing what Webster and Adler (1999) call "a double transition." A new curriculum (Curriculum, 2005 or so-called outcomes-based education), and the South African Qualifications Authority was introduced, which were supposed to increase the mobility of students between campuses, promote transformation, reduce or eradicate duplication and ensure the "delivery" of graduates with marketable skills who would be productive members of society. This was to be achieved by the development of so-called programmes focused on equipping students

with the necessary skills to operate successfully within a particular work context. At the same time 'the restructuring of the higher education landscape' (Jansen, 2003: 304) took place. This entailed the merging of universities and technikons (the South African term for technical colleges which provide post-school vocational training) in order to achieve the supposed ideal number of 21 institutions of higher learning.

All of these sorts of transformation initiatives are undertaken at the behest of the Minister in-charge of the Department of Education. The Higher Education Act of 1997, and subsequent amendments, has empowered the Minister in significant ways. Not only is institutional autonomy on the decrease, but state interference has increased. For example, the Minister has to approve loans for sound and financially unsound universities. In this way, financial flows are controlled by the State, and not by the institution in question. Moreover, the Department of Education claims that mergers took place so as to help economically inefficient higher education institutions to become less so when joined with more efficient institutions. However, it is clear that the mergers were politically efficient, in terms of an attempt to regulate equity imbalances, as opposed to the bottom line. In this way, the state's transformation agenda has been politically, rather than economically driven (Moja, Cloete and Olivier, 2002: 36-46).

Considering the above, role-players in South Africa have to deal with a double-edged sword, wherein global economic pressures and local political concerns intersect. On the one hand, they need to transform universities to address the legacies of the past, and on the other they need to consider the role of the university as producers of "useful knowledge." This represents a juggling act whereby universities enrol more students from previously disadvantaged communities, transform councils, senates and academic staff to

reflect the demographic realities of South Africa, participate actively in community upliftment, but also, due to increased financial constraints, need to consider their own viability. This viability is addressed in terms of attracting state funding but also private sector donations, which, in turn, can compromise the "independence" of the university under consideration.

The rapidly changing socio-historical context has also made an impact on the way in which state funding for research is structured and managed. Academic freedom in research is no longer simply the freedom of academics 'to speak their own minds, to teach in accordance with their own interests, and to develop those interests according to their own research agenda' (Nixon, 2001: 175). It has become entwined with accountability and international competitiveness. This paper explores the system of evaluation and rating introduced by the South African National Research Foundation for researchers in the social sciences and humanities in 2002. In particular, the resistance amongst sociologists in terms of the impact of the system on resource allocation, collegiality and the freedom of sociologists to determine their own research agendas is considered. In so doing, attention will be paid to the ways in which state resource allocation and transformation agendas impact perceptions of academic freedom, and how it is being navigated.

**The History of State Funding for Research in South Africa**

Support for research in universities in South Africa has a long history dating from 1942 when General Jan Smuts, initiated the idea of establishing a national research body in South Africa. As a result the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) was

founded in 1945 through an Act of Parliament. An important item on the agenda of the first council meeting was the promotion of research in universities through grants and bursaries (NRF, 2005: 3).

In the early 1980s a concern developed among researchers at universities with regard to the absence of clearly defined and generally accepted criteria for the allocation of funds. After an investigation the CSIR Foundation for Research Development (FRD) was formed in 1984, tasked with the awarding of research grants and bursaries to applicants in the natural sciences. The FRD became an independent body in 1990 (NRF, 2005: 3).

Until the late nineties the social sciences and the natural sciences in South Africa operated in totally separate enclaves as far as research in the higher education sector was concerned. While funding and research support for the natural sciences was administered through the FRD, the social sciences received their funding and research support through the Centre for Science Development (CSD), a division of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). In both cases support entailed grants for conducting research as well as bursaries for students. The FRD also made funding available for equipment and research infrastructure.

From 1982 the FRD developed an evaluation and rating system for natural scientists which was implemented for the first time in 1984. This rating system made the following distinctions: A-rated scientists (leading international researchers), B-rated scientists (internationally acclaimed researchers), C-rated scientists (established researchers) and Y ratings (promising young researchers).

The National Research Foundation was established in 1999 through the National Research Foundation Act, Act 23 of 1998. The new organisation entailed the amalgamation of the FRD and the CSD into a new funding body charged with the promotion of and support for research across all fields of the humanities, social and natural sciences, engineering and technology. Significantly this new agency was based at the CSIR, the previous home of the FRD.

From 2002 the NRF extended the evaluation and rating system previously in place for the natural sciences to the social sciences and humanities. This paper describes the review process and considers the strengths and weaknesses of such a system of individual evaluation and rating for the social sciences in general and for sociology in particular.

**The Aim of the Evaluation and Rating System**

The main aim of the evaluation and rating system is to provide an objective determination of the quality of the research output of individual researchers in higher education based on their recent track record and outputs in research by means of peer evaluation. The definition of research used for by the NRF for this purpose is reflected in Table 1.

**Table 1: Definition of Research**

For purposes of the NRF, research is original investigation undertaken to gain knowledge and/or enhance understanding.

*Research specifically includes:*
- The creation and development of the intellectual infrastructure of subjects and disciplines (e.g.) through dictionaries, scholarly editions, catalogues and contributions to major research databases);
- The invention or generation of ideas, images, performances and artefacts where these manifestly embody new or substantially developed insights;
- Building on existing knowledge to produce new or substantially improved materials, devices, products, policies or processes.
- 

*It specifically excludes:*

Source: National Research Foundation (2005: 8).

The following criteria are used to perform the peer evaluation:

- The quality of the research outputs of the preceding eight years

- The impact of the applicant's work in his/her field and how it has impacted on adjacent fields.

- An assessment of the candidate standing as a researcher in the field in terms of a South African as well as an international perspective.

In order for the peer evaluation to be conducted the candidate needs to submit a research portfolio listing research outputs in particular books of scholarship, chapters in scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles and research-based publications such as refereed conference publications and edited books. Other evidence of research proficiency such as book reviews, editorship of journals, official positions in professional associations, and the impact of higher degree supervision on a research programme, visiting professorships, staff development and research-based improvements of the quality of higher education are also considered. Apart from keynote or plenary addresses conference papers seem not to carry much weight in the peer review process.

It is clear from the above that the evaluation and rating system focuses nearly exclusively on the promotion of professional sociology as defined by Michael Burawoy (2004). It is also an individualistic system that rates single authorship output more highly than collaborative efforts. As a special incentive to apply for rating researchers who have received a rating are allowed to apply for five-year funding for a project from the NRF's Focused Areas programme as opposed to the two years for non-rated researchers. Once the programme of rating has been running for a few years non-rated researchers will not be allowed to apply for research money from the NRF as a project leader at all.

**The Procedure of Evaluation and Rating**

Applications for evaluation and rating are open to all full-time, part-time or contract researchers based at South African higher education institutions (HELs), museums or any other NRF recognised research institution. An NRF recognised research institution is one

- that conducts basic research or applied research,

- of a pre-competitive nature,

- promoting the long-term knowledge base,

- within the declared NRF focus areas,

- it should have a research training component leading to master's degrees and doctorates, while being committed to equity and redress.

The research portfolio must be submitted via the research office of the institution that the applicant is based at and needs to be supported by the research office. After screening by

the Evaluation Centre acceptable applications are sent through to the appropriate specialist committee for the appointment of peer reviewers.

There are presently 21 such specialist committees of which 11 are for the social sciences and humanities. The eleven specialist committees for the social sciences and humanities are the following:

- Anthroplogy, Development Studies, Geography, Sociology and Social Work

- Communication, Media Studies and Library and Information Sciences

- Economics, Management, Administration and Accounting

- Education

- Historical Studies

- Law

- Literary Studies, Languages and Linguistics

- Performing and Creative Arts, and Design

- Political Sciences, Policy Studies and Philosophy

- Psychology

- Religious Studies and Theology

Each of these committees consists of three to six respected members of the South African research community in each of the fields of research.

As is clear from the above sociology is grouped together in one specialist committee with anthropology, development studies, geography and social work. It is interesting to note that this specialist committee includes the widest array of disciplines

of all the social science and humanities committees. Education, historical studies, law, psychology and religious studies each have their own separate specialist committee. The specialist committee appoints the peer reviewers, evaluates their reports and allocate a rating. At least six reviewers are appointed of which at least half are from prestigious institutions abroad. Reviewers are not informed about the previous evaluation or rating of applicants, or about the rating categories that are used by the NRF. Provision is made for an appeals process.

Three categories of ratings are used. The first category deals with researchers who have established themselves in their field. The following distinctions are made:

- A – Leading International Researcher: judged world leaders in their field

- B – Internationally Acclaimed Researcher: has considerable international recognition as an independent researcher

- C – Establised Researcher: demonstrates a solid body of research which reflects an ongoing commitment in their field

The second category distinguishes between two kinds of ratings that are awarded to young researchers, normally younger than 35 years with a doctoral qualification of less than 5 years.

- P – NRF President's Awardee: are recognised internationally as having the potential to become leaders in their field in the future.

- Y– Promising Young Researcher: showing the potential to become established reseachers within a five-year period after evaluation.

Provision is also made for those researchers, normally younger than 55 years who have shown promise or ability as researchers in the past but have been prevented from developing this ability because of the absence of a research environment, time spent in industry or family responsibilities.

Finer distinctions are also made in the rating in terms of A1, A2, B1, B2, B3, C1, C2, C3, Y1 and Y2. A more detailed explanation of the ratings that can be awarded is reflected in Table 2.

**Table 2: Definitions of Rating Categories and Research**

| Category | Definition | Sub-Category | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | Researchers who are unequivocally recognised but heir peers as leading international scholars in their field for the high quality and impact of their recent research outputs. | A1 | A researcher in this group is recognised by all reviewers as a leading scholar in his/her field internationally for the high quality and wide impact (i.e.) beyond a narrow field of specialisation) of his/her recent research outputs. |
| | | A2 | A researcher in this group is recognised by the overriding majority of reviews as a leading scholar in his/her field internationally for the high quality and impact (either wide of confined) of his/her recent research outputs. |

| B | Researchers who enjoy considerable international recognition by their peers for the high quality and impact of their recent research outputs. | B1 | All reviewers concur that the applicant enjoys considerable international recognition for the high quality and impact of his/her recent research outputs, with some of them indicating that he/she is a leading international scholar in the field. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | B2 | All or the overriding majority of reviewers are firmly convinced that the applicant enjoys considerable international recognition for the high quality and impact of his/her recent research outputs. |
| | | B3 | Most of the reviewers are convinced that the applicant enjoys considerable international recognition for the high quality and impact of his/her recent research outputs. |
| C | Established researchers with a sustained recent record of productivity in the field who are recognised by their peers as having: Produced a body of quality work, the core of which has coherence and attests to ongoing engagement with the field Demonstrated the ability to conceptualise problems and apply research methods to investigating them | C1 | While all reviewers concur that the applicant is an established researcher (as described), some of them indicate that he/she already enjoys considerable international recognition for his/her high quality recent research outputs. |
| | | C2 | All or the overriding majority of reviewers are firmly convinced that the applicant is an established researcher (as described). |
| | | C3 | Most of the reviewers concur that the applicant is an established researcher (as described). |

| Category | Definition | Sub- | Description |
|---|---|---|---|

| | | Category | |
|---|---|---|---|
| P | Young researchers (normally younger than 35 years of age), who have held the doctorate of equivalent qualification for less than five years at the time of application and who, on the basis of exceptional potential demonstrated in their published doctoral work and/or their research outputs in their early post-doctoral careers are considered likely to become future leaders in their field. | | Researchers in this group are recognised by all or the over-riding majority of reviewers as having demonstrated the potential of becoming future leaders in their field, on the basis of exceptional research performance and output from their doctoral and/or early post-doctoral research careers. |
| Y | Young researchers (normally younger than 35 years of age), who have held the doctorate of equivalent qualification for less than five years at the time of application, and who are recognised as having the potential to establish themselves as researchers within a five-year period after evaluation, based on their performance and productivity as researchers during their doctoral studies and/or early post-doctoral careers. | Y1 | A researcher in this group is recognised by all reviewers as having the potential (demonstrated by research products) to establish him/herself as a researcher with some of them indicating that he/she has the potential to become a future leader in his/her field. (Applicants on the borderline between P and Y should be rated at this level.) |
| | | Y2 | A researcher in this group is recognised by all or the over-riding majority of reviewers as having the potential to establish him/herself as a researcher (demonstrated by recent research products). |
| L | Persons (normally younger than 55 years) who were previously established as researchers of who previously demonstrated | | This category was introduced to draw an increased number of researchers with potential from disadvantaged |

| potential through their own research products, and who are considered capable of fully establishing or re-establishing themselves as researchers within a five-year period after evaluation. Candidates should be South African citizens or foreign nationals who have been resident in South Africa for five years during which time they have been unable for practical reasons to realise their potential as researchers.<br><br>Candidates who are eligible in this category include:<br><br>• black researchers<br>• female researchers<br>• those employed in a higher education institution that lacked a research environment<br>• those who were previously established as researchers and have returned to a research environment. | | backgrounds as well as women into research. It also caters for persons previously established as researchers who have returned to a research environment after periods in industry or elsewhere. Applicants must demonstrate that they could not realise the potential or sustain their research ability by virtue of a lack of a research environment, or time spent in industry, or on maternity leave, or raising a family. For candidates to qualify for this category the employing institution must have demonstrated its financial commitment towards a development strategy for the staff member concerned |
|---|---|---|

Source: National Research Foundation (2005: 7-8).

After the initial rating have been awarded researchers at recognised research institutions who have been rated A, B, C, P, Y or L are invited to submit documents for re-evaluation in approximately five-year cycles. Should a researcher choose not to respond to this

invitation, his/her rating will lapse and will affect funding cycles. Applicants who have not been awarded a rating have to wait three years before they may apply for re-evaluation. They may apply for special re-evaluation sooner if the relevant authority of the employing institution believes that the applicant has made sufficient progress since the precious rating that it warrants re-evaluation. A new application then has to be sent to the NRF other with a motivation indicating why a special re-evaluation is justified.

**The Response from the Social Science Community**

The numbers of applications for rating received by the specialist committees for the social sciences and humanities as well as their success rate at receiving a rating are reflected in Table 2 below. It is clear that the rating system was not received with great enthusiasm by the social science community. Furthermore, if anything, the slight initial enthusiasm dwindled rapidly from 380 applications in 2002 to 113 in 2003, 81 in 2004, 100 in 2005 and 82 in 2006. In 2007 only 274 applications were received which includes applications for re-evaluations for those who applied for the first time in 2002. The average success rate over the five year period is 68% and 64% of ratings awarded are as Established researchers (C). In 2006 only 513 (32%) of the 1606 rated researchers were from the social sciences and humanities (NRF, 2007: 7).

**Table 3: Applications and Ratings 2002-2006 in Social Sciences and Humanities**

| Year | Applications | Success | % | Ratings received |
|------|--------------|---------|---|------------------|

| | | | | A | B | C | P | Y | L |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **2002** | 380 | 269 | 71 | 6 | 59 | 175 | 5 | 16 | 8 |
| **2003** | 113 | 81 | 72 | 1 | 17 | 52 | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| **2004** | 81 | 43 | 53 | 2 | 9 | 26 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| **2005** | 100 | 72 | 72 | 1 | 7 | 43 | 3 | 11 | 7 |
| **2006** | 82 | 48 | 59 | 4 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| **Total** | **756** | **513** | **68** | **14** | **92** | **327** | **9** | **43** | **28** |

Source: National Research Foundation (2007: 5-7).

It is also of interest to consider the spread of rated researchers across specialist committees in the social sciences and humanities as is reflected in Table 3.

**Table 3: The Spread of Rated Researchers in Social Sciences & Humanities 2006**

| **Specialist Committee – the Social Sciences and Humanities** | **Rating** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **A** | **B** | **C** | **Total** |
| Anthropology, Development Studies, Geography, Sociology and Social Work | 2 | 9 | 37 | 48 |
| Communication, Media Studies & Library and Information Sciences | 0 | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| Economics, Management, Administration and Accounting | 0 | 7 | 46 | 53 |
| Education | 1 | 6 | 38 | 45 |
| Historical Studies | 2 | 12 | 19 | 33 |
| Law | 2 | 15 | 57 | 74 |
| Literary studies, Language and Linguistics | 5 | 21 | 58 | 84 |
| Performing and Creative Arts and Design | 0 | 10 | 16 | 26 |
| Political Studies, Policy Studies and Philosophy | 0 | 7 | 18 | 25 |
| Psychology | 0 | 6 | 28 | 34 |
| Religious Studies and Theology | 2 | 5 | 20 | 27 |
| **Total** | **14** | **100** [16] | **352** | **466** |

Source: National Research Foundation (2007: 11).

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[16] Some researchers are linked to more than one specialist committee

The lack of interest from sociologists is particularly evident when their participation is considered. In 2006 only 13 sociologists were rated where 8 had an established researcher rating (C), two an internationally acclaimed rating (B), two a promising young researcher rating (Y) and only one had managed to achieve a leading international researcher or A rating. The absence of sociologists among the rated scientists is largely due to the fact that South African sociologists are generally very resistant to the system. During workshops held by Webster and Fakier (2001: 13-14) the participants raised six problems foreseen by South African sociologists with extending the rating and evaluation system to researchers in the social sciences and humanities.

The first problem was related to an important difference between the natural sciences and the social sciences, namely that of the diversity in approaches and orientations within the social sciences in general, and sociology in particular. This diversity, it was argued, makes it problematic to obtain consensus on the criteria that should be used for any ranking of social scientists as well as for the actual ranking in terms of a simple hierarchy.

Secondly, it was argued that sociologists consider their subject matter to be inextricably linked to finding solutions for social problems over which there is no agreement. Most sociologists find it impossible to 'divorce their own views as citizens from their work as sociologists' (Webster and Fakier, 2001: 13). This lack of basic agreement among sociologists in different societies with regard to the way in which judgements of intellectual work should be conducted, makes the ranking of sociologists on the basis of their international standing highly problematic.

A third problem with the rating system is 'that the social sciences and the humanities are grounded in a particular geographical and historical context' (Webster and Fakier, 2001: 14). In particular scholars working in Area Studies, where their focus is on a specific region, such as in the case of African Studies, cannot easily be ranked together with scholars working in a specific discipline in terms of one inclusive ranking system.

The fourth problem has to do with the generalist nature of sociology. The sociological community in South Africa is relatively small, which makes it difficult 'to find sufficient numbers of scholars who are familiar both with the substantive focus and the method of investigation of a researcher' (Webster and Fakier, 2001: 14). The review process is therefore inherently susceptible to all kinds of errors of judgement, while consensus building among practitioners is difficult to achieve.

The fifth problem identified by participants is related to the individualistic nature of the rating system. South African sociologists generally prefer a more collective approach where a department or research centre is evaluated rather than an individual. The feeling is that research is centred on team work and that the achievements of researchers as a team should be evaluated.

Lastly, inadequate recognition of the need for capacity building of researchers is considered a flaw, especially the fact that insufficient credit is given to applicants for the contribution they are making in this regard.

These concerns were identified in 2002 before the present rating system was extended to the humanities and social sciences. It was therefore necessary to revisit the views of South African sociologists after the process had been in operation for five years.

**Research Design and Profile of Respondents**

In collaboration with Bronwyn Dworzanowski-Venter, an electronic survey of South African sociologists was conducted in 2007/8 in order to explore how they understand "academic citizenship," and how, if at all, it is experienced and/or practised. As part of the electronic questionnaire that was sent to a cross-section of sociologists they were asked to express their views of the current NRF-rating system. We received a total of 38 responses from eight universities. The biographical characteristics of the respondents are reflected in Table 4.

**Table 4:  The Biographical Characteristics of the Respondents**

| Race | Black – 5; Coloured/Indian – 5; White – 28 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Gender** | Men – 20; Women – 18 | | |
| **Age** | <45 – 15; 45-54 – 9; 55+ - 14 | | |
| **Seniority** | Junior academics (junior lecturer and lecturer) | 8 in total | 6 female, 2 male<br> 1 black,  3 Coloured/Indian, 4 white<br><45: 7; 45-54: 1; 55+: 0 |
| | Middle-level academics (senior lecturer) | 9 in total | 4 female, 5 male<br>3 black, 1 Coloured/Indian, 5 white<br><45: 6; 45-54: 2; 55+: 1 |
| | Senior academics (professor and associate professor) | 21 in total | 7 female, 14 male<br>1 black, 1 Coloured/Indian, 19 white<br><45: 2; 45-54: 6; 55+: 13 |

**Sociologists' Views on the Evaluation of Research Performance**

The majority of sociologists who responded to the questionnaire were senior (55%), white (74%) and male (53%). As the majority of the respondents were already fairly established in their careers, one would have expected participation from a substantial number of them. However, only five of the respondents admitted to having applied for rating and these were the five rated sociologists. Each of these mentioned that they applied for rating as they received pressure from the university to do so. Moreover, there was a strong sentiment that the NRF would part with funds more easily to rated scientists and that their university-employers would be sure to advance more research funding upon the achievement of rated status. A number of universities provide incentives to rated scientists such as an amount of research funding being provided depending on the level of rating achieved as well as funds for the appointment of a research assistant.

Having established the linkages between the NRF, rating and research funding, we considered why the vast majority of our respondents chose not to apply for rating. Their responses were as follows:

- do not qualify for rating

- qualify for rating, but choose not to apply for rating

    o object in principle to the rating system and process

    o will not apply as able to access more funds elsewhere

    o will apply for rating once more research work has been completed (i.e. these respondents qualify for rating, but feel it is too early in their careers to be rated)

    o was going to apply for rating but decided that it was too late in one's career to do so

Although the respondents generally acknowledged the central role of peer review in determining the quality of research work, they questioned the principle on which the present system is based as well as the legitimacy and structure of the process by means of which a rating is achieved. A senior rated sociologist expressed his concerns as follows:

> It is a misguided attempt to imitate a dubious practice in the natural sciences. It is a flawed idea in the humanities that you can rank academics along nine different levels. We do not have such a consensus in our disciplines and it open to abuse by those who have powerful networks. Above all, I think it leads to a narrow preoccupation with publication –especially in international journals - at the expense of our core business, which is teaching and building the new generation. This responsibility is absolutely central in a country and university such as mine where we are desperately trying to follow Harvard and Oxford at the expense of building our own timber.

This view is supported by another unrated middle-level respondent who argues:

> In the last while I have not been following debates on the NRF very closely, but my sense is that this is an ambitious, but deeply flawed process. While I do understand part of the logic to expand the rating system used in the natural sciences to the social sciences, because it is seen to confer some prestige to this Cinderella of the academy, this is not an international practice, partly because there are deep and substantial differences in research practice and the nature of the knowledge generated in these two parts of the academy. In addition, the South African research community is simply way too small to allow for the kind of bureaucratic indifference and distance in which a fair and relatively undamaging (to the individual applying) process of evaluation can flourish.

In particular the NRF rating system is viewed as interference by the state in the determination of research agendas. One respondent expressed a strong view in this regard:

> I see it as a an attempted  form of state control over  tertiary research agendas (as these are predetermined to a large extent)   where the honour of being rated is exchanged for monetary "rewards" in the form of research  funds to be allocated and administered within University context by the rated scientist on behalf of the NRF.

Another respondent indicated a similar view, although less explicitly:

> I have not submitted to it as I think it is another of those externally originated and imposed structures that erode autonomy, professionalism, integrity and ownership of one's work. Philosophically, there are too many problems to evaluating sociological work to have confidence in any ranking of outputs and hence rating of scholars. A sense of injustice and illegitimacy is thus unavoidable.

Respondents also view the university management as being complicit in the undermining of academic freedom as is clear from the following quotation:

> I also hold the view that universities undermine the conditions of autonomous and critical scholarship to the extent that they overtly or covertly coerce academics to apply for rating. The system and the practices are rendered particularly invidious to the extent that such coercion is attached to – or veiled by – material inducements.  The imposition of a monopolistic arbiter of academic quality and dispenser of material largesse is in itself destructive of scholarly values.

A further problem expressed is related to the fact that the rating system as presently conducted favours specialisation rather than cutting across disciplines. Those scholars involved in interdisciplinary work are therefore disadvantaged when it comes to the determination of a rating by a more narrowly focused research committee. Two respondents expressed this sentiment in the following way:

> The current NRF-rating system does not allow one to be regarded as a good generalist (i.e. academic/scientist that has made high quality research contributions in one's field). The more specialized one is the better. I think that this is a bit restricting. Many university-based SA scholars in the social sciences are compelled to be generalists – which seems to be undervalued by NRF criteria.

Concerns are also expressed about the way in which the academic capitalism engendered by globalisation impacts on the expression of academic citizenship and collegiality:

> In the broadest sense corporate globalization which promotes individual competitiveness and materialism which implies concentrating on one's own career and undertaking research on behalf of the powerful and the privileged who can pay for it. In the immediate context the rating system which is built on vanity, egoism and competitiveness rather than sharing and co-operation.

Moreover, the NRF rating system does not give recognition to the academic citizenship displayed by applicants. In a developing society such as South Africa it is very important that scholars should be willing to devote some of their time to building up the various

institutions within which research work is conducted, such as their departments, national journals and professional associations. The amount of work that is done in this regard should be considered in awarding the eventual rating that a particular researcher receives.

A serious concern is the fact that the rating system as presently conducted and the link that it has to the possibility of being awarded research funding by the NRF could give rise to the so-called Matthew Effect, namely that those who have received more opportunities in the past at doing research, are more likely to receive them in the future (Laudel, 2006: 377). This is especially the case as no consideration is given to the working conditions at the particular institution of the researcher or the extent to which they provide a disabling or enabling environment for conducting good quality research.

Finally, the NRF is viewed as giving inadequate recognition to the socio-historical context within which the rating of South African social scientists is taking place. As one senior sociologist expressed it:

> The NRF criteria place too much emphasis on "international recognition" (in apparent ignorance of the political and social structures of knowledge hierarchies in the academic world), [and associated with the above] indicators such as citation indexes reflect, for the most part, both the geographical concentrations of scholarship and the density of paradigmatic, research tradition and thematic communities (which are often exclusivist and difficult to penetrate) which are not easily accessible to SA scholars – and which perforce subject their work to scrutiny by assessors that may be relatively ignorant of a particular field of specialisation.

In particular, the emphasis the NRF rating places on the applicant's international standing directs South African social scientists towards ensuring that their research has a sufficient international flavour so that it would be of interest to sociologists elsewhere.

> In order for an applicant to achieve a high ranking (A and B), most of their reviewers must be convinced that the applicant's research has a considerable international reputation. This system is prejudiced against any applicant who studies a society outside Western Europe and North America. The reason for this is the colonial nature of social science. Whereas the subject matter of physicists or chemist remains the same the world over, South African sociologists are obliged to study South African society rather than British society. No matter how path breaking and excellent, a study of South African society would have no impact on debates about British society. The colonial character of social science is such that only studies of Western European and US society are considered "international". So, for example a study of social class in the US would be considered a key contribution to debates about social class. A study of class in South Africa would be considered relevant only to South Africa or maybe Africa or the developing world. On these terms, it is therefore much more difficult for social scientists to achieve "considerable international recognition."

**Conclusion**

The value and functioning of the NRF rating system is debated within and without the social sciences in South Africa. This is clearly reflected in the responses obtained from our cohort of sociologists. The fact remains that even the harshest critics of the rating process choose to resist in absentia, rather than taking on the state and the NRF in a more direct way.

In conclusion, it could be argued that although the rating system as implemented in South Africa at present, is flawed in many ways, it also has distinct advantages that could be retained through a thorough rethink of the system. It is the only way in which we can benchmark ourselves to our colleagues nationally as well as internationally. As far as could be determined, this system of peer reviewing is unique in the world. It provides some objective mechanism, however imperfect, of comparing the research ability of scholars with each other. The feedback that is provided by the NRF to the individual researcher makes an important contribution towards improving the quality of his/her work. At the very least, completing the research profile that is required forces researchers to consider what they are doing and why they are doing it. It is a system that should be improved and refined rather than being rejected altogether as many South African sociologists presently are inclined to do.

Sociologists should actively engage the NRF, the state and university managements rather than withdrawing. In this way we would acknowledge our acceptance of the basic academic principles of peer review and benchmarking. However, the principles and the process of rating should be revisited, making it transparent and open to input from all stakeholders. In particular, there should be recognition of the collective nature of the research enterprise through the rating of departments rather than individuals. An appreciation for the importance of the academic citizenship role of researchers and the redefinition of international recognition should form an important part of the reconstitution of the evaluation of research quality in South Africa.

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**Policy-Driven Research, Audit Culture, and Power: Transforming Sociological Practices in the Philippines**

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**Introduction**

During the last few decades, universities in the South have increasingly been pressured to engage in policy relevant research and to produce knowledge that is useful for national development. Alongside this trend is the emergence of the audit/assessment culture and knowledge management systems among bi/multi-lateral institutions engaged in overseas development assistance (ODA) programs. Meanwhile, university ranking systems have also become central in the sets of policies and programs that institutions of higher learning have crafted in their push to become globally competitive. These processes have greatly transformed the key roles of universities and academic institutes in the South in reproducing as well as reconfiguring hegemonic practices in teaching, research/knowledge production, and community service. Taken together, these processes

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have transformed the structures of power within and across academic institutions in third world societies, in general, and of sociological practices, in particular.

With the increasing dominance of policy-driven research programs, universities in the Philippines, especially those in the national capital and major regional centers, have re-calibrated their faculty incentive and promotion schemes related to teaching, research, and community outreach activities. Overall, these recalibrations of the structure of academic practice in higher education have transformed the social conditions of sociologists and their sociological practices. These internal changes have also been largely influenced by the rise of mode 2 research (Gibbons et al., 2004). They observed that after WW II, there has been a tremendous growth and expansion of this type of research, which saw the rise of transdisciplinary research and the massification of experts in industry and civil society working with university-based experts.

Given the above contexts, sociologists and their sociological practice, then, become part of the creation of new academic hierarchies and stratification schemes among social science practitioners who are either linked or not linked to the assessment culture of multi-lateral institutions and their allied consultants or research institutes based in the North. These processes have largely influenced the research policies of the top universities in the country who take the results of university rankings seriously while others who do not figure positively in these rankings find it convenient to ignore it.

This short piece is a preliminary examination of the consequences of: (1) the increasing demand for policy-driven research, (2) importance given to university rankings, and (3) the rise of the audit culture both in academia and in multi-lateral institutions administering overseas development assistance programs, to the academic

practices of sociologists in third world countries like the Philippines. This paper briefly discusses how sociological research and other professional engagements of sociologists have reproduced and reconfigured social hierarchies in the universities and the larger social science community. Thus, the paper highlights the increasing dominance of policy-driven research and the creation of hierarchies among sociologists, especially those based in elite universities located in the national capital compared to those in the regional centers and provincial capitals of the country. Their sociological practices are largely shaped by their universities' strong linkages (or lack of it) to the policy-driven research agenda of multi-lateral institutions and the significance given by their academic institutions to the university rankings.

**Methodology/Data Sources**

This short paper is based on following data sources: (1) survey of annual research reports of major university-based research centers (1999-2009) and (2) summaries of annual faculty reports of three major universities in the Philippines. This data base was supplemented with 20 key informant interviews of: (1) highly respected sociologists and social scientists affiliated with the Philippine Sociological Society and the Philippine Social Science Council, (2) research program officers of aid development agencies or bi-/multi-lateral institutions, (3) bid development officers of consulting firms and (4) academic-based consultants to multi-lateral institutions. This was also supplemented by the author's insider knowledge as Chairperson of the Technical Committee for Sociology and Anthropology (1997-2009) of the Commission on Higher Education of the Philippines. This technical body formulates and revises curricular programs of the

discipline as well as assesses the competency profiles of sociology programs in the country.

**Knowledge Production, University Rankings, Audit Culture and Sociological Practice**

Harloe and Beth (2004) argued that in the West, science and knowledge production were instrumentalised for economic and military superiority, with universities increasingly expected to produce and disseminate knowledge that support the nation's competitiveness in a globalizing market. They further argued that, to a large extent, the decline in public funding for research owing to fiscal stress have increased the pressure and competition for resources among universities. In part, this trend lead to the rise of mode 2 research, i.e., an increasing trend towards transdisciplinary research done by experts in industry and civil society working with university-based experts (Gibbons et al., 2004). The importance given to university rankings that became increasingly dominant starting in the 1990s, in part, is a result of the competition for students and resources among universities in an increasingly globalized education sector.

Meanwhile, a policy-driven research agenda leads to increasing privatization and segmentation of knowledge production while creating new academic hierarchies that both reinforce and reconfigure old hierarchies within universities and across universities. This trend had also eroded the place of universities as traditional centers of epistemic cultures (Evers, 2004). In the process, it also creates diverse mini-centers of knowledge production in universities, civil society organizations (CSOs) and consulting firms which

are largely driven by research agenda of the state and multi-lateral agencies. In a sense, Mode 2 research in third world countries is illustrated by the increasing number of consultancy firms working with CSOs and university-based experts on contract research from both state and bi-lateral and multi-lateral institutions. These processes have transformed sociological practices in universities in the South, especially for those academics and research centers who are linked with the assessment culture in the North, multi-lateral institutions and civil society organizations in the North. Meanwhile, academics who are not linked to the overseas development assistance networks do not have access to research opportunities offered by these external donor organizations.

By the 1990s, university ranking systems increasingly became a significant yardstick in academia, especially with the premium given to the internationalisation criteria as a mark of quality among universities. Aside from an increasing internationalised student population, this ranking system highly privileges research and publication in internationally refereed journals. This system places academics in third world universities in a disadvantaged position for following reasons, namely: (1) these publications are heavily biased towards English language writers/speakers, (2) most of these referred journals recognized by accreditation bodies and/or university ranking systems are based in English speaking countries, (3) reviewers and editors of these journals are usually not in a position to appreciate issues and concerns coming from academics in most third world universities (Mills, ISA e-bulletin, Porio, 2009). Conversely, refereed journals considered in these rankings are mainly concerned with issues most relevant to the societies where these journals have been published, i.e., mostly in the North. Moreover, the current ranking system of the journals is biased

towards the natural sciences and those published in English-speaking journals (Mills, ISA e-bulletin). Thus, the chances for a third-world based journal like the Philippine Sociological Review (PSR) to be part of this list of internationally recognized journals considered in the university rankings is very slim.

The high premium accorded by academic administrators to university rankings has also lead to the re-calibration of faculty promotion and incentive schemes in universities. For example, the criteria of peer review or citations per faculty have led to the creation of university review committees that instituted policies to encourage faculty to publish in ISI or Scopus listed journals. These committees installed incentive structures like publication awards and cash prizes for publications in internationally refereed/recognized journals. These awards are often given in university wide ceremonial rituals to publicize the importance of these activities, in the process affirming new normative standards for faculty performance. This stratifies faculty according to those who strive to publish in international journals to the detriment of local professional (i.e., discipline-based) journals because publication in the latter does not bring high economic incentives.

The policy-oriented research agenda of the third world state and allied bi/multi-lateral institutions further erode the weak position of academics in the South. Saddled heavily with teaching duties but poorly remunerated, research consultancies provide supplementary sources of income and provide scarce opportunities for research. The university ranking system emphasizes scientific publications or citations per faculty to underscore the scientific quality of institutions of higher learning. But the research opportunities available to sociologists mostly come from the assessment needs of

overseas development assistance (ODA) programs which usually demand proprietary rights over the data and research output. Therefore, getting a publishable output out of this type of research engagement is very low.

While university rankings put premium on publications in internationally refereed journals, most of the research outputs generated by the audit culture of bi/multi-lateral institutions largely serve as inputs to the programmatic decisions of development managers in bi/multi-lateral institutions. To make these research outputs publishable in discipline-based journals need several revisions and iterations which third world academics do not have the resources nor time to be able to do it.

More importantly, university rankings do not really highlight the central focus of universities in the South. According to a former university president in the Philippines, the THES-QS University Rankings focus on graduate employability, peer review (citations per faculty), student faculty ratio but these do not deal with the total formation of students, that they become nurturing persons, life-long learners and heroic leaders, which is the need of the nation (Bernas, 2007).

**The Political and Economic Context of Sociological Practice**

Sociological practices both in academic and non-academic contexts are largely shaped by the social, political, and economic conditions of the country. In third world countries like the Philippines, academics are under increasing pressure to produce relevant knowledge, i.e., useful for national development. This often comes in the form of policy and program driven research agenda on the part of universities, government research institutions, and multi-lateral institutions. How these forces have re-configured academic structures and

processes for sociologists in the Philippines have been primarily mediated by the highly unequal social structure confronting universities and research institutes.

Philippine education, in general, and sociological practice, in particular, faces several constraints and challenges. In general, institutions of higher learning whether they belong to the public or private sector are confronted with the scarcity of education resources. The scarcity of resources available for research can be gleaned from the following three tables. Most of resources invested in education in the Philippines are heavily concentrated on teaching resources, facilities, and physical infrastructure. Very little, if at all, is left for research.

Figure 1 below shows that almost half of the Filipino families have incomes below the poverty line of US$ 1 per capita per day. The incidence of poverty among rural Filipino families is much higher compared to their counterparts in the urban areas. Thus, those academics in rural, provincial or peripheral areas of the Philippines would be largely disadvantaged in terms of accessing opportunities for education and training. Moreover, most academic institutions located outside of the national capital would be focused on creating on responding to the credentialing needs of their student population.

**Figure 1: Trends in Prevalence of Poverty among Filipino Families, 1988 to 2000**

Source: http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/2000/povertyprov.asp
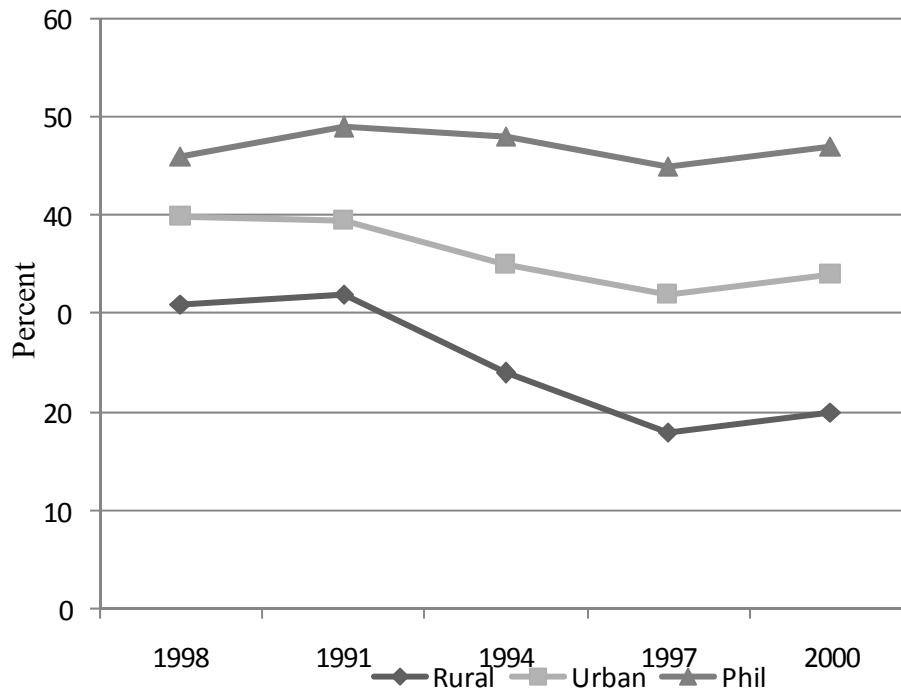
In the Philippines, the institutions of higher learning are dominated by the private sector (80%) and only a small percentage (20%) of colleges and universities are supported by the state (see Table 1 below). But even state-supported institutions have minimal, if at all, budgets for research. Most privately-owned institutions are operated like education enterprises with profits for the owners or shareholders a major concern, so very little is devoted to research and publication related activities. Besides, most of these institutions have neither the professional expertise nor the physical infrastructure to conduct research.

**Table 1: Distribution of Public and Private Colleges/Universities in the Philippines**

| Public | 20 % |
|--------|------|
| Private | 80% |

Like those in other developing countries, institutions of higher learning in the Philippines do not get much resource support from the state. The meagre education resources for higher education are primarily devoted to supporting teachers' salaries, teaching facilities and other needed physical infrastructure. In general, this resource situation holds true for institutions of higher learning both in the public and private sector. With the exception of the top 1% of the universities in the country, most academics are heavily saddled with teaching duties and have no time and resources left for research and publication.

With the institutions of higher learning having very minimal access to funding support for research, academics become highly vulnerable to research consulting opportunities offered by overseas aid development agencies (e.g., Asian Development Bank, World Bank, European Union or the United States Agency for International development or USAID), needing exploratory studies and evaluation or assessment of their existing policies or programs. In the Philippines, most of these opportunities are only accessible to academics in top universities in the national capital or in major regional centers.

Table 2 below shows Burawoy's (2004) scheme of sociological practice which was modified by Bautista (2006) for application to the Philippine sociological community. The effect of a policy-driven research agenda on the part of the state and multi-lateral institutions is illustrated in the dominance of policy sociologists engaged in participatory-oriented research and development work. This is also affirmed by the 2004 Survey of Social Science Practitioners undertaken by the Philippine Social Science

Council, where majority of sociologists were mostly based in academic institutions, civil society organizations (CSOs). Moreover, because of the shortage of highly trained sociologists, there is a blurring of boundaries of engagement among the different arenas of sociological engagements. Academic-based professional sociologists often are also involved in extra-academic activities like policy and participatory development-oriented research.

**Table 2: Context and Typology of Philippine Sociologies**

| Knowledge/ Audience | ACADEMIC | EXTRA-ACADEMIC |
|---|---|---|
| INSTRUMENTAL | PROFESSIONAL | POLICY/PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT/ACTION-ORIENTED |
| REFLEXIVE | CRITICAL | PUBLIC |

Source: Burawoy, 2004 modified by Bautista, 2006

**Table 3: Distribution of Social Science Practitioners in the Philippines (2004)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Public/ Govt. | 24% |
| NGOs/CSOs | 26% |
| Teaching/ Academic (includes research and consultancy) | 43% |
| Research | 7% |
| Total | 100% |

Source: Survey of Social Science Practitioners, Philippine Social Science Council

**Segmentation and Privatization of Knowledge Production**

As mentioned earlier, research/consultancy contracts generated by the audit or assessment culture of bi/multi-lateral institutions primarily serve the latter's policy/program agenda. These research contracts provide proprietary restrictions to the data sets and research reports produced by the project so more often than not, these outputs usually end up in the office/library shelves of program managers and multi-lateral institutions. If these reports are published, these usually come under institutional authorship. At best, publication and dissemination of research findings coming from this genre is very limited to particular audience or readership. These are hardly accessible to university libraries and other public institutions.

Since most of the elite universities are located in the national capital, research consultancies and/or commissioned studies of the government and bi-/multi-lateral institutions are usually given to the academics in these institutions. In the same manner, research institutes in the North commissioned by multi-lateral institutions to manage global or regional research projects would recruit their national counterparts from these elite institutions. In turn, these national-capital based researchers would recruit regional

based academics/researchers to support the local data collection activities. What results is a chain of research networks starting from the metropolitan centers of first world countries to the national capitals and regional centers of third world countries. This chain of relationships highlights the dimensions of metropolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism in global-local knowledge production (Ribeiro, 2006).

The above set of relationships among global-national-local researchers is clearly illustrated in the research reports published by journals of academic-based research institutes outside of Metro Manila. These research articles and reports showed that : (1) the substantive foci of these research outputs originated from the research agenda of bi/multi-lateral institutions, and (2) were mostly part of a larger national or global research project administered by a university research institute based in the national capital or in a research institution in the North.

Academic sociologists in elite institutions located in the national capital are usually the ones who also provide leadership in professional associations and in the technical panels or committees organized by the government to set the standards of the discipline. Often these are the same professionals who are recruited to evaluate government programs supported by bi/multi-lateral institutions administering overseas development assistance programs. Thus, the interlocking networks of power work to the disadvantage of academic sociologists in the regional centers or provincial capitals.

**De-Centering of Universities as Centers of Epistemic Cultures**

Another effect of the rise of mode 2 research is increasingly most of the research activities are carried out by consulting firms, research institutes not associated with

university instructional programs. Dieter-Evers (2000) argued that the rise of mode 2 research has also seen the displacement of universities as centers of epistemic cultures. More and more of the knowledge production activities have increasingly become under the domain of consulting firms, industry consultants and CSO-based researchers working with a handful of university-based experts. The last two decades or so in the Philippines have seen the emergence of many externally funded university-based research centers or research clusters that have no direct relationship to instructional programs. In the same manner, many NGOs have also established research centers to respond to the assessment needs of bi-/multi-lateral institutions. Some illustrative examples are the research institutes established specializing in women and gender issues, environmental resources, climate change, etc.

**Reconfiguring Academic Hierarchies Within and Across Universities**

Within the university system, faculty promotion and incentive structures have accommodated the demands of policy-driven research agendas of the state and of multi-lateral institutions. Prior to the ascendancy of externally funded research programs, consultancies of faculty were not given much value. But during the last few decades, much prestige/recognition is accorded to professors who can generate their own research funds or bring huge grants from external sources, usually from overseas development agencies. Thus, research-based contracts have lately gained acceptability in favour of the faculty who can bring funds to the university. In some cases, senior faculties are de-loaded for research with the younger faculties taking over the former's teaching duties.

The influence of the research agenda of donor agencies on universities is also reflected in how degree programs have been created to support the policy agenda of donor agencies. Examples of these are: Master of Arts in Reproductive Health and Master of Arts in Gender and Sexuality, to name a few. The drive to obtain external funds for research from donor agencies have also highlighted the competition or "turfing" of certain research niches/areas among universities and their faculty. Because of the premium given on applied aspects of knowledge production by donor agencies, university-based research institutes often craft consortia relationships and partnership with NGOs. To a certain extent, this has eroded the university's privileged role in knowledge production and transmission.

In academic circles in the Philippines, the contradictory demands for policy relevant research and the publications rating system of universities (i.e., ranking of universities and research/publications in ISI or Scopus listed publications) have confronted university administrators with a serious dilemma. Do they encourage their faculty to engage in policy-research driven agenda that cater to national development needs but do not lead to publications in internationally refereed journals? But academics in the South have very limited choices in this regard.

**Conclusion**

The increasing dominance of policy-driven research and the rise of the audit system in overseas development assistance and universities have resulted in the reproduction and re-calibration of academic practices and hierarchies of power between universities in the North and South and within and across universities in the Philippines.

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## The International Benchmarking of Sociology: The Case of the UK

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It will probably not come as a surprise to a gathering of sociologists if I say that the discussion of the *international* standing of UK sociology is a very *local* matter.[18] It is, of course, taking place at a time of wider academic debates on globalisation and the challenges it poses for sociology – for example, debates about a new age of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2005; 2007), or about the need to challenge existing hierarchies of knowledge and to "provincialise" sociology (Burawoy, 2005a; 2005b; Connell, 2007). However, these debates are not themselves the context for the kind of exercise that is the topic of my paper. I shall return to them in the conclusion of my paper, where I shall argue that one of the consequences of the concern for the international standing of UK research is a profound parochialism. Nor is the discussion initiated by a "reflexive" academic community seeking to understand the circumstances that have shaped the nature of its discipline. Professional associations, such as the British Sociological

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Association (BSA) (and the associated Council of Professors and Heads of Departments of Sociology) and the Academy of Social Sciences (of which the different professional associations and learned societies in the social sciences are corporate members), are players in the debate, but they are largely reacting to pressures upon them and the changing academic environment of higher education in the UK.

In the first part of this paper I will provide a brief overview of the funding environment of UK higher education and the role of different kinds of audit within it. In the next section of the paper I will address the nature of the public policy agenda bearing upon the social sciences in the UK, and upon sociology in particular. I shall conclude with some general issues about the challenge of globalisation and its significance for our different "national" sociologies.

# I

With the exception of the private University of Buckingham, universities are public institutions, operating as not-for-profit organisations. They are formally independent of government, but depend upon it for their income in a variety of ways. These arrangements are typical of governance in the UK; the BBC, for example, is similarly constituted (and comes under some of the same pressures I will describe in this paper).

For example, although "home" students on undergraduate degree programmes are charged fees (with some means-tested support), they are also supported by a block grant from the Higher Education (HE) Funding Councils (there are separate councils for each of the separate nations making up the UK). The HE Funding Councils are formally independent, but are themselves funded by government. The HE Funding Councils

operate a quota for undergraduate students in particular subject areas and universities only get a block-grant for home students within their quota. This means that universities pursue other categories of students as income-earners at higher or full fees, namely overseas students and postgraduate students. This is a distinctive feature of UK higher education, namely, its pursuit of overseas students and postgraduate students as a source of income.

Undergraduate degree programmes are the responsibility of universities as autonomous institutions, but there are subject "benchmarks" for the curriculum, and a quality review of departments and HE Institutions (HEI) by the Quality Assurance Agency which provides public evaluations. This audit arrangement has now been carried through to postgraduate doctoral programmes, although these (and the research methods training they involve) are also subject to evaluation and regular "recognition exercises" by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), which funds research, including the provision of PhD studentships.

The funding of research in the UK follows a similar pattern, involving what is called a "dual support system." This means that there is direct funding for research provided by the HE Funding Councils (called QR funding) alongside funding provided through government-funded Research Councils, such as the ESRC (with separate councils for different scientific, medical, and humanities research). The former is directly allocated to universities, while the latter is applied for by individuals and research groups to fund specific projects under a peer-review system.[19]

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[19] Of course, there are other funders of research – for example, European Union programmes, charitable and philanthropic foundations, government departments directly commissioning research, as well as privately contracted research – as well as research organisations outside the higher education sector – for

The QR part of the system is complicated, in turn, by the reform of higher education that did away with the divide between polytechnics and universities in 1992, creating the designation "old" and "new" universities, or "pre-1992" and "post-1992" universities, frequently used by UK academics in their descriptions of the system. This is significant to my story because the "dual support system" was not available to polytechnics, which received no QR money. Once the distinction between polytechnic and university was removed a solution was necessary to a political problem: how to distribute QR money to former polytechnics without a commensurate increase in the pot of money available. The solution was found with the first international benchmarking exercise for research, namely the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), which first took place in 1986 (although data is publicly available only from 1992 onwards). This became the means of distributing QR money. The exercise has taken place at (approximately) five-year intervals, with exercises in 1996, 2001, and 2008. Universities submitted their researchers grouped into subject areas and a score was assigned by a Subject Sub-Panel indicating the level achieved by the subject submission as a whole.[20] Initially, a five-fold classification was produced (1 – 5), with research rated 5 deemed to be research of "international" standing (where being judged 5 depended upon a specific proportion of the research within the submission reaching that level).[21] Initially, submissions judged to

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example, government research departments and private market-research companies. Universities encourage their staff to seek research funding from all sources, while at the same time, private research organisations are able to bid for research funding from some of these funders. This is linked to the "market" ideology discussed in the next section.

[20] There are some 67 Subject Sub-Panels grouped with cognate subjects under 15 Main Panels. The working methods of the different Main Panels can differ, but similar methodologies are adopted within the Main Panel. Sociology is grouped with Law, Politics and International Studies, Social Work and Social Policy and Administration, Anthropology, and Development Studies. See www.rae.ac.uk.

[21] The criteria relating to the threshold of international excellence were: 5* is quality that equates to attainable levels of international excellence in more than half of the research activity submitted and

be 4 or above received funding, though the funding for 4s was proportionally less than for 5s.

The cumulative impact of the exercises has been that increasing proportions of all submissions have been judged to be of international quality (about 30% of sociology submissions in RAE2001, for example, were assigned a score of 5 or better) such that the distribution of QR money was spread more thinly than anticipated and the "funding formula" modified to enable greater concentration on "excellence"; this was done in 1996 by introducing a 5* category that received greater funding than 5s and in 2001 by reducing the funding going to 4s (a further refinement was that those that received 5* in two consecutive RAEs were designated 6*). Notwithstanding, most submissions were "bunched" together within their bands. A new system was introduced for RAE2008 (the seven year wait for RAE2008 is explained by the politics of getting agreement with a new system) in order to create greater differentiation among submissions.

This new system generates an RAE "profile" rather than a single score. As before, it involves the submission of "research outputs" (essentially, four publications per individual submitted, with variations for early career staff) which are peer reviewed by members of a Subject Sub-Panel along with a statement of the "research environment" (including data on research income and research students over the period) and indications

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attainable levels of national excellence in the remainder; 5 is quality that equates to attainable levels of international excellence in up to half of the research activity submitted and to attainable levels of national excellence in virtually all of the remainder; 4 is quality that equates to attainable levels of national excellence in virtually all of the research activity submitted, showing some evidence of international excellence. Submissions involved each academic member of staff submitted being judged on the research quality of four publications, alongside the evaluation of a discursive account of the "unit's" research culture and strategy. Part of the debate about the RAE has been the role of game-playing by institutions. Thus, where the overall score was determined by the proportion of research judged to achieve a specific standard, universities could "buy-in" researchers in order to tip a submission over the threshold. A new system was introduced for RAE2008 designed to undermine this strategy (but has its own problems of "game-playing").

of "esteem." These are judged and scored according to a new grading system (U, 1*, 2*, 3*, 4*).[22] The three different kinds of activity are weighted (this varies by subject area, but for sociology, the weights are 75% outputs, 20% environment, and 5% esteem) to create an overall profile and set of sub-profiles that looks something like this (the example is fictitious):

|  | 4* | 3* | 2* | 1* | U |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Overall** | **15%** | **25%** | **35%** | **20%** | **5%** |
| Outputs | 10 | 20 | 25 | 40 | 5 |
| Environment | 20 | 50 | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Esteem | 10 | 40 | 50 | 0 | 0 |

As I write this paper, it has been announced that all activities at 4*, 3*, and 2* will be funded in proportion to the number of staff submitted, at the ratio of 7/3/1 (i.e. 4* activity will be funded 7 times that at 2*, and 3* activity 3 times that at 2*). In other words, all

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[22]  4* is quality that is *world-leading* in terms of originality, significance and rigour; 3* is quality that is *internationally excellent* in terms of originality, significance and rigour but which nonetheless falls short of the highest standards of excellence; 2* is quality that is *recognised internationally* in terms of originality, significance and rigour; 1* is quality that is *recognised nationally* in terms of originality, significance and rigour; Unclassified is quality that falls below the standard of nationally recognised work, or work which does not meet the published definition of research for the purposes of the RAE assessment.  (For those interested in the sociology and politics of grade inflation, it should be noted that 2*, 3*, and 4* are all gradations within the previous RAE 5 category; in other words, the new scale has 3 categories for international significance and one for national significance, while the old system reversed that emphasis and has 1 for international significance). One further issue concerns the different approach to "selectivity" within RAE2008. In previous exercises, universities had to state the proportion of their relevant staff that were included in the submission and scores included that in terms of a letter grade alongside the number grade (A, B, C, etc.). In RAE2008, universities were not required to provide this information and individuals could be left out if they were judged not likely to contribute positively (typically at 2* or above; though it should be emphasised that it was individual publications, not individuals that were being assessed) to the profile score for outputs. Although the HE Funding Council has not sought to provide a rank order, this has been done informally and very publicly by ranking according to the Grade Point Average of the overall profile score against number of staff submitted.  Since different universities operated a different policy with regard to "selectivity," any rank order must be suspect.

activity "benchmarked" as international will be funded. The "grade inflation" that has occurred, then, is transmuted into a question of the funding formula.[23]

There was one unexpected outcome. Much of the debate on research policy has stressed the supposed benefits of concentration, alongside the need to reward excellence (as if the two were the same). However, if excellence is defined as the proportion of activity at 2*, 3*, and 4* (or even just at 3* and 4*), then nearly all submissions show significant proportions of activities at this standard. "Excellence," then, is much more widely distributed than was anticipated and this challenges some of the assumptions that have dominated research policy.[24]

The final point to make about the funding of research concerns the role of Research Councils. The government has recently shifted to the idea that all research should be funded at an approximate of its full economic cost (fEC). At present, Research Councils are funding research at 80% of its full economic cost, but the logic of the argument suggest that this should move to 100% (with the possibility that the QR funds may be shifted to pay for the increase). What this means is that Research Councils will pay for university overheads (for example, space, computing, and library services that can be assigned to the particular research project for which funding is sort), and actual staff salary costs (rather than a notional replacement cost). The introduction of fEC has

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[23] By this I mean that the international standing of UK social science can be promoted for "reputational" benefit, while the "grade inflation" does not translate directly into an increase in funding because that is decided by a formula that operates within the category of internationally benchmarked research.

[24] This has been an unintended consequence that might well have been anticipated. When the new arrangements were being discussed, there were suggestions of limiting the number of submissions that would be allowed, since only a minority of submissions received significant funding when funding was based on the score that was given for the submission as a whole, and so the exercise was seen as burdensome for little return. However, on the new profile system, funding can be disaggregated and "excellence" rewarded wherever it is found, even if it occurs in a submission that otherwise scores less well and would not have received funding under the previous system.

had two consequences. Although extra funds were given to Research Councils to fund

fEC, there has been a shortfall and thus extra pressure on the Research Council funding

regimes. At the same time, the value of a research grant to any HEI has increased

correspondingly and so numbers of applications have increased, encouraged by research

deans at individual HEIs promoting their own university strategies for success. This is

also reinforced by the way in which research income is also an "environment" indicator

in the construction of RAE profiles.

The ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) divides its research funding

between thematic areas chosen for their international significance, but also for their

contribution to UK economic prosperity and well-being of its population, and projects in

the "responsive mode," where individual researchers or groups determine the topic area

and make the case for its significance.[25] Even in the latter mode, applicants are asked to

address "users" of their research and to demonstrate its likely impact (for discussion of

impact, see RCUK, 2007).

Although the Research Councils are independent of government, they derive their

income from government grants through the Department of Innovation, Universities and

Skills. In that context, they are supplicants to the government and its annual Public Sector

Spending Reviews, which determine the size of the science budget and aspects of its

distribution. Thus, councils compete against other claims upon public spending, against

other claims from some universities about priorities for funding (as well as government

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[25] The ESRC budget is roughly divided 33% to support postgraduate research studentships, 25% to responsive mode applications, and the rest for thematic priorities and capacity building. The current thematic priorities are: succeeding in the global economy, population change, environmental change, understanding and shaping individual decisions, education and life chances, religion, ethnicity and society, and international relations and security (see ESRC, 2005).

priorities for universities, such as widening participation in higher education) which may stress teaching over research, and among Research Councils for the share of the spend devoted to research. The ESRC has to justify the social scientific research spend to government. In this context, its identification of priorities for research is designed to persuade government of the public relevance of the research that it funds and that research is geared towards "national priorities" (research priorities are geared towards "non-social scientific users" and to collaboration across Research Councils, thereby supporting government priorities for scientific research by addressing its social impact. See ESRC 2005).[26]

At the same time, the ESRC's own international benchmarking of research is also designed to help justify its budget. In 2005, then, the ESRC has set up panels of international scholars and researchers to benchmark UK social science against international research. Benchmark reviews of Anthropology, Political Science and International Studies, and Economics have already been conducted and the review of Sociology is just about to begin (ESRC, 2008). I shall return to the substance of this review and its relation to the RAE in a later section of the paper. In the next section of the paper, I want to set out some of the wider social and political changes in UK society and politics that have shaped this development of social science policy in order to provide the basis of a proper understanding of its impact.

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[26] In this context it is worth noting that current discussions of the next round of the RAE (to be re-named the Research Excellence Framework, or REF) is proposing to introduce "impact" as one of its criteria, perhaps even replacing the Esteem sub-profile, but with a higher weighting than 5%. Already there is a flurry of activity concerned with establishing appropriate indicators (see RCUK, 2007; Benyon and David, 2008).

**II**

It is difficult to understand the funding of UK social science except in the context of the major changes to the socio-political agenda that took place in the 1970s. Essentially, these changes are associated with the collapse of a fragile "social democratic" hegemony, or period of welfare state consensus, and its replacement by an aggressive neo-liberal agenda. This occurred initially with the election of the first Conservative government under the premiership of Lady Thatcher in 1979. The latter sought to roll back the state, and convert public services into market provided services, through programmes of privatisation and welfare reform.

The election of New Labour governments after 1997 did not substantially alter this agenda which has continued until the present. Any minor changes in direction introduced by New Labour were not themselves significant as far as higher education has been concerned. If anything, they had the effect of accentuating the problems faced by the sector. For example, the integration of polytechnics within the university system was consistent with the New Labour aspiration that 50% of the age cohort should attend university. That commitment has greatly increased participation, though not to the level desired, and has placed increased pressure on university resources. There has been an increase in funding, but the situation remains tight and universities are increasingly constrained by different aspects of the government's agenda. Thus, the expansion of student numbers has not seen a proportionate increase in students from disadvantaged backgrounds and this has led to a government emphasis on "widening participation."

While higher education was not itself privatised during this period, new forms of public-private cooperation were sought, alongside various "proxies" for the market that

would enable the regulation of the sector. Within this political construction of the "problems" of a public sector, the market is held to guarantee "efficiency," while the distribution of public funds is argued to have no equivalent mechanism. Professional self-regulation was criticised as potentially nothing more than the expression of a producer-interest.[27] These developments were also occurring in the context of a populist concern over "high" taxation and "value for money." Audit mechanisms, performance targets, outcomes and objectives, etc., all became key measures to provide supposedly transparent governance of publicly funded institutions (see Power, 1999; Strathern, 2000). At the same time, the ideology of markets, together with the private property relations that underpin market mechanisms, protected private companies and "for profit" activities from being the direct object of public policy. Taken together, this provided a situation in which the increased regulation of publicly-funded institutions was accompanied by the decreased regulation of market-based activities (a fateful paradox so evident in the collapse of the financial sector over the last months).

With the first Conservative government in 1979, the introduction of this new, "neo-liberal" regime was also associated with hostility toward the social sciences and, perhaps, sociology in particular.[28] This was partly because the social sciences were associated with providing the evidence-base for the growth of the welfare state and were believed to share a "normative" commitment to its expansion. There were a number of manifestations of this hostility that are perhaps evident in the period. The first is the general squeeze on public sector spending, which was experienced as funding cutbacks

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[27] Ironically, this mirrored radical sociological critiques of the professions as forms of monopolistic appropriation of claims to expertise. See Collins (1990), Larson (1977).
[28] This was epitomised by Lady Thatcher's comment to a popular women's weekly magazine that, "there is no such thing as society, only individuals and their families."

across the higher education sector. This created a situation of competition for funds across universities as well as between different subject areas, with the natural sciences seeking to maintain their levels of funding at the expense of other areas such as social science. The government's scepticism of social sciences was also manifested in, the then education secretary, Sir Keith Joseph's public musings about their utility, whether there was such a thing as social science (rather than social studies) and, if there wasn't, whether it should be funded through a Research Council. A formal enquiry into the Social Science Research Council was set up under Lord Rothschild with the object of addressing these issues (Rothschild Report, 1982).

Lord Rothschild had previously promulgated the principle of the "consumer pays" to encourage private funding of science which had a private benefit and he was expected to deliver the same conclusion for the social sciences. In the event, the report supported the idea of social scientific research as a public good, defended the Research Council and declared a three-year moratorium on further attempts at its re-direction (for a discussion see Posner, 2002; ESRC, n.d.). However, a marker had been laid down and it was symbolically represented in the formal change in name of the Research Council from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Subsequent chief executives have been very conscious of the political context in which they operate and have, therefore, sought to stress the relevance of social science to public policy and economic prosperity. This came to be enshrined in the endorsement of

thematic priorities for research which reflect these concerns and in the perceived need to demonstrate the impact of research and engagement with its putative "users."[29]

Although there was considerable resistance to these developments, their cumulative effect was profound. In effect, governments (whether Conservative or New Labour) provided statements of broad objectives for higher education and universities and other agencies adjusted to them. The introduction of "regulatory audit" as the means of making funding decisions also had the effect of creating league tables across a range of activities from research to teaching by which universities could be compared. However, the requirement to submit supporting documents and justificatory statements alongside data on performance also meant that universities were increasingly complicit in providing the detailed elaboration and justification of the criteria by which they were being evaluated. It is no accident that British sociologists have been at the forefront of scholars to derive a paradigm of "governmentality" from the work of Foucault (Barry et al., 1996). More than in any other higher education context, British academics have been "enrolled" in the techniques of neo-liberal governmentality.[30] The "international benchmarking" of sociology, whether by the ESRC, or through the Research Assessment Exercise, is neo-liberal governmentality in action.

According to theorists of governmentality, one of its consequences is to lead to a continued reproduction of its effects: "[It] inaugurates a continual dissatisfaction with

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[29] This has culminated in a massive report on the impact of research conducted by the body responsible for all Research Councils, Research Councils UK (RCUK, 2007), itself responding to an earlier report from the Department of Trade and Industry concerned with increasing the economic impact of the Research Councils (Warry, 2006).

[30] Although the proponents of "governmentality" regard it as the form of liberal governance with its origins in the 19th century, rather than specific to neo-liberal governance, the specific characteristics they identify seem peculiar to neo-liberalism.

government, a perpetual questioning of whether the desired effects are being produced, of the mistakes of thought or policy that hamper the efficacy of government, a recurrent diagnosis of failure coupled with a recurrent diagnosis of failure coupled with a recurrent demand to govern better" (Rose, 1996: 47). In the context of universities, this leads to a recurrent process of strategic response, which has had the consequence of requiring them to adopt hierarchical managerial forms, in contrast to previous collegial forms. Alongside the other changes outlined in this paper, then, there has been a recurrent process of university re-structuring over the last two decades as each university seeks to find advantages in some new arrangement and disposition of its academic staff. This is justified in the name of the institution needing to be agile in a rapidly-changing environment, but that environment is itself the product of how universities engage with other agencies. Similarly, universities are encouraged to compete amongst themselves in relation to their positions in various league tables. Any perceived benefits of collaboration now have to be introduced as a matter of policy and built into specific funding calls, etc.

The hierarchical form of management in universities is increasingly organised in terms of the elaboration of what Abbott (2001) has called "self-similar structures." Thus, universities typically have a central division of functions – education, quality assurance, and research – which is mirrored at faculty, school, and departmental levels. The old collegial system, based on professorial hierarchy, is replaced by a managerial hierarchy based upon functional representation. However, given that the professoriate is increasingly marginal to that administrative hierarchy, a core "cultural" underpinning of the collegial system is displaced. Abbott argues that the organisation of the academic

profession is in terms of a regular and reproduced "chaos of disciplines." I suggest that

the organisational changes to the university might represent a significant new factor in

the environment of the "system" of academic disciplines; within the surface chaos is a

potential shift in the character of university disciplines.[31]


**III**

It would be a mistake to suggest that the developments outlined above are unique to the

United Kingdom, even if it is here that they find their most acute expression. Nor is it the

case that the only factors involved have been those associated with the consolidation of a

regime of neo-liberal governance. For example, Gibbons and Novotny and their

colleagues (Gibbons et al., 1994; Novotny et al., 2001) have argued that there has been a

general shift in knowledge production, with the university no longer the privileged space

for research. This follows from the increased marketability of scientific knowledge with

concomitant commercial investment in its production, and government concerns about

maintaining effective investment in research and development. They refer to these

developments across the sciences as a shift from what they call "mode 1 knowledge

production" to a new "mode 2 knowledge production." The former corresponds to the

conventional view of scientific research, based within universities and organised around

disciplines. In the latter, knowledge production is increasingly transdisciplinary and is

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[31] The character of this shift has been neatly captured in Readings's idea that the contemporary university in the Anglo-American world has become a "University of Excellence" (where "excellence" is to be understood within the discourse of audit). Where radical critics of professionalization looked toward the "democratisation" of the university, what has transpired is its "managerialisation." In fact, they may not be unrelated. The proponents of the "democratisation" frequently addressed the student body as an agent of change, at the same time that students were being engaged in terms of their status as "consumers" of education. Moreover, one of the populist arguments associated with audit is that it secures transparency and public accountability against the self-interest of professionals.

part of a "larger process in which discovery, application and use are closely integrated" (1994: 46; see also Readings, 1996; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Caswill and Wensley, 2007). In their view, mode 2 knowledge will not necessarily supplant mode 1 knowledge; rather the two modes will co-exist and interact. However, this shift in modes of knowledge production is reflected in the increased emphasis on "users" in government and Research Council discussions of research.[32]

The shift in knowledge production is most pronounced for the natural sciences and it is their concerns that are uppermost in research policy. Gibbons and his colleagues are not uncritical about the consequences of this development in the natural sciences, but it is clear that in the social sciences, the emergence of mode 2 knowledge has tended to destabilise relations within and across disciplines, accentuating existing characteristics. For example, Collins (1994) and Whitley (2000) have argued that disciplines show different degrees of integration, with sociology more "loosely coupled," involving more "weakly bounded" groups and a lower coordination of research problems than other disciplines. Economics, in contrast, shows much higher degrees of integration than Sociology and this engenders a greater claim both to disciplinary coherence and to "scientificity" as understood in terms of the standard criteria associated with mode 1 knowledge. This is reinforced by other studies. Crane and Small (1992), for example, use data on co-citations to compare the integration of the different sub-fields making up the disciplines of sociology and economics. They find that the disciplinary structure of Sociology is much more diffuse than Economics, lacking a sizable core that incorporates a number of sub-fields. Moreover, between 1972-4 and 1987 – the two periods of their

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[32] The connections are set out by the director of research at the ESRC (Alsop, 1999).

study – the core in Sociology had diminished significantly.[33] In addition, citations in the sub-fields also include a significant increase in the number by researchers who are not sociologists.[34]

The transdisciplinarity associated with mode 2 knowledge in the social sciences is also associated with the rise of a generic social science, in the sense that research methodologies are increasingly common across the social sciences, rather than specific to particular disciplines (Wallerstein et al., 1996). This has greater impact upon disciplines like Sociology that were already "loosely coupled"; while anthropologists might claim "thick ethnography" as their characteristic methodology, sociologists have no equivalent identity in a methodology.[35]

The forms of research governance discussed in the previous section, I suggest, have accentuated the fragmentation of sociology as a discipline. To some extent this is recognized in reports about the current state of the social sciences in the UK. In the

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[33] Crane and Small, for example, suggest a distinct contrast between sociology in the early seventies and in 1987: "In the earlier period, sociology had a well-defined core consisting of quantitatively oriented fields, such as social mobility, methodology, demography, and the family. In 1987, the study of social classes and class mobility was no longer linked to methodology and formal theory. Instead, it was linked to Marxian economics, studies of political ideology, and the role of the state, and, more distantly, to European theorizing, in one direction, and the study of revolution, historical sociology, and economics in the other direction. Fields like demography and the study of the family were quite separate fields" (1992: 226). For their part, Cappell and Guterbock (1992) identify a bifurcation between "specialities supported by research agencies of the welfare state and specialities that draw inspiration from intellectual, ideological and political opposition movements. This division reinforces the lack of integration between theoretical and applied sociology" (1992: 271).

[34] For Abbott (2001), all disciplines exhibit "fractal" processes, but their forms can be more or less constrained. In these terms, sociology's fractal processes are distributed across a greater space than those of economics. Abbott does not seek the unity of the discipline in a common core, but in its self-similar processes of splitting and recombination. However, as we shall see, one issue (which he does not address) is the possibility of splitting and separation.

[35] For a discussion of how empirical data produced by "Mode 2" researchers outside the university also poses a particular challenge to empirical sociology, see Savage and Burrows (2007). Recent developments in science studies, such as actor-network theory, emphasising the "co-production of knowledge" seem to involve the application of mode one knowledge (sociology of science) to mode two knowledge in order to make a claim about the social. Significantly, Latour's (2005) book on "re-assembling the social" was first presented as lectures in management studies.

remainder of this section, I will identify the key issues relating to sociology. One of the key themes of the reports is the distinction between "importer" and "exporter" subjects (Academy of Social Sciences, 2003; ESRC, 2006. For a critique by one of the author's of the term, see Mills, 2008). The latter are "core" social science subjects like economics, politics, anthropology, and sociology. Alongside these are other subject areas like business studies, social policy, and education that do not have their own distinctive status as disciplines, but "import" expertise from other subject areas. In addition, they frequently have a strong practitioner element that is evident in their recruitment of staff from outside higher education. Further tensions are also evident in different conceptions of the value of research, between research "congenial to users" and "critically relevant" research (Caswill and Wensley, 2007) and in arguments about the economic value of research to specific users and research as a public good; these are tensions that can be identified in various reports on the impact of research, and they map onto the distinction between "importer" and "exporter" disciplines.[36]

I have already suggested that the UK funding environment has encouraged university restructuring and the pursuit of tactical advantage in relation to the different audit exercises. Although undergraduate student numbers in sociology have not experienced the decline found in the USA (Turner and Turner, 1990), post-1992 universities have tended to compete most strongly in areas of applied social science and, to some extent, have drawn students away from some older universities. This has led to a shift away from single honours degrees in sociology to degrees in criminology, health

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[36] In this context, it is worth noting that industrial relations research, a staple of sociological research in the 1970s and 1980s, is now largely undertaken in business schools. The ESRC (SSRC) funded Industrial Relations Research Unit at Warwick University was an object of Conservative government criticism in the 1970s and was examined in the Rothschild Enquiry. See Brown (1998).

studies, media studies and the like, where sociologists are likely to deliver courses, but no longer necessarily to identify straightforwardly as sociologists. In addition, the large number of Subject Sub-Panels in the RAE means that it is possible to submit researchers to one of a number of Subject Sub-Panels. This is especially so for an "exporter" subject like sociology, where sociologists might be returned to panels covering the "importer areas" – for example, Subject Sub-Panels in Business and Management Studies, Allied Health Professions and Studies, Social Work, Social Policy and Administration, and Law, etc.[37]

There were 61 submissions for Sociology in 1996. This fell to 48 submissions in RAE2001 and to 39 in RAE2008.[38] A similar, but less steep fall occurred for Economics, from 51 submissions in RAE1996, 41 in RAE2001, and 35 in RAE2008. Submissions from other "exporter" subjects are much more stable. For example, there were 19 submissions to the Anthropology Sub-Panel in RAE1996, 20 in RAE2001, and 19 in RAE2008, while for Politics and International Studies there were 66 submissions to RAE1996, 69 in RAE2001, and 59 in RAE2008.

It is clear that many of the research groups, formerly submitting to the Economics Sub-Panel, have been consolidated with submissions to the Business and Management Studies Sub-Panel and, to a large degree is correlated with previous RAE success (lower

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[37] Abbott's arguments about disciplines are primarily based upon the US academic system. However, it is significant that while he notes the enduring structure of academic disciplines, he also notes that, "the relative proportions of university faculties in these departments are surprisingly constant, although the steady increase of applied or semiapplied fields – education, communication, business, accounting, engineering, and so on – has made the traditional liberal arts and sciences faculty a smaller proportion of the whole" (2001: 123).

[38] Information for RAE2006 is available at, www.hero.ac.uk/rae/rae1996, for RAE2001 at, www.hero.ac.uk/rae, and for RAE2008 at, www.rae.ac.uk. The explanation of the reduction in sociology submissions might be the operation of "selectivity" (as mentioned at footnote 4), but then we would expect to find this across other Subject Sub-Panels, since it would be a matter of university policy for a range of subjects, not just sociology.

scoring Economics submissions have tended to migrate to Business and Management Studies). In the case of Sociology, it is less clear where research groupings previously submitted to Sociology have gone. The Subject-Panels provide overview reports of the submissions made to them and the 2008 Sociology Sub-Panel expressed surprise that areas of sociological research believed to be strong were not much evident in the submissions made to the Sub-Panel, suggesting that it had gone elsewhere (see Sociology Subject Sub-Panel Overview Report, 2009). For example, the sociology of health and illness is one of the largest research areas in British sociology (if judged by membership in the BSA's medical sociology study group, its journal and its annual conferences), yet this research seems to have been submitted to other ("importer") Subject Sub-Panels. Similarly, the sociology of work and organisations (with similar indicators of strength) was also submitted elsewhere, most likely the Business and Management Studies Subject Sub-Panel.[39]

While there is some indication that universities approached the RAE as a tactical exercise, there also seems to be some evidence that specific sub-fields of sociology, as such, migrated from a departmental location to a location within an "importer" subject area. Whereas other "exporter" subjects, like Anthropology and Politics, seem to *export individuals*, who retain a strong disciplinary attachment to their subject of origin, only sociology seems to *export its sub-fields*. In the area of media and cultural studies, this is

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[39] One of the debates engendered by the ESRC around their distinction between "importer" and "exporter" disciplines is that the former are perceived to be weaker than the latter and have been targeted for specific research capacity building measures. In part, this weakness is seen to derive from their necessary recruitment of "practitioners" who need to be inculcated into a social scientific research environment. However, this is also linked to the more immediate emphasis on engagement with users that is more typical of importer subject areas. It might also be suggested that a strong user emphasis may diminish the international emphasis of research directing it towards national and regional policy debates, which may lack resonance for international audiences.

associated with the emergence of a new interdisciplinary subject across the humanities and social sciences, distinct from sociological cultural studies.[40]

In this context, where Crane and Small have previously argued for the weak reproduction of sub-fields in sociology, it appears that the institutional environment of UK sociology might be exacerbating this tendency; or, it may be producing a variant of the tendency, where sociological sub-fields are reproduced within an "applied" subject area. This provides some reason to be cautious about celebrations of "transdisciplinarity." John Urry, chair of the Sociology Sub-Panel at RAE1996 and RAE2001, for example, writes that, "although I am a fan of inter- or trans-disciplinary studies, these must be based upon strong and coherent disciplines. There is nothing worse than a lowest common denominator interdisciplinarity" (2005: para 1.2). Leaving aside his suggestion that the alternative to strong, coherent disciplines is the lowest common denominator, the evidence tends to be that sociology is not a strong, coherent discipline and that its strength and coherence has been declining. John Scott, chair of the Sociology Sub-Panel at RAE2008, for his part suggests that "social theory," especially that associated with historical sociology in the classic tradition, can form the core of the discipline (Scott, 2005), but, as Crane and Small suggest, this is but a recent addition to the subfields of sociology and could not really bear the weight asked of it. Moreover, if the issue of sociology as an "exporter" discipline is associated with the export of its sub-fields, rather

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[40] Submissions to the Communication, Cultural and Media Studies Sub-Panel went from 35 in RAE1996, to 38 in RAE2001 and 47 in RAE2008. Paradoxically, the institutional separation of sociology and cultural studies has coincided with arguments that the strong divisions that previously characterised their relations have now dissolved, or, more properly, might be regarded as evident within each domain rather than serving to distinguish them (see McLennan 2006). Thus, the BSA has recently set up a journal in *Cultural Sociology* emphasising (empirical) sociological studies of culture. But the implied division between cultural theory and the sociology of culture is mirrored in sociology by a division between social theory and empirical sociology(ies), as McLennan suggests.

than individuals, then the problem would remain of the absence of linkage of these sub-fields to their supposed "core."[41]

In this context, the current ESRC international benchmarking exercise for sociological research takes on a special significance. If the foregoing arguments are correct, the constraints facing sociology as a discipline in the UK are different from those facing other disciplines identified as "exporter" subjects. The issue concerns not merely the quality of UK sociological research, but also its *shape* and how that is being affected by the UK higher education environment. While the environment may, in some respects, be argued to be the same for all social sciences, there may be reasons to believe that there are particular risks for sociology as a discipline.

**IV**

In this final section, I want to return to some of the general themes mentioned in the opening paragraph of this article. Michael Burawoy (2005a) has argued strongly for public sociology and has, at the same time, also argued for a "provincialised" approach which seeks to reduce the dominance of US sociology and other "Eurocentric" approaches (Burawoy, 2005b). I have criticised the conception of public sociology elsewhere (Holmwood, 2007), but I share his concern to "provincialise" sociology. This is not to run counter to what Barrington Moore called sociology's aim of providing an "exercise in de-provincialisation" (1984: 267). Rather it is to recognise that his ambition for comparative sociology needs to recognise the different local contexts from which

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[41] There is some indication of the cogency of Crane and Small's distinction between economics and sociology in the methodology adopted by the ESRC international benchmarking exercise for economics. Reports on different areas of economics were commissioned, with the clear implication that these represented the stable core of the discipline (see ESRC, 2008).

global interconnections might be addressed and which seeks to provide an account of how we might learn from others without assuming a "centre" through which communication and learning should flow.

This approach might be contrasted with Beck's (2007) argument for a new cosmopolitan sociology in a new global age. Beck suggests that sociology has previously been a "state-centred" discipline, but it now needs to free itself from those boundaries (see also Taylor, 2000, Beck, 2005). There are a number of grounds on which Beck's characterisation can be disputed. In the first place, given the decline of empires in the post Second World War period, our current times might be more appropriately characterised by the dominance of the nation state, rather than its decline. Secondly, it is doubtful that the world has become *more* global, rather than simply perceived as more global because the impact of globalisation is now experienced in terms of its potential negative impact upon North America and Europe. Finally, Beck's conception of a new critical cosmopolitanism seems to be remarkably Eurocentric, both in theory and in practice.

But how do these themes relate to the context of UK sociology? It should be apparent that "international benchmarking" tends to be a benchmarking within the English language and against the criteria established by US social science. However, the debate over the nature of sociology and its possible fragmentation also needs to be addressed in terms of local conditions, if the provincialising of social scientific knowledge is to be carried through. Thus, Burawoy (2005a) refers to the tendency of many commentators on the state of sociology to lament its decline and fragmentation when all that has happened is that sociology has been opened up to new voices. Liz

Stanley's (2005) characterisation of British sociology as made up of "hybridic sociologies" is close to the situation described by Crane and Small for the US. Like Burawoy, she argues that the "declinists" that lament this situation are really lamenting their loss of hegemony as the discipline is opened to new and more radical voices. Similarly, Abbott (2001: 121) also sees a normal chaos of disciplines and that the "special ferment," that some perceive as being both peculiar to the present and problematic, is, in fact, typical and normal to their reproduction.

However, I suggest that the fragmentation of sociology in the UK is also being driven by changes in the environment of higher education and that it has consequences for sociology that are different to the positive implications discerned, in their different ways, by Burawoy, Stanley, and Abbott. If the foregoing analysis is correct, the fragmentation of sociology in the UK is the consequence of a "national" agenda for social science. In that sense, it could be argued that UK social science is becoming more "state-centred," just as it is oriented to "international" criteria of excellence. The two are different aspects of the same development. However, in the context in which this is occurring, the more likely consequence is not the flourishing of a diversity of voices, but a placing of all voices into the same register, that of what Readings (1996) calls "the University of Excellence," where "excellence" is the product of audit's "rituals of verification" (Strathern 2000).

Burawoy's (2005a) account of the different dimensions of sociology – professional, applied, organic public sociology, and critical sociology – argues for a shift in hegemonic position from professional sociology to critical sociology. What I have suggested in this article is that "international benchmarking" may appear to express the

hegemony of professional criteria, while "fragmentation" is frequently expressed as the consequence of the rise of critical sociologies (Stanley 2005). In contrast, I suggest that each might be taken to express the dominance of the new "governmentality" of research *in which both the professional core of sociology and its critical alternatives are diminished*.

This "governmentality" is *for public social science*, but it operates with a diminished conception of the public as "users" or "stakeholders" and with a diminished conception of social science. In making this argument, my intention is not to impugn the motives of the principal actors. The ESRC, for example, is keen to emphasise that it wishes to encourage innovative and critical research, and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of that declaration.[42] At the same time, the competitive environment of higher education encourages risk averse approaches by universities and strategies to maximise their own position. Within this nexus in the UK, we are all participants in the reproduction of the current higher education environment. As sociologists, however, it is incumbent on us to address the changing *habitus* of social science and its consequence for the reproduction of a *habitus* in which sociology can flourish as the (plural) discipline it can be.

I believe that what I have set out constitute risks for healthy social science wherever the forms of audit described in this paper are adopted. However, the risks to sociology are more acute, as a consequence of the peculiar features of the organisation of our discipline. I welcome the opportunity of this International Conference of National

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[42] The manner of the declaration is, however, significant. It arises as part of the ESRC's consultation of its Strategic Plan for 2009-14 with its stakeholders, but that plan is itself strongly oriented to establishing that the social sciences are at the heart of the complex challenges facing contemporary society, which itself requires the demonstration of their "impact."

Sociology Associations to lay these risks before you and to ask for your creative

suggestions of "what is to be done?"

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**Language, Nation State and Diversity: The Case of Sociology in Europe**

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It goes without saying that Europe played an eminent role in the establishment of sociology and it might not be an indication of Eurocentrism to add that Europe still contributes to the flourishing of the sociological discourse. It is well known even by novices in sociology that the very name was coined in Paris back in the early 19th century by an amateurish thinker who aimed to reorganize the division of scholarly work by creating a new discipline which he placed on top of all of them. Auguste Comte first labelled this new specialty physique sociale, later on he changed it to sociology. The new discipline-in-formation attracted quickly followers in several parts of Europe. These early devotees accepted Comte's coinage and started to see themselves as sociologists. In doing so they enlarged the discipline's membership by incorporating some competitors Comte disliked as e.g. Adolphe Quételet. Plurality, even fierce hostility between

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[43] The paper is still a draft version; comments and criticism are highly welcome.

members of the new academic tribe, is since then one of the characteristics of our discipline which never overcame this diversity but managed to live with it. Respected sociologists enlarged the network by claiming thinkers as members who lived and published decades and even centuries before Comte. Raymond Aron pleaded for Montesquieu and Tocqueville (Aron, 1998); Alvin Gouldner and others for Plato (Gouldner, 1967); sociologists committed to the Christian tradition nominated Thomas, just to give a few examples of efforts to enlarge what quite recently has been called the house of sociology (Kaesler, 2007). Consensus holds it that the classics of sociological thought encompass authors who never thought of themselves as sociologists, like Marx, or demonstrated that their disciplinary affiliations weren't restricted to sociology proper as it was the case with Max Weber or Georg Simmel. In present days European sociology get recognized outside Europe primarily as the place where theoreticians come from, or to be more precise only the theoretical contributions of sociologists like Bourdieu, Giddens, Habermas, et al. are imported from Europe. Viewed from abroad, or presented to the world (Boudon et al. 1997), European sociology seems to be much more homogenous than from inside. The European tradition in sociology is not as homogenous and well known as the "continental" in philosophy but Europe's prestige in the world sociology seems to be still formed by its theoretical contributions.

The present paper argues, however, that sociology in Europe is fragmented, much more than one would expect. Something like a European sociology exists only if one restricts the focus on aspects as sociological theory but even in this field "diversity" characterizes the situation better than any other concept. I will start with some clarifications regarding the concepts, followed by a brief portrait of Europe's diversity in

sociology. Then I will concentrate my analysis on sociological journals, their distribution in Europe, the languages they prefer, and their impact. Before coming to some conclusions I will point to a new European endeavour the so called European Research Area and analyze how one of its schemes affected sociology so far.

Let me begin with some clarifications with regard to the terminology used in the following pages. Biologists tell us that a particular degree of diversity contributes to a "healthy" development of biological species, and social scientists adopted this view for their subject by claiming diversity might be applicable for ideas and social institutions too. I will follow this interpretation. However, diversity can demonstrate its force only if there is a kind of interaction, or competition between diverse units. Without such exchanges or struggles species might end up in dead ends, overpopulated areas, or demonstrate inbreeding. To label this kind of unwell development one might speak of fragmentation. Mutual ignorance and retreat into niches are the main consequences of fragmentation. Let us therefore have a look at the sociological landscape of Europe.

# I

The boundaries of Europe are contested. Europe's geography is different from Europe as a cultural entity, and the ongoing debate whether Turkey should be allowed to join the European Union is a telling indication for the controversial debate where Europe ends. Presently the European Union has 27 member states, three more are in the status of candidates, and a dozen more states are affiliated to several of EU's programs, of particular interest in our contexts are the role of being associated to the Frame Program 7, the backbone of the European Research Area. All in all 43 nation states compete for

European research money and form therefore Europe as a field of common research. Interestingly enough sociology is represented in Europe with fewer members. 30 national associations are collective members in the International Sociological Association and the European Sociological Association, which has been formed some 20 years ago, counts only 28 national associations as members.[44] In some European states sociology has been established earlier than in others. In Germany, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, and Finland professional sociological associations have been formed before WWII: The German Sociological Society (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie) will celebrate its Centennial in 2010 although the organization has been silenced during the Nazi regime. Presently some 1800 sociologists working in research and higher education are organized in it; a separate organization, the Professional Union of German Sociologists (Berufsverband deutscher SoziologInnen), represents those who are working outside the academic field. In France the course of forming a professional association was even bumpier. Very early René Worms founded the Institut International de Sociologie – a kind of an international academy of sociologists which still exists – but the Durkheimians didn't join in and formed an organization of their own in 1924, the Institut française de sociologie, long after the Durkheim school itself has been established. The survival of a single French organization was challenged by competing circles, schools, and had to take

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[44] Cyprus since 2004 a EU members state is not represented in the ESA but in ISA, Malta and Slovenia both EU member states since 2004 are neither in ESA nor ISA; Israel and Turkey are associates to the European Research Area but aren't members of ESA; Ireland's sociologists are represented in ESA but not ISA, whereas Macedonia is represented in ISA and Ukraine in ESA. Albania, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iceland, Luxembourg (a founding member state of the EU), Moldova, Serbia (the rest of the former Yugoslavia), all the very small states like Liechtenstein, and city-states like Andorra, Monaco, and the Vatican (not for obvious reasons given the fact that there exist something like a Catholic or often so call Christian sociology) aren't members in one of the two international organizations. In the case of Serbia the non-member-status seems to be connected with the consequences of international embargo policy and not with the lack of sociologists in e.g. Belgrade.

into account influences from political movements, parties, unions, etc. In Belgium the industrialist Ernest Solvay founded the Institut de Sociologie in 1902 which later on became known as the Solvay Institute. Both the French and the Belgium "institutes" functioned more as scholarly ventures but not as professional associations in the modern term, which is indeed nothing else than the globally distributed U.S. model. Both in France and Belgium being a member of the respective institute meant primarily committing oneself to a particular sociological point of view which coincides with the existence of a group seeing themselves as a coherent school. In France an organization which came close to the professional type, the L'Association française de sociologie, was first created in 1962, dissolved some years later, and finally re-established as late as 2002 and has presently a membership of about 1300. Similarly a more professional Belgian Sociological Society was founded in 1950, mostly limited to a francophone membership; in 1962 this organization was joined by its Flemish counterpart, Organisatie voor Vlaamse Sociologen, but the union was dissolved in 1975. The Dutch Sociological Association was founded in the Netherlands as early as 1936 and the Finnish Westermarck Society started in 1940, both acted originally more as a forum for scholarly discussions than as professional associations.

These early formations of organizations for and by sociologists resemble the academic and political traditions of the European world of scholarship where scholarly disciplines were rooted much more in the universities and their professoriate than in anything which comes close to a profession. In many cases the membership in a scholarly organization was restricted to the higher ranks of the academic world, as was the case in Germany up to the 1970s where one could become a member by invitation only; such

invitation were de facto restricted to those who hold a habilitation. A nation-wide representation for all members of a particular profession didn't play a decisive role because of the inexistence of professions. Often scholarly organizations transgressed the nation state and assembled people of the same language. The early German Society of Sociology brought together those German speaking scholars who were interested in a new way of seeing (sociology) a new subject (society). Therefore the membership consists of German, Austrian, Swiss, and other German-speaking professors and held its conferences not only in Germany but in Zurich and Vienna too.

UNESCO's post-war initiative to create international bodies of academics like ISA caused sociologists from those European states which didn't have appropriate associations to establish such organizations. Austria (1950), Great Britain (1951), Switzerland (1954), Italy (1957), Norway (1957), Denmark (1958), the Soviet Union (1958), and Bulgaria (1959) are cases where the wish to attend World Congresses of Sociology and being represented in ISA's decision making bodies forced their sometimes non-existing sociological communities to come together and establish themselves as members of a professional association. Without the international pull few of them would have had a good reason to create something similar. Teaching sociology at the universities was unknown in most European countries up to the 1960s. Only the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries started as early as in the 1940s with structured sociological curricula of a type comparable to a MA program (Finland 1945, Norway and Sweden 1947), whereas Great Britain (1950), Germany (1955) and France (1958) followed with some delay. In what one could call Soviet Europe for short only Poland offered a sociology study from 1957, and Yugoslavia started in 1959; all the other

countries governed by Communists postponed studies in sociology (Czechoslovakia und Romania started in the middle of the 1960s but disrupted the curriculum some years later primarily because of political changes back to a repressive regime).

Besides the internationalism propagated and promoted by UNESCO, followed by ISA, there weren't many incentives for sociologists from European countries to strive for transnational communication or establish exchanges. Animosities from the two wars, the Iron Curtain division of the continent, and probably more relevant than anything else: the lack of financial support or attractiveness for careers had let sociologists stay at home and had let them focusing on the nation state as their relevant point of reference. Students remained for nearly the same reasons inside the boundaries of their native countries. Any awareness of intellectual developments abroad was restricted on those developments which originated in the U.S where young and promising scholars from most European countries (including sometimes even students from Soviet Europe) spent at least one year as a post-doc. Developments in neighbouring or farer away European countries got recognized only via translations.[45] One could summarize the development of sociology in Europe during the first four decades after the end of WW II as the climax of a non-violent academic nationalism which just ignored what happened in neighbouring countries.[46] Michael Voříšek rightly called this situation "Europe: The Province" (2009, chapter 6) and one could add that only after the 3rd round of enlargement of the European Union in

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[45] Scope and practices of translations are still a complete mystery in the history of any discipline; given the highly different rates of publishing foreign books in particular countries one can only point to its relevance, see Heilbron 1999 for general remarks on the role of translation of books. Analyses of the role und scope of translations in sociology are desiderata, see Schrecker (forthcoming).

[46] There are few exceptions, the Scandinavian countries collaborated with each other more closely than countries in other regions; the domination-submission relationship in Soviet Europe resulted sometimes in bypassing strategies, and those countries who share the same language recognized each other's productions more often.

1986, followed by the 4th one in 1995, and the establishment of the Frame Programs for supporting collaborative research in the EU, also sociologists were forced to look around in Europe for collaborators. The very creation of the ESA in 1992 could be traced back to this changes in the political and research funding landscape. But the necessary search for foreign collaborators did not improve European sociologists' mutual recognition. The sociological journals published in European countries can used to prove this point. Journals produced by and for Europeans were late-comers in sociology.[47]

**II**

Very early in the history of sociology journals formed the Gestalt of sociology in their respective countries: the French Année sociologique contributed to the separation of sociology from neighbouring disciplines, whereas the German Archiv für die Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik prolonged the survival of a comprehensive unity of the social sciences; the British Sociological Review mirrored the gentleman like approach of an amateurish approach, and several other journals proof this thesis. In the next part of this paper I will give an overview about the creation or reopening of sociological journals after WW II.

German sociologists were not the first who started anew a sociological journal but given the deep rift of the Nazi years it came as a surprise when in 1948 Leopold von Wiese relaunched the Vierteljahreshefte für Soziologie under the new title Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie (later on: und Sozialpsychologie). The "Kölner" is still the

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[47] As a follow-up of the establishment of ESA a journal was founded: European Societies (1. 1999). European Sociological Review (1985) Journal of European Social Policy (1991), and European Journal of Social Theory (1998) and came into existence independently of ESA.

leading journal in the German speaking countries and it published German papers only, over the years few translated papers were published to inform the German audience about particular novelties.[48] The following year another German journal started from the scratch: Soziale Welt which commissioned itself to applied sociology and still exists. Also Soziale Welt is publishing its contributions in German only.

Two years after the Germans started with their first journal the British sociologists opened their own national journal, British Journal of Sociology (BJS), which became very quickly the leading sociological publication on the British Island. Both the creation of BJS and those of the British Sociological Association were linked to the London School of Economics, where the first chair in sociology was established as early as 1906 (and was divided into two chairs for the philosopher T.H. Hobhouse and the Finnish anthropologist Edward Westermarck. Hobhouse's disciple and follower at the LSE, Morris Ginsberg, played a role in both creations of the early 1950s). The older Sociological Review which started in 1908 and some newly established journals like Human Relations demonstrated the futility of the United Kingdom for sociological activities. BJS publishes in English only, and only few names of foreigners can be found in its early volumes (and if then they came from the U.S.)

After 1945 the first French journal was founded by the émigré scholar Russian born Georges Gurvitch after his return from the U.S. to his first exile in Paris: The first volume of Cahiers internationaux de sociologie came out as early as 1946. It lasted some years more before the French sociologists established a kind of national review: Revue française de sociologie started in 1960; the year before the creation of a specialized

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[48] Only in its annual supplementary, Sonderhefte, the Kölner started some years ago publishing some papers in English too.

journal Sociologie du travail indicated a particular specialization inside French sociology. All these journals published in French only. The same is the case for Pierre Bourdieu's Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales which started in 1975.

In 1960 the Archives européennes de sociologie started as the first tri-lingual (French-English-German) and therefore truly European enterprise. Among the founding editors were distinguished scholars as Raymond Aron, Tom Bottomore, Ralf Dahrendorf and others; the journal has been institutionally supported by one of the specialized research sites in Paris which was under the tutelage of Aron: Centre de Sociologie européenne where Bourdieu acted as an assistant.

Dutch sociologists published articles in the interwar period in Mens en Maatschappij (founded in 1925), a general social science journal which still exists. In 1953 a group of young sociologists founded Sociologische Gids as an exclusively sociological journal. The language of both journals is Dutch. In neighbouring Belgium the above mentioned Solvay Institute had its own journal, Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie, that had to interrupt its appearance between 1940 and 1948. A more inclusive journal started in 1970, Recherches Sociologiques. Both Belgian publications publish in French.

As mentioned the Scandinavian countries collaborated much closer with each other than any other European region. Besides its diverse languages the Scandinavians established the first English journal in an area where English was neither the native nor the colonial language. Only for the title they used the old lingua franca Latin. Acta Sociologica started in 1955 when the numbers of sociologists in the Northern countries were still very low. Later on all Scandinavian countries founded domestic sociological

journal: The Finnish Westermarck Society started with its Transactions in 1947, and from 1964 onwards another Finnish journal, Sosiologia, has been launched. The Swedish sociological association was founded in 1961, and three years later it started publishing its own journal, Sociologisk forskning. Norway's sociology was centered on the Institute for Social Research which was founded in Oslo in 1950 and started its own journal Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning ten years later. An interdisciplinary journal, Inquiry (in English, since 1958), complemented the spectrum of social science publications. In Denmark a kind of newsletter appeared in 1952, Sociologiske Meddelelser, and a national journal of sociology had to wait until 1990 when Dansk sosiologi came out. All in all the Scandinavians played the role of the avant-garde in European sociology by splitting its publication enterprises in the more outward oriented Acta Sociologica and the domestic journals for local news and their sociological handling.

In Europe's south Italy had the strongest sociological tradition. As early as 1897 Rivista italiana di sociologia was founded but had to cease its running when the Fascists took over power in the early 1920s. After WW II Franco Ferrarotti founded Quaderni di sociologia in 1951 which remained the only sociological journal in Italy during the 1950s. In 1960 Rassegna italiana di sociologia started with the ambition to become the leading general sociological journal but due to the deep political division of the Italian academic world it was challenged by the foundation of competing journal, nearly immediately: The liberal publishing house Il Mulino launched more than once a sociological journal; the Catholic University in Milano and other institutions started with their own journals. From the early 1960s onwards the Graduate School of Social Sciences in Trento became the center of sociological activities in Italy; one of its offspring was a

bi-lingual (Italian and German) Annual Yearbook of Sociology: Annali di sociologia / Soziologisches Jahrbuch (since 1985). The other southern countries of Europe, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey started with journals of their own only after the late 1960s. The same is true for most parts of Soviet Europe. The only exceptions there are the short blossoming of sociology during the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia (see Voříšek, 2009), and the longer lasting trajectory of Polish sociology. Poland with its rich pre-war history in sociology resisted the Stalinist streamlining several times. In 1961 there was a chance for publishing even a journal in English: The Polish Sociological Bulletin. For some time the Yugoslavian interdisciplinary journal Praxis received even more resonance because of its summer school in Korčula where Western Marxism met "revisionist" philosophers from Soviet Europe years before some of them became known as dissidents. An international edition of Praxis appeared in English between 1965 and 1973 and resumed as Praxis International from 1981 until 1994. The breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s brought this journal down again, when the majority of its Yugoslav editors started their careers as ideologues of the Serbian nationalism.

One could draw some conclusions from this short overview on sociological journals in Europe: Not only big nations but also some of the smaller countries managed to produce regularly sociological journals relatively early after the end of WW II. For obvious reasons the major European languages, English, French, German, could reach larger audiences but practically all journals were nation bound with regard to their authors and readers, some even served smaller communities.[49] Only very few enterprises

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[49] Predecessors of specialized journals which entered stage en masse beginning in the late 1980s were journals like *Social Compass International Review of Sociology of Religion*, founded in 1953 and since then under the editorship of the International Federation of Institutes for Social and Socio-Religious

transgressed the boundaries of their countries by attracting or actively recruiting authors from abroad or getting the attention of foreign readers. Compared with explicit interdisciplinary journals as Inquiry or Praxis sociology-only periodicals remained in disciplinary niches and spoke to inhabitants of those provinces only. The diversity of languages can explain this pattern only partly because even those journals which used English instead of their native languages felt short of attracting readers beyond their habitat. The only truly European periodical the trilingual Archives européennes de sociologie became over time a respected place but couldn't help creating a European sociological discourse. The absence of a European public sphere which has been bemoaned by cosmopolitans more than once was mirrored in sociology too (Outhwaite, 2008). In comparing sociology in Europe with other scientific disciplines one has to acknowledge its provinciality because philosophy, economics, psychology, and even history were able to establish periodicals which overcame the border lines of the nation-state.

**III**

As mentioned before changes in the European Union, especially its drive to improve the standing of Europe in the globalized competition by investing more Euros into Research and Development and creating the so called European Research Area had consequences for universities, their students and faculty, together with the collapse of Soviet Europe that removed the burden of Marxism-Leninism from the social scientists, and the increasing globalization process, which resulted in international rankings and competition

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Research which was connected with the Catholic Church, or Sociologia Ruralis the journal of the European Society for Rural Sociology which started in 1960.

for students from abroad, should have an effect on sociology in Europe too. It might be appropriate therefore to look at the echoes of these transformations in sociology. An expression and at the same time an instrument of these novelties is the increasing relevance of Citation Indices. The former Social Science Citation Index, now part of ISI Web of Science and the older database Sociological Abstracts offer data for a comparative analysis.

In a first step we will have a look on the distribution of languages used by authors from 43 European countries publishing articles which were listed in Sociological Abstracts (SA) for the two decades after 1990 (Table 1). SA offers some search options which could be used for bibliometric analyses. First one has to recognize the scope of SA. Since its beginnings this database tries to list all sociological periodicals worldwide. One could restrict searches either to "all journals" or to those which claim for themselves to use "peer review". Obviously there is no chance to check the validity of this distinction. Secondly authors provide their affiliation which offers the chance to restrict searches for particular countries; I used a list of 43 European states which encompass all those countries which are eligible to compete for European money in EU's Frame Programs. As a consequence Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Turkey, and Israel count in the following analyses as European. I excluded the Caucasus countries besides the fact that even these states are eligible for some EU programs, but as far as I know the numbers of sociologists there are very low. A third search option is the language of the articles. Selecting from the list in SA I was able to distinguish 29 European languages. To offer at least a simple comparison the share of mother tongues inside the 27 EU member states is

listed.[50] Unfortunately I was not able to find data on the number of sociologists. Census

data and ILO's International Standard Classification of Occupations aren't of much help

to establish the number of sociologists and the websites of the national sociological

associations seldom provide information on the membership (and even if they provide

numbers the routines of becoming a member of one of the associations differ strongly).[51]

It doesn't come as a surprise that the language used most often by sociologists is

English. Compared with English as a mother tongue inside EU-27 the overrepresentation

is overwhelming. This suggests that the vast majority of articles have been written by

authors who couldn't use their first language. Even more striking is the difference

between the two columns: Peer reviewed journals are overwhelmingly publishing in

English. If one compares French, German, Italian and Spanish one sees some distinct

differences. Whereas the percentage of French articles in "all journals" comes near to the

share of French as mother tongue inside EU-27, the three other languages are

underrepresented in both categories. The difference between the two types of journals

illustrates discrepancies in the commitment towards the new routine of peer review.

Switching from the language of the articles to the country of their authors (measured by

the country in the affiliation of the author) one could calculate a ratio of all articles with

peer reviewed ones. Over 90 per cent of the articles published between 1990 and 2008

appeared in peer reviewed journals in Iceland, Estonia, Ireland, and Russia. The ratio for

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[50] Languages below the 1 per cent threshold are ignored; they count in sum for 7 per cent of all mother tongues in EU-27. Please note that Russian doesn't refer here to Russia but indicates the minority language status inside some of the new EU member states, especially in the Baltic region.

[51] Some examples can give the reader a feeling for these differences: The Germans claim 1800 members, whereas France counts only 1300, Norway mentions 850, Austria about 600, Czech Republic lists 300 but Spain only 200 and Estonia exactly 72. The majority of the European national sociological associations don't even care to present data about the size of their membership on their websites. A funny finding, at least.

the United Kingdom is 85 %, for Germany 67, France 62, Spain 58, and Italy 42. If this computation would rest on valid data, which one could easily dispute, the variation in obeying up-to-day rules would be tremendous (I however would prefer to read them as indications of different rates of rhetorical conformity to the new rules in academia).

The ISI Institute for Scientific Information, the place where the citation index and all its derivates have been invented, claims to put much effort in the validity of their data. Besides the fact that ISI has been sold recently to a commercial firm, Thompson, one should allowed to assume that the proclaimed high standards are still part of the code of conduct. The SSCI has some differences to SA. First it covers the whole social sciences reaching far into life science and medicine, and secondly it claims to cover only the highest ranking journals. Both specialties cause troubles for the analysis. Separating sociology from the rest of the social sciences is difficult and has to be executed by sticking to the coding procedures of ISI. The second particularity is even more contestable. Originally the assortment of the journals covered by the Citation Indices was a self-selection process: Journals publishing articles which were cited more often formed the so called core journals of each discipline. But both the enlargement to humanities and social sciences and the effort to be more representative with regard to regions and languages worldwide resulted in a mixed strategy of selecting journals.[52] Given the prominence of ISI and its citation services one doesn't have much chance to ignore these data however. A comparison between SA and SSCI results in some interesting findings. I used the following restrictions: Sociology as subject area, no restriction with regard to the language of the articles, and finally restricting the types of documents to articles only.

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[52] Another distortion might result from the fact that some editors of journals refused to be included in the SSCI because of fear, or realism, to be listed in the lower ranks.

Only seven out of the 43 countries contributed with more than 3 per cent to the overall number of about 35,000 articles published between 1990 and 2008: 44 per cent of the authors were affiliated to places located in the United Kingdom, 9 per cent originated either in Germany or France, 8 per cent in Russia, around 4 per cent in Netherlands or Sweden, and about 3 per cent indicated to live in Israel. Together these seven countries produced 80 per cent of all articles contained in this database. A comparison between SA and SSCI reveals some more interesting findings. The numbers of articles mentioned in these two databases differ for several countries. Besides the U.K. the following countries contributed more articles to SSCI than SA: Russia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Ukraine. The only sound explanation is that the attempt of ISI to reach out to former Soviet Europe caused these weird overrepresentations. SSCI includes journals from these countries for reasons of regional representativeness which claim to use peer review because there are no indications that the submission of articles from sociologists from former Soviet Europe to journals edited somewhere else went up recently. SA's coding of peer reviewed articles must differ from SSCI's routines.

As mentioned before we don't have any data for the number of sociologists in any country. Therefore a comparison between countries had to be done with cruder data. The simplest comparison is the one which relates the number of articles to the size of the population.[53] Table 2 lists the countries according to the size of the ratio of articles to 10,000 inhabitants. The ranking doesn't show any correlation to otherwise established ones. One couldn't resist therefore questioning the validity of SSCI. Given its prominence in science policy this finding is irritating.

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[53] An alternative measure would make use of the human resources in science and technology as a share of the labor force but there are no comparable data for the 43 countries at hand.

**IV**

One of the derivates of the citation indexing business is ISI's journal report. By using its 2007 edition I was hoping to gain some additional data to prove the hypothesis of diversity vs. fragmentation in Europe's sociology. The Journal Report 2007 offers data for 96 journals classified as belonging to sociology. 44 out of these 96 are located in Europe according to ISI. Its "country of publication" classification is misleading and had to be questioned however. Some journals, European according to ISI, most sociologists would count either as American or neither European nor American ones: Human Studies, Theory and Society, Rationality and Society, Social Indicator Research, Journal of Mathematical Sociology, and International Sociology are labelled European simply because ISI uses the place of the publishing house as the criterion. The Journal of Sociology which is edited by the Australian Sociological Association is European only insofar as its publisher is located in the U.K. For the following analysis I did not do any recoding but accept ISI's classification but one can cross out nearly every second title from the list of 44 as not representing Europe in particular. That the publishing houses of 23 journals are located in the U.K. and six in The Netherlands lay emphasis on the concentration process in academic publishing. Ten more countries host at least one sociological journal (France 3 and Germany 4, all the other countries one only). That only 9 out of 27 EU member states, 11 of the 43 countries eligible for European research money, plus Russia, are listed in SSCI is a strong expression of misrepresentation. More than half of Europe isn't covered by SSCI besides the fact that in all these countries sociology exists in one way or the other. One could speculate about the reason and might

end up seeing it as a consequence of the marketing strategy of the new owner of ISI Thompson Reuters one of the big information sellers worldwide. This firm wants to sell its databases and the emerging markets in former Soviet Europe and the former Soviet Union seem to offer more chances than e.g. Turkey, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Finland etc.

Of the 44 "European" journals 31 publish in English, 4 in German, 3 in French, 3 in other languages (Russian, Swedish, Slovak[54]), and only 4 are multi-lingual (the above mentioned Archives européennes de sociologie and Social Compass, the Croatian Drustvena Istrazivanja, Sociologicky Casopis – Czech Sociological Review). Again, that out of 29 languages spoken in Europe and recognized as official languages in the EU, only 10 are represented in the SSCI is a strong indication of ignoring Europe's diversity. Both the country of publication and the languages demonstrate a kind of bias on the side of the provider of the database.

Impact factor had become the gold standard at least in sciences but increasingly in parts of social sciences too. It isn't very risky to predict that even those parts of the social sciences and humanities which still resist the usage of simple numbers as the impact factor will finally surrender. Set aside the debate whether it might be manageable to make such indicators valid or not we will have a look on the resulting ranking for Europe's sociology, simply because such services produce its own reality. Table 3 offers two rankings (a European for the 44, and a worldwide for the 96 sociology journals) and the impact factor for a 5 years average and the year 2007. The # 1 European journal is one most European sociologists might not even have heard about: Sociology of Health and

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[54] In one case the Journal Report 2007 gives the language as Slovene but the journal is located in Slovakia and it publishes according to its website in its native language, and sometimes in English too.

Illness attracts definitely only specialists. It grew out of the British Sociological Association's section on medical sociology and its authorship and readership consists of expert from this specialty. But how could this happen? The obvious explanation is that the number of authors publishing in this field is both large and they are completely inward oriented in their citation routines; if one adds that some Americans and a few people from the rest of the world might use this journal either as contributors or citers one had solved the mystery of the world of citation index. There is no need to develop any conspiracy theory to make sense of this impact factor crunching. The same pattern might explain the ranking of Social Networks, Sociologia Ruralis, and all the other more or less highly specialized journals. That the "social scientific studies of the human experience of other animals", so the subtitle of Society & Animals, is ranked in world's sociology before some twenty "minor" periodicals some of them covers broader subjects emphasizes the arbitrariness of the whole enterprise.

A second pattern is related to the number of compatriots: the British flagships BJS and BSA's Sociology defeat Germany, France, and all the other countries because of the size of its potential readers and authors. Seldom sociologists enter debates across their reference groups and the sheer number of these significant others restrict the potential resonance of any contribution. Given the fragmentation of not only Europe's sociology but worldwide sociology a comparison of impacts beyond the borders of particular national or discourse communities does not make any sense.

**V**

Let me come to a short concluding part. It seems to be obvious that English is now the lingua franca in European sociology too. This doesn't come as a surprise, but if one looks

a bit more closely one finds at least one surprising finding. The sheer fact of publishing articles in a national or regional journal in English is only very loosely connected with the ranking of the journal in the competition with those specialized journals which serve the members of sections of large national associations or specialized fields of research. If those specialists find collaborators oversees they beat any nation bound journal, and even most of the journals in which European topics are discussed. Secondly the usage of English is distributed uneven in countries which do not use English as the first language and due to historical fortune never were subjects of British colonialism. Scandinavians, Dutch, Poles, and Czechs are closer to the English culture in sociology than the Mediterranean and Romanian countries. Germany and neighbouring German-speaking Switzerland and Austria closed their fences and seem to be satisfied communicating with and cite those who speak the same language; the same seems to be true for Spaniards and Portuguese which communicate more intensely with their South American relatives than with their European fellow citizens. The effort of EU's science policy to create a common European Research Area in which people and ideas float easily from one university to another did not reach sociology so far. Sociology is still a discipline which is bounded by the nation state and the discourses are limited by specialized subjects and national priorities.

**Table 1: Languages of Articles in Sociological Abstract 1990 to 2008 (All Types of Documents and Peer Review Journal Articles only), compared with share of Mother Tongue in the European Union**

| Language | Share of each Language as | (1) SA All Journals | (2) SA Peer Reviewed |
|---|---|---|---|

| | Mother Tongue in EU | | Journals |
|---|---|---|---|
| English | 13 % | 62,7% | 77,5% |
| French | 12 % | 10,7% | 7,7% |
| German | 18 % | 8,8% | 6,0% |
| Italian | 13 % | 3,9% | 0,1% |
| Spanish | 9 % | 3,4% | 1,9% |
| Dutch | 5 % | 2,3% | 0,7% |
| (Serbo-)Croatian | < 1% | 1,9% | 0,9% |
| Portugese | 2 % | 1,2% | 0,5% |
| Russian | 1 % | 1,1% | 1,5% |
| Czech | 2 % | 0,7% | 0,9% |
| Slovene | | 0,6% | 0,6% |
| Finnish | | 0,5% | 0,1% |
| Polish | 9 % | 0,5% | 0,0% |
| Swedish | 2 % | 0,4% | 0,5% |
| Danish | | 0,4% | 0,4% |
| Slovak | | 0,3% | 0,5% |
| Norwegian | | 0,3% | 0,3% |
| Hungarian | 2 % | 0,1% | 0,0% |
| Catalan | 1 % | 0,1% | 0,0% |
| Romanian | | 0,0% | 0,0% |
| Flemish | | 0,0% | 0,0% |
| Lithuanian | | 0,0% | 0,0% |
| Greek | 3 % | 0,0% | 0,0% |
| Gaelic | | 0,002% | 0,0% |
| Hebrew | | 0,002% | 0,0% |
| Bulgarian, Estonian, Latvian, Maltese (each) | | 0 | 0 |
| N | | 48 328 | 33 373 |

Source: Sociological Abstracts.

**Table 2: Ratio of Sociological Articles by 10,000 Inhabitants, SSCI 1990 to 2008**

| Country | Ratio | Country | Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| UK | 2,52 | Cyprus | 0,35 |
| Ireland | 1,97 | Belgium | 0,31 |
| Croatia | 1,46 | Austria | 0,31 |
| Sweden | 1,45 | Estonia | 0,31 |
| Israel | 1,33 | Malta | 0,20 |
| Norway | 1,23 | Russia | 0,19 |
| Iceland | 1,12 | Luxembourg | 0,16 |
| Netherlands | 0,87 | Hungary | 0,14 |

| Finland | 0,71 | Greece | 0,12 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Denmark | 0,70 | Spain | 0,11 |
| Czech Republic | 0,64 | Lithuania | 0,10 |
| Slovakia | 0,60 | Italy | 0,08 |
| Slovenia | 0,52 | Poland | 0,07 |
| France | 0,50 | Bulgaria | 0,06 |
| Switzerland | 0,48 | Portugal | 0,05 |
| Germany | 0,40 | Latvia | 0,04 |

**Table 3: Ranking of 44 "European" Journals 2007**

| Rank (Europe) | World wide | Journal Title | Founded in | Language | Country of Publication | Impact Factor (2007) | 5-Year Impact Factor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 7 | SOCIOLOGY OF HEALTH & ILLNESS | 1979 | english | UK | 1.759 | 2.351 |
| 2 | 8 | SOCIAL NETWORKS | 1978 | english | CH | 1.644 | 2.140 |
| 3 | 10 | ECONOMY AND SOCIETY | 1972 | english | UK | 1.678 | 2.132 |
| 4 | 11 | BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY | 1950 | english | UK | 2.449 | 2.052 |
| 5 | 15 | SOCIOLOGIA RURALIS | 1960 | english | NL | 0.641 | 1.889 |
| 6 | 18 | SOCIOLOGY | 1967 | english | UK | 1.398 | 1.689 |
| 7 | 24 | WORK EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIETY | 1987 | english | UK | 1.051 | 1.508 |
| 8 | 27 | THEORY AND SOCIETY | 1974 | english | NL | 1.024 | 1.362 |
| 9 | 30 | ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES | 1978 | english | UK | 1.395 | 1.268 |
| 10 | 33 | SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW | 1953 | english | UK | 0.741 | 1.163 |
| 11 | 34 | DISCOURSE & SOCIETY | 1990 | english | UK | 0.729 | 1.151 |
| 12 | 35 | EUROPEAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW | 1985 | english | UK | 0.855 | 1.146 |
| 13 | 36 | LEISURE SCIENCES | 1977 | english | UK | 0.792 | 1.122 |
| 14 | 39 | BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION | 1980 | english | UK | 0.609 | 0.995 |
| 15 | 40 | SOCIAL INDICATORS RESEARCH | 1974 | english | NL | 0.610 | 0.938 |
| 16 | 43 | INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGY | 1986 | english | UK | 0.940 | 0.839 |
| 17 | 45 | JOURNAL OF MATHEMATICAL SOCIOLOGY | 1971 | english | UK | 1.000 | 0.783 |
| 18 | 46 | LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY | 1972 | english | UK | 0.395 | 0.779 |
| 19 | 47 | ACTA SOCIOLOGICA | 1955 | english | UK | 0.488 | 0.766 |
| 20 | 49 | JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY | 1965 | english | UK | 0.833 | 0.736 |
| 21 | 50 | RATIONALITY AND SOCIETY | 1989 | english | UK | 0.200 | 0.709 |
| 22 | 54 | SOCIETY & ANIMALS | 1993 | english | NL | 0.294 | 0.655 |
| 23 | 57 | KOLNER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR SOZIOLOGIE UND SOZIALPSYCHOLOGIE | 1948 | german | D | 0.612 | 0.606 |
| 24 | 58 | JOURNAL OF LAW AND SOCIETY | 1974 | english | UK | 0.519 | 0.592 |
| 25 | 61 | SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ONLINE | 1996 | english | UK | 0.612 | 0.538 |
| 26 | 66 | JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY | 1988 | english | UK | 0.541 | 0.453 |

| 27 | 66 | RACE & CLASS | 1959 | english | UK | 0.289 | 0.453 |
|----|----|--------------|------|---------|-----|-------|-------|
| 28 | 69 | ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIOLOGIE | 1972 | german | D | 0.380 | 0.426 |
| 29 | 70 | REVUE FRANCAISE DE SOCIOLOGIE | 1960 | French | France | 0.222 | 0.380 |
| 30 | 71 | ARCHIVES EUROPEENNES DE SOCIOLOGIE | 1960 | multi | France | 0.269 | 0.325 |
| 31 | 73 | SOCIOLOGIE DU TRAVAIL | 1959 | French | France | 0.340 | 0.285 |
| 32 | 77 | HUMAN STUDIES | 1978 | english | NL | 0.128 | 0.229 |
| 33 | 78 | SOZIALE WELT | 1949 | german | D | 0.158 | 0.192 |
| 34 | 80 | BERLINER JOURNAL FUR SOZIOLOGIE | 1991 | german | D | 0.214 | 0.187 |
| 35 | 81 | Sociologicky časopis-CZECH SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW | 1965 | multi | CZ | 0.169 | 0.174 |
| 36 | 82 | SOCIAL COMPASS | 1953 | multi | B | 0.123 | 0.165 |
| 37 | 83 | SOCIOLOGIA SLOVAK SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW | 1969 | Slovene (?) | SK | 0.116 | 0.144 |
| 38 | 85 | SOTSIOLOGICHESKIE ISSLEDOVANIYA | 1974 | Russian | Russia | 0.194 | 0.137 |
| 39 | 87 | DRUSTVENA ISTRAZIVANJA | 1992 | multi | Kroa | 0.038 | 0.118 |
| 40 | 88 | Polish Sociological Review | 1961 | english | Poland | 0.021 | 0.085 |
| 41 | 89 | SOCIOLOGISK FORSKNING | 1964 | Swedish | SW | 0.048 | 0.022 |
| 42 | 91 | AGRICULTURE AND HUMAN VALUES | 1984 | english | NL | 0.614 | |
| 43 | 91 | EUROPEAN SOCIETIES | 1999 | english | UK | 0.522 | |
| 44 | 91 | GLOBAL NETWORKS-A JOURNAL OF TRANSNATIONAL AFFAIRS | 2001 | english | UK | 1.886 | |

Source: JCR Year and Edition: 2007 Social Science, Founding Dates added.

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## In Conversation with Professor Dennis Smith

Interviewed by Karen O'Reilly

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**Dennis:** Karen, as you know, I have been asked if I would be the subject of an interview for the ISA e-bulletin, and I am tremendously pleased and flattered, and I am delighted that you have agreed to lob me some questions. I know it is not an easy job, because I have had the sort of writing career where I tend to get known in lots of different places for maybe one book or even two. For example, urban sociologists and historians would know me for the book called *Conflict and Compromise* which is about 19th century urban history and possibly for the Chicago School book (*The Chicago School: A Liberal*

*Critique of Capitalism*). Then other people would call me a social theorist because I have written about Zygmunt Bauman and Barrington Moore and Norbert Elias, and others think of me as a historical sociologist because I have written a book called *The Rise of Historical Sociology*, and Moore is a historical sociologist – so, in other words, I am a difficult person to "gather together" so to speak.

**Karen:** You are, Dennis, and I just wanted to start by saying you are probably not as flattered as I am to be asked to do this and I am really looking forward to it, and one of the big pleasures has actually been getting to know your work better. Dennis, can I start by asking you the following: when you talk to a lot of sociologists they often tend to relate their professional work to their personal history. So I have two questions. What sort of sociologist do you think you are? And what is it about you, your personal background, and your personal experiences that has led you to be that kind of sociologist?

**Dennis:** That is a question I didn't even begin to ask myself until I had been doing it for maybe 20 years. I have always been aware of being intensely curious and wanting to know why things are the way they are. I was always very interested, intellectually, in how things work. Now, where that curiosity comes from I don't really know. But it may be related to the fact that my background is quite sharply divided between a rather conservative Southern Irish Catholic family - I am not a Catholic but I do have many relatives who are – and, on the other side, a very deeply embedded socialist tradition, rooted in the South Wales mining valleys. Perhaps (also) the fact that both of my parents

were school teachers and had moved away from their place of their origin, at least their families had; in my mother's case, in the previous generation.

This meant for me the route to, initially, pleasing my parents, was through education. In that sense I was a very "good boy". (It was only my curiosity that made me ever a "bad boy" by asking questions I "shouldn't" have asked and looking into places I "shouldn't" have looked into). It is all rather mixed up. I have tended, as I have got more confidence, to ask bigger and bigger questions about more and more things. And then to try to hold all that together and find ways of explaining it to myself and other people.

**Karen:** I am glad you said that towards the end just then about the bigger and bigger questions, because if I was to stereotype you in any way or try to sum you up, (I know you have said it has been difficult for you to do it for yourself, but) if I were to stand back and try to say who you are one of the first things I think of is that you are good at looking at the "bigger picture." And I guess you do macro sociology, or have a macro perspective. I wondered if you would like to talk about how that has shaped what you have done, especially the publications that you have produced.

**Dennis:** Well, I think I have been interested in the bigger picture in so far as that is part of how things work. How things work is partly another way of saying "how do things fit in or fit together?" If you want to understand X, you have to take a look, it seems to me, at the environment that X has adapted to or in which X seeks to survive. But at the same time I have always been interested in .....I think probably the key word is so much not the "bigger", as the more complex (picture).

I have found complexity at the micro level as well. I have always been fascinated by how individuals and groups fit into contexts. For example, I did the book on Barrington Moore (*Barrington Moore: Violence, Morality and Political Change*) because when I was studying history at Cambridge as an undergraduate, my "Prof", J.H ("Jack") Plumb, reviewed Moore's *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*, and admired it, which was quite a remarkable thing ....for a historian like that to admire a sociologist in that way, and I wanted to read it. Reading Moore later, I discovered not only was I looking at the big picture that Moore was giving of how modern agricultural society had turned into modern urban industrialist society and admiring how he managed to organise his analysis into just three main routes. But I also found I was interested in Barrington Moore himself and why he had those ideas, and the same thing happened with other writers too.

It seems to me that I have always been interested in how people make sense of their situation, and again that is complex. So I have always tried to marry different kinds of complexity together in everything I have done (and) sometimes it is (both) micro and macro. Sometimes it is two examples of medium-sized things like cities.  The book I did just before *Barrington Moore*, was about comparing Birmingham and Sheffield (*Conflict and Compromise*), which had been described by Asa Briggs as two very similar cities. When I hear (something like) that I feel I have to demonstrate that it is not quite correct.


**Karen:** Just to interrupt, this is a book ostensibly about education to start with.

**Dennis:** Yes, although *Conflict and Compromise* turned into a book about education, local government, politics, industrial relations and class structures. I found myself exploring the interaction between what David Lockwood calls social integration and system integration. I think that was quite a substantial bit of work**.** I am quite happy it was recognised by urban historians; actually, more so than by sociologists.

**Karen:** OK, I am glad you brought that up. Where I was moving to next was to ask you about another tendency of yours which is not just the big picture, but also the way you juxtapose things and bring things together. Listening to you now, actually, I think something else is going on: when you pursue one idea it starts to take you off to another and another and what you can't ignore are the sort of interconnections of various things which end up leading to the big picture. So now I am beginning to understand, interestingly, how it is you have this big picture approach. It is not that you start off with the big picture, it is what you end up with…..following trails.

**Dennis:** Yes, and if I can just pursue that point, at the end of a number of books like the book *Capitalist Democracy on Trial*, at the end of *Elias and Modern Social Theory,* and at the end of the book on Globalisation (*Globalization: The Hidden Agenda*), I find myself providing a set of empirical generalisations which I try to present in a fairly clear pattern with not too many variables. And I may get the response 'oh that is a very simple approach - didn't you do any research before you arrived there?' In other words, people (sometimes) assume that because I try to marry up empirical generalisations with logical coherence, that that is where I started! But in fact, I *end* there, having gone through the

complexity. I remember a very exciting day when I had been writing *Capitalist Democracy on Trial* which is a series of comparisons between political commentators on capitalism and democracy from Tocqueville through to writers in the 1980s. On the last day of writing it I discovered the pattern, the model which then shaped the subsequent presentation of the text. I find this is a repeated pattern and one day I want to put all those patterns together - and see if they form a pattern.

**Karen:** Interesting.

**Dennis:** And that wasn't the answer to your question.

**Karen:** And I wasn't asking the questions I intended to ask. Another element I have left out (so here I am busy trying to fit you into a box) is that I have got you as a macro comparative and historical sociologist. So why is history so important to you in sociology?

**Dennis:** Because it allows an individual to expand their sphere of observation. If one is restricted to surveying the present that is a very narrow slice of human experience. The more theoretically "respectable" answer is, of course, to say that social processes enact themselves over time, that institutions go through various phases of development which are not necessarily known *a priori*. I rather appreciate the Elias approach which is that through historical analysis you can discover the structure of long-term processes. I think the first duty of the historian is to know a lot of history, whereas I feel the first duty of the

sociologist is sometimes (wrongly) taken to be to know a few theories about society. People who don't know a lot of history tend to assume that what the theories have told them about how society has changed over time is the best route into knowing what actually happened. I think that it is important to have actually read a lot of historical fact, to know a lot of historical sequences, to be aware that X happened before Y did. And have instances to which one can refer and locate within sequences that emerge and become recognised over time. If you start (just) with the theory I do not think you will discover very much.

**Karen:** What a very good point, and something I haven't really thought about. Sociology courses don't really have an awful lot of history.

**Dennis:** Well it takes up such a lot of time. One of the approaches I have often used with respect to sociology and history (which I have argued, in fact, should merge into the same subject - although one can have a long argument about that) is to see what other writers have made of complex historical and sociological phenomena. And this is why I have often written about other writers, because you don't just discover the writer, you also actually get to see the contents of their works, so it is like having fifty brilliant research assistants, reading these other writers as well.

**Karen:** Something else you have done, I understand, when you have researched people like Barrington Moore and Zygmunt Bauman is to do what I did in my first question, is to

relate their ideas to their personal experience. That is obviously something else you think is important: their life, their times.

**Dennis:** On that point, a crucial distinction I have found recurrently is that between insiders and outsiders. Barrington Moore, for example, whose father was (if I remember correctly) something like the commodore of the New York yacht club, was an insider who took an outsider position. He was able to be a rebel, partly because he had the self-confidence that came from (if you can say this in an American context) his blue blood. Someone like Elias is very much an outsider, as a German Jew in the 1930s. I find it fascinating that his first book was a study of the French Court in the 18th and 19th century; in other words, very much an establishment situation. Someone like Tony Giddens began as an outsider but has made himself into an insider. Garry (W.G) Runciman is an insider who has remained very much an insider, to very good purpose of course.

When I was looking at Zygmunt Bauman (to take another instance), what was interesting to me was that he has had a number of careers and has continually been able to reinvent himself. That book (*Zygmunt Bauman: Prophet of Postmodernity)* is sometimes described as an intellectual biography but it was actually a study of a series of texts not with the intention of discovering "the real Zygmunt Bauman"(if that exists, which is what he might say), but to see for what purposes the texts were created. In other words the texts were not interesting (simply) because they "expressed" the human being but because they were "acts." They were intended to change someone's thinking. So, I asked, why should this person try to change someone's thinking about that particular topic (whatever it happens to be) at that particular point in time?

**Karen:** You haven't really said an awful lot about globalisation. You say that different people know you in different ways. If I had to say one word that sums you up to me I would say "globalisation." Here is a very pointed question: why did Charles Tilly say about your book on globalisation that not everyone will agree with it?

**Dennis:** Because not everyone does agree with it! The original title of that book was "Globalisation and Humiliation", which is one of the instances of my taking two complex ideas and trying to see how they relate to each other. That is a repeated pattern in what I do. And that was deliberately both difficult and provocative in so far as humiliation is an idea that is typically applied to the individual experience of (a particular kind of) discomfort. And globalisation is typically referred to in the context of business globalisation in order to praise the work of multi-national corporations in (so to speak) spreading liberty, opportunity, freedom and happiness throughout the world - which is a generalisation of the American dream. So the idea of combining those two ideas, individual suffering and globalisation, is a challenging one.

So this was a book which was critical of the idea of globalisation as it is commonly used. The American marketing director of the company which eventually did publish the book (and had commissioned the book, although under a different title) said he could not distribute a book with that title. I think that he would have probably regarded it as a humiliating thing to do because (normally) globalisation "means" happiness, it means opportunity, it means praise for the American way. In the event, the book was called *Globalisation the Hidden Agenda*.

I was putting forward the "other side" of globalisation, which meant (for example) the experience of imperial domination, and I did give the historical gloss. Secondly, (I wrote about) the harm done by the logic of the market, which makes many people losers in the game they did not choose to join. And thirdly, the experience of displacement that is accompanying the jumbling up of people and groups of individuals in the course of the disruption of old or long standing structures, for example the state or the local community. In that respect, migration is an obvious example and I know you are an expert on that, Karen. But I would say that globalisation is a continuation of the process that was already under way with urbanisation. For example, as you got people, for example, moving into Milan in the 16th century they may well have come from adjacent valleys, where different dialects were spoken. And yet in order to communicate within the city of Milan, there needed to be some standardisation of language (and a partial loss of the old dialect) towards some early version of what later became the (shared, national) Italian language. And something similar is now happening globally (and the disruptions are obviously not just linguistic). Now the frontiers that are being crossed are not those at the edge of the local village, not those between the rural and the urban centres, but the boundaries between nations and civilisations. It is a similar process at a higher level. In fact in "Globalisation, and Humiliation" (as I still think of that book in my fondest thoughts) you get a shift upwards of the focus of humiliation and the focus of those processes that I have just described. In other words, humiliation which is often thought of an interpersonal thing I am able to talk about as a set of social processes that affect relations between groups, societies, institutions, civilisations (and that is what Al Qaeda is all about). Then I also shift the analysis of restructuring from the national

society upwards to transnational structures. So, in both cases there is a shift "upwards" in the level of analysis.

**Karen:** And humiliation? I am still not clear about that.

**Dennis:** It comes from displacement which causes resentment...

**Karen:** That is what you have written about more recently. You are developing these ideas....

**Dennis:** Humiliation is different from shame. Humiliation is something that requires action by those who experience it. It is pushing someone down and/or pushing them out. It is something that someone else does to you which you do not feel you deserve. It is someone else saying to you "who do you think you are? Well, you are not". And the response is "don't you know who I am?" You are being given an identity which is not one that you wish to have. How do you cope with that? Because it is unacceptable, it is outrageous. It is forced. Those, it seems to me are the defining characteristics of humiliation. It is an occurrence within a relationship, rather than a feeling within the mind or the emotions (although those things, however you define or characterise them, are also involved). It is different from shame for obvious reasons.

I was interested in how people cope with being in an "unacceptable" situation. Initially you are forced to acquiesce (that is part of the definition) but in most cases some capacity for agency remains. You may strike back. You may try and escape. Finally, you

may try and reshape yourself so that what happened is no longer perceived as humiliation, but maybe becomes perceived as shame.

This last case is the "career" followed by Adam and Eve and their successors. They thought they were gods, they were arrogant, they were therefore humiliated. They were thrown out of the Garden of Eden. I am sure Adam was absolutely furious. *Genesis* talks about Adam and Eve and the serpent being forced to crawl in the dust, because this was God's punishment and those who are humiliate usually define it as an act of punishment. (No-one likes to regard themselves as a humiliator in a human rights society. Within an honour code, yes, humiliation is typically regarded as "appropriate", it "can be done" but in a human rights society humiliation is "unacceptable." If it is "punishment", it shall not be "humiliation." That is why Abu Ghraib was regarded as offensive).

Now back to Adam and Eve. Their successors decided the sensible thing was to speak to God, and say 'look you are right, we did get above ourselves, please reintegrate us into the cosmos at the lower order where as mere humans as we deserve to be. Give us a set of rules. We will follow them, and we are ashamed for what we did before.' And so they turned humiliation into shame and said "we accept the rules now".

**Karen:** And so the "correct" response is to turn humiliation into shame?

**Dennis:** There is no "correct" response to humiliation, although I suppose you could say that from the point of view of he or she who humiliates; the "correct" response is to suffer. It is for the one who is being hurt to suffer. And for the greatest pleasure in humiliation, that suffering shall continue, therefore you shall not kill the victim, at least

not immediately. It is all in Nietzsche who argued that it was a great aristocratic pleasure to humiliate others. It was their business. He said that there wasn't a wedding that wasn't complete without some public burning. In Rome, the Emperor would arrange public humiliations of those people who were captured in battle.

**Karen:** Now they just do it on "Big Brother."

**Dennis:** Exactly. That is an accurate remark. People watching a reality show such as "Big Brother" play the same role in the crowd in the Coliseum, giving the thumbs up or the thumbs down. The press is one place where humiliation is regarded as legitimate. That is where the honour code persists, particularly on the sports pages but also in political reporting. The honour code says 'might is right, and he who has the power makes the rules, and has the capacity, which must be respected, to hurt others.' This is (for example) feudalism, which involves suppressing others. This is Thorstein Veblen's argument about "the barbarian status of women." He argues that historically women were humiliated when they were captured and forced into slavery or marriage, the two being more or less coincident.

As you shift to the human rights code, humiliation becomes an offence against the principle of universal dignity. The right not to be humiliated is embedded in the legal system and enforced by the law. But the cost of that is you lose your right to strike back. Revenge has no place in the human rights code. Revenge is the imposition of humiliation upon those who humiliated you, and that is not permitted. People do not have the right to

punish, on their own account; that is to return to the honour code and to tribalism. This is what Al Qaeda persuaded the Americans to do.

**Karen:** Let's move on. You say the West is now being humiliated or beginning to experience humiliation.

**Dennis:** Europe experienced humiliation in 1945 when the Americans basically told them how to run their affairs. The American generals marching into Europe in 1945 were a bit like Henry IV of France marching into Paris in the 1590s at the end of the French wars of religion. He said 'all you warring feudal houses must now become servants of the crown. You cannot carry on fighting each other although you can still have your jousting tournaments.' In the late 1940s the Americans come in to Europe and impose NATO, they say: 'You Europeans must collaborate with each other. We will reward you with Marshall Aid but you must form a new European community. Instead of jousting, we will have NATO exercises but you are basically disarmed.  You have been turned from warriors into courtiers.' This is what Elias talks about in his book *The Court Society*. This is what happened in Europe. But it was a humiliation. And feudalism is based on humiliation. But humiliation can be softened by giving those you humiliate the title of "grand servant." So, earls and barons are grand servants of the King. They are first in line to pay homage or swear fealty at the coronation. They are competing for a place in line to say that they obey. That is a wonderful trick that feudalism plays, and it is what the Americans did to Europe.

So the Europeans feel humiliated. The colonies that were dominated by the Empire feel humiliated. There is resentment all over the place now. When the oil runs out when the gas fields run dry, when the forests are turned into dust, this will be a powerful source of energy for all political leaders: resentment, and the crowd that can be mobilised.

This is what the book on globalisation tries to say, the capacity and the potential for violence and war is increasing at the same time as the availability of government structures at the global level to manage these tendencies remains quite low and will be no doubt for (perhaps even) 30 or 40 years. Until 1918, we had global governance. It was called imperialism. It may not have been fair, but it existed and that has broken down. That was the biggest 20th century story, the breakdown of empires (through to 1989). So the book is trying to say that there are these dangers.


**Karen:** You can talk about that for ages, I think I will move on. Do China and India, in order for them to become dominant, have to humiliate the U.S.?


**Dennis:** I think that is a very important question. The United States has built a political culture based on its own inviolability. At the same time it has built up a culture of being number one. It is a culture which does not value losers. It is a country that is a settler society, a society of people who have escaped from humiliation historically, who are basically saying "stop the world, I want to get off." However, globalisation now puts the United States in the situation, which it recognises but which it is very uncomfortable with, of being "surrounded."

Globalisation has now surrounded the United States, and it has become an island (or wagon-train circle) encircled by expanding societies which have learnt Americanisation. America has been "too good" at teaching the rest of the world to be American. Bits of the rest of the world are often better at being Americans than America. The Japanese had a phase of being brilliant Americans, the Italians, the Germans did as well. The Indians and Chinese also.

America is the place that "got there first." Now people, who get there first, are often long time losers. It was the case with Britain. Britain got to the industrial revolution first. German got to the second industrial revolution first. The Americans got to "the American way" first. They sold it to the rest of the world, and now they are surrounded by very powerful rivals. America's approach when faced with rivals is that of the settler society which has a political culture based on the experience of "escapees" from historic (and remembered) humiliation who are wounded, who want a protective promised land, who are aware of rustlings in the forest, of danger from bears. They may shoot first, that is the danger.

So America has to be "brought down" carefully. Luckily, for the moment we have a US President who, through a constellation of chance and his own intelligence and rhetorical brilliance, is in a position where he can mediate between an outside world he understands more than most Americans and this very threatened large island, the United States. It is a dangerous time.

I think that the present generation of leaders in India and China understand the Americans. Partly because that is the culture they have used to get to where they are, and hopefully they understand the sensitivities of America. In fact, the people they might

have been expected to want to "hit" are the Europeans. After all, it was the Europeans who held them down for between two or five hundred years, depending how you calculate it. Ironically, it is the Americans who, having pushed the Europeans out of the way, got the first hit when these people became free. They were the "obvious" target.

**Karen:** You have said yourself Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* must have been completed to the sounds of police sirens and breaking glass. If that is the case, I want to know what are the sounds which accompany your recent work on degradation and humiliation, and how sociology should treat powerful drives such as these.

**Dennis:** It is the gnashing of teeth and the breaking of bones; the pulling of hair out. These come from the feelings of resentment and discomfiture that so many groups are burdened with and which they want to get rid off. The result is a race between the therapist and the terrorist. The therapist will teach you to face up to your inner conflicts, to resolve them or at least deal with them by recognising them for what they are. The terrorist will tell you that your own miseries are very small relative to the glorious paradise that awaits the martyr.

I guess there must be a third way which is to learn the habit of patient negotiation and dialogue. That is what interests me. At the moment one of the things that also interests me is under what conditions are people able to talk to each other in a constructive way (and who is to say what is "constructive?" I mean basically listening to what the other person has said). That is why whenever I get the chance I try to run down

the idea of "culture as a possession" which is unique, special, and must be defended (unchanged) at all costs.

**Karen:** You mean "essential" culture.

**Dennis:** Yes. I think cultures are basically a sedimentation of experience, a reworking of and an attempt to understand experience. And cultures are changing. And to talk about the rights of culture, it seems to me, is like talking about the rights of a configuration of a waterfall at any particular moment.

**Karen:** Like the "rights" of a cloud...

**Dennis:** These days I find myself often saying 'I am all for hybridisation, for sharing and exchanging and regarding any one culture as simply one set of possible ways of solving the problems of living.' There may well be values that are common to a whole series of cultures and normative structures. At one level there must be if communication of any kind is going to be possible. But particular cultures pass away and human beings survive.

**Karen:** So what is it now? What are you going to do next?

**Dennis:** One of the things I am going to explore is Europe. Now Europe is "boring" and everyone knows Europe is "boring". But it is the hinge on which the world has turned, recently at least (i.e. the last half millennium). Now, the breakdown of the empires means

that the rest of the world is turning away from Europe although this is a political fact perhaps more than an economic fact. There is an incentive to turn away from the old colonial associations. Europe is now, I think, roughly in the position of the American Republic after the Civil War in the 1860's. The American Civil war occurred after the American Republic had taken in many, many, new states. That was one reason why the war occurred: because the balance of power between the north and south was changing. After the war, which was enormously damaging, for about 20 years the United States recovered, regrouped, unified and consolidated. By the late 1870s, it was a very powerful body, not only on the American continent, north and south, but also across the Pacific, and it could have come into Europe much earlier than it did. It chose not to.

By the way, a huge difference between America and Europe is the language issue. But even so, the fact that English is becoming dominant is helping to solve that, for right or for wrong; and it is a controversial issue. Europe has recently expanded and will need 15 to 20 years to absorb the newcomers, solve the consequent problems, and work out how it is going to confront issues such as the ageing population, and the in-migration of people from outside Europe. A third issue is whether and to what extent Europe will arm itself, as an independent power. If it gets over those three hurdles by (say) the 2030s, I think Europe could be a powerful player internationally. It already is economically, for example, in the WTO, but it doesn't yet have a sufficiently coherent and powerful foreign policy. Now what that foreign policy should be will be another issue, but it could be extremely enlightened.

In the last ten years, about 20 books or so have been written on Europe since the war, and I would like to get into that and work out what is happening. But that is not the

only thing I want to do, I want to try and make sense of the current recession. That is actually related to some of the issues previously mentioned. For example, I have just done a paper on resentment, and in that I say the task of eliminating humiliation and resentment must be undertaken. "Impossible" is the normal response but equally "impossible" are the tasks of stopping nuclear proliferation, finding a cure for cancer, overcoming global warming, and handling the global recession at a time when the balance of power is shifting from west to east. And yet we are trying all of those things at the same time. And of course they are all intimately related with each other.

Now, it seems to me that there you have got an agenda. That is complexity. I would like (though it may be nearly impossible) to try to get to a way of describing what is happening, so that these things can be held together in our heads and we can think constructively about them..

It may not be possible. It may be in fact that four or five games are being played globally at the same time, and that you cannot realistically draw them together. But on the other hand globalisation is supposed to mean interdependence. It is complex. Now that is interesting. That is the point.

**Karen:** There is enough to be going on with, while it remains complex, and it always will. There was one other thing you mentioned that you would quite like to do in the future.

**Dennis:** I thought I would like to look at Dickens. Sherlock Holmes, Oscar Wilde, Ian Fleming, and so on. Why? The reason one goes into these projects is often different from

the reasons one later ascribes, but I suppose one way of looking at popular literature is as a place where the nature of Englishness and modernity were implicitly and explicitly debated in the context of an empire becoming a nation state, over a period of some 150 years. I would use the same methodology: in other words, you do a series of comparisons, and just let that explode.

**Karen:** Just see where it takes you. That would be a good note to end on, but I do have one more thing that I really want to ask you. Because I can't help feeling when I have a look at what you have written, that there is an implicit moral tale about what sociologists are really like. I am left wondering how you feel about the current state of Sociology.

**Dennis:** Depends where you look. I was at a conference recently in the UK. I was aware of fragmentation and introversion, of colleagues living in a world that is fragmented so their perceptions and their foci are fragmented also. Conferences sometimes tend to be like jazz festivals. People play their own tunes, and they don't always necessarily communicate with each other.

But I don't think sociologists should take its agenda from the government. I think sociology should be an expression of the perspectives of intellectuals who are interested in the "health" or "well being" of the society (whatever that means and we can have an argument about it). The object is for people to be able to live interesting and meaningful lives in a decent way.

**Karen:** Well, I think that is a fine note to end on.