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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

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

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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

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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

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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

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.

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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

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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

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countries governed by Communists postponed studies in sociology (Czechoslovakia and 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

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 and 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.

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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

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.

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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

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

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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

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journal: The Finnish Westernmarck 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

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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

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

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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

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

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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

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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

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.

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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 derivatives 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 not be 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.

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.

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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.

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.

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IV

One of the derivatives 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

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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, Slovak⁵⁴), and only 4 are multi-lingual (the above mentioned Archives européennes de sociologie and Social Compass, the Croatian Društvena Istraživanja, Sociologický časopis – 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

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.

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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

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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 overseas 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
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	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

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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

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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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