

FACING AN UNEQUAL WORLD :

CHALLENGES FOR A GLOBAL SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME THREE: EUROPE AND CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Editors: Michael Burawoy, Mau-kuei Chang, and Michelle Fei-yu Hsieh

Associate Editors: Abigail Andrews, Emine Fidan Elcioglu, and Laura K. Nelson

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Diversity or Fragmentation in Europe's Sociology: Lessons to be Learned?

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From the beginning Europe has played an eminent role in the establishment of sociology. Today, Europe still contributes to the flourishing of sociological discourse. It is well known even by novices in sociology that the name *sociology* was coined in Paris in the early nineteenth century by an amateurish thinker, who aimed to reorganize the division of scholarly work by placing sociology at the top. Auguste Comte first labeled this new specialty *physique sociale*, later changing it to sociology. The new discipline-in-formation quickly attracted followers in several parts of Europe. These early devotees accepted Comte's coinage and started to recognize themselves as sociologists. In doing so, they enlarged the discipline's membership by incorporating competitors whom Comte himself disliked, e.g., Adolphe Quételet. Plurality, and even fierce hostility between members of this new academic tribe, has since been one of the characteristics of our discipline, which has never overcome diversity but manages to live with it. Respected sociologists have enlarged the network by claiming members who lived and published decades and even centuries before Comte. Raymond Aron pleaded for Montesquieu and Tocqueville to be considered sociologists (Aron 1998), Alvin Gouldner and others for Plato (Gouldner 1967), and sociologists committed to the Christian tradition nominated Thomas, to give a few examples of efforts to enlarge the "house of sociology" (Kaesler 2007). Consensus on the classics of sociological thought encompass authors who never thought of themselves as sociologists, like Marx, or demonstrated that their disciplinary affiliations were not restricted to sociology proper, as was the case with Max Weber or Georg Simmel. In the present, from an outside point of view European sociology is seen primarily as a place that develops and exports theoreticians. More precisely, the theoretical contributions of sociologists like Bourdieu, Giddens, Habermas, et al., are imported from Europe. European sociology seems to be much more homogenous as presented to the world than from the view on the inside

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(Boudon et al. 1997). The European tradition in sociology is not as homogenous and well known as "continental" philosophy, but Europe's prestige in world sociology is similarly formed by its theoretical contributions.

The present paper argues, however, that sociology in Europe is much more fragmented than one would expect. A European sociology exists only if one restricts the focus to aspects of sociological theory, but even this field is characterized by "diversity." I will start with some clarifications regarding concepts, followed by a brief portrait of Europe's diversity in sociology. I will then 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 endeavor, the so called European Research Area, and analyze how one of its schemes has affected sociology thus far.

I begin with some clarifications of 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 have adopted this view by claiming that diversity is applicable to ideas and social institutions as well. I will follow this interpretation. However, diversity can demonstrate its force only if there is interaction, or competition, between diverse units. Without such exchanges or struggles, species might end up in a dead end, in overpopulated areas, or they may demonstrate inbreeding. I label this kind of unhealthy development fragmentation. The main consequences of fragmentation in sociology are mutual ignorance and retreat into niches. With that, I now turn to 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, for example, about whether Turkey should be allowed to join the European Union is a telling indication of the controversial debate about where Europe ends. Presently, the European Union has twenty seven member states, three more are candidates, and a dozen more states are affiliated to several of EU's programs. Particularly interesting for our context is the role of associations with the Frame Program 7, the backbone of the European Research Area. In all, forty three nation states compete for European research money and therefore form Europe as a field of common research. Interestingly, sociology is represented in Europe by fewer members. Thirty national associations are collective members in the International

Sociological Association (ISA), and the European Sociological Association (ESA), which formed some twenty years ago, counts only twenty eight national associations as members.²

Sociology was established earlier in some European states than others. In Germany, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, and Finland, professional sociological associations formed before WWII: the German Sociological Society (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie) will celebrate its Centennial in 2010, although the organization was silenced during the Nazi regime. Presently, some 1,800 sociologists working in research and higher education are organized in this organization. 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 rather bumpy. Early, René Worms founded the Institut International de Sociologie – an international academy of sociologists which still exists – but the Durkheimians did not join this institute and formed their own organization in 1924, the Institut française de sociologie, long after the Durkheim school itself had been established. The survival of a single French organization was challenged by competing circles and schools, and was influenced by political movements, parties, unions, etc. In Belgium, the industrialist Ernest Solvay founded the Institut de Sociologie in 1902, which later became known as the Solvay Institute. Both the French and the Belgium "institutes" functioned more as scholarly ventures than professional associations in the modern sense of the term, defined by the globally distributed U.S. model. In both France and Belgium, being a member of their respective institute meant committing oneself to a particular sociological point of view, which coincided with the existence of a group organized as a coherent school. In France, an organization which came close to a professional organization, L'Association française de so-

² Cyprus, a EU member state since 2004, is not represented in the ESA but is in the ISA; Malta and Slovenia, both EU member states since 2004, are neither in the ESA nor the ISA; Israel and Turkey are associates to the European Research Area but are not members of the ESA; Ireland's sociologists are represented in the ESA but not the ISA; and Macedonia is represented in the ISA and Ukraine in the ESA. Albania, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iceland, Luxembourg (a founding member state of the EU), Moldova, Serbia (the rest of the former Yugoslavia), all the small states such as Liechtenstein, and city-states like Andorra, Monaco, and the Vatican (not for obvious reasons, given the existence of Catholic or Christian sociology), are not members in either of the two international organizations. In the case of Serbia, the non-member-status seems to be connected to the consequences of the international embargo policy and not with the lack of sociologists in, e.g., Belgrade.

ciologie, was first created in 1962, dissolved some years later, and was finally reestablished as late as 2002; it presently has a membership of about 1,300. Similarly, the 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 Westernmarck Society started in 1940, both originally acting 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 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 until the 1970s, where one could become a member by invitation only; such invitations were de facto restricted to those who held a habilitation. Nationwide representations for all members of a particular profession did not play a decisive role simply because of the non-existence of professions. Often, scholarly organizations transgressed the nation state and assembled people of the same language. The early German Society of Sociology brought together German speaking scholars who were interested in a new way of seeing (i.e. sociology) a new subject (i.e. society). Therefore, the membership consisted of German, Austrian, Swiss, and other German-speaking professors and held its conferences not only in Germany, but in Zurich and Vienna as well.

UNESCO's postwar initiative to create international bodies of academics like the ISA encouraged sociologists from European states which did not 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 the wish to be represented in the 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 these associations. Teaching sociology at universities was unknown in most European countries up until the 1960s. Only the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries started teaching sociology as early as the 1940s, with structured sociological curricula comparable to a MA program (Finland 1945, Norway and Sweden 1947), while Great

Britain (1950), Germany (1955), and France (1958) followed with some delay. In "Soviet Europe" only Poland offered studies in sociology from 1957, with Yugoslavia starting in 1959; all other 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 and the return to repressive regimes).

Aside from the internationalism propagated and promoted by UNESCO and followed by the ISA, there were not many incentives for sociologists from European countries to strive for transnational communication or to establish exchanges. Animositities from the two wars, the Iron Curtain division of the continent, and, importantly, the lack of financial support for, or attractiveness of, careers in sociology had encouraged sociologists to focus on the nation state as their relevant point of reference. For the same reasons, students remained inside the boundaries of their native countries. Any awareness of intellectual developments abroad were restricted to those developments which originated in the U.S., where young and promising scholars from most European countries (including some students from Soviet Europe) spent at least one year as a post-doc. Developments in neighboring or distant European countries were recognized only via translations.³ One can summarize the development of sociology in Europe during the first four decades after the end of WWII as the climax of a non-violent academic nationalism, which ignored developments in neighboring countries.⁴ Michael Vofíšek rightly calls this situation "Europe: the province" (2009: chapter 6). Sociologists were forced to look around Europe for collaborators only after the third round of enlargement of the European Union in 1986, followed by the fourth round in 1995, and the establishment of the Frame Programs for supporting collaborative research in the EU. The very creation of the ESA in 1992 can be traced back to these changes in the political and research funding landscape. But the necessary search for foreign collaborators did not improve European sociologists' mutual recognition. Socio-

³ The 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 the translation of books. For analyses of the role and scope of translations in sociology as desiderata, see Schrecker (forthcoming).

⁴ There are a few exceptions: the Scandinavian countries collaborated with each other more closely than countries in other regions; the domination-submission relationship in Soviet Europe sometimes resulted in bypassing strategies; and those countries who shared the same language recognized each other's productions more often.

logical journals published in European countries prove this point. Journals produced by and for Europeans were late-comers in the field of sociology.⁵

II

Journals formed the *Gestalt* of sociology in their respective countries early in the history of sociology in Europe: the French *Année sociologique* contributed to the separation of sociology from neighboring disciplines, while 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 amateur, and several other journals prove this thesis. In the next part of this paper I will give an overview of the creation or re-opening of sociological journals after WWII.

German sociologists were not the first to restart a sociological journal, but given the deep rift of the Nazi years, it was a surprise when, in 1948, Leopold von Wiese relaunched the *Vierteljahreshefte für Soziologie* under the new title *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie* (later *und Sozialpsychologie*). The "Kölner" is still the leading journal in German speaking countries and only publishes German papers, although over the years a few translated papers were published to inform the German audience about particular novelties.⁶ The following year another German journal started from the scratch, *Soziale Welt*, which commissioned itself to applied sociology and still exists today. *Soziale Welt* also publishes its contributions only in German.

Two years after the Germans started their first journal, British sociologists opened their own national journal, *British Journal of Sociology* (BJS), which quickly became the leading sociological publication on the British Island. Both the creation of BJS and the British Sociological Association were linked to the London School of Economics (LSE), where the first chair in sociology was established as early as 1906 (and was divided into two chairs, one for the philosopher T.H. Hobhouse and the other for the Finnish anthropologist Edward Westermarck. Hobhouse's disciple and follower at the LSE, Morris Ginsberg, played a role in both

creations in the early 1950s). The older *Sociological Review*, which started in 1908, and some newly established journals such as *Human Relations*, demonstrated the futility of the sociological activities in the United Kingdom. BJS publishes in English only, and only a few names of foreigners can be found in its early volumes (and even then coming only from the U.S.).

After 1945 the first French journal was founded by the émigré Russian born scholar Georges Gurvitch, after his return from the U.S. and during his first exile in Paris. The first volume of *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* came out as early as 1946. It lasted some years before the French sociologists established a national review: *Revue française de sociologie*, which started in 1960. The year before, the creation of the specialized journal *Sociologie du travail* indicated a particular specialization inside French sociology. All of 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* was founded as the first tri-lingual (French-English-German) and therefore truly European enterprise. Among the founding editors were distinguished scholars such 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 the journal *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 neighboring Belgium the above mentioned Solvay Institute had its own journal, *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, that had to interrupt its publishing between 1940 and 1948. A more inclusive journal started in 1970: *Recherches Sociologiques*. Both Belgian publications publish in French.

As already 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. For the title they used the old *lingua franca*, Latin. *Acta Sociologica* started in 1955 when there were still a small number of sociologists in the Northern countries. Later, all Scandinavian countries founded domestic sociological journals: The Finnish Westermarck Society started *Transactions* in 1947, and in 1964 another Finnish journal, *Sosiologia*, was launched. The Swedish Sociological Association was founded in 1961,

⁵ As a follow-up to the establishment of the ESA a journal was founded: *European Societies* (1999). *European Sociological Review* (1985), *Journal of European Social Policy* (1991), and *European Journal of Social Theory* (1998) came into existence independently of the ESA.

⁶ Some years ago, but only in its annual supplementary, *Sonderhefte*, the *Kölner* started publishing some papers in English too.

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, founded in 1958), complemented the spectrum of social science publications. In Denmark, a newsletter appeared in 1952, *Sociologiske Meddelelser*, but a national journal of sociology had to wait until 1990 when *Dansk sosiologi* came out. In all, the Scandinavians played the role of the avant-garde in European sociology by splitting its publication enterprises into the more outward oriented *Acta Sociologica* and the domestic journals for the sociological handling of local news.

In Europe's south, Italy had the strongest sociological tradition. *Rivista italiana di sociologia* was founded as early as 1897 but had to cease its running when the Fascists took power in the early 1920s. After WWII, 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* was started with the ambition to become the leading general sociological journal. Due to the deep political division in the Italian academic world, however, it was challenged almost immediately by the founding of competing journals. The liberal publishing house Il Mulino launched a sociological journal more than once, and the Catholic University in Milano and other institutions started their own journals. Beginning in the early 1960s, 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 year-book of sociology: *Annali di sociologia / Soziologisches Jahrbuch* (founded in 1985). The other southern countries in Europe, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, started their own journals only after the late 1960s. The same is true for most parts of Soviet Europe. The only exceptions were 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 prewar history in sociology, resisted Stalinist streamlining several times. In 1961 in Poland there was even the chance to publish a journal in English: *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*. For some time the Yugoslavian interdisciplinary journal *Praxis* received resonance because of its summer school in Korčula, where Western Marxism met "revisionist" philosophers from Soviet Europe years before they 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 once again ended this journal, when the majority

of its Yugoslav editors started their careers as ideologues of Serbian nationalism.

One can draw some conclusions from this short overview of sociological journals in Europe. For example, not only big nations but also some of the smaller countries managed to regularly produce sociological journals relatively shortly after the end of WWII. For obvious reasons the major European languages, English, French, and German, could reach larger audiences, but almost all of the journals were nation bound in regard to their authors and readership, some even served smaller communities.⁷ Only a few enterprises transgressed the boundaries of their countries by attracting or actively recruiting authors or readers from abroad. Compared with explicit interdisciplinary journals such as *Inquiry* or *Praxis*, sociology-only periodicals remained in disciplinary niches and addressed inhabitants of single provinces. The diversity of languages can only partly explain this pattern, as even those journals which used English instead of their native languages fell short of attracting readers beyond their community. The only truly European periodical, the trilingual *Archives européennes de sociologie*, became a respected journal over time and created a European sociological discourse. The absence of a European public sphere, which has been bemoaned by cosmopolitans more than once, was mirrored in sociology (Outhwaite 2008). Comparing sociology in Europe with other scientific disciplines, one has to acknowledge its provinciality, as philosophy, economics, psychology, and even history were able to establish periodicals which transgressed the borders of nation-states.

III

As mentioned before, changes in the European Union, especially its drive to improve the standing of Europe in globalized competition by investing more Euros into research and development and by creating the European Research Area, had consequences for universities, their students, and faculty. Additionally, the collapse of Soviet Europe, which removed the burden of Marxism-Leninism from social scientists, and the increasing glob-

⁷ 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 under the editorship of the International Federation of Institutes for Social and Socio-Religious Research, which was connected to the Catholic Church, or *Sociologia Ruralis*, the journal of the European Society for Rural Sociology which started in 1960.

alization process, which created international rankings and competition from students abroad, affected European sociology. It is appropriate, therefore, to look at the echoes of these transformations in sociology. An expression and an instrument of these changes is the increasing relevance of citation indices. The former Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), now part of Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) Web of Science and the older database, Sociological Abstracts, offer data for comparative analysis.

I first looked at the distribution of languages used by authors from forty three European countries publishing articles which were listed in Sociological Abstracts (SA) for the two decades after 1990 (Table 1). SA offers search options that I used for bibliometric analyses. First, however, I will explain the scope of SA. Since its beginnings, this database has tried to list all sociological periodicals worldwide. One can restrict searches either to "all journals" or to those which claim 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 to particular countries. I used a list of forty three European states which encompass all of the countries that 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 even though these states are eligible for some EU programs, because, 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 twenty nine European languages. To offer a simple comparison, the share of mother tongues inside the twenty seven EU member states is listed in Table 1.⁸ Unfortunately I was not able to find data on the number of sociologists in each country. Census data and ILO's International Standard Classification of Occupations cannot help establish the number of sociologists in each country and the websites of the national sociological associations seldom provide information on the membership (and even if they provide numbers, the criteria for what defines a member in each association differs).⁹

⁸ Languages below the one percent threshold are ignored; they count in sum for seven percent of all indigenous tongues in the EU-27. Please note that Russian does not refer here to Russia but indicates the minority language status inside some of the new EU member states, especially in the Baltic region.

⁹ Some examples can give the reader a feeling for these differences: the Germans claim 1,800 members, whereas France counts only 1,300, 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 do

It is not a surprise that the language used most often by sociologists is English. The overrepresentation of English inside the EU-27 is in fact overwhelming. This suggests that the vast majority of articles have been written by authors who did not use their first language. Even more striking is the difference between the two types of journals: peer reviewed journals are overwhelmingly published in English. If one compares French, German, Italian, and Spanish, one sees some distinct differences. While the percentage of French articles in the "all journals" category comes close to the share of French as a mother tongue inside the 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 origins of their authors (measured by the country in the affiliation of the author), I calculated a ratio of all articles to peer reviewed articles. Over 90 percent of the articles published between 1990 and 2008 in Iceland, Estonia, Ireland, and Russia appeared in peer reviewed journals. The ratio for the United Kingdom is 85%, for Germany 67%, France 62%, Spain 58%, and Italy 42%. If this computation rests on valid data, which is disputable, there is tremendous variation in obeying up-to-date rules. (I, however, prefer to read them as indications of different rates of rhetorical conformity to the new rules in academia).

The ISI, where the citation index and all of its derivatives originated, claims to expend much effort in making their data valid. Even though ISI has recently been sold to a commercial firm, Thompson, one can assume that these high standards are still part of the code of conduct. The SSCI is slightly different from SA. First, it covers all of the social sciences, reaching far into the life sciences and medicine. Secondly, it claims to cover only the highest ranking journals. Both differences make analysis difficult. Separating sociology from the rest of the social sciences is difficult, and has to be done by sticking to the coding procedures of ISI. The second specification is even more problematic. Originally, the assortment of 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 in regard to regions and languages worldwide, resulted in a mixed strat-

not care to present data about the size of their membership on their websites. A peculiar finding, at the least.

egy of selecting journals.¹⁰ Given the prominence of ISI and its citation services, however, one cannot simply ignore these data. 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 I restricted the types of documents to articles only.

Only seven out of the forty three countries contributed more than three percent to the overall number of about 35,000 articles published between 1990 and 2008: forty four percent of the authors were affiliated to places located in the United Kingdom, nine percent originated either in Germany or France, eight percent in Russia, around four percent in the Netherlands or Sweden, and about three percent were associated with Israel. Together, these seven countries produced eighty percent 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 these overrepresentations were caused by ISI's attempt to reach out to former Soviet Europe. I know SSCI includes journals which claim to use peer review from these countries for reasons of regional representativeness because there are no indications that submissions of articles from sociologists from former Soviet Europe to journals edited elsewhere went up recently. SA's coding of peer reviewed articles must differ, then, from SSCI's routines.

As mentioned before, I do not have any data on the number of sociologists in any country. Therefore, I did a comparison between countries with cruder data. The simplest comparison relates the number of articles to the size of the population.¹¹ Table 2 lists the countries according to the size of the ratio of articles to 10,000 inhabitants. The ranking does not show any correlation similar to other established correlations. I therefore question the validity of SSCI. Given its prominence in science policy, this finding is troubling.

¹⁰ Another distortion might result from the fact that some editors of journals refused to be included in the SSCI because of the realistic fear of being listed in the lower ranks.

¹¹ 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 forty three countries at hand.

IV

One of the derivatives of the citation indexing is ISI's journal report. By using its 2007 edition, I hoped to gain some additional data to prove my hypothesis of diversity vs. fragmentation in Europe's sociology. The Journal Report 2007 offers data for ninety six journals classified as belonging to sociology. Forty four out of these ninety six are located in Europe, according to the ISI. Its "country of publication" classification is misleading, however, and should be questioned. Some journals which were classified as European according to ISI most sociologists would count either as American or neither European nor American: *Human Studies*, *Theory and Society*, *Rationality and Society*, *Social Indicator Research*, *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, and *International Sociology* are labeled 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 accepted ISI's classification, but in reality, one can cross out nearly every other title from the list of forty four journals as not representing Europe. That the publishing houses of twenty three journals are located in the U.K., and six in the Netherlands, emphasizes the concentration process in academic publishing. Ten more countries host at least one sociological journal (France hosts three and Germany four, while all the other countries host one only). Only nine out of twenty seven EU member states, eleven of the forty three countries eligible for European research money, plus Russia, are listed in SSCI, which is a strong indication of misrepresentation. More than half of Europe is not covered by SSCI, even though sociology exists in all of these countries. I speculate that this is 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, or Finland, etc.

Of the forty four "European" journals, thirty onw publish in English, four in German, three in French, three in other languages (Russian, Swedish, Slovak¹²), and only four are multi-lingual (the above mentioned *Archives européennes de sociologie* and *Social Compass*, the Croatian *Drustvena Istrazivanja*, *Sociologicky Casopis* – Czech Sociological Review). Again, that

¹² 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.

out of twenty nine languages spoken in Europe and recognized as official languages in the EU, only ten are represented in the SSCI, is a strong indication that Europe's diversity is ignored. Both the country of publication and the language of publication demonstrate a bias on the side of the provider of the database.

The impact factor has become the gold standard in the sciences, and is increasingly becoming so in parts of the social sciences as well. Even those parts of the social sciences and humanities which still resist the use of simple numbers as an indicator of the impact factor will probably soon surrender. We must set aside the debate about whether such indicators are valid, and look at the resulting ranking for Europe's sociology simply because such rankings produce their own reality. Table 3 offers two rankings (a European ranking for forty four journals, and their respective worldwide ranking within ninety six sociology journals) and the impact factor of an average over five years and one for the year 2007. The number one European journal is one most European sociologists have not heard about: *Sociology of Health and Illness*, which attracts only specialists. It grew out of the British Sociological Association's section on medical sociology and its authorship and readership consists of experts from this specialty. How did this happen? One explanation is that the number of authors publishing in this field is large and their citation routines are inwardly oriented. Add this to the fact that some Americans, and a few people from the rest of the world, use this journal, either as contributors or for citations, and one has solved the mystery of the citation index. The same pattern might also explain the ranking of *Social Networks*, *Sociologia Ruralis*, and all of the other more or less highly specialized journals. That the "social scientific studies of the human experience of other animals," the subtitle of *Society & Animals*, is ranked in world sociology before some twenty "minor" periodicals, some of which cover 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 of the other countries because of the number of its potential readers and authors. Seldom do sociologists enter debates across their reference groups, and the sheer number of significant others restrict the potential resonance of any contribution. Given the fragmentation not only of Europe's sociology but worldwide sociology, a comparison of impacts beyond the borders of particular national or discourse communities does not make much sense.

V

This last section provides some short concluding remarks. It appears as though English is now the *lingua franca* in European sociology. This in itself is not surprising, but a closer look reveals some surprising findings. First, publishing articles in a national or regional journal in English is in fact only loosely connected to the ranking of the journal in competition with specialized journals, which serve the members of sections of large national associations or specialized fields of research. If those specialists find collaborators overseas they are able to beat any nation bound journal, and even most of the journals in which European topics are discussed. Secondly, the use of English is distributed unevenly in countries which do not use English as a first language and were never 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 neighboring German-speaking Switzerland and Austria closed their fences and seem to be satisfied communicating with, and citing, only those who speak the same language; the same seems to be true for Spaniards and Portuguese, who communicate more intensely with their South American relatives than with their fellow citizens from Europe. 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 has not yet reached sociology. Sociology remains 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 the share of mother tongue in the European Union

Language	Share of each language as mother tongue in EU	(1) SA all journals	(2) SA peer reviewed journals
English	13.0%	62.7%	77.5%
French	12.0%	10.7%	7.7%
German	18.0%	8.8%	6.0%
Italian	13.0%	3.9%	0.1%
Spanish	9.0%	3.4%	1.9%
Dutch	5.0%	2.3%	0.7%
(Serbo-) Croatian	< 1.0%	1.9%	0.9%

Language	Share of each language as mother tongue in EU	(1) SA all journals	(2) SA peer reviewed journals
Portuguese	2.0%	1.2%	0.5%
Russian	1.0%	1.1%	1.5%
Czech	2.0%	0.7%	0.9%
Slovene		0.6%	0.6%
Finnish		0.5%	0.1%
Polish	9.0%	0.5%	0.0%
Swedish	2.0%	0.4%	0.5%
Danish		0.4%	0.4%
Slovak		0.3%	0.5%
Norwegian		0.3%	0.3%
Hungarian	2.0%	0.1%	0.0%
Catalan	1.0%	0.1%	0.0%
Romanian		0.0%	0.0%
Flemish		0.0%	0.0%
Lithuanian		0.0%	0.0%
Greek	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gaelic		0.002%	0.0%
Hebrew		0.002 %	0.0%
Bulgarian, Estonian, Latvian, Maltese (each)		0%	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
UK	2.52
Ireland	1.97
Croatia	1.46
Sweden	1.45
Israel	1.33
Norway	1.23
Iceland	1.12
Netherlands	0.87
Finland	0.71
Denmark	0.70
Czech Republic	0.64
Slovakia	0.60
Slovenia	0.52
France	0.50
Switzerland	0.48
Germany	0.40

Country	Ratio
Cyprus	0.35
Belgium	0.31
Austria	0.31
Estonia	0.31
Malta	0.20
Russia	0.19
Luxembourg	0.16
Hungary	0.14
Greece	0.12
Spain	0.11
Lithuania	0.10
Italy	0.08
Poland	0.07
Bulgaria	0.06
Portugal	0.05
Latvia	0.04

Table 3: Ranking of 44 "European" journals, 2007

Rank Europe	Worldwide	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 FÜR SOZIOLOGIE UND SOZIALPSYCHOLOGIE	1948	German	D	0.612	0.606
24	58	JOURNAL OF LAW AND SOCIETY	1974	English	UK	0.519	0.592

Rank Europe	Worldwide	Journal Title	Founded in	Language	Country of Publication	Impact Factor (2007)	5-Year Impact Factor
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 FÜR SOZIOLOGIE	1991	German	D	0.214	0.187
35	81	Sociologický 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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The Relevance of Relevance: Social Sciences and Social Practice in Post-Positivistic Society

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It is widely recognized that the social sciences have an important track record in the transformation of Western European countries from labor intensive agricultural economies to modern urban high-tech societies. European welfare states have particularly required a substantial input from social research. What is less well understood is that the conceptual structure, methodology, and research practice of the social sciences themselves have reflected their relevance, and that all this is rapidly changing as a consequence of the changing forms of governance. In fact, the "positivistic" period of social sciences, split into relatively rigid disciplines, was astonishingly short – only from the turn of the century when the disciplinary boundaries were drawn, to the last third of the twentieth century. Anti-positivist critiques that have always accompanied social science have now become mainstream reality rather than a radical alternative. In this article, I analyze this shift in the light of the concepts of Mode 1 and Mode 2 science developed by Gibbons, Nowotny, and others. I show with some examples that Mode 2 science is no longer a critical challenge to mainstream positivism but an adaptation to the saturation of the ideals of modernization. Mounting demands for evidence-based policy may reduce rather than increase the relevance of social science research.

REPRESENTATIONAL, EPISTEMIC AND POSITIONAL DIMENSIONS OF KNOWLEDGE

Sociological studies tell about social reality in three different ways. *First*, they report knowledge about social realities. This knowledge depends on their conceptual framework and their instruments of observation such as

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