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A Global Scientific Community? Universalism Versus National Parochialism in Patterns of International Communication in Sociology*

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The paper starts from the thesis that unhindered international communication is a central characteristic of modern science. Second, the paper argues that scientific progress cannot be defined unequivocally in the social sciences. Four structures inhibit free international communication (linguistic barriers, the size of a national sociological community, the quality of scientific research, and the influence of specific sociologists and their schools). Third, three kinds of data are used to investigate the relevance of these factors: The participation in international congresses, the quotation patterns in major sociological journals and the reasons for the exceptional success of three sociologists, from the USA, France and Germany, respectively. Finally, a short hint toward the development of sociology outside the Western world is given. The paper concludes with some reflections on strategies to change the one-sided, asymmetrical communication in sociology toward a more balanced pattern.

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Universal, unfettered international communication is a central characteristic of modern science. This thesis is both a normative statement and an empirical hypothesis. In the first part of this paper, I will try to show this from the historical perspective. In the second part, I will argue that “progress” in the social sciences cannot be defined as unequivocally as in the natural sciences. In the third section, I will investigate the situation of international communication in sociology today using three kinds of empirical evidence. In the fourth part, the status of sociology outside the Western world is discussed. The paper concludes with some remarks how the further development of sociology into a truly global science could be furthered.

THE RELEVANCE OF FREE COMMUNICATION IN SCIENCE

Free communication as a basic norm of science

Robert K. Merton (1973) has enumerated four criteria which distinguish science from other societal subsystems: Universalism, communalism, disinterestedness (personal neutrality) and organized skepticism. Unhindered communication is part of the norm of communalism: This implies that scientific results always must be considered as a result of cooperation between all scientists around the world and as a property of humanity as a whole. Karl R. Popper argues that the development and growth of science can be explained in two ways: One is by the accumulation of knowledge, the other reciprocal criticism which continually changes and replaces existing theories. But tradition is also important; even revolutionary scientific changes can be realized only through developing better theories in contrast to the existing ones (Popper 1963: 129). The critical, unlimited discussion of established and traditional myths through critical discussion is essential not only for science but also for democratic society as a whole (Conant 1948; Popper 1957/58; Shils 1983; Reguant 2000).

From the thesis about the basic importance of open, unlimited communication follows that societies which are open for free discussion and experimentation will be more conducive for the development of science. This fact can also be shown from the perspective of the history of science. First, we can say that a European-wide network of communication was a decisive seedbed for the birth of modern science. Scientific communication and exchange at the time of the Renaissance was as strong as or even stronger than in Europe today (Bernal 1969). Many excellent social thinkers at this time exhibited with a strong international orientation, such as the Dutch philosopher Erasmus of Rotterdam, the French René Descartes, the Englishman John Locke and the German Gottfried W. Leibniz. The freedom for doctors to teach everywhere in Europe and the mobility of students made the late medieval universities international centers of study; it was possible through the use of the common language Latin (Rossi 1997: 18).

Intensive communication and exchange of ideas took place also between the founders of the modern social sciences and sociology in Europe; many of them made deliberate efforts to

gain first-hand knowledge of other countries. In the nineteenth century, Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill entertained a regular correspondence (Scott 2014: 56). Mill exchanged letters also with Emile Durkheim. The latter visited Germany and met Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig. Not only George H. Mead but most early American sociologists “enjoyed extensive European travel and research” (Kennedy and Centeno 2013: 674). W. I. Thomas learned Polish (as Weber learned Russian) in order to be able to follow the events there. The theories of Karl Marx (1818–1883) can be understood as a synthesis of German idealistic philosophy, French socialist thinking and English economics; he was growing up in Germany and lived compulsory in Paris, Brussels, and London. A very fruitful scientific voyage was undertaken by the young French jurist Alexis de Tocqueville in 1831 to the United States in order to investigate their law system and prison regime; the result was the famous sociological book *Democracy in America*. Travels to the United States later on were very fruitful experiences for the German sociologists Max Weber (Scaff 2011) and Werner Sombart (Bögenhold 2000: 18). All Nobel Prize winners were characterized by high levels of geographic mobility (Zuckerman 1996; Haller, Birgit, and Wohinz 2002).

The relevance of free communication in science can also be shown historically by looking at its development from ancient to modern times. In the Middle Age, the Arab-Islamic societies were a hotbed of science. Arab scientists translated and transmitted Indian and Greek inventions and writings to Europe (Störig 2004; Momin 2007). However, with the Castilian conquest of Cordoba in 1236 and the destruction of Bagdad by the Mongols in 1258, this open and creative world disappeared. From now on, the Arabs considered themselves as powerless and exploited, began to look backward and to lock up themselves from new ideas in other parts of the world. Science was only seen as a maidservant of faith and its main task was the interpretation and teaching of the “truths” contained in the Koran. Also in the later Ottoman (Turkish) Empire, a fervent anti-intellectualism was dominant: The printing and importing of books was forbidden in 1483 and punished with death penalty (Moran 1973; Mitterauer 1998; UNDP 2014; Klingholz and Lutz 2016: 113–146). The number of translations of scientific works from other languages into Arabic is extremely small (UNDP 2014). Arab societies are generally rather isolated in international networks of communication (UNDP 2003: 69–69; Erard 2014). Still today, the Arab-Islamic countries are lying far behind the West in terms of the development of knowledge and science.

Another example is ancient China. In the classical Han period (206 BD–220 AD), scientists, engineers, mathematicians, and medical doctors made important discoveries and innovations, including the abacus, the compass, gunpowder, water clocks, porcelain and paper, the technology of printing. These achievements did not lead to a revolutionary scientific breakthrough, however. The reasons were the political centralization of China, the self-contained intellectual traditions of the elites, and the relatively advanced level of economic development and self-sufficiency. Thus, while communication over the huge Chinese Empire was possible, only the dominant “state religion” or doctrine, Confucianism, was thought while open and free discussion and circulation of new (and possible dissenting) ideas was repressed. These facts explain to a large degree the regression of the Ottoman Empire and China and their economic-technical and military inferiority compared to Europe in the early Modern Age.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS AND GLOBAL COMMUNICATION: THE PECULIARITY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

There exists a fundamental difference between the natural and the social sciences (and even more so the humanities and arts). In the first, it is clearly possible to define and observe scientific progress. In fact, the idea of progress itself was a central element of the new scientific ethos (Zilsel 1976: 127). In the natural sciences, new theories are able to explain certain phenomena better than the older ones; therefore, sooner or later they will replace them. However, two aspects are relevant in this regard (see Kuhn 1962; Popper 1963).

First, we cannot simply say that the older theories were totally wrong; in fact, they were well able to explain certain phenomena, although not fully. The geocentric world view could forecast the movement of the celestial bodies with astonishing accuracy; already in ancient Egypt, astronomy had reached a high level of sophistication on its basis. Second, the scientists who represent the old theories often are not ready to abandon it even in view of contradicting evidence. A wholly new theoretical paradigm (Kuhn 1962) usually is developed and propagated only by new generations of scientists. Both these two aspects are relevant also for the social sciences.

“Progress” in the social sciences?

In the social sciences, scientific progress cannot be defined unambiguously for three reasons. First, the relation between theory and empirical facts is less stringent. Theories are often quite general and abstract, and it is not easily possible to deduce concrete, testable hypotheses. Second, one phenomenon can be often explained by different theories alike. Third, human action can change significantly when circumstances, such as living conditions and social institutions, alter. Many present-day social phenomena, – such as the educational system, modern technology, the welfare state, globalization, – did not exist in former times.

Therefore, theoretical paradigms which have been developed in sociology – such as organicism and functionalism, the theory of evolution, conflict theory – are not “shelved” but picked up again and again with modifications. In sociology, it is often the case that theories which are represented as revolutionary breakthroughs on close inspection turn out as new extractions of approaches which had been developed time ago; one must rather speak of theory cycles but not of progress (Bottomore and Nisbet 1978: ix–xi; Goody 1982: 7). It is often changes in the ideological bases of society which lead toward re-orientations of sociological thinking (Schnapper 2005: 121). Thus, national traditions will be relevant and stronger in sociology than in natural science.

Hypotheses about the factors fostering and impeding internationalization of sociology

I propose that there are two general forces at work here: One is the trend toward internationalization and globalization; the other is forces toward the preservation of a national or restricted Western sociology and attempts to establish a national hegemony (see Figure 1).

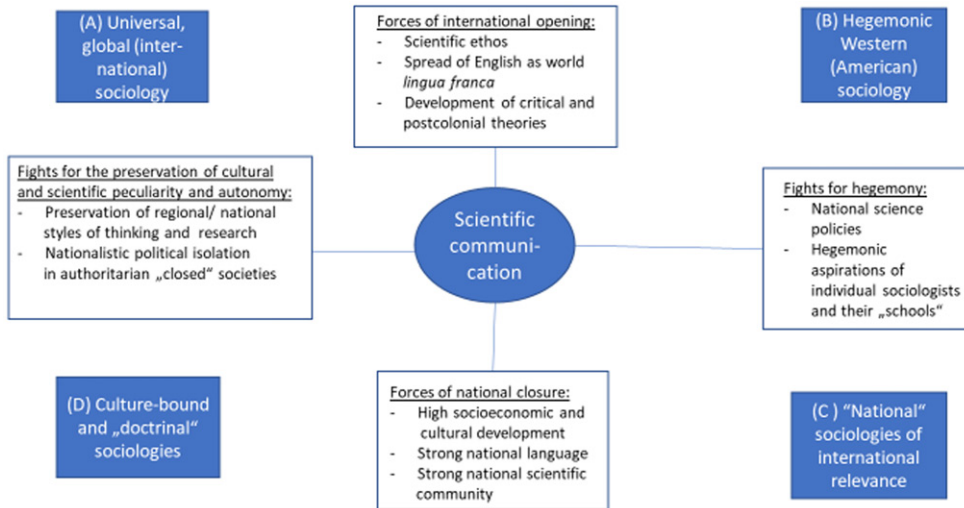


FIGURE 1 Forces working toward the opening or closing of national sociologies and the resulting four types of sociology.

The interaction between these two forces produces four distinct types of sociologies: (1) Hegemonic western (or American) sociology; (2) hegemonic “national sociologies” of international (universal) relevance; (3) parochial and doctrinal national sociologies; and (4) a true international or global sociology. There are four concrete forces inhibiting the internationalization of sociology in a country: The level of socioeconomic and cultural development of a society; the size of a (national) linguistic community; the strength of the national scientific communities; and fights for hegemony within a country (see Figure 1).

The first thesis proposed is that the development of sociology in a specific country is certainly dependent upon the general socioeconomic and cultural development of that country. This factor fosters the growth of sociology, but it may reduce its internationalization. The level of socioeconomic and cultural development includes the degree of occupational differentiation; the level of material wealth; the numbers and proportions of educated people; the existence of strong institutions of higher learning; the number of writers and of book production of all sorts; a strong literary tradition. The social sciences are part of the national culture of a society; eminent social scientists often are also excellent writers (Bernal 1969; Shapin 1995). In a highly developed society, also the social sciences will flourish.

The second factor relevant for internationalization is language and national culture. Language plays a central role in the development and dissemination of scientific results (Störig 2004/I, 233ff). In the natural sciences, it would be nonsense to speak of a national science, say a German physique, a French chemistry etc. In the social sciences, such an argument cannot be refused from the outset: First, because the social sciences develop within a nation state and its culture; second, because there exist differences between societies, their social structures and institutions. These differences are also reflected in their languages (Bauman and Briggs 2003: 260). Most sociological terms are not neologisms but have been borrowed from everyday language; empirical social research cannot proceed without using

normal language (as in interviews); the use of national languages is essential if social scientific results shall be transmitted to the general public. We can expect therefore that in the social sciences membership in a linguistic community plays an important role concerning the patterns of scientific communication. This will be more important if a language is backed by a strong nation state or if it is spoken in more than one country.

The third factor reducing the propensity toward internationalization is the size and strength of a national scientific community. In the larger Western countries there are several thousand sociologists with their own sociological associations and Journals; for them the incentive is weaker to get into close contact with sociologists in other countries. The French have also their own special *Association Internationale des Sociologues de Langue Francaise* (AISLF). These national scientific communities are also the main arenas where jobs and careers for young scientists are offered. On top in the world in this regard are certainly the United States; the *American Sociological Association* had about 12.500 members in 2014, it organizes annual conferences with over 3000 participants, there are hundreds of sociological university departments and Curricula in sociology.¹ In the comprehensive anthology *Hauptwerke der Soziologie* (Main Works of Sociology) among 100 important sociological books presented, 50 of them have been written by authors who worked mainly in America (although many of them were immigrants from Europe), 30 are from Germany, 15 from France, 6 from Great Britain, 4 from Austria and one from Italy, Hungary, Sweden and Israel (Kaesler and Vogt 2007). The strength of American sociology has its roots in the outstanding growth of higher education in this country from the late nineteenth century on (Coser 1978: 291f.; Collins 1994: 46; Calhoun 2013). In addition, there are thousands of native English-speaking sociologists in Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia and other countries. A similar situation – although at a lower level – exists in German and French sociology. In such large linguistic areas, sociological publications can be read by many co-professionals. In contrast to these cases we can expect that sociologists from small countries will have a stronger incentive for international communication and publications.

The fourth factor working against internationalization of sociology is fights for scientific hegemony and public attention and prestige between and within nation states. Three aspects are relevant here. In the first place, such efforts can bring individual sociologists and their “schools” into an exceptional position as “stars”; excessive attention will be awarded to them (Goode 1978; Merton 1988). Relevant target groups for publications of sociologists are not only scientific peers, but also the general public, particularly when they aspire to become “public intellectuals” (Burawoy 2005; see also Therborn 2000). In this case it might happen, as Bourdieu (1992: 12) has noted, that “the wish for knowledge subliminal may be drifted by a specific form of wish for power”. If these public sociologists will be ready to let pour in ideological and political elements into their written and oral statements they will be flattered by the media and furthered by printing houses which can make great profits out of their books. Such processes are typically for large countries. A second form of hegemonic sociology existed in the former Communist societies in East Europe and the Soviet Union; here, “Western” sociology was considered as a bourgeois science which had to be replaced by a socialist sociology. The discipline of sociology in the German Democratic Republic (1949–1990), for instance, has been characterized as a kind of “institutionalized revisionism” (Ludz 1972). It tried to investigate societal processes objectively, but by adhering to the

established Marxist ideology; thus, it was a kind of orthodox state doctrine. A third reason for the disproportional influence of certain sociological schools in large countries is the fact that it took often generations before path-breaking new ideas developed by scholars in smaller countries (which were developed already between 1900 and 1930) were recognized worldwide. Here we could mention the Austrian scholars L. Gumplowicz, R. Goldscheid, W. Jerusalem, E. Ehrlich, who developed basic sociological concepts of ethnic conflicts, finance sociology, sociology of law and of knowledge; Hungarian authors generated original ideas on the sociology of knowledge (G. Lukacs, K. Mannheim, A. Heller); in more recent times, the Scandinavian scholars Stein Rokkan and Eric Allardt advanced comparative social research and others who pioneered the analysis of the welfare state (e.g. G. Esping-Andersen, W. Korpi); Latin-American sociologists developed critical modernization and dependency theory (F. Cardoso, G. Germani).

On the other pole, we can also discern forces which strengthen the internationalization of sociology. Their effect cannot be investigated directly in this paper, but we should at least mention them as well. Four such forces are mentioned in [Figure 1](#): the scientific ethos and pressure to achieve, the spread of English as *world lingua franca*, the development of critical and postcolonial theories and digitization. First, from its beginnings, modern science has been an international venture. This is true even more today: Universities compete globally for the best researchers; governmental and international agencies produce rankings of Universities; individual scientists are eager to find international partners and to work in countries with well-developed research infrastructures (Krabel et al. 2012; UNESCO 2015). Also the sociological community is “more than ever premised on the normative equality of all members, even though the distribution of material and institutional resources of productivity is highly uneven” (Arjomand 2000: 7).

The second factor fostering the internationalization of sociology is the rise of English to the world *lingua franca*. The higher the “communicative potential” of a language, the number of its speakers, the more useful and powerful it is (de Swaan 2001). Today, English is on top of the global language hierarchy. The worldwide language hierarchy came into being through military-political expansion, international trade relations, and the spread of world religions; it was accompanied by a devaluation of local languages (Heller and McElhinny 2017: 238). In sociology, many national sociological associations of smaller countries publish their Journals in English in order to be recognized internationally.²

A fourth factor contributing to the internationalization of sociology is digitization. Digitization has revolutionized the access to scientific information and the possibilities for publication: Access to scientific publications is extremely easier today; this is particularly important for students and researchers in poorer countries because their institutions often have only very inadequate libraries; scientific education, teaching and training becomes more effective; immense masses of data can be stored and analyzed; international scientific cooperation became much easier. The digital revolution made it also possible to carry out regular worldwide social surveys since the 1980s (*World Value Survey*, *International Social Survey* etc.) and to analyze the resulting huge data sets.

Also theoretical developments within sociology will contribute to the emergence of a truly global sociology. Here we have to mention the development of critical and postcolonial theories. This force is opposite to the fourth inhibiting factor mentioned before. Already Marx

and Lenin pointed to the other side of capitalism, criticizing it as an objective system of exploitation, backed by racist ideologies. In recent times, relevant contributions came from economic dependency theorists (e.g. A.R. Prebisch, A.G. Frank, P. Baran) and sociologists (like J. Galtung and I. Wallerstein). The influential book by E. Said *Orientalism* (Said 1978) provided a strident critique of the tendency to exaggerate the differences between the “West” and the “East”, including a view of a clear superiority of the former and subtle Eurocentric prejudices against the Arab-Islamic world (see also Haller 2003a). An important new strand of thinking is postcolonial theory which focuses on the legacy of colonializing imperialism and its human consequences for sociology. Postcolonial theorists argue that the concept of modern itself has to be questioned; instead, what is needed is a truly global, world-historical perspective which also looks at the many hidden negative consequences of colonialism both for the present-day global South and North (Bhambra 2007, 2013; Go 2013; Steinmetz 2014). In this vein, African philosophers and social scientists argue that western paradigms are inadequate for Africa because the social realities there are fundamentally distinct from the North or West (Ekeh 1975; Ake 1979; Hendricks 2000; see also Goujon et al. 2017). In fact, in many areas of social life, African societies are significantly different from not only from Western, but also from Asian societies. To give just two examples: When teaching about sociology of the family in Africa, the author of this article felt intensively the distance of the texts used (e.g. Parsons frequently reprinted 1942 essay on the relevance of the nuclear family) and African reality. Another example: Political life in Africa cannot be understood adequately by applying the well-known distinction between the private and the public sphere; in Africa, the latter itself is decomposed into two subtypes: the primordial public and the civic public (Ekeh 1975). This distinction is evident from a postcolonial perspective: The civic public lacks moral imperatives and corresponds to the dominant classes (which formerly included both foreign colonizers and their local, indigenous administrators).

It will be difficult (if possible at all) to disentangle the separate effects of all forces inhibiting and/or fostering the internationalization of sociology. Some of them are closely interrelated; the predominance of English in science, for instance, favors scientists who are native English speakers and this coincides with the high level of socio-economic development. Therefore, for a certain period, the United States became a *mélange* and a leader of world sociology (Collins 1994: 46). We have already referred to several authors who criticized the ethnocentrism and parochialism of Western, particular American, sociology (Hughes 1971; Chekki 1987; Connell 1990; Flowerdew 2007; Kuhn and Weidemann 2010; Bhambra 2013). A recent quantitative study by Joshua K. Dubrow et al. (2018) investigated how a country’s GDP per capita, level of democracy and social science research infrastructure affects the level of participation of their sociologists in ISA-Congresses 1990 to 2012; 212 countries were included. The present paper is more modest as far as its quantitative evidence is concerned; on the other side, it has a broader orientation insofar as it discusses also aspects beyond those investigated in Dubrow et al (2018).

Based on the foregoing specific hypotheses, we can develop two general theses; they relate also to the ideal-typical descriptions of the four types of sociology, mentioned in Figure 1. *The first general thesis is that there exists a clear international hierarchy and stratification of sociology, and a corresponding asymmetry in scientific communication with the United States on top.* However, international or global sociology will not become fully

“Americanized”, first, because the trend toward specialization and standardization of sociological research and publication in the “American” form leads toward a certain impoverishment in substantive terms (Nedelman and Sztompka 1993; Bögenhold 2000; Münch 2011). Several sociologists, even if working outside the hegemonic English world, will also be able to become internationally recognized and influential scholars. *Thus, my second general thesis is that some nationally-anchored sociologists will be able to develop important new concepts and theories and – in this way – gain world-wide recognition and exert global influence.*

SOCIOLOGY TODAY – NATIONAL OR UNIVERSAL SOCIAL SCIENCE? SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

In this section, I will investigate empirically if sociology today can be considered as a true global science or constitutes rather a conglomerate of nationally and culturally rooted schools. For this aim, three types of evidence will be used: membership in international sociological associations, mutual patterns of citations in sociological Journals and a short analysis of the reasons for the success of three particular famous sociologists. I am aware that this kind of empirical evidence is rather limited. It should be supplemented, for instance, by data on concrete forms of interaction and cooperation between sociologists around the world, and by the reciprocal reception of important theoretical works and empirical studies in Western and non-Western countries.

Membership in international sociological associations

Scientific associations are a central instrument for international contacts and communication. Their establishment and proliferation can itself be seen as an indicator for the development of a scientific discipline. The first national sociological associations were established between 1900 and the 1st World War.³ Today, national sociological associations exist in practically all larger countries⁴; most of them were established in the 1950s and 1960s.⁵

Table 1 shows the absolute number of members of the ISA and ESA, distinguished by their national affiliations; the countries included are grouped into 14 smaller and 17 larger ones and ordered along the number of members. Three facts are obvious. We can see, first, that language plays a significant role. Sociologists from English-speaking countries are most strongly active in international sociological associations. About one third of all ISA-members and conference participants come from the four larger English-speaking countries. Also, the relatively strong presence of the non-European countries India, Nigeria and South Africa might have to do with language, since English is an important language of teaching in their higher education system. The language factor might also explain the fact that the French speaking sociologists are relatively under-represented in ESA and ISA (see also Schnapper 2005). The French and the Italians might wish to counter the dominance of the English, but may also be reluctant to learn and speak English (Gerhards 2014; Squazzoni and Akbaritabar 2017). These data on ISA and ESA membership might underestimate, however, the international activities of French-speaking sociologists since many of them may be active in the *Association Internationale des Sociologues de Langue Francaise* (AISLF).

TABLE 1
Members and Congress Participants of the International Sociological Association (ISA)* and the European Sociological Association (ESA) by their national affiliation

	ISA members 2010	ISA 2018 Congress Toronto	ESA 2015 Congress Prague	ESA 2019 Congress Manchester	ISA members 2010	ISA 2018 Congress Toronto	ESA 2015 Congress Prague	ESA 2019 Congress Manchester
SMALLER STATES								
Sweden	134	68	120	133	Ca. 780	416	56	39
Netherlands	82	45	59	73	293	278	356	513*
Norway	75	29		68	258	511		19
Finland	70	67		166	255	235		9
Israel	63	52		42	227	103	111	67
Portugal	63	46		75	221	346	304	346
Belgium	62	29	76	74	214	265		26
Switzerland	60	46	62	88	194	153		10
Denmark	40	35	59	77	183	132		17
Austria	40	37	66	51	180	112	72	87
Czech Rep.	30	14	131	44	175	142	173	254
Hungary	22	13	52	47	155	78		
Croatia	13	6	24	17	153	112		6
Slovakia	12	1	9	14	143	71		
					119	94	121	126
					98	79	233	131
					33	33		9
LARGER STATES								
USA								
United Kingdom								
Canada								
India								
Russia								
Germany								
Japan								
Brazil								
Australia								
France								
Italy								
South Africa								
Mexico								
Nigeria								
Spain								
Poland								
China								

*) Outside Europe, only nation states with at least 50 ISA-members have been included (except China).

Sources: ISA, Directory of Members 2010; ESA: <http://europeansociology.org/statistics.html>; ISA: <https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/conferences/world-congress/toronto-2018/statistics-18/> (August 27, 2019).

Second, sociologists from smaller European countries are more active and cross-linked internationally than those from larger countries. Swedish and Austrian, but also Dutch and Belgian sociologists are represented relatively stronger than their German and French counterparts. Also in this case, language might also be a relevant factor. The populations in these countries are characterized by good language knowledge (European Commission 2012; Gerhards 2014). Another reason is the size of their scientific community. An analysis of the language in which articles written by German, Austrian and Swiss sociologists, quoted in the *Social Science Citation Index* (SSCI) between 1990 and 2006 has shown that the number of articles published in the native language German was highest among German sociologists (64%), but significantly lower among Swiss and Austrian sociologists (Fleck 2007).⁶ Since the Germans do not speak less well English than Austrians or Swiss, the size of the national sociological community must be the decisive factor. The author of a review on “Sociology of religion in Germany since 1945” (Pollack 2015) states explicitly that German sociology of religion is under-represented on the international level, given its productivity and high degree of institutionalization.

Third, it is evident that sociologists from the developed non-Western countries are under-represented. While a considerable number of Indian and Japanese sociologists are ISA members and participating in its conference, they are certainly not represented as strongly as those from the larger Western countries. Particularly weakly represented are sociologists from Africa, a continent soon equivalent in population size to India and China. In fact one must speak of “Africa’s virtual exclusion from the global production of knowledge” (Hendricks 2006). Certainly, also the missing or low quality of social science infrastructure is relevant. Dubrow et al. (2018) have shown that countries with weak social scientific infrastructure are significantly less frequently ISA members.

Fourth, these data also indicate that the political system is significant. China, but also the Arabic-Islamic countries – most of them characterized by rather authoritarian political systems – are strongly underrepresented or missing totally in ISA and ESA. Also the relevance of this factor has been shown statistically in the study of Dubrow et al. (2018).

Quotation patterns in sociological journals in Europe, America and Japan

In order to grasp directly the patterns of communication between the five major “national” sociological communities in the Western world (those of Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the USA) I have examined the references in one (USA: two) leading sociological Journal in each of these five countries and Japan. They were analyzed to see to which linguistic area the authors belonged who were quoted in the bibliographies of the articles. Table 2 and Figure 2 present the data. An arrow from one country to another means that sociologists in the first country quote sociologists in the second country; the thickness of the arrows indicates the relative frequency of quotations.

The result is very clear and shows the following: (1) American and British sociologists, take hardly any notice of sociological publications not written in English.⁷ If such works are quoted (which happens in less than 1%), it is only the case if a special country is the focus of study or if one of the coauthors is not an American. (2) German sociologists quote works written in English frequently, even more frequently than works written in German. Thus,

TABLE 2
The degree of internationalization of seven leading sociological Journals: Number of articles (authors) quoted in different languages

	English articles	German Articles	French articles	Italian articles	Other languages	Total
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i> (120/4 + 5, 2015; 11 articles)	935 99,6%	–	–	1 (0,1%)	2 (Swedish) (0,2%)	938 100%
<i>American Sociological Review</i> (80/ 3, 2015; 8 articles)	735 99,2%	–	1 (0,1%)	–	5 (Japanese, Danish) (0,6%)	741 100%
<i>Sociology</i> (UK) (48/ 1, 2014; 10 articles)	464 97,3%	–	8 1,6%	–	5 (Swedish) 1,0%	477 100%
<i>Kölnher Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie</i> (G) (66/ 1, 2014; 4 articles)	133 52,9%	118 47,0%	–	–	–	251 100%
<i>Revue Française de Sociologie</i> (47/ 4, 2006; 7 articles*)	130 36,1%	–	223 61,9%	7 1,9%	–	360 100%
<i>Studi di Sociologia</i> (2014, 4 articles)	96 31,1%	2 (0,6)	23 7,4%	187 60,7%	–	308 99%
<i>Shakaigaku Hyoron</i> (Japanese Sociological Review) (65/ 2014, 8 articles, 66/ 2015, 28 articles)	448 29,9%	Japanese articles 954 63,7%	German, French 94 6,2%	Non-European languages 2 (0,1%)	–	1498 100%

*) Without two articles of non-French authors.

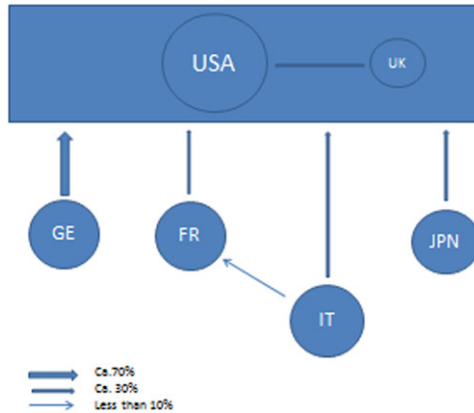


Figure 2. Quotation patterns in leading sociological journals in six countries: Percent of anglophone works cited (UK: authors in US institutions).

TABLE 3
National affiliations of quoted authors in the main articles of the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *American Sociological Review* and *Sociology* (Journal of the British Sociological Association)

National affiliation of the quoted (first) authors	Quotations in %		
	AJS	ASR	Sociology
	(vol.120, 2015, No.4)	(vol.80, 2015, No.3)	(vol.48, 2014, No.1)
USA	78,1%	87,2	38,7
United Kingdom	6,9%	2,0	46,7
Other countries	15,0%	10,8	14,5
Total	100%	100	99,9
(N*)	(330)	(195)	(62)

Note: In articles with more than one author, only the first author was included.

*) The N's refer to the number of authors quoted in the respective issues (which vary significantly in the number of articles).

they exhibit a certain “Anglophilism.”⁸ (3) The French, Italian and Japanese sociologists are clearly more focusing on works in their own nation. In addition, there is one rather weak cross-reference, that is, Italian authors who quote French works. (4) The same pattern emerges when we look at the institutional affiliation of the authors of articles (Table 3). In the AJS and ASR, the restriction to American authors is a little bit weaker than in linguistic terms, but also quite strong: 78% (AJS) and 87% (ASR), respectively, are authors working in US sociological institutions.

A rather surprising pattern emerges in the mutual quotations of British and American sociologists. The results in Table 3 show: About one third of the references in the articles of British sociologists are sociologists working in the USA. On the other side, however, American sociologists practically neglect British sociology. Thus, it is obviously not only the linguistic barrier, which prevents American sociologists from reading and quoting the work

of non-US sociologists, but mainly their nation-centeredness or parochialism. How is this possible? It may be true that British sociology is somewhat less strong than French and German sociology, due also to its late institutionalization on a broad scale (see also Calhoun 1987). However, today sociology is well established on most British universities; the *British Sociological Association* is one of the largest and most active organizations worldwide; it has over 1600 members and 40 Special Interest and Study Groups, it organizes Annual Conferences and edits several Journals and book series (see also Calhoun 2013; Holmwood and Scott 2014). Several British sociologists have gained worldwide recognition; British sociologists contributed significantly to social theory (e.g. A. Giddens, M. Archer) and research on class and inequality, industrial sociology, welfare states and elites (e.g. T.H. Marshall, W.G. Runciman, D. Glass, J. Goldthorpe, F. Parkin). The British Herbert Spencer, one of the “founders” of sociology, had a big impact on American sociology and inspired evolutionary thinking globally (Coser 1978:293–297; Scott 2014:55).

We can draw two general conclusions from this analysis. First, American sociologists exhibit an extremely high degree of national exclusiveness, closure or parochialism. This fact has been observed since long and we have referred to it above. M. D. Kennedy and M. A. Centeno (2013:668) came to the same conclusion in their comprehensive recent review of American sociology. This national parochialism of present-day American sociology contrasts sharply with practices among early American sociologists. The *American Journal of Sociology* is a good example. In its beginnings, this Journal was very open and internationally-minded. The first issue, edited by Albion W. Small, had seven foreign sociologists as Advising Editors (Shanas 1945:523). Many translations of important works of foreign sociologists were printed; the editor Small “was careful that sociology in the United States should not develop into a provincial science.” However, by 1920 “almost unnoticed, the foreign advisory editors had disappeared from its masthead and the practice of translation from foreign scholars had ended (Shanas 1945: 529). Half a century later, the *American Journal of Sociology* does very little to make works of foreign scholars known to American sociologists. Among the 129 books reviewed in the six issues of volume 120 (2014/15), just one book not written in English was included. John Lie (1995) has enumerated five factors which could explain the increasing parochialism of American sociology since 1945: The tradition of pragmatism which focuses on local problems; the increasing quantitative orientation; the division of Labor between anthropology and sociology, assigning the study of non-industrialized societies to the former; the massive growth of higher education; and the dominant evolutionary approach, including the idea of American exceptionalism. Here certainly Talcott Parsons has to be mentioned who was very influential from the 1940s till the 1960s; he explicitly argued that America represents the most highly developed society (see e.g. Parsons 1966). However, the parochialism of American sociology should also not be overstated. Other kinds of evidence give less negative view. Several influential American sociologists have explicitly developed a critical comparative or global perspective and carried out related research (e. g. Immanuel Wallerstein’s world systems theory, or Charles Tilly’ historical sociology). A specific contribution of US-sociology to global sociology is that the United States since the 1920s has absorbed students from many other countries around the world and till today host many renowned sociologists as full or part-time faculty members. In addition, American sociologists have contributed significantly to the establishment of international research projects

(such as the World Value Survey and ISSP) and many of them cooperate with colleagues in other countries in their research (see also Turner 2014).

A second finding is that national parochialism is not only an American characteristic. A considerable degree of nation-centrism seems to exist also in the case of German sociology. This can be shown in publications on European integration. It is a matter of fact that French intellectuals and politicians have made the most important contributions to this process (e.g. Saint-Simon, J. Monnet, R. Schuman, J. Delors). At the same time, however, French politicians and citizens have also contributed massively to its crises and delays. Thus, one could expect that also French sociology will have investigated this process in detail and this was in fact the case. In a study on *European Integration as an Elite Process*, not less than 21 books written in French were quoted (Haller 2008). There are also five comprehensive works on European integration by German sociologists; but three of them had not taken any notice of the French works; only two of them referred to a few of them.⁹ Tendencies toward a certain national parochialism have been found also for French sociology.

Thus, we must speak of a highly unequally, stratified pattern of communication within Western sociology.¹⁰ The predominance of English as the dominant international scientific language is one of the reasons (Flowerdew 2007). Between 1880 and 1980, a massive substitution has taken place in this regard: the proportion of all scientific publications in English rose from 36% to 64% (Hamel 2007:56). The second reason is the national parochialism of sociologists in the countries with large scientific communities. The third reason is the worldwide hegemony of the United States in economic, cultural and political terms. There exists also no strong “European sociology” which could counter the US-predominance (Fleck and Hönig 2014).

A short review of famous books by three national and internationally recognized sociologists

In the foregoing section I hypothesized that in some large countries with a well-developed sociological community, fights for scientific hegemony and for public attention are occurring and providing exceptional prestige and influence to single sociologists and their schools both within their nation and internationally. This thesis shall be tested here – albeit in a rather explorative, exemplary manner - by looking at the three famous sociologists in the USA, France and Germany and books published by them in the second half of the twentieth century. This is not to challenge the originality and relevance of their works which gained worldwide recognition and were translated into many languages. However, I want to hint again toward the social processes working in academia and outside of it leading toward an excessive attention to a few stars and a relative devaluation of many others. Three aspects are relevant in this regard: The particular academic influence of these authors, their addressing of relevant societal and political trends, and the congruence between the dominant “national ideology” and their own thinking.

The first author to be considered is Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) who has been the most influential sociologist from the 1940s till the late 1960s, both within the USA and worldwide with his main books *The Structure of Social Action* (published 1937), *The Social System* (1951) and *The System of Modern Societies* (1973). However, the increasing critique of his

work and his falling into oblivion since the 1970s are also an indication that his theory had serious limitations. In his work, Parsons was the first sociologist who developed a general “grand theory” whose aim was to provide a theoretical framework with which all social processes could be explained in a coherent way. For this aim, Parsons integrated not only the works of the sociological classics – notably Durkheim, Weber and Pareto – but also important insights from biology and physiology, Freudian psychology, and economics (A. Marshall). His voluntaristic theory of action and structural-functional systems theory must not be outlined here. The basic assumptions of the first are that human action is motivated not only utilitarian, but is always also based on social values and norms; his systems theory is based on a differentiation between specific functions which every system has to fulfill in order to survive; it is supplemented by a theory of evolution which argues that those institutions and systems will prevail in the long run which are best able to realize the most progressive values.

Why this author and his theory did for a considerable period become the undisputed theoretical leader of Western sociology? As indicated in the last but one Section, three factors may be mentioned here. The first is the admirable broad and deep intellectual range of Parsons’ work (Trevino and Smelser 2001). During his studies at the LSE in London and in Heidelberg, he gained first-hand knowledge of British economics and of German sociology at the time, most notably of the work of Max Weber. The reference to this and other classical authors little known at this time in America provided his work with high respectability. Throughout his life, Parsons entertained also close personal contacts with eminent sociologists and economists of this time. A second factor was his strategic position in the academic social scientific system in the United States. During his long teaching and influential professional activities at Harvard (1927-1993), one of the most vibrant intellectual centers of the US in that time, he was able to establish Harvard as the most important educational center for two or three generations of sociologists (among his influential pupils and colleagues were R.K. Merton, W. Moore, N. Smelser, R. Williams, V. Lidz). Thirdly, Parsons’ approach coincided very well with the American need for a societal and political ideology in this crisis-ridden war- and postwar times; his structural-functional approach focused much less on social differentiation and conflict as Pragmatism and the Chicago sociological school had done but on social and political integration and the respective institutions, including religious values (Winant 2007). The “harmonistic”, optimistic and to a considerable degree chauvinistic tone of Parsons theory – America as the worldwide highest developed and leading nation – was criticized from the 1960s on severely by American (e.g. C.W. Mill, A.W. Gouldner) and German scholars (e.g. R. Dahrendorf). His interpretation of Weber was considered to be erroneous in general and in many details (Cohen et al. 1975) and, as noted before, he lost his international influence utterly.¹¹

A paradigmatic representative of French sociology is certainly Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002). Also his work is interesting here because it got worldwide public recognition as probably no other sociologist before him¹² and this in spite of the fact that nearly all of his works refer to peculiar social structures of France. Bourdieu referred very little to other sociological theories and research in- and outside of France. The French “character” of Bourdieu’s book *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) can be shown in several regards. First, the authors which are cited by Bourdieu are mainly his own

prior works and works of other French sociologists and social researchers, mostly unknown outside France; they have carried out similar researches as Bourdieu and arrived at similar findings. No reference exists to authors in- and outside France who also investigated the problem central for him, the class and status structure of modern societies and their symbolic meaning.¹³ Second, Bourdieu refers frequently to Max Weber; however, his own position dissents in central regards from that of the German classic: The distinction between classes and estates (*Stände*), central for Weber, disappears altogether; while Weber rejected the assumption of a close connection between class situation and class consciousness and action, this distinction is blurred in many instances in Bourdieu's book. Third, for Bourdieu, human beings are mainly driven by power and status interests (Swartz 1997:42); this stands in contrast to Weber's basic assumption that human action is always motivated by interests and by values; Weber makes a sharp distinction between functionalist and causal explanation in sociology, Bourdieu refused to distinguish between the two. An example: In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* the authors (Bourdieu/Passeron (1977) propose the thesis that the educational system has no real emancipatory function and only reproduces and legitimizes existing social inequalities and hierarchies; the vast American literature on status attainment is neglected. This thesis cannot be proved empirically (Goldthorpe 2007). It also ignores the fundamental positive effect of educational expansion on women's emancipation.

How can the paradox be explained that Bourdieu as a paradigmatic "parochial" French sociologist got worldwide recognition? Four answers can be given to this question. First, Bourdieu's theory is quite simple (in effect, it includes only half a dozen central concepts), is easily applicable to any social field, and it seems to be quite critical, focusing on power and inequality. Second, Bourdieu's work is often characterized by a blending of factual-sober, scientific analysis and value-laden, time-critical writing and action. Media and students, often look for seemingly strong theories which can easily be applied in a critical manner to social problems. If the theses are illustrated with tables and figures, or with impressive life stories, these are accepted uncritically as a proof of the theory¹⁴ (Trepte et al. 2008; Watts 2014). Third, also Bourdieu's actions in the public and political arena made him very popular among leftist social movements and journalists. His fight against neoliberalism was received particularly well in France where a deeply entrenched anti-Americanism exists (Revel 2002). Fourth, a (possibly hidden) wish for intellectual scientific dominance may have been at work (Jenkins 1992:15). Bourdieu stubbornly fought against his potential competitors for the interpretation of social reality in France (e.g. J.P. Sartre, Lacan) or ignored them (e.g. R. Aron, R. Boudon). His name figures as author or coauthor of more than thousand publications;¹⁵ His name was put onto thousands of publications; however, such a practice is questionable in terms of scientific ethos if he had not written them at least partly. Bourdieu was able to produce a confident group of "orthodox" followers, but his concepts and theories have also encountered serious sociological criticisms from the beginning. Today, his work is still used by many (also in other academic disciplines) as a reference but is clearly declining since some time (Bittlingmayer 2002; Fröhlich and Rehbein 2014).

The third author to be considered here shortly is Ulrich Beck (1944–2015). Beck was a very original and one of the most prolific German sociologists. He published about two dozen books, first concentrating on work and inequality, later on the new global risks in modern societies, European integration, modernization and globalization. A central thesis of Beck was that we experience a trend toward individualization and (with A. Giddens and S.

Lash) he coined the concept of a second, “reflexive modernization” looking critically also on the role of science itself. In this and all other later works, he focused on the relevance of social movements and the purported need to enlarge sociology toward a cosmopolitan perspective, leaving behind the “methodological nationalism.” In this regard, his theory seems in fact to transcend the traditional “Western’-oriented style of thinking in sociology. Beck’s first very successful book *Risk Society* (1986) attracted extraordinary attention among German media and publics; the author became a real “star” invited to TV talks, lectures etc.

Why has Beck become so influential not only within Germany, but worldwide? A first reason for this was that the book which depicted catastrophes as the coming main threat for humanity was published shortly before the Atomic disaster of Chernobyl in the Ukraine in April 1986. The concept of “risk society” seemed suited very well to capture the new problems of modern complex technologies. Second, Beck’s book is typical for German sociology also because he takes up arguments well known among other notable postwar German sociologists (Haller 2006). They include the thesis that the traditional class and status structures of industrial, capitalist societies have been dissolved and a new, highly diverse structure of different situations of life and status groups has emerged; today all social groups enjoy some privileges and experience some deprivations. The thesis of “risk societies” re-assumes also traditional conservative ideas developed in German social thinking since the nineteenth century, including a view of a “total endangerment” of human society, due to anonymous powers, and skepticism against science (Mühlfeld 1996). In his book, Beck refers mainly to German authors; out of the 319 sources given in the index 78% are German ones. Most frequently mentioned by Beck is the book *Die atomare Bedrohung* (The atomic threat) a culture-critical work by the Austrian philosopher and writer Günther Anders. Beck’s book has been a big commercial success in Germany and was translated in three dozen other languages. This happened in spite of serious critiques from the side of sociologists which pointed to the broad and diffuse concept of “risks”, the downplaying of the basic sociological concepts of class and inequality, his ahistorical perspective including a somewhat naïve belief in the loss of significance of nation states (see, e.g. Martell 2009; Burgess et al. 2018).

SOCIOLOGY OUTSIDE THE WESTERN WORLD

It is impossible here to present an exhaustive discussion about the role of sociology in the non-Western world and its participation in international scientific communication. It seems indispensable, however, to give at least some hints concerning the presence of these sociologists at the global level, but also at the historical relevance of sociology in these regions (see also Martindale 1961; Bottomore and Nisbet 1978; Smith 1990; Patel 2010a; Kuhn and Weidemann 2010; Alatas and Sinha 2017).

First, it is not surprising that the asymmetry of international communication, noted already within Western sociology, is even much stronger when looking at the relations between the Western world and the countries outside this area. Sociologists from the “global South” which comprises the largest parts of the world population, are strongly underrepresented in international sociological associations and publications. A partial exception are Indian and Japanese sociologists (Japan, however, may be regarded as part of the global North). This is

also the immense social problems which exist in these regions get less sociological attention than those in the North or West; but also because in some of these countries and world regions sociology exhibits a respectable history and has produced notable works.

An example is Latin America where sociology was institutionalized at several universities already between 1900 and 1930. Sociologists from Brazil (e.g. Florestan Fernandes, Fernando H. Cardoso, 1995–2002 president of Brazil), Argentina (Gino Germani) and Mexico (Rodolfo Stavenhagen) wrote important books on agrarian sociology, ethnic and race relations, inequality and social problems, and the nation-state relationship (for an overview see Tavares-dos-Santos and Baumgarten 2006). Sociology was established as early as 1917–1919 in India at the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay. Influenced by British social anthropology, Indian sociologists produced many empirical studies. Today, more than half of all Indian universities include sociological departments and curricula, although most books used are written by foreign scholars and the quality of many courses leaves considerably to be desired (Patel 2010b; see also Mucha 2012).

A respectable history characterizes Japanese sociology. The first chair of sociology was established as early as 1893 at the University of Tokyo; its holder, Takebe Tongo, published the textbook *General Principles of Sociology* 1905–1908. The Japanese Sociological Society was established in the 1920s. In these early decades, Japanese sociology took over ideas mainly from Europe and had mainly a philosophical-theoretical orientation. Under US-influence after 1945, a steering toward empirical research took place (Yousuke 2010). Today, the Japanese Sociological Association is the second largest worldwide and sociologists have an extraordinarily high publication output (Lie 1996: 59). However, the development of Japanese sociology exhibits rather clearly the problems of the influence of confined Western thinking. Ruth Benedict, the author of one of the most influential first works on Japanese society (*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, published 1946) had never been in Japan. Although full of valuable insights, it exhibited a tendency present in many other works, namely to present Japan as a unique society and cultures. In these approaches, inequalities and differences are overlooked, they are insensitive to historical transformations and they tend to contrast two asserted uniform unities, the West with non-West. However, present-day Japanese sociology is also self-critical because of its continuing disparity between theories and empirical studies with the consequence that much research is irrelevant for the solution of social problems (Nakao 1998; Hogetsu 2000).

Looked at from inside, sociologists in all these countries seem also to be quite self-contained. Table 2 shows that three fourths of the quoted authors in the articles in a leading Japanese sociological Journal are Japanese sociologists and social scientists. This is a surprisingly similar proportion as in the case of French and Italian sociologists. These three countries also share the two characteristics of having their own national language and a large national sociological community. In India, for instance, the situation might be different. Here, already in 2000 about 100.000 students got a BA, and 6000 a postgraduate degree in sociology; the number of teachers amounted to 10.000 (Patel 2010b); the *Indian Sociological Association* (ISS) had 4450 members in 2017 (see also Mondal n.d.).¹⁶ Indian sociologists exhibit more openness toward the Western sociological community certainly also because English is used as *lingua franca* in higher education.

What are the reasons why non-Western sociologists are so weakly represented in world sociology? Again, we can mention three factors here. The first is the issue of

language, discussed before. In China and Japan, for instance, a good command of English is still not widespread, even among academics. How could this barrier be removed or at least attenuated? It seems improbable that significant numbers of Western sociologists will learn the languages of those countries, including Chinese which is the mother tongue of the largest number of people worldwide. Only two options seem to exist. One is that more works of sociologists from these countries are translated into English. The other is that the knowledge of English becomes more widespread among sociologists in these countries.

The second reason may be connected with the general quality of higher education and scientific research. Today, the relatively “cheap” sociological curricula have been established in most larger universities around the world. As a consequence, in many countries thousands of students obtain degrees of sociology. However, a strong expansion of higher education within a short time often leads to a deterioration of quality of education (for Africa see Webster 2004; Goujon et al. 2017). A related problem is the fact that the salaries of academic teachers are so low that they are constrained to accept consultancy work and other secondary employment to enhance their income, thus leaving little time for research and publication.

A third factor relevant for the low level of internationalization of sociology in some non-Western countries is the lack of political freedom and independence of science. A case in point is Russia (although it is certainly part of the Western world). In Russia, politics has always played an important role for the development of sociology; higher education and research in general are still quite state-dependent; Russian sociologists are dissatisfied about the way how the state treats them (Zdravomyslova 2010:147). The situation might be even more problematic in China. Although this country has made science and research a central element of its extremely successful process of industrialization and modernization since the 1980s, some of the traditional problems of a highly centralized and non-democratic political system remain: A preference for top-down megaprojects at the expense of smaller, more spontaneous studies; the lack of autonomy of science; the restriction of social science to the task of ideological mobilization of society (Yuhua and Yuan 2010; Christmann-Budian 2012). A very difficult situation for sociology exists also in theocratic Islamic states, like Iran and Saudi Arabia. During and after the Iranian Islamic revolution in 1979, thousands of intellectuals emigrated, universities were cleansed of un-Islamic “Western” and secular elements; sociology in particular was seen with suspicion and came under pressure (Mahdi 2010). A strong, empirically based sociology in all these countries would be particularly necessary for two reasons. First, it would provide a basis for internal reforms. In Russia, the preference of sociologists with an international orientation was strongly correlated with general liberal and reformist attitudes (Sokolov 2017). Also an open, modern Islam can well make a positive contribution in this regard (Momin 2011). Second, good sociological research in these countries is necessary in order to provide Western sociologists, policy makers and the public with reliable information about these societies. At present, such information is limited and typically biased. A content analysis of 40 American sociological textbooks published between 2001 and 2015 showed that the (few) references to Saudi Arabia were mainly negative (Al-Quazzaz 2016; see also Haller 2003).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Four factors have been identified in Section I as being relevant for the degree of international communication in sociology: the level of socioeconomic and cultural development, the language of a country, the size of the national scientific community and fights for public attention and hegemony of single authors and their schools. Three source of empirical evidence have been used to test these hypotheses: the participation of sociologists from different countries in the ESA- und ISA-congresses; respective patterns of citation in sociological Journals; and case studies of three famous sociological authors and their books. It seems that all of the aforementioned four factors are quite relevant; the hypotheses can be proved also with reference to other studies. It is out of question that sociologists from more developed countries – Western Europe and North America – are much more strongly represented at international congresses and this has to do with the strength of their national sociological traditions (see also Dubrow et al. 2018). Language seems to play an additional, independent role. Sociologists from English-speaking countries are evidently more active internationally than others. In the case of small West and North European countries both factors may coincide and produce a disproportionately high international openness and participation. An inhibiting factor, however, seems to be a very large national sociological community. If such a nation – as in the case of the United States - is also leading in terms of economic and political power, this leads to an strongly reduced open-mindedness toward publication outside the country and an astonishing high level of national parochialism. Finally, also some exploratory evidence was presented concerning the effects of individual sociologists' efforts to gain national and international prominence, by looking at one famous author from the USA; France and Germany.

Overall, it is more than evident that the international sociological communication today is limited significantly by social and linguistic barriers and a considerable national narrow-mindedness particularly of Western sociologists. This communication is far from constituting a universal and symmetrical community of science: American sociologists are much less concerned about developments in all other countries; English-speaking sociologists neglect work not written in English; most Western sociologists disregard sociological research outside of America and Europe in spite the fact that large sociological communities exist in countries like India or Japan (Patel 2010a). This strong asymmetry of international scientific communication must be considered as a violation of the principle of fairness in science (Van Parijs 2007). It implies also a reduction of the potential for the scientific performance and progress of sociology. This neglect applies also to non-European authors who can be considered as forerunners or even early "classics" of sociology (Tyriakian 1986; Alatas and Sinha 2017). It is a general fact that human and technical research capacities are underdeveloped in the global South; this applies also to sociology and social research. Very few Western sociologists carry out systematic research in these countries which comprise the majority of world population and have to cope with the greatest social problems worldwide – problems, often caused by Western powers, particularly the USA, through military interventions and crude form of capitalist exploitation contradicting human rights and international law.

The world-wide communication patterns between sociologists and their institutions do not form a stratified class system, but rather a caste-like system of segregation and top-down disregard. In the social sciences, no surplus is transferred from the periphery to the core; rather

processes of condescension, intellectual neglect and national parochialism from the side of Western sociologists prevail. Since their financial, technical and human capital assets are much stronger than those of sociologists in the global South, the latter are strongly disadvantaged when it comes to carry out high-quality research and publish its results. What could be done in order to improve this situation? It is certainly the case that the development of the two aspects of the discipline of sociology – its intellectual power and its character as an organizational container of resources and power – have diverged to some extent since some decades (Wallerstein 2004; Kuhn 2016). It seems necessary that the social sciences and sociology should re-orient themselves and become more conscious of their universal mission. Three aspects are relevant here (see also Therborn 2000; Kuhn and Weidemann 2010).

The first concerns the rise of English as the uncontested world language in science. It is obvious that this development brings more advantages with it than disadvantages also for sociology. However, new problems are emerging in this regard for the humanities and social sciences (see also Hamel 2007; Flowerdew 2007). Scientists from non-English speaking countries are handicapped to a certain degree; their papers submitted in English are often rejected mainly because of linguistic and stylistic problems (Freeman and Robbins 2006; Guardiano et al. 2007). This can lead to a predominance of Western perspectives and impede that important new discoveries and developments are recognized internationally (Coulmas 2007: 11). Several concrete measures could be developed in this regard: Scientists from non-English, particularly developing countries, should be supported to learn to write good papers in English (Freeman and Robbins 2006); researchers and students from the South should be assisted to participate in international conferences; more conferences should be organized in the South; more joint papers of authors from different countries should be published (Carvalho et al. 2014). Every sociologist around the world should be able to master at least one second language; in this way, he or she could incorporate or even make his own research in a country with a different language. All major universities should offer courses in world languages (like Arabic or Chinese) now largely ignored (Coulmas 2007). Finally, it would be necessary that sociological teaching and writing in non-English countries should also be done in the national or local language. There are several reasons for this: Students can hardly acquire a new science if they have to learn it only in a foreign language; sociologists must be able to communicate the results of their research to other professionals and to the general public (Burawoy 2005); if young academics are educated only in English they will be estranged from the culture of their own society and societal status differences will increase (see also Bernal 1969; Shapin 1995).

The second aspect concerns the international openness of sociology. It is frequently complained that sociology lacks a common, coherent paradigm which is supported by all members of the profession (Levine 1995; Bögenhold 2000; Kaesler 2014). Such a paradigm would increase its prestige and its public and political influence (Kneer and Schroer 2009:7). Nevertheless, we should not abandon the nation-state as an important base and unit of analysis altogether as some authors claim (Beck and Grande 2010). The understanding of transnational communication must include the analysis of the structural and cultural characteristics of national societies. The demand to overcome the division between sociology and social anthropology (Nakane 1970; Goody 1982) makes much sense from this perspective since the former is focusing mainly on countries of the global North, the latter on those of the South. Such a disciplinary

opening would also help to overcome a view of sociology as the science of the Western world which is seen as the universal model of modern societies (see also Kuhn 2016; Keim 2016). As sociologists we have a double task: To look critical at any social theory, but also to consider the possibility that all theories established in Europe and America might be biased to a certain degree. In this regard, also the tendency of “canonizing” a few authors as the sole classics of sociology leads to a narrowing down of sociology’s intellectual scope (Connell 1997). In this regard, also a strengthening of contacts with sociologists from large sociological communities outside the Western world is the imperative (See also Ooomen 2014).

Finally, a precondition for a truly global sociology and sociological communication to emerge it would also be essential that sociology as an academic curriculum and profession can freely be established and fostered in all countries around the world. In periods and countries where authoritarian regimes seized political power, sociologists were always among the first to become suspects of the regimes. In the 1930s, many sociologists from fascist Germany and Italy were expelled, although several of them had also supported the regimes (for Germany see Christ and Sutherland 2014). In Latin America, sociologists had to escape from the 1950s till the end of the century from many countries which were taken over by authoritarian military regime. Fortunately, several of these found shelter in the United States and Mexico; here, they contributed to the development of sociology (Tavares-dos-Santos and Baumgarten 2006). Today, most restricted and isolated from international communication are the sociologists working in countries with semi- or fully authoritarian systems, such as in Islamic theocratic states (Iran, Saudi Arabia) and China. Dubrow et al. (2018) have shown statistically that the level of democracy of a country is related positively to the degree of international participation in ISA conferences. The precondition for the autonomous and creative development of sociology all over the world is that open societies and democratic political institutions are established everywhere. But sociology itself can contribute to democratic transitions and consolidation as it did, for instance, in postwar Germany and Japan (Yousuke 2010).

NOTES

1. See www.asanet.org and Bögenhold 2000:11.
2. Examples are Acta Sociological (Scandinavian Sociological Association); The Czech Sociological Review; Corvinus. Journal of Sociology and Social Policy (Budapest); The Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences; The Japanese Sociological Review.
3. The ASA was founded in 1905; the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie* in 1908.
4. The International Sociological Association has about 60 national sociological associations as collective members (on its history see Platt 1998).
5. The British Sociological Association was established in 1956, the Association Francaise de Sociologie in 1962.
6. A similar high rate of publications in German was found for German psychologists (Schui et al. 2013).⁴
7. However, a small part of the quoted articles refers to translations from other languages.
8. However, we must be aware that the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie* may not be representative of German sociology as a whole. It is used mainly by empirical researchers with an international orientation.
9. The five works were: Richard Münch, *Das Projekt Europa* (1983); Maurizio Bach, *Die Bürokratisierung Europas* (1999); Ulrich Beck/ Edgar Grande, *Das kosmopolitische Europa* (2004); Stefan Immerfall, *Europa. Politisches Einigungswerk und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung* (2006); Georg Vobruba, *Die Dynamik Europas* (2007). The authors who quoted a few French works were Maurizio Bach and Richard Münch.
10. The same is true in economics (Sutter et al. 2002) and in political science (Bull and Newell 2008).

11. However, later on, his approach was later on was resumed by sociologists inside (J. Alexander) and outside the USA (N. Luhmann and R. Münch in Germany, P.P. Donati in Italy).

12. When he deceased on January 23, 2002, many leading newspaper throughout the world reported on their front page about his death; according to the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (5/2002), he was the most frequently quoted European social scientist.

13. One could mention here Alexis de Tocqueville, Thorstein Veblen, E.D. Baltzell (author of the book *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of National Upper Class* 1958), C.W. Mills or the German sociologists Theodor Geiger and Ralf Dahrendorf whose works appeared not long before *The Distinction*.

14. In fact, many of the tables in *The Distinction* show rather weak social and cultural differences between social classes.

15. Probably the most comprehensive list of publications has been compiled by two Austrian students, Gerhard Fröhlich and Ingo Mörth; see <http://hyperbourdieu.jku.at/startger.htm>.

16. See <http://www.insoso.org/>.

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