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Communalism and Internationalism
Publication Norms and Structures in International Social Science

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Abstract

This article presents a historical-sociological case-study that addresses the "enactment" of the ideals of communalism and internationalism in the social sciences. It focuses on the transformations in/of two journals, *Isis* and *International Sociology*, which deliberately attempt to enhance international social science. Our analyses of the publication practices in these journals point to the skewed global orientation in/of these journals, despite their outspoken internationalist ideals. Internationalization looks more like Americanization, when we compare the publication practices in international social science journals with their own ideal of balanced national representation.

Keywords
Merton's CUDOS; sociology of science; internationalization; Americanization; journals; publication pattern

Introduction

In a well-known paper on the normative structure of science, originally published in 1942, Robert Merton put forward "four sets of institutional imperatives," which "are taken to comprise the ethos of modern science" (1973: 270). These sets of institutional imperatives were: communalism; universalism; disinterestedness; and organized scepticism (CUDOS). Communalism referred to the institutional imperative for the public communication of research findings. "Secrecy is the antithesis of this norm; full and open communication its enactment." (1973: 274)[1]

Merton's view on the normative structure of science has often been criticized, in part while it has given way to various a-historical interpretations. Merton himself maintained that these norms and imperatives were functional, that they could provide for "the fullest measure of development" of the scientific system (1973: 270). But the institutionalization of these norms and imperatives may also

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[1] In the original, pre-Cold War formulation, Merton spoke of the imperative of "communism." In later versions and reprints of his article, he introduced the term "communalism." But he kept distinguishing this approach towards knowledge from the focus on "private property" in capitalist economies.

be historicized. We may also inquire into the historical transformations of different aspects of the communication practices established within particular scholarly contexts.

Internationalism is an important implication of the imperative of "full and open communication." A variety of institutional arrangements, such as international journals, international conferences, and international associations, aspired and aspire to a global role. In significant ways, such institutional arrangements shaped and shape the circulation and reception of scholarly work at the global level (Schofer 1999; Heilbron 2014). They have also come to define what internationalism means in the current academic world. In this paper, we present a historical-sociological case study that addresses several aspects of the "enactment" of communalism and internationalism in the social sciences.

Our case study focuses on the transformations in/of two journals, which deliberately attempt(-ed) to enhance international social science. The first one is *Isis*, a well-established journal that is now mostly associated with 'history of science,' but that had a much broader orientation in the first half of the twentieth century. The second one is *International Sociology*, an official journal of the International Sociological Association, which since 1986 has explicitly intended to publish work of authors from diverse regions of the world. On the basis of analyses of the publication practices in/of these journals, we intend to discuss internationalism in/of the social sciences.

We will introduce some theoretical and methodological reflections that have guided our historical-sociological analyses followed by a brief presentation and discussion of relevant changes in the communication practices in the journals *Isis* and *International Sociology*. In our discussion, we will pay particular attention to changes in language of publication, institutional affiliation, and internationalism of the citation environment. For a period of about one century—from the early twentieth to early twenty-first centuries—the following analyses seek to discern the norms and structures that shaped and shape predominant publication practices in international social science.

International communication

Before analysing the historical dynamics of international communication in the social sciences via a case study, it is useful to present some general observations and reflections on the establishment of an international infrastructure for the communication of research findings.

Historically, it is useful to pay attention to different 'phases' in international scholarly commitments. Although the 'take-off' of the internationalization of the social sciences is mostly situated after the Second World War, internationally oriented scholarly institutions—such as congresses and journals—had already emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Within the field of social statistics, for example, international congresses were held throughout the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the first being organized and convened in 1853 in Brussels by the Belgian "social physicist" Adolphe Quetelet. On a bi- or tri-annual basis, these congresses brought together hundreds of scholars and state employees to discuss the technical, scientific and organizational progress of their work.

The development of sociology took place at a somewhat later date, but its international infrastructure was created almost simultaneously with the first national or local sociological institutions. In 1893, the first international association for sociology, the France-based *Institut international de Sociologie*, was founded by René Worms. Shortly before founding the IIS, Worms had also launched the explicitly internationalist *Revue International de Sociologie*. After that, he launched a related book

series, the *Bibliothèque International de Sociologie.* On behalf of the IIS, he also founded the *Annales de l'Institut International* and organized a series of international congresses, the first five of which were held in Paris between 1894 and 1903 (Wils and Rasmussen 2012: 1275).

Sociology's international ambitions were not unique, although an important difference between it and other disciplines needs to be noted. At the end of the nineteenth century, several disciplines had already gained prominence in particular national contexts and university systems. Building upon such national and local settings, international networking was used to widen the geographical reach. In other disciplines, which were less established and institutionalized at the time, including sociology, it worked the other way around; internationalization preceded academic recognition. It was a way to acquire scientific legitimacy at the national level within national university systems.[2]

Overall, the twentieth-century expansion and institutionalization of the social sciences was closely entangled with the expansion of nation states. In many ways, both institutionally and intellectually, the social sciences became institutionalized along national lines. The prevalence of methodological nationalism in the social sciences might be seen to ensue from this historical relationship (Chernilo 2008). Most contemporary histories of sociology are also written as national disciplinary histories, as histories of American sociology (Calhoun 2008; Turner 2014), Austrian sociology (Fleck 2016), Belgian sociology (Vanderstraeten and Louckx 2018), Danish sociology (Kropp 2016), French sociology (Heilbron 2015), Irish sociology (Fanning and Hess 2015), Polish sociology (Bucholc 2016), and so on.

On this national basis, international exchange expanded rapidly in more recent decades. Several scholarly institutions, including organizations such as the *International Sociological Association* (ISA), were set up to bridge the gaps between national disciplinary communities and to facilitate global cooperation. At present, the social sciences might be seen as an increasingly global system, not only because they have come to include scholars from virtually all regions of the world, but also because global exchanges have become organized through several closely related institutional forms, such as international conferences, international associations, and international journals (Heilbron 2014). Hence, we may also analyse how these institutional forms have come to channel and control publication and communication practices within international social science.

As well as conferences, scholarly journals have often been used as a mode of communication and circulation of knowledge on an extended scale. But these journals do not just enable or facilitate "full and open communication" between the members of the scientific community. Importantly, these journals and their editorial boards also allow for 'boundary work.' They allow separating a small body of 'legitimate' scholarly work from other enterprises making it possible to maintain a distinction between academically legitimate forms of scholarly work and merely popular or wholly 'unscientific' undertakings (Heilbron 2015). Scholarly journals are often entitled to claim a monopoly on defining the legitimate forms of scholarly work in a particular discipline.

Seen in this light, these journals and the articles therein 'control' the formation of scientific disciplines or specializations. The journals and their editorial boards put up a barrier, but also grant a minimal form of academic recognition to the published research findings. They both secure the

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[2] But an international outlook was not a sufficient condition for academic success. As is well known, Worms' initiatives did not receive much academic recognition in France (Heilbron 2015: 93-98). In terms of acquiring national visibility and institutional support, Durkheim's school of sociology was more successful.

shared values of a scientific community and endorse what the scientific community takes to be certified knowledge. And while the authors of articles typically accept the specialization chosen by the journal to which they submit their work, they also continually modify this specialization by the cumulative effect of their published findings (Stichweh 1984; Abbott 1999; Vanderstraeten 2010).

It may be added that journals influence the temporal structure of academic work. The periodicity of appearance presses scholars to publish at regular intervals; 'publish or perish'. The institutionalized publication imperative even discredits research that has not yet produced this kind of output. As long as no results are published (in peer-reviewed or refereed journals), it is difficult—both institutionally and psychologically—to close off particular research projects. Researchers only gain freedom to do something else, to move to new research projects, once they have been able to communicate the results of previous commitments to their peers via 'appropriate' venues.

In this sense, scholarly journals specify Merton's communication or publication imperative. They carry, channel, and give shape to the communication processes within scientific disciplines. They do so in ways that pre-structure who and how one can contribute to the development of particular lines of research (Bazerman 1988; Grafton 1997). 'Scientometric' instruments that have been developed in the past decades—such as the *Journal Citation Reports* and *Journal Performance Indicators*—have moreover strengthened the relevance of 'high-ranked' journals in ongoing scientific communication processes.

It may be added that in recent decades instruments, such as *Web of Science* (WoS) or *Scopus*, have become important tools for the evaluation of the quality of scientific research. They are used to monitor and control the publication practices of researchers from a broad range of disciplines; their statistics are used to discuss the success, impact, and visibility of research conducted in various national and/or local settings (Schofer 1999; Espeland and Sauder 2007). For scholars and science administrators alike, publications and citations included in these databases have become the difference that makes a difference. Currently statistics, such as impact factors and rankings, not only provide a powerful vision of what 'international' has come to mean in research, they have also been incorporated into the everyday 'world' of a variety of academic systems. Because of their significance for this communication process, we may also use the history of journals included in these databases to shed light on the historical enactments of Merton's imperative.

In what follows, we will present empirical analyses of the changing forms of internationalism in the communication processes in the social sciences. This includes a case study of two scholarly journals, one founded before the First World War (*Isis*) and one long after the Second World War (*International Sociology*), which explicitly attempt to enhance global cooperation and international social science. Both journals are also indexed by most bibliometric and scientometric tools. Our empirical analyses will allow us to explore the relation between communalism and internationalism and discuss the tensions between the local and national level, on the one hand, and global horizons of scholarly communication on the other. While we deal with both journals as source material, we will quote from their publications by referring to the journal, publication year and page numbers.

Isis

The journal *Isis* is now associated with history of science, but its disciplinary orientation was initially much broader. When *Isis* was founded in 1913 by the Belgian-born George Sarton, its *Comité de Patronage* included prominent figures with diverse disciplinary orientations and affiliations, such

as Émile Durkheim, Karl Lamprecht, Henri Poincaré, and Arnold van Gennep. In *Isis'* programmatic opening essay, Sarton put forward his view on the identity of a yet-to-be-established field of study. He defined it as a "psycho-sociological investigation" into the history of science (1913: 36-37).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, this scholarly interest followed from the expansion and increasing specialization within science. Several other periodicals devoted to the history of science also appeared at that time, including *Janus: Archives Internationales pour l'Histoire de la Me ́decine et pour la Ge ́ographie Me ́dicale* (1896-1990), *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* (1902-1942), *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* (1909-1922), and *Archeion: Archivio di storia della scienza* (1919-1934). For various reasons, however, most of these periodicals did not survive. It was, at least in part, due to the entrepreneurial skills of Sarton that *Isis* became the flagship journal in its field.[3]

The first issues of *Isis* were published in Sarton's place of residence in Belgium (Wondelgem-lez-Gand). Almost immediately, however, the First World War interrupted its publication. After the German invasion of Belgium, Sarton emigrated via England to the United States. The second issue of the second volume of his journal could only be published in 1919. Its new subtitle also specified its broad remit: *An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and Civilization*. For Sarton, studies on the history of civilization could serve to shed light on the social benefits of the diffusion of scientific principles and scientific findings (see Pyenson 2007: 186-191).

A few years after the First World War, Sarton cofounded the *History of Science Society*. HSS was closely tied to the journal *Isis*. Its primary purpose was "to promote the study of the History of Science, and more particularly to support the publication of *Isis*, which has become its official organ." It had to "aid in maintaining and in assuring the future of a journal that is recognized at home and abroad as a powerful factor in stimulating the study of the history of science" (*Isis* 1924: 4, 6). In 1938, Sarton also started the publication of *Osiris*, a periodical companion to *Isis*, in which he included longer (at times book-length) manuscripts on the history and sociology of science.

Sarton ended up at Harvard University. At Harvard, he and Talcott Parsons jointly supervised the Ph.D. dissertation of Robert Merton (titled *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England*, and first published as volume 4 in Sarton's *Osiris*). Merton also became Associate Editor of *Isis* in the late 1930s, first responsible for what was called "the social aspects of science" and, as of 1942, for "sociology" (see also Merton 1985, 1988). Sarton remained the chief editor of *Isis* for four decades, until 1952. *Isis'* subtitle was subsequently changed to *An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and its Cultural Influences*, which it remains so today. The institutional ties between *Isis* and HSS also remained; subscriptions to *Isis* are still concurrent with membership in HSS. At present, HSS counts some 900 institutional and 2300 individual members.

From the outset, Sarton tried to address an international audience with *Isis* (Pyenson and Verbruggen 2009). In 1913, his journal appeared as a multi-lingual quarterly review with contributions in French (Sarton's own native language), German, Italian and English. In 1919, however, when the publication of *Isis* was resumed in the New World, Sarton made a plea for one lingua franca in sci-

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[3] A good indication of the central role of Sarton and *Isis* in this field of study is the establishment, in 1955, of the George Sarton Medal, a lifetime achievement award, which is presented as "the most prestigious award of the History of Science Society" (http://www.hssonline.org/about/society_sarton.html). This "most prestigious award" is not only an explicit tribute to George Sarton and his accomplishments; it is at the same time an award that reaffirms the leading position of Sarton's brainchild *Isis* in the field.

ence. After a short French language "Avant-Propos," he reiterated in an English text *Isis'* commitment to the formation of a globalized community devoted to the history of science, but also communicated his intention to henceforth "restrict its publication to one language instead of four" (*Isis* 1919: 321). For Sarton, *Isis'* "poly-glottism" had been "a serious and unnecessary obstacle to its circulation and consequently to the diffusion of the history of science" (*Isis* 1919: 321). He concluded his text by stating that he himself would from now on only write and publish in English.

Sarton continued to publish in English until the end of his life. Throughout his editorship, he also continued to defend the choice for one language in order to support the international character of (the history and sociology of) science. Shortly after the Second World War, in a comment revealingly entitled "The Tower of Babel," he observed that "during the last decades, the number of languages employed for scientific purposes has considerably increased" (*Isis* 1948: 14). But he immediately added his own point of view: "In the field of science the excessive multiplicity of languages is not only objectionable, but stupid and wicked. The scientific needs of mankind are served best by the monopoly or quasi-monopoly of a few languages." (*Isis* 1948: 14)[4] The material published in *Isis* allows us to shed light on the transformations of *Isis'* internationalist aspirations.
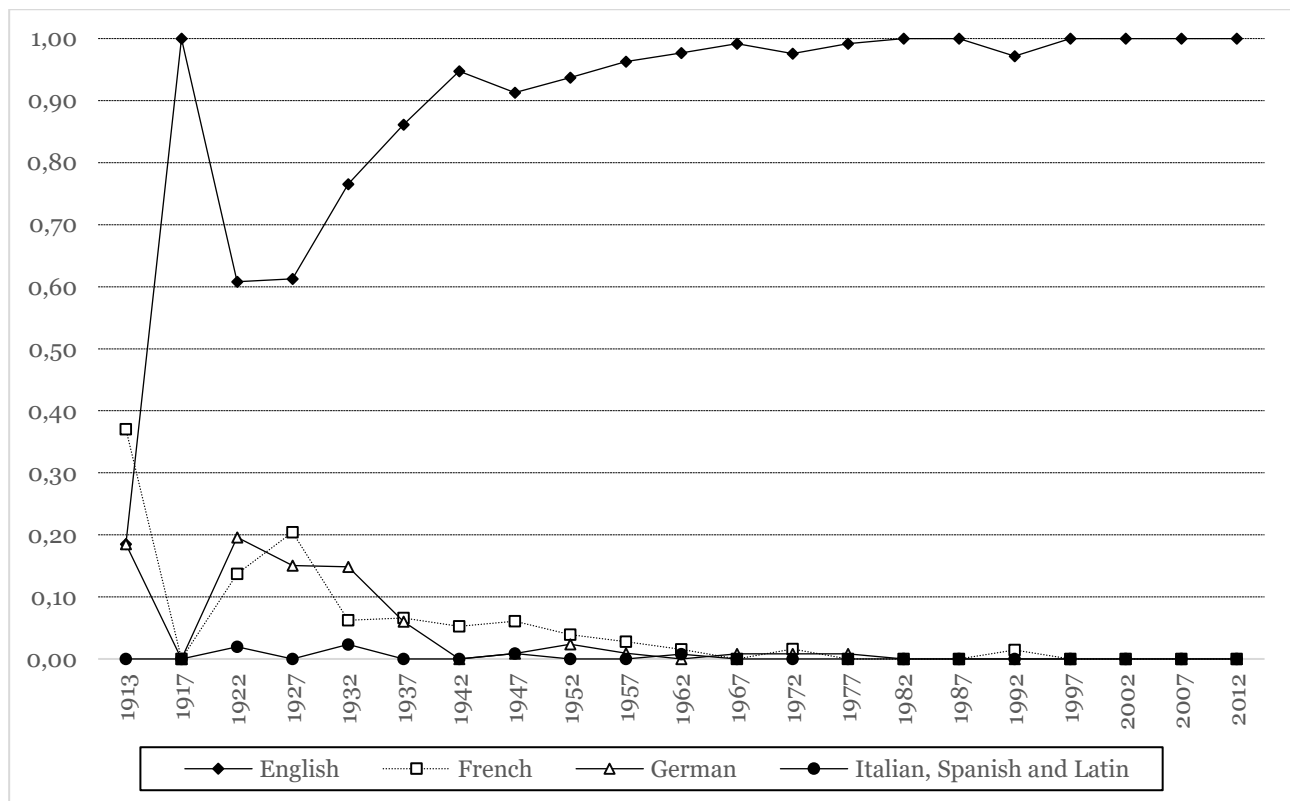

Figure 1: Language of the articles published in Isis, 1913-2013

Figure 1 provides an overview of the language of all articles published in *Isis* since its foundation. As this figure shows, *Isis* would continue to publish a limited number of contributions in other European languages for quite some years after the Great War. The explanation for this multi-lingual trajectory was probably rather prosaic. In the interwar period, the journal often had little or no backlog

[4] Not all members of Sarton's editorial team shared his point of view. Merton, for example, had a quite different view on Sarton's 'language policy' and the 'gatekeeping role' of the editorial team (see Merton 1973, 1985). Until the period of the Second World War, however, *Isis* was very much Sarton's journal.

of articles. Sarton indeed often had to actively solicit submissions within his personal network (which in part was still situated in Europe). Altogether, contributions in six – not four – "international" languages were published. There appeared one Latin text in *Isis*: a reprint of a fourteenth-century treatise on trigonometric methods (*Isis* 1923: 99-115). Sarton also included a few publications in Italian or Spanish. In the 1920s, 1 out of 5 published articles could be written in either French or German. There was nevertheless a relatively sharp increase in the number of articles written in English during the interwar period. The last non-English language article was included in 1974; it was a French language contribution by a Québec-based historian of science (*Isis* 1974: 212-228). During the last four decades, *Isis* has been an English-language journal.
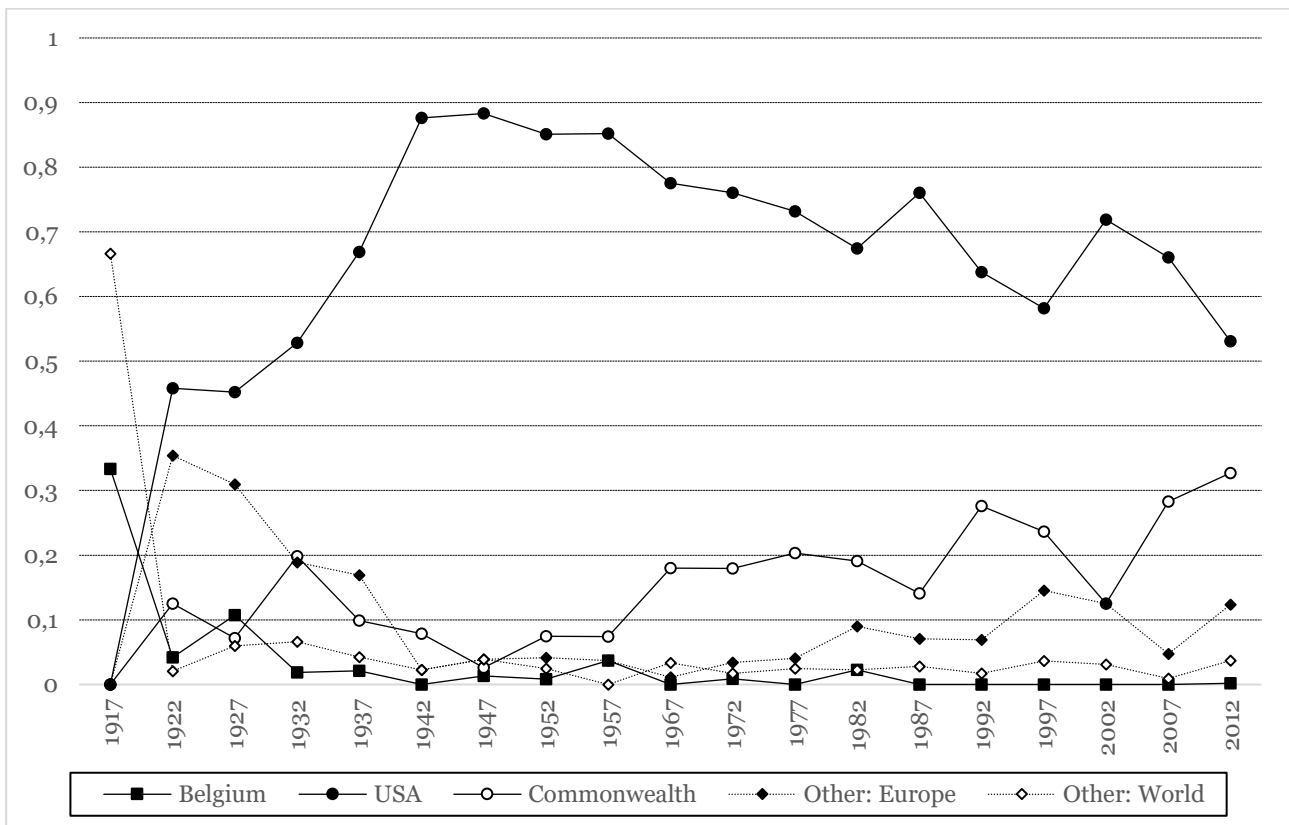

Figure 2: Country of institutional affiliation of the first author of the articles published in Isis, 1913-2013

Figure 2 should be read in conjunction with Figure 1. Figure 2 provides an overview of the countries of institutional affiliation of the first author of the articles published in *Isis*. It displays changes in the geographical distribution of the members of the scientific community who have been able to publish in *Isis*. After *Isis* had left Europe for the United States (in World War I), the number of US American contributions increased strongly. Around the middle of the twentieth century, almost 90% of the authors were affiliated with US American institutions. Of course, this shift also reflected practical difficulties caused by World War II, such as the problems of obtaining publishable material from the occupied territories. But after World War II, the US American dominance decreased only gradually. At present, two thirds of the authors list institutional addresses within the United States. Concomitant with the rise of the number of US contributions, there was a sharp decrease in the number of European contributions in the first decades after *Isis'* foundation. Only from the 1970s onwards have European authors again become more visible on the pages of *Isis*. But from the middle of the twentieth century onwards, most non-US contributions have come from authors from other English-

speaking countries, such as Canada, England and Australia. Seen in this light, *Isis* has not only become an English-language journal, but also a journal of the English-language world.[5]

In the field of history and sociology of science, *Isis* is, arguably, the oldest journal that still appears. Its leading role in the field has never been disputed. According to its official websites, it remains "the widest circulation journal in the history of science."[6] As the analyses show, however, *Isis* is also a journal that heavily features research conducted at US American universities and research institutions. The post-war expansion of this field of study has also reinforced the scientific authority of communication media and individuals with US American credentials. For Sarton, who himself moved from Belgium to the USA (Harvard University), "the scientific needs of mankind are served best by the monopoly or quasi-monopoly of a few languages" (*Isis* 1948: 14). However, our analyses also indicate that not all of mankind is able to actively participate in the disciplinary communication in an English-language *Isis* to the same degree. Thus, despite good intentions, the norm of communalism does not always go hand in hand with internationalism.

International Sociology

The First World War had a negative impact on many experiments of internationalization. In spite of some new initiatives, such as the creation of the League of Nations (1920), the interwar years are mostly characterized as a period of national closure and mounting international hostilities. The early history of *Isis* provides an illustration of this period of 'involution'. A renewed expansion of international scholarly associations only occurred after the Second World War.

In the years after the Second World War, UNESCO, an intergovernmental organization founded in November 1945, began to play an important role in "developing the international mind" (UNESCO 1946: 14, cited in Rangil 2013: 67). It initiated several international disciplinary associations, including the International Economic Association (IEA), the International Sociological Association (ISA), and the International Political Science Association (IPSA) (see Platt 1998; Coakley and Trent 2000). In 1949, UNESCO also started the publication of its *International Social Science Bulletin*.

UNESCO and its international associations mimicked the general UN model of representation. ISA and its sister associations initially made use of a system of national association membership, in which all nations were treated equally. The international associations aimed to incorporate all nations into the international social science community; their legitimacy was thought to rest on both national diversity and equality of representation. At that time, UNESCO's hope was that this model of internationalization would advance social science just as much as internationalized social science would advance the international community (Selcer 2009; Rangil 2013; Duedahl 2016).

To assure a balanced national representation in these international associations, efforts were undertaken to widen membership. In the period around 1950, UNESCO stimulated the establishment of national disciplinary societies. For instance, the *Österreichische Gesellschaft für Soziologie,* the *Sociedad Mexicana de Sociologia* and the *Société Belge de Sociologie* were founded in 1950, while the *British Sociological Association* was set up in 1951. All of these national associations soon joined the ISA (de Bie, 1986; Platt 1998: 17), thus there was a strong interdependence between the national and

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[5] Recently the editorship of *Isis* has returned to the Old Continent; the Dutch historian of science Floris Cohen assumed office in 2015. We might therefore expect an increase in the share of European (and especially of Dutch) publications in *Isis* in the near future.

[6] See http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/journals/isis/about.

international level. International organizations and associations, such as UNESCO and the ISA, are both the product of nation states and serve to justify the existence of the national level.

In the ISA, general individual membership was introduced in 1970. This organizational change was explicitly intended to further the mission of internationalization. Interestingly, early opposition to the introduction of individual membership also referred to the ideal of internationalism; it rested largely on opposition to the 'skew' that would inevitably come given the size of the US intellectual community (Platt 1998). As compensation for practical inequalities, differential membership subscriptions and conference attendance fees have since been provided. Along the same lines, much emphasis is still placed on the development of a representative, international sociology. According to the current mission statement on its website, the "goal of the ISA is to represent sociologists everywhere, regardless of their school of thought, scientific approaches or ideological opinion, and to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world".[7] It adds that its members, over 5000 in total, presently come from 126 countries. But how does it enact the norm of a balanced national representation in its communication and publication practices?

To stimulate communication within the international community of sociologists, the ISA now publishes two widely distributed journals: *Current Sociology* (*CS*) and *International Sociology* (*IS*). *CS* was first published in 1952. It was initially a bibliographic journal that contained overviews of sociological publications from all over the world. It later also published trend reports, analyses of particular topics or of the state of sociology in particular nation states or regions, and papers from ISA conferences. Only after the ISA World Congress of 1998 in Montreal did it adopt a submission-driven peer-reviewed format (instead of the older invitation-only system).

The first issue of *IS* was published in March 1986. Fernando Cardoso, the then-president of the ISA, emphasized in a programmatic essay in the first issue that the journal would focus on "international sociological analysis in a specific sense; made by sociologists from diverse cultural traditions and national origins." By launching the new journal, he added, the ISA wanted "to create a new possibility for sociologists across the world to be better acquainted with each other's work" thereby "increasing our knowledge about contemporary societies and sociologies." Further, this should "be done by maintaining a balanced editorial policy and thus publish authors from diverse regions" (*IS* 1986: 2). His view thus echoes and specifies the broader UNESCO model of a balanced national representation in this international publication forum.

On several occasions the editors of IS also discussed international representation. Martin Albrow, *IS*'s first editor-in-chief, for example, defended an editorial policy of "positive discrimination" with regard to "underrepresented groups" in order to achieve "worldwide accessibility." "Country of origin, age, gender, and to that one might add, region, language, type of institutional affiliation, are relevant background factors in editorial decision-making." He was also proud to be able to say that the papers submitted within the journal's first year came from 35 different countries, while those published came from 13 countries (*IS* 1987: 4-6; see also *CS* 1991: 101-118). At present, the journal still has the goal or mandate to maintain "high scientific standards, while reaching out to all corners of outstanding scholarship around the globe" (*IS* 2015: 342). Ensuring a balanced national and geographical representation remains a crucial ambition of *IS*'s editors. As gatekeepers, they look for ways to deal with the tension between spreading a disciplined way of knowing (and its "high scientific standards") and representing the diversity of views from "around the globe."

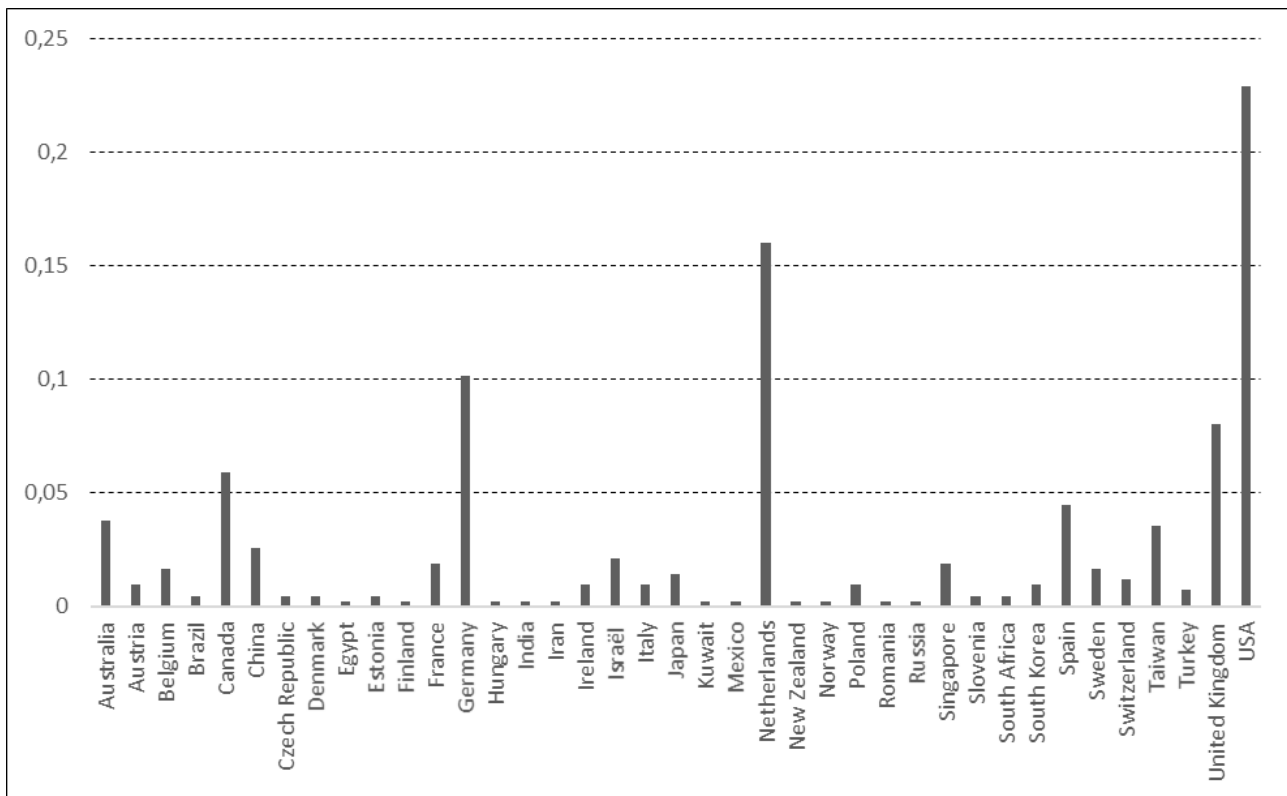[7] See http://www.isa-sociology.org/.

Figure 3: Country of institutional affiliation of the authors who published
in *International Sociology*, 2003-2013

IS has always only published English articles – although submissions are possible in other languages and abstracts are translated into French and Spanish (as the two other official languages of the ISA). Figure 3 displays the geographical distribution of the authors whose work was published between 2003 and 2015 in *IS*: almost 23% of the authors worked in an US American institution, 16% worked in the Netherlands, 10% in Germany, 8% in the United Kingdom, but less than 1% in countries such as Brazil, India, Iran, Poland, Russia, Romania, etc. These figures need to be interpreted carefully, as there is no available list of the total number of individuals by nation state who might be able to publish in journals such as *IS*. In terms of the ideal of equal representation, however, an imbalance can easily be observed. While some progress has been made since Martin Albrow published his overview, it is evident that the geographical distribution of authorship remains far from equal.[8]

To contextualize these data, it may also be added that the disproportionally high participation of Dutch authors occurred in a period in which *IS* was edited in Amsterdam (2004-2010). Between 1996 and 2003, five articles were (co-)authored by Dutch scholars. Between 2004 and 2012, however, 37 articles were (co-)written by authors who worked at a Dutch institution. Editorial teams may bring their own national agendas, too!

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[8] For a recent discussion of the inequality in attendance at the ISA conferences, see Dubrow et al. (2018). To make further sense of the internationalization of *IS*, it might also be helpful to take the geography of authorship of the journals indexed by Web of Science into account. Of all the sociology articles included in the 2016 edition of Web of Science, 3.3% of the authors was based in Australia, 0.8% in Belgium, 0.3% in Brazil, 4.9% in Canada, 0.1% in Chile, 0.9% in China, 2.9% in Germany, 0.4% in India, 1.9% in the Netherlands, 1.1% in Spain, 10.0% in the UK, 34.3% in the USA, 0.02 % in Vietnam, and so on.

To obtain a complementary, citation-oriented view of the internationality of international sociology, figure 4 visualizes the ties of *IS* to other journals. To draw this network, the relatedness data of the Social Sciences Edition of the Journal Citation Reports (Web of Science) were used.[9] Both cited and citing data (in-degrees and out-degrees) were considered. To level out annual fluctuations, the average scores for all available years were calculated. Journals that happened to have, on average, less than one relation to *IS* per year were excluded from the analysis.
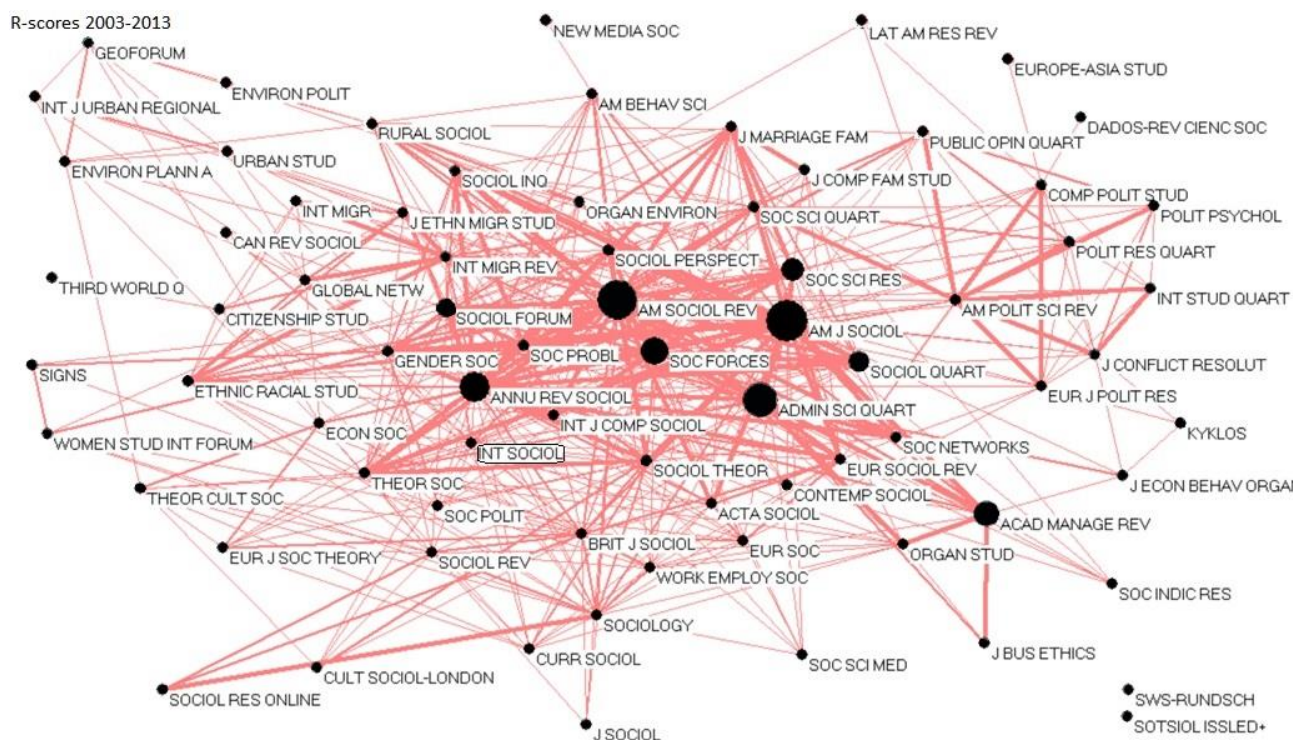

Figure 4: The citation network of International Sociology, 2003-2013

In figure 4, the size of the dots indicates the importance (or centrality) of the journals in the citation network. The thicker lines in these graphs stand for stronger connections. With 74 journals, *IS'* network is relatively large (see Vandermoere and Vanderstraeten 2012; Vanderstraeten, Vandermoere and Hermans 2016). Considering the journals to which *IS* is strongly connected, in the field of sociology we mainly see America-based journals, such as *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, *Sociological Quarterly*, *Annual Review of Sociology*, *Sociological Perspectives*, *Sociological Theory*, and *Theory and Society*. Together with the Australian *Journal of Sociology* and the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, the main British journals in the field appear in the margins of the network: *British Journal of Sociology*, *The Sociological Review*, *Sociology*, and *Work, Employment & Society*. There are also some other European journals, such as *Acta Soci-*

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[9] The relatedness data express the relationship R between two journals x and y by: $R_{x>y} = C_{x>y} * 10^6 / (P_y * Rf_x)$ where $C_{x>y}$ refers to the number of citations from the citing journal x to the cited journal y, P_y refers to the total number of papers published in journal y, and Rf_x refers to the number of references cited in journal x. For an exploratory discussion of the use of this dataset, see Vandermoere and Vanderstraeten (2012). In the field of scientometrics, pleas for the development of this kind of topographies of scientific disciplines are age-old (e.g. de Solla Price 1963: 515).

ologica, *European Societies*, *European Journal of Social Theory*, and *European Sociological Review*. Most of the other journals in *IS'* network focus on sub-disciplinary specializations, including political, environmental, urban, and ethnic issues. Also remarkable is that the other ISA-journal, *Current Sociology*, is only modestly connected with *IS*.

Thus the citation environment of *IS* is rather diffuse. But it is also characterized by global patterns of domination. While *IS* may well have achieved some success in publishing articles from authors from all over the world, this broader geographical basis goes along with a highly limited knowledge base. US American journals clearly dominate *IS'* network. In this sense, *IS* is important for the diffusion of knowledge from the centre to the peripheries.[10] Or stated more generally: international institutions, such as the ISA and its journals, have contributed to more regular transnational links and exchanges, but they simultaneously also contribute to the formation of an international disciplinary canon and an international hierarchy, dominated by scholars and scholarship from the USA.

Of course, it can be argued that this conclusion is an artefact of the data and the database used. Our database only includes part of the scientific literature, viz. articles in journals included in the Journal Citation Reports of WoS. Biases in this database – WoS favours journals over books, and English language journals over journals in other languages – have thus been reproduced in our analyses. But it should not be overlooked that publications in journals included in this database have become the canonical form of scholarly communication in a wide range of countries and a wide variety of disciplinary specializations, including social-scientific research. Publications in these journals have become the yardstick with which scholarly reputation is commonly measured. The journals indexed by WoS – which are time and again presented as "the world's leading journals" – provide a powerful vision of what internationally accepted 'quality' has come to mean in research. In this sense, we would like to argue that the foregoing network visualizations and analyses shed light on what is considered to be the 'relevant' citation environment in contemporary international social science.

Conclusion

We do not want to blame the editors of international social-scientific journals for the observed inequalities. To a large degree, most academic journals remain supply-driven. Editors are dependent on submissions and have limited possibilities to intervene in the production process. There might well be significant "positive discrimination" with regard to "underrepresented groups." What we would like to point out, however, are some of the relevant differences between scholarly norms and their "enactments." Our analyses of the publication practices in *Isis* and *International Sociology* point to the skewed global orientation in/of these journals, despite their outspoken internationalist ideals and ambitions.

Some of the ensuing legitimacy problems for international social science are directly connected with the differences between the norms and their enactments. The organizational model of international scholarly associations, such as the International Sociological Association, is predicated on the spread and strengthening of national associations. These associations claimed and claim to represent diverse national points of view, hence their legitimacy seems to rest on national diversity and on equality of representation – even when the degree of support for, and institutionalization of, the social

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[10] It might be added that the average out-degree of the journal is almost twice as high as the average in-degree in the period under study (20.83 vs. 10.88). In other words, publications in IS have been cited more often in other WoS-indexed journals than the other way around during our timeframe.

sciences differs markedly at the international level. Although scholarly associations and their journals frequently look for ways to compensate for these practical and institutional inequalities, internationalization in the social sciences clearly looks more like Americanization when we compare the publication practices in international social science journals with their own ideal of equal or balanced national representation.

At the same time, however, the foregoing analyses also shed light on the structural patterns underlying the forms of inequality in international social science. The norm or imperative of communalism has been institutionalized in particular ways. Communalism has been identified with visibility in international journals, with publications and citations in WoS-indexed journals. The specification of this imperative ('publish or perish') has changed the everyday world of scholars in most disciplines and most nation states. Our analyses of the citation environment of *International Sociology* suggest that current publication imperatives lead (potential) authors to 'play it safe.' The hierarchical rankings of journals have become a reality in their own right. Databases such as WoS are no longer only useful to search for information and conduct bibliographic studies; they have also been successful in diffusing their specific selection criteria. To build their argument, 'international' authors prefer to rely on what is considered certified knowledge; publications in high-ranked, America-based journals. Both with and against Merton, it might be asked whether the current communication imperatives are functional within international social science.

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